

UNIT 1

THE PEOPLING OF NORTH AMERICA AND EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

1.1. Introduction

The early 1600s saw the beginning of a great tide of emigration from Europe to North America. Spanning more than three centuries, this movement grew from a trickle of a few hundred English colonists to a floodtide of newcomers numbered in millions. Driven by powerful and diverse motivations, they built a new civilisation on a once savage continent. In this unit, we examine early attempts to discover the North American continent, exploration and settlement of the north and south of North America. Growth and diversity, major changes after initial settlement and the regions and socio-economic differentiation of North America are also discussed.

1.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- outline early attempts to discover, exploration and early settlement of the North American continent.
- explain growth and diversity in North America.
- discuss the major changes after initial settlement.
- describe the regions and socio-differentiation in North America.

1.3. Early attempts to discover the North American continent.

There had been a legend across Europe of an *Irish Monk* who had actually approached the continent of North America (St Brendan). Other accounts suggested that a *Buddhist Missionary* from China may have reached British Columbia at the same time.

Between 9th and 10th Centuries A.D. *Vikings* from Central Europe are said to have made several visits to the continent. Between 850 – 1050 *Norsemen* had settled in Iceland and Greenland. In about 1000 A.D Leif Ericsson set sail to investigate stories on a land which was believed to have been sighted by some earlier explorers. Ericsson was able to travel as far as Cape Cod, Maine and may have even seen Newfoundland.

These early attempts to discover the North American continent were not followed by serious attempts because of low level of technology until the 15th century. This was extremely important in the relationship between Europe and the American continent. Europe's economic prospects began to change. As a result of the rise of nation-states through the revival of commerce, kings were able to re-establish their authority over local lords. The first country to consolidate itself as a state was Portugal between 12th to 13th Century. After Portugal the next country was Spain. This occurred in 1469 as a result of marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella. After Spain came France under Charles VII in 1453. England also later followed suit. This creation of nation-states brought about conditions for strong economic and political systems. Centralised political and economic systems were critical in the discovery of America.

Also, in the 15th century there was an advancement in the increase in knowledge – or *re-birth* which started with Italian *City-States* which benefited from contact between *Greeks* and the *Moslem World*. As a result of the *renaissance* Europe experienced a new cultural and intellectual awakening. An awakening that was to bring about a secularised society. The spiritual world in which Europe found itself after the development of Rome began to disappear.

After the 15th century, there was also a change in technology. The invention of the *printing press* by *Germany craftsmen*. This development meant that books could easily be produced cheaply. Earlier on, books were mostly religious. Later on, some scientific works began to come up especially in geography. Inventions such as the compass and other measuring instruments followed. With such equipment, sailors could determine the direction and positions in which they were.

Another development was in the making of ships. The new ships that were made had adjustable sails and rudders. With these inventions the ship became faster.

Europe also adopted the use of gunpowder. By 1360, Europeans had begun making small arms.

Europe also underwent a religious transformation which came mainly through the *reformation* which was a challenge to *Catholicism* which had established itself at that time as the only *universal church*. By 1517, *Martin Luther King a Germany Monk* challenged the authority of the *Pope* and some teaching of the *Catholic Church*. He broke away and had a lot of followers who wanted to break away from the catholic. Luther's challenge was complimented by John Calvin who internationalised the *reform movement* which became known as *Protestantism*. In 1536, Calvin set up an institute of *Christian Religion*. This won the favour of many religions. *Protestantism* soon spread to the whole of *Western Europe*. Protestantism brought about a complete transformation in people's life. The Protestants adopted the *notion of predestination* which required that for one to be seen as God's chosen – Protestants had to be *thrift* and *frugal* in their life. Their new life created values and determination which was extremely important in the settlement of what later became as the United States of America.

The reformation brought about religious wars and persecutions. The Catholic Church reacted violently to the reformers. It called them heretics. Religious wars and persecutions forced thousands of dissenters, Lutherans and Calvinists out of Europe. Apart from bringing about a new look on life, but also made the reformers abandon the Old World for the New World.

1.4. Exploration and settlement of North America.

The exploration of North America was spearheaded by the English. In 1496, King Henry VII authorised John Cabot to sail westwards and find out if at all there were any lands inhabited by infidels. Cabot set sail in 1497. He made two voyages. In his first journey he saw Nova Scotia. In the second journey he explored Newfoundland and was able to reach Delaware. He also came as far as Chesapeake Bay. He reported back on the abundance of fish especially Cod. It was on this basis that the English claimed this part of North America.

The other Europeans were the French who under Francois I who sponsored Giovanni da Verrazano. He was sent to search for a sea route to the east. Francois I sent another explorer, Jacques Cartier who explored the coast of Newfoundland areas along the St Lawrence sea way.

In exploring this area Cartier came across an area that was to become Montreal. On the basis of this exploration, the French claimed this part of North America.

The next group of Europeans were the Dutch. They entered the race very late because up to this period the Dutch were still under Spanish rule. But during the early 17th century, they got their independence. In 1609, the *Dutch East India Company* sponsored Hudson an English sailor to find a sea way to the east by going through America. Although he did not succeed, he explored Cape Cod and Delaware Bay. He sailed up a river which came to be called the Hudson. On the basis of this exploration the Dutch established influence in New York, New Jersey and Delaware.

The Spanish had moved northward from South America and had established themselves in areas of the Gulf of Mexico. Captains such as Herrado de Sofa, Francisco Vasquez and de Ceranado pushed themselves into areas of North America.

By the mid-17th century, Europeans had acquired enough knowledge of the essential outline of the New World for them to begin the actual settlement of the continent.

1.5. Settlement of the North

It was also spearheaded by the English. To settle in America people required promoters i.e. the need to find men and women willing to migrate. Settlers required assistance. Because of this all early attempts at settlement was made through companies.

The first attempt was made in 1580 which included *Sir Humphrey Gilbert* and *Sir Walter Raleigh*. The aim was to establish trade and defences to attack the Spaniards. Queen Elizabeth I gave authority to the two. Sir Humphrey Gilbert failed to settle in Newfoundland but his brother Raleigh sent *John White* to settle in a place that came to be called *Virginia*. They established a colony on *Roanoke Island*. This initial settlement did not last for a long time in that a supply ship that was sent in 1590 failed to locate the colony. Once the supply ship failed to locate the colony, no further attempts to settle in America were made for close to 10 years.

In 1606, two groups of merchants began once more sending settlers to America. These groups were based in *London, Bristol and Plymouth*. The results of these merchants were that in 1607, the merchants based in London were able to finance three ships to a place that became known as *Jamestown*. They brought 105 men. These settlers began to plant oranges, cotton and melons. Quarrels among them were common. They abandoned agricultural activities in pursuit of gold searching.

This group was supplemented by a new group in 1608 of about 120. By the time the new group arrived only 38 of the original group survived. The new group under the leadership of *John Smith* negotiated with the locals for food, game and fish. In exchange for food the Indians were provided with guns. Because of this, the death rate among the settlers reduced. But the settlers could not spread further inland because they were prevented by Indians. Once *John Smith* had returned to England, the settlers resorted to the life of gold searching and abandoned food production. Most of them starved to death.

In 1611, there was a new leader, *Thomas Dale*. In 1612, *John Rolfe* proved that tobacco that had proved successful in *Central America* could be grown successfully in *Virginia*. By the turn of the 17th Century *Virginia* was exporting a lot of tobacco. In 1724, *Virginia* became a *Royal Colony*.

1.6. The settlement of the South

It officially started when *Charles II* the English King granted part of the land from Virginia by *Spanish Florida*. The area was strategic to the British because they believed that if settled successfully, they would prevent the Spaniards from expanding northwards. The land here was different from the north. Not only tropical but also fertile. So, a possible new colony was going to allow the British to produce exotic crops which were of value e.g. figs and olives. In honour of Charles's mother, the area was named *Carolina*.

In 1729, Carolina was split into two, *North and South Carolina*. With the split Carolina was quickly settled by people who moved from Virginia. They developed an economy based on tobacco.

Settlers in South Carolina were different. English colonists who moved from Barbados brought with them a slave-based sugar plantation colony under the control of the landed gentry. Once the Carolinas were settled in 1733, *James Oglethorpe* acting on behalf of English philanthropists landed about 100 settlers just above the mouth of the *Savanna River*.

Although the Spaniards were the first active settlers in this area, this could not stop English settlement. This resulted in what came to be known as the state of *Georgia*. It was seen as a military outpost. Georgia also became an area of settlement of convicts and small farmers – *Yeomen*.

To ensure that, Georgia developed differently from Virginia, slavery was prohibited. Alcohol, rum and brand were not allowed. The settlers in Georgia were Scots, English and German who came to Georgia to improve their social situation. They demanded that they be allowed to own slaves and the ban on alcohol was also resented. Plantation agriculture developed. Georgia became a slave owning state.

With Georgia was the establishment of the establishment of the original Thirteen Colonies that eventually became the United States - Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia. These became the first English colonies, all situated on the eastern coast.

Apart from people of English origin, there were also people of other European origin. The Germans made almost one third in Pennsylvania. The Dutch consisted of one sixth of the population of New York. The French for their part were scattered in a number of colonies - St Lawrence and the Mississippi. Among the French were Huguenots. The legacy of the French is that some places still have French names. The Swedes were another important group. They made up about 8 – 9% of the population in Delaware and New Jersey.

All the different groups that arrived and settled in America contributed to make what America is today. They came to America because of different reasons – religious, social, political and economic.

1.7. Growth and diversity in North America

- Physical environment insulated by two large oceans (Atlantic and Pacific) and vast expanse of land allowed for its development in agriculture and mineral wealth.
- The system of rivers made transport easy especially before the development of road and railway. The Mississippi River acted as the dividing line between the east and west. Eastwards the land rose into the Appalachians.

1.8. Major changes after initial settlement

- Population growth was rapid especially in 18th century. In 1688 – 200, 000. By 1700 – 250,000 and within the next thirty years – 500,000 and by 1775 – 2.5 million. Most of this population was concentrated in the south. 500, 000 – New England and 400,000 – Middle colonies. Once the initial problems were overcome the population began to double. Young age of marriage. People in the New World tended to marry in the early teens. They tended to have large families e.g. 5 -8. The conditions of life especially in Virginia were better. Most of young people would easily go out and find their own families.
- Immigration into North America. Thousands of immigrants from Europe migrated into North America. Between 1730 – 1755 about 100,000 brought in agricultural craftsmen. These also brought with them essential skills.

About 250,000 Irish also entered North America. They were fleeing economic hardship and also looking for religious freedom. Immigration was crucial in that by 1775 half of the population in New England was made of non-English speaking.

- Economic growth. The economy of the Thirteen Colonies initially characterised by sharp fluctuations due to a number of factors such as the impact of European wars a situation in which every time war broke out in Europe it would disrupt trade and also the rise and fall of demand of American commodities in Europe. With the construction of ware houses, ports, communication networks and harbours by 1776 half of the trade was within the colonies themselves.

1.9. Regions and socio-economic differentiation.

- New England – influenced by the nature of its landscape, rocky soils, no much agricultural activities, the economy came to be centred on commerce and professions. Boston was centrally built to take advantage of world trade. Since the economic base of New England was based on commerce and professions, it became an important centre of education. The

result of this up to today is that the best universities are concentrated in this part of North America.

- In the Middle Colonies soils were fertile leading to development of agriculture. Production of cereals in New York, New Jersey, Delaware etc. In these mainly agricultural parts of North America there was need for labour. The area benefited greatly from the high prices of grain. In the Chesapeake Bay area, the economy that developed was mainly based on tobacco – Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina. There was a reliance on slaves rather than indentured labour. The arrival of Scottish merchants pushed the price of tobacco high.
- The South came to depend on the production of staple crops – rice.
- The other factor of growth and diversity was in life in urban and country side. 95% of the population was rural. They faced difficult life in the country side. Farmers were isolated. Separation of tasks between men and women. There was need for socialisation – drinking, feasting and attending church.

The situation in urban areas where most of the towns developed along the coastline towns became centres of influence in politics, commerce and civilisation e.g. Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. These early towns held between 10% of the total population. Life in town was not only noisy but also disturbed and confused. It was governed by work schedules. Among the inhabitants other were poor and others rich. To cater for needs of the rich, theatres developed. Cities tended to have more contacts with the outside world.

- In terms of gender perspectives, women were subordinate to their husbands.
- Politically, there was stability among the colonies. Politics were dominated by the elite. Assemblies in colonies did not have much powers.

1.10. Activity 1

1. Discuss the reasons that led to European nations early attempts to discover the North American continent.
2. Explain the exploration and settlement of North America.
3. Describe the major changes that took place after the initial settlement of North America.
4. Show how the different regions led to socio-economic differentiation of North America.

Summary

In this unit you have learned how some groups from Europe were driven by powerful and diverse motivations to try and discover the North American continent. Exploration and settlement of North America has also been discussed. Further the major changes that took place after the initial settlement and how the different regions led to socio-economic differentiation of North America have also been examined.

UNIT 2

ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES

2.1. Introduction

The British Empire in the eighteenth century was regarded as a large commercial concern, consisting of two main parts, the mother-country and the colonies. These two parts were complimentary and were not meant to compete against each other. In this relationship the colonies were subservient to the mother-country. Their interests were considered and looked upon as being essentially subordinate. Because the mother country had gone to considerable expense to found and populate these colonies. In this unit we discuss the elaborate system of trade laws which were put in place by England in order to regulate this relationship which in the last resort was meant preserve the monopoly for the mother-country over these colonies.

2.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- state why England came up with laws to regulate trade in the newly found North American colonies.
- discuss the major English laws of trade.
- explain the effects of the English laws of trade

2.3. The English Laws of trade

The start of the system was in 1650 and 1651 when two *Navigation Acts* were passed. Their aim was to exclude all foreign countries from trading with English colonies and to assist the development of the English merchant marine by enacting that goods from Asia, Africa and America must be shipped in English or colonial ships or in the ships that originally produced the goods.

The *1660 Navigation Act* made the measures covered in the 1650 and 1651 Acts tight. It stipulated that no goods or commodities should be sent out of any British colonies except in ships owned by Englishmen and operated by English masters. The 1660 Navigation Act said that the export and import trade of the English colonies could only be carried by English or colonial- built ships. The Act was extended to include commodities besides ships and seamen. More important was the clause relating to ‘enumerated’ commodities. The Act stated that certain commodities such as sugar, tobacco, indigo, cotton, ginger, dyewoods could be shipped only to England or to other English colonies. The aim was to give the mother-country control of the more valuable colonial products, either for her own consumption or for re-export from England to other countries

In 1663 the *Staple Act* was passed. This regulated imports into the colonies and enacted that goods of non-English origin could only be imported by the colonies if they were first shipped to England and then re-exported there in English or colonial ships. Exceptions to this rule were that, salt, used for the salting of fish in North America could be imported directly from Europe.

This Act well illustrates the spirit of the laws of trade which were based on the idea of the subordination of the colonies to the economic interests of the mother country. Had not been for this *Staple Act* of 1663, the colonies would have been free to buy their imports in any market and to ship them directly. Such an idea was inconceivable to the mother-country because of the loss she would have suffered if such freedom had been granted to the colonies.

The *Plantation Act* of 1673 aimed at preventing quantities of enumerated commodities being shipped to foreign countries. This had been done in the course of inter-colonial trade. The *Act of 1673* imposed export duties on all colonial shippers who could not give security that they were exporting these enumerated commodities to England only. The colonies grumbled but accepted these laws of trade. Although they were well aware that the system gave them guaranteed markets for their produce with preference over similar exports from foreign countries these acts became a serious source of conflicts between England and the colonies as these measures cut into the profits of the merchants. A number of problems also emerged politically. Furthermore, it was difficult to evade these regulations by organised smuggling and this was done on a considerable scale by some colonies such as New England as enforcement was lax in the early years.

2.4. The effects of the English laws of trade

In 1686, James II decided to consolidate the Northern Territories of New England and New York into what came to be called the Territories and Dominions of New England under Governor Sir Edmund Andros

In so doing James II abolished colonial assemblies and tried to make every one Anglican once more. He also attempted to temper with the validity of land titles in Massachusetts. These measures were strongly resented by the colonies as they denied them chance to tax themselves

In the South, England attempted to carry out similar measures. Following the 1688 – 89 *Glorious Revolution* in England there was a change in the level of kings in England. James II a Catholic was replaced by his Protestant daughter Mary who was married to a Dutch husband William Orage. The *Glorious Revolution* in England first reaffirmed the supremacy of parliament over monarchy and the introduction of the *Bill of Rights*. Only parliament could raise tax and maintain an army, tasks carried out by the monarchy earlier.

The effects of the Glorious Revolution in America were that Governor Sir Edmund Andros of New England was deposed, imprisoned and put on a ship back to England. The dominion that was established in New England was also abolished. Elsewhere in the colonies more powerful institutions emerged. All colonies claimed a large measure of political autonomy. The colonies were allowed by England to run their own affairs. The change in a political situation in England resulted in some degree of autonomy in the colonies. However, problems in relations with the colonies still existed.

Once, Charles III took over from Mary he again appointed governors with powers to veto decisions taken by colonial assemblies. Except for Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Rhode Island were spared in the governors appointed by Charles III because they were seen to be private properties under Royal Charters.

The new governors under Charles III were given broad powers in the sense that the vetoed decisions made by local assemblies and appointed local officials.

Trade regulations continued and in 1696 another *Navigation Act* was passed to enforce the existing ones – rice and molasses were added to the articles. It provided that colonial governors must take an oath to enforce the Acts, with severe penalties for non-compliance. It gave more powers to customs officials to enforce the acts and also set up courts in the colonies. These courts had jurisdictions over shipping caught breaking the law.

2.5. The Other English laws of trade

Other laws were passed to ensure other products. *1699 – Wool Act* and *1732 Iron Act*. These were specifically passed so that the colonies did not develop Wool Industries, Hat Industries to compete with the mother-country.

With regard to religion, after 1689, religion remained an issue of little significance. England appeared to have lost interest in establishing an English Episcopate in America.

Although there were a number of conflicts between England and the colonies, political and religious, these colonies remained low key. The colonies resented the *Navigation Acts* but before 1763 these differences did not result in any serious crisis. But after 1763, the situation changed. The relations between England and the colonies became bad.

1.6. Activity 2

1. Give reasons, why England decided to regulate the found North American colonies.
2. Discuss some of the laws that were passed by England in order to regulate trade relations with the newly found North American colonies.
3. Show why the newly found North American colonies resented these trade laws that were made in England.

Summary

In this unit we have learned that as a mother country, England passed some elaborate system of trade laws in order to regulate its trade relationship with the newly found North American colonies. As a result of these trade laws, the relations between England and the colonies became bad.

UNIT 3

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

3.1. Introduction

There is no one single explanation of the causes of the American Revolution. Some of the causes were due to immediate events in the history of the colonies while others went back to the early days of their foundation. In this unit we examine the long term and some of the events that enraged Colonists and led to the American Revolution

3.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- discuss the long-term causes of the American Revolution.
- explain the events that enraged Colonists and leading to the American Revolution
- state the initial activities in the American Revolution

3.3. Long term causes of the American Revolution

The *Seven Years War* or *French and Indian Wars* (1754 – 1763) in which competing colonial interests between England and France made the two countries fight each other in Europe, America, the Caribbean and India. In North America, the *Seven Years War* to the American Colonists centred on the battle for control of the *Ohio River Valley* and reducing of the power of hostile Indian tribes.

During the *Seven Year War*, the American Colonists fought alongside the British army. The western most settlers suffered huge losses of life due to the Indian attacks from tribes fighting for the French and fighting to prevent the American Colonists from taking their lands.

The American militias were instrumental in the conquest of French Canada, and the conquest of the French forts in the *Great Lakes* and *Ohio Valley*. The militias suffered casualties in these campaigns and learned to distrust and disrespect the British military leaders. The British military did not treat the American colonists and their militias with respect.

The American Colonies suffered economically due to the disruption of trade as a result of the Global nature of the *Seven Years War*. The Colonists focusing only on the part of the conflict in North America did not understand the losses economically being suffered by England.

At the end of the war the American Colonists felt that the Colonies had gained nothing for their sacrifices during the war. The British raised their taxes to help pay for England's loss of income and expenses to fight in the global war. The British blocked western settlement of Indian lands to keep peace with the Indians. This meant that the *Ohio River Valley* that the colonists had fought for belonged only to the hostile Indian tribes and the British. This felt like a betrayal to the American Colonists.

The resentments and distrust that began during the conflict on the North America continent were increased after the war. For the American Colonists the war was a disaster, as it cost them lives, money and land. In return the colonists were disrespected, taxed and blocked from

western expansion. The way the British fought the *Seven Years War* and treated the colonies after the war started the Revolutionary War.

3.4. Events that enraged Colonists and led to the American Revolution

The American colonists' breakup with the British Empire in 1776 wasn't a sudden, impetuous act. Instead, the banding together of the 13 colonies to fight and win a war of independence against the Crown was the culmination of a series of events, which had begun more than a decade earlier. Escalations began shortly after the end of the *French and Indian War*—known elsewhere as the *Seven Years War in 1763*. Here are a few of the pivotal moments that led to the American Revolution

- **The Stamp Act (March 1765)** - The debts caused by the war forced the British to impose new taxes. The Bank of England issued a tremendous amount of debt in order to finance the *Seven Years' War*. Due to the debts the British crown had no choice but to create a new form of *taxation*. It started with the *1765 Stamp Act*. Colonists were required to purchase revenue stamps and stick them on important documents. The *Stamp Act* became the most visible. Failure to buy these stamps translated into a heavy fine. This Act and the measures that were to enforce it offended the colonists. Resistance groups emerged through Hampshire to the North and South Carolina. Some resistance groups began calling themselves as *Sons of Liberty*. Stamps were burnt and English officials were intimidated in a number of ways.

The Stamp Act Congress comprising of 12 states met in New York. They denied British parliaments right to tax colonies. They rejected being taxed by a parliament in which they were not represented. Also, the merchants began to protest British goods. The Stamp Act was repealed in 1776 but parliament did not surrender the taxation of colonies.

- **The Townshend Acts (June-July 1767)** - Parliament again tried to assert its authority by passing legislation to tax goods that the Americans imported from Great Britain. The Crown established a *Board of Customs Commissioners* to stop smuggling and corruption among local officials in the colonies, who were often involved in illicit trade.

Americans struck back by organizing a boycott of the British goods that were subject to taxation, and began harassing the *British Customs Commissioners*. In an effort to quell the resistance, the British sent troops to occupy Boston, which only deepened the ill feeling.

Simmering tensions between the British occupiers and Boston residents boiled over one late afternoon, when a disagreement between an apprentice wigmaker and a British soldier led to a crowd of 200 colonists surrounding seven British troops. When the Americans began taunting the British and throwing things at them, the soldiers apparently lost their cool and began firing into the crowd.

As the smoke cleared, three men—including an African-American sailor were dead, and two others were mortally wounded. The massacre became a useful propaganda tool for the colonists that depicted the British as the aggressors.

- **The Boston Massacre (March 1770)** - The British eventually withdrew their forces from Boston and repealed much of the onerous Townshend legislation. But they left in place the tax on tea, and in 1773 enacted a new law, the *Tea Act*, to prop up the financially struggling *British East India Company*. The act gave the company extended favourable treatment under tax regulations, so that it could sell tea at a price that undercut the American merchants who imported from Dutch traders.

That didn't sit well with Americans. They didn't want the British telling them that they had to buy their tea. The Americans wanted to be able to trade with any country they wanted.

The *Sons of Liberty*, a radical group, decided to confront the British head-on. Thinly disguised as Mohawks, they boarded three ships in Boston Harbour and destroyed more than 92,000 pounds of British tea by dumping it into the harbour. To make the point that they were rebels rather than vandals, they avoided harming any of the crew or damaging the ships themselves, and the next day even replaced a padlock that had been broken.

Nevertheless, the act of defiance really ticked off the British government. Many of the *East India Company's* shareholders were members of Parliament. They each had paid 1,000 pounds sterling—that would probably be about a million dollars now—for a share of the company, to get a piece of the action from all this tea that they were going to force down the colonists' throats. So, when these people in Boston destroyed their tea, which was a serious thing to them.

- **The Coercive Acts (March-June 1774)** - The first Continental Congress, held in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, met to define American rights and organize a plan of resistance to the *Coercive Acts* imposed by the British Parliament as punishment for the Boston Tea Party.

In response to the *Boston Tea Party*, the British government decided that it had to tame the rebellious colonists in Massachusetts. In the spring of 1774, Parliament passed a series of laws, the *Coercive Acts*, which closed *Boston Harbour* until restitution was paid for the destroyed tea, replaced the colony's elected council with one appointed by the British, gave sweeping powers to the British military governor General Thomas Gage, and forbade town meetings without approval.

Yet another provision protected British colonial officials who were charged with capital offenses from being tried in Massachusetts, instead requiring that they be sent to another colony or back to Great Britain for trial.

But perhaps the most provocative provision was the *Quartering Act*, which allowed British military officials to demand accommodations for their troops in unoccupied houses and buildings in towns, rather than having to stay out in the countryside. While it didn't force the colonists to board troops in their own homes, they had to pay for the expense of housing and feeding the soldiers. The quartering of troops eventually became one of the grievances cited in the *Declaration of Independence*.

3.5. Initial activities in the American Revolution.

➤ **Lexington and Concord (April 1775)** – British General Thomas Gage led a force of British soldiers from Boston to Lexington, where he planned to capture colonial radical leaders *Sam Adams* and *John Hancock*, and then head to Concord and seize their gunpowder. But American spies got wind of the plan, and with the help of riders such as Paul Revere, word spread to be ready for the British.

On the Lexington Common, the British force was *confronted by 77 American militiamen*, and they began shooting at each other. Seven Americans died, but other militiamen managed to stop the British at Concord, and continued to harass them on their retreat back to Boston.

The British lost 73 dead, with another 174 wounded and 26 missing in action. The bloody encounter proved to the British that the colonists were fearsome foes who had to be taken seriously. It was the start of America's War of Independence.

➤ **British attacks on coastal towns (October 1775-January 1776)** - Though the *Revolutionary War's* hostilities started with Lexington and Concord, Leaders of the rebellion seized the burnings of the two ports to make the argument that the colonists

needed to band together for survival against a ruthless enemy and embrace the need for independence—a spirit that ultimately would lead to their victory.

3.6. Activity 3

1. Explain how the *Seven Years War* or *French and Indian Wars (1754 – 1763)* was a long term cause of the American Revolution.
2. Discuss some of the events that enraged the colonists resulting in the American Revolution.
3. What were some of the initial activities in the American Revolution?

Summary

In this unit we have examined the long term and short-term causes of the American Revolution. The *Seven Year War* also known as *French and Indian Wars (1754 – 1763)*, the American Colonists fought alongside the British army. The American Colonies suffered economically due to the disruption of trade as a result of the Global nature of the *Seven Years War*. The Colonists focusing only on the part of the conflict in North America did not understand the losses economically suffered by England. The British raised their taxes to help pay for England's loss of income and expenses to fight in the global war. At the end of the war the American Colonists felt that the Colonies had gained nothing for their sacrifices during the war. It was the culmination of a series of these events that led American colonists to breakup with the British Empire in 1776 in what is known as the American Revolution.

UNIT 4

THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

4.1. Introduction

American independence or events that led to it are considered to have been fundamental to American history. They took a form of a series of wars and armed conflict starting. In this unit we examine the events that culminated into the *Declaration of American Independence*, America Becomes a nation, powers of government and the interpretation of the New Constitution

4.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- describe the events that culminated into the Declaration of American Independence
- explain how America Became a Nation.
- state the Powers of Government in America
- discuss the interpretation of the new Constitution in America

4.3. Events that culminated into the *Declaration of American Independence*

- The Declaration of American Independence took a form of a series of wars and armed conflict starting in April 1775 (Lexington Concord) and stretched for a period of eight years. The most important wars were fought in 1775 – 1776, 1776 – 1777. Even then the actual independence had not come until 1783. After that the wars of independence had spread to the north. Vast amounts of energy, wealth and lives were lost. During these years committees of correspondence composed of citizens critical of Britain had been established throughout the colonies. They made the various sections of the eastern seaboard aware of common problems and aided united action. In 1774, these committees organised the gathering of the *First Continental Congress* in Philadelphia. This body hoped to persuade parliament to restore self-government in the colonies and to abandon its attempt at direct supervision of the colonies.
- However, conciliation was not forth-coming. By April 1775, the *Battles of Lexington and Concord* had been fought. In June colonists suffered defeat at the Battle of Junker Hill. Who supported the wars of independence? Two thirds of the settlers in Maryland supported the war. One fifth, i.e. about 55,000 joined the British cause. About 80,000 went into exile

especially Canada. The two thirds that supported the war were willing to sacrifice their lives. Among those who went to war with Britain were black slaves. Indians in some cases decided to stay away from the war. At the time when the war broke out some people were unclear about the outcome of the war. Although some people resented the measures that Britain introduced in the colonies, they still remained loyal to Britain. As the war continued some perceptions began to change. People began to see the war as the way through which they could change their status – *Sons of Liberty* such as *Samuel Adams* and *Patrick Henry*.

- As the war progressed people began to perceive their struggle as a fight for liberty and against tyrannical rule. Americans were also inspired by a new climate of ideas from overseas – the *Glorious Revolution* of 1688 and its *Bill of Rights* which Americans considered to have granted them rights.
- The second was the British tradition of *liberalism* which came about in the 18th century enlightenment which declared that people were equal and that governments should be based on consent of the governed. These inspired the Americans.
- The writings of John Locke who wrote *Treatises on Government* in 1689. The works on government by Locke justified a revolt for people seeking to secure their natural rights. The last contributor to the new climate of ideas was Thomas Paine who arrived in America from England. Early in 1776 he published a 50-page pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*. This is considered by some scholars to have changed American opinion in favour of independence. Paine advocated for independence and democracy. His ideas were so important that about 120,000 copies were sold within the first publication. Thomas Paine picked on King George. He denounced the British monarchy and its government. He insisted that time had come to break completely with the English monarchy. He called the king a brute (a person who is cruel, violent and not sensitive) and in so doing he broke the reverence that the Americans had for the king. Paine's pamphlet crystallised what was being talked about – breaking away from Britain. As expected, the British government reacted by denouncing Thomas Paine and his document as treasonable document which was made to encourage republicanism.
- The Second Continental Congress gathered in May 1775. It still sought conciliation with Britain but the pressure of events led that assembly to begin to conduct the government of the colonies. By August 1775, George III had declared the colonies in rebellion. A

continental army and navy were organised. In April 1776 the *Continental Congress* opened American ports to the trade of all nations.

- The debates in the Continental Congress for and against independence went on for nearly a month. There was opposition from several of the colonies to this motion for independence. Finally, on July 4, 1776 the *Continental Congress* adopted the *Declaration of Independence*. The declaration was drafted by Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert Livingstone and Roger Sherman. What the declaration spelled out was considered as violation of American rights by Britain. The declaration attacked the British monarchy.

By its radical nature, the declaration was welcome in all colonial America and was an inspiration to many other people in the world e.g. the French Revolution. When the declaration was made America was not yet independent. Despite the declaration war continued. American states began one by one to adopt the republican charters. These charters established what was to become state constitutions. By the time independence was declared, four states had moved in the direction of republicanism. The new governments were supposed to be created under the authority of the people. There was the emergence of a written constitution signifying a desire by Americans to have a clear separation of government's power and citizens. To establish governments which were based on social contracts in which people elected representatives given tasks to draft constitutions.

The result of this was that in most cases, provincial conferences and drafted new constitutions. In 1777, a year after independence, Continental Congress approved articles of confederation. What these articles did was to establish a formal union of American states with powers to conduct foreign affairs through negotiation of treaties, making peace and control over Indian affairs. The other power of the confederation was that it was given authority over western lands. The confederation could also settle disputes between states and was to conduct postal services. In order to conduct these political functions, each state was given a single vote in the confederation. Nine out of the thirteen votes were required for approval over important matters. The confederation on its own was not given powers to amend articles of confederation but each state had a role to play.

4.4. America Becomes a Nation.

This occurred after the attainment of independence in 1783. At the time the it became independent it was still a thinly populated country and 95% of the population still lived in the countryside. At this time America only had six major cities among which were Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charlestown, Baltimore. These cities were still comparatively small in relation to Paris and London. Even with regard to infrastructure America was still backward. But the attainment of independence gave Americans a sense of pride and a sense of the future.

Throughout the 1780s, there were a number of conflicts in which the Americans attempted to define and determine their political future. The major conflict was based on the fact that, in 1783, America found itself divided into two groups:

- (a) The agrarian minds who were in the majority. They were made of small farmers, provincials, illiterate or semi-illiterate. These were Americans who still held on to the orthodox brands of Protestantism and people who saw farming as a superior way of life. They were they were suspicious of change of government and tended to distrust their own elected government officials. They wished for a decentralised government as much as possible and a government that was as inactive and inexpensive as much as possible. They looked forward to a government that would be subject to frequent elections and cheeks. Some landlords in Hudson Valley shared this view.
- (b) The other group was made of the commercially minded citizens who saw American future as lying in national economic growth and national strength. Most of these were based in cities and were merchants and professionals. They were the best educated and cosmopolitan. They favoured leadership greatly and a government that was vigorous and more centralised. The desire was to have a government that would come up with policies designed to foster national growth and national development. They viewed the future of America differently

These differences between these two groups characterised American politics throughout the 1780s. The agrarian minded were more democratic but the commercially minded were more concerned over these democratic tendencies.

There were also conflicts over the control of states and religious matters. All these resulted in people beginning to look at articles of confederation as being either inadequate or adequate. The result of this was that by 1783, commercially minded began to advocate for

a strong central government. They began to agitate against local tendencies and what they saw as democratic responsibilities of the agrarian minded. They began to push for the strengthening of the confederate government. They called upon the *Continental Congress* to appoint a number of full-time officials over finance, war, foreign affairs and the Marine. But the continental or confederate government did not empower congress to impose taxes. So the confederate government remained ineffective. It could not solve conflicts between the states and Indians. The confederate government turned out to be weak and ineffective especially in foreign affairs. It could not enforce uniform regulations within its own states. It could not negotiate good treaties. Britain and Spain still threatened the states especially in the South-West and North-West. The inability to deal with these problems strengthened the hand of those who were pushing for a strong government.

Initially most Americans who were subsistence farmers accepted the Confederation the way it was. But when it could not solve problems people became impatient and began to push for a strong central government. Among those who began to push for a central government were the unpaid public creditors and the merchants. On the other hand the artisans and emerging industrialists also began to ask for a strong government that would give them protection against British competition. The elite were concerned and alarmed and popular control over government. They also saw a solution in a strong government. They feared an assault on their property by the unpropertied. The frontiersmen who demanded protection against Indians whom they argued were supported by the British and Spanish. The cosmopolitan and nationally minded also wanted as a country to assume a position of greater strength and dignity among nations of the world. Without a strong government this was not possible.

These groups came together and began to seek a revision of the articles of the Confederation. The way the articles were could not check the excesses of the revolutionary era which threatened authority and stability. Serious attempts to deal with the weaknesses of the articles of Confederation were made by Robert Mons but these moves failed. However, these moves remained a considerable boost in 1780s because of the depression which was blamed on weak government. American leaders such as George Washington, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton began to think on how to deal with the weaknesses of the Confederation. They were more concerned with the problems of democracy and popular liberty. The result was the calling of a Convention in 1787 with a specific purpose. The Convention was called to try to come up with provisions of the constitution equal to

the demands of the union. The delegates to this Convention were mostly those who supported change. It came to be called as a *Constitutional Convention*. It was composed of lawyers, Planters and Merchants. 55 delegates represented all the states. All men drawn from urban and seaboard areas and all from the upper class of American society. They met in May 1787 in Philadelphia. Their main aim was to discuss a new form of government that would represent the requirements of the American nation.

Before the *Convention*, a delegation from Virginia working together with Madison came up with the *Virginia Plan* which provided the basis of discussions. The result of these discussions was to amend the articles of Confederation and with a completely new form of government which turned out to be radically different from the Confederation. The central government was granted sweeping powers. The plan required that legislative representation in central government was to be in proportion to the population of a state. This raised fears from the small states in order to avoid dominance from bigger states. A compromise was made through what came to be known as *Jersey Plan*. There was an amendment to the articles. It took the form of two Houses. The *House of Representatives* whose representation as suggested by the earlier *Virginia Plan* was to be proportional to the population of the state. The Second House which became known as the *Senate* was to send two representatives regardless of the size of the population. This dealt with the fears of small states.

There was a document on *Federal System of Government* which was different from what came out from the articles of *Confederation* which was a *Union of Sovereign States*. In the *Federal Government* the powers were distributed between the state and the central government.

4.5. Powers of Government

Under the new federal system, the central government was given powers to levy tax, borrow money, powers in commerce, foreign affairs, to maintain the navy and the army. With these measures it was hoped that central government would be strengthened. It was given powers to operate directly with the citizens. The proposed *national constitution* as well as laws and treaties that were to be made in line with the *new constitution* were declared to be the supreme law of the land. What this meant was that the Confederate Government did not have powers over the citizens. In addition, the 18th *Doctrine of Separation of Powers* was applied and was effected in the fact that apart from the *Two House Congress* there was a strong and independent *Executive* and *judiciary*. These were made to act as checks and

balances against each other. There was a single President to be elected. The President was given powers of veto over *Congressional Legislation*. The President could not veto if a measure was passed by a 2/3 members approval

In addition to the powers granted to the President apart from veto powers, the President was given powers to appoint Judges, senior officials subject to ratification by Senate.

The President was also given primary responsibilities over foreign relations. He could make treaties subject approval by 2/3 Senate approval. The President was also made the *Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces*. But Congress approved the expenditure and the sending of armed forces for operations overseas.

In the *Two-House Congress*, The House of Representatives operated on the basis of proportional representation of the state. The elections of representatives by popular vote took place every two years. This was not done at the same time for all of them. This was meant to allow for continuity.

The Senate Members were elected for six years by state legislative bodies. In the American Congress each state has representatives in the *House of Representatives* and in Senate. This ensures that each state is adequately represented. Every measure that was passed as law has to seek the approval of both houses.

Under what is rather a complicated system of government, the President was to be elected by what is known as an *Electoral College* by electors in each state who are appointed in each state and equal to the number of representatives in congress of that particular state. By this method, the President was made independent of both the state legislature and the masses.

For the judiciary, it was decided that the members be appointed by the President for life. They were assured by the *tenure of office*. This was to ensure that no judge was tempered with by any President who came into office.

The new constitution as it emerged, was a product of small groups of individuals working largely in secrecy. These individuals were *Federalists* as opposed to *Nationalists*. They went beyond their mandate and came up with what was a completely new framework of government. By 1790, nearly all states through state legislatures had ratified the new constitution and America became a *Republic*.

4.6. Interpretation of the New Constitution

There are a number of interpretations. Among these is one which looked at the constitution as having been *demi-God* – an instrument of heavens will. Therefore, the constitution came to be considered as one of the supreme achievements of human intelligence.

But in contrast to this, there were others who saw in the new constitution a counter-revolutionary document. The argument was that, the new constitution was not a selfless document. This view was presented by Charles Beard. He felt that the framers of the new constitution were aiming at protecting and serving their own interests. Their concerns were protecting their property rights. It was a form of *coup de tat* by which a few rich men sought to protect their economic interests and stop the force of democracy.

Among those who agree with Charles Beard's view were Merrill Jensen who wrote that the democratic radicalism that came with the *Declaration of Independence* was watered down with the coming of new constitution.

Another interpretation which questioned Charles Beard and Merrill Jensen felt that the new constitution was a middle-class document essentially suited for middle class America. This view was put forward by Robert Broun and Forest Macdonald.

Despite these different interpretations, once the new constitution was adopted by the states, it secured a union. In 1789, the federalists who were instrumental in drafting the constitution won most of the seats and George Washington became President and John Adams his Vice.

John Hancock became alarmed that the new constitution gave government too much powers. He ordered that amendments be made to protect the citizens. These amendments were accepted and they were called the *First Ten Amendments*. They became known as the *Bill of Rights* – the rights of speech, assembly etc. The new constitution under the *Bill of Rights* required trial by Jury picked from just ordinary citizens of society. The government was forbidden to demand excessive demand of bail. All those powers not given specifically to the federal government remained under state government. The new amended constitution became effective on 1771 and America became a nation with the Department of State, Treasury, Department of War and an Attorney General.

4.7. Activity 4

1. Describe the events that culminated into the Declaration of American Independence
2. Explain how America Became a Nation.
3. State the Powers of Government in America
4. Discuss the interpretation of the new Constitution in America

Summary

In this unit we have learned that the Declaration of American Independence took a form of a series of wars and armed conflict starting in April 1775. After the wars of independence, a number of Continental Congresses were held. Finally, on July 4, 1776 the *Continental Congress* adopted the *Declaration of Independence*. The Americans adopted *Federal System of Government*. Despite different interpretations, once the new constitution was adopted by the states, it secured a union.

UNIT 5

SLAVERY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH

5.1 Introduction

The slave economy had been very good to American prosperity. Slaves represented Southern planters' most significant investment—and the bulk of their wealth. In this unit we discuss how the economy of the South was built on slavery, the economic necessity of slavery in the south in picking of cotton, slavery, wealth and the confederacy.

5.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- explain how the economy of the south was built on slavery
- discuss the importance of slave labour in cotton farming
- describe slavery and wealth in the confederacy

5.3. An Economy Built on Slavery

Building a commercial enterprise out of the wilderness required labour and lots of it. For much of the 1600s, the American colonies operated as agricultural economies, driven largely by indentured servitude. Indentured servants were men and women who signed a contract (also known as an indenture or a covenant) by which they agreed to work for a certain number of years in exchange for transportation to *Virginia* and, once they arrived, food, clothing, and shelter. Most workers were poor, unemployed labourers from Europe who, like others, had traveled to North America for a new life. In exchange for their work, they received food and shelter, a rudimentary education and sometimes a trade.

By 1680, the British economy improved and more jobs became available in Britain. During this time, slavery had become a morally, legally and socially acceptable institution in the colonies. As the number of European labourers coming to the colonies dwindled, enslaving Africans became a commercial necessity—and more widely acceptable.

With ideal climate and available land, property owners in the southern colonies began establishing plantation farms for cash crops like rice, tobacco and sugar cane—enterprises that required increasing amounts of labour. To meet the need, wealthy planters turned to slave

traders, who imported ever more humans to the colonies, the vast majority from West Africa. As more slaves were imported and an upsurge in slave fertility rates expanded a new industry was born: *the slave auction*. These open markets where humans were inspected like animals and bought and sold to the highest bidder proved an increasingly lucrative enterprise. In the 17th century, slaves would fetch between five and ten dollars. But by the mid-19th century, an able-bodied slave fetched an average price between \$1,200-\$1,500.

5.4. Economic Necessity

Slave labour had become so entrenched in the Southern economy that nothing—not even the belief that all men were created equal—would dislodge it. When delegates to the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, they were split on the moral question of human bondage and man’s inhumanity to man, but not on its economic necessity. At the time, there were nearly 700,000 slaves living in the United States, worth an estimated \$210 million in today’s dollars. When the topic of slavery arose during the deliberations over calculating political representation in Congress, the southern states of Georgia and the Carolinas demanded that each slave be counted along with whites. The northern states balked, saying it gave southern states an unfair advantage. Their compromise? Delegates agreed that each slave would count as three-fifths of a person, giving the South more representation, and that the slave trade would be banned 20 years hence, in 1807, a concession to Northern states that had abolished slavery several years earlier.

Before the *American Revolution*, tobacco was the colonies’ main cash crop, with exports of the aromatic leaf increasing from 60,000 pounds in 1622 to 1.5 million by 1639. By the end of the century, Britain was importing more than 20 million pounds of tobacco per year. But after the colonies won independence, Britain no longer favored American products and considered tobacco a competitor to crops produced elsewhere in the empire. Always a fickle commodity for growers, tobacco was beset by price fluctuations, weakness to weather changes and an exhausting of the soil’s nutrients. But even as tobacco waned in importance, another cash crop showed promise: cotton.

5.5. King Cotton

Picking and cleaning cotton involved a labour-intensive process that slowed production and limited supply. In 1794, inventor Eli Whitney devised a machine that combed the cotton bolls

free of their seeds in very short order. Manually, one slave could pick the seeds out of 10 pounds of cotton in a day. The *cotton gin* could process 100 pounds in the same time.

There was an irony in all this. Many people believed the cotton gin would reduce the need for slaves because the machine could supplant human labour. But in reality, the increased processing capacity accelerated demand. The more cotton processed, the more that could be exported to the mills of Great Britain and New England. And the invention of the *cotton gin* coincided with other developments that opened up large-scale global trade: Cargo ships were built bigger, better and easier to navigate. Powerful navies protected them against piracy. And *newly invented steam engines* powered these ships, as well as looms and weaving machines, which increased the capacity to produce cotton cloth.

With all these factors improving production and distribution, the South was poised to expand its cotton-based economy. With more land needed for cultivation, the number of plantations expanded in the South and moved west into new territory. Production exploded: Between 1801 and 1835 alone, the U.S. cotton exports grew from 100,000 bales to more than a million, comprising half of all U.S. exports. The upshot: As cotton became the backbone of the Southern economy, slavery drove impressive profits.

The benefits of slave-produced cotton extended to industries beyond the South. In the North and Great Britain, cotton mills increased, while the financial and shipping industries also saw gains. Banks in New York and London provided capital to new and expanding plantations for purchasing both land and slaves. As a result, slaves became a legal form of property that could be used as collateral in business transactions or to pay off outstanding debt. Slaves comprised a sizable portion of a planter's property holdings, becoming a source of tax revenue for state and local governments. A sort of sales tax was also levied on slave transactions.

Steadily, a near-feudal society emerged in the South. At the top was the aristocratic landowning elite, who wielded much of the economic and political power. Their plantations spanned upward of a thousand acres, controlling hundreds—and, in some cases, thousands—of slaves.

Below the elite class were the small planters who owned a handful of slaves. These farmers were self-made and fiercely independent. Slave less small farmers and landless whites were at the bottom, making up three-quarters of the white population—and dreaming of the day when they, too, might own slaves. No matter how wide the gap between rich and poor, class tensions among whites were eased by the belief they all belonged to the “superior race.” Many

convinced themselves they were actually doing God's work taking care of what they believed was an inferior people.

5.6. Slavery, Wealth and the Confederacy

By the start of the 19th century, slavery and cotton had become essential to the continued growth of America's economy. However, by 1820, political and economic pressure on the South placed a wedge between the North and South. The *Abolitionist movement*, which called for an elimination of the institution of slavery, gained influence in Congress. Tariff taxes were passed to help Northern businesses fend off foreign competition but hurt Southern consumers. By the 1850s, many Southerners believed a peaceful *secession* from the Union was the only path forward.

When considering leaving the Union, Southerners knew the North had an overwhelming advantage over the South in population, industrial output and wealth. Yet, the booming cotton economy most Southerners were optimistic about their future. As one state after another left the Union in 1860 and 1861, many Southerners believed they were doing the right thing to preserve their independence and their slave property.

5.7. Activity 5

1. Show how the economy of the south was built on slavery
2. Discuss how slavery was of great significance to the cotton-based economy of the south.
3. Explain the main linkage of Slavery and wealth in the confederacy.

Summary

In this unit we have learned how slave labour had become so entrenched in the Southern economy that nothing—not even the belief that all men were created equal—would dislodge it. Southerners knew the North had an overwhelming advantage over the South in population, industrial output and wealth. Because of the booming cotton economy most Southerners were optimistic about their future.

UNIT 6

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

6.1. Introduction

Some historians consider the American Civil War to have been the greatest crisis that threatened the very survival of the American nation. The central issue in the outbreak of the civil war was related to issues of land. In this unit we examine the general reasons for outbreak of the American Civil War, the specific reasons for the outbreak of the American Civil War and the major events during the American Civil War.

6.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- state the general reasons for the outbreak of the American civil war.
- discuss the specific reasons for outbreak of the American Civil War
- explain the major events during the American Civil war.

6.3 General reasons for the outbreak of the American Civil War

- The issue of land created a number of problems for American states because each territorial expansion resulted in controversy. This controversy was about whether each new state should be slave owning or free. This set-in motion a series of disputes which emerged as early as 1819. When the state of Missouri created, was it to be admitted as a free or slave owning state. As a result, there was a *Missouri Compromise* of 1820 by which the state of Missouri was allowed to join the union as a slave-owning state. But it was agreed that it was agreed that no slavery was to be allowed beyond latitude 30 degrees which was unorganised territory. Apart from these differences over land and slavery, there were other differences.
- After 1812, after England's war with America, the divide that existed between the north and the south widened. The north began to industrialise. It began to develop into a culturally diversified society. The south remained stuck with plantation agriculture using slave labour. Different values between the two parts accompanied the two parts of America. The north began to espouse the value of freedom in contrast to the south which remained

conservative. The north which was industrial and more commercial found itself pitted with southern agriculture.

6.4. Specific reasons for the outbreak of the American Civil War

- (a) There were differences over tariff which became more pronounced especially under President Jackson 1828 – 30. Low tariff began to affect negatively industrial action in the north. The south could import British manufactured goods cheaply. This was of interest to the south.
- (b) The Northern Commercial interests favoured federal government and subsidies to the merchant marine.
- (c) There was a difference over labour that was free while the south while the south needed slave-labour.
- (d) There was the issue of population increase which was linked to territorial expansion. If newly created states were slave free, this would affect the south.
- (e) The construction of a Trans-Continental Railway. The north needed a railway that would pass through the Great Lakes Region to San Francisco. This was opposed by the south who wanted it pass through New Orleans, Memphis, San Diego to San Francisco. This also created a specific difference.
- (f) The settlement of the West which was over the Homestead Bill which aimed at giving homesteads about 160 acres of land in 1890s. This Bill was welcome by southerners as it was going to give more land for settlement.
- (g) The more serious issue was the issue of slavery. The south had become committed to a common labour system of slavery. In the 1850s slavery had become under increasing attack from the anti-slavery bodies. It was also attacked from the middle states like Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware. With this increased attack on slavery the southern states banded together to defend the institution of slavery

6.5. Major events during the American Civil War

In 1839, the Liberty Party was formed. As the north surpassed the south in population, potential political power pressure increased. The *Fugitive Laws* allowed the slaves who were moved north to be set free. All this annoyed the south.

There was the publication of two books. In one of them in which the brutality of slavery was highlighted. One of them entitled 'Uncle Tom Cabin' written by Harriet Beecher Stone in 1852. The second book was by Hinton Helper entitled the 'Impending Crisis in the South' in 1857. This book argued the economic backwardness of the south was due to the system of slavery. He argued that slavery was disastrous to the main slave-owning whites in the south. These books supported the ant-slavery cause in the north. The southerners were found under siege. The southerners violently suppressed and denounced the books.

As the slave-owning economy expanded in the 1850s, they also demanded the expansion of slavery. The *Missouri Compromise* had banned slavery in the unorganised territories. Even though the south began to see its survival in the expansion of slavery, its ability to do so began to reduce because slavery was banned in the South-West.

The *Kansas Nebraska Act* of 1854 created conditions for the outbreak of a civil war in Kansas. The civil war was led by John Brown who led a rebellion against southerners who moved into Kansas to establish the state. The problem in Kansas over the issue of slavery dominated the American election of 1856 – 1860. The Republicans under Abraham Lincoln won those elections. Lincoln's victory in 1860 created a serious problem for the south. He was too favourable to the ant-slavery lobby in the north. His victory triggered an immediate reaction in the south. A state Convention was called in the South Carolina and on 20th December 1860, this Convention was called repealed the *Federal Constitution*. Within few weeks sixteen states, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas among them decided to separate from the union government. They sent delegates to Alabama and constituted themselves as the *Confederate States of America* and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected president. In reaction to this act of secession the north under Abraham Lincoln refused to accept the breakup of the union and with that refusal armed conflict broke out. On 12th April 1860, *Confederate* troops decided to attack *Fort Sumter* I Charleston South Carolina Harbour which was under government troops.

In the seven states that had seceded, the people responded promptly to the appeal of their president, Jefferson Davis. The action of the slave states that had thus far remained loyal was now tensely awaited by both sides. Virginia took the fateful step on April 17 and Arkansas and North Carolina followed quickly. No state left the Union with greater reluctance than Virginia. Her statesmen had a leading part in the winning of the Revolution and the framing of the Constitution and she had provided the nation with five presidents.

The people of each section entered the war with high hopes for an early victory. In material resources the north enjoyed a decided advantage. Twenty-three states with a population of 22 million were allayed against 11 inhabited by 9 million. The industrial superiority of the north exceeded even its preponderance in manpower, providing it with facilities for manufacturing arms and ammunition, clothing and other supplies. Similarly, the network of railways in the north contributed to federal military prospects.

Most of the navy at the war's beginning was in Union hands but it was scattered and weak. Lincoln then proclaimed a blockade of the southern coasts. Although the effect of the blockade was negligible at first, by 1863 it was almost completely preventing shipments of cotton to Europe and the importation of munitions, clothing and the medical supplies the south solely needed.

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued an *Emancipation Proclamation*, freeing the slaves in the rebelling states and inviting them to join the armed forces of the north. The Proclamation thus declared the abolition of slavery an objective of the war in addition to the declared objective of saving the Union

The north continued to do poorly in the east where the Union forces suffered a number of defeats. These Confederate victories were gained at a high price for it cost the life of *Stonewall Jackson* one of their military leaders. On February 17, 1865 the *Confederate* abandoned Columbia, the South Carolina capital. Without a battle, Charleston fell into the hands of the Union fleet when her railroads connections with the interior were cut. The war for southern independence had become the 'lost cause'. For the north, the war produced a still greater hero in Abraham Lincoln – a man eager, above all else to weld the Union together again not by force and repression but by warmth and generosity. Although he had to use unprecedented powers

both in war and in peace, he never infringed upon the principles of democratic self-government. In 1864 he was elected for a second term as President.

6.6. Activity 6

1. Explain the general reasons why Civil War broke out in America
2. Discuss the why specific reasons for the outbreak of the American Civil War
3. Give an account of the Major events during the American Civil War

Summary

In this unit we have learned that the American Civil War is said to have been the greatest crisis that threatened the very survival of the American nation. The central issues in the outbreak of the civil war was related to issues of land and slavery. However, through the leadership of Abraham Lincoln the Union was weld together again not by force and repression but by warmth and generosity.

UNIT 7

RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA

7.1. Introduction

Reconstruction, in U.S. history, the period (1865–77) that followed the *American Civil War* and during which attempts were made to redress the inequities of slavery and its political, social, and economic *legacy* and to solve the problems arising from the readmission to the Union of the 11 states that had seceded at or before the outbreak of war. In this unit we discuss the Origins of Reconstruction, Presidential Reconstruction and Radical Reconstruction

7.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- explain the origins of Reconstruction
- discuss Presidential Reconstruction
- describe Radical Reconstruction

7.3. Origins of Reconstruction

The national debate over Reconstruction began during the Civil War. In December 1863, less than a year after he issued the *Emancipation Proclamation*, President *Abraham Lincoln* announced the first *comprehensive* programme for *Reconstruction*, the *Ten Percent Plan*. Under it, when one-tenth of a state’s prewar voters took an oath of loyalty, they could establish a new state government. To Lincoln, the plan was an attempt to weaken the Confederacy rather than a blueprint for the postwar South. It was put into operation in parts of the Union-occupied Confederacy, but none of the new governments achieved broad local support. In 1864 Congress enacted the *Wade-Davis Bill*, which proposed to delay the formation of new Southern governments until a majority of voters had taken a loyalty oath. Some Republicans were already convinced that *equal rights* for the former slaves had to accompany the South’s readmission to the Union. In his last speech, on April 11, 1865, Lincoln, referring to *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, expressed the view that some blacks—the “very intelligent” and those who had served in the Union army—ought to enjoy *the right to vote*.

7.4. Presidential Reconstruction

Following Lincoln’s assassination in April 1865, *Andrew Johnson* became president and inaugurated the period of *Presidential Reconstruction* (1865–67). Johnson offered a pardon to all Southern whites except Confederate leaders and wealthy planters, restoring their political rights and all property except slaves. He also outlined how new state governments would be created. Apart from the requirement that they abolish slavery, *repudiate* secession, and *abrogate* the Confederate debt, these governments were granted a free hand in managing their affairs. They responded by enacting the *black codes*, laws that required *African Americans* to sign yearly labour contracts and in other ways sought to limit the freedmen’s economic options and reestablish plantation *discipline*. African Americans strongly resisted the implementation of these measures, and they seriously undermined Northern support for Johnson’s policies.

When Congress assembled in December 1865, *Radical Republicans* such as *Thaddeus Stevens* of *Pennsylvania* and Senator *Charles Sumner* from *Massachusetts* called for the establishment of new Southern governments based on equality before the law and universal male suffrage. But the more numerous moderate Republicans hoped to work with Johnson while modifying his program. Congress refused to seat with the representatives and senators elected from the Southern states and in early 1866 passed the *Freedmen's Bureau* and *Civil Rights Bills*. The first extended the life of an agency Congress had created in 1865 to oversee the transition from slavery to freedom. The second defined all persons born in the United States as national citizens, who were to enjoy equality before the law.

A combination of personal stubbornness, *fervent* belief in *states' rights*, and racist *convictions* led Johnson to reject these bills, causing a permanent rupture between himself and Congress. The *Civil Rights Act* became the first significant legislation in American history to become law over a president's veto. Shortly thereafter, Congress approved the *Fourteenth Amendment*, which put the principle of birthright citizenship into the *Constitution* and forbade states to deprive any citizen of the "equal protection" of the laws. Arguably the most important addition to the Constitution other than the *Bill of Rights*, the *amendment constituted* a profound change in federal-state relations. Traditionally, citizens' rights had been *delineated* and protected by the states. Thereafter, the federal government would guarantee all Americans' equality before the law against state violation.

7.5. Radical Reconstruction

In the fall of 1866 congressional elections, Northern voters overwhelmingly *repudiated* Johnson's policies. Congress decided to begin Reconstruction anew. The *Reconstruction Acts* of 1867 divided the South into five military districts and outlined how new governments, based on manhood suffrage without regard to race, were to be established. Thus began the period of Radical or Congressional Reconstruction, which lasted until the end of the last Southern Republican governments in 1877.

By 1870 all the former Confederate states had been readmitted to the Union, and nearly all were controlled by the Republican Party. Three groups made up Southern Republicanism. *Carpetbaggers*, or recent arrivals from the North, were former Union soldiers, teachers, Freedmen's Bureau agents, and businessmen. The second large group, *scalawags*, or native-born white Republicans, included some businessmen and planters, but most were *non-slaveholding* small farmers from the Southern up-country. Loyal to the Union during the Civil War, they saw the Republican Party as a means of keeping Confederates from regaining power in the South.

In every state, *African-Americans* formed the overwhelming majority of Southern Republican voters. From the beginning of Reconstruction, black conventions and newspapers throughout the South had called for the extension of full civil and political rights to African Americans. Composed of those who had been free before the Civil War plus slave ministers, artisans, and Civil War veterans, the black political leadership pressed for the elimination of the racial *caste system* and the economic uplifting of the former slaves. Sixteen *African Americans* served in Congress during Reconstruction—including *Hiram Revels* and *Blanche K. Bruce* in the U.S. Senate—more than 600 in state legislatures, and hundreds more in local offices from sheriff to *justice of the peace* scattered across the South. So-called "black supremacy" never existed, but

the advent of African Americans in positions of political power marked a dramatic break with the country's traditions and aroused bitter hostility from Reconstruction's opponents.

Serving an expanded citizenry, Reconstruction governments established the South's first state-funded public school systems, sought to strengthen the bargaining power of plantation labourers, made taxation more equitable, and outlawed racial *discrimination* in *public transportation* and accommodations. They also offered lavish aid to railroads and other enterprises in the hope of creating a "New South" whose economic expansion would benefit blacks and whites alike. But the economic program spawned corruption and rising taxes, alienating increasing numbers of white voters.

Meanwhile, the social and economic transformation of the South proceeded apace. To blacks, freedom meant independence from white control. Reconstruction provided the opportunity for *African-Americans* to solidify their family ties and to create independent religious institutions, which became centres of community life that survived long after Reconstruction ended. The former slaves also demanded economic independence. Blacks' hopes that the federal government would provide them with land had been raised by Gen. *William T. Sherman's* Field Order No. 15 of January 1865, which set aside a large swath of land along the coast of *South Carolina* and *Georgia* for the *exclusive* settlement of black families, and by the Freedmen's Bureau Act of March, which authorized the bureau to rent or sell land in its possession to former slaves. But President Johnson in the summer of 1865 ordered land in federal hands to be returned to its former owners. The dream of "40 acres and a mule" was stillborn. Lacking land, most former slaves had little economic *alternative* other than resuming work on plantations owned by whites. Some worked for wages, others as sharecroppers, who divided the crop with the owner at the end of the year. Neither status offered much hope for economic mobility. For decades, most Southern blacks remained property less and poor.

Nonetheless, the political revolution of Reconstruction spawned increasingly violent opposition from white Southerners. White supremacist organizations that committed terrorist acts, such as the *Ku Klux Klan*, targeted local Republican leaders for beatings or assassination. African Americans who asserted their rights in dealings with white employers, teachers, ministers, and others seeking to assist the former slaves also became targets. At Colfax, Louisiana, in 1873, scores of black militiamen were killed after surrendering to armed whites intent on seizing control of local government. Increasingly, the new Southern governments looked to *Washington, D.C.*, for assistance.

By 1869 the Republican Party was firmly in control of all three branches of the federal government. After attempting to remove Secretary of War *Edwin M. Stanton*, in violation of the new *Tenure of Office Act*, Johnson had been impeached by the House of Representatives in 1868. Although the Senate, by a single vote, failed to remove him from office, Johnson's power to obstruct the course of Reconstruction was gone. Republican *Ulysses S. Grant* was elected president that fall. Soon afterward, Congress approved the *Fifteenth Amendment*, prohibiting states from restricting the right to vote because of race. Then it enacted a series of Enforcement Acts authorizing national action to suppress political violence. In 1871 the administration launched a legal and military offensive that destroyed the Klan. Grant was reelected in 1872 in the most peaceful election of the period.

7.6. Activity 7

1. Explain the Origins of Reconstruction
2. What were the major features Presidential Reconstruction?
3. Discuss the measures that were carried out to improve the conditions of black Americans under Radical Reconstruction

Summary

In this unit we have learned about Reconstruction, , the period (1865–77) that followed the American Civil War and during which attempts were made to redress the inequities of slavery and its political, social, and economic legacy and to solve the problems arising from the readmission to the Union of the 11 states that had seceded at or before the outbreak of war. Reconstruction has since the late 20th century been viewed more sympathetically as a laudable experiment in interracial democracy. Reconstruction witnessed far-reaching changes in America’s political life. At the national level, new laws and constitutional amendments permanently altered the federal system and the definition of American citizenship. In the South, a politically mobilised black community joined with white allies to bring the Republican Party to power, and with it a redefinition of the responsibilities of government.

UNIT 8

INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

8.1. Introduction

The United States of America industrialised in the Post-Civil War era which came to be characterised by industrial expansion of the USA. There is a question of how important the civil war was to the industrialisation of America. In this unit we examine how the civil war led to the industrialisation of America, the other factors that led to the industrialisation of America and the nature of American industries.

8.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- explain how the Civil War led to industrialisation in America.
- discuss the other factors that led to industrialisation in America
- describe the nature of industries in America.

8.3. The Civil War and industrialisation in America

- Some scholars argue that the civil war was important to the industrialisation of America. Others say that with or without civil war, America was going to industrialise. Those that argue that the civil war was responsible like Charles and Mary Bread argue that, the civil war was responsible for American industrialisation as it resulted war-time finance and currency stabilisation and the development of transcontinental routes. But those who argue against the civil war argue that those changes long before civil war. They argue that the civil war did create certain demands but the rate of economic change slowed down during the civil war.
- What is acknowledged is that during the civil war, industry did receive a lot of government support. The civil war acted as an important turning point in the sense that before 1860 there were no Grand Conglomerates that emerged after 1865. After 1850, the largest industrial organisations in America were small scale. They did not have a big business character.
- Most of the industries in 1850 had little diversity and were not geographically scattered. What differentiates the 1850s from the 1860s is that there emerged people known as Lords of Creation – the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Dukes, Morgans, Swift Vander bill who were not there before the 1860s. These names became tied to the industrialisation that characterised the post-civil war period. In this unit we discuss the factors that facilitated the industrialisation of America and the nature of industries.

8.4. Other factors that led to industrialisation in America.

Apart from the fact that, the civil war did mark a turning point in the industrialisation of America, there were other factors:

- The development of railroads promoted the emergence in America of big business and the first large-scale companies. It was the railway transporters who took a lead in the transport and communication of capital. They also adopted corporate forms of business organisations. The railways nurtured the entire economy of the USA. This meant that American products of coal, iron and timber had a market because railways required these. The importance of railways was in the fact that they changed America. They linked centres of raw materials production and processing, agricultural production and urban consumers were connected into one single economic unit. American life was also changed through standardisation of time and work habits as people were brought together. Railways also speeded up settlement of what was known as the west. The government began to provide substantial support to railway development. Railway development was largely spearheaded by the British. The state provided land grants. With this development the USA accounted for one-third of world railway network.
- The second favourable condition was the agricultural revolution which was characterised by mechanisation, vast expansion in cultivated land and increased productivity which was partly as a result of new and better variety of seed. Under the agricultural revolution a new Wheat belt emerged in states such as Minnesota, North Dakota, Great Valley of New California, in the Prairies in states such as Illinois and Indiana. In dry places such as Montana new varieties were introduced. These changes were important in that by 1896 machines such as Twine Binder and the Thresher were invented.
- The third was abundant natural resources. American s turned out to be endowed with more resources. Deposits of coal and iron were the two main resources located within transportable places in the *Appalachians Mountains* to the *Great Lakes Region*. Further west were copper deposits in Montana and Arizona while other parts of the continent such as Wisconsin and the North-West were rich in timber. America took advantage of these resources to develop a number of industries.
- The fourth factor was that America is what is referred to as an *Inventive Talent*. The result of this was that even though the nation's industrialisation was based on technology borrowed from Europe, this technology was improved upon in America. The technology that emerged in America was both from Europe and the inventiveness of Americans. Inventions such as telephones, typewriter, adding machines etc. all became American products. In 1870 electricity was invented. By the 1890s inventions related to electricity were developed.

- The other factor was the availability of abundant and cheap labour which provided a steady stream of labour for the industries. After 1870, it is estimated that some 26 million immigrants arrived from Europe and Asia. Out of these 20 million did not go back. The result of this was that between 1870 – 1900 the population of USA grew from 40 million to 76 million. This population was important in providing labour.
- The last important factor that allowed industrialisation was the flow of capital especially from Britain which provided about one third of this capital. Foreign capital was supplemented by local capital raised within America. Between 1869 and 1898, about 13% of the total national income went into national investment. The capital was raised from investment banks centred on *Wall Street*. The investment banks provided American capitalists a means through which they could raise capital through sale of securities.

8.5. The Nature of Industries in America

Conditions of industrial development in America favoured large-scale enterprises because the USA covered a large land mass. The new urban population needed consumer goods. There were also a lot of changes in agriculture. Transport needed machines and the industries themselves needed machines.

The industries that could meet such demands could have been too expensive to be run by small units. So the only way through which the needs of American industries could be met was through large production units which could meet the large capital out put that was required. Only large industries could meet large fixed costs. In this case America was very different from Europe.

The other factor that pushed for large scale production in America was increased competition which resulted in the fall of prices. Once prices fell, the need for economic efficiency became the only way through which entrepreneurs would remain in competition was through economic efficiency that came through increased production. Weak competitors were squeezed out. A depressed market under increased production underlined the need for merger into single larger units of production and the result of this was that industry in America began to move into the monopoly stage. Consolidation did not lead in complete monopoly but led to *oligopoly* a stage where there was a situation in markets for a given commodity is controlled by a relatively small number of products. A number of entrepreneurs began to seek orderly competition through corporation *Cartels* or loose association through which hoped to meet and discuss prices. This met with strong public and government opposition. Cartels in America were replaced by formal combinations. The combination of industry resulted in the expansion of units which occurred either horizontally or vertically. Under horizontal integration an industry would rise by buying out competition or an industry would expand through diverse but related industrial

corporations at different levels of production and distribution would be tied together under a single corporation e.g. Iron Ore Company would buy Iron Smelters, mines and go into Iron Manufacturing and motor cars and marketing industries. The entire industry would be vertically integrated. The result of this consolidation of both horizontal and vertical integration was the emergence of large enterprises such as John Deere and Rockefeller Standard Oil who built what is thought to have been the biggest Oil Trust in USA in 1882. It controlled 90% of the American Oil Industry through a single Board. It also got into Barrel Making Industry, Pipelines and ensured the transportation of this oil all the way to the market. Standard Oil was to dominate American Oil industry up to 1911.

The other company was *Gustavus Swift* a meat processing company that was integrated into a huge meat processing company that came to have stock yards, slaughter houses, refrigerated rail cars and market operations. Other meat processing entrepreneurs were forced to imitate *Gustavus*.

Carnegie Town and Steel Operation also moved from single supplier of iron and steel in 1873 and began controlling the iron ore fields, controlling the Great Lakes carriers, rail roads, Coke Ovens, Pig Irons and Steel Converting Plants as well as rolling mills. The Carnegie Empire was able to control 25% of the nation's steel production and had annual turnover of 25 million dollars by 1900.

These consolidations were repeated in other industries – Tobacco, Sugar, Beer, Cotton etc. The idea was to ensure survival under cut throat competition. These giant corporations were able to survive competition.

In finance also a number of giants emerged – Morgan, Kunn and Loeband Company. These overshadowed other investment banks. They controlled American capital and investment banks.

By the end of the 19th century, factories emerged from Michigan in the Great Lakes Region to Georgia in the South. By 1900, the USA was already the world's economic giant. It produced much steel than Britain and Germany combined.

8.6. Activity 8

1. Explain how the Civil War led to industrialisation in America
2. Discuss the other factors that led to the industrialisation of America
3. Describe the major features of American Industries.

Summary

In this unit we have learned that, the United States of America industrialised in the Post-Civil War era which came to be characterised by industrial expansion of the USA. During the civil war, industry did receive a lot of government support. However, there were other factors that led to the industrialisation of America - development of railroads, abundant natural resources, the agricultural revolution, the *Inventive Talent*, abundant and cheap labour and the flow of capital. Conditions of industrial development in America favoured large-scale enterprises because the USA covered a large land mass.

UNIT 9

PROGRESSIVISM

9.1. Introduction

Progressivism, in the United States is a political and social-reform movement that brought major changes to American politics and government during the first two decades of the 20th century. In this unit we examine the historical context, goals, and the differences between progressive reformers.

9.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- explain the historical context of progressivism
- state the goals of progressivism
- show the differences between progressive reformers.

9.3. Historical context

Progressive reformers made the first comprehensive effort within the American context to address the problems that arose with the emergence of a modern urban and industrial society. The U.S. population nearly doubled between 1870 and 1900. Urbanization and immigration increased at rapid rates and were accompanied by a shift from local small-scale manufacturing and commerce to large-scale factory production and colossal national corporations. Technological breakthroughs and frenzied searches for new markets and sources of capital caused unprecedented economic growth. From 1863 to 1899, manufacturing production rose by more than 800 percent. But that dynamic growth also generated profound economic and social ills that challenged the decentralized form of republican government that characterized the United States.

9.4. Goals of progressivism

The Progressive movement accommodated a diverse array of reformers—insurgent Republican officeholders, disaffected Democrats, journalists, academics, social workers, and other activists—who formed new organizations and institutions with the common objective of strengthening the national government and making it more responsive to popular economic, social, and political demands. Many progressives viewed themselves as principled reformers at a critical juncture of American history.

Above all else, the progressives sought to come to terms with the extreme concentration of wealth among a tiny elite and the enormous economic and political power of the giant trusts, which they saw as uncontrolled and irresponsible. Those industrial combinations created the perception that opportunities were not equally available in the United States and that growing corporate power threatened the freedom of individuals to earn a living. Reformers excoriated the economic conditions of the 1890s—dubbed the “Gilded Age”—as excessively opulent for the elite and holding little promise for industrial workers and small farmers. Moreover, many

believed that the great business interests, represented by newly formed associations such as the National Civic Federation, had captured and corrupted the men and methods of government for their own profit. Party leaders—both Democrats and Republicans—were seen as irresponsible “bosses” who did the bidding of special interests.

In their efforts to grapple with the challenges of industrialization, progressives championed three principal causes.

- First, they promoted a new governing philosophy that placed less emphasis on rights, especially when invoked in defense of big business, and stressed collective responsibilities and duties.

- Second, in keeping with these new principles, progressives called for the reconstruction of American politics, hitherto dominated by localized parties, so that a more direct link was formed between government officials and public opinion.

- Finally, reformers demanded a revamping of governing institutions, so that the power of state legislatures and Congress would be subordinated to an independent executive power—city managers, governors, and a modern presidency—that could truly represent the national interest and tackle the new tasks of government required by changing social and economic conditions.

9.5. Differences between progressive reformers.

Progressive reformers differed dramatically over how the balance should be struck between those three somewhat competing objectives as well as how the new national state they advocated should address the domestic and international challenges of the new industrial order. But they tended to agree that those were the most important battles that had to be fought in order to bring about a democratic revival.

Above all, that commitment to remaking American democracy looked to the strengthening of the public sphere. Like the Populists, who flourished at the end of the 19th century, the progressives invoked the Preamble to the Constitution to assert their purpose of making “We the People”—the whole people—effective in strengthening the federal government’s authority to regulate society and the economy. But progressives sought to hitch the will of the people to a strengthened national administrative power, which was anathema to the Populists. The Populists were animated by a radical agrarianism that celebrated the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian assault on monopolistic power. Their concept of national democracy rested on the hope that the states and Congress might counteract the centralizing alliance between national parties and the trusts. In contrast, the progressives championed a new national order that completely repudiated the localized democracy of the 19th century.

In their quest for national community, many progressives revisited the lessons of the Civil War. Edward Bellamy’s admiration for the discipline and self-sacrifice of the Civil War armies was reflected in his enormously popular utopian novel *Looking Backward* (1888). In Bellamy’s utopia, men and women alike were drafted into the national service at the age of 21, on the

completion of their education, where they remained until the age of 45. Bellamy's reformed society had thus, as his protagonist Julian West notes with great satisfaction, "simply applied the principle of universal military service," as it was understood during the 19th century, "to the labor question.

Bellamy's picture of a reformed society that celebrated military virtues without bloodshed resonated with a generation who feared that the excessive individualism and vulgar commercialism of the Gilded Age would make it impossible for leaders to appeal, as Abraham Lincoln had, to the "better angels of our nature." His call to combine the spirit of patriotism demanded by war with peaceful civic duty probably helped to inspire the philosopher William James's widely read essay *The Moral Equivalent of War* (1910). Just as military conscription provided basic economic security and instilled a sense of duty to confront a nation's enemies, so James called for the draft of the "whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *Nature*," which would do the rugged jobs required of a peaceful industrial society.

James's proposal for a national service was not as ambitious as the one found in Bellamy's utopian society; moreover, James called for an all-male draft, thus ignoring Bellamy's vision of greater gender equality, which inspired progressive thinkers such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman. But both Bellamy and James expressed the core progressive commitment to moderate the American obsession with individual rights and private property, which they saw as sanctioning a dangerous commercial power inimical to individual freedom. Indeed, progressive presidents such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, and the philosopher John Dewey, strongly supported America's entry into World War I, not only because they believed, with President Wilson, that the country had a duty to "make the world safe for democracy," but also because they acknowledged that there was no moral equivalent for the battlefield. Most progressive reformers held a common belief in civic duty and self-sacrifice. They differed significantly, however, over the meaning of the public interest and how a devotion to something higher than the self could be achieved.

9.6. Activity 9

1. Discuss the historical context of progressivism
2. Explain the goals of progressivism
3. Describe the major differences of the progressive reformers

Summary

In this unit we have learned about *Progressivism*, in the United States which was political and social-reform movement that brought major changes to American politics and government during the first two decades of the 20th century. Progressives called for the reconstruction of American politics, hitherto dominated by localized parties, so that a more direct link was formed between government officials and public opinion. Progressive reformers differed dramatically on how a new governing philosophy was to be promoted, the reconstruction of new American politics and the revamping of new governing institutions.

UNIT 10

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

10.1. Introduction

The *Civil Rights Movement* (also known as the *American Civil Rights Movement* and other terms) in the United States was a decades-long struggle by *African Americans* to end legalized racial discrimination, disenfranchisement and racial segregation in the United States. In this unit we discuss factors that led to the evolution of the Civil Rights movement, World War II and the Civil Rights Movements, major events and Civil Rights Acts.

10.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- discuss the reasons that led to the evolution of the Civil Rights Movement
- explain the effects of World War II on the Civil Rights Movement
- state the major events during the Civil Rights Movement
- discuss the Civil Rights Acts.

10.3. The evolution of the Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights movement was a struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for blacks to gain equal rights under the law in the United States. The Civil War had officially abolished slavery, but it didn't end discrimination against blacks—they continued to endure the devastating effects of racism, especially in the South. By the mid-20th century, African Americans had had more than enough of prejudice and violence against them. They, along with many whites, mobilized and began an unprecedented fight for equality that spanned two decades.

10.4. Major events World War II, and Civil Rights Acts

10.4. 1. Jim Crow Laws

During Reconstruction, blacks took on leadership roles like never before. They held public office and sought legislative changes for equality and the right to vote. In 1868, the *14th Amendment* to the Constitution gave blacks equal protection under the law. In 1870, the *15th Amendment* granted blacks the right to vote. Still, many whites, especially those in the South, were unhappy that people they'd once enslaved were now on a more-or-less equal playing field.

To marginalize blacks, keep them separate from whites and erase the progress they'd made during Reconstruction, "*Jim Crow*" laws were established in the South beginning in the late 19th century. Blacks couldn't use the same public facilities as whites, live in many of the same towns or go to the same schools. Interracial marriage was illegal, and most blacks couldn't vote because they were unable to pass voter literacy tests.

Jim Crow laws weren't adopted in northern states; however, blacks still experienced discrimination at their jobs or when they tried to buy a house or get an education. To make matters worse, laws were passed in some states to limit voting rights for blacks.

Moreover, southern segregation gained ground in 1896 when the U.S. Supreme Court declared in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that facilities for blacks and whites could be "separate but equal."

10.4.2. World War II and Civil Rights

Prior to *World War II*, most blacks were low-wage farmers, factory workers, domestics or servants. By the early 1940s, war-related work was booming, but most blacks weren't given the better paying jobs. They were also discouraged from joining the military.

After thousands of blacks threatened to march on Washington to demand equal employment rights, President *Franklin D. Roosevelt* issued Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941. It opened national defense jobs and other government jobs to all Americans regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

Black men and women served heroically in World War II, despite suffering segregation and discrimination during their deployment. The *Tuskegee Airmen* broke the racial barrier to become the first black military aviators in the U.S. Army Air Corps and earned more than 150 Distinguished Flying Crosses. Yet many black veterans met with prejudice and scorn upon returning home. This was a stark contrast to why America had entered the war to begin with—to defend freedom and democracy in the world.

As the Cold War began, President *Harry Truman* initiated a civil rights agenda, and in 1948 issued Executive Order 9981 to end discrimination in the military. These events helped set the stage for grass-roots initiatives to enact racial equality legislation and incite the civil rights movement.

10.4.3. Rosa Parks

On December 1, 1955, a 42-year-old woman named *Rosa Parks* found a seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus after work. Segregation laws at the time stated blacks must sit in designated seats at the back of the bus, and Parks had complied.

When a white man got on the bus and couldn't find a seat in the white section at the front of the bus, the bus driver instructed Parks and three other blacks to give up their seats. Parks refused and was arrested.

As word of her arrest ignited outrage and support, Parks unwittingly became the “mother of the modern-day civil rights movement.” Black community leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) led by Baptist minister *Martin Luther King Jr.*, a role which would place him front and center in the fight for civil rights.

Parks' courage incited the MIA to stage a *boycott of the Montgomery bus system*. The Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted 381 days. On November 14, 1956 the Supreme Court ruled segregated seating was unconstitutional.

10.4.4. Little Rock Nine

In 1954, the civil rights movement gained momentum when the United States Supreme Court made segregation illegal in public schools in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. In 1957, Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas asked for volunteers from all-black high schools to attend the formerly segregated school.

On September 3, 1957, nine black students, known as the *Little Rock Nine*, arrived at *Central High School* to begin classes but were instead met by the Arkansas National Guard (on order of Governor Orval Faubus) and a screaming, threatening mob. The *Little Rock Nine* tried again a couple of weeks later and made it inside, but had to be removed for their safety when violence ensued.

Finally, President *Dwight D. Eisenhower* intervened and ordered federal troops to escort the Little Rock Nine to and from classes at Central High. Still, the students faced continual harassment and prejudice.

Their efforts, however, brought much-needed attention to the issue of desegregation and fueled protests on both sides of the issue.

10.4.5. Civil Rights Act of 1957

Even though all Americans had gained the right to vote, many southern states made it difficult for blacks. They often required them to take voter literacy tests that were confusing, misleading and nearly impossible to pass.

Wanting to show a commitment to the civil rights movement and minimize racial tensions in the South, the Eisenhower administration pressured Congress to consider new civil rights legislation.

On September 9, 1957, President Eisenhower signed the *Civil Rights Act of 1957* into law, the first major civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. It allowed federal prosecution of anyone who tried to prevent someone from voting. It also created a commission to investigate voter fraud.

10.4.6. Woolworth's Lunch Counter

Despite making some gains, blacks still experienced blatant prejudice in their daily lives. On February 1, 1960, four college students took a stand against segregation in Greensboro, North Carolina when they refused to leave a Woolworth's lunch counter without being served.

Over the next several days, hundreds of people joined their cause in what became known as the Greensboro sit-ins. After some were arrested and charged with trespassing, protestors launched a boycott of all segregated lunch counters until the owners caved and the original four students were finally served at the Woolworth's lunch counter where they'd first stood their ground.

Their efforts spearheaded peaceful sit-ins and demonstrations in dozens of cities and helped launch the *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee* to encourage all students to get involved in the civil rights movement. It also caught the eye of young college graduate *Stokely Carmichael*, who joined the SNCC during the *Freedom Summer* of 1964 to register black voters in Mississippi. In 1966, Carmichael became the chair of the SNCC, giving his famous speech in which, he originated the phrase "black power."

10.4.7. Freedom Riders

On May 4, 1961, 13 "*Freedom Riders*"—seven African Americans and six whites—mounted a Greyhound bus in Washington, D.C., embarking on a bus tour of the American south to protest

segregated bus terminals. They were testing the 1960 decision by the Supreme Court in *Boynton v. Virginia* that declared the segregation of interstate transportation facilities unconstitutional.

Facing violence from both police officers and white protesters, the Freedom Rides drew international attention. On Mother's Day 1961, the bus reached Anniston, Alabama, where a mob mounted the bus and threw a bomb into it. The Freedom Riders escaped the burning bus, but were badly beaten. Photos of the bus engulfed in flames were widely circulated, and the group could not find a bus driver to take them further. U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (brother to President John F. Kennedy) negotiated with Alabama Governor John Patterson to find a suitable driver, and the Freedom Riders resumed their journey under police escort on May 20. But the officers left the group once they reached Montgomery, where a white mob brutally attacked the bus. Attorney General Kennedy responded to the riders—and a call from Martin Luther King, Jr.—by sending federal marshals to Montgomery.

On May 24, 1961, a group of Freedom Riders reached Jackson, Mississippi. Though met with hundreds of supporters, the group was arrested for trespassing in a “whites-only” facility and sentenced to 30 days in jail. Attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) brought the matter to the U.S. Supreme Court, who reversed the convictions. Hundreds of new Freedom Riders were drawn to the cause, and the rides continued. In the fall of 1961, under pressure from the Kennedy administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued regulations prohibiting segregation in interstate transit terminals.

10.4.8. March on Washington

Arguably one of the most famous events of the civil rights movement took place on August 28, 1963: the *March on Washington*. It was organized and attended by civil rights leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King Jr.

More than 200,000 people, black and white, congregated in Washington, D. C. for the peaceful march with the main purpose of forcing civil rights legislation and establishing job equality for everyone. The highlight of the march was King's speech in which he continually stated, “I have a dream...” King's “*I Have a Dream*” speech quickly became a slogan for equality and freedom.

10.4.9. Civil Rights Act of 1964

President *Lyndon B. Johnson* signed the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*—legislation initiated by President *John F. Kennedy* before his assassination—into law on July 2 of that year.

King and other civil rights activists witnessed the signing. The law guaranteed equal employment for all, limited the use of voter literacy tests and allowed federal authorities to ensure public facilities were integrated.

10.4.10. Bloody Sunday

On March 7, 1965, the civil rights movement in Alabama took an especially violent turn as 600 peaceful demonstrators participated in the *Selma to Montgomery march* to protest the killing of black civil rights activist Jimmie Lee Jackson by a white police officer and to encourage legislation to enforce the 15th amendment.

As the protestors neared the Edmund Pettus Bridge, they were blocked by Alabama State and local police sent by Alabama governor George C. Wallace, a vocal opponent of desegregation. Refusing to stand down, protestors moved forward and were viciously beaten and teargassed by police and dozens of protestors were hospitalized.

The entire incident was televised and became known as “*Bloody Sunday*.” Some activists wanted to retaliate with violence, but King pushed for nonviolent protests and eventually gained federal protection for another march.

10.4.11. Voting Rights Act of 1965

When President Johnson signed the *Voting Rights Act* into law on August 6, 1965, he took the Civil Rights Act of 1964 several steps further. The new law banned all voter literacy tests and provided federal examiners in certain voting jurisdictions.

It also allowed the attorney general to contest state and local poll taxes. As a result, poll taxes were later declared unconstitutional in *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections* in 1966.

10.4.12. Civil Rights Leaders Assassinated

The civil rights movement had tragic consequences for two of its leaders in the late 1960s. On February 21, 1965, former Nation of Islam leader and Organization of Afro-American Unity founder *Malcolm X* was assassinated at a rally.

On April 4, 1968, civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize recipient *Martin Luther King, Jr.* was assassinated on his hotel room's balcony. Emotionally-charged looting and riots followed, putting even more pressure on the Johnson administration to push through additional civil rights laws.

10.4.13. Fair Housing Act of 1968

The *Fair Housing Act* became law on April 11, 1968, just days after King's assassination. It prevented housing discrimination based on race, sex, national origin and religion. It was also the last legislation enacted during the civil rights era. The civil rights movement was an empowering yet precarious time for blacks in America. The efforts of civil rights activists and countless protestors of all races brought about legislation to end segregation, black voter suppression and discriminatory employment and housing practices.

10.5. Activity 10

1. Discuss the reasons that led to the evolution of the Civil Rights Movement
2. Explain the effects of World War II on the Civil Rights Movement
3. What were some of the major events during the Civil Rights Movement?
4. Discuss some of the Civil Rights Acts that were passed during the Civil Rights Movement

Summary

In this unit we learned about the civil rights movement which was a struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for blacks to gain equal rights under the law in the United States. We have also discussed the reasons that led to the evolution of the Civil Rights Movement, the effects of World War II on the Civil Rights Movement, the major events during the Civil Rights Movement and major Civil Rights Acts.

UNIT 11

THE USA AND WORLD WAR I

11.1. Introduction

In August, 1914 when World War I broke out, the United States declared its neutrality in the war then engulfing Europe. President Woodrow Wilson, reflecting the views of much of the nation, announced that his country would be “impartial in thought as well as in action”. But this stance soon came under pressure, as the impact of events across the Atlantic were felt in the US. By 1917 isolation had become untenable. In April, Wilson sought the approval of Congress to go to war. Several key factors played a part in this change of course.

11.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- State why the United States joined the World War I on the side of the allies
- Discuss the US declaration of War and the US forces in Europe.
- Explain the role played by the US in the Peace Settlement
- Discuss some interesting facts about the United States in World War I

11.3. Why the United States joined the World War I on the side of the allies

- In early 1915, Germany introduced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in the Atlantic. This meant U-Boats were hunting and sinking merchant shipping without warning. The RMS Lusitania left New York on 1st May, 1915, bound for Liverpool. On 7th May it was spotted off the coast of Ireland by U-20 and torpedoed. Of 1,962 passengers, 1,198 lost their lives. Among the dead were 128 Americans, causing widespread outrage in the US.
- Germany’s invasion of neutral Belgium in 1914, stories began to circulate about atrocities committed against Belgian civilians. These stories, both true and exaggerated, were seized upon for propaganda. So-called “atrocities propaganda” spread far and wide, painting the Germans as a barbaric nation bent on ruthless, indiscriminate destruction. This propaganda was soon sweeping the US, firing anti-German sentiment.
- The US had a vested financial interest in the outcome of the war in Europe. American businesses and banks made huge loans to the Allies. If they didn’t win then they were unlikely to get their money back.

- Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917. Knowing they risked provoking the United States into joining the war, Germany gambled on defeating the British before the US had a chance to mobilise. During February and March, several US cargo vessels were sunk without warning, resulting in the United States severing diplomatic ties with Berlin.

- In January 1917, the German diplomatic representative in Mexico received a secret telegram penned by German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmermann. It proposed a secret alliance between Germany and Mexico, should the United States enter the war. If the Central Powers were to win, Mexico would be free to annex territory in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. Unfortunately for Germany, the telegram was intercepted by the British and decrypted by Room 40. The British passed the document to Washington and it appeared on the front page of American newspapers on 1st March.

This combination of factors turned public opinion around. On 6 April, the United States declared war on Germany and began to mobilise. The first American troops arrived in Europe in June.

11.4. The US declaration of War and the US forces in Europe.

- The Zimmerman Telegram was the final straw. President Woodrow Wilson gave a speech to Congress on April 2, 1917 asking for them to declare war on Germany. In his speech he said that the U.S. would go to war to "fight for the ultimate peace of the world." On April 6, 1917 the U.S. officially declared war on Germany.

- The U.S. army in Europe was under the command of General John J. Pershing. At first, the U.S. had few trained troops to send over to Europe. However, the army was quickly built up through the draft and volunteers. By the end of the war around 2 million U.S. troops were in France.

- The U.S. troops arrived just in time to turn the tide of the war in favour of the Allies. Both sides were exhausted and running out of soldiers. The influx of fresh troops helped to boost the morale of the Allies and played a major role in the defeat of the Germans.

11.5. The role played by the US in the Peace Settlement

- After entering the war, President Wilson issued his famous *Fourteen Points*. These points were his plans for peace and the goals of the United States in entering the war. Wilson was the only leader to publicly state his war aims. Included in Wilson's Fourteen Points was the establishment of a League of Nations that he hoped would help to end war in the future.

- After Germany was defeated, President Wilson pushed for his Fourteen Points to be followed by the rest of Europe and the Allies. Wilson wanted all of Europe to be able to recover quickly from the war, including Germany. France and Britain disagreed and placed harsh reparations on Germany in the Treaty of Versailles. The United States did not sign the Treaty of Versailles but established their own peace treaty with Germany.

11.6. Interesting Facts about the United States in World War I

- The United States had 4,355,000 military personnel involved in World War I. It suffered 322,000 casualties including 116,000 soldiers that were killed.
- The United States didn't become an official member of the Allies, but called itself an "associated power".
- The U.S. Navy played a major role in helping to blockade Germany, keeping out supplies and hurting Germany economically.
- The U.S. forces that were sent to Europe during World War I were called the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF).
- The nickname for U.S. soldiers during the war was "doughboy."

11.7. Activity 12

1. State why the United States joined the World War I on the side of the allies
2. Discuss the reasons for the US declaration of War on the side of the allies.
3. What role did the US forces play in Europe during World War I.
4. Explain the role played by the US in the Peace Settlement
5. Discuss some interesting facts about the United States in World War I

11.8. Summary

In this unit we have learnt why the US joined World War I on the side of the allies. Germany's invasion of neutral Belgium in 1914 painted the Germans as a barbaric nation bent on ruthless, indiscriminate destruction. In early 1915, Germany introduced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in the Atlantic. The US had a vested financial interest in the outcome of the war in Europe. Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917 in which the Germans began to attack American ships. This combination of factors turned public opinion around bringing about anti-German sentiments. On 6 April, the United States declared war on Germany and began to mobilise. The U.S. troops arrived just in time to turn the tide of the war in favour of the Allies. After entering the war, President Wilson issued his famous *Fourteen Points*. These points were his plans for peace and the goals of the United States in entering the war. The United States didn't become an official member of the Allies, but called itself an "associated power."

Unit 12

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL

12.1. Introduction

The Great Depression of 1929 to 1940, which began and centred in the United States but spread quickly throughout the industrial world was an economic catastrophe. The United States had never felt such a severe blow to its economy. In this unit we discuss the Great Depression, the social impact of the Great Depression and President Roosevelt's New Deal programmes which he employed to reshape the economy and end the poverty during the crisis. The New Deal programmes would employ and give financial security to millions of Americans. These programmes would prove to be effective and extremely beneficial to the American society as some still provide the economic security and benefits today.

12.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- discuss the Great Depression
- explain the Social Impact of the Great Depression
- state the New Deal programmes in relation to unemployment, agriculture and the situation of blacks during the Depression and the New Deal Programmes

12.3. The Great Depression

- The Great Depression began by the complete collapse of the stock market on October 24th, 1929 when about 13 million shares of stock were sold. The damage was extended on Tuesday, October 29 when more than 16 million shares were sold making the day forever known as *Black Tuesday*. The value of most shares fell sharply, leaving financial ruin and panic in its wake. There has never been a collapse in the market that has had such a devastating and long-term effect on the economy.
- Businesses closed and banks failed by the hundreds due to the collapse, putting millions out of work. Wages for those still fortunate enough to have work fell sharply. The value of money decreased as the demand for goods declined by 1932, the unemployed numbered upward of thirteen million. Many lived in the primitive conditions of a preindustrial society stricken by famine.
- Most of the agricultural segment of the economy had been in serious trouble for years. The arrival of the depression nearly eliminated it altogether, and the drought that created the 1930s Great Plains Dust Bowl worsened the damage. The government itself was sorely pressed for income at all levels as tax revenues fell; and the government during this period was more limited in its ability to respond to economic crises than it is today.
- The international structure of world trade also collapsed, and each nation sought to protect its own industrial base by imposing high tariffs on imported goods. This only made matters worse.

12.4. Social Impact of the Great Depression

- By 1932 United States industrial output had been cut in half. One fourth of the labour force--about 15 million people--was out of work, and there was no such thing as unemployment insurance. Hourly wages had dropped by about 50 percent. Hundreds of banks had failed. Prices for agricultural products dropped to their lowest level since the Civil War. There were more than 90,000 businesses that failed completely.
- Statistics, however, can only partially give an account of the extraordinary hardships that millions of United States citizens endured. For nearly every unemployed person, there were dependents who needed to be fed and housed such massive poverty and hunger had never been known in the United States before.
- Former millionaires stood on street corners trying to sell apples at 5 cents apiece. Hundreds of pitiful shantytowns--called Hoovervilles in honour of the unfortunate Republican President who presided over the disaster--sprang up all over the country to shelter the homeless People who slept under "Hoover blankets" --old newspapers--in the out-of-doors.
- People waited in bread lines in every city, hoping for something to eat. In 1931 alone more than 20,000 Americans committed suicide.
- Anyone who had even a little money was extremely lucky. A new home could be bought for less than \$3,000. A man's suit cost about \$10, a shirt less than 50 cents, and a pair of shoes about \$4.
- Milk was 10 cents a quart, a pound of steak only 29 cents, and a loaf of bread a nickel. For a dime one could go to the movies, buy a nickel bag of popcorn, and even win prizes given away by the theatre.
- Not many lucky enough to be working had much change to spend after paying rent and buying food. To turn to the government, at least during the Hoover years, was useless. There was no federally financed "safety net" of welfare programmes to keep the working class from falling into poverty.

12.5. The New Deal

- In 1931 the new president, Franklin Roosevelt, brought an air of confidence and optimism that quickly rallied the people to the banner of his program, known as the New Deal "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," the president declared in his inaugural address to the nation. He was determined to make effective changes during his presidency. "Roosevelt moved swiftly to deal with the financial illness that paralyzed the nation. On his very first night in office, he directed Secretary of the Treasury William Wooding to draft an emergency banking bill, and gave him less than five days to get it ready."²
- The New Deal, in a certain sense, merely introduced types of social and economic reform familiar to many Europeans for more than a generation. Moreover, the New Deal

represented the culmination of a long-range trend toward abandonment of "laissez-faire" capitalism, going back to the regulation of the railroads in the 1880s, and the flood of state and national reform legislation introduced in the Progressive era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

- What was truly novel about the New Deal, however, was the speed with which it accomplished what previously had taken generations. Many of the reforms were hastily drawn and weakly administered with some actually contradicting others. During the entire New Deal era, public criticism and debate were never interrupted or suspended; in fact, the New Deal brought to the individual citizen a sharp of interest in government.
- When Roosevelt took the presidential oath, the banking and credit system of the nation was in a state of paralysis. With astonishing rapidity, the nation's banks were first closed -- and then reopened only if they were solvent. The administration adopted a policy of moderate currency inflation to start an upward movement in commodity prices and to afford some relief to debtors. New governmental agencies brought generous credit facilities to industry and agriculture. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (EDIC) insured savings-bank deposits up to \$5,000, and severe regulations were imposed upon the sale of securities on the stock exchange.

12.6. Unemployment

- By 1933 millions of Americans were out of work Bread lines were a common sight in most cities. Hundreds of thousands roamed the country in search of food, work and shelter. "Brother, can you spare a dime?" went the refrain of a popular song.
- An early step for the unemployed came in the form of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a program enacted by Congress to bring relief to young men between 18 and 25 years of age. The CCC was run in a semi-military style and enrolled jobless young men in work camps across the country for about \$30 per month. About 2 million young men took part in this program during the 1930s. During their time in the CCC, they participated in a variety of conservation projects such as "planting trees to combat soil erosion and maintain national forests; eliminating stream pollution; creating fish, game and bird sanctuaries; and conserving coal, petroleum, shale, gas, sodium and helium deposits.
- The Civil Works Administration was a work relief program that gave jobs to many unemployed people. Although this program was criticized as "make work," the jobs funded ranged from ditch digging to highway repairs to teaching. It was created in November 1933, and was abandoned only a few months later in the spring of 1934. Roosevelt and his key officials, however, continued to favour unemployment programs based on work relief rather than welfare.

12.7. Agriculture

- The New Deal years were characterized by a belief that greater regulation would solve many of the country's problems. In 1933 Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) to provide economic relief to farmers. The AAA had a core to plan to raise crop

prices by paying farmers a subsidy to compensate for voluntary cutbacks in production. The funds for the payments would be generated by a tax levied on industries that processed crops. By the time the act had become law, however, the growing season was well underway, and the AAA encouraged farmers to plough under their abundant crops. Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace called this activity a "shocking commentary on our civilization." Nevertheless, through the AAA and the Commodity Credit Corporation, a program which extended loans for crops kept in storage and off the market, output dropped.

- Between 1932 and 1935, farm income increased by more than 50 percent, but only partly because of federal programs. During the same years that farmers were being encouraged to take land out of production, which would displace tenants and sharecroppers, the farm production was significantly reduced due to a severe drought hit the Great Plains states. Violent wind and dust storms ravaged the southern Great Plains in what is known as the "Dust Bowl," throughout the 1930s, but particularly from 1935 to 1938 the damages were immense. People and animals were harmed, crops were destroyed, cars and machinery were ruined. Approximately 800,000 people; often called "Okies," left Arkansas, Texas, Missouri and Oklahoma during the 1930s and 1940s. Most of these travellers headed further west to California, the land of myth and promise. The migrants were not only farmers, but also professionals, retailers and others whose livelihoods were connected to the health of the farm communities. California didn't live up to their expectations, however, as conditions in the sunny state were just as bad as those in the places from which the migrants fled. Most migrants ended up competing for seasonal jobs picking crops at extremely low wages.
- Although the AAA had been mostly successful, it was abandoned in 1936; when the tax on food processors was ruled unconstitutional. Six weeks later Congress passed a more effective farm-relief act, which authorized the government to make payments to farmers who reduced plantings of soil-depleting crops -- thereby achieving crop reduction through soil conservation practices.
- By 1940 nearly 6 million farmers were receiving federal subsidies under the farm relief act. The new act likewise provided loans on surplus crops, insurance for wheat and a system of planned storage to ensure a stable food supply. The prices of agricultural commodities rose, leaving the farmers with a sense of economic stability.

12.8. Blacks in the Depression and the New Deal

- The Great Depression of the 1930s worsened the already black economic situation of black Americans. African Americans were the first people to be fired from their jobs as they suffered from an unemployment rate two to three times that of whites. In early public assistance programs blacks often received substantially less aid than whites, and some charitable organizations even excluded blacks from their soup kitchens. It was an extremely poor and desperate time for most African Americans.
- The black American's economic struggles sparked major political developments among the blacks. Beginning in 1929, the St. Louis Urban League launched a national "jobs for

Negroes" movement by boycotting chain stores that had mostly black customers but hired only white employees. Efforts to unify black organizations and youth groups later led to the founding of the National Negro Congress in 1936 and the Southern Negro Youth Congress in 1937.

- The Roosevelt Administration's accessibility to black leaders and the New Deal reforms strengthened black support for the Democratic Party. Roosevelt had many black leaders, members of a so-called "black Cabinet," were served as advisers to him. Among them were the educator Mary McLeod Bethune, who served as the National Youth Administration's director of Negro affairs; William H. Hastie, who in 1937 became the first black federal judge; Eugene K. Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Robert Vann, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*; and the economist Robert C Weaver.
- Blacks benefited greatly from New Deal programs though discrimination by local administrators was common. Low-cost public housing was made available to black families. The National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps enabled black youths to continue their education. The Work Projects Administration gave jobs to many blacks.
- The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO); established in the mid-1930s, organized large numbers of black workers into labour unions for the first time. By 1940, there were more than 200,000 blacks in the CIO, many of them officers of union locals.

12.9. The Second New Deal

- The increasing pressures of the Great Depression caused President Roosevelt to back a new set of economic and social measures. Prominent among these were measures to fight poverty, to counter unemployment with work and to provide a social safety net.
- The Works Progress Administration (WPA), the principal relief agency of the second New Deal, was an attempt to provide work rather than welfare. Under the WPA, buildings, roads, airports and schools were constructed. Actors, painters, musicians and writers were employed through the Federal Theatre Project, the Federal Art Project and the Federal Writers Project. In addition, the National Youth Administration gave part-time employment to students, established training programs and provided aid to unemployed youth. Although the WPA only included about three million jobless at a time, it had helped a total of 9 million people when it was abandoned in 1943.

12.10. Social Security

- The New Deal's cornerstone according to Roosevelt, was the Social Security Act of 1935. It "reversed historic assumptions about the nature of social responsibility, and it established the proposition that the individual has clear-cut social rights."⁵ The Social Security Act was signed into law by President Roosevelt on August 14, 1935. "In addition to several provisions for general welfare, the new Act created a social insurance program designed to pay retired workers age 65 or older a continuing income after retirement. Social Security created a system of insurance for the aged, unemployed and disabled based on employer

and employee contributions. Social Security was funded in large part by taxes on the earnings of current workers, with a single fixed rate for all regardless of income. To Roosevelt, these limitations on the programs were compromises to ensure that the Act was passed. President Roosevelt stated upon signing Social Security Act: "We can never insure one hundred percent of the population against one hundred percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age."

- When congress passed the Social Security Act, the most pressing problems were double-digit unemployment and pervasive poverty. "Most families were struggling just to put food on the table and pay the rent; retirement saving was an unaffordable luxury."⁶ While the Social Security Act slightly affected most of the population in 1935, it began a program that has lasted for 64 years. Although its origins were initially quite modest, Social Security today is one of the largest domestic programs administered by the U.S. government. Millions of people depend on Social Security to protect them in their old age. "Without Social Security, the incomes of approximately 16 million people - about half of the retirees - would fall below official poverty thresholds.

- While the Social Security program is very complex and deals with more than 6 million employers, tens of millions of beneficiaries, and over 100 million taxpayers, its administrative costs are very low - roughly 1 percent of retirement and survivor pension payments - well below those of private pension and insurance plans. The average earnings of Social Security in 1998 were just under \$28,000. The benefit that was paid to a worker who retired at the age of 62 whose earnings placed him at the same relative position in the earnings distribution in every year of a thirty-five-year career would be \$780 per month.

- From its modest beginnings, Social Security has grown to become an essential aspect of modern life. One in seven Americans receives a Social Security benefit, and more than 90 percent of all workers are in jobs covered by Social Security. From 1940, when slightly more than 222,000 people received monthly Social Security benefits, until today, when over 42 million people receive such benefits; Social Security has grown steadily.

12.11. Activity 12

1. Discuss the Great Depression
2. Explain the Social Impact of the Great Depression
3. State the New Deal programmes in relation to unemployment, agriculture and the situation of blacks during the Depression and the New Deal Programmes

12.12. Summary

In this unit we have discussed the Great Depression of 1929 to 1940, the economic catastrophe which began and centred in the United States but spread quickly throughout the industrial world. We have also discussed President Roosevelt's New Deal programmes which he employed to reshape the economy and end the poverty during the crisis. During this time between 1932-1940 there were numerous examples of growth of the government. About thirty-

two new government agencies were created during the eight-year period. While many of the agencies formed have been abolished or replaced by another, some agencies still stand today. The programmes and institutions that were created prove to be invaluable to the success and growth of the most powerful nation in the world.

UNIT 13

AMERICA AND WORLD WAR II

13.1. Introduction

On December 7, 1941, *the U.S.* was thrust into *World War II* when Japan launched a surprise attack on the American naval fleet at Pearl Harbour. The following day, America and Great Britain declared war on Japan. On December 10, Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S. In this unit we discuss the reasons why America took part in World War II, the United States at war, the United States War production and Financing the war and the Social consequences of the war.

13.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- discuss the reasons why America took part in World War II,
- explain American War production and Financing of the war
- discuss the Social consequences of the war.

13.3. Reasons why America took part in World War II,

After *World War I* most Americans concluded that participating in international affairs had been a mistake. They sought peace through *isolation* and throughout the 1920s advocated a policy of disarmament and nonintervention. As a result, relations with *Latin-American* nations improved substantially under Hoover, an anti-imperialist. This enabled Roosevelt to establish what became known as the *Good Neighbour Policy*, which *repudiated* altogether the right of intervention in *Latin America*. By exercising restraint in the region as a whole and by withdrawing American occupation forces from the Caribbean, Roosevelt increased the *prestige* of the *United States* in Latin America to its highest level in memory.

- As the *European* situation became tenser, the United States continued to hold to its isolationist policy. Congress, with the approval of Roosevelt and Secretary of State *Cordell Hull*, enacted a series of neutrality laws that legislated against the factors that supposedly had taken the United States into World War I. As *Italy* prepared to invade *Ethiopia*, Congress passed the *Neutrality Act* of 1935, embargoing shipment of arms to either aggressor or victim. Stronger legislation followed the outbreak of the *Spanish Civil War* in 1936, in effect penalizing the *Spanish* government, whose fascist enemies were receiving strong support from *Benito Mussolini* and *Adolf Hitler*.
- In the Pacific Roosevelt continued Hoover's policy of no recognition of *Japan's* conquests in Asia. When Japan invaded *China* in 1937, however, he seemed to begin moving away from isolationism. He did not *invoke* the Neutrality Act, which had just been revised, and

in October he warned that war was like a disease and suggested that it might be desirable for peace-loving nations to “*quarantine*” aggressor nations. He then quickly denied that his statement had any policy *implications*, and by December, when Japanese aircraft sank a U.S. gunboat in the *Yangtze River*, thoughts of reprisal were stifled by public *apathy* and by Japan’s offer of apologies and indemnities. With strong public opposition to foreign intervention, Roosevelt concentrated on regional defense, continuing to build up the navy and signing mutual security agreements with other governments in North and South America.

- When *Germany’s* invasion of Poland in 1939 touched off World War II, Roosevelt called Congress into special session to revise the Neutrality Act to allow *belligerents* (in reality only *Great Britain* and *France*, both on the *Allied* side) to purchase munitions on a cash-and-carry basis. With the fall of France to Germany in June 1940, Roosevelt, with heavy public support, threw the resources of the United States behind the British. He ordered the War and Navy departments to resupply British divisions that had been *rescued at Dunkirk* minus their weaponry, and in September he agreed to exchange 50 obsolescent destroyers for 99-year leases on eight British naval and air bases in the *Western Hemisphere*.

- The question of how much and what type of additional aid should be given to the *Allies* became a major issue of the *election of 1940*, in which Roosevelt ran for an unprecedented third term. Public opinion polls, a new influence upon decision makers, showed that most Americans favoured Britain but still wished to stay out of war. Roosevelt’s opponent, *Wendell Willkie*, capitalized on this and rose steadily in the polls by attacking the president as a warmonger. An alarmed Roosevelt fought back, going so far as to make what he knew was an empty promise. “Your boys,” he said just before the election, “are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.” In truth, both candidates realized that U.S. intervention in the war might become essential, contrary to their public statements. Roosevelt won a decisive victory.

- Upon being returned to office, Roosevelt moved quickly to aid the Allies. His *Lend-Lease Act*, passed in March 1941 after *vehement* debate, committed the United States to supply the Allies on credit. When Germany, on March 25, extended its war zone to include Iceland and the *Denmark Strait*, Roosevelt retaliated in April by extending the *American Neutrality Patrol to Iceland*. In July the United States occupied Iceland, and U.S. naval vessels began escorting convoys of American and Icelandic ships. That summer Lend-Lease was extended to the *Soviet Union* after it was invaded by Germany. In *August* Roosevelt met with the British *Prime Minister, Winston Churchill*, off the coast of Newfoundland to issue a set of war aims known as the *Atlantic Charter*. It called for national self-determination, larger economic opportunities, freedom from fear and want, freedom of the seas, and disarmament.

- Although in retrospect U.S. entry into World War II seems inevitable, in 1941 it was still the subject of great debate. Isolationism was a great political force, and many influential individuals were determined that U.S. aid policy stop short of war. In fact, as late as August 12, 1941, the House of Representatives extended the *Selective Training and Service Act* of 1940 by a vote of only 203 to 202. Despite isolationist resistance, Roosevelt pushed cautiously forward. In late August the navy added British and Allied ships to its Icelandic convoys. Its orders were to shoot German and Italian warships on sight, thus making the United States an undeclared participant in the *Battle of the Atlantic*. During October one U.S. destroyer was damaged by a German U-boat and another was sunk. The United States now embarked on an undeclared naval war against Germany, but Roosevelt refrained from asking for a formal declaration of war. According to *public opinion* polls, a majority of Americans still hoped to remain neutral.

- The war question was soon resolved by events in the Pacific. As much as a distant neutral could, the United States had been supporting China in its war against Japan, yet it continued to sell Japan products and commodities essential to the Japanese war effort. Then, in July 1940, the United States applied an embargo on the sale of aviation gas, lubricants, and prime *scrap metal* to Japan. When Japanese armies invaded French Indochina in September with the apparent purpose of establishing bases for an attack on the *East Indies*, the United States struck back by embargoing all types of scrap iron and steel and by extending a loan to China. Japan promptly retaliated by signing a limited treaty of alliance, the *Tripartite Pact*, with Germany and Italy. Roosevelt extended a much larger loan to China and in December embargoed iron ore, *pig iron*, and a variety of other products.

- Japan and the United States then entered into complex negotiations in the spring of 1941. Neither country would compromise on the China question, however, Japan refusing to withdraw and the United States insisting upon it. Believing that Japan intended to attack the East Indies, the United States stopped exporting oil to Japan at the end of the summer. In effect an ultimatum, since Japan had limited oil stocks and no *alternative* source of supply, the oil embargo confirmed Japan's decision to eliminate the U.S. Pacific Fleet and to conquer *Southeast Asia*, thereby becoming self-sufficient in *crude oil* and other vital resources. By the end of November Roosevelt and his military advisers knew (through intercepted Japanese messages) that a military attack was likely; they expected it to be against the East Indies or the *Philippines*. To their astonishment, on December 7 Japan directed its first blow against naval and air installations in *Hawaii*. In a bold surprise attack, Japanese aircraft destroyed or damaged 18 ships of war at *Pearl Harbour*, including the entire battleship force, and 347 planes. Total U.S. casualties amounted to 2,403 dead and 1,178 wounded.

- On December 8, 1941, Congress with only one dissenting vote declared war against Japan. Three days later Germany and Italy declared war against the United States; and Congress, voting unanimously, *reciprocated*. As a result of the attack on Pearl Harbour, the previously divided nation entered into the global struggle with virtual unanimity.

- Although isolationism died at Pearl Harbor, its *legacy* of unpreparedness lived on. Anticipating war, Roosevelt and his advisers had been able to develop and execute some plans for military expansion, but public opinion prohibited large-scale appropriations for armament and defense. Thus, when Pearl Harbor was attacked, the United States had some 2,200,000 men under arms, but most were ill-trained and poorly equipped. Barely a handful of army divisions even approached a state of readiness. The Army Air Corps possessed only 1,100 combat planes, many of which were outdated. The navy was better prepared, but it was too small to fight a two-ocean war and had barely been able to provide enough ships for convoy duty in the North Atlantic. Eventually more than 15,000,000 men and women would serve in the armed forces, but not until 1943 would the United States be strong enough to undertake large-scale offensive operations. American War production and Financing of the war

13.4. American War production and Financing of the war

- Roosevelt had begun establishing mobilization agencies in 1939, but none had sufficient power or authority to bring order out of the *chaos* generated as industry converted to war production. He therefore created the War Production Board in January 1942 to coordinate mobilization, and in 1943 an *Office of War Mobilisation* was established to supervise the host of defense agencies that had sprung up in *Washington, D.C.* Gradually, a priorities system was devised to supply defense plants with raw materials; a *synthetic* rubber industry was developed from scratch; rationing conserved scarce resources; and the Office of Price Administration kept inflation under control.
- After initial snarls and never-ending disputes, by the beginning of 1944 production was reaching astronomical totals—double those of all the enemy countries combined. Hailed at the time as a production miracle, this increase was about equal to what the country would have produced in peacetime, assuming full employment. War production might have risen even higher if regulation of civilian *consumption* and industry had been stricter.
- Scientists, under the direction of the *Office of Scientific Research and Development*, played a more important role in production than in any previous war, making gains in rocketry, radar and sonar, and other areas. Among the new inventions was the *proximity fuse*, which contained a tiny *radio* that detonated an artillery shell in the vicinity of its target, making a direct hit unnecessary? Of greatest importance was the *atomic bomb*, developed by scientists in secrecy and first tested on July 6, 1945.
- The *total cost* of the war to the federal government between 1941 and 1945 was about \$321,000,000,000 (10 times as much as World War I). Taxes paid 41 percent of the cost, less than Roosevelt requested but more than the World War I figure of 33 percent. The

remainder was financed by borrowing from financial institutions, an expensive method but one that Congress preferred over the *alternatives* of raising taxes even higher or making war bond purchases compulsory. In consequence the national debt increased fivefold, amounting to \$259,000,000,000 in 1945. The Revenue Act of 1942 revolutionized the tax structure by increasing the number who paid income taxes from 13,000,000 to 50,000,000. At the same time, through taxes on excess profits and other sources of income, the rich were made to bear a larger part of the burden, making this the only period in modern history when wealth was significantly redistributed.

13.5. Social consequences of the war

- Despite the vast number of men and women in uniform, civilian employment rose from 46,000,000 in 1940 to more than 53,000,000 in 1945. The pool of unemployed men dried up in 1943, and further employment increases consisted of women, minorities, and over- or underage males. These were not enough to meet all needs, and by the end of the year a manpower shortage had developed.

- One result of this shortage was that *blacks* made significant social and economic progress. Although the armed forces continued to practice segregation, as did *Red Cross* blood banks, Roosevelt, under pressure from blacks, who were outraged by the refusal of defense industries to *integrate* their labour forces, signed *Executive Order 8802* on June 25, 1941. It prohibited racial *discrimination* in *job training* programs and by defense contractors and established a *Fair Employment Practices Committee* to insure *compliance*. By the end of 1944 nearly 2,000,000 blacks were at work in defense industries. As black contributions to the military and industry increased, so did their demands for equality. This sometimes led to racial hostilities, as on June 20, 1943, when mobs of whites invaded the black section of *Detroit*. Nevertheless, the gains offset the losses. *Lynching* virtually died out, several states outlawed discriminatory voting practices, and others adopted fair employment laws.

- Full employment also resulted in raised income levels, which, through a mixture of *price and wage controls*, were kept ahead of *inflation*. Despite both this increase in income and a no-strike pledge given by *trade union* leaders after Pearl Harbor, there were numerous labour actions. Workers resented wage ceilings because much of their increased income went to pay taxes and was earned by working overtime rather than through higher hourly rates. In consequence, there were almost 15,000 labour stoppages during the war at a cost of some 36,000,000 man-days. Strikes were greatly resented, particularly by the armed forces, but their effects were more symbolic than harmful. The time lost amounted to only one-ninth of 1 percent of all hours worked.

- Because Pearl Harbour had united the nation, few people were prosecuted for disloyalty or *sedition*, unlike during World War I. The one glaring exception to this policy was the scandalous treatment of *Japanese* and Americans of Japanese *descent*. In 1942, on the basis of groundless racial fears and suspicions, virtually the entire Japanese-American population

of the West Coast, amounting to 110,000 persons, was rounded up and imprisoned in “relocation” centres, which the inmates regarded as concentration camps. The Japanese-Americans lost their liberty, and in most cases their property as well, despite the fact that the *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, which had already arrested those individuals it considered security risks, had verified their loyalty.

13.6. Activity 13

1. Discuss the reasons why America took part in World War II,
2. Explain American War production and the financing of the war
3. Show the Social consequences of the war.

13.7. Summary

In this unit we have discussed the Reasons why America took part in World War II although after *World War I* most Americans concluded that participating in international affairs had been a mistake. They sought peace through *isolation* and throughout the 1920s advocated a policy of disarmament and nonintervention. However, the war question was soon resolved by events in the Pacific. To the astonishment of Americans, on December 7, 1941 Japan directed its first blow against American naval and air installations in *Hawaii*. In a bold surprise attack, Japanese aircraft destroyed or damaged 18 ships of war at *Pearl Harbour*. On December 8, 1941, Congress with only one dissenting vote declared war against Japan. Three days later Germany and Italy declared war against the United States; and Congress, voting unanimously, *reciprocated*. In this unit American war production and Financing of the war has also been discussed. An *Office of War Mobilisation* was established to supervise the host of defense agencies that had sprung up in *Washington, D.C.* Also discussed in this unit is the social consequences of the war. Despite the vast number of men and women in uniform, civilian employment rose. Full employment also resulted in raised income levels. In 1942, on the basis of groundless racial fears and suspicions, virtually the entire Japanese-American population of the West Coast, amounting to 110,000 persons, was rounded up and imprisoned in “relocation” centres, which the inmates regarded as concentration camps. The Japanese-Americans lost their liberty, and in most cases their property as well.

UNIT 14

THE USA AND COLD WAR

14.1. Introduction

The Cold War was mainly a battle of balance of power between the two superpowers of the world: the Soviet Union and the United States. The two different governments they represented clashed in political and physical wars. The Soviet Union pursued a mission to spread its communist influence across Europe while the United States fought to defend the European nations from the communist influence. The mutual distrust and high tension between the United States and Soviet Union made up the environment of the war. In this unit we discuss the origins of the Cold War, The struggle between superpowers and the end of the Cold War.

14.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- state the origins of the Cold War
- discuss the struggle between the superpowers
- explain how the cold war came to an end.

14.3. Origins of the Cold War

14.3.1. The Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947)

On March 12, 1947, President Harry Truman addressed a joint session at Congress and stated that "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." With this statement, Truman declared that the United States would provide military and economic support in order to protect nations from communist hostility. The United States would take measures to prevent the spread of communist ideas and stop the Soviet Union's attack on other free and independent nations. The Truman Doctrine specifically called for immediate aid for the nation of Greece, which was being threatened by communist powers. Military and economic aid was sent to the nation and the United States did their best to block communist influence. The Truman Doctrine was also created due to Great Britain not being able to support the countries that were falling victim to the Soviets, resulting in the United States to rescue the nations. Ultimately, 400 million dollars were sent to Greece and other European countries to combat the spread of a possible communist takeover in Europe. This event was the one of the first times that the United States attempted to contain Soviet influence, spending large amounts of money to balance the war. It exhibits how much the United States wanted to destroy communist ideals and prevent its spread.

14.3.2. The Marshall Plan (June 5, 1947)

The Marshall Plan rejuvenated European hopes by aiding European nations with monetary support by the United States. After World War II, much of Europe was in economic debt and destruction since the battlefield was mainly fought on European soil. Millions of people had lost their homes and forced to live in refugee camps while factories and shops were bombed or looted. In addition to these obstacles, the winter of 1976 was one of the coldest and bitterest in the century, breaking up crops and making it extremely difficult to maintain life. On June 5, 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall announced that the United States should provide aid in all forms to the European nations that needed it to fight off poverty and chaos. By rebuilding the European economies, it also was able to fight the ideas of communism, making the idea lose appeal to nations. Over 13 billion dollars were put in aid for 16 countries, but it ended up being a success in restoring the European nations. Starting on April of 1948, the Marshall Plan went into effect and helped modernize industry, remove trade barriers, and make Europe prosperous. In four years, Western Europe was able to flourish while Eastern Europe failed to recover since they rejected the plan for communist ideals. The United States successfully fought back the Soviet spread through spending billions of dollars in aiding Western Europe, showing its leadership and strength in the Cold War.

14.4. The struggle between superpowers

14.4.1. Creation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (April 4, 1949)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was a mutual alliance between the nations of North America and Western Europe. This treaty was signed on April 4, 1949 by 12 countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Canada, and the United States). By signing this treaty, the nations would promised military support to another member if it were attacked. This marked the first time that the United States officially became inducted into military security with foreign nations during peacetime. The isolationist values that the United States tried to uphold gave in to the rising tensions of the Cold War. Later on, the NATO had the addition of Eastern European countries and kept a strong military force of around 500,000 troops and thousands of military equipment. However, the creation of NATO also led to the development of the Warsaw Pact, which connected the Soviet Union with seven other Eastern European countries. NATO created fear among the Soviet Union and forced them to quickly alliance with their allies in order to protect themselves. The Warsaw Pact ended up being created in a response to the NATO and had a similar mutual alliance between their nations. Ironically, both organizations were created in fear of each other, which ended up leading to a firm split between communist and democratic nations in the world.

4.4.2. Berlin Blockade and Berlin Airlift (June 24, 1948 – May 12, 1949)

The Berlin Blockade stemmed from tensions between East and West Berlin. East Berlin at the time of the airlift was controlled by the Soviet Union (communist ideals), who also controlled the land around West Berlin, which was at this point controlled by the Allies, who supported democratic ideals. These two crashing ideals clashed when the supporting nations were thousands of miles apart, however, when these ideals were only separated by a wall, tension rose dramatically. The Soviets were left unsatisfied after negotiations at the Yalta and Potsdam

conferences as the Allies not only had land in Berlin, but more importantly they seemed to be interested in reunifying Germany. This angered the Soviets as twice in recent history they had been invaded by a unified Germany, and they refused to let it happen again. So, in retaliation, the Soviets set up the Berlin Blockade which blockaded all train, roads and waterways to the Western Berlin. The Soviets hoped that without supplies, the Allies would surrender and give up their power in Western Berlin. However, instead of giving up their power, on June 24th, 1948, the Allies started the Berlin Airlift, which supplied food, fuel and other necessities to Western Berlin via airplanes. These planes flew from airports under Allied control, and then proceeded to fly over West Berlin, where they would drop the items onto an open area.

While the Berlin Airlift made life possible for people in West Berlin, life was still very difficult as food, electricity and fuel were rationed. After less than a year, on May 12th, 1948, the Soviets stopped the blockade of West Berlin and opened transportation in and out. During the Berlin Airlift, 277,804 flights took place, which at its prime, meant one flight was landing in Berlin every minute. Throughout the Airlift, nearly 400,000 tons of supplies were brought to Berlin, and 80,000 tons of supplies and roughly 60,000 people were brought out of West Berlin. The reasoning behind stopping the Berlin Blockade was that it was completely ineffective, those living in Western Berlin were for the most part able to live normal lives. Not only was the Berlin Blockade a failure in terms of those living in Western Berlin being able to live normal lives, but it was also a failure in the sense that it escalated Cold War tensions to an unprecedented level. Also, the Soviets now seem like bullies to the rest of the world.

4.4.3. Korean War (Jun 25, 1950 – Jul 27, 1953)

The Korean War started on June 25th, 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea with seventy thousand troops. The border at the time of the invasion was the 38th parallel. In North Korea crossing the 38th parallel with thousands of troops, the first battle of the Cold War had started. The Soviets backed North Korea, as their leader shared the same communist values, while the United States supported South Korea, because the South Korean leader, Syngman Rhee, shared the same anti-communist values. When North Korea invaded the south, the United States viewed it as an act of aggression, and an attempt from the Soviet to start taking over the world. In thinking the Soviet Union were attempting to start their takeover of the world, the United States had no choice but to step in and try to drive North Korea back on their side of the border. The fear from the United States was that if they held back and remained neutral, the Soviet Union would take over South Korea and the dominos would keep falling after them, and the United States would soon be taken over by the Soviets. However, as the war went on, the U.S. mindset shifted from one of trying to protect South Korea from the North, to trying and release North Korea from the communists. While this new plan became successful, it was almost too successful as the U.S. army were able to take over most of North Korea, however, they pushed too hard and went into Chinese territory, where the Chinese threatened to send their troops making an all-out war. All-out war was not the end result, as a peace treaty was made. The treaty reestablished the border between North and South Korea at the 38th parallel, and prisoners of war were able to decide where they wanted to live. In addition to this, a two mile demilitarized zone was created between the two countries, which still exists today. In return for such a small piece of land, nearly five million soldiers died. The Korean War epitomizes the United States and Soviet Union showing that they won't back down if called to fight or they find necessary, however, in this situation, nothing was gained from each side showing the other that they can go to war.

14.4.4. Vietnam War (Nov 1, 1955 – Apr 30, 1975)

As the Cold War carried on, the United States became more and more enraged with the Soviet Union, and those whom supported them. As a result of this, along with a war going on between communist North Vietnam and American supported South Vietnam, the United States decided to join the war. This was due to the American belief that if one Asian country were to fall to communism, the rest would as well, and then the United States being taken over was just a matter of time. By 1962, the United States had already plunged more than ten thousand troops into Vietnam. The goal of the United States was to stop the attacks on South Vietnam that were coming from North Vietnam. In November of 1963, the Vietnam War really started to heat up when the U.S. called for regular bombing and raids on cities in North Vietnam. This required more than ten thousand troops, so, by the end of 1965, over 200,000 troops were in Vietnam. The U.S. forces and South Vietnam fought North Vietnam continuously for years, however, with the American public opinion on the war shifting, the U.S. government knew the end of the war was clear. With nearly 500,000 troops in Vietnam, and over 55,000 deaths, the American public was strongly wondering why they were still there. Antiwar protests were larger and in greater quantity than ever before. In January of 1973 a peace agreement was finally made between the two sides. Three years after the peace agreement was signed, Vietnam became unified and was called the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. From an American side, the Vietnam War sharply divided the nation between those who supported the war, and those who thought it was a waste of resources. While the public was divided, the U.S. government prioritizing not letting even more countries fall to communism in Asia, in fear that if one falls, they all will.

14.4.5. Soviet Invasion of Hungary (October 23, 1956 – November 10, 1956)

On October 23rd, 1956, an uprising spontaneously started in Hungary in hopes of ridding the communist ideals it was suppressed under at the time, and adopting more democratic values. Thousands of Hungarians took to the street to demand this freedom from the Soviets, however, this angered the Soviets greatly. In hopes of stopping the revolt, the Soviet Union appointed Nagy to become the premier, and restore peace and order in Hungary. Instead of doing this, Nagy joined the revolution for freedom from the Soviets. He tried to free Hungary by removing the country from the Warsaw pact, as well as ridding Hungary of the sole party rule, and instead allowed for multiple parties. These acts made the Soviet Union furious, so they sent tanks to Budapest in an effort to crush the Hungarian revolution for the last time. They were successful. Nearly three thousand people died in a day, and over two hundred thousand people fled the country. Nagy was captured, and Hungary was back under Soviet control. Despite the Soviet Union essentially taking over Hungary, when they were begging for help for independence, the United States remained completely neutral. The only support they gave Hungary was their condolences on the losses they had suffered. The United States claimed before that they would help any desperate nation asking for the release from communist control and the integration of democratic government, exactly what Hungary was saying, however, they were completely ignored. Some historians believed that Hungary was too close to Soviet control, and that if the United States had gone to support Hungary, World War III would have started as the Soviets would have fired, sparking an all-out war. This point in the Cold War marked the point in which the United States essentially is scared to go and help, as they are fearful what could come as a result of their help.

14.4.6. Bay of Pigs Invasion (April 17, 1961)

On April 17, 1961, around 1500 Cuban exiles landed on the southern coast of Cuba, known as the Bay of Pigs, and attempted to overthrow the government. However, Cuban troops easily defeated the invasion and it ended in a failure. This invasion was planned out by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in order to push Fidel Castro out of power and destroy communist influence in Cuba. Castro had overthrown America's backed up president in Cuba on January 1, 1959 and later converted to communist principles by 1961. The United States were uncomfortable with a communist nation just off the coast of Florida and organized an operation that would let Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro. President Kennedy authorized the mission, but later had to take full responsibility for the failure of the mission. The unsuccessful attempt to beat out Castro and his communist followers revealed the bad execution by the United States and a step closer to a possible third World War. Tension between communist and democratic ideals rose after this disaster that resulted in the imprisoning of around 1000 Cubans. The United States exhibited their weaknesses to the Soviet Union, and eventually would lead to another Cuban event, which was the Cuban Missile Crisis. This marked a failure in the United States attempt to push out Soviets from expansion.

14.4.7. Cuban Missile Crisis (October 16th, 1962 - October 28th, 1962)

The Cuban Missile Crisis was a thirteen day standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States over the Soviet installation of nuclear weapons on Cuba, located just 90 miles from the United States. The United States found out that the bomb was being assembled, in Cuba on October 14th, 1962, when a spy plane making a high altitude pass over photographed the nuclear weapons being put together. This nuclear weapon posed a major threat to the United States as with a bomb only 90 miles from American shores, the Soviet Union had the capability to bomb nearly anywhere in southeast America. Before the installment of this bomb, the United States had dominated the tensions between them and the Soviet Union. The installment of the bomb in Cuba not only provided a security threat to nearly half of the United States, but it also put the U.S. "on their heels" as they were now at the mercy of the Soviet Union. In retaliation, the United States set up a blockade around Cuba, in hopes of preventing any more nuclear materials from reaching Cuba. The Cuban Missile Crisis increased tensions further than ever before, and made Americans fearful of what could happen if the Soviets wanted to exert their dominance. Despite the enormous tension, the Cuban Missile Crisis was solved on October 26th when the United States accepted the Soviet Union's peace plan in which the United States would promise not to invade Cuba and remove troops from Turkey, and in return the Soviet Union promised to dismantle the nuclear bomb that was under construction. As a result from the Cuban Missile Crisis, a direct "hot line" was established between the United States and Soviet Union in hopes of negotiating problems such as the Cuban Missile Crisis in the future, without the drastic rise in tension. Another agreement that ended the Cuban Missile Crisis was that each side signed a deal over nuclear weapons. However, this agreement lead the Soviet Union to increase production of weapons inside the Soviet Union, on missiles that can reach the United States from the Soviet Union.

14.5. How did the Cold War end?

14.5.1. The Fall of the Berlin Wall (November 9, 1989)

The Berlin Wall was a wall built between East and West Berlin in hopes of preventing fleeing citizens of West Berlin from going to East Berlin. These citizens were fleeing the communist regime of East Berlin, dominated by the Soviet Union. Citizens were so eager to escape that 171 people died trying to climb over the 12 foot wall, and then over the barbed wire on top. The Berlin Wall simply represented the boundary between the democracy in West Berlin, and the communism in East Germany. However, this wall would not last forever. During late 1989, the tension between East and West Berlin slowly subsided, and the spokesman for East Berlin on November 9, 1989, announced that the borders between the cities were now open. This marked the end of the split between the two sides, and also was one of the major events that marked the end of the Cold War. Only roughly a year after the fall of the Berlin Wall did East and West Berlin unite. A depleted Soviet Union no longer had the power to keep their civilization going, and shortly after the unification of East and West Berlin, Gorbachev the last Soviet President resigned and the Union of Soviet Union Republics dissolved. This marked the absolute end of the Cold War, and the Soviet Union in its entirety

14.6. Activity 14

1. Show how the Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947) and the Marshall Plan (June 5, 1947), were major aspects of the origins of the Cold War.
2. Giving specific examples discuss the struggles between the superpowers during the Cold War
3. Explain how the cold war came to an end.

Summary

In this unit we have discussed the USA and Cold War, which was mainly a battle of balance of power between the two superpowers of the world: the Soviet Union and the United States. We have also looked at how the Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947), the Marshall Plan (June 5, 1947), were major aspects of the origins of the Cold War. Also discussed in this unit were the struggles between superpowers such as the creation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (April 4, 1949), Berlin Blockade and Berlin Airlift (June 24, 1948 – May 12, 1949), Korean War (Jun 25, 1950 – Jul 27, 1953), Vietnam War (Nov 1, 1955 – Apr 30, 1975), Soviet Invasion of Hungary (October 23, 1956 – November 10, 1956), Bay of Pigs Invasion (April 17, 1961, Cuban Missile Crisis (October 16th, 1962 - October 28th, 1962). Lastly, discussed in this unit is how the Cold War came to an end by looking at the fall of the Berlin Wall (November 9, 1989).

UNIT 15

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

15.1. Introduction

The foreign policy of the United States is its interactions with foreign nations and how it sets standards of interaction for its organizations, corporations and system citizens of the United States. In this unit we discuss the background to American Foreign Policy, what factors shaped American Foreign Policy and the new directions in American Foreign Policy.

15.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you should be able to

- state the background to American Foreign Policy
- discuss the factors that shaped US foreign policy?
- explain the new directions in American foreign policy?

15.3. Background of American Foreign Policy

- Actions taken by the United States to promote its national interests, security, and well-being in the world come under the heading of *foreign policy*. These actions may include measures that support a competitive economy, provide for a strong defense of the nation's borders, and encourage the ideas of peace, freedom, and democracy at home and abroad. Foreign policy may contain inherent contradictions. For example, an aggressive foreign policy with a country whose activities have been perceived as threatening to U.S. security could result in a confrontation, which might undermine freedom and democracy at home. Foreign policy is never static; it must respond to and initiate actions as circumstances change.
- In his farewell address, George Washington warned the United States to steer clear of foreign entanglements. From the conclusion of the War of 1812 to the Spanish-American War (1898), this advice was largely followed. American foreign policy was *isolationist*; that is, U.S. leaders saw little reason to get involved in world affairs, particularly outside the Western Hemisphere. The *Monroe Doctrine* (1823) stated that the United States would not interfere in European affairs and it would oppose any European attempt to colonize the Americas. The second part of the doctrine was effectively enforced because it reflected British desires as well. American energies were applied to settling the continent under the banner of *manifest destiny*.
- The Spanish-American War marked the emergence of the United States as a world power. As a result, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines became American territories; the Hawaiian Islands were annexed separately. A few years later, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened in Central and South America, including supporting the independence of Panama from Columbia in 1903, which led to construction of the Panama Canal. With

the European powers carving out spheres of influence for themselves in China, the United States called for an **Open Door policy** that would allow all nations equal trading access.

15.4. Factors that shaped US foreign policy?

15.4.1. World War I and World War II

- The United States entered World War I in April 1917, after remaining neutral for three years. President Woodrow Wilson, who hoped his **Fourteen Points** (1918) would become the basis for the postwar settlement, played an active role in the Paris Peace Conference. The Republican-controlled Senate, however, refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, which provided for the creation of the League of Nations. The United States returned to isolationism during the interwar period and never joined the League. In response to the growing threat from Nazi Germany, Congress passed a series of neutrality acts (1935-1937) that were intended to keep the United States out of a European conflict. It was only after the outbreak of World War II (September 1939) that President Franklin Roosevelt was able to shift American foreign policy to aid the Allies.

- With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour (December 7, 1941), the United States formally joined the Grand Alliance that included Great Britain, free France, the Soviet Union, and China. During the war, the Allied leaders met on several occasions to plan military strategy and to discuss the structure of the postwar world. The important wartime conferences were Casablanca (January 1943), Teheran (November 1943), Yalta (February 1945), and Potsdam (July-August 1945). Although the status of Eastern Europe was one of the main topics at Yalta and Potsdam, the fate of these countries was not determined by diplomacy but by the facts on the ground. At the end of the war, Soviet troops were in control of most of Eastern Europe behind what Winston Churchill would later call the *Iron Curtain*.

15.4.2. The Cold War and Vietnam

- The American response to the expansion of communism and the influence of the Soviet Union was the *Containment Policy*. The term was coined by State Department staffer George Kennan and was based on the premise that the United States must apply counterforce to any aggressive moves by the Soviet Union. This policy was reflected in the creation of a network of political and military alliances, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Both the *Truman Doctrine* (1947), which committed the United States to protect "free peoples" in Europe from attack, and the *Korean War* (1950-1953) are examples of containment in practice. American policy also recognized the importance of economic assistance to prevent communism from gaining support. Under the *Marshall Plan*, named for Secretary of State George C. Marshall, the United States pumped billions of dollars into Western Europe to help with reconstruction after World War II. *Foreign aid*, direct financial aid to countries around the world for both economic and military development, became a key element of American diplomacy.

- U.S. foreign policy was also guided by the *domino theory*, the thought that if one country in a region came under communist control, other nations in the area would soon follow. It was the reason the United States became involved in Vietnam, which ultimately cost 58,000 American lives, many billions of dollars, and a bitterly divided country.

- The Cold War was punctuated by periods of thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson met with the leaders of the Soviet Union in what was known as *summit diplomacy*. The 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which was negotiated in the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962), was one of the positive results of these meetings.

15.5. New directions in American foreign policy?

15.5.1. Détente and the end of the Cold War

American foreign policy took a new direction during the 1970s. Under President Richard Nixon, *détente*, an easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, led to increased trade and cultural exchanges and, most important, to an agreement to limit nuclear weapons — the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I). In the same year, Nixon began the process of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China.

Superpower rivalry continued for a time, however. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan resulted in an American-led boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. President Reagan actively supported anti-communist, anti-left-wing forces in both Nicaragua and El Salvador, which he considered client states of the Soviet Union (the "evil empire"). He increased American defense spending significantly during his first term. The Soviet Union simply could not match these expenditures. Faced with a serious economic crisis, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev instituted new policies called *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (economic restructuring) that eased tensions with the United States. By the early 1990s, the Cold War had effectively come to an end. The Soviet Union ceased to exist with the independence of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Georgia, and the Central Asian republics.

15.5.2. The new world order

The collapse of the Soviet Union did not mean an end to conflict around the world. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 prompted the United States to put together an international coalition under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) that culminated in the brief Persian Gulf War in 1991. Both the UN and NATO were involved in seeking a resolution to the ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia. While the United States arranged a settlement in the region known as the *Dayton Accords* (1995), it did not prevent a new outbreak of fighting between Serbs and ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo. NATO aircraft bombed targets in Serbia, including the capital Belgrade, in response. This was the first time that NATO forces conducted combat operations in Europe.

15.6. Activity 15.

1. state the background to American Foreign Policy
2. What are the factors that have shaped US foreign policy?
3. Giving specific examples discuss the factors that have led to new directions in American foreign policy?

15.7. Summary

The foreign policy of the United States is its interactions with foreign nations and how it sets standards of interaction for its organizations, corporations and system citizens of the United States. In this unit we have discussed the background to American Foreign Policy which are actions taken by the United States to promote its national interests, security, and well-being. World War I and World War II, the Cold War and other events and developments in the world help to shape the American foreign policy.

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