

***US HISTORY:  
A CALL TO RETURN TO THE  
ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION AND  
MODEL***



*Compiled and written by J. Parnell McCarter*

## SECOND EDITION

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This textbook in American History is dedicated to Christian Homeschool Educators Like My Wife and to the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who is redeeming the Nations unto Himself.

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The cover photo is the *[Declaration of Independence](#)*, 1819 painting by [John Trumbull](#)

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## INTRODUCTION

This history textbook represents an interpretative view of American history, generally following the outline of US history as set forth in the official US State Department version. All history textbooks are written from a certain philosophical perspective; the perspective of the compiler and author of this one is that the original constitution and model of the USA in its conception and birth were the proper one. Sadly, the USA has departed from this constitution and model, progressively becoming a modern humanistic “global nation” empire. Biblical morality after the example of ancient Israel in its moral aspects has been thrown overboard, replaced by a model that largely follows the example of ancient Babel.

The conception and gestation period of the USA was covered in the textbook *The Nations Shall Worship Before Thee: American History in the Colonial Era*. It showed how in its conception colonial America was an instrument in the fulfillment of Christ’s Great Commission: “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.” English settlement in North America not only transplanted Protestant Biblical Christianity to a new continent for this people, it also spread that same faith to other nations and peoples, as was one of its chief goals from inception. Each of these British colonies had its own distinctive culture, characteristics, and government.

In its birth as a new country, the USA under its original constitution of the Articles of Confederation was not a repudiation of its colonial Christian social order, but an effort to preserve it outside the dominion of the British empire, which American patriots believed threatened and undermined the order. Such is evidenced in its Declaration of Independence:

“The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America, When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them...For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:... Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence.”

Such is also evidenced in the words of the Articles of Confederation:

“...the Delegates of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, did, on the 15th day of November, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy seven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America, agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union...The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other... to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state...the Articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the united states, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state...it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union...”

And such is also evidenced in its Treaty with Great Britain in 1783 while still a confederated nation:

“The Definitive Treaty of Peace 1783...In the Name of the most Holy and undivided Trinity. It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the Hearts of... George the Third, King of Great Britain...and of the United States of America, to forget all past Misunderstandings and Differences...and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries...signed with our hands the present definitive treaty...Done at Paris, this third day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty three...”

Acknowledging the influence of humanistic Enlightenment philosophy upon this people even during the gestation and birth of the USA is not a contradiction of this book’s thesis, for in a fallen world everything is inevitably tainted by sin and darkness of understanding. Yet humanistic Enlightenment thought had not overthrown its Biblical foundations. These foundations were still largely intact during gestation and birth, but progressively eroded over course of decades and even centuries.

This student textbook, *US History: A Call to Return to the Original Constitution and Model*, shows how the USA has largely departed but holds out hope and issues a call to return to the original vision.

# CHAPTER 1 : INDEPENDENCE AND A NEW NATION

## GESTATION AND BIRTH

The basic character of the States which would unite as the new nation of the United States of America formed during their colonial gestation period. The year 1776 marked the end of that gestation period and the birth of the new nation.

As a house with many windows, each displaying an outdoor scene from a somewhat different perspective, so there are many different ways to view America's War of Independence from Great Britain. From one angle, it was an inevitable political division between Thirteen Colonies which had matured from colonial status and a Mother Country unwilling to accept that maturity but seeking to control it as if it were still a child. From another angle, it was one party wanting to preserve the political rights and tax status it felt it had long enjoyed and were being taken away from it, unmotivated by a desire to depart from Christian principles. At another angle, it was rebellious subjects who had been deleteriously influenced by Enlightenment philosophy and were ungratefully seeking revolutionary change and freedom from Mother Britain. There is a level of truth to these and a number of other perspectives on the War, which is one reason Bible-believing Christians were on both sides of the conflict, each viewing it from a different angle. But if there is difference of perspective regarding cause of the War, there should be little difference regarding its outcome: the Thirteen Colonies gained their complete independence from Great Britain and formed the new nation of the USA. This was agreed to via treaty by both sides at war's conclusion.



Let's briefly rehearse the path from the Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen Colonies on July 4, 1776 to its consummation in the Treaty of Paris on September 3, 1783

when Great Britain agreed to recognize the sovereignty of the United States and formally ended the War.

In early 1776 Thomas Paine published a 50-page pamphlet, *Common Sense*. Within three months, it sold 100,000 copies. Paine attacked the idea of a hereditary monarchy, declaring that one honest man was worth more to society than "all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." He presented the alternatives -- continued submission to an allegedly tyrannical king and an outworn government, or liberty and happiness as a self-sufficient, independent republic. Circulated throughout the colonies, *Common Sense* helped to crystallize a decision for separation by a significant segment of the population in the Thirteen Colonies. There still remained the task, however, of gaining each colony's approval of a formal declaration of independence. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution in the Second Continental Congress, declaring, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states. ..." Immediately, a committee of five, headed by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, was appointed to draft a document for a vote.



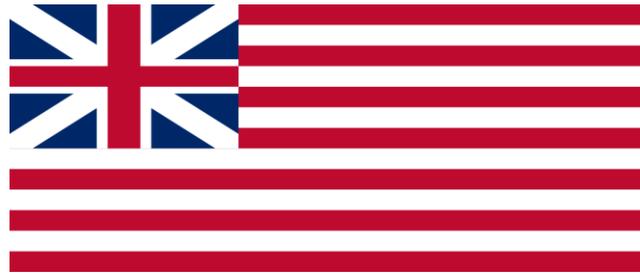
Largely Jefferson's work, the Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, not only announced the birth of a new nation, but also set forth a philosophy of human freedom that would become a dynamic force throughout the entire world in the modern age. The Declaration undeniably drew upon French and English Enlightenment political philosophy, especially John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*, while at the same time drawing upon historic rights of Englishmen and certain Biblical principles. The Declaration's familiar opening passage echoes Locke's social contract theory of government:

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. -- That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, -- That whenever any Form of*

*Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.*

While laudably acknowledging God the Creator and His role in securing human rights, it lamentably is lacking to support such a momentous political effort with explicit scriptural support. Jefferson linked Locke's principles directly to the situation in the colonies. To fight for American independence was to fight for a government based on popular consent in place of a government by a king who had "combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws. ..." Only a government based on popular consent could secure natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Thus, to fight for American independence was to fight on behalf of one's own natural rights, so ran the logic of the argument.

Those Americans that supported the independence movement in the English-speaking colonies of North America became known as Patriots, while those that opposed it became known as Loyalists. The first flag of the newly formed USA until early 1777 was the Continental Colors, which speaks to the originating British character of the Thirteen sovereign Original States united together as a confederated nation:



## **DEFEATS AND VICTORIES**

Although the Americans seeking such independence suffered severe setbacks for months after independence was declared, their tenacity and perseverance eventually paid off. During August 1776, in the Battle of Long Island in New York, Washington's position became untenable, and he executed a masterly retreat in small boats from Brooklyn to the Manhattan shore.



British General William Howe twice hesitated and allowed the Americans to escape. By November, however, Howe had captured Fort Mifflin on the Delaware River. New York City would remain under British control until the end of the war.

That December, Washington's forces were near collapse, as supplies and promised aid failed to materialize. Howe again missed his chance to crush the Patriot forces by deciding to wait until spring to resume fighting. On Christmas Day, December 25, 1776, Washington crossed the Delaware River, north of Trenton, New Jersey.



In the early morning hours of December 26, his troops surprised the British garrison there, taking more than 900 prisoners. A week later, on January 3, 1777, Washington

attacked the British at Princeton, regaining most of the territory formally occupied by the British. The victories at Trenton and Princeton revived flagging spirits.

In September 1777, however, Howe defeated the American army at Brandywine in Pennsylvania and occupied Philadelphia, forcing the Continental Congress to flee. Washington had to endure the bitterly cold winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, lacking adequate food, clothing, and supplies.



Farmers and merchants exchanged their goods for British gold and silver rather than for dubious paper money issued by the Continental Congress and the states. The saying “not worth a Continental” expressed the frustration with the depreciating fiat currency of the American Patriot government.

Valley Forge was the lowest ebb for Washington's Continental Army, but elsewhere 1777 proved to be the turning point in the war. British General John Burgoyne, moving south from Canada, attempted to invade New York and New England via Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. He had too much heavy equipment to negotiate the wooded and marshy terrain. On August 6, at Oriskany, New York, a band of Loyalists and Native Americans under Burgoyne's command ran into a mobile and seasoned Patriot force that managed to halt their advance. A few days later at Bennington, Vermont, more of Burgoyne's forces, seeking much-needed supplies, were pushed back by Patriot troops.

Moving to the west side of the Hudson River, Burgoyne's army advanced on Albany. The Patriots were waiting for him. Led by Benedict Arnold -- who would later betray the Americans at West Point, New York -- the colonials twice repulsed the British. Having by this time incurred heavy losses, Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, New York, where a vastly superior Patriot force under General Horatio Gates surrounded the British troops. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered his entire army -- six generals, 300 other officers, and 5,500 enlisted personnel.



## FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

In Romanist France, enthusiasm for the American Patriot cause was high from a number of French factions. The French intellectual world was itself stirring against feudalism and privilege and religious authority of all kind. The French Crown lent its support to the colonies for geopolitical as well as religious reasons: the French government had been eager for reprisal against Protestant Britain ever since France's defeat in 1763. This was an opportunity to divide and weaken Romanist France's chief Protestant rival. And the established church of France, the Roman Catholic Church, which had such an influential role in French political affairs, likewise saw this as an opportunity to weaken its Protestant rival. Unfortunately, the struggling young US nation took the bait of French assistance.

France began providing pivotal aid to the independence movement before there was even a Declaration of Independence. In May 1776, France sent 14 ships with war supplies to America. In fact, most of the gunpowder used by the American armies came from France. To further the Patriot cause, Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris in 1776. He sought to maximize French assistance. Sending such a prominent Patriot figure as Benjamin Franklin to France demonstrates just how important the Franco- American alliance was. Self-professed Protestant Americans – who comprised the vast majority of the American population – should have been ashamed at such an alliance with a Romish power, that undoubtedly pleased the Man of Sin in Rome.

After Britain's defeat at Saratoga, France saw the fruits of its ambitions: an opportunity to seriously weaken its ancient enemy and restore the balance of power that had been upset by the Seven Years' War (called the French and Indian War in the American colonies). On February 6, 1778, the colonies and France signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce, in which France recognized the United States and offered trade concessions. They also signed a Treaty of Alliance, which stipulated that if France entered the war, neither country would lay down its arms until the colonies won their independence, that neither would conclude peace with Britain without the consent of the other, and that each guaranteed the other's possessions in America. This was the only bilateral defense treaty signed by the United States or its predecessors until 1949. The Franco-American alliance soon broadened the conflict. In June 1778 British ships fired on French vessels, and the two countries went to war.

France was not alone in helping the Patriot cause; Romanist Spain helped as well. The United States currency, the Continental, was actually secured by Spanish silver dollars. Various financial donations were supplied by the Spanish government. Spain provided war materiel and brought European military leaders to the Patriots through a "dummy" world trading company -- Roderique Hortalez et Cie. Based in Paris, but operated out of St. Eustatius in the Lesser Antilles, the Bourbon Kings of Spain and France each provided one million livres to start the company in May of 1776, six weeks before the Declaration of Independence. The materiel and leaders were sent via ships from St.

Eustatius to Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans in the Spanish Province of Louisiana, then up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and across the Braddock and Bedford roads. For example, Patriots received this support for the Battle of Saratoga and during the Northwest campaigns led by George Rogers Clark. Baron F. W. Augustus von Steuben was brought to Valley Forge with these funds as were Casimir Pulaski, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, and others for other Patriot activities. In 1779 Romanist Spain officially entered the conflict on the side of France, but not officially as an ally of the Americans.

Roman Catholic support, and especially the support of Roman Catholic France and Spain, were crucial to the success of the Revolution. Repeatedly in the long years of weakness and distress, George Washington declared that unless aid came from France, the army would dissolve and resistance cease. "Unless a capital change takes place soon," he writes in 1781, "it will be impossible for me to maintain our posts and keep the army from dispersing." The Vatican depended upon Roman Catholic powers like France and Spain to use their muscle for Romish causes, which France and Spain did by helping the American Revolution. In addition, the Jesuit-connected Carroll family of Maryland, the wealthiest family in the States during the time of the American Revolution, supported the Patriot cause and angled for it to overturn longstanding American colonial laws which had prohibited Roman Catholic involvement in politics. It is significant that Jesuit-educated Charles Carroll of Carrollton signed the Declaration of Independence, representing Maryland.

In 1780 Britain also declared war on the Dutch, who had continued to trade with the Americans. The combination of these European powers, with France in the lead, was a far greater threat to Britain than the American colonies standing alone.

## **THE BRITISH MOVE SOUTH**

With the French now clearly involved, the British, still believing that most Southerners were Loyalists, stepped up their efforts in the Southern colonies. A campaign began in late 1778, with the capture of Savannah, Georgia. Shortly thereafter, British troops and naval forces converged on Charleston, South Carolina, the principal Southern port. They managed to bottle up Patriot forces on the Charleston peninsula.



On May 12, 1780, General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered the city and its 5,000 troops, in the greatest Patriot defeat of the war.

But the reversal in fortune only emboldened the American rebels. South Carolinian volunteer militias under Francis Marion, the “Swamp Fox”, began roaming the countryside, attacking British supply lines while engaging in guerrilla warfare.



In July, Patriot General Horatio Gates, who had assembled a replacement force of untrained militiamen, rushed to Camden, South Carolina, to confront British forces led by General Charles Cornwallis. But Gates' makeshift army panicked and ran when confronted by the British regulars. Cornwallis's troops met the Americans several more times, but the most significant battle took place at Cowpens, South Carolina, in early 1781, where the Patriots soundly defeated the British. After an exhausting but unproductive chase through North Carolina, Cornwallis set his sights on Virginia.

## **VICTORY AND INDEPENDENCE**

In July 1780 France's King Louis XVI had sent to America an expeditionary force of 6,000 men under the Comte Jean de Rochambeau. In addition, the French fleet harassed British shipping and blocked reinforcement and resupply of British forces in Virginia.

French and Patriot armies and navies, totaling 18,000 men, parried with Cornwallis all through the summer and into the fall. Finally, on October 19, 1781, after being trapped at Yorktown near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, Cornwallis surrendered his army of 8,000 British soldiers.



Although Cornwallis's defeat did not immediately end the war -- which would drag on inconclusively for almost two more years -- a new British government decided to pursue peace negotiations in Paris in early 1782, with the Patriot side represented by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay. England simply found it too costly to continue to thwart the insurgency in these colonies. On April 15, 1783, Congress approved the final treaty. Signed on September 3, the Treaty of Paris acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the 13 former colonies, now states. The new United States stretched west to the Mississippi River, north to Canada, and south to Florida, which was returned to Spain. The fledgling colonies that Richard Henry Lee had spoken of more than seven years before had finally become "free and independent states." The task of knitting together a nation remained.

## **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

The American Revolution had a significance far beyond the North American continent. It attracted the attention of a political intelligentsia throughout the European continent. Idealistic notables such as Thaddeus Kosciusko, Friedrich von Steuben, and the Marquis de Lafayette joined its ranks to affirm liberal ideas they hoped to transfer to their own nations. Its success strengthened the concept of "natural rights" throughout the Western world. It furthered the Enlightenment rationalist critique of an old order built around an established church, and often including a hereditary monarchy. In a very real sense, it

was a precursor to the French Revolution, but it lacked the French Revolution's violence and chaos because it lacked the French Revolution's revolutionary aims and it occurred in a society with a deep Protestant heritage, even if this Protestant heritage was often unwittingly being undermined.

Scholars have also argued that another persuasion contributed to the Revolution: "republicanism." Republicanism, they assert, did not deny the existence of "natural rights" but subordinated them to the belief that the maintenance of a free republic required a strong sense of communal responsibility and the cultivation of self-denying virtue among its leaders. The assertion of individual rights, even the pursuit of individual happiness, seemed egoistic by contrast. For a time republicanism threatened to displace natural rights as the major theme of the Revolution. Most historians today, however, concede that the distinction was much overdrawn. Most individuals who thought about such things in the 18th century envisioned the two ideas more as different sides of the same intellectual coin.

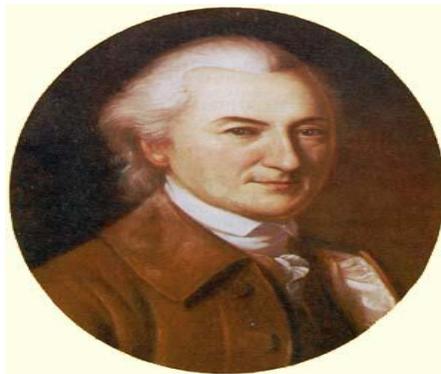
About 100,000 Loyalists left the new United States. Some thousands were members of old elites who had suffered expropriation of their property and been expelled; others were simply common people faithful to their King and opposed to what they regarded as sedition. The Revolution did open up and further liberalize an already liberal society. In New York and the Carolinas, large Loyalist estates were divided among small farmers. Liberal assumptions became the official norm of American political culture -- whether in the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, the principle of elected national and state executives, or the wide dissemination of the idea of individual freedom. Yet much of life went on as before.

## CHAPTER 2 : THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT



### THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE NEW NATION AT ITS INITIATION UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

On June 12, 1776, a day after appointing a committee to prepare a draft of the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress resolved to appoint a committee to prepare a draft of a constitution for a union of the States. The committee met frequently, and chairman John Dickinson presented their results to the Congress on July 12, 1776.



Afterward, there were long debates on such issues as state sovereignty, the exact powers to be given to Congress, whether to have a judiciary, western land claims, and voting procedures. The final draft of the *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union* was completed on November 15, 1777, and they were then adopted by the Continental Congress. They were the de facto constitution while in process of ratification by the States. They officially went into effect in 1781, having been ratified by all the States. The Articles provided a confederated union of fully sovereign States. The Articles were a league and covenant of the States of the Christian Anglo-American patriot people (the nation for which they were entered), looking to God as the one who providentially brought them into effect, as the words of the Articles themselves convey:

“...the Delegates of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, did, on the 15th day of November, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy seven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America, agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union...The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other... to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state...the Articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the united states, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state...it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union...”

The national government was not given the authority to set up tariffs, to regulate commerce, or to levy taxes. It also retained significant military power in the States. Nine states had their own armies, several their own navies. Under the Articles of Confederation, States were *required* to maintain their own “well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered” with “a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.” The right to bear arm by the citizenry was thus very well protected by law and practice.

Here were some of the things accomplished during the period the Articles of Confederation were in effect as the constitution of the confederated USA:

- The confederated USA defeated the most powerful nation and empire in the world at that time: the mighty British Empire.
- The issue of territorial expansion was addressed (see the next section).
- The importation of foreign slaves to individual States was stopped, and African-American chattel slavery was on a clear trajectory downwards. Yet States were given latitude to determine that trajectory based upon their own unique circumstances, which in turn reduced conflict among the States.

- Notable progress was made in settling the area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River, the States working with the confederated government.
- There were no federal taxes levied against the citizens of the States of the USA, including no federal income taxes.
- There was no “global nation” agenda being rammed down the throats of Anglo-American patriots, with “open borders” immigration of nations and peoples who could not assimilate into the Christian Anglo-American patriot people.
- The confederated USA was not a centralized empire ruled by an elite few in a centralized national capital, but power was distributed to States and localities, bettering protecting the freedoms of the citizenry.
- There was no out-of-control Federal judicial branch of unelected, unaccountable and tenured judges passing mandates upon Americans.
- There was no centralized Federal government that did not follow the constitution itself while hammering the States and people with all sorts of wicked mandates and doctrines contrary to Biblical principles.
- There were no federal laws which disadvantaged Anglo-American patriots by which and for which the nation was formed, to the benefit of other peoples and an elite few.
- There was no out-of-control federal executive branch making wars without Congressional approval and a massive, unelected bureaucracy enacting regulation-upon-regulation.
- American Indians and African Americans continued to be evangelized with the Biblical gospel for their own long-term benefit, as well as the Anglo-American people, without thorough undermining of such by a Federal government determined to ram an un-Biblical philosophy upon the populace.
- A major rebellion in Massachusetts (Shay’s Rebellion) was quelled by the Massachusetts militia and without a massive standing federal army.
- There was no government owned and controlled central bank wielding monopoly economic power and impoverishing the common citizenry.
- A recession was handled without federal government intrusion and amassing of power and counter-productive addition to debt, but instead letting the market work through the situation with foreclosures and business re-organizations.
- The nation was professedly Christian for the professedly Christian Anglo-American patriot people, as implied by the Articles.

So the original political structure of the USA was a confederation, with the Articles of Confederation as the constitution. Under it, the Continental Congress remained professedly Christian in character, as manifested by the following:

On September 6, 1774 -- less than two years before the colonies formally declared independence from Great Britain -- the Continental Congress made its first official act a call for prayer.

On May 16, 1776, the Continental Congress appointed an official national day of fasting and prayer for the colonies:

*The Congress...Desirous...to have people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending providence, and of their duty, devoutly to rely...on His aid and direction...Do earnestly recommend Friday, the 17th day of May be observed by the colonies as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer; that we may, with united hearts, confess and bewailed our manifold sins and transgressions, and, by sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease God's righteous displeasure, and, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain this pardon and forgiveness.*

The Continental Congress on September 11, 1777, ordered the importation of 20,000 Bibles for the American troops. The law read as follows:

*The use of the Bible is so universal and its importance so great that your committee refers the above to the consideration of Congress, and if Congress shall not think it expedient to order the importation of types and paper, the Committee recommends that Congress will order the Committee of Commerce to import 20,000 Bibles from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere, into the different parts of the States of the Union. Whereupon it was resolved accordingly to direct said Committee of Commerce to import 20,000 copies of the Bible.*

Indeed, the Congress authorized its endorsement to be printed on the front page of the edition of the Bible approved for the American people:

*Whereupon, Resolved, that the Unites States in Congress assembled...recommend this edition of the Bible to the inhabitants of the Unites States, and hereby authorize [Robert Aitken] to publish this recommendation in the manner he shall think proper.*

The Continental Congress on October 18, 1780, issued another Proclamation for a Day of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer:

*Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, amidst the vicissitudes and calamities of war, to bestow blessings on the people of these states, which call for their devout and thankful acknowledgments, more especially in the late remarkable interposition of his watchful providence, in the rescuing the person of our Commander-in-Chief and the army from imminent dangers, at the moment when treason was ripened for execution...*

*It is therefore recommended to the several states...a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, that all the people may assemble on that day celebrate the praises of our Divine Benefactor; to confess our unworthiness of the least of His favors, and to offer our fervent supplication to the God of all grace...to cause the knowledge of Christianity to spread over all the earth.*

On July 13, 1787, the Continental Congress passed "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States." This law was passed again by the United States Congress:

*Article* *III*  
*Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.*

## STATE CONSTITUTIONS

The success of the American Revolution gave Americans the opportunity to give legal form to their ideals as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and to remedy some of their grievances through state constitutions. As early as May 10, 1776, Congress had passed a resolution advising the colonies to form new governments "such as shall best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents." Some of them had already done so, and within a year after the Declaration of Independence, all but three had drawn up constitutions.

Naturally, the first objective of the framers of the state constitutions was to secure those "unalienable rights" whose violation had caused the former colonies to repudiate their connection with Britain. Thus, each constitution began with a declaration or bill of rights. Virginia's, which served as a model for others, included a declaration of principles: popular sovereignty, rotation in office, freedom of elections, and an enumeration of fundamental liberties: moderate bail and humane punishment, speedy trial by jury, freedom of the press and of conscience or religion, and the right of the majority to reform or alter the government. Some of these provisions were quite consistent with Biblical principles of justice, but some were inimical to them.

Other states enlarged the list of liberties to freedom of speech, of assembly, and of petition. Their constitutions frequently included such provisions as the right to bear arms, to a writ of habeas corpus, to inviolability of domicile, and to equal protection under the law. Moreover, all prescribed a three-branch structure of government -- executive, legislative, and judiciary -- each checked and balanced by the others. Here again, some of the provisions were quite consistent with Biblical principles of justice, but some were inimical to them.

Pennsylvania's constitution was the most radical. In that state, Philadelphia artisans, Scots-Irish frontiersmen, and German-speaking farmers had taken control. The provincial congress adopted a constitution that permitted every male taxpayer and his sons to vote, required rotation in office (no one could serve as a representative more than four years out of every seven), and set up a single chamber legislature. There was no religious test oath, so that the most wicked infidel or heretic was allowed to govern.

The state constitutions had clear limitations, particularly by more recent standards. Constitutions established to guarantee people their natural rights did not conform to radical egalitarianism. The colonies south of Pennsylvania excluded their slave populations. Women were treated differently under the law. No state went so far as to permit universal male suffrage, and even in those states that permitted all taxpayers to vote (Delaware,

North Carolina, and Georgia, in addition to Pennsylvania), office-holders were required to own a certain amount of property.

Neither should it be imagined that most States repudiated express attachment to the Christian religion, as evidenced in these provisions from various State constitutions of the time:

***DELAWARE, 1776***

Every person who shall be chosen a member of either house, or appointed to any office or place of trust, before taking his seat, or entering upon the execution of his office, shall take the following oath, or affirmation, if conscientiously scrupulous of taking an oath, to wit: "I, do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for evermore; and I do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

***MARYLAND, 1776***

That no other test or qualification ought to be required, on admission to any office of trust or profit, than such oath of support and fidelity to this State, and such oath of office, as shall be directed by this Convention or the Legislature of this State, and a declaration of a belief in the Christian religion.

***NEW JERSEY, 1776***

No Protestant inhabitant of this Colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect. who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the Legislature. . . .

***PENNSYLVANIA, 1776***

I do believe in one God, the creator and governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration.

***NORTH CAROLINA, 1776***

That no person, who shall deny the being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testaments, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State.

***GEORGIA, 1777***

The representatives shall be . . . of the Protestant religion. . . .

***VERMONT, 1777***

And each member, before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration, " I \_\_\_\_ do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the Diverse, the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the scriptures of

the old and new testament to be given by divine inspiration, and own and profess the protestant religion.”

***MASSACHUSETTS, 1780***

Any person chosen governor, lieutenant-governor, councillor, senator, or representative, and accepting the trust, shall, before he proceed to execute the duties of his place or office, make and subscribe the following declaration: “I . . . do declare that I believe the Christian religion, and have a firm persuasion of its truth; and that I am seized and possessed, in my own right, of the property required by the constitution, as one qualification for the office or place to which I am elected.”

***NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1784***

Every member of the house of representatives shall be of the Protestant religion. . . . That no person shall be capable of being elected a senator who is not of the Protestant religion. . . . The President shall be chosen annually; and no person shall be eligible to this office, unless at the time of his election, he . . . shall be of the protestant religion.

**ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION**

With the end of the Revolution, the United States again had to face the old unsolved Western question, the problem of expansion, with its complications of land, fur trade, Indians, settlement, and local government. Lured by the richest land yet found in the country, pioneers poured over the Appalachian Mountains and beyond. By 1775 the far-flung outposts scattered along the waterways had tens of thousands of settlers. Separated by mountain ranges and hundreds of miles from the centers of political authority in the East, the inhabitants established their own governments. Settlers from all the Tidewater states pressed on into the fertile river valleys, hardwood forests, and rolling prairies of the interior. By 1790 the population of the trans-Appalachian region numbered well over 120,000. The Congress under the Articles of Confederation passed two major pieces of legislation that effectively and efficiently addressed the issue of westward expansion of the young nation: the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.



The Land Ordinance of 1785 established both the general practices of land surveying in the west and northwest and the land ownership provisions used throughout the later westward expansion beyond the Mississippi River. Frontier lands were surveyed into the now-familiar squares of land called the township (36 square miles), the section (one square mile), and the quarter section (160 acres). This system was over time carried forward to most of the States west of the Mississippi.

Before the war, several colonies had laid extensive and often overlapping claims to land beyond the Appalachians. To those without such claims this rich territorial prize seemed unfairly apportioned. Maryland, speaking for the latter group, introduced a resolution that the western lands be considered common property to be parceled by the Congress into free and independent governments. This idea was not received enthusiastically. Nonetheless, in 1780 New York led the way by ceding its claims. In 1784 Virginia, which held the grandest claims, relinquished all land north of the Ohio River. Other states ceded their claims, and it became apparent that the Congress of the Confederation would come into possession of all the lands north of the Ohio River and west of the Allegheny Mountains. This common possession of millions of hectares was the most tangible evidence yet of nationality and unity, and gave a certain substance to the idea of national sovereignty. At the same time, these vast territories were a problem that required solution.

The Confederation Congress established a system of limited self-government for this new national Northwest Territory. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided for its organization, initially as a single district, ruled by a governor and judges appointed by the Congress. The Northwest Ordinance noted the agreement of the original States to give up

northwestern land claims, organized the Northwest Territory and laid the groundwork for the eventual creation of new states. While it did not happen under the Articles, the land north of the Ohio River and west of the (present) western border of Pennsylvania ceded by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, eventually became the states of: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and the part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River. New states admitted to the Union in this territory would never be slave states, according to the Northwest Ordinance. They were added as such without significant North-South controversy because Southern States did not need to worry about an all-powerful and intrusive centralized Federal government that would come and crush them into submission to the Northern paradigm and according to a time frame they found unacceptable. Without a supreme centralized national government, the States were not under the pressure cooker of fitting within one paradigm. The Southern States were thus able to address it as they determined to be prudent and circumstances on the ground allowed.

When this territory had 5,000 free male inhabitants of voting age, it was to be entitled to a legislature of two chambers, itself electing the lower house. In addition, it could at that time send a nonvoting delegate to Congress. Three to five states would be formed as the territory was settled. Whenever any one of them had 60,000 free inhabitants, it was to be admitted to the Union "on an equal footing with the original states in all respects." The ordinance sought to protect civil rights and liberties (as they were conceived by the people of the time), encourage education, and prohibited slavery or other forms of involuntary servitude.

The new policy repudiated the concept that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country and were politically subordinate. Instead, it established the principle that colonies ("territories") were an extension of the nation and entitled, not as a privilege but as a right, to all the benefits of equality.

## **THE ROAD TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION**

Even before the time the Northwest Ordinance was enacted, a number of American leaders were itching to draft a new constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation that would consolidate and centralize political power in a national government. Chief among them were Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, and James Madison. These used the vehicle of a series of meetings outside the framework of the Articles of Confederation to obtain their end, ultimately by means illegal and contrary to the covenant sworn in the Articles of Confederation. Each step along the way, however, did not disclose the ultimate end.

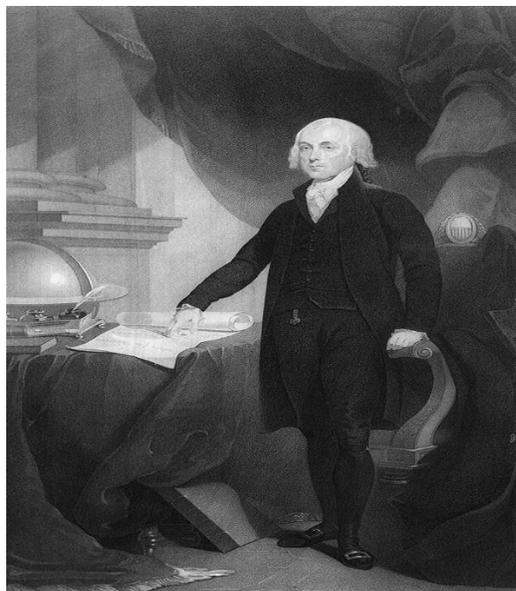
The first conference was the Mount Vernon Conference of 1785, named after the residence of George Washington's estate where it was convened, with Washington as the presiding officer. To ensure mutually profitable commerce on their shared waterways, the

Virginia and Maryland legislatures recognized the need for an agreement between the two states regarding the jurisdiction of the waters, and so called the conference.



The conference established the Potomac River as a common waterway for use by Virginia as well as Maryland. It provided for reciprocal fishing rights, dividing the costs of constructing navigation aids, cooperation on defense and cases of piracy. It also called for commissioners to deal with any future problems that might arise. Virginia and Maryland did this without consent of the Confederation Congress, arguably in violation of its provision that “no two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the united states in congress assembled...”

With the precedent of the Mount Vernon Conference addressing interstate commerce outside the framework of the Articles of Confederation, James Madison of Virginia advocated for further discussions on constitutional issues facing the states outside its framework.



He introduced a proposal in the Virginia General Assembly to act on the suggestion of the Mount Vernon Compact commissioners for further debate of interstate issues. With Maryland's agreement, Virginia invited all the states to attend another meeting on commercial issues, the Annapolis Convention of 1786.

Formally titled "A Meeting of Commissioners to Remedy Defects of the Federal Government", the Annapolis Convention convened at George Mann's Tavern in Annapolis, Maryland. Delegates from five states (appointed delegates from four others either arrived too late to participate or otherwise did not attend) gathered to discuss ways to facilitate commerce between the states and establish standard rules and regulations. As a result of the gathering, commissioners called for there to be another constitutional convention at which possible improvements to the Articles could be discussed. The final report of the convention, drafted by delegate Alexander Hamilton of New York and adopted unanimously, was sent to the Confederation Congress and to the states. It sought support for a broader constitutional convention to be held the following May in Philadelphia. It expressed the hope that more states would be represented and that their delegates or deputies would be authorized to examine areas broader than simply commercial trade. The Annapolis conference issued a call for all the states to appoint representatives to a convention to be held the following spring in Philadelphia. The Confederation Congress was at first indignant over this bold step, but it acquiesced to the convention in its stated task to "correct and enlarge" the Articles of Confederation. After Washington gave the project his backing and was elected a delegate. During the next fall and winter, elections were held in all states but Rhode Island.

Although the stated purpose of the 1787 Philadelphia convention was to revise the league of states and system of government under the Articles of Confederation, the intention from the outset of many of its proponents, chief among them James Madison of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton of New York, was to create a brand new centralized Federal government rather than amending the existing one. The delegates elected George Washington to become President of the convention. The result of the convention was the creation of the Federal Constitution of the United States, placing the Convention among the most significant events in American history. At the time, the convention was not referred to as a "Constitutional" convention, nor did most of the delegates arrive intending to draft a new constitution. Many assumed that the purpose of the convention was to discuss and draft improvements to the existing Articles of Confederation, and would have not agreed to participate otherwise. Once the convention began, however, most of the delegates – though not all – came to agree in general terms that the goal would be a new centralized system of government, not simply an amended version of the Articles of Confederation.

Edmund Randolph of Virginia began the Philadelphia convention by proposing a series of resolutions to establish a new form of government over the states. He explained that attempting to reform the Articles of the Confederation with a "merely federal" government was inadequate to preserve the "common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare." And he instead proposed replacing the confederation with a "national government" consisting of a "supreme legislative, judiciary and executive." Gouverneur Morris of New York agreed with Randolph, explaining that while a federal government was "a mere compact resting on the good faith of the parties," the American people, and in fact all people, required a government consisting of "one

supreme power, and one only.” This assertion was contradicted by the successful experience under the Articles.

The Confederation Congress had clearly not authorized the delegates to replace the Confederation Congress with a strong centralized national one, and some of the delegates were quick to point this out. The convention had been assembled by Congress “for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles,” and two of the states had even expressly restricted their delegates to this task. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina went so far as to say that if they attempted anything more than this, then they were “declaring that the convention does not act under the authority of the recommendation of Congress,” and therefore “their business was at an end.” William Paterson of New Jersey requested that the convention read aloud the very specific set of instructions that Massachusetts had tasked its delegates with. He warned that should they exceed their commission they would “be charged by our constituents with usurpation.”

However, Randolph and others disregarded these reservations. Alexander Hamilton, representing New York, agreed with both Randolph’s assessment of the situation and the cure. In Hamilton’s opinion, Congress had demonstrated that as a representative of the states it was totally inadequate to unite the people without falling prey to the local interests of the states themselves. A single, supreme national government was essential to American success, he argued.

When the convention put it to a vote, the delegates backed Hamilton and Randolph’s defense of their authority, and voted six to one to repudiate the Articles and establish a centralized national rather than maintain a decentralized confederation government. Several of the delegates walked out of the convention, convinced that staying would be a betrayal of their state governments and the oath the nation had committed to under the Articles.

A number of states, especially Rhode Island and North Carolina, vehemently opposed the replacement, as did many Anti-federalists in all of the states. Nor did the Confederation Congress ever agree to the replacement. According to Article XIII of the Articles of Confederation, any alteration had to be approved thus: “The Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.”

Nevertheless, so called Federalists insisted on the replacement, and they were some of the most powerful men in the nation. So the Articles were abandoned and replaced, creating a strong and supreme national government and eventually a “global nation” empire with its capital in Washington, DC. In this way, the Articles of Confederation were unadvisedly and illegally replaced by the Federal constitution.

Patrick Henry and other Anti-federalists decried this replacement, and warned of its effects. Their warnings have been vindicated and proved prescient. But setting aside the

results, the process itself was problematic and objectionable. The Articles of Confederation offered a legal path for amendment, and this legal path was set aside. Congress had authorized the Convention merely to draft amendments to the Articles of Confederation but, as Madison later wrote, the delegates, "with a manly confidence in their country," simply threw the Articles aside and went ahead with the building of a wholly new form of government. In other words, they rebelled against their duly authorized commission.

## **DEBATE AND COMPROMISE AT THE FEDERAL CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA**

Thus determined to form a centralized national government, with a new Federal Constitution replacing the Articles of Confederation, the delegates at the convention sought to reconcile two different powers -- the power of local control, which was already being exercised by the 13 semi-independent states, and the power of a central government. They adopted the principle that the functions and powers of the national government -- being new, general, and inclusive -- had to be defined and stated, while all other functions and powers were to be understood as belonging to the states. While in theory this general principle seemed reasonable, in practice it rarely worked that way. Over time the centralized Federal government acquired many powers never delineated for it in the Constitution, and the enervated state governments were too weak to stop it.

These delegates who met in Philadelphia were generally adherents of Montesquieu's concept of the balance of power in politics. This principle was supported by certain colonial experiences and strengthened by the writings of John Locke, with which most of the delegates were familiar. These influences led to the conviction that three equal and coordinate branches of government should be established. Legislative, executive, and judicial powers were in theory to be so harmoniously balanced that no one could ever gain control. The delegates agreed that the legislative branch, like the colonial legislatures and the British Parliament, should consist of two houses. The practical question was this, however: was such separation of powers in different branches of a centralized Federal government really sufficient to curtail centralized tyranny, or would they effectively collude to amass greater and greater power in a centralized bureaucracy? History indicates it was insufficient.

Nevertheless, on these points there was unanimity within the assembly that national government power would be supreme and that separation of powers in that government would be the primary tool used for curtailing abuse of that great power. But sharp differences also arose. Representatives of the small states -- New Jersey, for instance -- objected to changes that would reduce their influence in the national government by basing representation upon population rather than upon statehood, as was the case under the Articles of Confederation.

On the other hand, representatives of large states, like Virginia, argued for proportionate representation. This debate threatened to go on endlessly until Roger Sherman came forward with arguments for representation in proportion to the population of the states in

one house of Congress, the House of Representatives, and equal representation in the other, the Senate.

The alignment of large against small states then dissolved. But almost every succeeding question raised new divisions, to be resolved only by new compromises. Northerners wanted African American slaves counted when determining each state's tax share, but not in determining the number of seats a state would have in the House of Representatives. According to a compromise reached with little dissent, tax levies and House membership would be apportioned according to the number of free inhabitants plus three-fifths of the slaves.

Certain members, such as Sherman and Elbridge Gerry, still smarting from Shays' Rebellion, feared that the mass of people lacked sufficient wisdom to govern themselves and thus wished no branch of the Federal government to be elected directly by the people. Others thought the national government should be given as broad a popular base as possible. Some delegates wished to exclude the growing West from the opportunity of statehood; others championed the equality principle established in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

There was no serious difference on such national economic questions as paper money, laws concerning contract obligations, or the role of women, who were excluded from politics. But there was a need for balancing sectional economic interests; for settling arguments as to the powers, term, and selection of the chief executive; and for solving problems involving the tenure of judges and the kind of courts to be established.



Laboring through a hot Philadelphia summer, the convention finally achieved a draft incorporating in a brief document the organization of a complex government -- one that on paper would be supreme within a clearly defined and limited sphere. It would have full

power to levy taxes, borrow money, establish uniform duties and excise taxes, coin money, regulate interstate commerce, fix weights and measures, grant patents and copyrights, set up post offices, and build post roads. It also was authorized to raise and maintain an army and navy, manage American Indian affairs, conduct foreign policy, and wage war. It could pass laws for naturalizing foreigners and controlling public lands; it could admit new states on a basis of absolute equality with the old. It was felt that the power to pass all necessary and proper laws for executing these defined powers would render the federal government able to meet the needs of later generations and of a greatly expanded body politic. In reality, it was creating what would over time become a centralized empire of many peoples, and that largely unmoored to the Christian faith with its provision prohibiting religious test oaths- a veritable modern Babel.

Notwithstanding this almost unanimous state consensus, the Framers of the Federal Constitution prohibited religious tests for federal office-holding, in a significant departure from the past. Religious tests were needed, famed English jurist and legal commentator William Blackstone explained, to protect the established church and the government “against perils from non-conformists of all denominations, infidels, turks, jews, heretics, papists, and sectaries.” Up to this point office-holding was largely regarded as a privilege, not a right. Americans thus allowed minority religions to practice their faith while insisting that government power must be reserved for and could only be trusted to Protestant Christians.

The principle of separation of powers had already been tried in most state constitutions and was embodied in the new Federal constitution. Accordingly, the convention set up a governmental system with separate legislative, executive, and judiciary branches – each theoretically checked by the others. Thus congressional enactments were not to become law until approved by the president. And the president was to submit the most important of his appointments and all his treaties to the Senate for confirmation. The president, in turn, could be impeached and removed by Congress. The judiciary was to hear all cases arising under federal laws and the Federal Constitution; in effect, the courts were empowered to interpret both the fundamental and the statute law. But members of the judiciary, appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, could also be impeached by Congress. This theoretical check-and-balance system had the negative consequence of obscuring accountability.

To protect the Federal Constitution from hasty alteration, Article V stipulated that amendments to the Constitution be proposed either by two-thirds of both houses of Congress or by two-thirds of the states, meeting in convention. The proposals were to be ratified by one of two methods: either by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, or by convention in three-fourths of the states, with the Congress proposing the method to be used.

Finally, the convention faced this important problem: How should the powers given to the new government be enforced? Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government possessed power checked by greater state power. At the outset, most delegates furnished a single answer -- the use of force. But it was quickly seen that the application

of force upon the states would destroy the Union. The decision was that the government should not act upon the states but upon the people within the states, and should legislate for and upon all the individual residents of the country. As the keystone of the Constitution, the convention adopted two brief but highly significant statements:

*Congress shall have power ... to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the ... Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States. ... (Article I, Section 7)*

*This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding. (Article VI)*

Thus the laws of the United States became enforceable in its own national courts, through its own judges and marshals, as well as in the state courts through the state judges and state law officers.

Debate continues to this day about the motives of those who wrote the Federal Constitution. In 1913 historian Charles Beard, in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, argued that the Founding Fathers represented emerging commercial-capitalist interests that needed a strong national government. He also believed many may have been motivated by personal holdings of large amounts of depreciated government securities. However, James Madison, principal drafter of the Constitution, held no bonds and was a Virginia planter. Conversely, some opponents of the Constitution owned large amounts of bonds and securities. Economic interests influenced the course of the debate, but so did state, sectional, and ideological interests. More likely than this explanation is the Fallen sinful human tendency of leaders to want to amass power, sincerely thinking they know what is best and desiring to efficiently implement it. Embrace of Enlightenment ideas blinded them to the full corrupting effects of the Fall, the need for divine scriptural revelation, and political mechanisms to distribute power rather than centralizing it.

Yale Seminary President Timothy Dwight rightly pointed out in his address on July 23, 1812:

"Notwithstanding the prevalence of Religion, which I have described, the irreligion, and the wickedness, of our land are such, as to furnish a most painful and melancholy prospect to a serious mind. We formed our Constitution without any acknowledgment of God; without any recognition of his mercies to us, as a people, of his government, or even of his existence. The Convention, by which it was formed, never asked, even once, his direction, or his blessing upon their labours. Thus we commenced our national existence under the present system, without God. I wish I could say, that a disposition to render him the

reverence, due to his great Name, and the gratitude, demanded by his innumerable mercies, had been more public, visible, uniform, and fervent.”

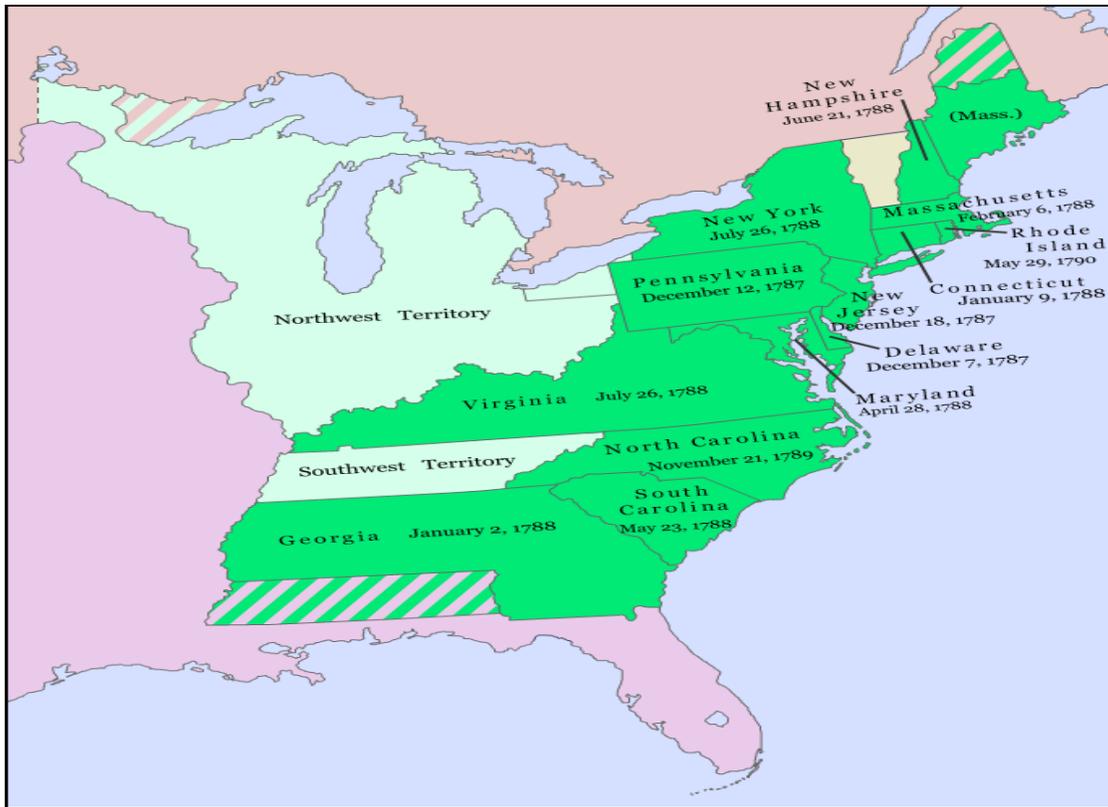
## **RATIFICATION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS**

On September 17, 1787, after 16 weeks of deliberation, the finished Federal Constitution was signed by 39 of the 42 delegates present. Franklin, pointing to the half-sun painted in brilliant gold on the back of Washington's chair, said:

*I have often in the course of the session ... looked at that [chair] behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting, sun.*

The convention was over; the members "adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other." Yet a crucial part of the struggle remained to be faced. The consent of popularly elected state conventions was still required before the document could become effective, according to the terms of this proposed new constitution. The convention had decided that the new constitution would take effect upon ratification by conventions in nine of the 13 states, again contrary to the requirement in the Articles of Confederation that alteration of it be unanimous by all of the state legislatures and with approval by the Confederation Congress, which never happened. The Confederation Congress sent it to the states without itself approving it. So now action moved to the states for consideration in their elected state conventions.

Five state conventions voted to approve the new Federal Constitution almost immediately (December 1787 to January 1788) and in all of them the vote was unanimous (Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia) or lopsided (Pennsylvania, Connecticut). Clearly, the well-organized Federalists began the contest in strong shape as they rapidly secured five of the nine states that the Philadelphia convention set as the bar. But the process in Pennsylvania, the one large early ratifier, was corrupt. The Pennsylvania state assembly was about to have its term come to an end, and had begun to consider calling a special convention on the Constitution, even before Congress had forwarded it to the states. Antifederalists in the state assembly tried to block this move by refusing to attend the last two days of the session, since without them there would not be enough members present for the state legislature to make a binding legal decision. As a result, extraordinarily coercive measures were taken to force Antifederalists to attend. Antifederalists were found at their boarding house and then dragged through the streets of Philadelphia and deposited in the Pennsylvania State House with the doors locked behind them. The presence of these Antifederalists against their will created the required number of members to allow a special convention to be called in the state, which eventually voted 46 to 23 to accept the new Constitution. The map below shows dates of ratification or surrender to the new Constitution by Pennsylvania and the other states:



The first real test of the Constitution in an influential state with both sides prepared for the contest came in Massachusetts in January 1788. Here influential older Patriots like Governor John Hancock and Samuel Adams led the Antifederalists. Further, the rural western part of the state, where Shays' Rebellion had occurred the previous year, was an Antifederalist stronghold. A bitterly divided month-long debate ensued that ended with a close vote (187-168) in favor of the new Constitution. Crucial to this narrow victory was the strong support of artisans who favored the new commercial powers of the proposed central government that might raise tariffs (taxes) on cheap British imports that threatened their livelihood. The Federalists' narrow victory in Massachusetts rested on a cross-class alliance between elite nationalists and urban workingmen. The Massachusetts vote also included an innovation with broad significance. John Hancock shifted his initial opposition to the Constitution led the move toward ratification, satisfied that certain amendments protecting individual rights were going to be considered by the first new Congress that would meet should the Constitution become law. This compromise helped carry the narrow victory in Massachusetts and was adopted by every subsequent state convention to ratify (except Maryland). It was imagined that these amendments (which became known as the Bill of Rights), would be sufficient to meet Antifederalist concerns regarding concentration of power in the national government, but alas such view history has shown was naïve and incorrect.

By June 1788 the required nine states had ratified the Constitution, but the large states of Virginia and New York had not. Most people felt that without their support the

Constitution would never be honored. To many, the document seemed full of dangers: Would not the strong central government that it established tyrannize them, oppress them with heavy taxes, and drag them into wars? Differing views on these questions brought into existence two parties, the Federalists, who favored a strong central government, and the Antifederalists, who preferred a loose association of separate states. Impassioned arguments on both sides were voiced by the press, the legislatures, and the state conventions. Arguably chief among the Federalists was Alexander Hamilton, and chief among the Antifederalists was Patrick Henry.

In Virginia, the Anti-federalists attacked the proposed new government by especially challenging the opening phrase of the Constitution: "We the People of the United States." Without using the individual state names in the Constitution, the delegates argued, the states would not retain their separate rights or powers. Virginia Antifederalists were led by Patrick Henry, who became the chief spokesman for back-country farmers who feared the powers of the new central government. Wavering delegates were persuaded by a proposal that the Virginia convention recommend a bill of rights, and Antifederalists joined with the Federalists to ratify the Constitution on June 25.

Perhaps no state was as deeply divided as New York, where the nationalist-urban artisan alliance could strongly carry New York City and the surrounding region, while more rural upstate areas were strongly Antifederalist. The opponents of the Constitution had a strong majority when the convention began and set a tough challenge for Alexander Hamilton, the leading New York Federalist. Hamilton managed a brilliant campaign that narrowly won the issue (30-27) by combining threat and accommodation.



On the one hand, Hamilton warned that commercial down state areas might separate from upstate New York if it did not ratify. On the other hand, he accepted the conciliatory path suggested by Massachusetts: amendments would be acceptable after ratification.

The debate in New York produced perhaps the most famous exploration of American political philosophy, now called *The Federalist Papers*. Originally, they were a series of 85 anonymous letters to newspapers, which were co-written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. Together they tried to assure the public of the two key points of the Federalist agenda. First, they explained that a strong government was needed for a variety of reasons, but especially if the United States was to be able to act effectively in foreign affairs. Second, it tried to convince readers that because of the separation of powers in the

central government that there was little chance of the national government evolving into a tyrannical power. Instead of growing ever stronger, the separate branches would provide a “check and balance” against each other so that none could rise to complete dominance. The influence of these newspaper letters in the New York debate is not entirely known, but their status as a classic of American political thought is beyond doubt. Although Hamilton wrote the majority of the letters, James Madison authored the ones that are most celebrated today, especially *Federalist*, No. 10.

*The Anti-Federalist Papers* is the collective name given to works written by the Founding Fathers who were opposed to or concerned with the merits of the new Federal Constitution of 1787 and who wanted to maintain the basic framework of the Articles of Confederation. Starting on September 25, 1787 (8 days after the final draft of the new US Constitution) and running through the early 1790s, these Anti-federalists published a series of essays arguing against a stronger and more energetic union as embodied in the new Constitution. Although less influential than their counterparts, *The Federalist Papers*, these works nonetheless played an important role in shaping the early American political landscape and in the passage of the US Bill of Rights.

With the narrow approval of the Constitution in Virginia and New York, in June and July 1788, respectively, the Federalists seemed to have won an all-out victory. The relatively small states of North Carolina and Rhode Island would hold out longer, but with 11 states ratifying and all the populous ones among them, the Federalists had successfully waged a remarkable political campaign of enormous significance and sweeping change. Henceforth the nation would progressively over time move towards greater and greater consolidation of power in the national government, while the geographical reach of that power and the peoples over which it ruled expanded as well.

The Federalists' efforts and goals were built upon expanding this national commitment and awareness. But the Anti-federalists even in defeat contributed enormously to the type of national government created through ratification. Their key objection challenged the purpose of a central government that did not include specific provisions protecting individual rights and liberties. Since the new national government was even more powerful and even more distant from the people, why didn't it offer the kinds of individual protections in law that most state constitutions had come to include by 1776?

To the Anti-federalists, the separation of powers was far too mild a curb against the threat of government tyranny. As a result, states beginning with Massachusetts ratified the Constitution, but called for further protections to be taken up by the new Congress as soon as it met. This loomed on the unresolved political agenda of the national Congress and the adoption of the Bill of Rights (the first ten Amendments to the Constitution) is a legacy of of Antifederalists. Their continued participation in the political process even when they seemed to have lost on the more general issue had immense importance. It was a political contest that would not die but continue so long as the Federal Constitution was in force.

So when the first Congress under the new Constitution convened in New York City in September 1789, the calls for amendments protecting individual rights (while some of these rights were consistent with Biblical principles, some deviated in not sufficiently

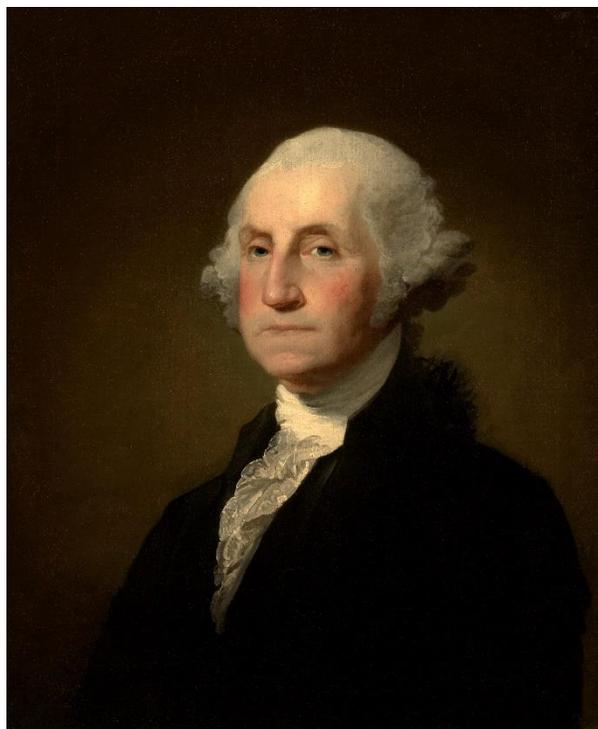
mooring the nation in Biblical Christianity) were virtually unanimous. Congress quickly adopted 12 such amendments; by December 1791, enough states had ratified 10 Amendments to make them part of the Constitution. Collectively, they are known as the Bill of Rights. Among their provisions: freedom of speech, press, religion, and the right to assemble peacefully, protest, and demand changes (First Amendment); the right to bear arms of the citizenry (Second Amendment); protection against unreasonable searches, seizures of property, and arrest (Fourth Amendment); due process of law in all criminal cases (Fifth Amendment); right to a fair and speedy trial (Sixth Amendment); protection against cruel and unusual punishment (Eighth Amendment); provision that the people retain additional rights not listed in the Constitution (Ninth Amendment); and provision that all powers not enumerated to the national government belong to the states and the people (Tenth Amendment). These limitations on Federal Government put a theoretical fence around its powers- a fence that would often be crossed by the Federal Government in coming decades, and hence a continuing source of political contention.

Since the adoption of the Bill of Rights, only 17 more Amendments have been added to the Constitution.

The USA thus became the worldwide model of what would become over time a new secularist order, where peoples of diverse religious and philosophical stripes rule, even if it leaned upon the Protestant heritage of its people for much of its success. It became predicated on inclusion and adoption of many false religions, even while leaning upon the established Biblical Protestantism of its past and its continued influences into the future.

## **PRESIDENT WASHINGTON**

One of the last acts of the Congress of the Confederation was to arrange for the first presidential election, setting March 4, 1789, as the date that the new government would come into being. One name was on everyone's lips for the new chief of state -- George Washington. He was unanimously chosen president and took the oath of office at his inauguration on April 30, 1789. In words spoken by every president since, Washington pledged to execute the duties of the presidency faithfully and, to the best of his ability, to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."



When Washington took office, the new Constitution enjoyed neither tradition nor the full backing of organized public opinion. The new government had to create its own machinery and legislate a system of taxation that would support it. Until a judiciary could be established, laws could not be enforced. The army was small. The navy had ceased to exist.

Congress quickly created the departments of State and Treasury, with Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton as their respective secretaries. Departments of War and Justice were also created. Since Washington preferred to make decisions only after consulting those men whose judgment he valued, the American presidential Cabinet came into existence, consisting of the heads of all the departments that Congress might create. Simultaneously, Congress provided for a federal judiciary -- a Supreme Court, with one chief justice and five associate justices, three circuit courts, and 13 district courts.

Meanwhile, the country was growing steadily and immigration from Europe was increasing. Americans were moving westward: New Englanders and Pennsylvanians into Ohio; Virginians and Carolinians into Kentucky and Tennessee. Good farms were to be had for small sums; labor was in strong demand. The rich valley stretches of upper New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia soon became great wheat-growing areas.

Although many items were still homemade, the Industrial Revolution was dawning in the United States. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were laying the foundation of important textile industries; Connecticut was beginning to turn out tinware and clocks; New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were producing paper, glass, and iron. Shipping had grown to such an extent that on the seas the United States was second only to Britain. Even before 1790, American ships were traveling to China to sell furs and bring back tea, spices, and silk.

At this critical juncture in the country's growth, Washington's leadership was crucial. He organized a national government, developed policies for settlement of territories previously held by Britain and Spain, stabilized the northwestern frontier, and oversaw the admission of three new states: Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796). Finally, in his Farewell Address, he warned the nation to "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." This advice influenced American attitudes toward the rest of the world for generations to come.

Evaluated by the Biblical standard, George Washington and all subsequent presidents have been seriously deficient as rulers, in contrast to many godly colonial rulers like John Smith, William Bradford, and John Winthrop. The Biblical standard is that rulers uphold and enforce both tables of the Ten Commandments, but without exception the US presidents have largely failed to do so, locked into a constitutional system forbidding them to do so. It should not surprise us that heresies and false religion have burgeoned over the course of US history, accompanied by the attendant social ills.

## **THE NEW NATIONAL CAPITAL OF WASHINGTON, DC**

The Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation had held its sessions in different places, principally at Philadelphia, and there was no permanent seat of the general government until after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The following provision, enumerating the powers of Congress (Sec. 8, Art. I), was included in that instrument: "To exercise exclusive jurisdiction over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States". Various places were proposed, and much warmth of feeling and sectional jealousy were elicited in the debates on the resolutions and bills introduced before Congress on the subject: the States of Maryland and Virginia, in 1788 and 1789, had offered the requisite area, and the "acceptance of Congress", under Acts of 1790 and 1791, constituted the District of Columbia the seat of the national government.

The territory thus selected was determined as to its exact location and boundaries by George Washington: it included within its limits the boroughs of Georgetown (where Jesuit school Georgetown College had recently been founded by Jesuit bishop John Carroll), Montgomery County (Maryland), and Alexandria (Virginia); the rest of the territory was rural. The president was also authorized to appoint three commissioners to lay out and survey a portion of the District for a federal city, to acquire the land, and to provide buildings for the residence of the president, the accommodation of Congress and the use of the government departments. One of the commissioners thus appointed was Roman Catholic and freemason Daniel Carroll of Duddington, of the family of Bishop John Carroll, and one of the principal landed proprietors of the District. The commissioners named the District "Columbia", a feminine form of Roman Catholic explorer, Columbus, and a reference as well to lady liberty.



Catholic and nephew of Bishop Carroll, was the first mayor, and was annually reappointed by Presidents Jefferson and Madison until 1812.

The historical background of this site provides important clues as to the Jesuit ties of Washington, DC from its inception. Jesuit priest Andrew White, so called "Apostle of Maryland", was the first Roman Catholic priest to visit this region: in 1639 he established a mission at Kittamaquund, a few miles below Washington, and baptized the Indian chief there. As settlements advanced up the country from lower Maryland, a fair proportion of those who acquired land in what is now the District of Columbia were Roman Catholics. In 1669 "a parcell of land. . .called Rome...was layd out of Francis Pope...extending to the south of an inlet called Tiber"; this gentleman, "Pope of Rome on the Tiber", was sheriff of Charles County, and, in all probability, a Roman Catholic. The prominent Roman Catholic families of Carroll, Digges, Queen, and Young were the possessors of extensive landed estates in the area before the American Revolution. There was no Roman Catholic church in the region during the early decades of the eighteenth century, as the public exercise of its worship was prohibited by the laws of Maryland. Roman Catholics there looked to Jesuit Fathers based elsewhere to shepherd them. The independence movement removed these barriers. Jesuit Father John Carroll, having returned to America in 1774, resided at Rock Creek, from which he made missionary excursions to all the neighboring region, including what became the District of Columbia. In 1784, he was appointed superior of the American Church. In 1789 Bishop Carroll had already taken steps for the establishment of Jesuit Georgetown College, ensuring significant Jesuit influence in what would become the new national capital. His consecration in 1790 to the See of Baltimore coincided with the selection of Washington as the seat of national government.

In 1804 visiting Irish poet Thomas Moore penned these insightful lines regarding the nation's capital:

Come let me lead thee o'er this second Rome...  
This embryo capital, where Fancy sees  
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees  
Which second-sighted seers, ev'n now adorn,  
With shrines unbuilt and heroes yet unborn...

The USA would serve as a worldwide model of a secularist state, and the revolution which effected it would serve as a model for how to attain such a state. Here is how US President Franklin Roosevelt – a freemason himself – explained the birth of the USA:

"On the Great Seal of the United States, which, for a century and a half, has reposed in the loving care of a long line of Secretaries of the State, appears these words: "Novus Ordo Seclorum" which means: "A New Order of the Ages."

But in the scheme of civilization from which ours descends, I suppose we can properly recognize that in 2500 years there have been only a few "New Orders" in the development of human living under a thing called government.

Without question, the philosophy of orderly government, in which the governed had some voice in civilized society, goes back to the days of ancient Greece...

We come to the Age of Rome – an age of a strange admixture of elections and laws and military conquest and personal dictatorship... It was an age which extended the civilization of the period to the greater part of the then known world. It was an age which forced its own conception of laws and way of life on millions of less civilized people, who previously had lived under tribal custom of centralized direction.

With Rome's collapse and the overrunning of Europe by vast population movements from farther east, orderly progress deteriorated, and the sword drove learning into hiding.

That dark period could hardly be called an Age, because it was an interim between Ages...the appearance of tiny movements in tiny places, led by tiny people, forecast the next vast step forward – the era of 1776 – the Age in which, thank God, we still live. Those beginnings originated, it is true, in the old world – among the philosophers, among the seekers of many kinds of freedom forbidden by those who governed.

There, by processes of trial and error, democracy as it has since been accepted in so many lands, had its birth and its training. We must accept that as fact because, fundamentally, nothing like it had ever existed before.

There came into being the first far-flung government in all the world whose cardinal principle was democracy – the United States of America.

With the gaining of our political freedom came ... Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

The New Order spread into almost every part of the civilized world. It spread in many forms – and over the next century almost all peoples had acquired some form of popular expression of opinion, some form of elections, of franchises, of the right to be heard..."

Roosevelt's evaluation of the United States, with its seat of power in Washington, DC, is in many respects quite accurate. The United States stands as the successor to Rome, Greece, and Babylon- a humanistic regime dominating world politics and philosophy. "Freedom" (falsely so called, because true freedom only comes through Christ and truth) became its motto. And it has served as the paradigm to be variously copied by civil regimes across the world. Thus marked the birth of a new Rome and a new Babylon in world history, and one which the Roman Catholic Church herself played no small role in birthing, in order to undermine Biblical Protestantism.

## **HAMILTON VS. JEFFERSON**

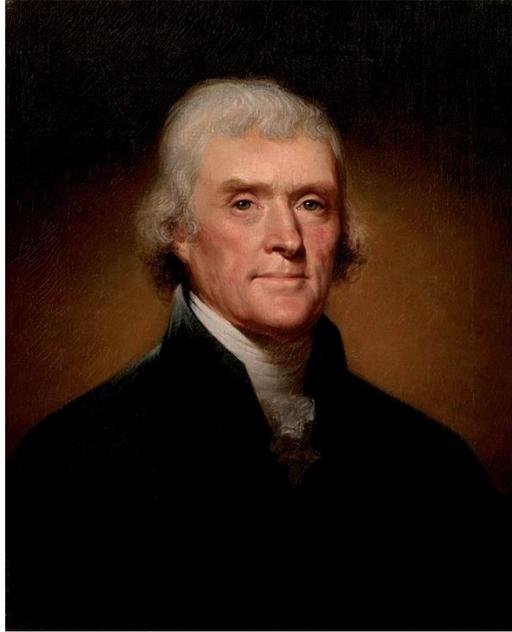
A conflict took shape in the 1790s between America's first political parties. Indeed, the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, and the Republicans (also called Democratic Republicans), led by Thomas Jefferson, were the first political parties in the Western world. Unlike loose political groupings in the British House of Commons or in the American colonies before the Revolution, both had reasonably consistent and principled platforms, relatively stable popular followings, and continuing organizations. It reflected in significant respects a continuation of the controversy between Federalists and Antifederalists over the question of the extent of centralized political power.

The Federalists in the main represented the interests of trade and manufacturing, which they saw as forces of progress in the world. They believed these could be advanced only by a strong central government capable of establishing sound public credit and a stable currency. Openly distrustful of the latent radicalism of the masses, they could nonetheless credibly appeal to workers and artisans. Their political stronghold was in the New England states. Seeing England as in many respects an example the United States should try to emulate, they favored good relations with their former mother country. Although Alexander Hamilton was never able to muster the popular appeal to stand successfully for elective office, he was far and away the Federalists' main generator of ideology and public policy. He brought to public life a love of efficiency, order, and organization. In response to the call of the House of Representatives for a plan for the "adequate support of public credit," he laid down and supported principles not only of the public economy, but of what he regarded as effective government. Hamilton pointed out that the United States must have credit for industrial development, commercial activity, and the operations of government, and that its obligations must have the complete faith and support of the people.

There were many who wished to repudiate the Confederation's national debt or pay only part of it. Hamilton insisted upon full payment and also upon a plan by which the Federal government took over the unpaid debts of the states incurred during the Revolution. He also secured congressional legislation for a Bank of the United States. Modeled after the Bank of England, it acted as the nation's central financial institution and operated branches in different parts of the country. Hamilton sponsored a national mint, and argued in favor of tariffs, saying that temporary protection of new firms could help foster the development of competitive national industries. These measures --placing the credit of the Federal government on a foundation and giving it all the revenues it needed -- encouraged commerce and industry, and created a solid phalanx of interests firmly behind the national government.

The Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, spoke primarily for agricultural interests and values. They distrusted bankers, were wary of powerful commercial and manufacturing interests, and believed that freedom and democracy flourished best in a more agrarian

society composed of many self-sufficient farmers. They felt little need for a strong central government; in fact, they tended to see it as a potential source of oppression. Thus they favored states' rights. They were strongest in the South.



Hamilton's great aim was more efficient organization, whereas Jefferson once said, "I am not a friend to a very energetic government." Hamilton feared anarchy and thought in terms of order; Jefferson feared tyranny and thought in terms of freedom. Where Hamilton saw England as an example, Jefferson, who had been minister to France in the early stages of the French Revolution, looked to the overthrow of the French monarchy as vindication of the liberal ideals of the Enlightenment. Against Hamilton's instinctive monarchial and elite conservatism, he projected the ideals of a powerful middle class democracy. But we should not imagine that either of these men wanted to return the USA to the Biblical Protestant moorings of its colonial founding or the constitutional structure of the Articles of Confederation. Both men would inevitably head the nation away from this past foundation.

An early clash between them, which occurred shortly after Jefferson took office as secretary of state, led to a new and profoundly important interpretation of the

Constitution. When Hamilton introduced his bill to establish a national bank, Jefferson, speaking for those who believed in states' rights, argued that the Constitution expressly enumerated all the powers belonging to the Federal government and reserved all other powers to the states. Nowhere was the Federal government empowered to set up a bank.

Hamilton responded that because of the mass of necessary detail, a vast body of powers had to be implied by general clauses, and one of these authorized Congress to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" for carrying out other powers specifically granted. The Constitution authorized the national government to levy and collect taxes, pay debts, and borrow money. A national bank would materially help in performing these

functions efficiently, so he argued. Congress, therefore, was entitled, under its implied powers, to create such a bank.



Washington and the Congress accepted Hamilton's view, and the First Bank of the United States was thus born, with a 20-year charter from Congress. Even more importantly, it set an important precedent for an expansive interpretation of the Federal government's authority, thus rendering the tenth Amendment to the US Constitution virtually meaningless from almost the beginning.

## **CITIZEN GENET AND FOREIGN POLICY**

Although one of the first tasks of the new government was to strengthen the domestic economy and make the nation financially secure, the United States could not ignore foreign affairs. The cornerstones of Washington's foreign policy were to preserve peace, to give the country time to recover from its wounds, and to permit the slow work of national integration to continue. Events in Europe threatened these goals. Many Americans watched the French Revolution with keen interest and sympathy. In April

1793, news came that France had declared war on Great Britain and Spain, and that a new French envoy, Edmond Charles Genet -- Citizen Genet -- was coming to the United States.

When the revolution in France led to the execution of King Louis XVI in January 1793, Britain, Spain, and Holland became involved in war with France. According to the Franco-American Treaty of Alliance of 1778, the United States and France were perpetual allies, and the United States was obliged to help France defend the West Indies. However, the United States, militarily and economically a very weak country, was in little position to become involved in another war with major European powers.

On April 22, 1793, Washington effectively abrogated the terms of the 1778 treaty that had made American independence possible by proclaiming the United States to be "friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers." When Genet arrived, he was cheered by many citizens, but treated with cool formality by the government. Angered, he violated a promise not to outfit a captured British ship as a privateer (privately owned warships commissioned to prey on ships of enemy nations). Genet then threatened to take his cause directly to the American people, over the head of the government. Shortly afterward, the United States requested his recall by the French government.

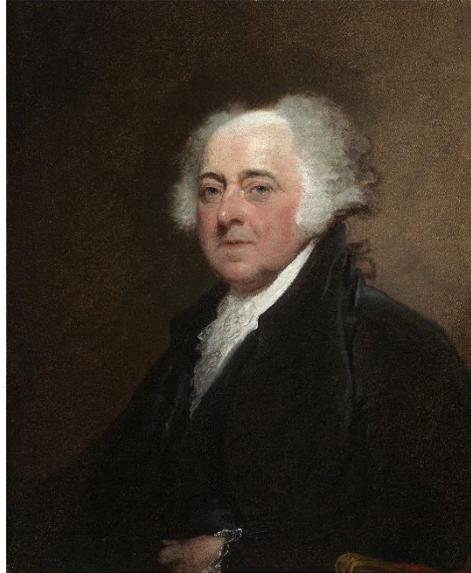
The Genet incident strained American relations with France at a time when those with Great Britain were far from satisfactory. British troops still occupied forts in the West, property carried off by British soldiers during the Revolution had not been restored or paid for, and the British Navy was seizing American ships bound for French ports. The two countries seemed to be drifting toward war. Washington sent John Jay, first chief justice of the Supreme Court, to London as a special envoy. Jay negotiated a treaty that secured withdrawal of British soldiers from western forts but allowed the British to continue the fur trade with the Indians in the Northwest. London agreed to pay damages for American ships and cargoes seized in 1793 and 1794, but made no commitments on possible future seizures. Moreover, the treaty failed to address the festering issue of British "impressment" of American sailors into the Royal Navy, placed severe limitations on American trade with the West Indies, and accepted the British view that food and naval stores, as well as war materiel, were contraband subject to seizure if bound for enemy ports on neutral ships.

American diplomat Charles Pinckney was more successful in dealing with Spain. In 1795, he negotiated an important treaty settling the Florida border on American terms and giving Americans access to the port of New Orleans. All the same, the Jay Treaty with the British reflected a continuing American weakness vis-a-vis a world superpower. Deeply unpopular, it was vocally supported only by Federalists who valued cultural and economic ties with Britain. Washington backed it as the best bargain available, and, after a heated debate, the Senate approved it.

Citizen Genet's antics and Jay's Treaty demonstrated both the difficulties faced by a small weak nation caught between two great powers and the wide gap in outlook between Federalists and Republicans. To the Federalists, Republican backers of the increasingly violent and radical French Revolution were dangerous radicals ("Jacobins"); to the Republicans, advocates of amity with England were monarchists who would subvert the natural rights of Americans. The Federalists connected virtue and national development with commerce; the Republicans saw America's destiny as that of a vast agrarian republic. The politics of their conflicting positions became increasingly vehement.

## **ADAMS AND JEFFERSON**

Washington retired in 1797, firmly declining to serve for more than eight years as the nation's head. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia (Republican) and John Adams (Federalist) vied to succeed him. Adams won a narrow election victory.



From the beginning, however, Adams was at the head of a party and an administration divided between his backers and those of his rival, Hamilton.

Adams faced serious international difficulties. France, angered by Jay's treaty with Britain, adopted its definition of contraband and began to seize American ships headed for Britain. By 1797 France had snatched 300 American ships and broken off diplomatic relations with the United States. When Adams sent three commissioners to Paris to negotiate, agents of Foreign Minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (whom Adams labeled X, Y, and Z in his report to Congress) informed the Americans that negotiations could only begin if the United States loaned France \$12 million and bribed officials of the French government. American hostility to France rose to an excited pitch, and the whole affair was lampooned in many political cartoons.



The so-called XYZ Affair led to the enlistment of troops and the strengthening of the fledgling U.S. Navy.

In 1799, after a series of sea battles with the French, war seemed inevitable. In this crisis, Adams rejected the guidance of Hamilton, who wanted war, and reopened negotiations with France. Napoleon, who had just come to power, received them cordially. The danger of conflict subsided with the negotiation of the Convention of 1800, which formally released the United States from its 1778 defense alliance with France. However, reflecting American weakness, France refused to pay \$20 million in compensation for American ships taken by the French Navy.

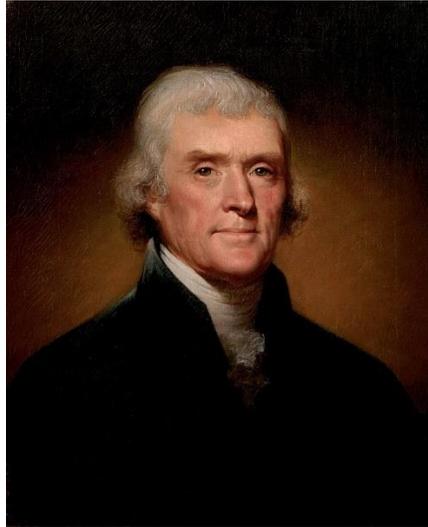
Hostility to France had led Congress to pass the Alien and Sedition Acts, which had severe repercussions for American civil liberties. The Naturalization Act, which changed the requirement for citizenship from five to 14 years, was targeted at Irish and French immigrants suspected of supporting the Republicans. The Alien Act, operative for two years only, gave the president the power to expel or imprison aliens in time of war. The Sedition Act proscribed writing, speaking, or publishing anything of "a false, scandalous, and malicious" nature against the president or Congress. The few convictions won under it created martyrs to the cause of civil liberties and aroused support for the Republicans. The acts met with resistance. Jefferson and Madison sponsored the passage of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions by the legislatures of these two states in November and December 1798. A declaration of states' rights, the resolutions asserted that states could "interpose" their views on Federal actions and "nullify" them, in one of many manifestations of the Federalist-Antifederalist controversy over history. The doctrine of nullification would be used later for the Southern states' resistance to protective tariffs, and yet later in the controversy concerning slavery.

By 1800 the American people were ready for a change. Under Washington and Adams, the Federalists had established a strong government, but they had followed policies that alienated large groups. For example, in 1798 they had enacted a tax on houses, land, and slaves, affecting every property owner in the country.

Jefferson had steadily gathered behind him a great mass of small farmers, shopkeepers, and other workers. He won a close victory in a contested election. Jefferson enjoyed extraordinary favor because of his appeal to American democratic idealism. In his inaugural address, the first such speech in the new capital of Washington, D.C., he promised "a wise and frugal government" that would preserve order among the inhabitants but leave people "otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry, and improvement."

Jefferson's mere presence in the White House changed national policy and direction. He preached and practiced democratic simplicity, eschewing much of the pomp and ceremony of the presidency. In line with Republican ideology, he sharply cut military expenditures. Believing America to be a haven for the oppressed, he secured a more liberal naturalization law. By the end of his second term, his secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, had

reduced the national debt to less than \$560 million. Widely popular, Jefferson won reelection as president easily.



## **LOUISIANA AND BRITAIN**

One of Jefferson's acts doubled the area of the country. At the end of the Seven Years' War, France had ceded its territory west of the Mississippi River to Spain. Access to the port of New Orleans near its mouth was vital for the shipment of American products from the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys. Shortly after Jefferson became president,

Napoleon forced a weak Spanish government to cede this great tract, the Louisiana Territory, back to France. The move filled Americans with apprehension and indignation. French plans for a huge colonial empire just west of the United States seriously threatened the future development of the United States. Jefferson asserted that if France took possession of Louisiana, "from that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Napoleon, however, lost interest after the French were expelled from Haiti by a slave revolt. Knowing that another war with Great Britain was impending, he resolved to fill his treasury and put Louisiana beyond the reach of Britain by selling it to the United States. His offer presented Jefferson with a dilemma: The Constitution conferred no explicit power to purchase territory. At first the president wanted to propose an amendment, but delay might lead Napoleon to change his mind. Advised that the power to purchase territory was inherent in the power to make treaties, Jefferson relented, saying that "the good sense of our country will correct the evil of loose construction when it shall produce ill effects."

The United States obtained the "Louisiana Purchase" for \$15 million in 1803. It contained more than 2,600,000 square kilometers as well as the port of New Orleans. The

nation had gained a sweep of rich plains, mountains, forests, and river systems that within 80 years would become its heartland -- and a breadbasket for the world.

President Jefferson commissioned the Lewis and Clark expedition shortly after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 to explore and to map the newly acquired territory, to find a practical route across the western half of the continent, and to establish an American presence in this territory before Britain and other European powers tried to claim it. The campaign's secondary objectives were scientific and economic: to study the area's plants, animal life, and geography, and to establish trade with local American Indian tribes. The expedition returned to St. Louis to report its findings to Jefferson, with maps, sketches, and journals in hand.



As Jefferson began his second term in 1805, he declared American neutrality in the struggle between Great Britain and France. Although both sides sought to restrict neutral shipping to the other, British control of the seas made its interdiction and seizure much more serious than any actions by Napoleonic France. British naval commanders routinely searched American ships, seized vessels and cargoes, and took off sailors believed to be British subjects. They also frequently impressed American seamen into their service. When Jefferson issued a proclamation ordering British warships to leave U.S. territorial waters, the British reacted by impressing more sailors. Jefferson then decided to rely on economic pressure; in December 1807 Congress passed the Embargo Act, forbidding all foreign commerce. Ironically, the law required strong police authority that vastly increased the powers of the national government. Economically, it was disastrous. In a single year American exports fell to one-fifth of their former volume. Shipping interests were almost ruined by the measure; discontent rose in New England and New York. Agricultural interests suffered heavily also. Prices dropped drastically when the Southern and Western farmers could not export their surplus grain, cotton, meat, and tobacco.

The embargo failed to starve Great Britain into a change of policy. As the grumbling at home increased, Jefferson turned to a milder measure, which partially conciliated domestic shipping interests. In early 1809 he signed the Non-Intercourse Act permitting commerce with all countries except Britain or France and their dependencies.

James Madison succeeded Jefferson as president in 1809. Relations with Great Britain grew worse, and the two countries moved rapidly toward war. The president laid before Congress a detailed report, showing several thousand instances in which the British had impressed American citizens. In addition, northwestern settlers had suffered from attacks by Indians whom they believed had been incited by British agents in Canada. In turn, many Americans favored conquest of Canada and the elimination of British influence in North America, as well as vengeance for impressment and what they regarded as commercial repression. By 1812, war fervor was dominant. On June 18, the United States declared war on Britain.

## **THE WAR OF 1812**

The nation went to war bitterly divided. While the South and West favored the conflict, New York and New England opposed it because it interfered with their commerce. The U.S. military was weak. The army had fewer than 7,000 regular soldiers, distributed in widely scattered posts along the coast, near the Canadian border, and in the remote interior. The state militias were poorly trained and undisciplined.

Hostilities began with an invasion of Canada, which, if properly timed and executed, would have brought united action against Montreal. Instead, the entire campaign miscarried and ended with the British occupation of Detroit. The U.S. Navy, however, scored successes. In addition, American privateers, swarming the Atlantic, captured 500 British vessels during the fall and winter months of 1812 and 1813.

The campaign of 1813 centered on Lake Erie. General William Henry Harrison -- who would later become president -- led an army of militia, volunteers, and regulars from Kentucky with the object of reconquering Detroit. On September 12, while he was still in upper Ohio, news reached him that Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry had annihilated the British fleet on Lake Erie.



Harrison occupied Detroit and pushed into Canada, defeating the fleeing British and their Indian allies on the Thames River. The entire region now came under American control.

A year later Commodore Thomas Macdonough won a point-blank gun duel with a British flotilla on Lake Champlain in upper New York. Deprived of naval support, a British invasion force of 10,000 men retreated to Canada. Nevertheless, the British fleet harassed the Eastern seaboard with orders to "destroy and lay waste." On the night of August 24, 1814, an expeditionary force routed American militia, marched to Washington, D.C., and left the city in flames. President James Madison fled to Virginia.



British and American negotiators conducted talks in Europe. The British envoys decided to concede, however, when they learned of Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain. Faced with the depletion of the British treasury due in large part to the heavy costs of the Napoleonic Wars, the negotiators for Great Britain accepted the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814. It provided for the cessation of hostilities, the restoration of conquests,

and a commission to settle boundary disputes. Unaware that a peace treaty had been signed, the two sides continued fighting into 1815 near New Orleans, Louisiana. Led by General Andrew Jackson, the United States scored the greatest land victory of the war, ending for once and for all any British hopes of reestablishing continental influence south of the Canadian border.

While the British and Americans were negotiating a settlement, Federalist delegates selected by the legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire gathered in Hartford, Connecticut, to express opposition to "Mr. Madison's war." New England had managed to trade with the enemy throughout the conflict, and some areas actually prospered from this commerce. Nevertheless, the Federalists claimed that the war was ruining the economy. With a possibility of secession from the Union in the background, the convention proposed a series of constitutional amendments that would protect New England interests. Instead, the end of the war, punctuated by the smashing victory at New Orleans, stamped the Federalists with a stigma of disloyalty from which they never recovered.

## CHAPTER 3 : CONSERVATIVE RELIGIOUS BACKLASH

### PROTESTANT REVIVAL

From its inception the United States held the promise of being one of the greatest powers on earth. Although the American Revolution had erased Protestantism from her national constitution, many other aspects of American life continued to enjoy the blessing of Protestantism, her heritage from the colonial era. In large measure America derived its stability from the strong presence of Protestantism which yet remained, preserving it from a rapid descent into the moral anarchy which is the logical end of a society premised upon secular humanism. This Protestant element kept it from the debacle of France in its French Revolution and of Russia and China in their communist experiments. In some cases the Protestant element retained a substantial degree of theological soundness, though befuddled by the lie of the propriety of a secularist state premised upon "common sense" philosophy. Illustrious examples were Timothy Dwight, Charles Hodge, Robert L. Dabney, and Jay Gresham Machen. Apparently many Protestants will only recognize the inconsistency of their allegiance to political secularism as they witness the utter decadence into which a secularist-based society falls.

Enlightenment philosophy had never thoroughly penetrated the American populace during the Revolutionary era, and even less so in the generation following the

Revolutionary era. By the time the revolutionary Thomas Paine returned to America after a time in France, he was ostracized for his anti-Christian tendencies. Paine's crime was that he had followed Enlightenment philosophy more to its logical conclusion, whereas most Americans had only embraced it to a point. Clearly, most Americans were not prepared to throw their Protestant faith overboard, even though they established secularist government at the federal level, and increasingly at the state level as well. In fact, there was something of a revival in orthodox Protestantism in the next generation, a conservative reaction to the extremes of the revolutionary era, and especially the French Revolution. This conservative reaction particularly manifested itself at Yale and Princeton Colleges, two of the leading colleges in America, and at that time bastions of more orthodox Congregationalism and Presbyterianism.

At Yale the leader of this revival was minister and scholar Timothy Dwight. During the period of the American Revolution Enlightenment philosophy had spread rapidly through the population and the intellectual leadership of the nation. Such thinking taught that the scripture was mere fable, that divine revelation was non-existent, and that human reason was the sole judge of right and wrong. The philosophy exalted man and ignored God. It proclaimed the innate goodness of man, while inviting lawlessness, and tempted the same men it exalted into debasing self-indulgence and sin. When Dwight arrived at Yale to preside over it, the moral and scholarly atmosphere of the school was at a low. Membership in the college church hovered near zero. Most undergraduates avowed themselves skeptics. One of the students of that day later wrote, "intemperance, profanity, and gambling were common; yea, and also licentiousness." Some of the students had taken to calling each

other not by their given names, but rather by the names of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, and of other French and English infidels. The campus supported not one but two societies dedicated to the reading and distribution of literature by deist Thomas Paine. Yale's laws at that time stated, "If any Scholar shall deny the Holy Scriptures, or any part thereof, to be of divine authority; or shall assert and endeavour to propagate among the Students any error or heresy subverting the foundations of the Christian religion, and shall persist therein, after admonition, he shall be dismissed." In spite of this, most Yale men scoffed at the idea of divine revelation. But Dwight, both college President and professor of Divinity, challenged the religious heterodoxy that permeated the Yale student body.



He critiqued the prevailing infidelity, showing the irrationality of disbelief in scripture. From the class of graduate theology majors Dwight chose several to train as staff officers, in order to help preserve the faith of students who had escaped the net of infidelity. After seven years of such preaching, a revival broke out on campus. Of 230 students, one third professed conversion. Thirty of these entered the ministry. Others were prominent in New England life. One of Dwight's disciples later wrote, "Dwight, through the blessing of God, changed the college from a sink of moral and spiritual pollution into a residence not only of science and literature, but of morality and religion, a nursery of piety and virtue, a fountain whence has issued streams to make glad the city of God."

Harvard had been lost to the Unitarian influence as early as 1805 when the overseers of Harvard appointed a Unitarian to the Professor of Divinity. The next year they elected as president of Harvard a man with strong inclinations toward Unitarianism. This election caused no small alarm among the Christian denominations. Such concerns led to the founding of Andover Theological Seminary. The founding board consulted Dwight on the appointment of faculty, and the curriculum, and the overall plan of the seminary. Eventually they asked him to serve on the governing board. So it was that Dwight's influence spread from Yale to the first theological seminary in America. Through Dwight, God raised up generations of ministers and shepherds for the New England people. His influence lasted for decades.

At Princeton, Archibald Alexander (1772-1851) oversaw the establishment of Princeton Theological Seminary, the preeminent institution of American “Old School” Presbyterianism.



Alexander, of Scot-Irish descent, had grown up in a frontier environment. Having little formal education, he studied with William Graham at Liberty Hall Academy (Washington and Lee University). Prior to assuming his duties at

Princeton in 1812, Alexander pastored churches and served as president of Hampden-Sydney College (1796-1807) in his native Virginia and ministered in the Pine Street Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia (1807-1812). Recognizing the need for institutions providing formal training for Presbyterian ministers, Alexander issued a call for schools in 1808, and in 1812 Princeton Theological Seminary emerged as the first Presbyterian seminary in America, with Alexander as its first professor and the one that set it on its path.

So there were these stabilizing Protestant influences which kept America from descending into moral anarchy- a moral anarchy which would have surely been disastrous for the young republic. Although theological liberalism captivated important institutions like Harvard, much of the American population decidedly rejected it after the revolutionary era. Although American Protestantism would become beset by various forms of heresy, yet a significant segment did not relinquish its attachment to the principle that the Bible is the infallible and sufficient Word of God.

The foundational heresy that did pervade almost every segment of the American population – theologically conservative or liberal - was a form of “common sense” philosophy. There was a common belief that men could govern in a morally appropriate way, even though adhering to different religions. It was thought that all men should have common sense enough to see the reasonableness of government framed in accordance with the principles in the US Constitution, and that government would rule justly. Most Americans imagined that they had found the perfect model for organizing a society: religious faith of some kind at the family and personal levels, combined with religiously neutral, democratic civil government. Although logically incoherent and contrary to the doctrine of man’s total depravity, the American philosophy has been pursued with a religious zeal that made it a formidable force in the world. Americans perceived it as their

destiny to bring this new social model to people around the world, starting with the territories that lay between them and the Pacific Ocean. It was a model contradicting that of the Protestants of the Protestant Reformation, who realized that all must be subject to Christ, whereas American Protestantism imagined there was neutral territory in the realm of politics and civil government. American Protestants naively imagined that the leaven of false religion and worship in their midst would not leaven the whole lump, and eventually lead to all sorts of injustices.

Although there was a significant splintering of denominational affiliation, in the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War the Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches remained the most influential Christian churches in America. The Anglican Church in America – which upon America's break with England was established as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S. – never regained the influential status she had known during the colonial era. She could not readily adapt to the new national circumstances, and after the Civil War she succumbed to theological liberalism which further depleted her vitality. Members in the Congregationalist and

Presbyterian churches largely supported the American Revolution, and in early American history they continued to appeal to and attract a large segment of the population. They also took an active part in the westward expansion of the nation.

The so called “Second Great Awakening” in early 19<sup>th</sup> century America fostered the splintering of denominational affiliation.

## **THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING**

This "Second Great Awakening" consisted of several kinds of activity, distinguished by locale and expression of religious commitment. In New England, the renewed interest in religion inspired a wave of social activism. In western New York, the spirit of revival encouraged the emergence of new denominations. In the Appalachian region of Kentucky and Tennessee, the revival strengthened the Methodists and the Baptists, and spawned a new form of religious expression -- the camp meeting.

The religious enthusiasm in New England at the time gave rise to interdenominational missionary societies, formed to evangelize the West. Members of these societies not only acted as apostles for the faith, but as educators, civic leaders, and exponents of Eastern, urban culture. Publication and education societies promoted Christian education. Most notable among them was the American Bible Society, founded in 1816. Social activism inspired by the revival gave rise to abolition-of-slavery groups and the Society for the Promotion of Temperance, as well as to efforts to reform prisons and care for the handicapped and mentally ill.

Western New York, from Lake Ontario to the Adirondack Mountains, had been the scene of so many religious revivals in the past that it was known as the "Burned-Over District."

Here, the dominant figure was Charles Grandison Finney, a lawyer who had experienced a religious epiphany and set out to preach his false Arminian gospel. His revivals were characterized by careful planning, showmanship, and advertising. Finney preached in the Burned-Over District throughout the 1820s and the early 1830s, before moving to Ohio in 1835 to take a chair in theology at Oberlin College, of which he subsequently became president.

Two other important heretical religious denominations in America -- the Mormons and the Seventh Day Adventists -- also got their start in the Burned-Over District.

In the Appalachian region, the revival took on characteristics similar to the Great Awakening of the previous century. But here, the center of the revival was the camp meeting, a religious service of several days' length, for a group that was obliged to take shelter on the spot because of the distance from home. Pioneers in thinly populated areas looked to the camp meeting as a refuge from the lonely life on the frontier. Hundreds and perhaps thousands of people participated in such camp meetings, which included dancing, shouting, and singing. Sadly, such a meeting was generally short on doctrinal soundness and precision. Probably the largest camp meeting was at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801; between 10,000 and 25,000 people attended.



The great revival quickly spread throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, and southern Ohio, with the Methodists and the Baptists its prime beneficiaries. Each denomination had assets that allowed it to thrive on the frontier. The Methodists had a very efficient organization that depended on ministers -- known as circuit riders -- who sought out people in remote frontier locations. The circuit riders came from among the common people and possessed a rapport with the frontier families they hoped to convert. The Baptists had no formal church organization. Their farmer preachers were people who thought they received "the call" from God, studied the Bible, and founded a church, which then ordained them. Other candidates for the ministry emerged from these churches, and established a presence

farther into the wilderness. Using such methods, the Baptists became dominant throughout the border states and most of the South over time.

The Second Great Awakening exercised a profound impact on American history. The numerical strength of the Baptists and Methodists rose relative to that of the denominations dominant in the colonial period -- Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. The growing differences within American Protestantism reflected the growth and diversity of the expanding nation.

## **THE RISE OF ROMANISM**

During America's colonial era Roman Catholicism was suppressed in the English-speaking colonies of North America. Before the American Revolution, Roman Catholics could neither vote nor hold political office. Significantly but inconspicuously Roman Catholicism rose in power during the early years of the US republic. One Roman Catholic family in particular led this movement: the Carrolls of Maryland. Descended from the Calvert proprietors of Maryland, they were among the wealthiest extended families in the English colonies. Charles Carroll, Daniel Carroll, and John Carroll were especially influential in the revolution and in the formation of the new nation. Daniel's older brother was John Carroll, a Jesuit and the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States. At the age of thirteen, he began studies at St. Omer, a Jesuit college, and entered the Society of Jesus following his graduation. Soon after, he began intensive studies in philosophy and theology in what is now Belgium. Fourteen years later, at the age of thirty-four, John Carroll was ordained a priest. He dedicated the next four years of his life to teaching philosophy and theology in Belgium, and then returned to America in 1774, right before the American Revolution. He joined Charles Carroll, his cousin and a Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Benjamin Franklin, his good friend, in a diplomatic mission to Canada.

John Carroll was held in high esteem by many important Revolutionary leaders of his time, including George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. He was well respected among them, and his opinion was valued and influential. John Carroll began the American custom of public prayer for governmental leaders, and drafted a now famous prayer for national leaders in 1791. He was particularly close to George Washington. With George Washington's aid, Bishop Carroll secured federal funds for Catholic missionaries to the Indians of the west. And when Washington died in 1799 Carroll delivered a tribute to his friend. The stepson of George Washington assisted at an early Georgetown commencement.

As Carroll helped to politically influence the young and struggling republic, he also helped to engender a spirit of religious unity. As a strong Catholic leader, he assisted in gaining acceptance for Catholics in America. In addition, Rome gave him the task of organizing the Catholic Church in the new nation. In November of 1789, he was named Bishop of Baltimore by Pope Pius VI, thus becoming the first American Bishop. Carroll's

new position enabled him to establish many Jesuit schools in the nation, including Georgetown College (University), St. Mary's College for Boys (which became Loyola), and Mount St. Mary's College in Emmitsburg. He was also a major supporter of the establishment of many parochial schools, Catholic academies, and religious orders.

In 1791, Carroll called the first national synod, an assembly of Catholic Church delegates to discuss various matters facing the churches to which they belonged. The synod created many guidelines for the Catholic Church in the United States and was a pivotal event in the history of American Catholicism. These guidelines became the first canon law for the nation and were a great unifying force for the Church as it grew in America. Through this synod and his ministry as bishop, John Carroll was instrumental in organizing the Church's life in the new nation, under the control of the Jesuits. By 1810 there were five separate dioceses in the United States, and Carroll was appointed the nation's first Catholic Archbishop. It is doubtful any of this could have happened without the American Revolution, for Roman Catholicism was suppressed during the Protestant colonial era. But in the young nation the Roman Catholic Church became a growing force. It was well prepared to take advantage of the rising tide of Romanist immigration- a tide that would eventually catapult it into the largest religious denomination in the US.

## CHAPTER 4 : WESTWARD EXPANSION AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

"Go West, young man, and grow up with the country."

-- *Newspaper editor*  
*Horace Greeley,*  
1851



### BUILDING UNITY

The War of 1812 was, in a sense, a second war of independence that confirmed once and for all the American break with England. With its conclusion, many of the serious difficulties that the young republic had faced since the Revolution seemed to disappear. With a low national debt and a continent awaiting exploration, the prospect of peace, prosperity, and social progress (at least as humanistically defined) opened before the nation. Of course, there could be no true peace so long as God's wrath lay upon the nation, but God allowed it to materially prosper despite an increasing departure from his moral law, even as He allowed ancient Babylon to materially prosper. God has predestined the course of kings and nations for His own glory.

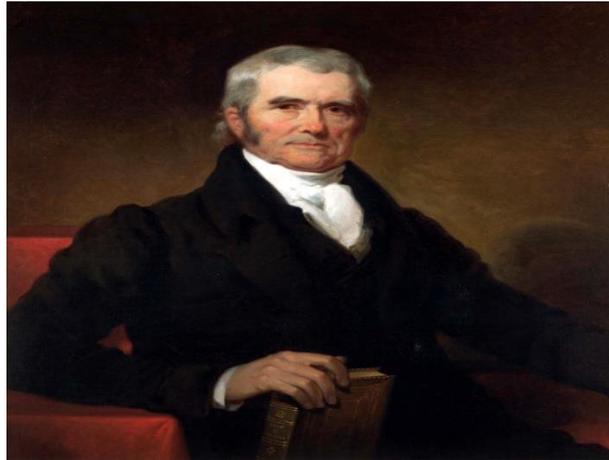
Commerce cemented national political unity. The privations of war convinced many of the importance of protecting the manufacturers of America until they could stand alone against foreign competition. Economic independence, many argued, was as essential as political independence. To foster self-sufficiency, congressional leaders Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina urged a policy of protectionist imposition of restrictions on imported goods to foster the development of American industry.

The time was propitious for raising the customs tariff. The shepherds of Vermont and Ohio wanted protection against an influx of English wool. In Kentucky, a new industry of weaving local hemp into cotton bagging was threatened by the Scottish bagging industry. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, already a flourishing center of iron smelting, was eager to challenge British and Swedish iron suppliers. The tariff enacted in 1816 imposed duties high enough to give manufacturers real protection.

In addition, Westerners advocated a national system of roads and canals to link them with Eastern cities and ports, and to open frontier lands for settlement. However, they were unsuccessful in pressing their demands for a federal role in internal improvement because of opposition from New England and the South. Roads and canals remained the province of the states until the passage of the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916.

The position of the federal government at this time was greatly strengthened by several

Supreme Court decisions. A committed Federalist, John Marshall of Virginia, became chief justice in 1801 and held office until his death in 1835.



The court -- weak before his administration -- was transformed into a powerful tribunal, occupying a position co-equal to the Congress and the president. In a succession of historic decisions, Marshall established the power of the Supreme Court and strengthened the power of the national government.

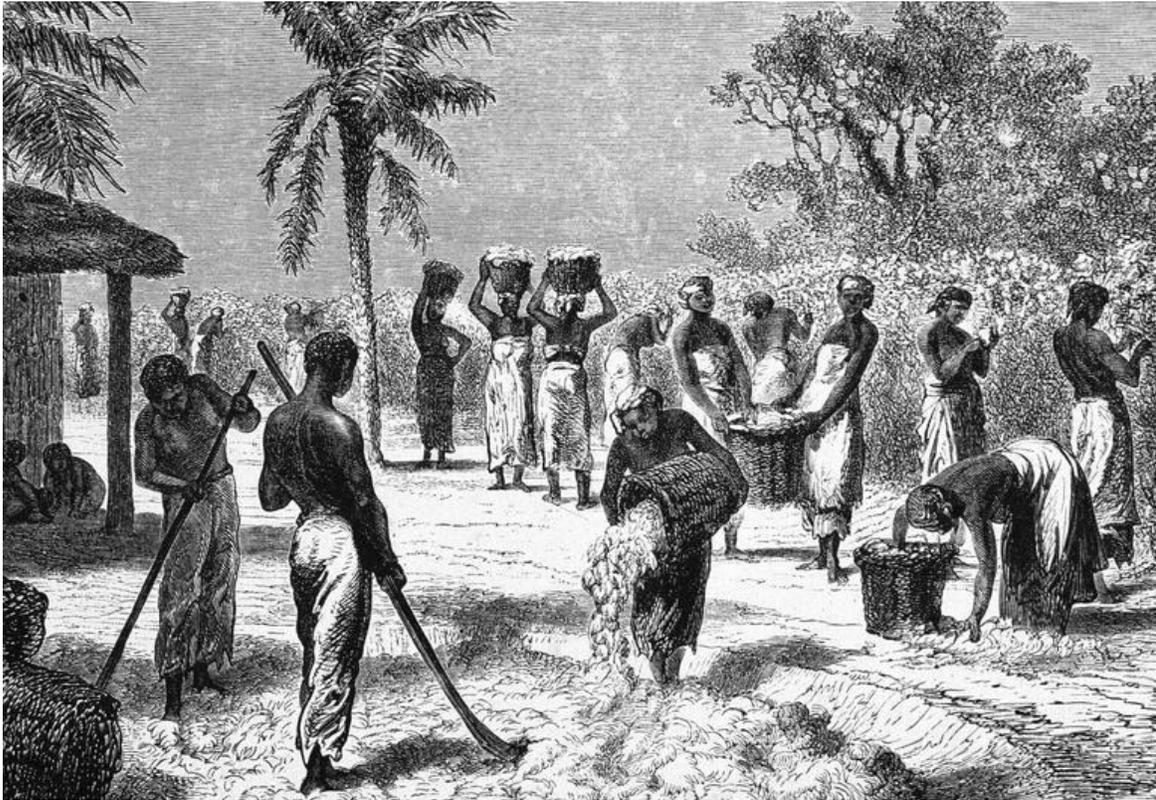
Marshall was the first in a long line of Supreme Court justices whose decisions have molded the meaning and application of the Constitution. When he finished his long service, the court had decided nearly 50 cases clearly involving constitutional issues. In one of Marshall's most famous opinions -- *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) -- he decisively established the right of the Supreme Court to review the constitutionality of any law of Congress or of a state legislature. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), he upheld the Hamiltonian theory that the Constitution by implication gives the government powers beyond those expressly stated, thus lessening the importance of the tenth amendment to the Constitution.

### **EXTENSION OF SLAVERY**

Slavery, which up to now had received little public attention, began to assume much greater importance as a national issue. In the early years of the republic, when the Northern states were providing for immediate or gradual emancipation of the slaves, many leaders had supposed that slavery would die out. In 1786 George Washington wrote that he devoutly wished some plan might be adopted "by which slavery may be abolished by slow, sure, and imperceptible degrees." Virginians Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe and other leading Southern statesmen made similar statements.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. As late as 1808, when the international slave trade was abolished, there were many Southerners who thought that slavery would soon end. The expectation proved false, for during the

next generation, the South became solidly united behind the institution of slavery as new economic factors made slavery far more profitable than it had been before 1790.



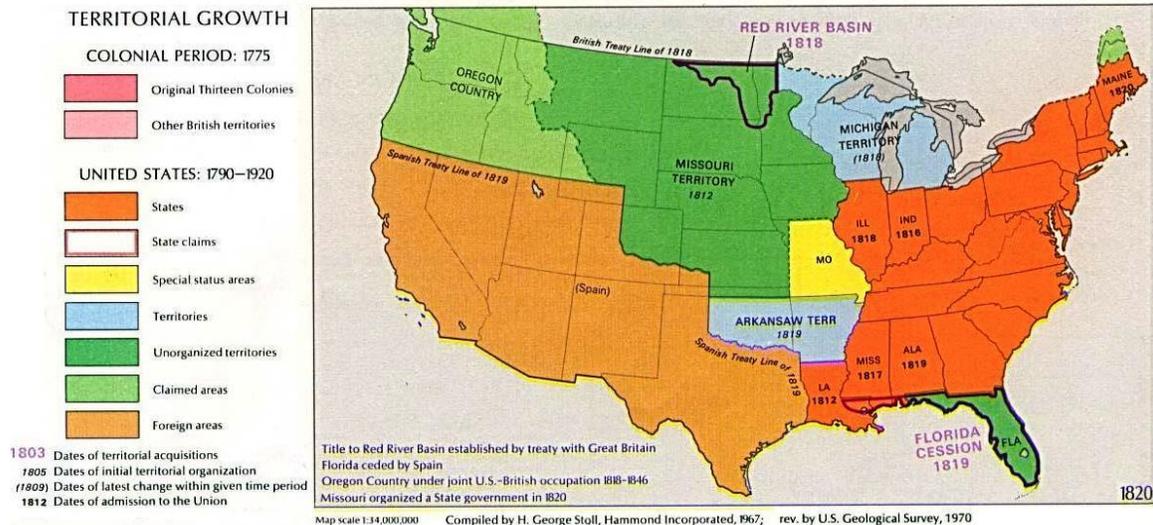
Chief among these was the rise of a great cotton-growing industry in the South, stimulated by the introduction of new types of cotton and by Eli Whitney's invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which separated the seeds from cotton. At the same time, the Industrial Revolution, which made textile manufacturing a large-scale operation, vastly increased the demand for raw cotton. And the opening of new lands in the West after 1812 greatly extended the area available for cotton cultivation. Cotton culture moved rapidly from the Tidewater states on the East Coast through much of the lower South to the delta region of the Mississippi and eventually to Texas.

Sugar cane, another labor-intensive crop, also contributed to slavery's extension in the South. The rich, hot lands of southeastern Louisiana proved ideal for growing sugar cane profitably. By 1830 the state was supplying the nation with about half its sugar supply.

Finally, tobacco growers moved westward, taking slavery with them.

As the free society of the North and the slave society of the South spread westward, it seemed politically expedient to maintain a rough equality among the new states carved out of western territories. In 1818, when Illinois was admitted to the Union, 10 states permitted slavery and 11 states prohibited it; but balance was restored after Alabama was admitted as a slave state. Population was growing faster in the North, which permitted Northern states to have a clear majority in the House of Representatives. However, equality between the North and the South was maintained in the Senate.

In 1819 Missouri, which had 10,000 slaves, applied to enter the Union. Northerners rallied to oppose Missouri's entry except as a free state, and a storm of protest swept the country. For a time Congress was deadlocked, but Henry Clay arranged the so-called Missouri Compromise: Missouri was admitted as a slave state at the same time Maine came in as a free state.



In addition, Congress banned slavery from the territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary. At the time, this provision appeared to be a victory for the Southern states because it was thought unlikely that this "Great American Desert" would ever be settled. The controversy was temporarily resolved, but Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend that "this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." His concern was indeed justified, and the conflict concerning slavery would be one means of divine judgment of the nation.

## LATIN AMERICA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

During the opening decades of the 19th century, Central and South America turned to revolution. The Enlightenment idea of liberty had stirred the people of Latin America from the time the English colonies gained their purported freedom. Napoleon's conquest of Spain and Portugal in 1808 provided the signal for Latin Americans to rise in revolt. By 1822, most of Hispanic America -- from Argentina and Chile in the south to Mexico in the north -- had won independence.

The people of the United States took a deep interest in what seemed a repetition of their own experience in breaking away from European rule. The Latin American independence movements confirmed their own belief in self-government. In 1822 President James Monroe, under powerful public pressure, received authority to recognize the new countries of Latin America and soon exchanged ministers with them. He thereby confirmed their

status as genuinely independent countries, entirely separated from their former European connections.

At just this point, Russia, Prussia, and Austria formed an association called the Holy Alliance to protect themselves against revolution. By intervening in countries where popular movements threatened monarchies, the alliance -- joined by post-Napoleonic France -- hoped to prevent the spread of revolution. This policy was the antithesis of the American principle of self-determination.

As long as the Holy Alliance confined its activities to the Old World, it aroused no anxiety in the United States. But when the alliance announced its intention of restoring to Spain its former colonies, Americans became very concerned. Britain, to which Latin American trade had become of great importance, resolved to block any such action.

London urged joint Anglo-American guarantees to Latin America, but Secretary of State John Quincy Adams convinced Monroe to act unilaterally: "It would be more candid, as well as more dignified, to avow our principles explicitly to Russia and France, than to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war."

In December 1823, with the knowledge that the British navy would defend Latin America from the Holy Alliance and France, President Monroe took the occasion of his annual message to Congress to pronounce what would become known as the Monroe Doctrine -- the refusal to tolerate any further extension of European domination in the Americas:

*The American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.*

*We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their [political] system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.*

*With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have ... acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.*

The Monroe Doctrine expressed a spirit of solidarity with the newly independent republics of Latin America. These nations in turn recognized their political affinity with the United States by basing their new constitutions, in many instances, on the US model.

## **FACTIONALISM AND POLITICAL PARTIES**

Domestically, the presidency of Monroe (1817-1825) was termed the "era of good feelings."



The phrase acknowledged the political triumph of the Republican Party over the Federalist Party, which had collapsed as a national force, mainly via the Republican Party adopting Federalist principles of implied powers to purchase the Louisiana Territory and after the failures and lessons of the War of 1812 raised tariffs to protect factories, chartered the Second National Bank, promoted a strong army and navy and promoted internal improvements. All these measures were opposed to the strict construction of the Constitution, which was the formal basis of the Republicans, but the drift of the party to support them could not be checked. It was aided by the Supreme Court, whose influence under John Marshall as a nationalizing factor now first became apparent. The whole change reconciled the Federalists to their absorption into the Republican Party. Indeed, they claimed, with considerable show of justice, that the absorption was in the other direction: that the Republicans had recanted and that the "Washington-Monroe policy", as they termed it after 1820, was all that Federalists had ever desired.

All the same, this was a period of vigorous factional and regional conflict. The end of the Federalists led to a brief period of factional politics and brought disarray to the practice of choosing presidential nominees by congressional party caucuses. For a time, state legislatures nominated candidates. In 1824 Tennessee and Pennsylvania chose Andrew Jackson, with South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun as his running mate. Kentucky selected Speaker of the House Henry Clay; Massachusetts, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, son of the second president, John Adams. A congressional caucus, widely derided as undemocratic, picked Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford. Personality and sectional allegiance played important roles in determining the outcome of the election. Adams won the electoral votes from New England and most of New York; Clay won Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri; Jackson won the Southeast, Illinois, Indiana, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey; and Crawford won Virginia, Georgia, and Delaware. No candidate gained a majority in the Electoral College, so, according to the provisions of the Constitution, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Clay was the most influential figure. He supported Adams, who gained the presidency.

During Adams' administration, new party alignments appeared. Adams's followers, some of whom were former Federalists, took the name of "National Republicans" as emblematic of their support of a federal government that would take a strong role in developing an expanding nation. Though he governed efficiently, Adams was not a popular president. He failed in his effort to institute a national system of roads and canals. His coldly intellectual

temperament did not win friends. Jackson, by contrast, had enormous popular appeal and a strong political organization. His followers coalesced to establish the Democratic Party, claimed direct lineage from the Democratic-Republican Party of Jefferson, and in general advocated the principles of small, decentralized government. Mounting a strong anti-Adams campaign, they accused the president of a "corrupt bargain" for naming Clay secretary of state. In the election of 1828, Jackson defeated Adams by an overwhelming electoral majority.

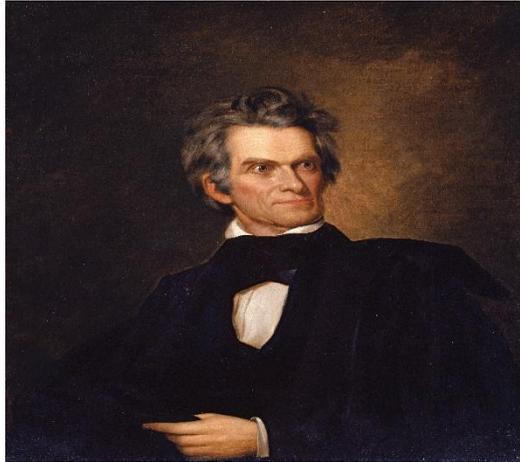


Jackson -- Tennessee politician, fighter in wars against American Indians on the Southern frontier, and hero of the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812 -- drew his support from the common people. He came to the presidency on a rising tide of enthusiasm for popular democracy. The election of 1828 was a significant benchmark in the trend toward broader voter participation. By then most states had either enacted universal white male suffrage or minimized property requirements. In 1824 members of the Electoral College in six states were still selected by the state legislatures. By 1828 presidential electors were chosen by popular vote in every state but Delaware and South Carolina. These developments were the products of a widespread sense that the people should rule and that government by traditional elites had come to an end.

## **NULLIFICATION CRISIS**

Toward the end of his first term in office, Jackson was forced to confront the state of South Carolina, the most important of the emerging Deep South cotton states, on the issue of the protective tariff. Business and farming interests in the state had hoped that the

president would use his power to modify the 1828 act that they called the Tariff of Abominations. In their view, all its benefits of protection went to Northern manufacturers, leaving agricultural South Carolina poorer. In 1828, the state's leading politician -- and Jackson's vice president until his resignation in 1832 -- John C. Calhoun had declared in his *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* that states had the right to nullify oppressive national legislation.



In 1832, Congress passed and Jackson signed a bill that revised the 1828 tariff downward, but it was not enough to satisfy most South Carolinians. The state adopted an Ordinance of Nullification, which declared both the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void within state borders. Its legislature also passed laws to enforce the ordinance, including authorization for raising a military force and appropriations for arms.

Nullification was a long-established theme of protest against perceived excesses by the federal government. Jefferson and Madison had proposed it in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, to protest the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Hartford Convention of 1814 had invoked it to protest the War of 1812. Never before, however, had a state actually attempted nullification. In response to South Carolina's threat, Jackson sent seven small naval vessels and a man of war to Charleston in November 1832. On December 10, he issued a resounding proclamation against the nullifiers. South Carolina, the president declared, stood on "the brink of insurrection and treason," and he appealed to the people of the state to reassert their allegiance to the Union. He also let it be known that, if necessary, he personally would lead the U.S. Army to enforce the law.

When the question of tariff duties again came before Congress, Jackson's political rival, Senator Henry Clay, a great advocate of protection but also a devoted Unionist, sponsored a compromise measure. Clay's tariff bill, quickly passed in 1833, specified that all duties in excess of 20 percent of the value of the goods imported were to be reduced year by year, so that by 1842 the duties on all articles would reach the level of the moderate tariff of 1816. At the same time, Congress passed a Force Act, authorizing the president to use military power to enforce the laws.

South Carolina had expected the support of other Southern states, but instead found itself isolated. (Its most likely ally, the state government of Georgia, wanted, and got, U.S. military force to remove American Indian tribes from the state.) Eventually, South Carolina rescinded its action. Both sides, nevertheless, claimed victory. Jackson had strongly defended the Union. But South Carolina, by its show of resistance, had obtained many of its demands and had demonstrated that a single state could force its will on Congress.

## **THE BANK FIGHT**

Although the nullification crisis possessed the seeds of civil war, it was not as critical a political issue as a bitter struggle over the continued existence of the nation's central bank, the second Bank of the United States. The first bank, established in 1791 under Alexander Hamilton's guidance, had been chartered for a 20-year period. Though the government held some of its stock, the bank, like the Bank of England and other central banks of the time, was a private corporation with profits passing to its stockholders. Its public functions were to act as a depository for government receipts, to make short-term loans to the government, and above all to seek to establish a sound currency by refusing to accept at face value notes (paper money) issued by state-chartered banks in excess of their ability to redeem.

To the Northeastern financial and commercial establishment, the central bank was a needed enforcer of prudent monetary policy, but from the beginning it was resented by Southerners and Westerners who believed their prosperity and regional development depended upon ample money and credit. The Republican Party of Jefferson and Madison doubted its constitutionality. When its charter expired in 1811, it was not renewed.

For the next few years, the banking business was in the hands of state-chartered banks, which issued their own currency. At the insistence of powerful commercial interests in 1816 a second Bank of the United States, similar to the first, was again chartered for 20 years. From its inception, the second bank was unpopular in the newer states and territories, especially with state and local bankers who resented its virtual monopoly over the country's credit and currency, but also with less prosperous people everywhere, who believed that it represented the interests of the wealthy few. To many elites the bank was well managed and rendered a valuable service; but Jackson long had shared the Republican distrust of the financial establishment. Elected as a tribune of the people, he sensed that the bank's aristocratic manager, Nicholas Biddle, was an easy target. When the bank's supporters in Congress pushed through an early renewal of its charter, Jackson responded with a stinging veto that denounced monopoly and special privilege. The effort to override the veto failed.

In the presidential campaign that followed, the bank question revealed a fundamental division. Established merchant, manufacturing, and financial interests favored central monetary control. Regional bankers and entrepreneurs on the make wanted an increased

money supply and lower interest rates. Other debtor classes, especially farmers, shared those sentiments. Jackson and his supporters called the central bank a "monster" and coasted to an easy election victory over Henry Clay.



The president interpreted his triumph as a popular mandate to crush the central bank irrevocably. In September 1833 he ordered an end to deposits of government money in the bank, and gradual withdrawals of the money already in its custody. The government deposited its funds in selected state banks, characterized as "pet banks" by the opposition. For the next generation the United States would get by on a relatively unregulated state banking system, which helped fuel westward expansion through cheap credit but kept the nation vulnerable to periodic panics. During the Civil War, the United States initiated a system of national charters for local and regional banks, but the nation returned to a central bank only with the establishment of the Federal Reserve system in 1913.

## WHIGS AND DEMOCRATS

Jackson's political opponents, united by little more than a common opposition to him, eventually coalesced into a common party called the Whigs, a British term signifying opposition to Jackson's "monarchical rule." Although they organized soon after the election campaign of 1832, it was more than a decade before they reconciled their differences and were able to draw up a platform. Largely through the magnetism of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, the Whigs' most brilliant statesmen, the party solidified its membership. But in the 1836 election, the Whigs were still too divided to unite behind a single man. New York's Martin Van Buren, Jackson's vice president, won the contest. An economic depression and the larger-than-life personality of his predecessor obscured Van Buren's merits. His public acts aroused no enthusiasm, for he lacked the compelling qualities of leadership and the dramatic flair that had attended Jackson's every move. The election of 1840 found the country afflicted with hard times and low wages -- and the Democrats on the defensive.

The Whig candidate for president was William Henry Harrison of Ohio, vastly popular as a hero of conflicts with American Indians and the War of 1812. He was promoted, like Jackson, as a representative of the democratic West. His vice-presidential candidate was John Tyler -- a Virginian whose views on states' rights and a low tariff were popular in the South. Harrison won a sweeping victory.

**TIFPECANOE AND TYLER TOO!**  
*A Comic Glee.*  
*Arranged*  
**EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK**  
*As Sung*  
**WITH THUNDERING APPLAUSE**  
*At the*  
**SYRACUSE CONVENTION.**

*Some of the Loco Rec party have prepared and paraded a Log Cabin Trap, representing a Log Cabin set on a figure 4, and baited with a barrel of hard Color. By the above it will be seen that the Trap has been sprung, and a sly nibbler from 'Block' is looking out through the gratings. An elderly gentleman with an ivory pole is intent on prying him out; but it is manifestly no go. The legs are too heavy and growing more so daily.*  
*Log Cabin.*

Philadelphia, G. E. Blake, 13 So Fifth Street.

Blake's Log Cabin Music... Copy right secured 1840.

Within a month of his inauguration, however, the 68-year-old Harrison died, and Tyler became president. Tyler's beliefs differed sharply from those of Clay and Webster, still the most influential men in Congress. The result was an open break between the new president and the party that had elected him. The Tyler presidency established definitively that, if a

president died, the vice president would assume the office with full powers for the balance of his term.

## **STIRRINGS OF REFORM**

The democratic upheaval in politics exemplified by Jackson's election was merely one phase of the long American quest for greater "rights" for all citizens. Another was the beginning of labor organization, primarily among skilled and semiskilled workers. In 1835 labor forces in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, succeeded in reducing the old "dark-to-dark" workday to a 10-hour day. By 1860, the new work day had become law in several of the states and was a generally accepted standard.

The spread of suffrage had already led to a new concept of education. Many argued that universal suffrage required a tutored, literate electorate. Workingmen's organizations demanded free, tax-supported schools open to all children. Gradually, in one state after another, legislation was enacted to provide for such free instruction. The leadership of the humanist Horace Mann in Massachusetts was especially effective. The public school system became common throughout the North. In other parts of the country, however, the battle for public education continued for years. In increasing degrees the public education system became a vehicle to erase the Protestant heritage from America, and to infuse it with secular humanism, because the state was constitutionally secular humanist.

Another influential social movement that emerged during this period was the opposition to the sale and use of alcohol, or the temperance movement. It stemmed from a variety of concerns and motives: religious beliefs, the effect of alcohol on the work force, and the violence and suffering women and children experienced at the hands of heavy drinkers. In 1826 Boston ministers organized the Society for the Promotion of Temperance. Seven years later, in Philadelphia, the society convened a national convention, which formed the American Temperance Union. The union called for the prohibition of all alcoholic beverages, and pressed state legislatures to ban their production and sale. Thirteen states had done so by 1855, although the laws were subsequently challenged in court. They survived only in northern New England, but between 1830 and 1860 the temperance movement reduced Americans' per capita consumption of alcohol.

Other "reformers" (though in truth often deformers) addressed the problems of prisons and care for the insane. Efforts were made to turn prisons, which stressed punishment, into penitentiaries where the guilty would undergo rehabilitation. Crime was being regarded less and less as a sin requiring punishment (as the Bible would imply), and more and more simply as an illness requiring cure by "enlightened" humanists. In Massachusetts, Dorothea Dix led a struggle to improve conditions for insane persons, who were kept confined in wretched almshouses and prisons. After winning improvements in Massachusetts, she took her campaign to the South, where nine states established hospitals for the insane between 1845 and 1852.

## **FEMINISM**

The rebellion against Biblical morality which had been spearheaded by men in the Revolutionary era began to reach women more fully in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Women became dissatisfied with their lot. They wanted more “equality” with men. From colonial times, unmarried women had enjoyed many of the same legal rights as men, although custom required that they marry early. With matrimony, women lost much of their separate identities in the eyes of the law. There were differences relating to education and occupation as well. The feminist movement over time would seek the overthrow of these past practices.

The “awakening” of women began with the visit to America of Frances Wright, a Scottish lecturer and journalist, who publicly promoted so called women's rights throughout the United States during the 1820s. At a time when women were often forbidden to speak in public places, Wright not only spoke out, but shocked audiences by her views advocating the “rights” of women to seek information on birth control and divorce. By the 1840s an American women's rights movement emerged. Its foremost leader was a wicked woman by the name of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

In 1848 Cady Stanton and her colleague Lucretia Mott organized a women's rights convention -- the first in the history of the world -- at Seneca Falls, New York. Delegates drew up a "Declaration of Sentiments," demanding equality with men before the law, the right to vote, and equal opportunities in education and employment. The resolutions passed unanimously with the exception of the one for women's suffrage, which won a majority only after an impassioned speech in favor by Frederick Douglass, the black abolitionist.

At Seneca Falls, Cady Stanton gained national prominence as a writer and speaker for women's rights. She had realized early on that without the right to vote, women would never be equal with men. Taking the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison as her model, she saw that the key to success lay in changing public opinion, and not in party action. Seneca Falls became the catalyst for future change. Soon other women's rights conventions were held, and other women would come to the forefront of the movement for their political and social equality.

In 1848 also, Ernestine Rose, a Polish immigrant, was instrumental in getting a law passed in the state of New York that allowed married women to keep their property in their own name. Among the first laws in the nation of this kind, the Married Women's Property Act encouraged other state legislatures to enact similar laws.

In 1869 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and another leading women's rights activist, Susan B. Anthony, founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), to promote a constitutional amendment for women's right to the vote.



These two would become the women's movement's most outspoken advocates. Describing their partnership, Cady Stanton would say, "I forged the thunderbolts and she fired them." The feminist movement in truth was a divine judgment for America's religious apostasy.

## **WESTWARD**

The frontier did much to shape American life. Conditions along the entire Atlantic seaboard stimulated migration to the newer regions. From New England, where the soil was incapable of producing high yields of grain, came a steady stream of men and women who left their coastal farms and villages to take advantage of the rich interior land of the continent. In the backcountry settlements of the Carolinas and Virginia, people handicapped by the lack of roads and canals giving access to coastal markets and resentful of the political dominance of the Tidewater planters also moved westward. By 1800 the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys were becoming a great frontier region. "Hio, away we go, floating down the river on the O-hi-o," became the song of thousands of migrants.

The westward flow of population in the early 19th century led to the division of old territories and the drawing of new boundaries. As new states were admitted, the political map stabilized east of the Mississippi River. From 1816 to 1821, six states were created - Indiana, Illinois, and Maine (which were free states), and Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri (slave states). The first frontier had been tied closely to Europe, the second to the coastal settlements, but the Mississippi Valley was independent and its people looked west rather than east.

Frontier settlers were a varied group. One English traveler described them as "a daring, hardy race of men, who live in miserable cabins. ... They are unpolished but hospitable, kind to strangers, honest, and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a cow or two. ... But the rifle is their principal means of support." Dexterous with the ax, snare, and fishing line, these men blazed the trails, built the first log cabins, and confronted American Indian tribes.

As more and more settlers penetrated the wilderness, many became farmers as well as hunters. A comfortable log house with glass windows, a chimney, and partitioned rooms replaced the cabin; the well replaced the spring. Industrious settlers would rapidly clear their land of timber, burning the wood for potash and letting the stumps decay. They grew their own grain, vegetables, and fruit; ranged the woods for deer, wild turkeys, and honey; fished the nearby streams; looked after cattle and hogs. Land speculators bought large tracts of the cheap land and, if land values rose, sold their holdings and moved still farther west, making way for others.

Doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, editors, preachers, mechanics, and politicians soon followed the farmers. The farmers were the sturdy base, however. Where they settled, they intended to stay and hoped their children would remain after them. They built large barns and brick or frame houses. They brought improved livestock, plowed the land skillfully, and sowed productive seed. Some erected flour mills, sawmills, and distilleries. They laid out good highways, and built churches and schools. Incredible transformations were accomplished in a few years. In 1830, for example, Chicago, Illinois, was merely an unpromising trading village with a fort; but long before some of its original settlers had died, it had become one of the largest and richest cities in the nation.

Farms were easy to acquire. Government land after 1820 could be bought for \$1.25 for about half a hectare, and after the 1862 Homestead Act, could be claimed by merely occupying and improving it. In addition, tools for working the land were easily available. It was a time when, in a phrase coined by Indiana newspaperman John Soule and popularized by *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, young men could "go west and grow with the country."

Except for a migration into Mexican-owned Texas, the westward march of the agricultural frontier did not pass Missouri into the vast Western territory acquired in the Louisiana Purchase until after 1840. In 1819, in return for assuming the claims of American citizens to the amount of \$5 million, the United States obtained from Spain both Florida and Spain's rights to the Oregon country in the Far West. In the meantime, the Far West had become a field of great activity in the fur trade, which was to have significance far beyond the value of the skins. As in the first days of French exploration in the Mississippi Valley, the trader was a pathfinder for the settlers beyond the Mississippi. The French and Scots-Irish trappers, exploring the great rivers and their tributaries and discovering the passes through the Rocky and Sierra Mountains, made possible the overland migration of the 1840s and the later occupation of the interior of the nation.

Overall, the growth of the nation was enormous: Population grew from 7.25 million to more than 23 million from 1812 to 1852, and the land available for settlement increased by almost the size of Western Europe -- from 4.4 million to 7.8 million square kilometers. Still unresolved, however, were the basic conflicts rooted in sectional differences that, by the decade of the 1860s, would explode into a war between the States. Inevitably, too, this westward expansion brought settlers into conflict with the various American Indian tribes.



In the first part of the 19th century, the most prominent figure associated with these conflicts was Andrew Jackson, the first "Westerner" to occupy the White House. In the midst of the War of 1812, Jackson, then in charge of the Tennessee militia, was sent into southern Alabama, where he forcefully put down an uprising of Creek Indians. The Creeks soon ceded two-thirds of their land to the United States. Jackson later routed bands of Seminoles from their sanctuaries in Spanish-owned Florida.

In the 1820s, President Monroe's secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, pursued a policy of removing the remaining tribes from the old Southwest and resettling them beyond the Mississippi. Jackson continued this policy as president. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, providing funds to transport the eastern tribes beyond the Mississippi. In 1834 a special American Indian territory was set up in what is now Oklahoma. In all, the tribes signed 94 treaties during Jackson's two terms, ceding millions of hectares to the federal government and removing dozens of tribes from their former homelands.

The saddest chapter in this history concerned the Cherokees, whose lands in western North Carolina and Georgia had been guaranteed by treaty since 1791. Among the most progressive of the eastern tribes, the Cherokees nevertheless were sure to be displaced when gold was discovered on their land in 1829. Forced to make a long and cruel trek to

Oklahoma in 1838, the tribe lost many of its numbers from disease and privation on what became known as the "Trail of Tears."



## **THE FRONTIER IN THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

The frontier -- the point at which settled territory met unoccupied land -- began at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. It moved in a westward direction for nearly 300 years through densely forested wilderness and barren plains until the decennial census of 1890 revealed that at last the United States no longer possessed a discernible line of settlement.

At the time it seemed to many that a long period had come to an end -- one in which the country had grown from a few struggling outposts of English civilization to a huge independent nation with an identity of its own. It was easy to believe that the experience of settlement and post-settlement development, constantly repeated as a people conquered a continent, had been the defining factor in the nation's development.

In 1893, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner, expressing a widely held sentiment, declared that the frontier had made the United States more than an extension of Europe. It had created a nation with a culture that was perhaps coarser than Europe's, but also more pragmatic, energetic, individualistic, and democratic. The existence of large areas of "free land" had created a nation of property holders and had provided a "safety valve" for discontent in cities and more settled areas. His analysis implied that an America without a frontier would trend ominously toward what were seen as the European ills of stratified social systems, class conflict, and diminished opportunity. After more than a hundred years scholars still debate the significance of the frontier in American history. Few believe it was quite as all-important as Turner suggested.

The more liberal modern intelligentsia have gone farther, rejecting the Turner argument as a romantic glorification of what they regard as a bloody, brutal process -- marked by a war of conquest against Mexico, ill treatment of American Indian tribes, and environmental despoliation. The common experience of the frontier, they argue, was one of hardship and failure.

Three centuries of westward movement indeed had significant impact on the national character and suggestive that intelligent foreign observers, such as the French intellectual, Alexis de Tocqueville, were fascinated by the American West.

Indeed, the last area of frontier settlement, the vast area stretching north from Texas to the Canadian border, which Americans today commonly call "the West," still seems characterized by ideals of individualism, democracy, and opportunity that are more palpable than in the rest of the nation. It is perhaps also revealing that many people in other lands, when hearing the word "American," so often identify it with a symbol of that final frontier -- the "cowboy."

## **CHAPTER 5 : RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR**

### **PROTESTANT SPLINTERING AND DEGRADATION**

The phrase in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that came to capture the American sense of their philosophy's ultimate triumph was "manifest destiny". The phrase was coined by New York journalist John O'Sullivan in 1845, when he wrote that "it was the nation's manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us." American belief was strong that anything could happen, and anything could be done, and much of this potential was attributed to the superiority of the American Way of Life. Democratic republicanism was felt to be the best form of government and God's plan for mankind, so it was felt an obligation that it and "freedom" should be brought to as broad an area as possible. There was an almost complete blindness that God required every man and institution of man to be subject to both tables of the Ten Commandments. Yet to many it seemed a clear and unavoidable destiny that would eventually reach everywhere, making the United States a leader in agriculture, industry, commerce, the arts and sciences, and all intellectual areas. "Manifest Destiny" could be thought of as an ideal of the "boundlessness of no limits" in all areas, providing a more idealistic rationale for expansion than mere ambition for land. The belief had dramatic implications.

The belief in Manifest Destiny was accompanied by other favorable factors. Birth rates in the East had been high, since Protestants and Roman Catholics alike maintained their historic theological position that contraception and abortion are wrong. Immigration was increasing too, due to decreased cost and risk for the ocean voyage and the perception that life would be better in the New World than in the Old. The lands of the east were becoming more filled by the increased population from these two effects, providing a strong pressure for people to move to new regions where cheaper land was available. Economic depressions in 1818, 1837, 1839, and 1841, as well as the massive failure of attempts to establish farms in the far northern colonies (such as Vermont), provided strong incentive to take the risk of moving to much more reliable farming lands in the frontier areas. Several macro-opportunities had occurred making realization of the Manifest Destiny possible as well. The American Indian tribes that had held the lands of the west had been decimated by disease over the past century, and so now even especially rich lands such as the Willamette Valley in Oregon were virtually void of inhabitants, providing a historically unusual opportunity to settlers of essentially free land. The discovery of South Pass in Wyoming in 1811 had established a much more feasible route across the Rockies than had been known to Lewis and Clark in their expedition during the administration of President Thomas Jefferson.

The first step in the path of territorial expansion proved a momentous leap. During the Presidency of Thomas Jefferson the United States doubled in size with the Louisiana

Purchase. Further expansion came with the annexation of Texas, followed by the Mexican Cession of 1848, a consequence of the Mexican-American War.



Meanwhile, the Oregon territory was purchased from Great Britain, Alaska from Russia, and the kingdom of Hawaii was annexed at the end of the century, completing the present territory of the United States. This westward expansion by official acts of the United States Government was accompanied by the western (and northern in the case of New England) movement of settlers into the trans-Appalachia region and beyond the frontier.

Major events in the western movement of the American people were the Homestead Act, a law by which, for a nominal price, a settler was given title to land to farm; the opening of the Northwest Territory to settlement; the Texas Revolution; the opening of the Oregon Trail; the Mormon Emigration to Utah in 1846-7; The California gold rush of 1849; the Colorado Gold Rush of 1859; and the completion of the US Transcontinental Railroad in 1869.

The Mexican-American War from 1846-1848 was especially aggressive. In 1846, the President of the United States, James Polk, sent soldiers to the disputed zone between Mexico and the newly annexed Republic of Texas. Mexico took the bait and unwisely declared war on the USA, although inferior in military capability. American forces quickly defeated those of Mexico, and at the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico was forced to cede what is now almost the entire Southwest and California to the United States for only \$15 million. A faction called the Continental Democrats had advocated annexing all of Mexico. At the time, the war was denounced in the North both as imperialism and also as a pro-slavery conspiracy to add more slave territory to the United States.

But territorial expansion was only one facet in the spread of the American ideal. It also meant promoting the ideal in foreign nations, while protecting American interests there as well. One notable example early in America's history was the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe, in his message to Congress in 1823 proclaimed the Americas should be free from future European colonization and free from European interference in sovereign countries' affairs. It further stated the United States' intention to stay neutral in wars between European powers and their colonies, but to consider any new colonies or interference with independent countries in the Americas as hostile acts toward the United States. One should note, however, that the policy succeeded because it met British interests as well as American, and for the next 100 years was secured by the backing of the British fleet. In another example of American intervention, Admiral Matthew Perry forcibly opened Japan to the West with the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854. The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the United States expand its presence in Asia. The US pushed through the Open Door Policy that guaranteed its economic access to China. It also vigorously acquired small islands in the Pacific, mostly to be used as coaling stations.

The widespread American belief in "common sense" philosophy, secular democratic government, independence, and manifest destiny was not conducive to the maintenance of sound Reformed theology. At heart, this belief was Arminian and anti-nomian. It was a denial of man's depraved condition after the Fall, and it was a refusal to have government that would enforce the Ten Commandments and to respect the sovereign rights of God ordained governments. Given these theological errors that lay at the very foundation of the American psyche, we should not be surprised that heretical and apostate sects grew in the fertile US soil, even as more theologically sound churches languished.

Although there was a significant splintering of denominational affiliation, in the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War the Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches remained the most influential Christian churches in America. The Anglican Church in America – which upon America's break with England was established as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S. – never regained the influential status she had known during the colonial era. She could not readily adapt to the new national circumstances, and after the Civil War she succumbed to theological liberalism which further depleted her vitality. Members in the Congregationalist and

Presbyterian churches largely supported the American Revolution, and in early American history they continued to appeal to and attract a large segment of the population. They also took an active part in the westward expansion of the nation.

The Congregationalist churches succumbed more quickly to the rising tide of theological liberalism than the Presbyterian churches. Following the American Revolution many Congregationalist churches even became Unitarian. We have already pointed out the

Unitarian drift of Harvard. William Ellery Channing, a Congregational minister in Boston, became the leader of the Unitarian movement in preaching in 1819 his infamous sermon, "Unitarian Christianity". Channing (1780-1842) had graduated from Harvard in 1798. He rejected the Calvinist orthodoxy which had characterized early New England Congregationalism, and became the leading spokesman for Unitarianism, while serving as Congregationalist minister of the Federal Street Church in Boston. Other important tenets

of Channing were the belief in human goodness and the subjection of theological ideas to the light of human reason. In one infamous sermon, entitled "Likeness to God", Channing expressed the idea of the human potential to be like God. In later years Channing often preached against slavery, although he was never an ardent abolitionist. But much of the abolitionist movement was centered in the northern Congregationalist churches.

By no means was all of Congregationalism so quickly given over to Unitarianism. We previously pointed out the role of Timothy Dwight and the formation of the Congregational Andover Theological Seminary in 1808, as a bulwark of more orthodox Calvinism. Andover was the first of hundreds of new colleges and seminaries founded by Congregationalists in the 19th century. Andover was instrumental in preparing the first Congregational missionaries for overseas mission. The churches already had sent missionaries to frontier America.

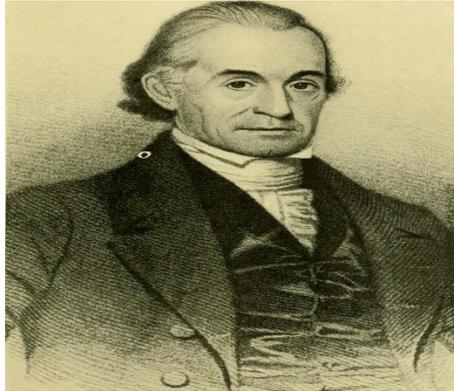
The American overseas missionary movement- spearheaded by the evangelical wing of American Congregationalism - had its informal beginning in 1806 when Samuel J. Mills met with four fellow students at Williams College in Massachusetts for a Sunday afternoon prayer meeting in a maple grove. A sudden thunderstorm drove them to the shelter of a haystack where, surrounded by thunder and lightning, Mills proposed a mission to preach the gospel in Asia. His zeal ignited the four others with the intent "to evangelize the world," and they went on to study theology at Andover Seminary. One of them, Adoniram Judson, who later joined the Baptist churches, had appealed to the London Missionary Society for support but was rejected.

Believing it was time for American Congregationalism to support its own missionaries, the Andover faculty and leaders of the Massachusetts General Association authorized a cooperative missionary venture by the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut. In 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was born—the first foreign missionary society in the United States. On February 8, 1812, at a moving service of worship in the crowded Salem Tabernacle Church, the Haystack "Brethren" were ordained. Within two weeks, they set sail for India. In the same year, New England Congregational clergy voted to condemn the War of 1812 as "unnecessary, unjust, and inexpedient." Their antiwar sermons and political organizing in opposition to a government policy were unprecedented. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions intended to establish missions not only in the Orient and Burma, but also "in the West among the Iroquois." Subsequently, throughout the 1820s and 1830s missions were organized among the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Cherokee, Osage, Maumee and Iroquois. In an effort supported by Congregationalists and members of other churches, the American Board provided aid for Indian resistance to government removal from their lands.

But even Congregationalism's evangelical wing was giving way to increasingly heterodox notions, ultimately precipitating the split with Presbyterians. Although Timothy Dwight, grandson of Jonathan Edwards and president of Yale College from 1795 to 1817, rejected the Unitarianism and rationalism then plaguing Harvard, he nevertheless retained various Enlightenment errors. These errors laid the groundwork for what would become known as

the New Haven theology. Dwight's concern for revival led him to place more emphasis on the natural abilities of individuals to respond to the gospel than had Edwards.

Dwight's most prominent pupil, Nathaniel William Taylor, carried the New Haven theology to its maturity, as did Charles Finney. Taylor was the first professor at the new Yale Divinity School, where he came in 1822 after a successful pastorate in New Haven.



Taylor regarded himself as the heir of the tradition of Jonathan Edwards, particularly as he combated the rising tide of Unitarianism in New England. His theology, however, departed from Edwards's, especially in its beliefs about human nature. Most importantly, he argued in a famous phrase that people always had a "power to the contrary" when faced with the choice for God. He also contended, as Edwards' son, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., had suggested, that human sinfulness arose from sinful acts, not from a sinful nature inherited from Adam. Taylor denied various aspects of divine predestination. More than other heirs of Edwards, Taylor also accepted the Scottish philosophy of "common sense" which also made much of innate human freedom and the power of individuals to shape their own destinies.

The New Haven theology promoted revivalism in many respects on Arminian terms, which manifested itself in the Second Great Awakening (1795-1830). The New Haven theology came to represent, with Methodists, Disciples of Christ, and some Baptists, a contribution to the generally Arminian theology which dominated American Christian thought in the nineteenth century. It was in this sense far more consistent with the American ethos than historic Calvinism. It thus served as a bridge between the Calvinism that dominated American Christianity in the colonial era and the more Arminian theology that came to prevail in the United States.

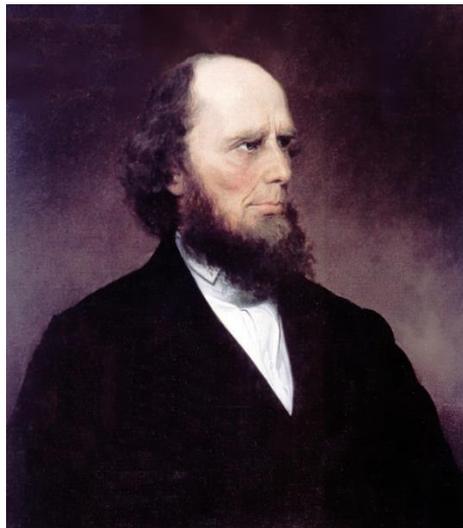
Taylor's theology was popularized by revivalist Charles G. Finney, who demonstrated wide appeal to New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists anxious for revivals in their parishes. However, Old School opponents such as Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge at Princeton Theological Seminary rightly accused Taylor of Arminianism and the semi-Pelagianism of the Romish Church, and defended the defended historic Calvinistic doctrine concerning salvation.

Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), often called "America's foremost revivalist," was a major leader of the Second Great Awakening in America that had a profound impact on the history of the United States. He was a lawyer in Adams, New York and became a minister in 1821. Finney moved to New York City in 1832. Although Finney was originally a Presbyterian, he eventually became a Congregationalist. Congregationalism allowed him greater freedom to express his thoroughly Arminian theology, which drew upon the New Haven Theology of Nathaniel William Taylor.

Finney was known for his innovations in preaching and conducting religious meetings, such as allowing women to pray in public and the development of the "anxious bench," a place where those considering to become "Christians" could come to receive prayer.

In 1821 Finney experienced something of a religious epiphany and set out to preach in western New York. The area from Lake Ontario to the Adirondack mountains in western New York had been the scene of so many religious "revivals" in the past that it was known as the "Burned-Over District." Finney's revivals were characterized by careful planning, showmanship and advertising. Finney preached in the Burned-Over District throughout the 1820s and the early 1830s.

In addition to his evangelistic activity, Finney was involved with the abolitionist movement and frequently denounced slavery from the pulpit. Beginning in the 1830s, he denied communion to slaveholders in his churches.



In 1835, he moved to Ohio where he would become a professor, and later President, of Oberlin College. Oberlin was a major cultivation ground for the early movement to end slavery. Oberlin was also the first American university that allowed blacks and women into the same classrooms as white men. In addition, it was Arminian and ultimately humanistic.

Finney's labors further eroded the fiber of sound theology formerly present in America.

Finney's doctrine of justification repudiated the penal substitutionary atonement of Christ as the means by which God saves his people. He also rejected the doctrine of the total

depravity of man. In other words, Finney rejected historic Calvinism and embraced Arminianism, and his legacy was one of converting many Americans to his false ideas.

Although Finney's affiliation was in the Presbyterian and Congregationalist denominations, the Second Great Awakening encouraged the emergence of new denominations which more fully embraced its false notions. In the Appalachian region of Kentucky and Tennessee, the revival strengthened the Methodists and the Baptists, and spawned a new form of religious expression -- the camp meeting. In the

Appalachian region, the revival took on characteristics similar to the Great Awakening of the previous century. But here, the center of the revival was the camp meeting -- defined as a "religious service of several days' length, for a group that was obliged to take shelter on the spot because of the distance from home." Pioneers in thinly populated areas looked to the camp meeting as a refuge from the lonely life on the frontier. The sheer exhilaration of participating in a religious revival with hundreds and perhaps thousands of people inspired the dancing, shouting and singing associated with these events.

The first camp meeting took place in July 1800 at Gasper River Church in southwestern Kentucky. A much larger one was held at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801, where between 10,000 and 25,000 people attended, and Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist ministers participated. It was this event that stamped the organized revival as the major mode of church expansion for denominations such as the Methodists and Baptists.

The great revival (so called, but not in truth) quickly spread throughout Kentucky, Tennessee and southern Ohio, with the Methodists and the Baptists its prime

beneficiaries. Each denomination had assets that allowed it to thrive on the frontier. The Methodists had a very efficient organization that depended on ministers -- known as circuit riders -- who sought out people in remote frontier locations. The circuit riders came from among the common people, which helped them establish a rapport with the frontier families they hoped to convert. The Methodists were uniformly Arminian in doctrine.

The Baptists had no formal church organization. Their farmer-preachers were people who falsely imagined they had received "the call" from God, studied the Bible and founded a church, which then ordained them. Other candidates for the ministry emerged from these churches, and they helped the Baptist Church to establish a presence farther into the wilderness. Using such methods, the Baptists became dominant throughout the border states and most of the South over time, though in the ante-bellum period the Presbyterians remained dominant.

Back in the Burned-Over District of western New York various sects and cults were born, further corrupting the religious landscape of America. The Burned-Over District was a hotbed of false religion, especially after attracting settlers in the period between the construction of the Erie Canal and the rise of the railroads. The area still had a frontier quality during the early canal boom, making professional and established clergy scarce, lending the piety of the area many of the self-taught qualities that proved susceptible to folk religion. As such the area spawned a number of innovative religious movements, all founded by lay people, during the early 19th century. These include:

- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, better known as the Mormons. Joseph Smith lived in the area, and claimed to have discovered the golden plates (using peep stones) that contained the Book of Mormon near Palmyra, New York.
- The Millerites. William Miller was a farmer born in rural Vermont who moved to the area and found many converts there to his theory of an imminent Second Coming. His successor, the false prophetess Ellen G. White, went on to found the Seventh-day Adventist Church.
- The Fox sisters of Hydesville, New York conducted the first "table-rapping" séances in the area, leading to the American movement of Spiritualism that taught communication with the dead.
- The Shakers were also highly active in the area, and had several of their communal farms there.
- Finney himself preached at many revivals in the area, and was an early precursor of Pentecostalism.

Another heretical sect which arose during the Second Great Awakening were the so called Christian Churches. The Christian Churches were most uniquely American in origin and character. In Virginia, Vermont and Kentucky, the Second Great Awakening motivated some of the members of different churches to seek unity and to de-emphasize doctrine. These new churches were determined to overcome the confessional and ethnic barriers that divided the Protestant community: Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist, Anglican. So this was an early attempt to reunite the church, an "ecumenical" movement that preceded modern ecumenism by more than a century. They called themselves "Christians", to emphasize their emphasis on Christian unity. Of course, in reality they adhered to very definite doctrinal positions, even if they did not acknowledge them as such.

The first Christian congregations were gathered in 1794 in Virginia by a veteran of the American Revolution—James O'Kelley. He was an Arminian Methodist, but left the church, objecting to the power of bishops. Methodism, O'Kelley and his followers felt, was becoming too autocratic. They wanted frontier churches to be free to deal with problems that were different from those of older churches in the cities of the East. They declared that the Bible was their only guide and called for a simple faith free of the confessions and creeds European churches had inherited from their ancestors. They believed in "freedom of conscience" subject only to the authority of scripture, without clearly setting forth what scripture teaches.

Far to the North, in Vermont, a Baptist named Abner Jones and his followers were independently coming to the same position. They organized the First Free Christian Church in Lyndon, Vermont. "Christian character" would be the only requirement for membership,

and all were welcome to share in the Lord's Supper. Jones disagreed with his fellow Baptists that only those baptized by immersion could be invited to Communion. He was later joined by Baptist Elias Smith, who helped gather another Christian church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and began publishing, in 1808, the Herald of Gospel Liberty. Smith's paper became a means of drawing the separate Christian movements together.

With a minimum of organization, other churches of like mind were established and the movement became known as the "Christian Connection." The "Connection" had been organized in 1820 at the first United General Conference of Christians, during which six principles were unanimously affirmed:

- Christ, the only head of the Church.
- The Bible, sufficient rule of faith and practice.
- Christian character, the only measurement for membership.
- The right of private judgment, interpretation of scripture, and liberty of conscience.
- The name "Christian," worthy for Christ's followers. Unity of all Christ's followers in behalf of the world.

By 1845, a regional New England Convention was organized.

A third group, under Barton W. Stone, withdrew in 1803 from the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky in opposition to Calvinist theology. They also called themselves "Christians" and shared the vision of the Christian Connection: a church beyond denominations that would acknowledge only the authority of Christ and "liberty of conscience." Stone's followers spread from Kentucky into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

A fourth Christian movement was founded a few decades later in Kentucky and West Virginia by Alexander Campbell, a Scottish Presbyterian immigrant. Some of Stone's followers united with Campbell's new movement in 1832 to form the community that later became known as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). The majority of Stone's followers did not join Campbell and instead reaffirmed their ties with the original Christian Connection founded by O'Kelley, Jones and Smith. More than a century later, these streams of the Christian movement would join together.

Another example of seceding Presbyterians on the frontier who founded an Arminian denomination is the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In 1810 in the log cabin home of Rev. Samuel McAdow in Tennessee, McAdow together with Rev. Finis Ewing and Rev. Samuel King organized the church. The congregation was made up mostly of secedent members of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. An outgrowth of "The Great Revival of 1800" in frontier Kentucky, the new denomination turned from the Biblical doctrine of predestination in favor of Arminianism. Unlike other denominations, however, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church retained Presbyterian organizational structure.

So the Second Great Awakening exercised a profound impact on American life and history. The numerical strength of the Baptists and Methodists- as well as smaller groups like the Christian Churches - rose relative to that of the denominations dominant in the colonial period -- the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Among the latter, efforts to apply Christian teaching to the resolution of social problems presaged the Social Gospel of the late 19th century. In the Burned-Over District of western New York, for example, social radical Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the early feminist, conducted the Seneca Falls Convention devoted to women's suffrage. Social activism inspired by the revival more immediately gave rise to abolition groups and the Society for the Promotion of Temperance, as well as to efforts to reform prisons and care for the handicapped and mentally ill.

America was becoming a more diverse nation in the early to mid-19th century, and the growing differences within American Protestantism reflected and contributed to this diversity. In fact, much of American Protestantism bore little resemblance to the Protestantism of the Protestant Reformation. Rather, it was quite contrary to the tenets of the Reformation, and a return to various Romish and pagan errors. Increasingly it was denying the doctrines of grace, and embracing Arminian errors.

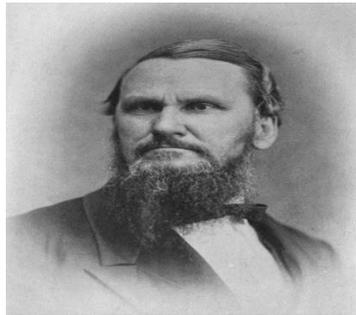
Yet even under these difficult circumstances, Old School Presbyterians maintained much of Calvinist orthodoxy from the 1830s to the 1860s, led by such Princeton theologians as Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge. Because of their stand, the Old School faction expelled the New School from the Presbyterian church in 1837 for having diverged from the historic Calvinist path. Several New School leaders such as Albert Barnes and Lyman Beecher were rightly accused of holding sub - Calvinist views related to the New Haven theology of Nathaniel W Taylor. Alexander and Hodge answered Taylor in seven articles in the Princeton Review (1830 - 31) by stressing Reformed doctrines such as the imputation of Adam's sin (Adam acted as a representative for all men and his sin was counted against them), Christ's substitutionary atonement, and the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit. At the same time the Presbyterian Church in the USA (Old School) cut off its ties with Congregationalism as well.

Many Old School men, including Alexander and Hodge, were greatly influenced by revivals in their younger days and acknowledged a continuing need for revival in the church. But they sharply criticized contemporary revivalists for expressing Taylorite views in their preaching. They condemned emotional excesses and demanded that true revivals be carried out within the church, guided by its confessional stance on God's sovereignty and human inability. Charles G Finney's theology and Lectures on Revivals of Religion (1835) were thoroughly criticized. The Old School party also strongly supported Presbyterian polity as most consistent with a Reformed view of the church. Arguing that church order was a matter of faith, they opposed a plan of union with Congregationalists and claimed that Presbyterian polity provided discipline necessary to prevent errors in doctrine and practice which Congregationalism lacked. They also repudiated the social activism of voluntary societies, preferring that education and mission activities take place within the institutional church, where it also could be guided by the church's confession.

Two notable Old School Presbyterian theologians in the South were Robert Dabney and

James Henley Thornwell. Both were of Scot-Irish heritage, from which so much of the South at the time descended. Presbyterianism had remained the dominant Christian denomination among the Scotch-Irish segment of the Southern populace. In his discussion on the Scotch-Irish culture, from which most Southerners descended, David Hackett Fischer stated, "The backcountry was indeed very mixed in its religious denominations - much as the borders of North Britain had been. But most visitors observed that Presbyterians generally predominated by the middle decades of the 18th century." This predominance had only grown from that time until 1861. Dabney, Stonewall Jackson, Andrew Jackson, James Polk, Patrick Henry, and Alexander Stephens were all Southerners from Scotch-Irish ancestry. (The other main ethnic group which made up the Southern people were the descendants of the Cavaliers. Jefferson Davis, R.E. Lee, and Robert Toombs were a part of this group, which was Anglican for the most part.)

Dabney (1820-1898) was a theology professor at Union Seminary in Hampton-Sidney, Virginia, for forty years.



He was offered the chair of Church History at Princeton in 1860, but his devotion to the South and its cause led him to decline the invitation. According to his biographers, "When the Civil War commenced in the following year he believed in the justice of the cause to which the Confederate States of the South were committed." During the war he was a military chaplain and at one point served as chief of staff to General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Dabney attained the rank of major in the Confederate Army. General Jackson referred to him as "the most efficient officer he knew." Immediately after the war Dabney lived in poverty as a farmer who had to provide food for his family during the winter of 1866. Later, he returned to Union Seminary to once again take up his life's work. In 1867, Dabney wrote *In Defense of Virginia and the South*, a polemic of Southern beliefs.

Thornwell (1812-1862) only lived to be 49 years old. Yet, in that short life time he "served as a pastor, and twice as a professor in the College of South Carolina, before he was called to the presidency of the College in 1851." After the South declared its independence and drew up its new constitution, Thornwell began a movement to codify into law the Christian standing of the new nation. He died in 1862, and the project failed to carry on to victory. The words which Thornwell and others sought to insert into the Confederate Constitution were these, "Nevertheless we, the people of these Confederate

States, distinctly acknowledge our responsibility to God, and the supremacy of His Son, Jesus Christ, as King of kings and Lord of lords; and hereby ordain that no law shall be

passed by the Congress of these Confederate States inconsistent with the will of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures." But it must be kept in mind that both Dabney and

Thornwell rejected the Establishment Principle, and along with American Presbyterianism in general, accepted many premises of 'common sense' philosophy.

Standing alongside the Old School Presbyterian churches were some smaller bodies faithful in maintaining Reformed doctrine and worship. These were primarily populated by Scottish and Scot-Irish immigrants of Covenanter and Secession backgrounds. Although they generally abandoned the Establishment Principle, they retained much of their Biblical heritage, such as singing only psalms in public worship and forbidding musical instruments in public worship. The largest such denomination was the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Its base lay in Pennsylvania and the states west of Pennsylvania. Another example was the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.

Meanwhile, the Presbyterian Church in the United States (New School) continued to work in close cooperation with the Congregationalists, in enterprises such as missions, abolition (of slavery), and temperance. Though it had a few churches in the South, it was primarily in the North. Union Theological Seminary in New York City became their great center. In 1852 the Congregationalists abrogated the Plan of Union with the New School, though some joint work continued.

## **ROMAN CATHOLIC IMMIGRATION AND THE KNOW NOTHING RESPONSE**

The original United States Naturalization Law of 1790 limited naturalization to immigrants who were free white persons of good character. It thus excluded American Indians, indentured servants, slaves, free blacks, and Asians. It also provided for citizenship for the children of U.S. citizens born abroad, but specified that the right of citizenship did "not descend to persons whose fathers have never been resident in the United States". It specifies that such children "shall be considered as natural born citizens" -- the only U.S. statute to ever use the term "natural born citizen." The Act of 1790 was superseded by the Naturalization Act of 1795, which extended the residence requirement to five years, and by the Naturalization Act of 1798, which extended it to 14 years.

There was relatively little immigration from 1770 to 1830; indeed there was significant emigration to Canada, including about 75,000 Loyalists as well as Germans and other looking for better farms in what is now Ontario. Large scale immigration resumed in the 1830s from Britain, Ireland, Germany and other parts of Central Europe as well as Scandinavia. Most were attracted by the cheap farm land. Some were artisans and skilled factory workers attracted by the first stage of industrialization. The Irish Catholics were unskilled workers who built most of the canals and railroads, and settled in urban areas. Many Irish went to the emerging textile mill towns of the Northeast, while others became longshoremen in the growing Atlantic and Gulf port cities. Half the Germans headed to

farms, especially in the Midwest (with some to Texas... New Braunfels founded in 1845), while the other half became craftsmen in urban areas.

Nativism took the form of political anti-Catholicism directed mostly at the Irish (as well as Germans). It became important briefly in the mid-1850s in the guise of the Know Nothing party.

Between 1831 and 1840, immigration more than quadrupled to a total of 599,000. These included about 207,000 Irish, starting to emigrate in large numbers following Britain's easing of travel restrictions, and about 152,000 Germans, 76,000 British, and 46,000 French, constituting the next largest immigrant groups of the decade. Between 1841 and 1850, immigration nearly tripled again, totaling 1,713,000 immigrants, including at least 781,000 Irish, 435,000 Germans, 267,000 British and 77,000 French immigrants. The Irish, with the Potato Famine (1845–1849) driving them, emigrated directly from their homeland to escape poverty and death. The failed revolutions of 1848 brought many intellectuals and activists to exile in the U.S. Bad times and poor conditions in Europe drove people out, while land, relatives, freedom, opportunity, and jobs in the US lured them in.

Though conducted since 1790, the census of 1850 was the first in which place of birth was specially asked. The foreign-born population in the U.S. likely reached its minimum around 1815, at approximately 100,000 or 1.4% of the population. By 1815, most of the immigrants who arrived before the American Revolution had died, and there had been almost no new immigration. Nearly all population growth up to 1830 was by internal increase; about 98.5% of the population was native-born. By 1850, this had shifted to about 90% native born. The first significant Catholic immigration started in the mid-1840s, shifting the population from about 95% Protestant down to about 90% by 1850.

In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, concluding the Mexican War, extended U.S. citizenship to approximately 60,000 Mexican residents of the New Mexico Territory and 10,000 living in California. An additional approximate 2,500 foreign born California residents also become U.S. citizens.

In 1849, the California Gold Rush brought in over 100,000 would-be miners from the eastern U.S., Latin America, China, Australia, and Europe. California became a state in 1850 with a population of about 90,000.

Americans found themselves divided in other, more complex ways. The large number of Roman Catholic immigrants in the first half of the 19th century, primarily Irish and German, triggered a backlash among native-born Protestant Americans. Little had most realized what a secularist federal government would bring. Roman Catholic immigrants brought corrupt Romish doctrines and practices to American shores. These new immigrants had little sympathy for the strict Sabbath observance which had characterized colonial America. Over time such Sabbath observance would wane, in no small measure due to Romanist influence. And in many other areas of morality Romanism proved

degenerative. In addition, Romanists competed with the native-born for jobs in cities along the Eastern seaboard. The coming of universal white male suffrage in the 1820s and 1830s increased their political clout. More and more Roman Catholics were elected to public office, replacing erstwhile Protestant rule. The Roman Catholic Church's failure to support the temperance movement gave rise to charges that Rome was trying to subvert the United States through alcohol by some Protestants who erroneously supported a complete ban on alcohol.

The most important of the nativist organizations that sprang up in this period was a secret society, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, founded in 1849. When its members refused to identify themselves, they were swiftly labeled the "Know-Nothings."



In a few years, they became a national organization with considerable political power. The Know-Nothings advocated an extension in the period required for naturalized citizenship from five to 21 years. They sought to exclude the foreign-born and Roman Catholics from public office. In 1855 they won control of legislatures in New York and

Massachusetts; by then, about 90 U.S. congressmen were linked to the party. That was its high point. Soon after, the gathering crisis between North and South over the extension of slavery fatally divided the party, consuming it along with the old debates between Whigs and Democrats that had dominated American politics in the second quarter of the 19th century. The Vatican was clearly elated by the division which led to civil war, for it alone among nations officially recognized the Confederate States of America.

## CHAPTER 6 : SECTIONAL CONFLICT

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free."

-- Senatorial  
candidate  
**Abraham Lincoln**,  
1858



### TWO AMERICAS

No visitor to the United States left a more enduring record of his travels and observations than the Roman Catholic French writer and political theorist Alexis de Tocqueville, whose

*Democracy in America*, first published in 1835, remains one of the most well-known analyses of American social and political practices. Tocqueville was fundamentally positive, albeit critical at points. "The government of a democracy brings the notion of political rights to the level of the humblest citizens," he wrote, "just as the dissemination of wealth brings the notion of property within the reach of all men." Nonetheless, Tocqueville was only one in the first of a long line of thinkers to worry whether such rough equality could survive in the face of a growing factory system that threatened to create divisions between industrial workers and a new business elite. Other travelers marveled at the growth and vitality of the country, where they could see "everywhere the most unequivocal proofs of prosperity and rapid progress in agriculture, commerce, and great public works." But such optimistic views of the American experiment were by no means universal. One skeptic was the English novelist Charles Dickens, who first visited the United States in 1841-42. "This is not the Republic I came to see," he wrote in a letter. "This is not the Republic of my imagination. ... The more I think of its youth and strength, the poorer and more trifling in a thousand respects, it appears in my eyes. In everything of which it has made a boast -- excepting its education of the people, and its care for poor children -- it sinks immeasurably below the level I had placed it upon."

Dickens was not alone. America in the 19th century, as throughout its history, generated expectations and passions that often conflicted with a reality at once more mundane and more complex. The young nation's size and diversity defied easy generalization and invited contradiction: America was both a freedom-loving and slave-holding society, a nation of expansive and primitive frontiers, a society with cities built on growing commerce and industrialization.

## LANDS OF PROMISE

By 1850 the national territory stretched over forest, plain, and mountain. Within its far-flung limits dwelt 23 million people in a Union comprising 31 states. In the East, industry boomed. In the Midwest and the South, agriculture flourished. After 1849 the gold mines of California poured their precious ore into the channels of trade.

New England and the Middle Atlantic states were the main centers of manufacturing, commerce, and finance. Principal products of these areas were textiles, lumber, clothing, machinery, leather, and woolen goods.



The maritime trade had reached the height of its prosperity; vessels flying the American flag plied the oceans, distributing wares of all nations.

The South, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River and beyond, featured an economy centered on agriculture. Tobacco was important in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. In South Carolina, rice was an abundant crop. The climate and soil of Louisiana encouraged the cultivation of sugar. But cotton eventually became the dominant commodity and the one with which the South was identified. By 1850 the American South grew more than 80 percent of the world's cotton. Slaves cultivated all these crops.



The Midwest, with its boundless prairies and swiftly growing population, economically flourished. Europe and the older settled parts of America demanded its wheat and meat products. The introduction of labor-saving implements -- notably the McCormick reaper (a machine to cut and harvest grain) -- made possible an unparalleled increase in grain production. The nation's wheat crops swelled from some 35 million hectoliters in 1850 to nearly 61 million in 1860, more than half grown in the Midwest.

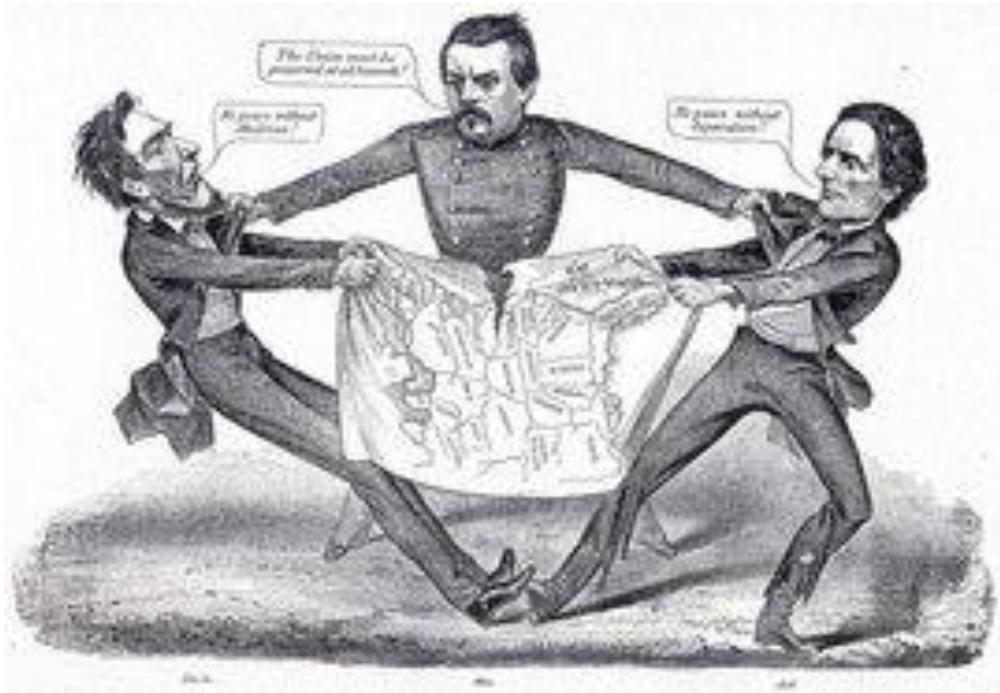


An important stimulus to the country's economic prosperity was the great improvement in transportation facilities; from 1850 to 1857 the Appalachian Mountain barrier was pierced by five railway trunk lines linking the Midwest and the Northeast. These links established the economic interests that would undergird the political alliance of the Union from 1861 to 1865. The South lagged behind. It was not until the late 1850s that a continuous line ran through the mountains connecting the lower Mississippi River area with the southern Atlantic seaboard.

## **SLAVERY AND SECTIONALISM**

One overriding issue exacerbated the regional and economic differences between North and South: slavery. Resenting the large profits amassed by Northern businessmen from marketing the cotton crop, many Southerners attributed the backwardness of their own section to Northern aggrandizement. Many Northerners, on the other hand, declared that slavery -- the "peculiar institution" that the South regarded as essential to its economy -- was largely responsible for the region's relative financial and industrial backwardness.

As far back as the Missouri Compromise in 1819, sectional lines had been steadily hardening on the slavery question. In the North, sentiment for outright abolition grew increasingly powerful. Southerners in general felt little guilt about slavery and defended it vehemently. In some seaboard areas, slavery by 1850 was well over 200 years old; it was an integral part of the basic economy of the region.



Although the 1860 census showed that there were nearly four million slaves out of a total population of 12.3 million in the 15 slave states, only a minority of Southern whites owned slaves. There were some 385,000 slave owners out of about 1.5 million white families. Fifty percent of these slave owners owned no more than five slaves. Twelve percent owned 20 or more slaves, the number defined as turning a farmer into a planter. Three-quarters of Southern white families, including the "poor whites," those on the lowest rung of Southern society, owned no slaves. It is easy to understand the interest of the planters in slave holding. But the yeomen and poor whites supported the institution of slavery as well. And States' Rights was commonly approved. As they fought the weight of Northern opinion, political leaders of the South, the professional classes, and most of the clergy defended slavery. Southern publicists insisted, for example, that the relationship between capital and labor was more humane under the slavery system than under the wage system of the North.

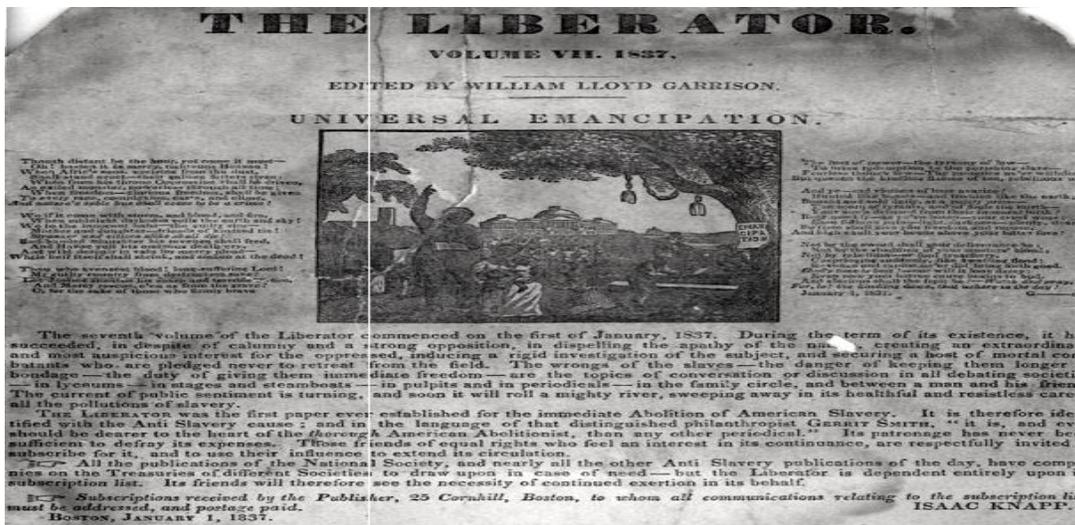
## **THE ABOLITIONISTS**

In national politics, Southerners chiefly sought protection and enlargement of the interests represented by the cotton/slavery system. They sought territorial expansion because new territory would establish a basis for additional slave states to offset the

admission of new free states. Antislavery Northerners saw in the Southern view a conspiracy for proslavery aggrandizement. In the 1830s their opposition became fierce.

An earlier antislavery movement, an offshoot of the American Revolution, had won its last victory in 1808 when Congress abolished the slave trade with Africa. Thereafter, opposition came largely from the Quakers, who kept up a mild but ineffectual protest. Meanwhile, the cotton gin and westward expansion into the Mississippi delta region created an increasing demand for slaves.

The abolitionist movement that emerged in the early 1830s was combative, uncompromising, and insistent upon an immediate end to slavery. This approach found a leader in William Lloyd Garrison, a young man from Massachusetts, who combined the heroism of a martyr with the crusading zeal of a demagogue. On January 1, 1831, Garrison produced the first issue of his newspaper, *The Liberator*, which bore the announcement: "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. ... On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. ... I am in earnest -- I will not equivocate -- I will not excuse -- I will not retreat a single inch -- AND I WILL BE HEARD."



Garrison's sensational methods awakened Northerners to the issue. He sought to hold up to public gaze the most repulsive aspects of slavery and to castigate slave holders as torturers and traffickers in human life. He recognized no rights of the masters, acknowledged no compromise, tolerated no delay. Other abolitionists, unwilling to subscribe to his law-defying tactics, held that reform should be accomplished by legal and peaceful means. Garrison was joined by another powerful voice, that of Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave who galvanized Northern audiences. Theodore Dwight Weld and many other abolitionists crusaded against slavery in the states of the old Northwest Territory with evangelical zeal.

One activity of the movement involved helping slaves escape to safe refuges in the North or over the border into Canada. The "Underground Railroad," an elaborate network of secret routes, was firmly established in the 1830s in all parts of the North. In Ohio alone,

from 1830 to 1860, as many as 40,000 fugitive slaves were helped to flee slavery. The number of local antislavery societies increased at such a rate that by 1838 there were about 1,350 with a membership of perhaps 250,000.

Most Northerners nonetheless either held themselves aloof from the abolitionist movement or actively opposed it. In 1837, for example, a mob attacked and killed the antislavery editor Elijah P. Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois. Still, Southern repression of free speech allowed the abolitionists to link the slavery issue with the cause of civil liberties for whites. In 1835 an angry mob destroyed abolitionist literature in the Charleston, South Carolina post office. When the postmaster-general stated he would not enforce delivery of abolitionist material, bitter debates ensued in Congress. Abolitionists flooded Congress with petitions calling for action against slavery. In 1836 the House voted to table such petitions automatically, thus effectively killing them. Former President John Quincy Adams, elected to the House of Representatives in 1830, fought this so-called gag rule as a violation of the First Amendment, finally winning its repeal in 1844.

## **TEXAS AND WAR WITH MEXICO**

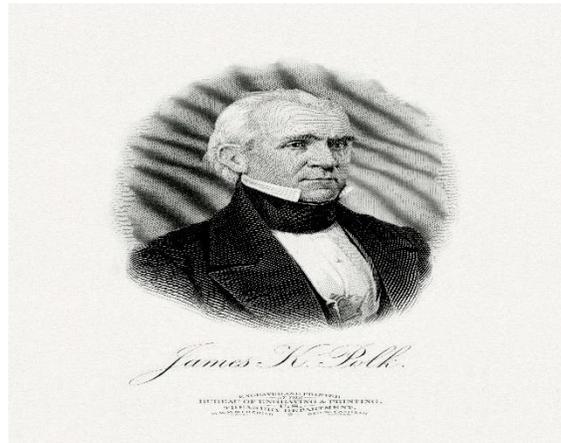
Throughout the 1820s, Americans settled in the vast territory of Texas, often with land grants from the Mexican government. They were brought in to help protect against Indian raids upon Mexican outposts. However, American numbers soon alarmed the authorities, who prohibited further immigration in 1830. In 1834 General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna established a dictatorship in Mexico, and the following year Texans revolted. Santa Anna defeated the American rebels at the celebrated siege of the Alamo in early 1836.



But Texans under Sam Houston destroyed the Mexican Army and captured Santa Anna a month later at the Battle of San Jacinto, ensuring Texan independence.

For almost a decade, Texas remained an independent republic, largely because its annexation as a huge new slave state would disrupt the increasingly precarious balance of

political power in the United States. In 1845, President James K. Polk, narrowly elected on a platform of westward expansion, brought the Republic of Texas into the Union.



Polk's move was the first gambit in a larger design. Texas claimed that its border with Mexico was the Rio Grande; Mexico argued that the border stood far to the north along the Nueces River. Meanwhile, settlers were flooding into the territories of New Mexico and California. Many Americans claimed that the United States had a "manifest destiny" to expand westward to the Pacific Ocean. U.S. attempts to purchase from Mexico the New Mexico and California territories failed. In 1846, after a clash of Mexican and U.S. troops along the Rio Grande, following US troop deployment down to the Rio Grande River, Mexico declared war, followed quickly by the United States declaring war.



American troops occupied the lightly populated territory of New Mexico, then supported a revolt of settlers in California. A U.S. force under Zachary Taylor invaded Mexico, winning victories at Monterrey and Buena Vista, but failing to bring the Mexicans to the negotiating table. In March 1847, a U.S. Army commanded by Winfield Scott landed near Veracruz on Mexico's east coast, and fought its way to Mexico City. The United States

dictated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in which Mexico ceded what would become the American Southwest region and California for \$15 million.

The war was a training ground for American officers who would later fight on both sides in the Civil War. It was also politically divisive. Polk, in a simultaneous facedown with Great Britain, had achieved British recognition of American sovereignty in the Pacific Northwest to the 49th parallel. Still, antislavery forces, mainly among the Whigs, attacked Polk's expansion as a proslavery plot.

With the conclusion of the Mexican War, the United States gained a vast new territory of

1.36 million square kilometers encompassing the present-day states of New Mexico, Nevada, California, Utah, most of Arizona, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming. The nation also faced a revival of the most explosive question in American politics of the time: Would the new territories be slave or free?



## THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

Until 1845, it had seemed possible that African American slavery would be confined to the areas where it already existed. It had been given limits by the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and had no opportunity to overstep them. The new territories made renewed expansion of slavery a real likelihood.

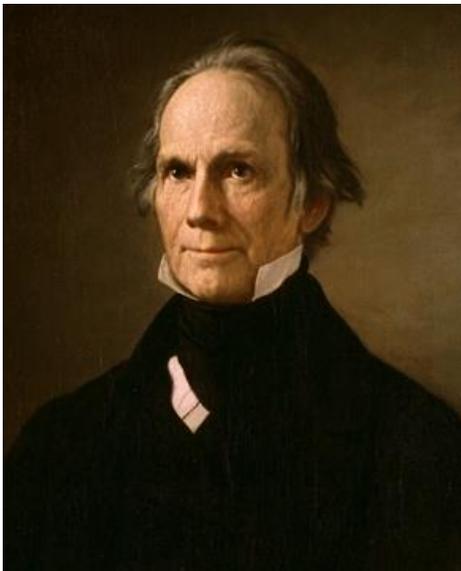
Many Northerners believed that if not allowed to spread, slavery would ultimately decline and die. To justify their opposition to adding new slave states, they pointed to the statements of Washington and Jefferson, and to the Ordinance of 1787, which forbade the extension of slavery into the Northwest. Texas, which already permitted slavery, naturally entered the Union as a slave state. But the California, New Mexico, and Utah territories

did not have slavery. From the beginning, there were strongly conflicting opinions on whether they should.

Southerners urged that all the lands acquired from Mexico should be thrown open to slave holders. Antislavery Northerners demanded that all the new regions be closed to slavery. One group of moderates suggested that the Missouri Compromise line be extended to the Pacific with free states north of it and slave states to the south. Another group proposed that the question be left to "popular sovereignty." The government should permit settlers to enter the new territory with or without slaves as they pleased. When the time came to organize the region into states, the people themselves could decide.

Despite the vitality of the abolitionist movement, most Northerners were unwilling to challenge the existence of slavery in the South. Many, however, were against its expansion. In 1848 nearly 300,000 men voted for the candidates of a new Free Soil Party, which declared that the best policy was "to limit, localize, and discourage slavery." In the immediate aftermath of the war with Mexico, however, popular sovereignty had considerable appeal.

In January 1848 the discovery of gold in California precipitated a headlong rush of settlers, more than 80,000 in the single year of 1849. Congress had to determine the status of this new region quickly in order to establish an organized government. The venerable Kentucky Senator Henry Clay, who twice before in times of crisis had come forward with compromise arrangements, advanced a complicated and carefully balanced plan, solidifying his title as "the Great Compromiser".



His old Massachusetts rival, Daniel Webster, supported it. Illinois Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the leading advocate of popular sovereignty, did much of the work in guiding it through Congress.

The Compromise of 1850 contained the following provisions: (1) California was admitted to the Union as a free state; (2) the remainder of the Mexican cession was divided

into the two territories of New Mexico and Utah and organized without mention of slavery; (3) the claim of Texas to a portion of New Mexico was satisfied by a payment of \$10 million; (4) new legislation (the Fugitive Slave Act) was passed to apprehend runaway slaves and return them to their masters; and (5) the buying and selling of slaves (but not slavery) was abolished in the District of Columbia.

The country breathed a sigh of relief. For the next three years, the compromise seemed to settle nearly all differences. The new Fugitive Slave Law, however, was an immediate source of tension. It deeply offended many Northerners, who refused to have any part in catching slaves. Some actively and violently obstructed its enforcement. The Underground Railroad became more efficient and daring than ever.

## **A DIVIDED NATION**

During the 1850s, the issue of slavery severed the political bonds that had held the United States together. It ate away at the country's two great political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, destroying the first and irrevocably dividing the second. It produced weak presidents whose irresolution mirrored that of their parties. It eventually led to great contentiousness over Supreme Court decisions.

The fervor of abolitionist feeling grew steadily. In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a fictional novel provoked by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. More than 300,000 copies were sold the first year. Presses ran day and night to keep up with the demand. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* portrayed with undeniable force the purported cruelty of slavery and posited a fundamental conflict between free and slave societies. But the genre chosen – novel instead of nonfiction – allowed many distortions and false stereotypes to be impressed upon the minds of readers. Stowe could create a fanciful tale at will, unconstrained by reality, using the genre as a justification. But the work had its intended effect; it inspired widespread enthusiasm for the antislavery cause, appealing as it did to basic human emotions -- indignation at injustice and pity for the helpless individuals exposed to supposedly ruthless exploitation.

In 1854 the issue of slavery in the territories was renewed and the quarrel became more bitter. The region that now comprises Kansas and Nebraska was being rapidly settled, increasing pressure for the establishment of territorial, and eventually, state governments.

Under terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the entire region was closed to slavery. Dominant slave-holding elements in Missouri objected to letting Kansas become a free territory, for their state would then have three free-soil neighbors (Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas) and might be forced to become a free state as well. Their congressional delegation, backed by Southerners, blocked all efforts to organize the region.

At this point, Stephen A. Douglas enraged all free-soil supporters. Douglas argued that the Compromise of 1850, having left Utah and New Mexico free to resolve the slavery issue for themselves, superseded the Missouri Compromise. His plan called for two

territories, Kansas and Nebraska. It permitted settlers to carry slaves into them and eventually to determine whether they should enter the Union as free or slave states.

Douglas's opponents accused him of currying favor with the South in order to gain the presidency in 1856. The free-soil movement, which had seemed to be in decline, reemerged with greater momentum than ever. Yet in May 1854, Douglas's plan, in the form of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, passed Congress to be signed by President Franklin Pierce. Southern enthusiasts celebrated with cannon fire. But when Douglas subsequently visited Chicago to speak in his own defense, the ships in the harbor lowered their flags to half-mast, the church bells tolled for an hour, and a crowd of 10,000 hooted so loudly that he could not make himself heard.

The immediate results of Douglas's measure were momentous. The Whig Party, which had straddled the question of slavery expansion, sank to its death, and in its stead a powerful new organization arose, the Republican Party, whose primary demand was that slavery be excluded from all the territories. In 1856, it nominated John Fremont, whose expeditions into the Far West had won him renown. Fremont lost the election, but the new party swept a great part of the North. Such free-soil leaders as Salmon P. Chase and William Seward exerted greater influence than ever. Along with them appeared a tall, lanky Illinois attorney, Abraham Lincoln.

Meanwhile, the flow of both Southern slave holders and antislavery families into Kansas resulted in armed conflict. Soon the territory was being called "bleeding Kansas." John Brown led his followers in a crusade to murder pro-slavery men there.



Tensions heightened when the Supreme Court made its 1857 Dred Scott decision. Scott was a Missouri slave who, some 20 years earlier, had been taken by his master to live in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory; in both places, slavery was banned. Returning to

Missouri and becoming discontented with his life there, Scott sued for liberation on the ground of his residence on free soil. A majority of the Supreme Court -- dominated by Southerners -- decided that Scott lacked standing in court because he was not a citizen; that the laws of a free state (Illinois) had no effect on his status because he was the resident of a slave state (Missouri); and that slave holders had the right to take their property anywhere in the federal territories. Thus, Congress could not restrict the expansion of slavery. This last assertion invalidated former compromises on slavery and made new ones impossible to craft. The Dred Scott decision stirred fierce resentment throughout the North. Never before had the Court been so bitterly condemned. For Southern Democrats, the decision was a great victory, since it gave judicial sanction to their justification of slavery throughout the territories.

### LINCOLN, DOUGLAS, AND BROWN

Abraham Lincoln had long regarded slavery as an evil. As early as 1854 in a widely publicized speech, he declared that all national legislation should be framed on the principle that slavery was to be restricted and eventually abolished. He contended also that the principle of popular sovereignty was false, for slavery in the western territories was the concern not only of the local inhabitants but of the United States as a whole.

In 1858 Lincoln opposed Stephen A. Douglas for election to the U.S. Senate from Illinois. In the first paragraph of his opening campaign speech, on June 17, Lincoln struck the keynote of American history for the seven years to follow, borrowing a text from the Bible:

*A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved -- I do not expect the house to fall -- but I do expect it will cease to be divided.*

Sadly, few realized that all of the US house was a slave to the sin of rebellion, for it had denied its duty to uphold and enforce God's Ten Commandments as a reformed Protestant nation, and it had broken its covenant in the illegal abandonment of the Articles of Confederation.

Lincoln and Douglas engaged in a series of seven debates in the ensuing months of 1858.



Senator Douglas, known as the "Little Giant," had an enviable reputation as an orator, but he was vigorously matched in Lincoln, who eloquently challenged Douglas's concept of popular sovereignty. In the end, Douglas won the election by a small margin, but Lincoln had achieved stature as a national figure opposed to slavery.

By then events were spinning out of control. On the night of October 16, 1859, John Brown, an antislavery fanatic who had captured and killed five proslavery settlers in

Kansas three years before, led a band of followers in an attack on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry (in what is now West Virginia), financially supported by Boston abolitionists. Brown's goal was to use the weapons seized to lead a slave uprising. After two days of fighting, Brown and his surviving men were taken prisoner by a force of U.S. Marines commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee. Brown's attempt confirmed the worst fears of many Southerners. Antislavery activists, on the other hand, generally hailed Brown as a martyr to a great cause. Virginia put Brown on trial for conspiracy, treason, and murder. On December 2, 1859, he was hanged. Although most Northerners had initially condemned him, increasing numbers were coming to accept his view that he had been an instrument in the hand of God.

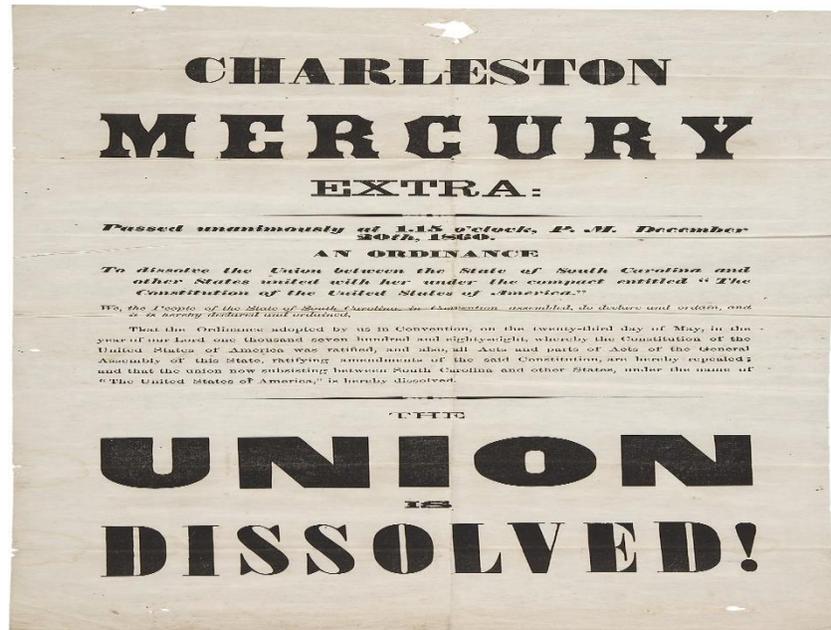
## **THE 1860 ELECTION**

In 1860 the Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln as its candidate for president. The Republican platform declared that slavery could spread no farther, promised a tariff for the protection of industry, and pledged the enactment of a law granting free homesteads to settlers who would help in the opening of the West. Southern Democrats, unwilling in the wake of the Dred Scott case to accept Douglas's popular sovereignty, split from the party and nominated Vice President John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for president. Stephen A. Douglas was the nominee of northern Democrats. Diehard Whigs from the border states, formed into the Constitutional Union Party, nominated John C. Bell of Tennessee.

Lincoln and Douglas competed in the North, Breckenridge and Bell in the South. Lincoln won only 39 percent of the popular vote, but had a clear majority of 180 electoral votes, carrying all 18 free states. Bell won Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia; Breckenridge took the other slave states except for Missouri, which was won by Douglas. Despite his poor showing, Douglas trailed only Lincoln in the popular vote.



## CHAPTER 7 : THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

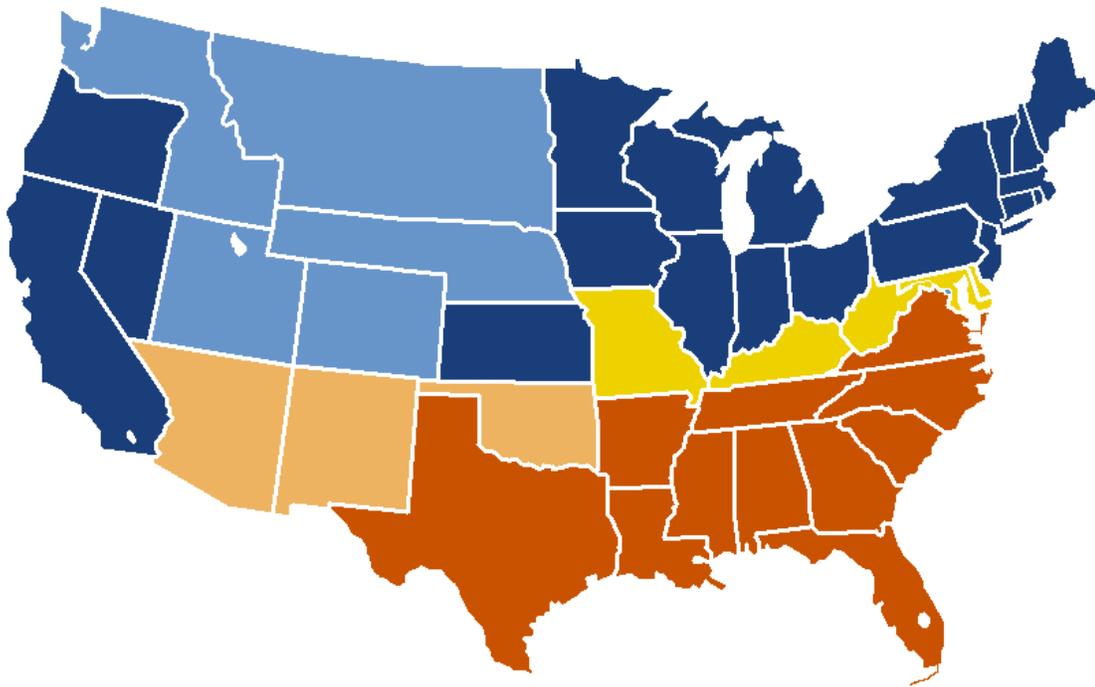


### SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

Lincoln's victory in the presidential election of November 1860 made South Carolina's secession from the Union December 20 a foregone conclusion. The state had long been waiting for an event that would unite the South against the antislavery forces. By February 1, 1861, five more Southern states had seceded. On February 8, the six states signed a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of America. The remaining Southern states as yet remained in the Union, although Texas had begun to move on its secession. Less than a month later, March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as president of the United States. In his inaugural address, he declared the Confederacy "legally void." His speech closed with a plea for restoration of the bonds of union, but the South turned a deaf ear. On April 12, Confederate guns opened fire on the federal garrison at Fort Sumter in the Charleston, South Carolina harbor. A war had begun in which more Americans would die than in any other.

In the seven states that had seceded, the people responded positively to the Confederate action and the leadership of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Both sides now tensely awaited the action of the slave states that thus far had remained in the Union. Virginia seceded on April 17; Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed. 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. With Virginia went Colonel Robert E. Lee, who declined the command of the Union Army out of loyalty to his native state. Between the enlarged Confederacy and the free-soil North lay the border slave states of Delaware, Maryland,

Kentucky, and Missouri, which, despite some sympathy with the South, would remain in the Union.



Each side 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 arrayed against 11 states inhabited by nine million, including slaves. The industrial superiority of the North exceeded even its preponderance in population, providing it with abundant facilities for manufacturing arms and ammunition, clothing, and other supplies. It had a greatly superior railway network.

The South nonetheless had certain advantages. The most important was geography; the South was fighting a defensive war on its own territory. It could establish its independence simply by beating off the Northern armies. The South also had a stronger military tradition, and possessed the more experienced military leaders.

### **WESTERN ADVANCE, EASTERN STALEMATE**

The first large battle of the war, at Bull Run, Virginia (also known as First Manassas) near Washington, stripped away any illusions that victory would be quick or easy. It also established a pattern, at least in the Eastern United States, of bloody Southern victories that never translated into a decisive military advantage for the Confederacy. It would be a divine judgment upon a people both North and South who were significantly abandoning their established Protestant heritage. Indeed, it would be a war that would see the death primarily of professing Protestants in America, even as many Roman Catholic immigrants

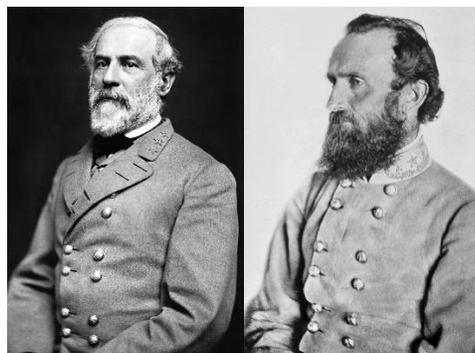
continued to pour into the nation. This would prove but another weakening of historic Protestantism.

In contrast to its military failures in the East, the Union was able to secure battlefield victories in the West and slow strategic success at sea. Most of the Navy, at the war's beginning, was in Union hands, but it was scattered and weak. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles took prompt measures to strengthen it. Lincoln then proclaimed a blockade of the Southern coasts. Although the effect of the blockade was negligible at first, by 1863 it almost completely prevented shipments of cotton to Europe and blocked the importation of sorely needed munitions, clothing, and medical supplies to the South.

A brilliant Union naval commander, David Farragut, conducted two remarkable operations. In April 1862, he took a fleet into the mouth of the Mississippi River and forced the surrender of the largest city in the South, New Orleans, Louisiana. In August 1864, with the cry, "Damn the torpedoes! Full speed ahead," he led a force past the fortified entrance of Mobile Bay, Alabama, captured a Confederate ironclad vessel, and sealed off the port.

In the Mississippi Valley, the Union forces won an almost uninterrupted series of victories. They began by breaking a long Confederate line in Tennessee, thus making it possible to occupy almost all the western part of the state. When the important Mississippi River port of Memphis was taken, Union troops advanced some 320 kilometers into the heart of the Confederacy. With the tenacious General Ulysses S. Grant in command, they withstood a sudden Confederate counterattack at Shiloh, on the bluffs overlooking the Tennessee River. Those killed and wounded at Shiloh numbered more than 10,000 on each side, a casualty rate that Americans had never before experienced. But it was only the beginning of the carnage.

In Virginia, by contrast, Union troops continued to meet one defeat after another in a succession of bloody attempts to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital. The Confederates enjoyed strong defense positions afforded by numerous streams cutting the road between Washington and Richmond. Their two best generals, Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, both far surpassed in ability their early Union counterparts.



In 1862 Union commander George McClellan made a slow, excessively cautious attempt to seize Richmond. But in the Seven Days' Battles between June 25 and July 1, the Union troops were driven steadily backward, both sides suffering terrible losses.

After another Confederate victory at the Second Battle of Bull Run (or Second Manassas), Lee crossed the Potomac River and invaded Maryland. McClellan again responded tentatively, despite learning that Lee had split his army and was heavily outnumbered. The Union and Confederate Armies met at Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, on September 17, 1862, in the bloodiest single day of the war: More than 4,000 died on both sides and 18,000 were wounded. Despite his numerical advantage, however, McClellan failed to break Lee's lines or press the attack, and Lee was able to retreat across the Potomac with his army intact. As a result, Lincoln fired McClellan.



Although Antietam was inconclusive in military terms, its consequences were nonetheless momentous. Great Britain and France, both on the verge of recognizing the Confederacy, delayed their decision, and the South never received the diplomatic recognition and the economic aid from Europe that it desperately sought.

Antietam also gave Lincoln the opening he needed to issue the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which declared that as of January 1, 1863, all slaves in states seceding from the Union were free. In practical terms, the proclamation had little immediate impact; it freed slaves only in the Confederate states, while leaving slavery intact in the border states.

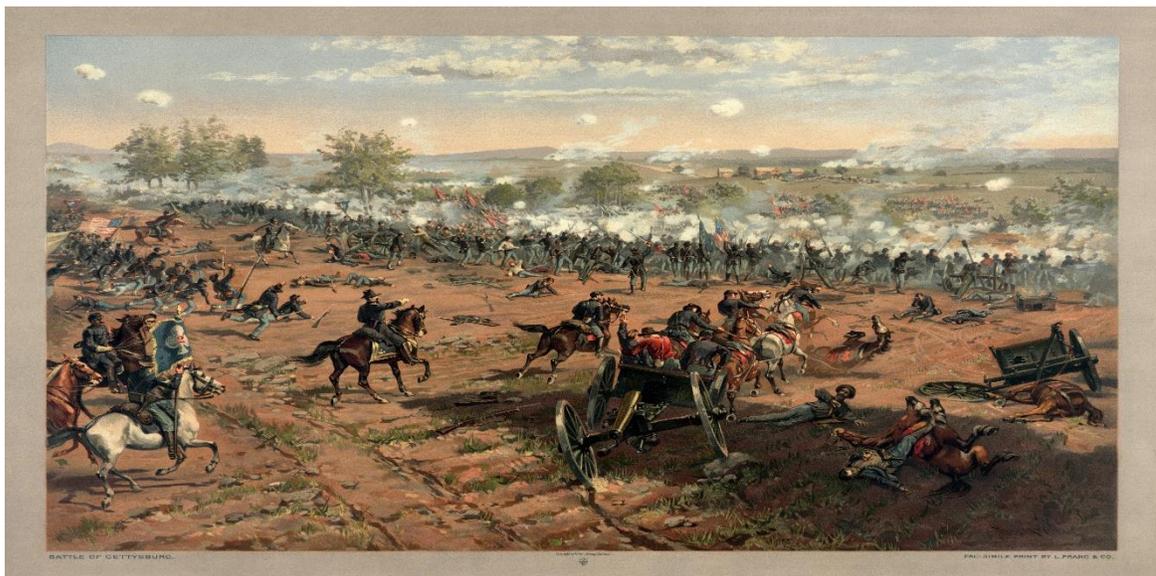
Politically, however, it meant that in addition to preserving the Union, the abolition of slavery was now a declared objective of the Union war effort.

The final Emancipation Proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, also authorized the recruitment of African Americans into the Union Army, a move abolitionist leaders such as Frederick Douglass had been urging since the beginning of armed conflict. Union forces already had been sheltering escaped slaves as "contraband of war," but following the Emancipation Proclamation, the Union Army recruited and trained regiments of African-American soldiers that fought with distinction in battles from Virginia to the Mississippi. About 178,000 African Americans served in the U.S. Colored Troops, and 29,500 served in the Union Navy.

Despite the political gains represented by the Emancipation Proclamation, however, the North's military prospects in the East remained bleak as Lee's Army of Northern Virginia continued to maul the Union Army of the Potomac, first at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December 1862 and then at Chancellorsville in May 1863. But Chancellorsville, although one of Lee's most brilliant military victories, was also one of his most costly. His most valued lieutenant, General "Stonewall" Jackson, was mistakenly shot and killed by his own men.

## GETTYSBURG TO APPOMATTOX

Yet none of the Confederate victories was decisive. The Union simply mustered new armies and tried again. Believing that the North's crushing defeat at Chancellorsville gave him his chance, Lee struck northward into Pennsylvania at the beginning of July 1863, almost reaching the state capital at Harrisburg. A strong Union force intercepted him at Gettysburg, where, in a titanic three-day battle -- the largest of the Civil War -- the Confederates made a valiant effort to break the Union lines. They failed, and on July 4 Lee's army, after crippling losses, retreated behind the Potomac.

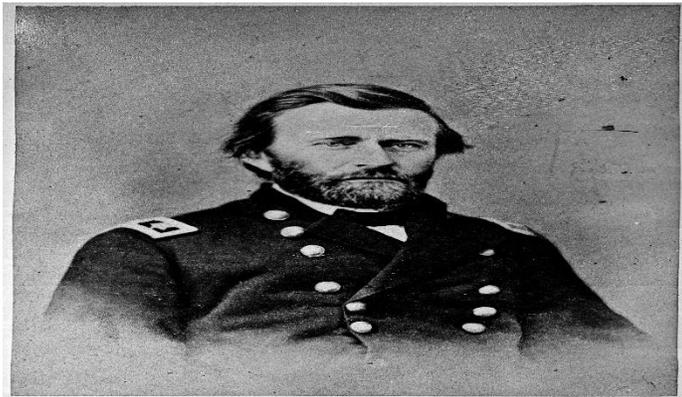


More than 3,000 Union soldiers and almost 4,000 Confederates died at Gettysburg; wounded and missing totaled more than 20,000 on each side. On November 19, 1863, Lincoln dedicated a new national cemetery there with perhaps the most famous address in U.S. history. He concluded his brief remarks with these words:

*... we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.*

On the Mississippi, Union control had been blocked at Vicksburg, where the Confederates had strongly fortified themselves on bluffs too high for naval attack. In early 1863 Grant began to move below and around Vicksburg, subjecting it to a six-week siege. On July 4, he captured the town, together with the strongest Confederate Army in the West. The river was now entirely in Union hands. The Confederacy was broken in two, and it became almost impossible to bring supplies from Texas and Arkansas. The Northern victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in July 1863 marked the turning point of the war, although the bloodshed continued unabated for more than a year and a half.

Lincoln brought Grant east and made him commander in chief of all Union forces.



In May 1864 Grant advanced deep into Virginia and met Lee's Confederate Army in the three-day Battle of the Wilderness. Losses on both sides were heavy, but unlike other Union commanders, Grant refused to retreat. Instead, he attempted to outflank Lee, stretching the Confederate lines and pounding away with artillery and infantry attacks. "I propose to fight it out along this line if it takes all summer," the Union commander said at Spotsylvania, during five days of bloody trench warfare that characterized fighting on the eastern front for almost a year.

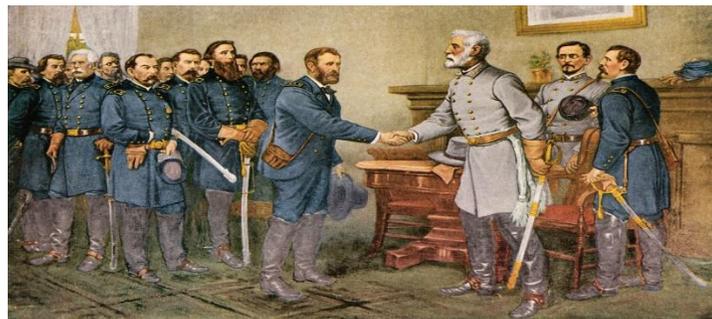
In the West, Union forces gained control of Tennessee in the fall of 1863 with victories at Chattanooga and nearby Lookout Mountain, opening the way for General William T. Sherman to invade Georgia. Sherman outmaneuvered several smaller Confederate armies, occupied the state capital of Atlanta, then marched to the Atlantic coast, systematically

destroying railroads, factories, warehouses, and other facilities in his path, in his infamous “march to the sea”.



His men, cut off from their normal supply lines, ravaged the countryside for food. From the coast, Sherman marched northward; by February 1865, he had taken Charleston, South Carolina, where the first shots of the War Between the States had been fired. Sherman, more than any other Union general, understood that destroying the will and morale of the South was as important as defeating its armies.

Grant, meanwhile, lay siege to Petersburg, Virginia, for nine months, before Lee, in March 1865, knew that he had to abandon both Petersburg and the Confederate capital of Richmond in an attempt to retreat south. But it was too late. On April 9, 1865, surrounded by huge Union armies, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse.



Although scattered fighting continued elsewhere for several months, the Civil War was over. The terms of surrender at Appomattox were magnanimous, and on his return from his meeting with Lee, Grant quieted the noisy demonstrations of his soldiers by reminding them: "The rebels are our countrymen again." The war for Southern independence had become the "lost cause," whose hero, Robert E. Lee, had won wide admiration through the brilliance of his leadership and his greatness in defeat.

### **WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE**

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. In 1864 he had been elected for a second term as president, defeating his Democratic opponent, George McClellan, the general he had dismissed after Antietam. Lincoln's second inaugural address closed with these words:

*With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.*

Three weeks later, two days after Lee's surrender, Lincoln delivered his last public address, in which he unfolded a generous reconstruction policy. On April 14, 1865, the president held what was to be his last Cabinet meeting. That evening -- with his wife and a young couple who were his guests -- he attended a sinful theatrical performance at Ford's Theater. There, as he sat in the presidential box, he was assassinated by Romanist John Wilkes Booth, a Virginia actor embittered by the South's defeat. Booth was killed in a shootout some days later in a barn in the Virginia countryside. His accomplices, all Romanists (although this was generally hid from the public at the time), were captured and later executed.

Lincoln died in a downstairs bedroom of a house across the street from Ford's Theater on the morning of April 15. Poet James Russell Lowell wrote:

*Never before that startled April morning did such multitudes of men shed tears for the death of one they had never seen, as if with him a friendly presence had been taken from their lives, leaving them colder and darker. Never was funeral panegyric so eloquent as the silent look of sympathy which strangers exchanged when they met that day. Their common manhood had lost a kinsman.*

The first great task confronting the victorious North -- now under the leadership of Lincoln's vice president, Andrew Johnson, a Southerner who remained loyal to the Union -- was to determine the status of the states that had seceded. Lincoln had already set the stage. In his view, the people of the Southern states had never legally seceded; they had been misled by some disloyal citizens into a defiance of federal authority. And since the

war was the act of individuals, the federal government would have to deal with these individuals and not with the states. Thus, in 1863 Lincoln proclaimed that if in any state 10 percent of the voters of record in 1860 would form a government loyal to the U.S. Constitution and would acknowledge obedience to the laws of the Congress and the proclamations of the president, he would recognize the government so created as the state's legal government.

Congress rejected this plan. Many Republicans feared it would simply entrench what they regarded as former rebels in power; they challenged Lincoln's right to deal with the rebel states without consultation. Some members of Congress advocated severe punishment for all the seceded states; others simply felt the war would have been in vain if the old Southern establishment was restored to power. Yet even before the war was wholly over, new governments had been set up in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. To deal with one of its major concerns -- the condition of former slaves -- Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau in March 1865 to act as guardian over African Americans and guide them toward self-support. And in December of that year, Congress ratified the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished slavery. Throughout the summer of 1865 Johnson proceeded to carry out Lincoln's reconstruction program, with minor modifications. By presidential proclamation he appointed a governor for each of the former Confederate states and freely restored political rights to many Southerners through use of presidential pardons.

In due time conventions were held in each of the former Confederate states to repeal the ordinances of secession, repudiate the war debt, and draft new state constitutions. Eventually a native Unionist became governor in each state with authority to convoke a convention of loyal voters. Johnson called upon each convention to invalidate the secession, abolish slavery, repudiate all debts that went to aid the Confederacy, and ratify the 13th Amendment. By the end of 1865, this process was completed, with a few exceptions.

## **RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION**

Both Lincoln and Johnson had foreseen that the Congress would have the right to deny Southern legislators seats in the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives, under the clause of the Constitution that says, "Each house shall be the judge of the ... qualifications of its own members." This came to pass when, under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, those congressmen called "Radical Republicans," who were wary of a quick and easy "reconstruction," refused to seat newly elected Southern senators and representatives. Within the next few months, Congress proceeded to work out a plan for the reconstruction of the South quite different from the one Lincoln had started and Johnson had continued.

Wide public support gradually developed for those members of Congress who believed that African Americans should be given full citizenship. By July 1866, Congress had passed a civil rights bill and set up a new Freedmen's Bureau -- both designed to prevent

racial discrimination by Southern legislatures. Following this, the Congress passed a 14th Amendment to the Constitution, stating that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." This repudiated the Dred Scott ruling, which had denied African American slaves citizenship in the USA. It also moved the USA one important step further towards becoming a multicultural empire and away from remaining an Anglo-American nation.

This same 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment also transferred the "rights" and laws codified in the federal Constitution to the states. Up until this point, it would have still been legally possible for a state to establish Protestantism even as it had enjoyed during the colonial era, at least insofar as state government was concerned. But henceforth, with the passage of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the secularism of the US Federal Constitution was legally imposed upon the states. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment was thus in various ways moving the USA towards becoming a modern Babel.

All the Southern state legislatures, with the exception of Tennessee, refused to ratify the amendment, some voting against it unanimously. In addition, Southern state legislatures passed "codes" to regulate the African-American freedmen. The codes differed from state to state, but some provisions were common. African Americans were required to enter into annual labor contracts, with penalties imposed in case of violation; dependent children were subject to compulsory apprenticeship and corporal punishments by masters; vagrants could be sold into private service if they could not pay severe fines. Many Northerners interpreted the Southern response as an attempt to reestablish slavery and repudiate the hard-won Union victory in the Civil War. Too, there was resentment that Johnson, although a Unionist, was a Southern Democrat with a propensity towards strong rhetoric and an aversion to political compromise. Republicans swept the congressional elections of 1866. Firmly in power, the Radicals imposed their own vision of Reconstruction. In the Reconstruction Act of March 1867, Congress, ignoring the governments that had been established in the Southern states, divided the South into five military districts, each administered by a Union general. Escape from permanent military government was open to those states that established civil governments, ratified the 14th Amendment, and adopted African-American suffrage. Supporters of the Confederacy who had not taken oaths of loyalty to the United States generally could not vote. The 14th Amendment was ratified in 1868. The 15th Amendment, passed by Congress the following year and ratified in 1870 by state legislatures, provided that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The Radical Republicans in Congress were infuriated by President Johnson's vetoes (even though they were overridden) of legislation protecting newly freed African Americans and punishing former Confederate leaders by depriving them of the right to hold office. Congressional antipathy to Johnson was so great that, for the first time in American history, impeachment proceedings were instituted to remove the president from office. Johnson's main offense was his opposition to punitive congressional policies and

the strong language he used in criticizing them. The most serious legal charge his enemies could level against him was that, despite the Tenure of Office Act (which required Senate approval for the removal of any officeholder the Senate had previously confirmed), he had removed from his Cabinet the secretary of war, a staunch supporter of the Congress. When the impeachment trial was held in the Senate, it was proved that Johnson was technically within his rights in removing the Cabinet member. Even more important, it was pointed out that a dangerous precedent would be set if the Congress were to remove a president because he disagreed with the majority of its members. The final vote was one short of the two-thirds required for conviction.

Johnson continued in office until his term expired in 1869, but Congress had established an ascendancy that would endure for the rest of the century. The Republican victor in the presidential election of 1868, former Union general Ulysses S. Grant, would enforce the reconstruction policies the Radicals had initiated.

By June 1868, Congress had readmitted the majority of the former Confederate states back into the Union. In many of these reconstructed states, the majority of the governors, representatives, and senators were Northern men -- so called carpetbaggers -- who had gone South after the war to make their political fortunes, often in alliance with newly freed African Americans. In the legislatures of Louisiana and South Carolina, African Americans actually gained a majority of the seats.



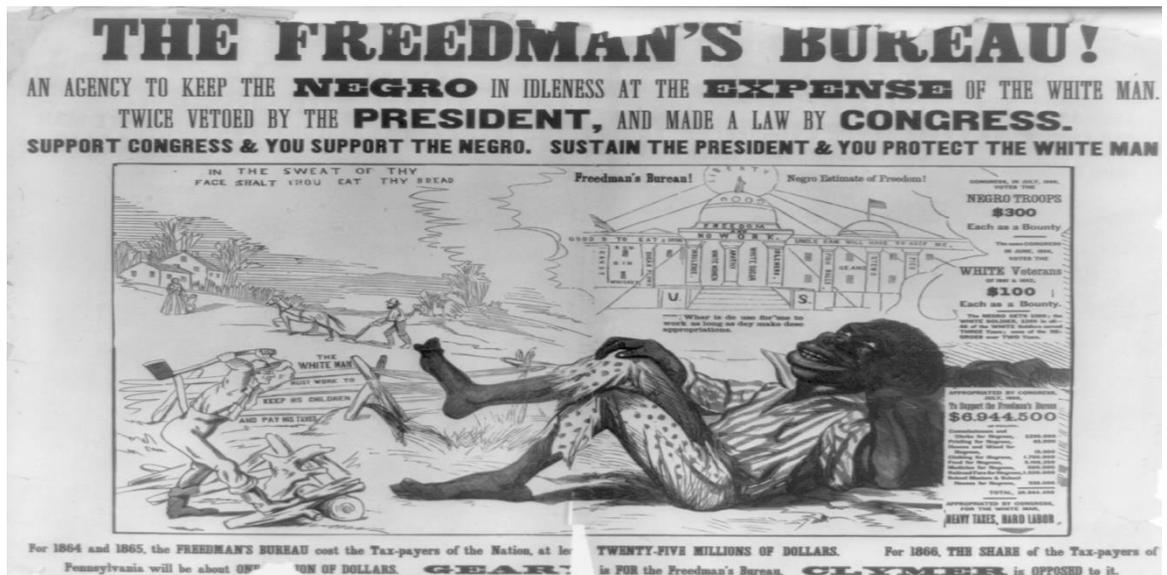
Many Southern whites, seeing their political and social dominance threatened, alongside the corruption that often characterized the carpetbagger and African-American dominated governments, turned to various organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan to stay this tide. Perceived increasing disorder by such organizations led to the passage of Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871, severely punishing those who attempted to deprive the African-American freedmen of what became regarded as their civil rights.

## THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION

As time passed, it became more and more obvious that the problems of the South were not being solved by harsh laws and continuing rancor against former Confederates. Moreover, many Southern Radical state governments with prominent African-American officials were corrupt and inefficient. The nation was quickly tiring of the attempt to impose racial democracy and liberal values on the South with Union bayonets. In May 1872, Congress passed a general Amnesty Act, restoring full political rights to all but about 500 former rebels.

Gradually Southern states began electing members of the Democratic Party into office, ousting carpetbagger governments and intimidating African Americans from voting or attempting to hold public office. By 1876 the Republicans remained in power in only three Southern states. As part of the bargaining that resolved the disputed presidential elections that year in favor of Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republicans promised to withdraw federal troops that had propped up the remaining Republican governments. In 1877 Hayes kept his promise, tacitly abandoning federal responsibility for enforcing blacks' civil rights.

Reconstruction should be judged harshly, as a murky period of political conflict and corruption, marked by lack of realism on the part of Northern victors. Black slaves were granted “freedom”, but were unprepared for the responsibilities that would bring with it. The Freedmen's Bureau was unable to provide former slaves with political and economic opportunity, because of unrealistic views.



Hence, reality eventually set in, and many Southern African Americans became tenant farmers on land owned by their former masters, and remained so well into the 20th century.

The South was still a region devastated by war, burdened by debt caused by misgovernment, and demoralized by a decade of racial warfare. A Federal government that had supported harsh penalties against Southern white leaders now capitulated to racial realities. The last quarter of the 19th century saw a profusion of "Jim Crow" laws in Southern states that segregated public schools, forbade or limited African-American access to many public facilities such as parks, restaurants, and hotels, and denied most blacks the right to vote by imposing poll taxes and arbitrary literacy tests. "Jim Crow" is a term derived from a song in an 1828 minstrel show where a white man first performed in "blackface."

The reality is that only Biblical Christianity offers true solutions to the problems of man, and only it realistically identifies the core problem of sin. God's word teaches that only the godly have a right to rule, be they white or black. But secular humanism denies the state the ability to distinguish based upon personal religion and morality, and it denies the state the ability to suppress wicked infractions of the first as well as the second tables of the Ten Commandments. In addition, Biblical Christianity shows how people of varied ethnicities can live in love, while at the same time respecting the desire of each ethnic nation to have its own nation and government. The USA, however, was not ready to embrace the Biblical model.

## **THE CIVIL WAR AND NEW PATTERNS OF AMERICAN POLITICS**

The controversies of the 1850s had destroyed the Whig Party, created the Republican Party, and divided the Democratic Party along regional lines. The Civil War demonstrated that the Whigs were gone beyond recall and the Republicans on the scene to stay. It also laid the basis for a reunited Democratic Party.

The Republicans could seamlessly replace the Whigs throughout the North and West because they were far more than a free-soil/antislavery force. Most of their leaders had started as Whigs and continued the Whig interest in federally assisted national development. The need to manage a war did not deter them from also enacting a protective tariff (1861) to foster American manufacturing, the Homestead Act (1862) to encourage Western settlement, the Morrill Act (1862) to establish "land grant" agricultural and technical colleges, and a series of Pacific Railway Acts (1862-64) to underwrite a transcontinental railway line. These measures rallied support throughout the Union from groups to whom slavery was a secondary issue and ensured the party's continuance as the latest manifestation of a political creed that had been advanced by Alexander Hamilton and Henry Clay of an activist Federal government.

The war also laid the basis for Democratic reunification because Northern opposition to it centered in the Democratic Party. As might be expected from the party of "popular sovereignty," some Democrats believed that full-scale war to reinstate the Union was

unjustified. This group came to be known as the Peace Democrats. Their more extreme elements were called "Copperheads."

Moreover, few Democrats, whether of the "war" or "peace" faction, believed the emancipation of the slaves was worth Northern blood. Opposition to emancipation had long been party policy. In 1862, for example, virtually every Democrat in Congress voted against eliminating slavery in the District of Columbia and prohibiting it in the territories.

Much of this opposition came from the working poor, particularly Irish and German Catholic immigrants, who feared a massive migration of newly freed African Americans to the North. They also resented the establishment of a military draft (March 1863) that disproportionately affected them. Race riots erupted in several Northern cities. The worst of these occurred in New York, July 13-16, 1863, precipitated by Democratic Governor Horatio Seymour's condemnation of military conscription. Federal troops, who just days earlier had been engaged at Gettysburg, were sent to restore order.

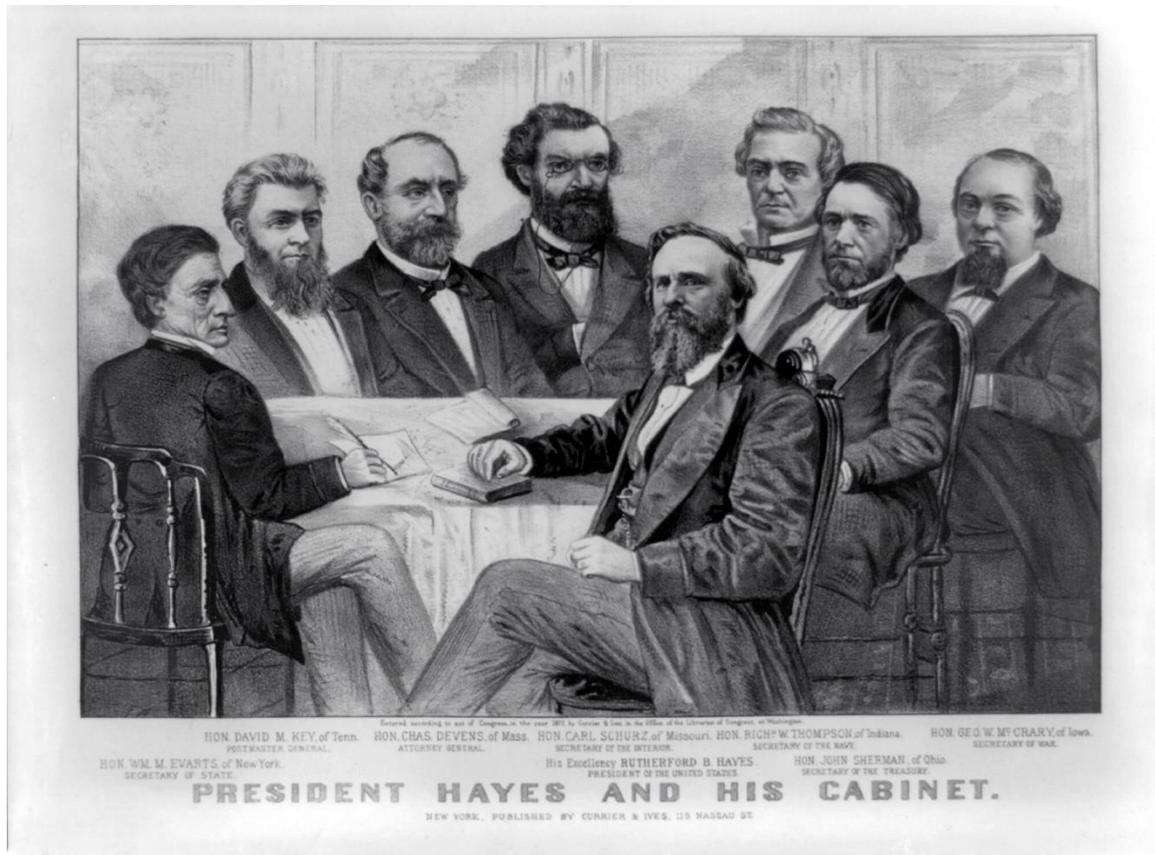
The Republicans prosecuted the war with little regard for civil liberties. In September 1862, Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus and imposed martial law on those who interfered with recruitment or gave aid and comfort to the rebels. This breach of civil law, although constitutionally justified during times of crisis, gave the Democrats another opportunity to criticize Lincoln. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton enforced martial law vigorously, and many thousands -- most of them Southern sympathizers or Democrats -- were arrested.

Despite the Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in 1863, Democratic "peace" candidates continued to play on the nation's misfortunes and racial sensitivities. Indeed, the mood of the North was such that Lincoln was convinced he would lose his re-election bid in November 1864. Largely for that reason, the Republican Party renamed itself the Union Party and drafted the Tennessee Democrat Andrew Johnson to be Lincoln's running mate. Sherman's victories in the South sealed the election for them.

Lincoln's assassination, the rise of Radical Republicanism, and Johnson's contentious leadership all played into a postwar pattern of politics in which the Republican Party suffered from overreaching in its efforts to remake the South, while the Democrats, through their criticism of Reconstruction, allied themselves with the neo-Confederate Southern white majority. U.S. Grant's status as a national hero carried the Republicans through two presidential elections, but as the South emerged from Reconstruction, it became apparent that the country was nearly evenly divided between the two parties.

The Republicans would be dominant in the industrial Northeast until the 1930s and strong in most of the rest of the country outside the South. However, their appeal as the party of strong government and national development increasingly would be perceived as one of allegiance to big business and finance.

When President Hayes ended Reconstruction, he hoped it would be possible to build the Republican Party in the South, using the old Whigs as a base and the appeal of regional development as a primary issue.



By then, however, Republicanism as the South's white majority perceived it was identified with a hated African-American supremacy. For the next three-quarters of a century, the South would be solidly Democratic. For much of that time, the national Democratic Party would pay solemn deference to states' rights and respect Southern white concerns regarding giving political power to African Americans. The Democratic Party was becoming what Republicans derisively described as the party of “rum, Romanism, and rebellion.”

## **RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE CIVIL WAR**

The Civil War – and the issues related to it – not only brought political division in America, but ecclesiastical division as well. Most of the Protestant denominations—including the Presbyterian, Methodists, and Baptists – divided North versus South. In part the issue was slavery, and in part the issue was the centralization of power in the Federal government.

The Civil War, and events contemporary with the Civil War, wrought a great change in America’s religious landscape. Although Baptists, Methodists, and other misguided denominations and sects had grown much more rapidly than the Congregationalists and Presbyterians before the Civil War, yet in the ante-bellum US, Congregationalism and

Presbyterianism had retained much of their power and influence from the colonial era. But in the decades after the Civil War, there was a notable decline in Congregationalist and Presbyterian influence, due to a variety of factors.

One factor was the movement towards liberalism in the Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches. We have already traced the rise of liberalism in

Congregationalist churches, but we also noted the presence of a strong evangelical wing. As the 19<sup>th</sup> century progressed, the liberal element increased and the evangelical element decreased. Yale, which had been a center of evangelical Congregationalism, succumbed to theological liberalism. The Congregationalist minister and theologian Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) was representative of this trend. He was born in the township of Litchfield, Connecticut, and graduated from Yale in 1827. In 1831 he entered the theological department of Yale College, and in 1833 was ordained pastor of the North Congregational church in Hartford, Connecticut, where he remained until 1859, when on account of long-continued ill-health he resigned his pastorate. Until his death at Hartford, he occasionally preached and was diligently employed as an author. His heretical books had significant influence in what had been the evangelical wing of Congregationalism. In his book *The Vicarious Sacrifice* (1866) he contended for what has come to be known as the moral view of the atonement in distinction from the Biblical governmental and the penal or satisfaction view. And his book *God in Christ* (1849) undermined an orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

Liberal tendencies also made greater inroads in Presbyterian circles. Old School

Presbyterianism was compromised by the union in 1869 with the New School

Presbyterian church. Due to lingering tensions from the Civil War, the Old School in the North did not merge with the Old School Presbyterian church in the South, but instead in both regions the New School and Old School merged. In the North the merged entity was called the Presbyterian Church in the USA, and in the South the merged entity was the Presbyterian Church in the US. The merger itself revealed a doctrinal laxity. When the Old School and New School Presbyterians merged in 1869, their differences were papered over, not resolved. Occurring just as German destructive criticism began to infect the churches of North America, this made it almost impossible to protect the theological integrity of the church. And so it meant that more liberal institutions like Union Theological Seminary in New York, a center for New School Presbyterian thought, churned out ever increasing liberal perspectives, and thrust them into the merged denomination.

One way that theological liberalism subtly entered was via textual criticism and the appearance of a Revised Version of the Bible. Thirty-four of the leading Hebrew and Greek Scholars of America united with sixty-seven Englishmen in this undertaking, which Philip Schaff, the chairman of the American revisers, declared to be “the noblest monument of Christian union and co-operation in this nineteenth century.” After a laborious toil of eight years, during which “no sectarian question was ever raised,” the New Testament was given to the public. “The rapidity and extent of its sale surpassed all expectations and are without a parallel in the history of the book-trade.” The New Testament appeared in 1881 and the Old Testament in 1885. Although one of the Old

Testament revisers took pains to say in his *Companion to the Revised Old Testament* that “they have no fellowship with that disposition which of late years has appeared among some

who profess and call themselves Christians to speak lightly of the Scriptures as a partial and imperfect record of revelation,” and although the Old Testament Committee was presided over by Professor Wm. H. Green of Princeton Seminary and the New Testament Committee by ex-President Theodore D. Woolsey of Yale College, both regarded as conservative scholars, the mere publication of a new translation of the scriptures, founded upon a revised Hebrew and Greek text consistent with the German critic Lachmann, prepared the public mind for some modification of the concept of scriptural infallibility which had possessed it hitherto. The printing of the Bible in paragraphs like other books—instead of in the oracular verses—and the appearance of portions of the Old Testament in poetic form helped greatly in convincing the plain people of the country that the Bible was to be subsumed under the genus literature rather than kept as a sacred oracle. Nor did the fact that the greatest attacks upon the infallibility of the Bible originated in Germany militate against the progress of the newer thought in America as much as might have been expected. There was far more opposition, for example, in Scotland, where conservative Presbyterian theologians better gauged the consequences. American theological minds were dull, and American scholars felt themselves dependent upon European thought. German theological scholarship had been introduced to American minds by the presence of Philip Schaff (1819–93), who, in an amazing number of volumes, chiefly in the domain of Church History, had commended the thoroughness and sanity of German research to the American public, from his chair in Wittenberg, Pennsylvania, and later in Union Theological Seminary in New York. This lay the groundwork for additional religious compromise in Presbyterianism and beyond.

This theological liberalism often entered into the Presbyterian and other mainline Protestant churches by their method of theological education. Some of the most promising theological students were sent to Germany to complete their theological education. While there, they would pick up liberal theology, and bring it into the American seminaries and churches. Only those churches in America which had not stressed an educated clergy –like certain Baptist and independent churches – avoided this trap.

Too, the battle over modernism was joined with the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, along with the growing historical/critical methodology in the interpretation of scripture emanating from Germany. When the first copies of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* reached American ports late in 1859, nearly all Americans, including most naturalists, believed that the various species of plants and animals owed their origin to divine intervention. Darwin, in contrast, argued that species had originated without supernatural assistance by means of natural selection and other biological mechanisms. According to natural selection, evolution occurred when organisms possessing certain advantageous characteristics survived in the struggle for scarce resources and passed their distinctive features on to their descendants. Eager for a natural explanation of origins and now predispositionally opposed to a supernatural explanation, the majority of America's leading zoologists, botanists, geologists, and anthropologists within fifteen years or so, embraced some kind of evolution, though few attached as much weight to natural selection as Darwin did. Even Darwin's closest ally in North America, the Harvard botanist Asa Gray, who described himself as "one who is scientifically, and in his own fashion, a Darwinian," disagreed with Darwin on several key points. He not only questioned the ability of natural selection "to account for the formation of organs, the making of eyes,

&c.," but appealed to a "special origination" in explaining the appearance of the first humans. He also urged Darwin, without success, to attribute to divine providence the inexplicable organic variations on which natural selection worked.

Charles Hodge, the Princeton Theological Seminary Old School theologian, arguably the most influential theologian in mid-century America, argued against Darwinism in his *What Is Darwinism* (1874). But not all Presbyterians agreed with Hodge. In fact, there was a widespread adoption of so called theistic evolution among the intellectual elites in the mainline Protestant churches. For example, although Charles Hodge opposed evolution, his counterparts in the faculty at Princeton College did not.

President James McCosh (1811–1894) of Princeton College was instrumental in changing the views of many in the evangelical camp. McCosh made his name in Scotland as one of the group to leave the established Church of Scotland and set up the Free Church of Scotland in 1843 (the group led by Thomas Chalmers). McCosh taught at Queens' College in Belfast, before becoming President of Princeton (then commonly known as the College of New Jersey) in 1868. He wrote on a wide variety of theological, philosophical and psychological topics. His major works included *The Method of Divine Government, Physical and Moral* (1850), *The Scottish Philosophy from Hutcheson to Hamilton* (1875), and *The Emotions* (1880). McCosh's role in America in many respects parallels that of Witherspoon before him. Many of McCosh's long list of books, expounding the Scottish "Common Sense" philosophy, which had long been accepted at Princeton (as well as throughout much American philosophy), had been written. He was wrongly regarded as orthodox in evangelical circles, as well as being regarded as an outstanding thinker and educator. He, however, gave liberal recognition to "powers modifying evolution." These agents are light, life, sensation, instinct and intelligence, morality. "As evolution by physical causes cannot [produce them], we infer that God does it by an immediate fiat, even as He created matter. It makes God continue the work of creation, and if God's creation be a good work, why should He not continue it?" So McCosh advocated a form of theistic evolution, and Princeton College, like so many other Christian colleges, quickly embraced and taught this erroneous perspective as well.

McCosh as well as other advocates of theistic evolution sought to maintain central Christian dogma, but theistic evolution ultimately undermined the authority of scripture upon which that dogma stood, and so the dogma fell with evolution. Having destroyed the foundation, they sought in vain to maintain the structure. For instance, in attempting to defend the unique sonship of Christ while yet maintaining theistic evolution, George Harris of Andover Seminary and later President of Amherst College wrote: "There is no reason to suppose that any other man will be thus God-filled.... We may well believe that he was one who transcended the human." Because Christ produced "a new moral type." Harris tried to argue that we need not deny either Christ's nature, miracles or his resurrection. Among the most thoroughgoing "Christian" evolutionists of this period may be mentioned President Hyde (1858–1917) of Bowdoin College and President John Bascom (1827–1911) of the University of Wisconsin. The latter, in his *Evolution and Religion or Faith as a Part of a Complete Cosmic System* (1915), rejoiced in the breadth of view and the boundless hope with which the doctrine of evolution invests its believers. Bascom failed to acknowledge

the patently obvious: Christian hope is dead if evolution is true, because evolution contradicts scripture. So when the main-line Protestant denominations accepted evolution, they rapidly descended into theological liberalism, and eventually lost membership.

Even Charles Hodge's son, A.A. Hodge (1823-1886), held to an old earth view consisting of vast geologic ages. This was significant because of the place A.A. Hodge maintained at Princeton Seminary. A.A. Hodge in 1877 was called to Princeton to be the associate of his father in the chair of systematic theology, to the full duties of which he succeeded in 1878. This post he retained till his death. He was a trustee of the College of New Jersey (Princeton College) and a leading man in the Presbyterian Church. His first book and that by which he is best known was his *Outlines of Theology* (New York, 1860; enlarged ed., 1878), which was translated into Welsh, modern Greek, and Hindustani. He contributed some important articles to encyclopedias-Johnson's, McClintock and Strong's, and the Schaff-Herzog. He was one of the founders of the *Presbyterian Review*, to the pages of which he was a frequent contributor. So any compromises he made were significant in effect. He was representative of how even the most staunch of Old School advocates in Presbyterianism were gradually weakening.

Another factor in the relative decline of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism were the successful recruiting methods of such groups as the Baptists and the Methodists during the period, which was especially successful in the vast American frontier. American Methodism actually dates back to 1784, when Francis Asbury and other leaders formed the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Asbury had been born in England, and consecrated by Wesley. Like Wesley, Asbury was an Arminian, and American Methodism has thus been thoroughly Arminian. This actually helped it flourish in an American culture which favored Arminianism. Their method of evangelism was also effective in 19<sup>th</sup> century frontier America. Circuit riders, many of which were laymen, traveled by horseback to preach the false Methodist gospel and establish churches until there was scarcely any crossroad community in America without a Methodist expression of Christianity. American Methodist churches were generally organized on a connectional model, related but not identical to that used in Britain. Ministers were assigned to churches by bishops, distinguishing it from presbyterian government. Methodist denominations typically give lay members representation at regional and national meetings (conferences) at which the business of the church is conducted, making it different from episcopalian government. This connectional organizational model differed further from the congregational model, for example of Baptist, and Congregationalist Churches, among others. In 1845 the Methodist Church split between North and South, and did not re-unite until 1939.

The Holiness Movement of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century was primarily among people of Methodist persuasion. Some important events of this movement were the writings of Phoebe Palmer during the mid-1800s, the establishment of the first of many holiness camp meetings at Vineland, New Jersey in 1867, and the founding of Asbury College (1890), and other similar institutions in the US around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The movement was premised upon an error of John Wesley, sometimes referred to as "entire sanctification," or moral and spiritual perfection. Spiritual perfection in this life was deemed a real possibility, and a spiritual attainment to which every Christian should aspire. It was to be accompanied

by the renunciation of drinking, smoking, cursing, dancing, gambling, and playing cards. In addition, many advocates of holiness came to believe that one of "the fruits" of this "second blessing" was the ability to speak in tongues, and to undertake physical healing by the laying on of hands. This was the Pentecostal movement, which we shall consider later. The Holiness and Pentecostal movements attracted support among many blacks, as well as whites.

The Baptist churches also thrived in this period. They catered to the American sense of independence and "soul liberty". Due to their stress on the autonomy of the local church, there were a wide variety of practices and beliefs within churches that labeled themselves as Baptists. However, Baptist churches often united into "conventions" with a prime example being its largest convention, the Southern Baptist Convention. However there were hundred of conventions and many Baptist churches did not fall into any of them. Nor were their clear standards for the ministry, which enabled virtually anyone to step up and claim to be a Baptist minister. Since many Baptists came from Scot-Irish ranks, many retained for a time certain Calvinistic doctrines of salvation. But over time there was a shift towards Arminianism by the majority of Baptists.

An example of the success of the Baptists during the 35 years between the Civil War and the turn of the century were the Southern Baptists. They enjoyed phenomenal growth in membership, income, property values, and cultural influence. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Southern Baptists had blanketed the region. Furthermore, the denomination's quantitative growth was matched by a qualitative dominance of regional religious life, and beyond that to the accepted values and truth-claims of the society generally. It became normative, and probably no other institution typified the culture more accurately or influenced it more profoundly. During this era, the Southern Baptist Convention expanded its efforts through establishing a press to publish Sunday School materials, strengthening the role of its colleges, developing a foreign missionary enterprise, founding theological seminaries and much more. White Baptists were relatively conservative on issues like evolution and scriptural inspiration, while the Episcopal, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches were encountering more divisions in these matters. Where many of these evangelicals had been ecumenically oriented during the revivals of the Second Great Awakening, now they came to be rather provincial, and denominationally conscious. A competitive attitude developed on the subject of doctrinal teachings, particularly with the Presbyterians and Methodists over infant baptism. Southern Baptists also boasted of Southern purity, a point of view which strengthened their appeal to the region. On the frontier, sometimes Baptist churches were the only ones available to join. And Baptist membership increased, largely at the expense of Presbyterian membership. Men were adopting ever more deviant positions.

The Civil War era also proved the beginning of an era of increasing Masonic popularity, which lasted until World War II. Freemasonry had been looked upon favorably during the American Revolution, but had fallen into disrepute after the Revolutionary era. Indeed, an Anti-Masonic Party had even formed as a political third party. In 1826 a bricklayer from Batavia, New York, William Morgan, disappeared. He had formerly been a Mason and was on the verge of publishing an exposé of Masonic secrets. Anti-Masonic fervor was

especially strong in New York State, where the political machine, the Albany Regency, was run by Martin Van Buren, a Mason. Opposition was led by William Seward and Thurlow Weed. A state Anti-Masonic party was formed in 1828 and was successful with electing local and statewide candidates; the party also spread into neighboring states. In 1831, the anti-Masonic Party held a national convention and nominated William Wirt as their presidential candidate for the following year. Wirt had been the U.S. Attorney General and, strangely, a Mason. Running against the popular Andrew Jackson, Wirt did poorly, carrying only the state of Vermont. Their prime impact had been to drain votes away from Henry Clay. Around 1834, the Anti-Masonic Party members helped to establish the new Whig Party. These proceedings, along with the strength of Old School Presbyterianism in the period, had diminished Masonic ranks. But the Civil War reversed that trend, and many men joined freemasonry during the course of the Civil War. Many remained Masons after the war, and most communities had prominent Masonic lodges.



Freemasonry undermined sound Protestant theology by teaching a spiritual brotherhood of man apart from Christianity. Freemasonry contradicted sound Reformed faith and practice. Its growth, therefore, weakened the Protestant churches.

America became a veritable breeding ground of heretical sects and cults, since there was no suppression of fraudulent religion. We have already noted the rise of such sects as the Mormons and the Seventh Day Adventists before the Civil War. After the Civil War ones such as the The Church of Christ, Scientist (often known as The Christian Science Church) was founded by Mary Baker Eddy, in 1879. It claimed to be based on the Bible and her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. Eddy argued that given the absolute perfection and goodness of God, sin, disease, and death were not of Him, and therefore could not be truly real. The material world was thus in effect an illusive blend of spiritual truth and material "error" which could be remedied through elevated spiritual understanding; this she contended, was what enabled Jesus in the Christian record to heal. Adherents of this teaching, known as *Christian Scientists*, thus believe that disease can be overcome through faith, prayer, and an ever-deepening understanding of God and man's relation to Him. As a result, church members generally substituted prayer for traditional medical care, often with the aid of *Christian Science practitioners* (people who devote their full time to treatment through prayer) and claim to experience healing, occasionally reporting these experiences in church publications. The *Mother Church* was located in Boston, Massachusetts. A newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, founded by Eddy in 1908 and winner of 7 Pulitzer prizes, was published by the church.



Branch Christian Science churches and Christian Science Societies were at once related to the central church but with large autonomy. They proliferated worldwide, like so many other sects and cults which had their origin in the US.

Given the circumstances, we should not be surprised that the Mother of fraudulent religion, the Roman Catholic Church, should enjoy rising prosperity and success in America. This success was set in motion with the overthrow of established Protestantism in the American Revolution, and it enjoyed consistent growth from that point onward. In 1790, there were only 30,000 Catholics in the entire country, but 40 years latter that number had grown to 600,000. When the first Provincial Council of Catholic Bishops was held in Baltimore in 1829, it served to reveal to non-Catholic Americans that the church was, to use Sydney Ahlstrom's description, a "substantial, growing, and well organized reality." As Catholicism grew steadily (primarily, but not exclusively through immigration), it began to threaten Protestant hopes for the future of America.

In 1820, the first wave of Irish settlement began what would eventually swell to four and one half million Irish before the century was over. Roman Catholic Irish wanted to escape the ill consequences of Romanism, generally without abandoning their false Romish religion. So they migrated to an area enjoying the fruits of Protestantism. During the 1830's, 200,000 Irish arrived in America. But this number grew exponentially with the Potato blight of 1845 that resulted in the deaths of 1.5 million Irish. With the coming of the blight, the exodus from Ireland became a desperate scramble. By 1850, there were 962,000 Irish in the United States, and that number nearly doubled over the next ten years.

This wave of immigration left Protestants deeply fearful. Such prominent Protestant leaders as Lyman Beecher and Horace Bushnell bewailed the situation in the 1830's and 1840's, but they did not recognize that the root of the problem was their own religious unfaithfulness. In the 1840's, when there was a major influx of Irish immigrants, the number of Roman Catholics in America had soared to 1.75 million, leading to the formation of the inter-denominational American Protestant Association. It was organized to coordinate the various anti-Catholic groups. Many of the Protestant voluntary societies also participated in the anti-catholic agitation, but to little positive effect.

In the post-war period, as Catholic immigration continued to grow exponentially (new Catholics came from many of the same Eastern European countries as did the Jews), opposition to Catholicism grew along with it.



Josiah Strong, in his widely read book *Our Country*, listed immigration as one of seven perils facing America, the others being Romanism, Mormonism, intemperance, socialism, wealth, and the city. He wrote: "during the last four years we have suffered a peaceful invasion by an army, more than twice as vast as the estimated number of Goths and Vandals that swept over Southern Europe and overwhelmed Rome." What was of particular concern to the Protestants was the number of Catholics coming to America. From 1880-1900, two and a half million Catholics arrived, further threatening Protestant America.

The American Catholic Church grew, not only by immigration, but by conversion. During the 19th century, converts to Catholicism numbered 700,000. Many of these came from the ranks of High Church Episcopalians. In 1852, 50 priests and one Bishop (Levi S. Ives) of the Episcopal Church had converted to Roman Catholicism.

A focal point of the conflict between Protestants and Catholics was the education system. For their part Protestants distrusted the subservience of Catholics to their priests and Pope, and many echoed Daniel Dorchester of the Evangelical Alliance who stated: "We believe the Roman Catholic Church is inimical to the best progress of society, and in direct antagonism to the historic religion of the nation--the religion of the Holy Scriptures." This gave an impetus to the public education system. But without an Establishment Principle, the public education system was without a sound Biblical anchor, and so drifted over time into rank secular humanism.

American Catholicism was not only held in suspicion by American Protestants, but also by the Vatican. From its inception the American Catholic Church was dominated by Jesuits who maintained the American Church's independence for very political reasons. American Catholics had maintained a high degree of autonomy from the Vatican, in part because of accusations leveled against them that they were under the control of a foreign potentate.

Shortly after the American Revolution, Bishop John Carroll asked that an American Episcopate be created as soon as possible, and Bishop John England in the early years of the 19th century, focused on building a truly American Church with an American clergy. Archbishop Gibbons and Ireland labored tirelessly to get the Church to recognize and take into account distinctive American ways and ideals. The controversy reached a peak in 1870 when the First Vatican Council promulgated the doctrine of papal infallibility. The Council declared that: "When the Roman pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is when discharging the office of the Shepherd and Doctor of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority [he] defines a doctrine to be held by the Universal Church concerning faith or morals, he enjoys (by divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter) that infallibility by which the Divine Redeemer wished his Church to be instructed in the definition of doctrine concerning faith or morals; and therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not by virtue of the consent of the Church." Prior to this only Church Councils had exercised this kind of power. Now, as some scholars have pointed out, they were made "superfluous or at least reduced to an advisory role." The Vatican Council also asserted the Pope's universal episcopate, that is, his direct authority over every diocese. This meant, in effect, that the Pope had become the absolute monarch of the church. But when the vote was taken to expand the Pope's authority, the American delegates opposed these measures, but they were outvoted by the Italians, Spaniards, and South Americans. The American delegates voiced strong opposition, and believed that if these changes in doctrine and polity were adopted, in the words of Bishop John McQuaid, "the damage to the church will be immense. In some countries there will be large schisms...if some decrees are passed as they have been presented to us, we can look for hard times in all countries in which Catholics and Protestants are expected to live together." The day before the final vote, he wrote, "They have ended by making the definition [of infallibility] as absolute and strict as it was possible to make it. As a consequence a large non placet vote will be recorded against it. What will be the consequences...God only knows." The Vatican continued to be threatened by this sort of opposition and independence in the American Church.

The American Catholic Church not only sought to guard its reputation with those on the outside, it nurtured the Catholic immigrant community which was increasing its ranks. The Catholic Church, more than any other organization, made a concerted effort to welcome the new Catholic immigrants and encourage additional immigration. Catholic citizens helped them find jobs and homes; sisters (nuns) taught their children English in Catholic schools; priests tried to protect their political interests and shield them from a sometimes hostile Protestant environment; the local church held religious festivals and social events. The neighborhood Catholic church was not just a church; it was the focal point of a whole community, a whole way of life. The Roman Catholic Church in America continued to engage in a shrewd strategy of building itself up, even as it watched (and encouraged) the disintegration of Protestantism in America.

The effect of Roman Catholic immigration, as well as the immigration of infidels like the Jews and even some Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists, in the successive waves of massive immigration to the United States between the 1840s and 1920s, changed the religious complexion of America. In 1850 Catholics made up only five percent of the total U.S.

population. By 1906, they made up seventeen percent of the total population (14 million out of 82 million people)--and constituted the single largest religious denomination in the country. Their size and unity, in contrast with Protestant disunity, made them an increasingly formidable political force, especially in the North where most immigration occurred. The American public's resistance to immigration culminated in a series of immigration restriction laws passed in the early 1920s, but by then much of the damage had already been done and was locked into place.

The religious population shift was accompanied by changes in social norms. For example, Sunday observance began to change in the 1800s with immigrant laborers, many Roman Catholic, who saw things differently. American Protestantism into the 19<sup>th</sup> century had in great measure remained faithful to the principle that Sunday was to be kept as the Christian Sabbath. But many Roman Catholic immigrants were devoted to "a Sunday that took a very different shape - church in the morning and leisure in the afternoon," says Alexis McCrossen, author of "Holy Day, Holiday: The American Sunday." The Roman Catholic practice gradually had a greater and greater influence on the way the Lord's Day was kept by Americans in general. A little leaven leavened the whole lump.

## CHAPTER 8 : GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION

**"Upon the sacredness of property, civilization itself depends."**

*-- Industrialist and philanthropist  
Andrew Carnegie, 1889*



Between two great wars -- the Civil War and the First World War -- the United States of America came of age. In a period of less than 50 years it was transformed from a rural republic to an urban nation. The frontier vanished. Great factories and steel mills, transcontinental railroad lines, flourishing cities, and vast agricultural holdings marked the land. With this economic growth and affluence came corresponding problems. Nationwide, a few businesses came to dominate whole industries, either independently or in combination with others. Working conditions were sometimes poor. Cities often grew so quickly they could not properly house or govern their growing populations.

### TECHNOLOGY AND CHANGE

"The Civil War," says one writer, "cut a wide gash through the history of the country; it dramatized in a stroke the changes that had begun to take place during the preceding 20 or 30 years. ..." War needs had enormously stimulated manufacturing, speeding an economic process based on the exploitation of iron, steam, and electric power, as well as the forward march of science and invention. In the years before 1860, 36,000 patents were granted; in the next 30 years, 440,000 patents were issued, and in the first quarter of the 20th century, the number reached nearly a million.

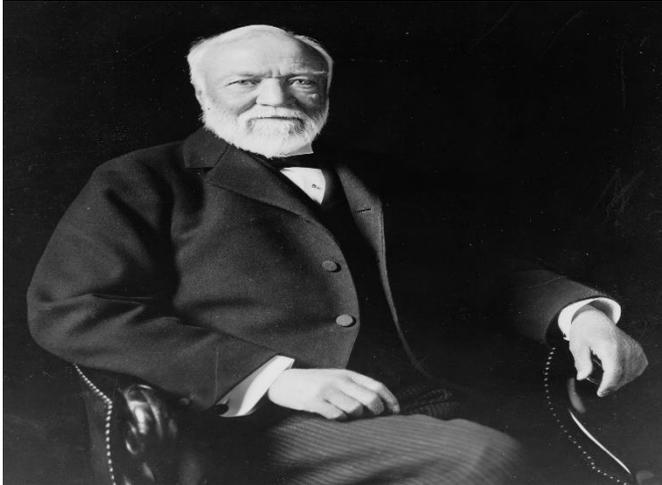
As early as 1844, Samuel F. B. Morse had perfected electrical telegraphy; soon afterward distant parts of the continent were linked by a network of poles and wires. In 1876 Alexander Graham Bell exhibited a telephone instrument; within half a century, 16 million telephones would quicken the social and economic life of the nation. The growth of business was speeded by the invention of the typewriter in 1867, the adding machine in 1888, and the cash register in 1897. The linotype composing machine, invented in 1886, and rotary press and paper-folding machinery made it possible to print 240,000 eight-page newspapers in an hour. Thomas Edison's incandescent lamp eventually lit millions of homes. The talking machine, or phonograph, was perfected by Edison, who, in conjunction with George Eastman, also helped develop the motion picture. These and many other applications of science and ingenuity resulted in a new level of productivity in almost every field.

Concurrently, the nation's basic industry -- iron and steel -- forged ahead, protected by a high tariff. The iron industry moved westward as geologists discovered new ore deposits,

notably the great Mesabi range at the head of Lake Superior, which became one of the largest producers in the world. Easy and cheap to mine, remarkably free of chemical impurities, Mesabi ore could be processed into steel of superior quality at about one-tenth the previously prevailing cost.

## **CARNEGIE AND THE ERA OF STEEL**

Andrew Carnegie was largely responsible for the great advances in steel production.



Carnegie, who came to America from Scotland as a child of 12, progressed from bobbin boy in a cotton factory to a job in a telegraph office, then to one on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Before he was 30 years old he had made shrewd and farsighted investments, which by 1865 were concentrated in iron. Within a few years, he had organized or had stock in companies making iron bridges, rails, and locomotives. Ten years later, he built the nation's largest steel mill on the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania. He acquired control not only of new mills, but also of coke and coal properties, iron ore from Lake Superior, a fleet of steamers on the Great Lakes, a port town on Lake Erie, and a connecting railroad. His business, allied with a dozen others, commanded favorable terms from railroads and shipping lines. Nothing comparable in industrial growth had ever been seen in America before. Carnegie was a man who acquired much of this world's riches, but lacked the greater spiritual riches.

Though Carnegie long dominated the industry, he never achieved a complete monopoly over the natural resources, transportation, and industrial plants involved in the making of steel. In the 1890s, new companies challenged his preeminence. He would be persuaded to merge his holdings into a new corporation that would embrace most of the important iron and steel properties in the nation.

## CORPORATIONS AND CITIES

The United States Steel Corporation, which resulted from this merger in 1901, illustrated a process under way for 30 years: the combination of independent industrial enterprises into federated or centralized companies. Started during the Civil War, the trend gathered momentum after the 1870s, as businessmen began to fear that overproduction would lead to declining prices and falling profits. They realized that if they could control both production and markets, they could bring competing firms into a single organization. The "corporation" and the "trust" were developed to achieve these ends.

Corporations, making available a deep reservoir of capital and giving business enterprises permanent life and continuity of control, attracted investors both by their anticipated profits and by their limited liability in case of business failure. The trusts were in effect combinations of corporations whereby the stockholders of each placed stocks in the hands of trustees. (The "trust" as a method of corporate consolidation soon gave way to the holding company, but the term stuck.) Trusts made possible large-scale combinations, centralized control and administration, and the pooling of patents. Their larger capital resources provided power to expand, to compete with foreign business organizations, and to drive hard bargains with labor, which was beginning to organize effectively. They could also exact favorable terms from railroads and exercise influence in politics.



The Standard Oil Company, founded by John D. Rockefeller, was one of the earliest and strongest corporations, and was followed rapidly by other combinations -- in cottonseed oil, lead, sugar, tobacco, and rubber. Soon aggressive individual businessmen began to mark out industrial domains for themselves. Four great meat packers, chief among them Philip Armour and Gustavus Swift, established a beef trust. Cyrus McCormick achieved preeminence in the reaper business. A 1904 survey showed that more than 5,000 previously independent concerns had been consolidated into some 300 industrial trusts.

The trend toward amalgamation extended to other fields, particularly transportation and communications. Western Union, dominant in telegraphy, was followed by the Bell Telephone System and eventually by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. In the 1860s, Cornelius Vanderbilt had consolidated 13 separate railroads into a single 800-kilometer line connecting New York City and Buffalo. During the next decade he acquired lines to Chicago, Illinois, and Detroit, Michigan, establishing the New York Central Railroad. Soon the major railroads of the nation were organized into trunk lines and systems directed by a handful of men.

In this new industrial order, the city was the nerve center, bringing to a focus all the nation's dynamic economic forces: vast accumulations of capital, business, and financial institutions, spreading railroad yards, smoky factories, armies of manual and clerical workers. Villages, attracting people from the countryside and from lands across the sea, grew into towns and towns into cities almost overnight. In 1830 only one of every 15 Americans lived in communities of 8,000 or more; in 1860 the ratio was nearly one in every six; and in 1890 three in every 10. No single city had as many as a million inhabitants in 1860; but 30 years later New York had a million and a half; Chicago, Illinois, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, each had over a million. In these three decades, Philadelphia and Baltimore, Maryland, doubled in population; Kansas City, Missouri, and Detroit, Michigan, grew fourfold; Cleveland, Ohio, sixfold; Chicago, tenfold. Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Omaha, Nebraska, and many communities like them -- hamlets when the Civil War began -- increased 50 times or more in population.

## **RAILROADS, REGULATIONS, AND THE TARIFF**

Railroads were especially important to the expanding nation, and their practices were often criticized. Rail lines extended cheaper freight rates to large shippers by rebating a portion of the charge, thus disadvantaging small shippers. Freight rates also frequently were not proportionate to distance traveled; competition usually held down charges between cities with several rail connections. Rates tended to be high between points served by only one line. Thus it cost less to ship goods 1,280 kilometers from Chicago to New York than to places a few hundred kilometers from Chicago. Moreover, to avoid competition rival companies sometimes divided ("pooled") the freight business according to a prearranged scheme that placed the total earnings in a common fund for distribution.

Popular resentment at these practices stimulated state efforts at regulation, but the problem was national in character. Shippers demanded congressional action. In 1887 President Grover Cleveland signed the Interstate Commerce Act, which forbade excessive charges, pools, rebates, and rate discrimination. It created an Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to oversee the act, but gave it little enforcement power. In the first decades of its existence, virtually all the ICC's efforts at regulation and rate reductions failed to pass judicial review.



President Cleveland also opposed the protective tariff on foreign goods, which had come to be accepted as permanent national policy under the Republican presidents who dominated the politics of the era. Cleveland, a conservative Democrat, regarded tariff protection as an unwarranted subsidy to big business, giving the trusts pricing power to the disadvantage of ordinary Americans. Reflecting the interests of their Southern base, the Democrats had reverted to their pre-Civil War opposition to protection and advocacy of a "tariff for revenue only."

Cleveland, narrowly elected in 1884, was unsuccessful in achieving tariff reform during his first term. He made the issue the keynote of his campaign for reelection, but Republican candidate Benjamin Harrison, a defender of protectionism, won in a close race. In 1890, the Harrison administration, fulfilling its campaign promises, achieved passage of the McKinley tariff, which increased the already high rates. Blamed for high retail prices, the McKinley duties triggered widespread dissatisfaction, led to Republican losses in the 1890 elections, and paved the way for Cleveland's return to the presidency in the 1892 election.

During this period, public antipathy toward the trusts increased. The nation's gigantic corporations were subjected to bitter attack through the 1880s by reformers such as Henry George and Edward Bellamy. The Sherman Antitrust Act, passed in 1890, forbade all combinations in restraint of interstate trade and provided several methods of enforcement with severe penalties. Couched in vague generalities, the law accomplished little immediately after its passage. But a decade later, President Theodore Roosevelt would use it vigorously.

## REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE

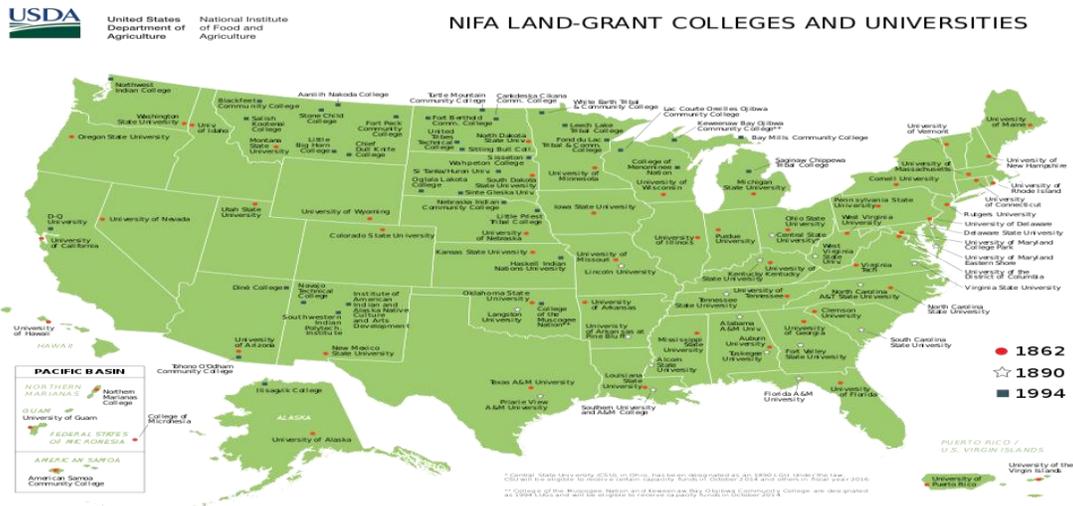
Despite the great gains in industry, agriculture remained the nation's basic occupation. The revolution in agriculture -- paralleling that in manufacturing after the Civil War -- involved a shift from hand labor to machine farming, and from subsistence to commercial agriculture. Between 1860 and 1910, the number of farms in the United States tripled, increasing from two million to six million, while the area farmed more than doubled from 160 million to 352 million hectares.

Between 1860 and 1890, the production of such basic commodities as wheat, corn, and cotton outstripped all previous figures in the United States. In the same period, the nation's population more than doubled, with the largest growth in the cities. But the American farmer grew enough grain and cotton, raised enough beef and pork, and clipped enough wool not only to supply American workers and their families but also to create ever-increasing surpluses.

Several factors accounted for this extraordinary achievement. One was the expansion into the West. Another was a technological revolution. The farmer of 1800, using a hand sickle, could hope to cut a fifth of a hectare of wheat a day. With the cradle, 30 years later, he might cut four-fifths. In 1840 Cyrus McCormick performed a miracle by cutting from two to two-and-a-half hectares a day with the reaper, a machine he had been developing for nearly 10 years. He headed west to the young prairie town of Chicago, where he set up a factory -- and by 1860 sold a quarter of a million reapers.

Other farm machines were developed in rapid succession: the automatic wire binder, the threshing machine, and the reaper-thresher or combine. Mechanical planters, cutters, huskers, and shellers appeared, as did cream separators, manure spreaders, potato planters, hay driers, poultry incubators, and a hundred other inventions.

Scarcely less important than machinery in the agricultural revolution was science. In 1862 the Morrill Land Grant College Act allotted public land to each state for the establishment of agricultural and industrial colleges.



These were to serve both as educational institutions and as centers for research in scientific farming. Congress subsequently appropriated funds for the creation of agricultural experiment stations throughout the country and granted funds directly to the Department of Agriculture for research purposes. By the beginning of the new century, scientists throughout the United States were at work on a wide variety of agricultural projects.

One of these scientists, Mark Carleton, traveled for the Department of Agriculture to Russia. There he found and exported to his homeland the rust- and drought-resistant winter wheat that now accounts for more than half the U.S. wheat crop. Another scientist, Marion Dorset, conquered the dreaded hog cholera, while still another, George Mohler, helped prevent hoof-and-mouth disease. From North Africa, one researcher brought back Kaffir corn; from Turkestan, another imported the yellow flowering alfalfa. Luther Burbank in California produced scores of new fruits and vegetables; in Wisconsin, Stephen Babcock devised a test for determining the butterfat content of milk; at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the African-American scientist George Washington Carver found hundreds of new uses for the peanut, sweet potato, and soybean.

In varying degrees, the explosion in agricultural science and technology affected farmers all over the world, raising yields, squeezing out small producers, and driving migration to industrial cities. Railroads and steamships, moreover, began to pull regional markets into one large world market with prices instantly communicated by trans-Atlantic cable as well as ground wires. Good news for urban consumers, falling agricultural prices threatened the livelihood of many American farmers and touched off a wave of agrarian discontent.

## **THE SEGREGATED SOUTH**

After Reconstruction, many Southern leaders pushed hard to attract industry. States offered large inducements and cheap labor to investors to develop the steel, lumber, tobacco, and textile industries. Even still in 1900 the region's percentage of the nation's industrial base remained about what it had been in 1860. Thirty years after the Civil War, the South was still poor from the War's devastation, and still overwhelmingly agrarian.

White Southerners found ways to assert state control to maintain white dominance and rule. Several Supreme Court decisions also bolstered their efforts by upholding traditional Southern views of the appropriate balance between national and state power. In 1873 the Supreme Court found that the 14th Amendment (citizenship rights not to be abridged) conferred no new privileges or immunities to protect African Americans from state power. In 1883, furthermore, it ruled that the 14th Amendment did not prevent individuals, as opposed to states, from practicing discrimination. And in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Court found that "separate but equal" public accommodations for African Americans, such as trains and restaurants, did not violate their rights. Soon the principle of segregation by race extended into every area of Southern life, from railroads to restaurants, hotels, hospitals, and schools. Moreover, any area of life that was not segregated by law was segregated by custom and practice. Further curtailment of the vote followed. The region's

whites were determined to keep to themselves the power of rule, lest the ills of the Reconstruction era should revive.



Faced with pervasive discrimination, many African Americans followed Booker T. Washington, who counseled them to focus on modest economic goals and to accept temporary social discrimination. Others, led by the African-American intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois, wanted to challenge segregation through political action. Both major political parties were largely uninterested in the issue and accepted black inferiority, so demands for change attracted little support.

## **THE LAST FRONTIER**

In 1865 the frontier line generally followed the western limits of the states bordering the Mississippi River, but bulged outward beyond the eastern sections of Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska. Then, running north and south for nearly 1,600 kilometers, loomed huge mountain ranges, many rich in silver, gold, and other metals. To their west, plains and deserts stretched to the wooded coastal ranges and the Pacific Ocean. Apart from the settled districts in California and scattered outposts, the vast inland region was populated by American Indians: among them the Great Plains tribes -- Sioux and Blackfoot, Pawnee and Cheyenne -- and the Indian cultures of the Southwest, including Apache, Navajo, and Hopi.

A mere quarter-century later, virtually all this country had been carved into states and territories. Miners had ranged over the whole of the mountain country, tunneling into the earth, establishing little communities in Nevada, Montana, and Colorado. Cattle ranchers, taking advantage of the enormous grasslands, had laid claim to the huge expanse stretching from Texas to the upper Missouri River. Sheep herders had found their way to the valleys and mountain slopes. Farmers sank their plows into the plains and closed the gap between the East and West. By 1890 the frontier line had disappeared.

Settlement was spurred by the Homestead Act of 1862, which granted free farms of 64 hectares to citizens who would occupy and improve the land. Unfortunately for the would-be farmers, much of the Great Plains was suited more for cattle ranching than farming, and

by 1880 nearly 22,400,000 hectares of "free" land were in the hands of cattlemen or the railroads.

In 1862 Congress also voted a charter to the Union Pacific Railroad, which pushed westward from Council Bluffs, Iowa, using mostly the labor of ex-soldiers and Irish immigrants. At the same time, the Central Pacific Railroad began to build eastward from Sacramento, California, relying heavily on Chinese immigrant labor. The whole country was stirred as the two lines steadily approached each other, finally meeting on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point in Utah. The months of laborious travel hitherto separating the two oceans was now cut to about six days. The continental rail network grew steadily; by 1884 four great lines linked the central Mississippi Valley area with the Pacific.



The first great rush of population to the Far West was drawn to the mountainous regions, where gold was found in California in 1848, in Colorado and Nevada 10 years later, in Montana and Wyoming in the 1860s, and in the Black Hills of the Dakota country in the 1870s. Miners opened up the country, established communities, and laid the foundations for more permanent settlements. Eventually, however, though a few communities continued to be devoted almost exclusively to mining, the real wealth of Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and California proved to be in the grass and soil. Cattle raising, long an important industry in Texas, flourished after the Civil War, when enterprising men began to drive their Texas longhorn cattle north across the open public land. Feeding as they went, the cattle arrived at railway shipping points in Kansas, larger

and fatter than when they started. The annual cattle drive became a regular event; for hundreds of kilometers, trails were dotted with herds moving northward.

Next, immense cattle ranches appeared in Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakota territory. Western cities flourished as centers for the slaughter and dressing of meat. The cattle boom peaked in the mid-1880s. By then, not far behind the rancher creaked the covered wagons of the farmers bringing their families, their draft horses, cows, and pigs. Under the Homestead Act they staked their claims and fenced them with a new invention, barbed wire. Ranchers were ousted from lands they had roamed without legal title.



Ranching and the cattle drives gave American mythology its last icon of frontier culture - the cowboy. The reality of cowboy life was one of grueling hardship. As depicted by writers like Zane Grey and such movie actors as John Wayne, the cowboy was a powerful mythological figure, a bold, virtuous man of action.

### **A FITTING SYMBOL?**

*Liberty Enlightening the World*, known more commonly as the Statue of Liberty, was given to the United States by France in 1885, standing at Liberty Island in the mouth of the Hudson River in New York Harbor as a welcome to all visitors, immigrants, and returning Americans. The copper statue, dedicated on October 28, 1886, commemorated the centennial of the United States and was a gesture of friendship between the two nations. It was intended to be an impressive symbol of human liberty, which America herself symbolized.



But the question that it raises is this: is this 'liberty' so symbolized true liberty as defined by the Bible, or is it a rebellious liberty defined by man? Is it a symbol of the USA as modern Babel of the world?

### **THE PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS**

As in the East, expansion into the plains and mountains by miners, ranchers, and settlers led to increasing conflicts with the American Indians of the West. Many tribes of Indians -- from the Utes of the Great Basin to the Nez Perces of Idaho -- fought the whites at one time or another. But the Sioux of the Northern Plains and the Apache of the Southwest provided the most significant opposition to frontier advance. Led by such resourceful leaders as Red Cloud and Crazy Horse, the Sioux were particularly skilled at high-speed mounted warfare. The Apaches were equally adept and highly elusive, fighting in their environs of desert and canyons.

Conflicts with the Plains Indians worsened after an incident where the Dakota (part of the Sioux nation), declaring war against the U.S. government because of long-standing grievances, killed five white settlers. Rebellions and attacks continued through the Civil War. In 1876 the last serious Sioux war erupted, when the Dakota gold rush penetrated the Black Hills.

In 1876, after several indecisive encounters, Colonel George Custer, leading a small detachment of cavalry, encountered a vastly superior force of Sioux and their allies on the Little Bighorn River. Custer and his men were completely annihilated.



Nonetheless the Indian insurgency was soon suppressed. Later, in 1890, a ghost dance ritual on the Northern Sioux reservation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, led to an uprising and an encounter that ended in the death of nearly 300 Sioux men, women, and children.

Long before this, however, the former way of life of the Plains Indians had been forever changed by an expanding white population, the coming of the railroads, and the slaughter of the buffalo, almost exterminated in the decade after 1870 by the settlers' indiscriminate hunting.

The Apache wars in the Southwest dragged on until Geronimo, the last important chief, was captured in 1886.

Government policy ever since the Monroe administration had been to move the American Indians beyond the reach of the white frontier. But inevitably the reservations had become smaller and more crowded. Some Americans began to protest the government's treatment of American Indians. Helen Hunt Jackson, for example, an Easterner living in the West, wrote *A Century of Dishonor* (1881), which dramatized their plight and struck a chord in the nation's conscience. Most reformers believed the American Indian should be assimilated into the dominant culture. The Federal government even set up a school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in an attempt to teach Indian youths. (It was at this school that Jim Thorpe, a famous US athlete, gained fame in the early 20th century.)

In 1887 the Dawes (General Allotment) Act reversed U.S. Indian policy, permitting the president to divide up tribal land and parcel out 65 hectares of land to each head of a family. Such allotments were to be held in trust by the government for 25 years, after which time the owner won full title and citizenship. Lands not thus distributed, however, were offered for sale to settlers. In 1934 U.S. policy was reversed yet again by the Indian Reorganization Act, which attempted to protect tribal and communal life on the reservations.

## **AMBIVALENT EMPIRE**

The last decades of the 19th century were a period of imperial expansion for the United States. The American story took a different course from that of its European rivals, however, because of the U.S. history of struggle against European empires and its unique democratic development. While in many respects the US had long been imperialist, conquering territory from American Indians and Mexicans, for example; yet it did not think of itself as imperialist.

The sources of American expansionism beyond its continental borders in the late 19th century were varied. Internationally, the period was one of imperialist frenzy, as European powers raced to carve up Africa and competed, along with Japan, for influence and trade in Asia. Many Americans, including influential figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Elihu Root, felt that to safeguard its own interests, the United States had to stake out spheres of economic influence as well. That view was seconded by a powerful

naval lobby, which called for an expanded fleet and network of overseas ports as essential to the economic and political security of the nation. More generally, the doctrine of "manifest destiny," first used to justify America's continental expansion, was now revived to assert that the United States had a right and duty to extend its influence and civilization in the Western Hemisphere and the Caribbean, as well as across the Pacific.

At the same time, voices of anti-imperialism from diverse coalitions of Northern Democrats and reform-minded Republicans remained loud and constant. As a result, the acquisition of a U.S. empire was piecemeal and ambivalent. Colonial-minded administrations were often more concerned with trade and economic issues than political control.

The United States' first venture beyond its continental borders was the purchase of Alaska -- sparsely populated by Inuit and other Indian peoples -- from Russia in 1867.



Most Americans were either indifferent to or indignant at this action by Secretary of State William Seward, whose critics called Alaska "Seward's Folly" and "Seward's Icebox." But 30 years later, when gold was discovered on Alaska's Klondike River, thousands of Americans headed north, and many of them settled in Alaska permanently. When Alaska became the 49th state in 1959, it replaced Texas as geographically the largest state in the Union.

The Spanish-American War, fought in 1898, marked a turning point in U.S. history. It left the United States exercising control or influence over islands in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific.

By the 1890s, Cuba and Puerto Rico were the only remnants of Spain's once vast empire in the New World, and the Philippine Islands comprised the core of Spanish power in the Pacific. The outbreak of war had three principal sources: popular hostility to autocratic Spanish rule in Cuba; U.S. sympathy with the Cuban fight for independence; and a new spirit of national assertiveness, stimulated in part by a nationalistic and sensationalist press.

By 1895 Cuba's growing restiveness had become a guerrilla war of independence. Most Americans were sympathetic with the Cubans, but President Cleveland was determined to preserve neutrality. Three years later, however, during the administration of William McKinley, the U.S. warship *Maine*, sent to Havana on a "courtesy visit" designed to

remind the Spanish of American concern over the rough handling of the insurrection, blew up in the harbor. More than 250 men were killed. The *Maine* was probably destroyed by an accidental internal explosion, but most Americans believed the Spanish were responsible. Indignation, intensified by sensationalized press coverage, swept across the country. McKinley tried to preserve the peace, but within a few months, believing delay futile, he recommended armed intervention.

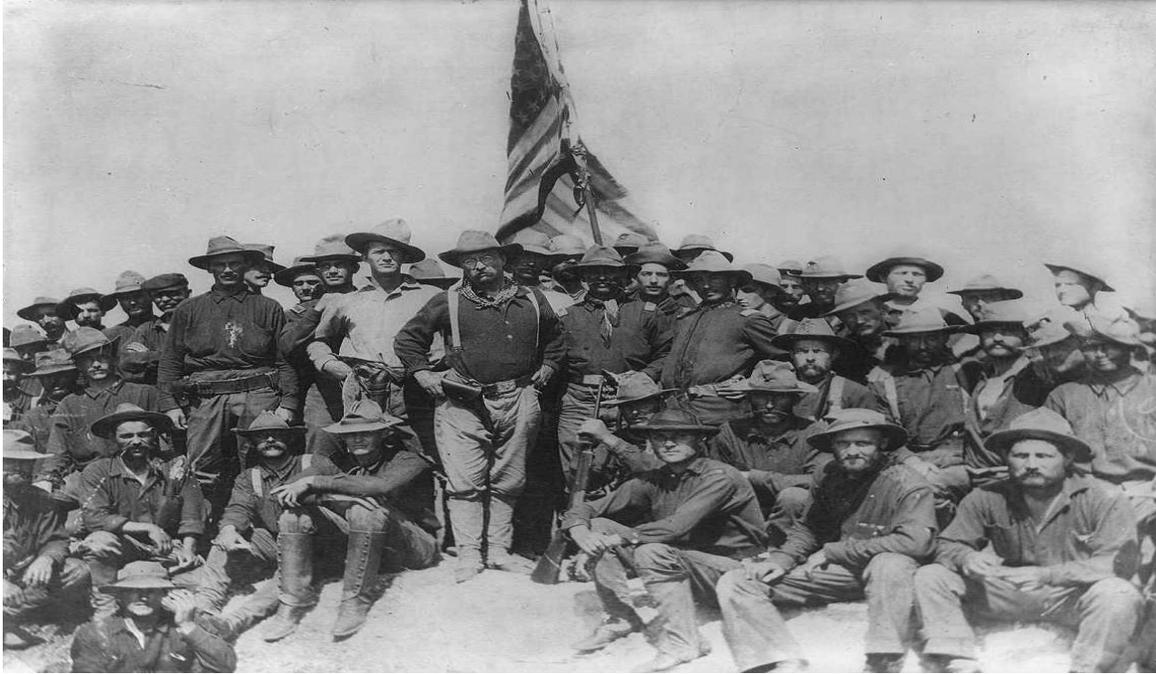
The war with Spain was swift and decisive. During the four months it lasted, not a single American reverse of any importance occurred. A week after the declaration of war,

Commodore George Dewey, commander of the six-ship Asiatic Squadron then at Hong Kong, steamed to the Philippines. Catching the entire Spanish fleet at anchor in Manila Bay, he destroyed it without losing an American life.



Meanwhile, in Cuba, troops landed near Santiago, where, after winning a rapid series of engagements, they fired on the port. Four armored Spanish cruisers steamed out of Santiago Bay to engage the American navy and were reduced to ruined hulks.

From Boston to San Francisco, whistles blew and flags waved when word came that Santiago had fallen. Newspapers dispatched correspondents to Cuba and the Philippines, who trumpeted the renown of the nation's new heroes. Chief among them were Commodore Dewey and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned as assistant secretary of the navy to lead his volunteer regiment, the "Rough Riders," to service in Cuba.



Spain soon sued for an end to the war. The peace treaty signed on December 10, 1898, transferred Cuba to the United States for temporary occupation preliminary to the island's independence. In addition, Spain ceded Puerto Rico and Guam in lieu of war indemnity, and the Philippines for a U.S. payment of \$20 million.

Officially, U.S. policy encouraged the new territories to move toward democratic self-government, a political system with which none of them had any previous experience. In fact, the United States found itself in a colonial role. It maintained formal administrative control in Puerto Rico and Guam, gave Cuba only nominal independence, and harshly suppressed an armed independence movement in the Philippines. (The Philippines gained the right to elect both houses of its legislature in 1916. In 1936 a largely autonomous Philippine Commonwealth was established. In 1946, after World War II, the islands finally attained full independence.)

U.S. involvement in the Pacific area was not limited to the Philippines. The year of the Spanish-American War also saw the beginning of a new relationship with the Hawaiian Islands. Earlier contact with Hawaii had been mainly through missionaries and traders. After 1865, however, American investors began to develop the islands' resources -- chiefly sugar cane and pineapples.

When the government of Queen Liliuokalani announced its intention to end foreign influence in 1893, American businessmen joined with influential Hawaiians to depose her. Backed by the American ambassador to Hawaii and U.S. troops stationed there, the new government then asked to be annexed to the United States. President Cleveland, just beginning his second term, rejected annexation, leaving Hawaii nominally independent until the Spanish-American War, when, with the backing of President McKinley, Congress ratified an annexation treaty. In 1959 Hawaii would become the 50th state.

To some extent, in Hawaii especially, economic interests had a role in American expansion, but to influential policy makers such as Roosevelt, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and Secretary of State John Hay, and to influential strategists such as Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, the main impetus was geostrategic. For these people, the major dividend of acquiring Hawaii was Pearl Harbor, which would become the major U.S. naval base in the central Pacific. The Philippines and Guam complemented other Pacific bases -- Wake Island, Midway, and American Samoa. Puerto Rico was an important foothold in a Caribbean area that was becoming increasingly important as the United States contemplated a Central American canal.

U.S. colonial policy tended toward secularist democratic self-government. As it had done with the Philippines, in 1917 the U.S. Congress granted Puerto Ricans the right to elect all of their legislators. The same law also made the island officially a U.S. territory and gave its people American citizenship. In 1950 Congress granted Puerto Rico complete freedom to decide its future. In 1952, the citizens voted to reject either statehood or total independence, and chose instead a commonwealth status that has endured despite the efforts of a vocal separatist movement. Large numbers of Puerto Ricans have settled on the mainland, to which they have free access and where they enjoy all the political and civil rights of any other citizen of the United States.

It was one step more in the USA becoming a secularist “global nation” empire – a veritable modern Babel.

## **THE CANAL AND THE AMERICAS**

The war with Spain revived U.S. interest in building a canal across the isthmus of Panama, uniting the two great oceans. The usefulness of such a canal for sea trade had long been recognized by the major commercial nations of the world; the French had begun digging one in the late 19th century but had been unable to overcome the engineering difficulties. Having become a power in both the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, the United States saw a canal as both economically beneficial and a way of providing speedier transfer of warships from one ocean to the other.

At the turn of the century, what is now Panama was the rebellious northern province of Colombia. When the Colombian legislature in 1903 refused to ratify a treaty giving the United States the right to build and manage a canal, a group of impatient Panamanians, with the support of U.S. Marines, rose in rebellion and declared Panamanian independence. The breakaway country was immediately recognized by President Theodore Roosevelt. Under the terms of a treaty signed that November, Panama granted the United States a perpetual lease to a 16-kilometer-wide strip of land (the Panama Canal Zone) between the Atlantic and the Pacific, in return for \$10 million and a yearly fee of \$250,000. Colombia later received \$25 million as partial compensation. (Seventy-five years later, Panama and the United States negotiated a new treaty. It provided for Panamanian sovereignty in the Canal Zone and transfer of the canal to Panama on December 31, 1999.)



States and Latin America, helped dissipate some of the ill-will engendered by earlier U.S. intervention and unilateral actions.

## **UNITED STATES AND ASIA**

Newly established in the Philippines and firmly entrenched in Hawaii at the turn of the century, the United States had high hopes for a vigorous trade with China. However, Japan and various European nations had acquired established spheres of influence there in the form of naval bases, leased territories, monopolistic trade rights, and exclusive concessions for investing in railway construction and mining.

Idealism in American foreign policy existed alongside the desire to compete with Europe's imperial powers in the Far East. The U.S. government thus insisted as a matter of principle upon equality of commercial privileges for all nations. In September 1899, Secretary of State John Hay advocated an "Open Door" for all nations in China -- that is, equality of trading opportunities (including equal tariffs, harbor duties, and railway rates) in the areas Europeans controlled. Despite its idealistic component, the Open Door, in essence, was a diplomatic maneuver that sought the advantages of colonialism while avoiding the stigma of its frank practice. It had limited success.

With the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the Chinese struck out against foreigners. In June, insurgents seized Beijing and attacked the foreign legations there. Hay promptly announced to the European powers and Japan that the United States would oppose any disturbance of Chinese territorial or administrative rights and restated the Open Door policy. Once the rebellion was quelled, Hay protected China from crushing indemnities. Primarily for the sake of American good will, Great Britain, Germany, and lesser colonial powers formally affirmed the Open Door policy and Chinese independence. In practice, they consolidated their privileged positions in the country.

A few years later, President Theodore Roosevelt mediated the deadlocked Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, in many respects a struggle for power and influence in the northern Chinese province of Manchuria.



Roosevelt hoped the settlement would provide open-door opportunities for American business, but the former enemies and other imperial powers succeeded in shutting the Americans out. The United States did not in this case deploy military force in the service of economic imperialism. The president could at least content himself with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize (1906). Despite gains for Japan, moreover, U.S. relations with the proud and newly assertive island nation would be intermittently difficult through the early decades of the 20th century.

## **J. P. MORGAN AND FINANCE CAPITALISM**

The rise of American industry required more than great industrialists. Big industry required big amounts of capital; headlong economic growth required foreign investors. John Pierpont (J.P.) Morgan was the most important of the American financiers who underwrote both requirements.



During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Morgan headed the nation's largest investment banking firm. It brokered American securities to wealthy elites at home and abroad. Since foreigners needed assurance that their investments were in a stable currency, Morgan had a strong interest in keeping the dollar tied to its legal value in gold. In the absence of an official U.S. central bank, he became the de facto manager of the task.

From the 1880s through the early 20th century, Morgan and Company not only managed the securities that underwrote many important corporate consolidations, it actually originated some of them. The most stunning of these was the U.S. Steel Corporation, which

combined Carnegie Steel with several other companies. Its corporate stock and bonds were sold to investors at the then-unprecedented sum of \$1.4 billion.

Morgan originated, and made large profits from, numerous other mergers. Acting as primary banker to numerous railroads, moreover, he effectively muted competition among them. His organizational efforts brought stability to American industry by ending price wars to the disadvantage of farmers and small manufacturers, who saw him as an oppressor. In 1901, when he established the Northern Securities Company to control a group of major railroads, President Theodore Roosevelt authorized a successful Sherman Antitrust Act suit to break up the merger.

Acting as an unofficial central banker, Morgan took the lead in supporting the dollar during the economic depression of the mid-1890s by marketing a large government bond issue that raised funds to replenish Treasury gold supplies. At the same time, his firm undertook a short-term guarantee of the nation's gold reserves. In 1907, he took the lead in organizing the New York financial community to prevent a potentially ruinous string of bankruptcies. In the process, his own firm acquired a large independent steel company, which it amalgamated with U.S. Steel. President Roosevelt personally approved the action in order to avert a serious depression.

By then, Morgan's power was so great that most Americans instinctively distrusted and disliked him. With some exaggeration, reformers depicted him as the director of a "money trust" that controlled America.



By the time of his death in 1913, the country was in the final stages of reestablishing a central bank, the Federal Reserve System, that would assume much of the responsibility he had exercised unofficially.

## CHAPTER 9 : DISCONTENT AND REFORM

**"A great democracy will be neither great nor a democracy if it is not progressive."**

*-- Former President  
Theodore Roosevelt, circa  
1910*



### **AGRARIAN DISTRESS AND THE RISE OF POPULISM**

In spite of their remarkable economic progress, late-19th century American farmers experienced recurring periods of hardship. Mechanical improvements greatly increased yield per hectare. The amount of land under cultivation grew rapidly throughout the second half of the century, as the railroads and the gradual displacement of the Plains Indians opened up new areas for western settlement. A similar expansion of agricultural lands in countries such as Canada, Argentina, and Australia compounded these problems in the international market, where much of U.S. agricultural production was now sold. Everywhere, heavy supply pushed the price of agricultural commodities downward.

Midwestern farmers were increasingly restive over what they considered excessive railroad freight rates to move their goods to market. They believed that the protective tariff, a subsidy to big business, drove up the price of their increasingly expensive equipment. Squeezed by low market prices and high costs, they resented ever-heavier debt loads and the banks that held their mortgages. Even the weather was hostile. During the late 1880s droughts devastated the western Great Plains and bankrupted thousands of settlers.

In the South, the end of slavery brought major changes. Much agricultural land was now worked by sharecroppers, tenants who gave up to half of their crop to a landowner for rent, seed, and essential supplies. An estimated 80 percent of the South's African American farmers and 40 percent of its white ones lived under this system.

The first organized effort to address general agricultural issues was by the Patrons of Husbandry, a farmer's group popularly known as the Grange movement. Launched in 1867 by employees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Granges focused initially on social activities to counter the isolation most farm families encountered. Women's participation was actively encouraged. Spurred by the Panic of 1873, the Grange soon grew to 20,000 chapters and one-and-a-half million members.

The Granges set up their own marketing systems, stores, processing plants, factories, and cooperatives, but most ultimately failed. The movement also enjoyed some political success. During the 1870s, a few states passed "Granger laws," limiting railroad and warehouse fees.

By 1880 the Grange was in decline and being replaced by the Farmers' Alliances, which were similar in many respects but more overtly political. By 1890 the alliances, initially

autonomous state organizations, had about 1.5 million members from New York to California. A parallel African-American group, the Colored Farmers National Alliance, claimed over a million members. Federating into two large Northern and Southern blocs, the alliances promoted elaborate economic programs to "unite the farmers of America for their protection against class legislation and the encroachments of concentrated capital."

By 1890 the level of agrarian distress, fueled by years of hardship and hostility toward the McKinley tariff, was at an all-time high. Working with sympathetic Democrats in the South or small third parties in the West, the Farmers' Alliances made a push for political power. A third political party, the People's (or Populist) Party, emerged. Never before in American politics had there been anything like the Populist fervor that swept the prairies and cotton lands. The elections of 1890 brought the new party into power in a dozen Southern and Western states, and sent a score of Populist senators and representatives to Congress.

The first Populist convention was in 1892. Delegates from farm, labor, and reform organizations met in Omaha, Nebraska, determined to overturn a U.S. political system they viewed as hopelessly corrupted by the industrial and financial trusts. Their platform stated:

*We are met, in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench [courts]. ... From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes -- tramps and millionaires.*

Their platform called for the nationalization of the railroads; a low tariff; loans secured by non-perishable crops stored in government-owned warehouses; and, most explosively, currency inflation through Treasury purchase and the unlimited coinage of silver at the traditional ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one ounce of gold.

The Populists showed impressive strength in the West and South, and their candidate for president polled more than a million votes. But the currency question soon overshadowed all other issues. Agrarian spokesmen, convinced that their troubles stemmed from a shortage of money in circulation, argued that increasing the volume of money would indirectly raise prices for farm products and drive up industrial wages, thus allowing debts to be paid with inflated currency. Conservative groups and the financial classes, on the other hand, responded that the 16:1 price ratio was nearly twice the market price for silver. A policy of unlimited purchase would denude the U.S. Treasury of all its gold holdings, sharply devalue the dollar, and destroy the purchasing power of the working and middle classes. Only the gold standard, they said, offered stability.

The financial panic of 1893 heightened the tension of this debate. Bank failures abounded in the South and Midwest; unemployment soared and crop prices fell badly.



The crisis and President Grover Cleveland's defense of the gold standard sharply divided the Democratic Party. Democrats who were silver supporters went over to the Populists as the presidential elections of 1896 neared.

The Democratic convention that year was swayed by one of the most famous speeches in U.S. political history. Pleading with the convention not to "crucify mankind on a cross of gold," William Jennings Bryan, the young Nebraskan champion of silver, won the Democrats' presidential nomination, in what would become the first of three failed elections- 1896, 1900 and 1908. The Populists also endorsed Bryan. For his defense of the interests of the "common man", Bryan became known as the "Great Commoner".



In the epic contest that followed, Bryan carried almost all the Southern and Western states. But he lost the more populated, industrial North and East -- and the election -- to Republican candidate William McKinley.

The following year the country's finances began to improve, in part owing to the discovery of gold in Alaska and the Yukon. This provided a basis for a conservative expansion of the money supply. In 1898 the Spanish-American War drew the nation's attention further from Populist issues. Populism and the silver issue were dead. Many of the movement's other reform ideas, however, lived on.

## **THE LABOR UNION MOVEMENT**

The life of a 19th-century American industrial worker was economically hard. Even in good times wages were low, hours long, and working conditions often hazardous. Moreover, women and children made up a high percentage of the work force in some industries and often received but a fraction of the wages a man could earn. Periodic economic crises swept the nation, further eroding industrial wages and producing high levels of unemployment. More often than not these boom-and-bust cycles were fostered by the encouragement of easy credit and debt.

The unskilled labor pool was constantly growing, as unprecedented numbers of immigrants -- 18 million between 1880 and 1910 -- entered the country, eager for work. This immigration had the effect of lowering the wages of unskilled laborers already in the country. They also greatly altered the ethnic composition of America.

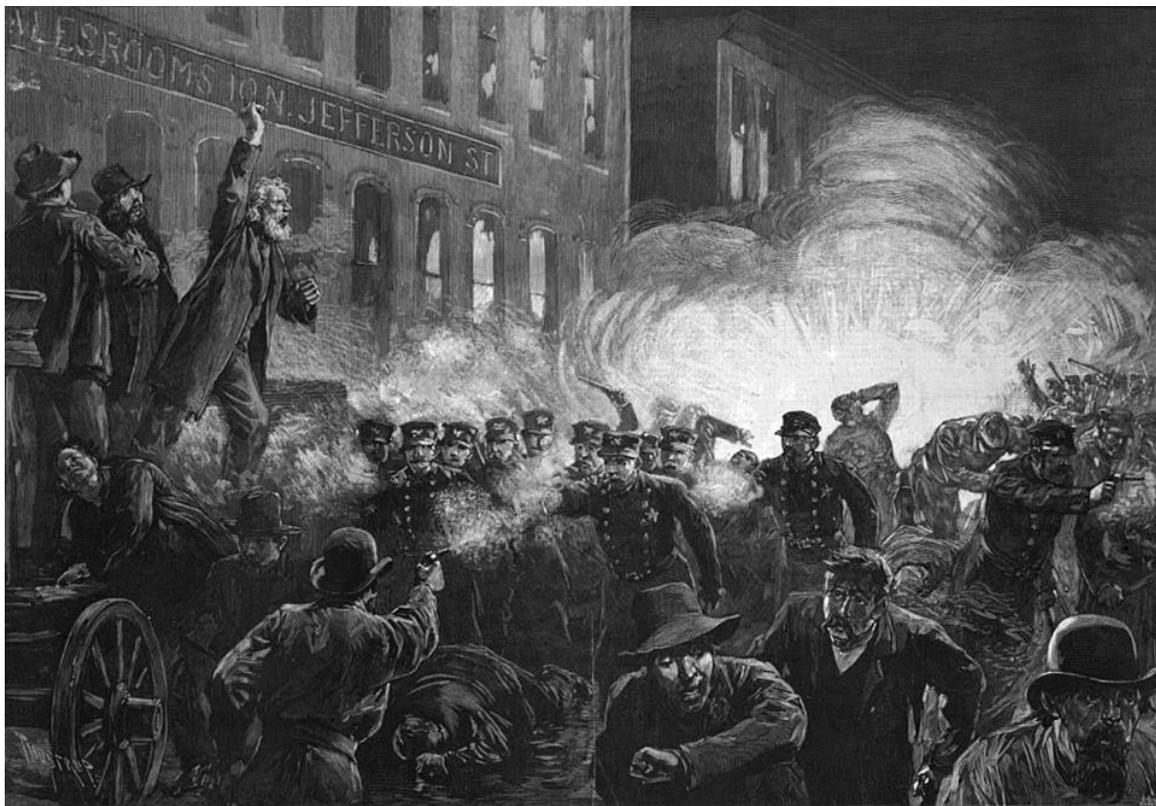
Before 1874, when Massachusetts passed the nation's first legislation limiting the number of hours women and child factory workers could perform to 10 hours a day, virtually no labor legislation existed in the country. It was not until the 1930s that the Federal government would become actively involved. Until then, the field was left to the state and local authorities. Many states and localities did not pass such legislation, and a cogent argument could be made that such legislation is counter-productive to the interests of worker and employer alike.

The generally laissez-faire capitalism that dominated the 19th century and fostered concentrations of wealth and power was backed by a judiciary that often ruled against those who challenged the system. In this, they were merely following the prevailing philosophy of the times. Drawing on an understanding of Darwinian science, many social thinkers around the turn of the century believed that both the growth of large business at the expense of small enterprise and the wealth of a few alongside the poverty of many was "survival of the fittest," and an unavoidable by-product of progress. American workers, especially the skilled among them, appear to have lived at least as well as their counterparts in industrial Europe. As late as the year 1900, the United States had the highest job-related fatality rate of any industrialized nation in the world. Most industrial workers still worked

a 10-hour day (12 hours in the steel industry). The number of children in the work force doubled between 1870 and 1900.

The trade union movement developed in these circumstances. Some of their grievances were justified, but typically their methods and a number of their goals were not. Such trade unions typically encouraged and consisted of a brotherhood of the wicked, a confederacy which no reformed Christian should join.

The first major effort to organize workers' groups on a nationwide basis appeared with the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor in 1869, led by Terence Powderly in its peak years, the son of Irish immigrants. Originally a secret, ritualistic society organized by Philadelphia garment workers and advocating a cooperative program, it was open to all workers, including African Americans, women, and farmers. The Knights grew slowly until its railway workers' unit won a strike against the great railroad baron, Jay Gould, in 1885. Within a year they added 500,000 workers to their rolls, but the Knights failed to maintain its large membership after being blamed for the violence of the Haymarket Riot of 1886 in Chicago.



Their place in the labor movement was gradually taken by the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Rather than open membership to all, the AFL, under former cigar union official Samuel Gompers, a Jewish infidel, was a group of unions focused on skilled workers. Its objectives were less overtly political and revolutionary: increasing wages, reducing hours, and improving working conditions. Although tending towards socialism,

it avoided the socialist label of most European labor movements, making it more acceptable in the American context.

Nonetheless, both before the founding of the AFL and after, American labor history was violent. In the Great Rail Strike of 1877, rail workers across the nation went out in response to a 10-percent pay cut. Attempts to break the strike led to rioting and widescale destruction in several cities: Baltimore, Maryland; Chicago, Illinois; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Buffalo, New York; and San Francisco, California. Federal troops had to be sent to several locations before the strike was ended.

Nine years later, in Chicago's Haymarket Riot, someone threw a bomb at police about to break up an anarchist rally in support of an ongoing strike at the McCormick Harvester Company in Chicago. In the ensuing melee, seven policemen and at least four workers were reported killed. Some 60 police officers were injured. In 1892, at Carnegie's steel works in Homestead, Pennsylvania, a group of 300 Pinkerton detectives the company had hired to break a bitter strike by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers fought a fierce and losing gun battle with strikers. The National Guard was called in to protect non-union workers and the strike was broken. Unions were not let back into the plant until 1937.

In 1894, wage cuts at the Pullman Company just outside Chicago led to a strike, which, with the support of the American Railway Union, soon tied up much of the country's rail system. As the situation deteriorated, U.S. Attorney General Richard Olney, himself a former railroad lawyer, deputized over 3,000 men in an attempt to keep the rails open. This was followed by a federal court injunction against union interference with the trains. When rioting ensued, President Cleveland sent in Federal troops, and the strike was eventually broken.

The most militant of the strike-favoring unions was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Formed from an amalgam of unions fighting for better conditions in the West's mining industry, the IWW, or "Wobblies" as they were commonly known, gained particular prominence from the Colorado mine clashes of 1903 and the singularly brutal fashion in which they were put down. Influenced by militant anarchism and openly calling for class warfare, the Wobblies gained many adherents after they won a difficult strike battle in the textile mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912. Their call for work stoppages in the midst of World War I, however, led to a government crackdown in 1917 that virtually destroyed them.

## **THE REFORM IMPULSE**

The presidential election of 1900 gave the American people a chance to pass judgment on the Republican administration of President McKinley, especially its foreign policy. Meeting at Philadelphia, the Republicans expressed jubilation over the successful outcome of the war with Spain, the restoration of prosperity, and the effort to obtain new markets

through the Open Door policy. McKinley easily defeated his opponent, once again William Jennings Bryan.



But the president did not live to enjoy his victory. In September 1901, while attending an exposition in Buffalo, New York, he was shot down by an assassin, the third president to be assassinated since the Civil War.

Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley's vice president, assumed the presidency. Roosevelt's accession coincided with a new epoch in American political life and international relations. The continent was peopled; the frontier was disappearing. A small, formerly struggling republic had become a world power. The country's political foundations had endured the vicissitudes of foreign and civil war, the tides of economic prosperity and depression. Immense strides had been made in agriculture and industry. Free public education had been largely realized constructed on a manifestly wicked humanistic foundation. A free press had been maintained, predicated on a "freedom of speech" and "freedom of press" that tolerated outrageous slanders against God. The Enlightenment ideal of religious freedom had been sustained, such that heresy and infidelity abounded unsuppressed.

But the picture was not entirely rosy, even from the humanist perspective. Large corporations, whose shareholders were legally protected from any unethical activities of corporate managers, had grown in power and prominence. Some of these large

corporations wielded an unhealthy degree of influence over local and municipal government, made possible by corrupt politicians.

In response to the perceived problems of 19th-century capitalism and political corruption, a reform movement arose called "progressivism," which gave American politics and thought its special character from approximately 1890 until the American entry into World War I in 1917. The Progressives had diverse objectives. In general, however, they saw themselves as engaged in a democratic crusade against the abuses of urban political bosses and the corrupt "robber barons" of big business. Their goals were greater democracy and social justice, honest government, more effective regulation of business, and a revived commitment to public service. They believed that expanding the scope of government would ensure the progress of U.S. society and the welfare of its citizens.

The years 1902 to 1908 marked the era of greatest reform activity, as writers and journalists strongly protested practices and principles inherited from the 18th-century rural republic that they felt were inadequate for a 20th-century urban state. Years before, in 1873, the celebrated author Mark Twain had exposed American society to critical scrutiny in *The Gilded Age*. Now, trenchant articles dealing with trusts, high finance, impure foods, and abusive railroad practices began to appear in the daily newspapers and in such popular magazines as *McClure's* and *Collier's*. Their authors, such as the journalist Ida M. Tarbell, who crusaded against the Standard Oil Trust, became known as "muckrakers."

In his sensational novel, *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair exposed unsanitary conditions in the great Chicago meat-packing houses and condemned the grip of the beef trust on the nation's meat supply. Theodore Dreiser, in his novels *The Financier* and *The Titan*, painted a picture of the machinations of big business. Frank Norris's *The Octopus* assailed amoral railroad management; his *The Pit* depicted secret manipulations on the Chicago grain market. Lincoln Steffens's *The Shame of the Cities* bared local political corruption. This "literature of exposure" roused people to action.

The hammering impact of uncompromising writers and an increasingly aroused public spurred political leaders to take practical measures. Many states enacted laws to improve the conditions under which people lived and worked. At the urging of such prominent humanist social critics as Jane Addams, child labor laws were strengthened and new ones adopted, raising age limits, shortening work hours, restricting night work, and requiring school attendance.

## **ROOSEVELT'S REFORMS**

By the early 20th century, most of the larger cities and more than half the states had established an eight-hour day on public works. Equally important were the workman's compensation laws, which made employers legally responsible for injuries sustained by employees at work. New revenue laws were also enacted, which, by taxing inheritances,

incomes, and the property or earnings of corporations, sought to place the burden of government on those best able to pay.

It was believed by many of the nation's leaders -- notably President Theodore Roosevelt and Progressive leaders in the Congress (foremost among them Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette) -- that most of the problems reformers were concerned about could be solved only if dealt with on a national scale. Roosevelt declared his determination to give all the American people a "Square Deal."

During his first term, he initiated a policy of increased government supervision through the enforcement of antitrust laws. With his backing, Congress passed the Elkins Act (1903), which greatly restricted the railroad practice of giving rebates to favored shippers. The act made published rates the lawful standard, and shippers equally liable with railroads for rebates. Meanwhile, Congress had created a new Cabinet Department of Commerce and Labor, which included a Bureau of Corporations empowered to investigate the affairs of large business aggregations.

Roosevelt won acclaim as a "trust-buster," but his actual attitude toward big business was complex. Economic concentration, he believed, was inevitable. Some trusts were "good," some "bad." The task of government was to make reasonable distinctions. When, for example, the Bureau of Corporations discovered in 1907 that the American Sugar Refining Company had evaded import duties, subsequent legal actions recovered more than \$4 million and convicted several company officials. The Standard Oil Company was indicted for receiving secret rebates from the Chicago and Alton Railroad, convicted, and fined a staggering \$29 million.



Roosevelt's striking personality and his trust-busting activities captured the imagination of the ordinary individual; approval of his progressive measures cut across party lines. In addition, the abounding prosperity of the country at this time led people to feel satisfied with the party in office. He won an easy victory in the 1904 presidential election.

Emboldened by a sweeping electoral triumph, Roosevelt called for stronger railroad regulation. In June 1906 Congress passed the Hepburn Act. It gave the Interstate Commerce Commission real authority in regulating rates, extended the commission's jurisdiction, and forced the railroads to surrender their interlocking interests in steamship lines and coal companies.

Other congressional measures carried the principle of Federal government control still further. The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 prohibited the use of any "deleterious drug, chemical, or preservative" in prepared medicines and foods. The Meat Inspection Act of the same year mandated Federal inspection of all meat-packing establishments engaged in interstate commerce.

Conservation of the nation's natural resources, managed development of the public domain, and the reclamation of wide stretches of neglected land were among the other major achievements of the Roosevelt era. Roosevelt and his aides were more than conservationists, but given the helter-skelter exploitation of public resources that had preceded them, conservation loomed large on their agenda. Whereas his predecessors had set aside 18,800,000 hectares of timberland for preservation and parks, Roosevelt increased the area to 59,200,000 hectares. They also began systematic efforts to prevent forest fires and to re-timber denuded tracts.

All of these actions further enhanced the power and scope of the Federal government, as the USA became more and more a centralized empire.

## **TAFT AND WILSON**

Roosevelt's popularity was at its peak as the campaign of 1908 neared, but he was unwilling to break the tradition by which no president had held office for more than two terms. Instead, he supported William Howard Taft, who had served under him as governor of the Philippines and secretary of war. Taft, pledging to continue Roosevelt's programs, defeated Bryan, who was running for the third and last time.



The new president continued the prosecution of trusts with less discrimination than Roosevelt, further strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission, established a postal

savings bank and a parcel post system, expanded the civil service, and sponsored the enactment of two amendments to the Constitution, both adopted in 1913.

The 16th Amendment, ratified just before Taft left office, authorized a federal income tax; the 17th Amendment, approved a few months later, mandated the direct election of senators by the people, instead of state legislatures. These had the effect of further empowering the centralized Federal government and weakening State governments.

Yet balanced against these “progressive” measures was Taft's acceptance of a new tariff with higher protective schedules; his opposition to the entry of the state of Arizona into the Union because of its liberal constitution; and his growing reliance on the conservative wing of his party. By 1910 Taft's party was bitterly divided. Democrats gained control of Congress in the midterm elections. Two years later, Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic, progressive governor of the state of New Jersey, campaigned against Taft, the Republican candidate - and also against Roosevelt who ran as the candidate of a new Progressive Party. Wilson, in a spirited campaign, defeated both rivals.



During his first term, Wilson secured one of the most notable legislative programs in American history. The first task was tariff revision. "The tariff duties must be altered," Wilson said. "We must abolish everything that bears any semblance of privilege." The Underwood Tariff, signed on October 3, 1913, provided substantial rate reductions on imported raw materials and foodstuffs, cotton and woolen goods, iron and steel; it removed the duties from more than a hundred other items. Although the act retained many protective features, it was a genuine attempt to lower the cost of living. To

compensate for lost revenues, it established an income tax. The second item on the Democratic program was a thorough reorganization of the banking and currency system. "Control," said Wilson, "must be public, not private, must be vested in the government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative."

The Federal Reserve Act of December 23, 1913 was Wilson's most enduring legislative legacy. Conservatives had favored establishment of one powerful central bank. The new act, in a half-hearted tip of the hat to the Democratic Party's Jeffersonian sentiments, divided the country into 12 districts, with a Federal Reserve Bank in each, all supervised by a national Federal Reserve Board with authority to set interest rates. The act's supporters argued that it assured greater flexibility in the money supply and made provision for issuing federal-reserve notes to meet business demands. But in reality it became a vehicle for the concentration of more economic power in the Federal government, including the power of theft by government-induced inflation through manipulation of the money supply. Even greater centralization of the system would come in the 1930s.

The next important task was trust regulation and investigation of corporate abuses. Congress authorized a Federal Trade Commission to issue orders prohibiting "unfair methods of competition" by business concerns in interstate trade. The Clayton Antitrust Act forbade many corporate practices that had thus far escaped specific condemnation: interlocking directorates, price discrimination among purchasers, use of the injunction in labor disputes, and ownership by one corporation of stock in similar enterprises. Farmers and other workers were not forgotten. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 established an "extension system" of county agents to assist farming throughout the country. Subsequent acts made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest, misguidedly encouraging greater debt. The Seamen's Act of 1915 sought to address living and working conditions on board ships. The Federal Workingman's Compensation Act in 1916 authorized allowances to civil service employees for disabilities incurred at work and established a model for private enterprise. The Adamson Act of the same year established an eight-hour day for railroad labor.

This record of legislative attainment won Wilson a firm place in American history as one of the nation's foremost "progressive" reformers who continued the trend of empowering the centralized Federal government. However, his domestic reputation would soon be overshadowed in the public eye by his record as a wartime president who led his country to victory but could not hold their support for the peace that followed.

## **A NATION OF NATIONS**

No country's history has been more closely bound to immigration than that of the United States. During the first 15 years of the 20th century alone, over 13 million people came to

the United States, many passing through Ellis Island, the federal immigration center that opened in New York harbor in 1892.



The first official census in 1790 had numbered Americans at 3,929,214. Approximately half of the population of the original 13 states was of English origin; the rest were Scotch-Irish, German, Dutch, French, Swedish, Welsh, and Finnish. These white Europeans were mostly Protestants. A fifth of the population were African American slaves.

From early on, many Americans viewed immigrants as a necessary resource for an expanding country. As a result, few official restrictions were placed upon immigration into the United States until the 1920s, so long as they were mainly white. As more and more Romanist and infidel immigrants arrived, however, some Americans became fearful that their culture and heritage was threatened.

The Founding Fathers, especially Thomas Jefferson, had been ambivalent over whether or not the United States ought to welcome arrivals from every corner of the globe. Jefferson wondered whether democracy could ever rest safely in the hands of men from countries that revered monarchs or replaced royalty with mob rule. However, few supported closing the gates to newcomers.

Immigration lagged in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as wars disrupted trans-Atlantic travel and European governments restricted movement to retain young men of military age. Still, as European populations increased, more people on the same land constricted the size of farming lots to a point where families could barely survive. Moreover, cottage industries were falling victim to an Industrial Revolution that was mechanizing production. Thousands of artisans unwilling or unable to find jobs in factories were out of work in Europe. In addition, many people wanted to flee societies which had not enjoyed the fruits of a Protestant heritage like the US. These people sought the fruits, but often were unwilling to acknowledge or adopt the Protestant Christian religion which had yielded the fruits.

In the mid-1840s millions more made their way to the United States as a result of a potato blight in Ireland and continual revolution in the German homelands. Meanwhile, a trickle of Chinese immigrants, most from impoverished Southeastern China, began to make their way to the American West Coast.

Almost 19 million people arrived in the United States between 1890 and 1921, the year Congress first passed severe restrictions. Most of these immigrants were from Italy, Russia, Poland, Greece, and the Balkans. Non-Europeans came, too: east from Japan, south from Canada, and north from Mexico. These immigrants were largely non-Protestants. The USA was on a long term path away from its roots and towards a modern day Babel.

## CHAPTER 10 : WAR, PROSPERITY, AND DEPRESSION

"The chief business of the American people is business."

-- President Calvin Coolidge,  
1925



### WAR AND NEUTRAL RIGHTS

To the American public of 1914, the outbreak of war in Europe -- with Germany and Austria-Hungary fighting Britain, France, and Russia -- came as a shock. At first the encounter seemed remote, but its economic and political effects were swift and deep. By 1915 U.S. industry, which had been mildly depressed, was prospering again with munitions orders from the Western Allies. Both sides used propaganda to arouse the public passions of Americans -- a third of whom were either foreign-born or had one or two foreign-born parents. Moreover, Britain and Germany both acted against U.S. shipping on the high seas, bringing sharp protests from President Woodrow Wilson. Britain, which controlled the seas, stopped and searched American carriers, confiscating "contraband" bound for Germany. Germany employed its major naval weapon, the submarine, to sink shipping bound for Britain or France. President Wilson warned that the United States would not forsake its traditional right as a neutral to trade with belligerent nations. He also declared that the nation would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for the loss of American vessels or lives. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine sunk the British liner *Lusitania*, killing 1,198 people, 128 of them Americans. Wilson, reflecting American outrage, demanded an immediate halt to attacks on liners and merchant ships. But there is some evidence to suggest that the Wilson administration itself had encouraged circumstances so as to justify entrance into the war on the side of Britain and France.

Anxious to avoid war with the United States, Germany agreed to give warning to commercial vessels -- even if they flew the enemy flag -- before firing on them. But after two more attacks -- the sinking of the British steamer *Arabic* in August 1915, and the torpedoing of the French liner *Sussex* in March 1916 -- Wilson issued an ultimatum threatening to break diplomatic relations unless Germany abandoned submarine warfare. Germany agreed and refrained from further attacks through the end of the year.

Wilson won reelection in 1916, partly on the slogan: "He kept us out of war." Feeling he had a mandate to act as a peacemaker, he delivered a speech to the Senate, January 22, 1917, urging the warring nations to accept a "peace without victory."

## UNITED STATES ENTERS WORLD WAR I

After five U.S. vessels were sunk, Wilson on April 2, 1917, asked for a declaration of war. Congress quickly approved. The government rapidly mobilized military resources, industry, labor, and agriculture. By October 1918, on the eve of Allied victory, a U.S. army of over 1,750,000 had been deployed in France.

In the summer of 1918, fresh American troops under the command of General John J. Pershing played a decisive role in stopping a last-ditch German offensive. That fall, Americans were key participants in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, which cracked Germany's vaunted Hindenburg Line.



President Wilson wanted to establish an enduring post-war peace. His Fourteen Points, submitted to the Senate in January 1918, called for: abandonment of secret international agreements; freedom of the seas; free trade between nations; reductions in national armaments; an adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the inhabitants affected; self-rule for subjugated European nationalities; and, most importantly, the establishment of an association of nations to afford "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." But God and Biblical truth were absent from Wilson's peace plan, so Wilson's plan was absent any true enduring peace. Wilson had long before rejected the sound Presbyterian faith of his ancestors, and he had embraced a futile faith in secular humanism.

In October 1918, the German government, facing certain defeat, appealed to Wilson to negotiate on the basis of the Fourteen Points. After a month of secret negotiations that gave Germany no firm guarantees, an armistice (technically a truce, but actually a surrender) was concluded on November 11.



## **THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

It was Wilson's hope that the final treaty, drafted by the victors, would be even-handed, but the passion and material sacrifice of more than four years of war caused the European Allies to make severe demands. Persuaded that his greatest hope for peace, a League of Nations, would never be realized unless he made concessions, Wilson compromised somewhat on the issues of self-determination, open diplomacy, and other specifics. He successfully resisted French demands for the entire Rhineland, and somewhat moderated that country's insistence upon charging Germany the whole cost of the war. The final agreement (the Treaty of Versailles), however, provided for French occupation of the coal and iron rich Saar Basin, and a very heavy burden of reparations upon Germany.

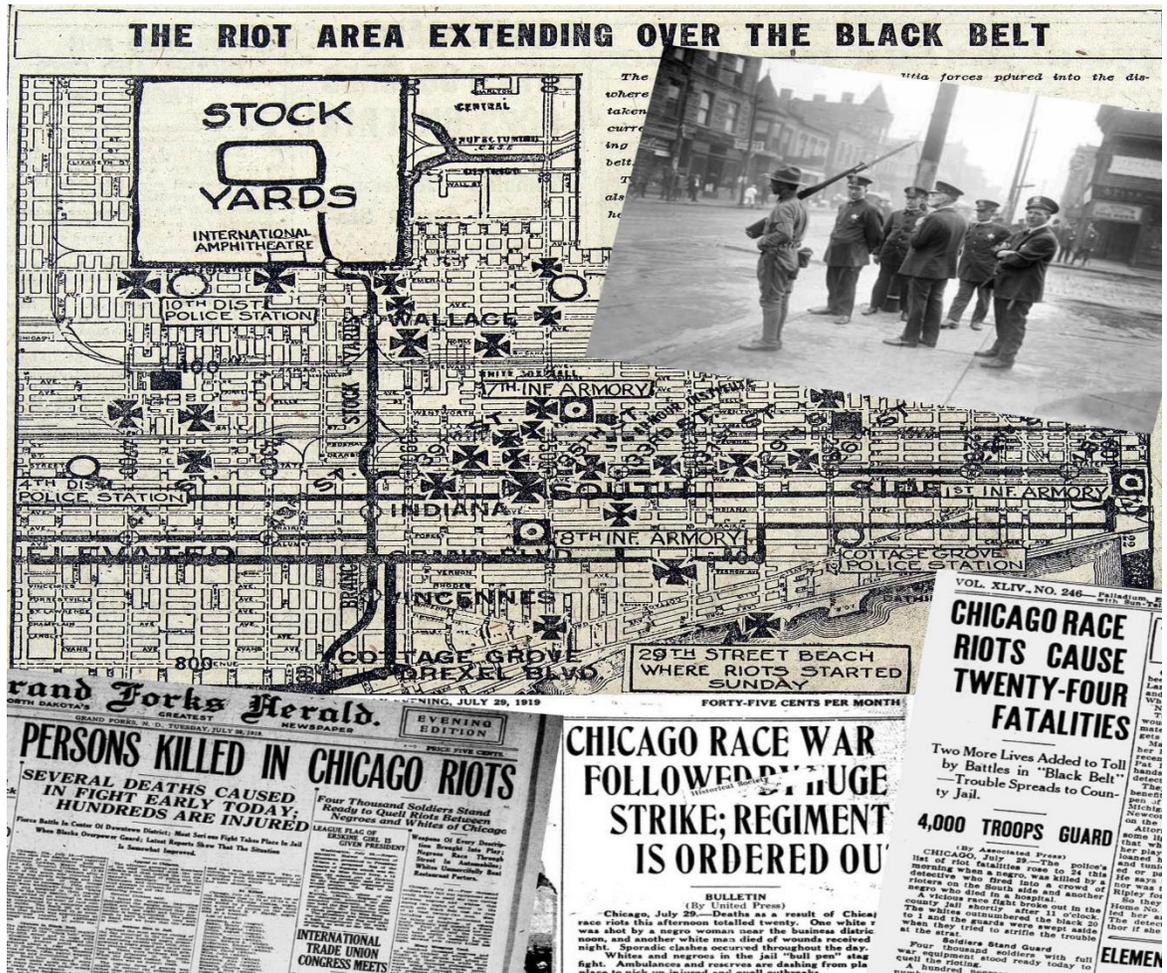
In the end, there was little left of Wilson's proposals for a generous and lasting peace but the League of Nations itself, which he had made an integral part of the treaty. Displaying poor judgment, however, the president had failed to involve leading Republicans in the treaty negotiations. Returning with a partisan document, he then refused to make concessions necessary to satisfy Republican concerns about protecting American sovereignty.

With the treaty stalled in a Senate committee, Wilson began a national tour to appeal for support. On September 25, 1919, physically ravaged by the rigors of negotiating and the pressures of the wartime presidency, he suffered a crippling stroke. Critically ill for weeks, he never fully recovered. In two separate votes -- November 1919 and March 1920 -- the Senate once again rejected the Versailles Treaty and with it the League of Nations. The League of Nations would never be capable of maintaining world order, much less world

peace. Wilson's defeat reflected America's concern with loss of national sovereignty to an international institution.

## POSTWAR UNREST

The transition from war to peace was tumultuous. A postwar economic boom coexisted with rapid increases in consumer prices. Labor unions that had refrained from striking during the war engaged in several major job actions. During the summer of 1919, race riots occurred, reflecting apprehension over the emergence of a "New Negro" who had seen military service or gone north to work in war industry.



Reaction to these events merged with a widespread national fear of a new international revolutionary movement. In 1917, the Marxist Bolsheviks had seized power in Russia; after the war, they attempted revolutions in Germany and Hungary. By 1919, it seemed they had come to America. Excited by the Bolshevik example, large numbers of militants split from the Socialist Party to found what would become the Communist Party of the United States. In April 1919, the postal service intercepted nearly 40 bombs addressed to prominent citizens. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's residence in Washington was

bombed. Palmer, in turn, authorized federal roundups of radicals and deported many who were not citizens. Major strikes were properly blamed on radicals and depicted as the potential opening shots of a revolution.

Palmer's dire warnings fueled what his critics called a "Red Scare" that subsided by mid-1920. Even a murderous bombing in Wall Street in September failed to reawaken it. From 1919 on, however, a current of hostility toward revolutionary communism would simmer not far beneath the surface of American life. An antipathy towards religion that made communist movements popular in many nations was not so present in the US, given its Protestant heritage.

### **THE BOOMING 1920s**

Wilson, distracted by the war, then laid low by his stroke, had mishandled almost every postwar issue. The booming economy began to collapse in mid-1920. The Republican candidates for president and vice president, Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, easily defeated their Democratic opponents, James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt.



Following ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, women voted in a presidential election for the first time, in yet another step towards the establishment of a modern Babel.

The first two years of Harding's administration saw a continuance of the economic recession that had begun under Wilson. By 1923, however, prosperity was back. For the next six years the country enjoyed the strongest economy in its history, at least in urban areas. Governmental economic policy during the 1920s was eminently conservative (as that term became defined in the context of 20<sup>th</sup> century American politics). It was based upon the belief that if government fostered private business, benefits would radiate out to most of the rest of the population.

Accordingly, the Republicans tried to create the most favorable conditions for U.S. industry. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922 and the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930 brought American trade barriers to new heights, guaranteeing U.S. manufacturers in one field after another a monopoly of the domestic market, but blocking trade with Europe. Occurring at the beginning of the Great Depression, Hawley-Smoot triggered retaliation from other manufacturing nations.

The Federal government also started a program of tax cuts, reflecting Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon's belief that high taxes on individual incomes and corporations discouraged investment in new industrial enterprises. Congress, in laws passed between 1921 and 1929, responded favorably to his proposals.

"The chief business of the American people is business," declared Calvin Coolidge, the Vermont-born vice president who succeeded to the presidency in 1923 after Harding's death, and was elected in his own right in 1924. Coolidge hewed to the conservative economic policies of the Republican Party, but he was a much abler administrator than the hapless Harding, whose administration was mired in charges of corruption in the months before his death.

Throughout the 1920s, private business received substantial encouragement, including construction loans, profitable mail-carrying contracts, and other indirect subsidies. The Transportation Act of 1920, for example, had already restored to private management the nation's railways, which had been under government control during the war. The Merchant Marine, which had been owned and largely operated by the government, was sold to private operators.

Republican policies in agriculture, however, faced mounting criticism, for farmers shared least in the prosperity of the 1920s. The period since 1900 had been one of rising farm prices. The unprecedented wartime demand for U.S. farm products had provided a strong stimulus to expansion. But by the close of 1920, with the abrupt end of wartime demand, the commercial agriculture of staple crops such as wheat and corn fell into sharp decline. Many factors accounted for the depression in American agriculture, but foremost was the loss of foreign markets. This was partly in reaction to American tariff policy, but also because excess farm production was a worldwide phenomenon. When the Great Depression struck in the 1930s, it devastated an already fragile farm economy.

The distress of agriculture aside, the Twenties brought economic prosperity to most Americans. It was the decade in which the ordinary family purchased its first automobile, obtained refrigerators and vacuum cleaners, listened to the radio for entertainment, and

went regularly to wicked motion pictures. Economic prosperity was real and broadly distributed. The Republicans profited politically, as a result, by claiming credit for it.

## TENSIONS OVER IMMIGRATION

By the early 1920s, an alliance was forged between wage-conscious organized labor and those who called for restricted immigration on racial or religious grounds, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Immigration Restriction League. The Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 permanently curtailed the influx of newcomers with quotas calculated on nation of origin. The Act prevented immigration from Asia, set quotas on the number of immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere, and provided funding and an enforcement mechanism to carry out the longstanding ban on other immigrants. Proponents of the act sought to establish a distinct American identity by preserving its ethnic homogeneity. Reed told the Senate that earlier legislation "disregards entirely those of us who are interested in keeping American stock up to the highest standard—that is, the people who were born here". He recognized that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, most of them Catholics or Jews, could fundamentally alter American culture if coming in such large numbers. The Act was signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge, thus arresting for decades a trend towards turning the USA into a "global nation."



During the 1920s, the United States sharply restricted foreign immigration for the first time in its history. Large inflows of foreigners long had created a certain amount of social tension, but most had been of Northern European stock and, if not quickly assimilated, at least possessed a certain commonality with most Americans. By the end of the 19th century, however, the flow was predominantly from southern and Eastern Europe. According to the census of 1900, the population of the United States was just over 76 million. Over the next 15 years, more than 15 million immigrants entered the country.

Around two-thirds of the inflow consisted of "newer" nationalities and ethnic groups -- Russian Jews, Poles, Slavic peoples, Greeks, and southern Italians. They were non-

Protestant, non-"Nordic," and, many Americans feared, non-assimilable, especially coming in such large numbers in such a short span of time. Halted by World War I, mass immigration resumed in 1919, but quickly ran into determined opposition from groups as varied as the American Federation of Labor and the reorganized Ku Klux Klan.

In 1921, Congress passed a sharply restrictive emergency immigration act. It was supplanted in 1924 by the Johnson-Reed National Origins Act, which established an immigration quota for each nationality. Those quotas were pointedly based on the census of 1890, a year in which the newer immigration had not yet left its mark. Bitterly resented by southern and Eastern European ethnic groups, the new law reduced immigration to a trickle. After 1929, the economic impact of the Great Depression would reduce the trickle to a reverse flow -- until refugees from European fascism began to press for admission to the country. The Great Depression of the 1930s dramatically slowed immigration still further.

Throughout the postwar decades, the United States continued to cling to nationally based quotas. Supporters of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 argued that quota relaxation might inundate the United States with Marxist subversives from Eastern Europe. In 1965 Congress replaced national quotas with hemispheric ones, and fundamentally altered the protections of the Johnson-Reed National Origins Act.

## **CLASH OF CULTURES**

The fruits of false religion were becoming increasingly apparent in early twentieth century America. Many of the old mainline Protestant denominations were embracing Darwinian evolution and other attacks upon the infallibility of scripture. Many of the newly arrived immigrants came from heretical or infidel religions. Social life increasingly reflected a lax attitude toward Biblical morality. Secular humanism was taking a serious spiritual toll.

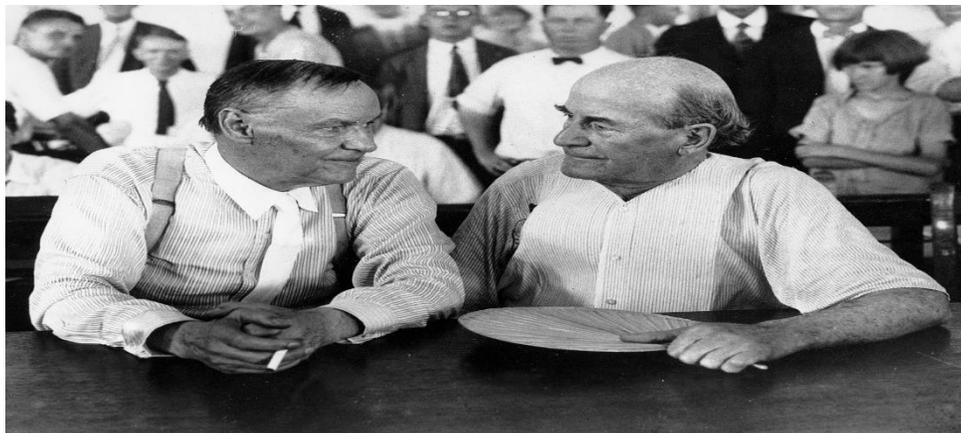
But some Americans expressed their discontent with the character of modern humanist thought and life in the 1920s. Much of the opposition came from the growing dispensationalist fundamentalist movement. This movement especially thrived in Baptist and other independent churches. Fundamentalist preachers such as Billy Sunday criticized the modernist course.



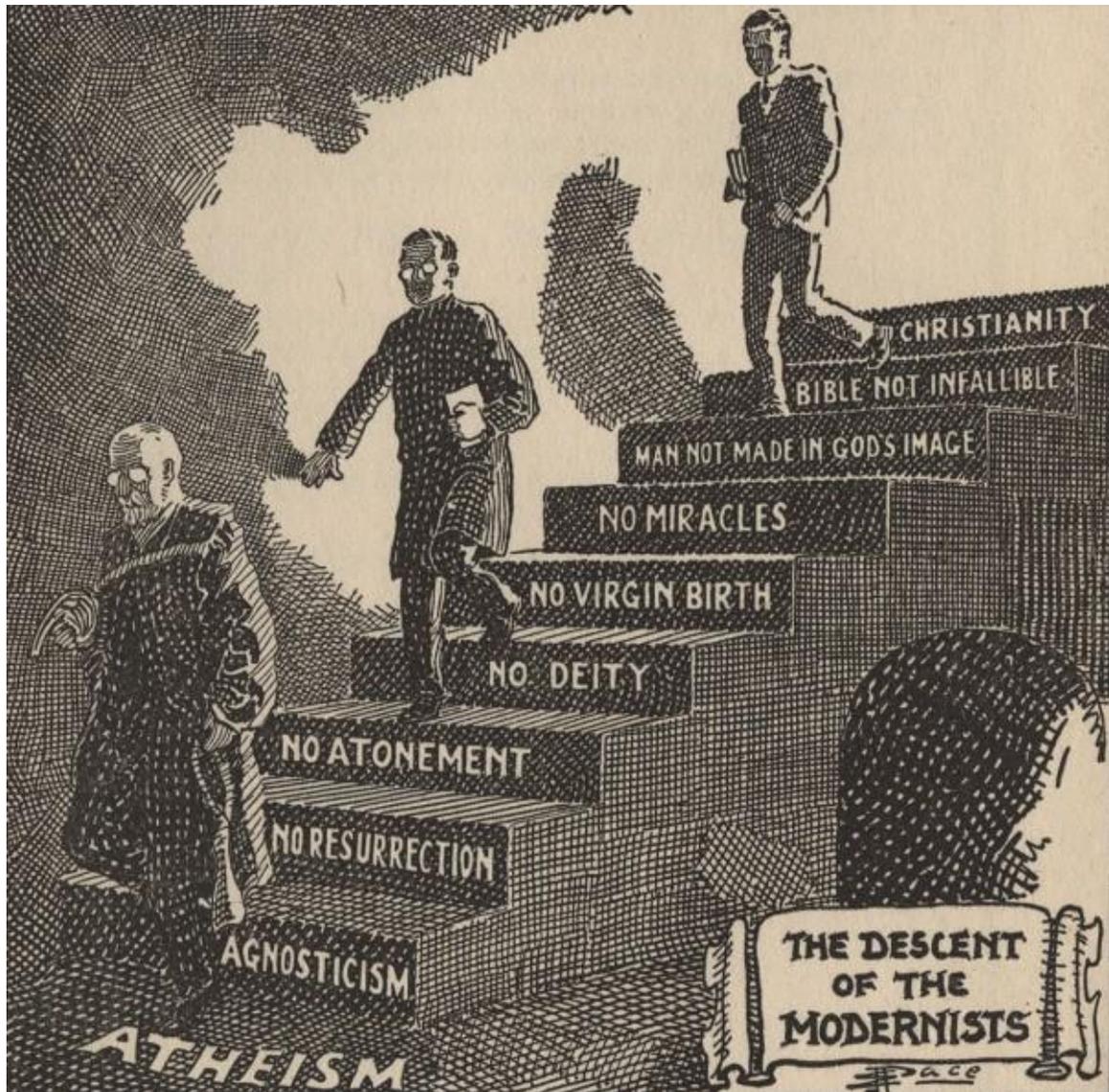
And Bible schools and colleges were established that preserved a belief in the inerrancy of scripture, even while often throwing overboard many other important Protestant doctrines, like the Calvinistic doctrines of grace.

One of the chief battles raged over the question of Darwinian evolution. In the 1920s, bills to prohibit the teaching of evolution began appearing in Midwestern and Southern state legislatures, where the Protestant legacy remained strongest. Leading this crusade was the aging William Jennings Bryan, long a spokesman for the values of the countryside as well as a progressive politician. Bryan skillfully reconciled his antievolutionary activism with his earlier economic radicalism, declaring that evolution "by denying the need or possibility of spiritual regeneration, discourages all reforms."

The issue came to a head in 1925, when a young high school teacher, John Scopes, was came to trial for violating a Tennessee law that forbade the teaching of evolution in the public schools. The case became a national spectacle, drawing intense news coverage. The American Civil Liberties Union retained the infamous attorney Clarence Darrow to defend Scopes, pitting him against Bryan who assisted the prosecution.



As a result of the trial, Scopes was convicted by the court, but his fine was reversed on a technicality. Bryan died shortly after the trial ended. The state declined to retry Scopes. Urban sophisticates ridiculed fundamentalism, but it continued to be a powerful force in much of America. A large segment of the US population continued to reject the lie of Darwinian evolution, even as the lie came to be believed almost universally in most other Western nations. In 1968, the US Supreme Court would outlaw any state or local ban on the teaching of evolution. The modernist versus fundamentalist battle raged on, the society gradually losing its Biblical beliefs.

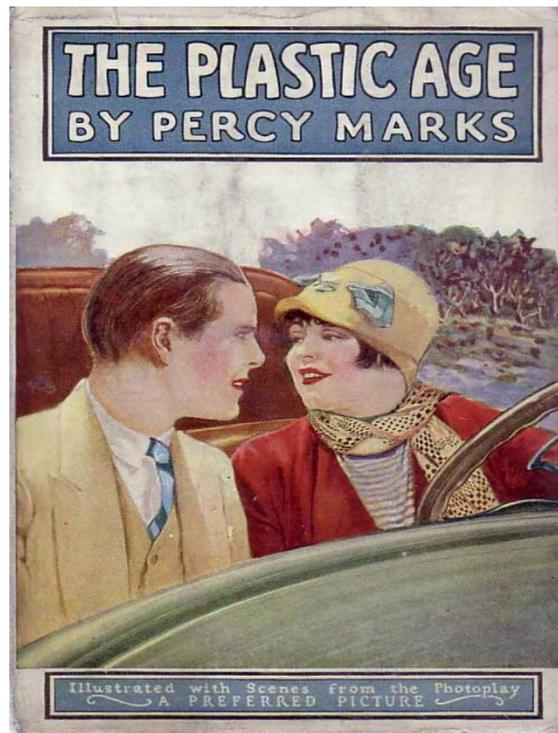


Another example of a powerful clash of cultures was Prohibition. In 1919, after almost a century of agitation, the 18th Amendment to the Constitution was enacted, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic beverages. Prohibition was intended to eliminate the saloon and the drunkard from American society. But in response to Prohibition, illegal drinking places called "speakeasies" arose, intoxication became

fashionable, and a new form of criminal activity -- the transportation of illegal liquor, or "bootlegging" -- occurred. Widely observed in rural America, openly evaded in urban

America, Prohibition was an emotional issue in the "Roaring Twenties". When the Depression hit, opposition intensified. The 18th Amendment would be repealed in 1933.

Fundamentalism and Prohibition were aspects of a larger reaction to a modernist social and intellectual revolution most visible in changing manners and morals that caused the decade to be called the Jazz Age, the Roaring Twenties, or the era of "flaming youth." World War I had overturned the Victorian social and moral order, which itself had been a waning legacy of a Protestant heritage. Mass economic prosperity combined with religious infidelity enabled an open and hedonistic life style for the young middle classes.



The leading intellectuals were supportive. H.L. Mencken, the decade's most important social critic, was unsparing in denouncing sham and venality in American life. He usually found these qualities in rural areas and among businessmen and wherever forms of Protestant fundamentalism persisted. His counterparts of the progressive movement had believed in "the people" and sought to extend democracy. Mencken, an elitist and admirer of Nietzsche, bluntly called democratic man a boob and characterized the American middle class as the "booboisie."



Novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald captured the energy, turmoil, and disillusion of the decade in such works as *The Beautiful and the Damned* (1922) and *The Great Gatsby* (1925). Sinclair Lewis, the first American to win a Nobel Prize for literature, satirized mainstream America in *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922). Ernest Hemingway vividly portrayed the malaise wrought by the war in *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) and *A Farewell to Arms* (1929). Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and many other writers dramatized their alienation from America by spending much of the decade in Paris.

African-American culture took a more prominent position on the national stage. Between 1910 and 1930, huge numbers of African Americans moved from the South to the North in search of economic prosperity. Most settled in urban areas, especially New York City's Harlem, Detroit, and Chicago. In 1910 W.E.B. Du Bois and other intellectuals had founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), by which African Americans gained a national voice that would grow in importance with the passing years. An African-American literary and artistic movement, called the "Harlem Renaissance," emerged. Like the "Lost Generation," its writers, such as the poets Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen, rejected middle-class values and conventional literary forms, even as they addressed the realities of African-American experience. African-American musicians -- Duke Ellington, King Oliver, Louis Armstrong -- first made jazz a staple of American culture in the 1920's. Most of these African American cultural leaders were driving the northern blacks further away from even some vestiges of Biblical Protestantism which blacks had known in the South.

## **THE GREAT DEPRESSION**

In October 1929 the booming stock market crashed, wiping out many investors. The collapse did not in itself cause the Great Depression, although it reflected excessively easy credit policies that had allowed the market to get out of hand. It also aggravated fragile economies in Europe that had relied heavily on American loans. Over the next three years, an initial American recession became part of a worldwide depression. Business houses closed their doors, factories shut down, banks failed with the loss of depositors' savings. Farm income fell some 50 percent. By November 1932, approximately one of every five American workers was unemployed.

The presidential campaign of 1932 was chiefly a debate over the causes and possible remedies of the Great Depression. President Herbert Hoover, having entered the White House only eight months before the stock market crash, had tried to deal with economic hard times. He had attempted to organize business, had sped up public works schedules, established the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to support businesses and financial institutions, and had secured from a reluctant Congress an agency to underwrite home mortgages. Nonetheless, his efforts had little impact, and he was a picture of defeat.

His Democratic opponent, Franklin D. Roosevelt, already popular as the governor of New York during the developing crisis, radiated infectious optimism. Prepared to use the Federal government's authority for even bolder experimental remedies, he scored a

smashing victory -- receiving 22,800,000 popular votes to Hoover's 15,700,000. The United States was about to enter a new era of economic and political change, but one increasingly rooted in false religion. The exit of Hoover and the entrance of Roosevelt into the US Presidency ushered in a new era in American politics.



## CHAPTER 11 : THE NEW DEAL AND WORLD WAR II

"We must be the great arsenal of democracy."

-- President *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1941



### ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL

In 1933 the new president, Franklin D. 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. In one sense, the New Deal merely introduced social and economic reforms 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 of its enactment. Many of its reforms were hastily drawn and weakly administered; some actually contradicted others. Moreover, it never succeeded in restoring economic prosperity. Yet its actions laid the basis for a powerful new political coalition, and brought to the individual citizen a sharp revival of interest in government, while greatly increasing the power and reach of the Federal government.

### THE FIRST NEW DEAL

**Banking and Finance.** 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 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 (FDIC) insured savings-bank deposits up to \$5,000. Federal regulations were imposed upon the sale of securities on the stock exchange. Many of these actions were government-sponsored theft.

**Unemployment.** Roosevelt faced unprecedented mass unemployment. By the time he took office, as many as 13 million Americans -- more than a quarter of the labor force -- 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?" was the refrain of a popular song.

An early step for the unemployed came in the form of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a program for young men between 18 and 25 years of age. CCC enrollees worked in camps administered by the army. About two million took part during the decade. They participated in a variety of conservation projects: 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.

A Public Works Administration (PWA) provided employment for skilled construction workers on a wide variety of mostly medium- to large-sized projects. Among the most memorable were the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams in the Pacific Northwest, a new Chicago sewer system, the Triborough Bridge in New York City, and two aircraft carriers (*Yorktown* and *Enterprise*) for the U.S. Navy.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), both a work relief program and an exercise in public planning, developed the impoverished Tennessee River valley area through a series of dams built for flood control and hydroelectric power generation.



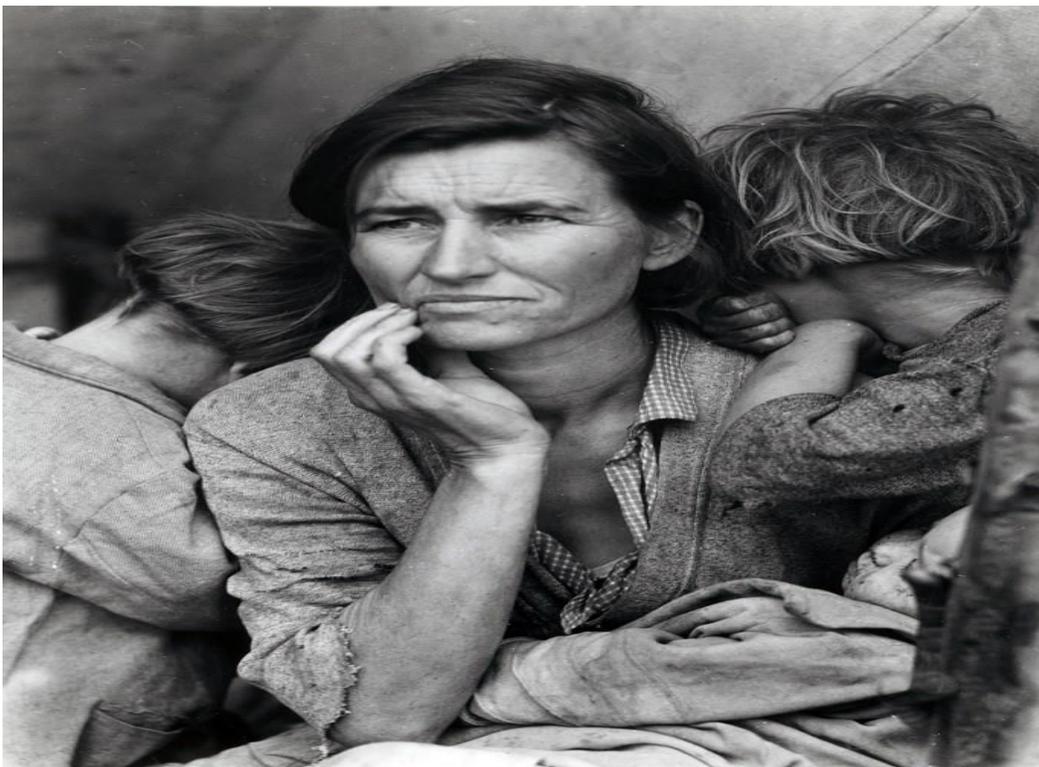
Its provision of cheap electricity for the area stimulated some economic progress, but won it the enmity of private electric companies. New Dealers hailed it as an example of "grass roots democracy."

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), in operation from 1933 to 1935, distributed direct relief to hundreds of thousands of people, usually in the form of direct payments. Sometimes, it assumed the salaries of schoolteachers and other local public service workers. It also developed numerous small-scale public works projects, as did the Civil Works Administration (CWA) from late 1933 into the spring of 1934. Criticized as

"make work," the jobs funded ranged from ditch digging to highway repairs to teaching. Roosevelt and his key officials worried about costs but continued to favor unemployment programs based on work relief rather than welfare.

**Agriculture.** In the spring of 1933, the agricultural sector of the economy was in a state of collapse. It thereby provided a laboratory for the New Dealers' belief that greater regulation would solve many of the country's problems. In 1933, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) for farmers. The AAA proposed to raise crop prices by paying farmers a subsidy to compensate for voluntary cutbacks in production. 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 under way, and the AAA paid farmers to plow under their abundant crops. Crop reduction and further subsidies through the Commodity Credit Corporation, which purchased commodities to be kept in storage, drove output down and farm prices up.

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 -- displacing tenants and sharecroppers -- a severe drought hit the Plains states. Violent wind and dust storms during the 1930s created what became known as the "Dust Bowl." Crops were destroyed and farms ruined.



By 1940, 2.5 million people had moved out of the Plains states, the largest migration in American history. Of those, 200,000 moved to California. The migrants were not only farmers, but also professionals, retailers, and others whose livelihoods were connected to

the health of the farm communities. Many ended up competing for seasonal jobs picking crops at extremely low wages.

The government provided aid in the form of the Soil Conservation Service, established in 1935. Farm practices that damaged the soil had intensified the impact of the drought. The service taught farmers measures to reduce erosion. In addition, almost 30,000 kilometers of trees were planted to break the force of winds.

The AAA was abandoned in 1936, when its tax on food processors was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Congress quickly passed a farm-relief act, which authorized the government to make payments to farmers who took land out of production for the purpose of soil conservation. In 1938, with a pro-New Deal majority on the Supreme Court, Congress reinstated the AAA.

By 1940 nearly six million farmers were receiving federal subsidies. New Deal programs also provided loans on surplus crops, insurance for wheat, and a system of planned storage to ensure a stable food supply. Economic stability for the farmer was substantially achieved, albeit at great expense and with extraordinary government oversight.

**Industry and Labor.** The National Recovery Administration (NRA), established in 1933 with the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), attempted to end cut-throat competition by setting codes of fair competitive practice to generate more jobs and thus more buying. Although welcomed initially, the NRA was soon criticized for overregulation and was unable to achieve industrial recovery. It was declared unconstitutional in 1935.

The NIRA had guaranteed to labor the right of collective bargaining through labor unions representing individual workers, but the NRA had failed to overcome strong business opposition to independent unionism. After its demise in 1935, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, which restated that guarantee and prohibited employers from unfairly interfering with union activities. It also created the National Labor Relations Board to supervise collective bargaining, administer elections, and ensure workers the right to choose the organization that should represent them in dealing with employers.

Labor unions' power increased not only in industry but also in politics. Roosevelt's Democratic Party benefited enormously from these developments.

## **THE SECOND NEW DEAL**

In its early years, the New Deal sponsored a series of legislative initiatives that transferred significant power and wealth to the federal government. But it did not bring an end to the Depression. As the sense of immediate crisis eased, new demands emerged.

Businessmen mourned the end of "laissez-faire" and chafed under the regulations of the NIRA. Vocal attacks also mounted from the political left and right as dreamers, schemers, and politicians alike emerged with economic panaceas that drew wide audiences. Dr. Francis E. Townsend advocated generous old-age pensions. Father Charles Coughlin, the

Roman Catholic "radio priest," called for inflationary policies and blamed international bankers in speeches increasingly peppered with anti-Semitic imagery. Most formidably, Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana, an eloquent and ruthless spokesman for the displaced, advocated a radical redistribution of wealth. (If he had not been assassinated in September 1935, Long very likely would have launched a presidential challenge to Franklin Roosevelt in 1936.)

In the face of these pressures, President Roosevelt backed a new set of economic and social measures. Prominent among them were measures to fight poverty, create more work for the unemployed, and provide a social safety net.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), the principal relief agency of the so-called second New Deal, was the biggest public works agency yet. It pursued small-scale projects throughout the country, constructing buildings, roads, airports, and schools. Actors, painters, musicians, and writers were employed through the Federal Theater Project, the Federal Art Project, and the Federal Writers Project. The National Youth Administration gave part-time employment to students, established training programs, and provided aid to unemployed youth. The WPA only included about three million jobless at a time; when it was abandoned in 1943, it had employed a total of nine million people.



The New Deal's cornerstone, according to Roosevelt, was the Social Security Act of 1935. Social Security created a system of state-administered welfare payments for the poor, unemployed, and disabled based on matching state and federal contributions. It also established a national system of retirement benefits drawing on a "trust fund" created by employer and employee contributions. Many other industrialized nations had already enacted such programs, but calls for such an initiative in the United States had gone unheeded. Social Security today is the largest domestic program administered by the U.S. government and one that is financially out of control.

To these, Roosevelt added the National Labor Relations Act, the "Wealth Tax Act" that increased taxes on the wealthy, the Public Utility Holding Company Act to break up large electrical utility conglomerates, and a Banking Act that greatly expanded the power of the Federal Reserve Board over the large private banks. Also notable was the establishment of the Rural Electrification Administration, which extended electricity into farming areas throughout the country.

## **A NEW COALITION**

In the 1936 election, Roosevelt won a decisive victory over his Republican opponent, Alf Landon of Kansas. He was personally popular, and the economy seemed nearer economic recovery. He took 60 percent of the vote and carried all but two states. A broad new coalition aligned with the Democratic Party emerged, consisting of labor, most farmers, most urban ethnic groups (principally Roman Catholics and Jews), African Americans, and the traditionally Democratic South. The Republican Party received the support of business as well as middle-class members of small towns and suburbs. This political alliance, with some variation and shifting, remained intact for several decades.

Roosevelt's second term was a time of consolidation. The president made two serious political missteps: an ill-advised, unsuccessful attempt to enlarge the Supreme Court and a failed effort to purge increasingly recalcitrant Southern conservatives from the Democratic Party. When he cut high government spending, moreover, the economy collapsed. These events led to the rise of a conservative coalition in Congress that was unreceptive to new initiatives.

From 1932 to 1938 there was widespread public debate on the meaning of New Deal policies to the nation's political and economic life. Americans clearly wanted the government to take greater responsibility for the welfare of ordinary people, however uneasy they might be about big government in general. The New Deal established the foundations of the modern welfare state in the United States. Roosevelt, perhaps the most imposing of the 20th-century presidents, had established a new standard of mass leadership.

No American leader, then or since, used the radio so effectively. In a radio address in 1938, Roosevelt declared: "Democracy has disappeared in several other great nations, not because the people of those nations disliked democracy, but because they had grown tired of unemployment and insecurity, of seeing their children hungry while they sat helpless in the face of government confusion and government weakness through lack of leadership." Americans, he concluded, wanted to defend their liberties at any cost and understood that "the first line of the defense lies in the protection of economic security." Thankfully, God's rule does not lay on so feeble a thread as secularist democracy.

## THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Some companies in the 1920s began to institute "welfare capitalism" by offering workers various pension, profit-sharing, stock option, and health plans to ensure their loyalty. But the 1920s saw the mass production industries redouble their efforts to prevent the growth of labor unions, which under the American Federation of Labor (AFL) had enjoyed some success during World War I. They did so by using spies and armed strikebreakers and by firing those suspected of union sympathies. Independent unions were often accused (and sometimes rightfully so) of being Communist. At the same time, many companies formed their own compliant employee organizations, often called "company unions."

Traditionally, state legislatures, reflecting the views of the American middle class, supported the concept of the "open shop," which prevented a union from being the exclusive representative of all workers. This made it easier for companies to deny unions collective bargaining and block unionization through court enforcement.

Between 1920 and 1929, union membership in the United States dropped from about five million to three-and-a-half million. The large unskilled or semi-skilled industries remained unorganized.

The onset of the Great Depression led to widespread unemployment. By 1933 there were over 12 million Americans out of work. In the automobile industry, for example, the work force was cut in half between 1929 and 1933. At the same time, wages dropped by two-thirds.

The election of Franklin Roosevelt, however, was to change the status of the American industrial worker. The first indication of Roosevelt's direction came with the appointment of Frances Perkins, a prominent social welfare advocate, to be his secretary of labor. (Perkins was also the first woman to hold a Cabinet-level position.) The far-reaching National Industrial Recovery Act sought to raise industrial wages, limit the hours in a work week, and eliminate child labor. Most importantly, the law created the legal right of employees "to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing."

John L. Lewis, the feisty and articulate head of the United Mine Workers (UMW), understood more than any other labor leader what the New Deal meant for workers. Stressing Roosevelt's support, Lewis engineered a major unionizing campaign, rebuilding the UMW's declining membership from 150,000 to over 500,000 within a year.



Lewis was eager to get the AFL, where he was a member of the Executive Council, to launch a similar drive in the mass production industries. But the AFL, with its historic focus on the skilled trade worker, was unwilling to do so. After a bitter internal feud, Lewis and a few others broke with the AFL to set up the Committee for Industrial

Organization (CIO), later the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The passage of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) in 1935 and the friendly attitude of the National Labor Relations Board put the power and authority of the federal government behind the CIO.

Its first targets were the anti-union auto and steel industries. In late 1936 a series of sit-down strikes, orchestrated by the fledgling United Auto Workers union under Walter Reuther, erupted at General Motors plants in Cleveland, Ohio, and Flint, Michigan. Soon 135,000 workers were involved and GM production ground to a halt.

With the sympathetic governor of Michigan refusing to evict the strikers, a settlement was reached in early 1937. By September of that year, the United Auto Workers had contracts with 400 companies involved in the automobile industry, assuring workers a minimum wage of 75 cents per hour and a 40-hour work week.

In the first six months of its existence, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), headed by Lewis lieutenant Philip Murray, picked up 125,000 members. The major American steel company, U.S. Steel, realizing that times had changed, also came to terms in 1937. That same year the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the NLRA. Subsequently, smaller companies, traditionally even more anti-union than the large corporations, gave in. One by one, other industries -- rubber, oil, electronics, and textiles -- also followed suit. Generally these labor unions were headed by wicked men with evil political and social agenda.

The rise of big labor had various effects. First, big labor became the organizational core of the national Democratic Party. Second, it gained significant material benefits for its members that all but erased the economic distinction between working-class and middle class America for those who were so unionized. Third, it furthered the moral descent of the nation. Fourth, it led eventually to the decline of those American companies, like the "Big Three" automakers, who were so unionized, once those companies faced heightened foreign competition in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

## WAR AND UNEASY NEUTRALITY

Before Roosevelt's second term was well under way, his domestic program was overshadowed by the expansionist designs of totalitarian regimes in Japan, Italy, and Germany. In 1931 Japan had invaded Manchuria, crushed Chinese resistance, and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo. Italy, under Benito Mussolini, enlarged its boundaries in Libya and in 1935 conquered Ethiopia. Germany, under Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, militarized its economy and reoccupied the Rhineland (demilitarized by the Treaty of Versailles) in 1936. In 1938, Hitler incorporated Austria into the German Reich and demanded cession of the German-speaking Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. By then, war seemed imminent.

The United States, disillusioned by the failure of the crusade for democracy in World War I, announced that in no circumstances could any country involved in the conflict look to it for aid. Neutrality legislation, enacted piecemeal from 1935 to 1937, prohibited trade in arms with any warring nations, required cash for all other commodities, and forbade American flag merchant ships from carrying those goods. The objective was to prevent, at almost any cost, the involvement of the United States in a foreign war.

With the Nazi conquest of Poland in 1939 and the outbreak of World War II, isolationist sentiment increased, even though Americans clearly favored the victims of Hitler's aggression and supported the Allied democracies, Britain and France. Roosevelt had to some extent wait until public opinion regarding U.S. involvement was altered by events, while subtly aiding its friends like Britain.

After the fall of France and the beginning of the German air war against Britain in mid-1940, the debate intensified between those in the United States who favored aiding the democracies and the antiwar faction known as the isolationists. Roosevelt did what he could to nudge public opinion toward intervention. The United States joined Canada in a Mutual Board of Defense, and aligned with the Latin American republics in extending collective protection to the nations in the Western Hemisphere.

Congress, confronted with the mounting crisis, voted immense sums for rearmament, and in September 1940 passed the first peacetime conscription bill ever enacted in the United States. In that month also, Roosevelt concluded a daring executive agreement with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The United States gave the British Navy 50 "overage" destroyers in return for British air and naval bases in Newfoundland and the North Atlantic.

The 1940 presidential election campaign demonstrated that the isolationists, while vocal, were a minority. Roosevelt's Republican opponent, Wendell Wilkie, leaned toward intervention. Thus the November election yielded another majority for the president, making Roosevelt the first, and last, U. S. chief executive to be elected to a third term.

In early 1941, Roosevelt got Congress to approve the Lend-Lease Program, which enabled him to transfer arms and equipment to any nation (notably Great Britain, later the

Soviet Union and China) deemed vital to the defense of the United States. Total Lend-Lease aid by war's end would amount to more than \$50,000 million.

Most remarkably, in August, he met with Prime Minister Churchill off the coast of Newfoundland. The two leaders issued a "joint statement of war aims," which they called the Atlantic Charter. Bearing a remarkable resemblance to Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, it called for these objectives: no territorial aggrandizement; no territorial changes without the consent of the people concerned; the right of all people to choose their own form of government; the restoration of self-government to those deprived of it; economic collaboration between all nations; freedom from war, from fear, and from want for all peoples; freedom of the seas; and the abandonment of the use of force as an instrument of international policy.

America was now neutral in name only.

## **JAPAN, PEARL HARBOR, AND WAR**

While most Americans anxiously watched the course of the European war, tension mounted in Asia. Taking advantage of an opportunity to improve its strategic position, Japan boldly announced a "new order" in which it would exercise hegemony over all of the Pacific. Battling for survival against Nazi Germany, Britain was unable to resist, abandoning its concession in Shanghai and temporarily closing the Chinese supply route from Burma. In the summer of 1940, Japan won permission from the weak Vichy government in France to use airfields in northern Indochina (North Vietnam). That September the Japanese formally joined the Rome-Berlin Axis. The United States countered with an embargo on the export of scrap iron to Japan.

In July 1941 the Japanese occupied southern Indochina (South Vietnam), signaling a probable move southward toward the oil, tin, and rubber of British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. The United States, in response, froze Japanese assets and initiated an embargo on the one commodity Japan needed above all others -- oil.

General Hideki Tojo became prime minister of Japan that October. In mid-November, he sent a special envoy to the United States to meet with Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Among other things, Japan demanded that the United States release Japanese assets and stop U.S. naval expansion in the Pacific. Hull countered with a proposal for Japanese withdrawal from all its conquests. The swift Japanese rejection on December 1 left the talks stalemated.

On the morning of December 7, Japanese carrier based planes executed a devastating surprise attack against the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Twenty-one ships were destroyed or temporarily disabled; 323 aircraft were destroyed or damaged; 2,388 soldiers, sailors, and civilians were killed. However, the U.S. aircraft carriers that would play such a critical role in the ensuing naval war in the Pacific were at sea and not anchored at Pearl Harbor.



American opinion, still divided about the war in Europe, was unified overnight by what President Roosevelt called "a day that will live in infamy." On December 8, Congress declared a state of war with Japan; three days later Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

### **MOBILIZATION FOR TOTAL WAR**

The nation rapidly geared itself for mobilization of its people and its entire industrial capacity. Over the next three-and-a-half years, war industry achieved staggering production goals -- 300,000 aircraft, 5,000 cargo ships, 60,000 landing craft, 86,000 tanks. Women workers, exemplified by "Rosie the Riveter," played a bigger part in industrial production than ever before. Total strength of the U.S. armed forces at the end of the war was more than 12 million. All the nation's activities -- farming, manufacturing, mining, trade, labor, investment, communications, even education and cultural undertakings -- were in some fashion brought under new and enlarged controls.

As a result of Pearl Harbor and the fear of Asian espionage, Americans enacted the internment of Japanese Americans. In February 1942, nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans residing in California were removed from their homes and interned behind barbed wire in 10 temporary camps, later to be moved to "relocation centers" outside isolated Southwestern towns. Nearly 63 percent of these Japanese Americans were American-born U.S. citizens. Some were Japanese sympathizers, but no proof of espionage surfaced. Others volunteered for the U.S. Army and fought with distinction and valor in two infantry units on the Italian front. Some served as interpreters and translators in the Pacific. On the other hand, it may be that the internment prevented certain espionage that would have otherwise occurred. In any case, in 1983 the U.S. government made limited payments to those Japanese Americans of that era who were still living because Americans had come

to see the internment as unjust. However, time will tell whether Americans by the end of the twentieth century had simply become naïve.

## **THE WAR IN NORTH AFRICA AND EUROPE**

Soon after the United States entered the war, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union (at war with Germany since June 22, 1941) decided that their primary military effort was to be focused in Europe.

Throughout 1942, British and German forces fought inconclusive back-and-forth battles across Libya and Egypt for control of the Suez Canal. But on October 23, British forces commanded by General Sir Bernard Montgomery struck at the Germans from El Alamein. Equipped with a thousand tanks, many made in America, they defeated General Erwin Rommel's army in a grinding two-week campaign. On November 7, American and British armed forces landed in French North Africa. Squeezed between forces advancing from east and west, the Germans were pushed back and, after fierce resistance, surrendered in May 1943.

The year 1942 was also the turning point on the Eastern Front. The Soviet Union, suffering immense losses, stopped the Nazi invasion at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow. In the winter of 1942-43, the Red Army defeated the Germans at Stalingrad (Volgograd) and began the long offensive that would take them to Berlin in 1945.

In July 1943 British and American forces invaded Sicily and won control of the island in a month. During that time, Benito Mussolini fell from power in Italy. His successors began negotiations with the Allies and surrendered immediately after the invasion of the Italian mainland in September. However, the German Army had by then taken control of the peninsula. The fight against Nazi forces in Italy was bitter and protracted. Rome was not liberated from German control until June 4, 1944. As the Allies slowly moved north, they built airfields from which they made devastating air raids against railroads, factories, and weapon emplacements in southern Germany and central Europe, including the oil installations at Ploesti, Romania.

Late in 1943 the Allies, after much debate over strategy, decided to open a front in France to compel the Germans to divert far larger forces from the Soviet Union. U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower was appointed Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe. After immense preparations, on June 6, 1944 ("D-Day"), a U.S., British, and Canadian invasion army, protected by a greatly superior air force, landed on five beaches in Normandy.



With the beachheads established after heavy fighting, more troops poured in, and pushed the Germans back in one bloody engagement after another. On August 25 Paris was liberated from German control.

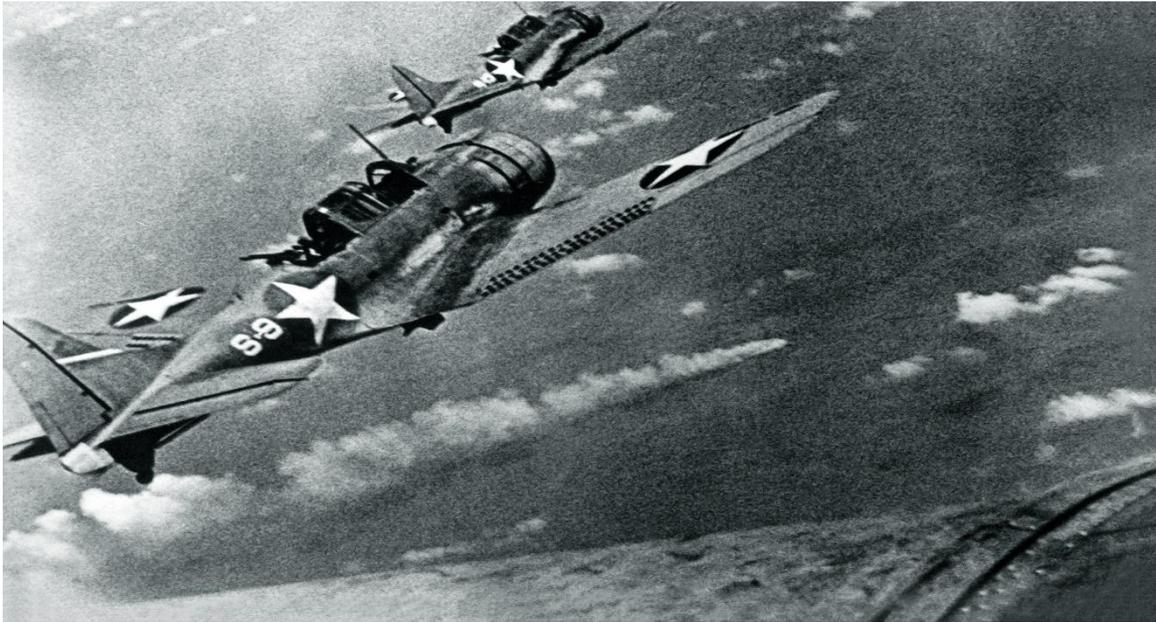
The Allied offensive stalled that fall, then suffered a setback in eastern Belgium during the winter, but in March, the Americans and British were across the Rhine and the Russians advancing irresistibly from the East. On May 7, Germany surrendered unconditionally.

## **THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC**

U.S. troops were forced to surrender in the Philippines in early 1942, but the Americans rallied in the following months. General James "Jimmy" Doolittle led U.S. Army bombers on a raid over Tokyo in April; it had little actual military significance, but gave Americans an immense psychological boost.

In May, at the Battle of the Coral Sea -- the first naval engagement in history in which all the fighting was done by carrier-based planes -- a Japanese naval invasion fleet sent to strike at southern New Guinea and Australia was turned back by a U.S. task force in a close battle. A few weeks later, the naval Battle of Midway in the central Pacific resulted

in the first major defeat of the Japanese Navy, which lost four aircraft carriers. Ending the Japanese advance across the central Pacific, Midway was the turning point.



Other battles also contributed to Allied success. The six-month land and sea battle for the island of Guadalcanal (August 1942-February 1943) was the first major U.S. ground victory in the Pacific. For most of the next two years, American and Australian troops fought their way northward from the South Pacific and westward from the Central Pacific, capturing the Solomons, the Gilberts, the Marshalls, and the Marianas in a series of amphibious assaults.

## **THE POLITICS OF WAR**

Allied military efforts were accompanied by a series of important international meetings on the political objectives of the war. In January 1943 at Casablanca, Morocco, an Anglo-American conference decided that no peace would be concluded with the Axis and its Balkan satellites except on the basis of "unconditional surrender." This term, insisted upon by Roosevelt, sought to assure the people of all the fighting nations that no separate peace negotiations would be carried on with representatives of Fascism and Nazism and there would be no compromise of the war's idealistic objectives. Axis propagandists, of course, used it to assert that the Allies were engaged in a war of extermination.

At Cairo, in November 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek to agree on terms for Japan, including the relinquishment of gains from past aggression. At Tehran, shortly afterward, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin made basic agreements on the postwar occupation of Germany and the establishment of a new international organization, the United Nations.

In February 1945, the three Allied leaders met again at Yalta (now in Ukraine), with victory seemingly secure.



There, the Soviet Union secretly agreed to enter the war against Japan three months after the surrender of Germany. In return, the USSR would gain effective control of Manchuria and receive the Japanese Kurile Islands as well as the southern half of Sakhalin Island. The eastern boundary of Poland was set roughly at the Curzon line of 1919, thus giving the USSR half its prewar territory. Discussion of reparations to be collected from Germany -- payment demanded by Stalin and opposed by Roosevelt and Churchill -- was inconclusive. Specific arrangements were made concerning Allied occupation in Germany and the trial and punishment of war criminals. Also at Yalta it was agreed that the great powers in the Security Council of the proposed United Nations should have the right of veto in matters affecting their security.

Two months after his return from Yalta, Franklin Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage while vacationing in Georgia. His death was deeply mourned by most Americans. Vice President Harry Truman, former senator from Missouri, succeeded him.

## **WAR, VICTORY, AND THE BOMB**

The final battles in the Pacific were among the war's bloodiest. In June 1944, the Battle of the Philippine Sea effectively destroyed Japanese naval air power, forcing the resignation of Japanese Prime Minister Tojo. General Douglas MacArthur -- who had reluctantly left the Philippines two years before to escape Japanese capture -- returned to the islands in October.



The accompanying Battle of Leyte Gulf, the largest naval engagement ever fought, was the final decisive defeat of the Japanese Navy. By February 1945, U.S. forces had taken Manila.

Next, the United States set its sight on the strategic island of Iwo Jima in the Bonin Islands, about halfway between the Marianas and Japan. The Japanese, trained to die fighting for the Emperor, made suicidal use of natural caves and rocky terrain. U.S. forces took the island by mid-March, but not before losing the lives of some 6,000 U.S. Marines. Nearly all the Japanese defenders perished. By now the United States was undertaking extensive air attacks on Japanese shipping and airfields and wave after wave of incendiary bombing attacks against Japanese cities.



At Okinawa (April 1-June 21, 1945), the Americans met even fiercer resistance. With few of the defenders surrendering, the U.S. Army and Marines were forced to wage a war of annihilation. Waves of Kamikaze suicide planes pounded the offshore Allied fleet, inflicting more damage than at Leyte Gulf. Japan lost 90-100,000 troops and probably as many Okinawian civilians. U.S. losses were more than 11,000 killed and nearly 34,000 wounded. Most Americans saw the fighting as a preview of what they would face in a planned invasion of Japan.

The heads of the U.S., British, and Soviet governments met at Potsdam, a suburb outside Berlin, from July 17 to August 2, 1945, to discuss operations against Japan, the peace settlement in Europe, and a policy for the future of Germany.

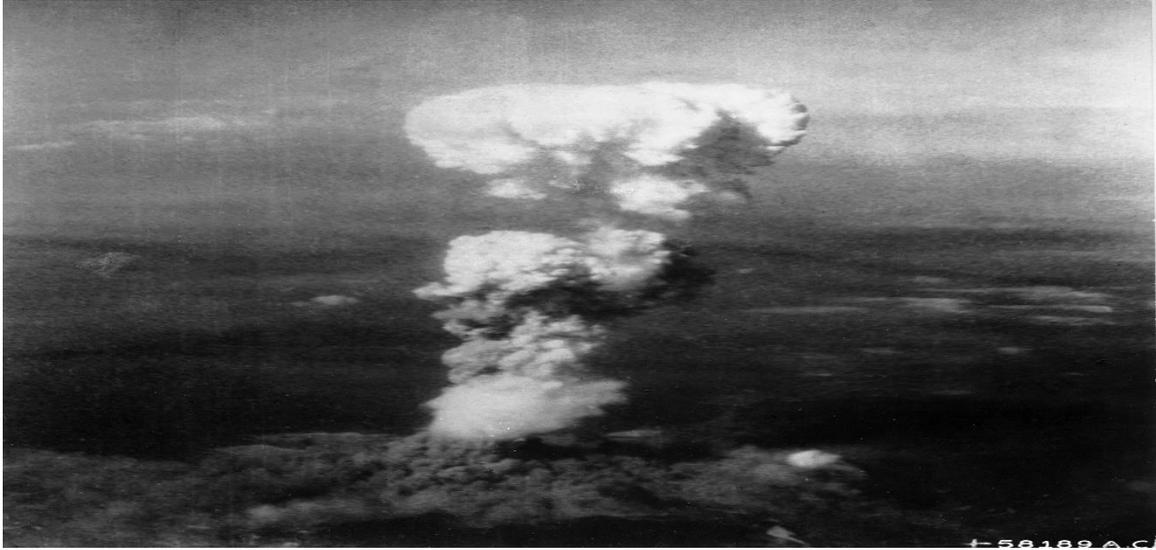


Perhaps presaging the coming end of the alliance, they had no trouble on vague matters of principle or the practical issues of military occupation, but reached no agreement on many tangible issues, including reparations.

The day before the Potsdam Conference began, U.S. nuclear scientists engaged in the secret Manhattan Project exploded an atomic bomb near Alamogordo, New Mexico. The test was the culmination of three years of intensive research in laboratories across the United States. It lay behind the Potsdam Declaration, issued on July 26 by the United States and Britain, promising that Japan would neither be destroyed nor enslaved if it surrendered. If Japan continued the war, however, it would meet "prompt and utter destruction." President Truman, calculating that an atomic bomb might be used to gain Japan's surrender more quickly and with fewer casualties than an invasion of the mainland, ordered that the bomb be used if the Japanese did not surrender by August 3.

A committee of U.S. military and political officials and scientists had considered the question of targets for the new weapon. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson argued successfully that Kyoto, Japan's ancient capital and a repository of many national and religious treasures, be taken out of consideration. Hiroshima, a center of war industries and military operations, became the first objective.

On August 6, a U.S. plane, the *Enola Gay*, dropped an atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima.



On August 9, a second atomic bomb was dropped, this time on Nagasaki. The bombs destroyed large sections of both cities, with massive loss of life. On August 8, the USSR declared war on Japan and attacked Japanese forces in Manchuria. On August 14, Japan agreed to the terms set at Potsdam. On September 2, 1945, Japan formally surrendered. Americans were relieved that the bomb hastened the end of the war. The realization of the full implications of nuclear weapons' awesome destructiveness would come later.

Within a month, on October 24, the United Nations came into existence following the meeting of representatives of 50 nations in San Francisco, California. The constitution they drafted outlined a humanistic world organization in which international differences could be discussed peacefully and common cause made against hunger and disease. In contrast to its rejection of U.S. membership in the League of Nations after World War I, the U.S. Senate promptly ratified the U.N. Charter by an 89 to 2 vote. This action confirmed the end of the spirit of isolationism as a dominating element in American foreign policy, as well as its embrace of secular humanism and movement towards creation of a modern Babel.

In November 1945 at Nuremberg, Germany, the criminal trials of 22 Nazi leaders, provided for at Potsdam, took place. Before a group of distinguished jurists from Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States, the Nazis were accused not only of plotting and waging aggressive war but also of violating the laws of war and of humanity in the systematic genocide, known as the Holocaust, of European Jews and other peoples. The trials lasted more than 10 months. Twenty-two defendants were convicted, 12 of them sentenced to death. Similar proceedings would be held against Japanese war leaders.

## CHAPTER 12 : POSTWAR AMERICA

**"We must build a new world, a far better world -- one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected."**

*-- President Harry S Truman, 1945*

### CONSENSUS AND CHANGE

Victorious in that struggle, its homeland undamaged from the ravages of war, the nation was confident of its mission at home and abroad. U.S. leaders wanted to maintain the secular democratic structure they had defended at tremendous cost and to share the benefits of prosperity widely. For 20 years most Americans remained sure of this confident approach. They accepted the need for a strong stance against the Soviet Union in the Cold War that unfolded after 1945. They endorsed the growth of the Federal government authority and accepted the outlines of the rudimentary welfare state first formulated during the New Deal. They enjoyed a post-war economic prosperity that created new levels of affluence. For them, as for publisher Henry Luce of *Time* magazine, this was the "American Century." America had become the world's greatest superpower, and she served as a model for the world.

But gradually over the course of the last half of the twentieth century the logical consequences of secular humanism and empire began to bear their full and ugly fruit, as they never had before. There was a growing sexual revolution and feminist movement. In addition, ethnic minorities – including African Americans, American Indians, and Mexican Americans - made demands like never before, and voiced louder objections to their past treatment by the majority white population. And the Federal government took a more overtly hostile position towards Biblical Christianity, by outlawing school prayer, requiring the teaching of Darwinian evolution in all the public schools, and legalizing abortion.

### COLD WAR AIMS

The Cold War was the most important political and diplomatic issue of the early postwar period. It grew out of longstanding disagreements between the Soviet Union and the United States that developed after the Russian Revolution of 1917. It was a contest between secularist communism and secularist democracy. The Soviet Communist Party under V.I. Lenin considered itself the spearhead of an international movement that would replace the existing political orders in the West, and indeed throughout the world. In 1918 American troops participated in the Allied intervention in Russia on behalf of anti-Bolshevik forces. American diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union did not come until 1933. Even then, suspicions persisted. During World War II, however, the two countries found themselves allied and downplayed their differences to counter the Nazi threat.

At the war's end, antagonisms surfaced again. The United States hoped to share with other countries its conception of liberty, equality, and democracy. It sought also to learn from the perceived mistakes of the post-WWI era, when American political disengagement and economic protectionism were thought to have contributed to the rise of dictatorships in Europe and elsewhere. Faced again with a postwar world of civil wars and disintegrating empires, the nation hoped to provide the stability to make peaceful reconstruction possible. Recalling the specter of the Great Depression (1929-1940), America now advocated open trade for two reasons: to create markets for American agricultural and industrial products, and to ensure the ability of Western European nations to export as a means of rebuilding their economies. Reduced trade barriers, American policy makers believed, would promote economic growth at home and abroad, bolstering U.S. friends and allies in the process.

The Soviet Union had its own agenda. The Russian historical tradition of centralized, autocratic government contrasted with the American emphasis on democracy. Marxist-Leninist ideology had been downplayed during the war but still guided Soviet policy. Devastated by the struggle in which 20 million Soviet citizens had died, the Soviet Union was intent on rebuilding and on protecting itself from another such terrible conflict. The Soviets were particularly concerned about another invasion of their territory from the west. Having repelled Hitler's thrust, they were determined to preclude another such attack. They demanded "defensible" borders and "friendly" regimes in Eastern Europe and seemingly equated both with the spread of Communism, regardless of the wishes of native populations. However, the United States had declared that one of its war aims was the restoration of independence and self-government to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

### **HARRY TRUMAN'S LEADERSHIP**

The nation's new chief executive, Harry S Truman, succeeded Franklin D. Roosevelt as president before the end of the war. An unpretentious man who had previously served as Democratic senator from Missouri, then as vice president, Truman initially felt ill prepared to govern. Roosevelt had not discussed complex postwar issues with him, and he had little experience in international affairs. "I'm not big enough for this job," he told a former colleague.

Still, Truman responded quickly to new challenges. Sometimes impulsive on small matters, he proved willing to make hard and carefully considered decisions on large ones. A small sign on his White House desk declared, "The Buck Stops Here." His judgments about how to respond to the Soviet Union ultimately determined the shape of the early Cold War.

## ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

The Cold War developed as differences about the shape of the postwar world created suspicion and distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. The first -- and most difficult -- test case was Poland, the eastern half of which had been invaded and occupied by the USSR in 1939. Moscow demanded a government subject to Soviet influence; Washington wanted a more independent, representative government following the Western model. The Yalta Conference of February 1945 had produced an agreement on Eastern Europe open to different interpretations. It included a promise of "free and unfettered" elections.

Meeting with Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov less than two weeks after becoming president, Truman stood firm on Polish self-determination, lecturing the Soviet diplomat about the need to implement the Yalta accords. When Molotov protested, "I have never been talked to like that in my life," Truman retorted, "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that." Relations deteriorated from that point onward.

During the closing months of World War II, Soviet military forces occupied all of Central and Eastern Europe. Moscow used its military power to support the efforts of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe and crush the democratic parties. Communists took over one nation after another. The process concluded with a shocking coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia in 1948.

Public statements defined the beginning of the Cold War. In 1946 Stalin declared that international peace was impossible "under the present capitalist development of the world economy." Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered a dramatic speech in Fulton, Missouri, with Truman sitting on the platform. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," Churchill said, "an iron curtain has descended across the Continent." Britain and the United States, he declared, had to work together to counter the Soviet threat.

## CONTAINMENT

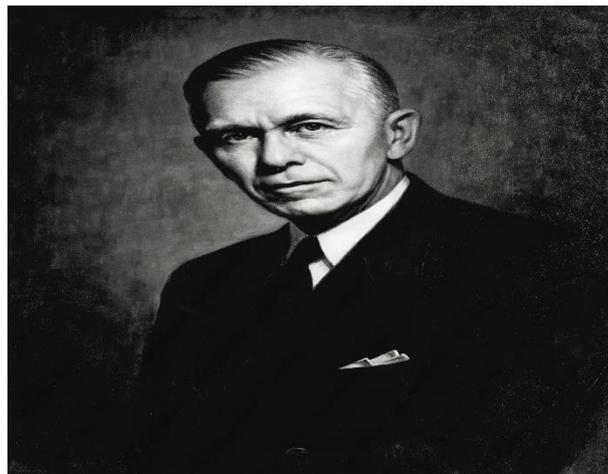
Containment of the Soviet Union became American policy in the postwar years. George Kennan, a top official at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, defined the new approach in the Long Telegram he sent to the State Department in 1946. He extended his analysis in an article under the signature "X" in the prestigious journal *Foreign Affairs*. Pointing to Russia's traditional sense of insecurity, Kennan argued that the Soviet Union would not soften its stance under any circumstances. Moscow, he wrote, was "committed fanatically to the belief that with the United States there can be no permanent *modus vivendi*, that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted." Moscow's pressure to expand its power had to be stopped through "firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. ..."

The first significant application of the containment doctrine came in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean. In early 1946, the United States demanded, and obtained, a full Soviet withdrawal from Iran, the northern half of which it had occupied during the war. That summer, the United States pointedly supported Turkey against Soviet demands for control of the Turkish straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In early 1947, American policy crystallized when Britain told the United States that it could no longer afford to support the government of Greece against a strong Communist insurgency.

In a strongly worded speech to Congress, Truman declared, "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." Journalists quickly dubbed this statement the "Truman Doctrine." The president asked Congress to provide \$400 million for economic and military aid, mostly to Greece but also to Turkey. After an emotional debate that resembled the one between interventionists and isolationists before World War II, the money was appropriated.

Critics from the left later charged that to whip up American support for the policy of containment, Truman overstated the Soviet threat to the United States. Others, however, would counter that this argument ignores the backlash that likely would have occurred if Greece, Turkey, and other countries had fallen within the Soviet orbit with no opposition from the United States.

Containment also called for extensive economic aid to assist the recovery of war-torn Western Europe. With many of the region's nations economically and politically unstable, the United States feared that local Communist parties, directed by Moscow, would capitalize on their wartime record of resistance to the Nazis and come to power. "The patient is sinking while the doctors deliberate," declared Secretary of State George C. Marshall. In mid-1947 Marshall asked troubled European nations to draw up a program "directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."



The Soviets participated in the first planning meeting, then departed rather than share economic data and submit to Western controls on the expenditure of the aid. The remaining

16 nations hammered out a request that finally came to \$17,000 million for a four-year period. In early 1948 Congress voted to fund the "Marshall Plan," which helped underwrite the economic resurgence of Western Europe. It is generally regarded as one of the most successful foreign policy initiatives in U.S. history.

Postwar Germany was a special problem. It had been divided into U.S., Soviet, British, and French zones of occupation, with the former German capital of Berlin (itself divided into four zones), near the center of the Soviet zone. When the Western powers announced their intention to create a consolidated federal state from their zones, Stalin responded. On June 24, 1948, Soviet forces blockaded Berlin, cutting off all road and rail access from the West.

American leaders feared that losing Berlin would be a prelude to losing Germany and subsequently all of Europe. Therefore, in a successful demonstration of Western resolve known as the Berlin Airlift, Allied air forces took to the sky, flying supplies into Berlin.



U.S., French, and British planes delivered nearly 2,250,000 tons of goods, including food and coal. Stalin lifted the blockade after 231 days and 277,264 flights.

By then, Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, and especially the Czech coup, had alarmed the Western Europeans. The result, initiated by the Europeans, was a military alliance to complement economic efforts at containment. The Norwegian historian Geir Lundestad has called it "empire by invitation." In 1949 the United States and 11 other countries established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). An attack against one was to be considered an attack against all, to be met by appropriate force. NATO was the first peacetime "entangling alliance" with powers outside the Western hemisphere in American history. It cemented America's role as world superpower.

The next year, the United States defined its defense aims clearly. The National Security Council (NSC) -- the forum where the President, Cabinet officers, and other executive branch members consider national security and foreign affairs issues -- undertook a full-fledged review of American foreign and defense policy. The resulting document, known as NSC-68, signaled a new direction in American security policy. Based on the assumption that "the Soviet Union was engaged in a fanatical effort to seize control of all governments wherever possible," the document committed America to assist allied nations anywhere in the world that seemed threatened by Soviet aggression. After the start of the Korean War, a reluctant Truman approved the document. The United States proceeded to increase defense spending dramatically.

## **THE COLD WAR IN ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST**

While seeking to prevent Communist ideology from gaining further adherents in Europe, the United States also responded to challenges elsewhere. In China, Americans worried about the advances of Mao Zedong and his Communist Party. During World War II, the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist forces waged a civil war even as they fought the Japanese. Chiang had been a war-time ally, but his government was hopelessly inefficient and corrupt. American policy makers had little hope of saving his regime and considered Europe vastly more important. With most American aid moving across the Atlantic, Mao's forces seized power in 1949. Chiang's government fled to the island of Taiwan. When China's new ruler announced that he would support the Soviet Union against the "imperialist" United States, it appeared that Communism was spreading out of control, at least in Asia.

The Korean War brought armed conflict between the United States and China. The United States and the Soviet Union had divided Korea along the 38th parallel after liberating it from Japan at the end of World War II. Originally a matter of military convenience, the dividing line became more rigid as both major powers set up governments in their respective occupation zones and continued to support them even after departing.

In June 1950, after consultations with and having obtained the assent of the Soviet Union, North Korean leader Kim Il-sung dispatched his Soviet-supplied army across the 38th parallel and attacked southward, overrunning Seoul. Truman, perceiving the North Koreans as Soviet pawns in the global struggle, readied American forces and ordered World War II hero General Douglas MacArthur to Korea. Meanwhile, the United States was able to secure a U.N. resolution branding North Korea as an aggressor. (The Soviet Union, which could have vetoed any action had it been occupying its seat on the Security Council, was boycotting the United Nations to protest a decision not to admit Mao's new Chinese regime.)



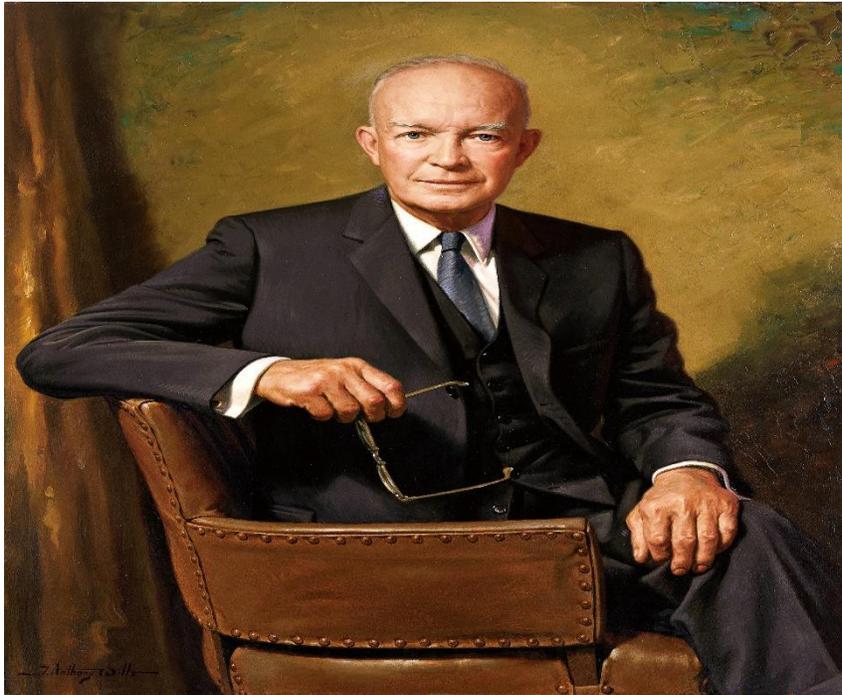
The war seesawed back and forth. U.S. and Korean forces were initially pushed into an enclave far to the south around the city of Pusan. A daring amphibious landing at Inchon, the port for the city of Seoul, drove the North Koreans back and threatened to occupy the entire peninsula. In November, China entered the war, sending massive forces across the Yalu River. U.N. forces, largely American, retreated once again in bitter fighting. Commanded by General Matthew B. Ridgway, they stopped the overextended Chinese, and slowly fought their way back to the 38th parallel. MacArthur meanwhile challenged Truman's authority by attempting to orchestrate public support for bombing China and assisting an invasion of the mainland by Chiang Kai-shek's forces. In April 1951, Truman relieved him of his duties and replaced him with Ridgway.

The Cold War stakes were high. Mindful of the European priority, the U.S. government decided against sending more troops to Korea and was ready to settle for the prewar status quo. The result was frustration among many Americans who could not understand the need for restraint. Truman's popularity plunged to a 24-percent approval rating, the lowest to that time of any president since pollsters had begun to measure presidential popularity. Truce talks began in July 1951. The two sides finally reached an agreement in July 1953, during the first term of Truman's successor, Dwight Eisenhower.

Cold War struggles also occurred in the Middle East. The region's strategic importance as a supplier of oil had provided much of the impetus for pushing the Soviets out of Iran in 1946. But two years later, the United States officially recognized the new state of Israel 15 minutes after it was proclaimed -- a decision Truman made over strong resistance from Marshall and the State Department. The result was an enduring dilemma -- how to maintain ties with Israel while keeping good relations with bitterly anti-Israeli (and oil-rich) Arab states.

## EISENHOWER AND THE COLD WAR

In 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower became the first Republican president in 20 years. A war hero rather than a career politician, he had a natural, common touch that made him widely popular. "I like Ike" was the campaign slogan of the time. After serving as Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Western Europe during World War II, Eisenhower had been army chief of staff, president of Columbia University, and military head of NATO before seeking the Republican presidential nomination. Skillful at getting people to work together, he functioned as a strong public spokesman and an executive manager somewhat removed from detailed policy making.



Despite disagreements on detail, he shared Truman's basic view of American foreign policy. He, too, perceived Communism as a monolithic force struggling for world supremacy. In his first inaugural address, he declared, "Forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history. Freedom is pitted against slavery, lightness against dark."

The new president and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, had argued that containment did not go far enough to stop Soviet expansion. Rather, a more aggressive policy of "liberation" was necessary, to free those subjugated by Communism.

In 1951 in Iran, an eccentric pro-democratic nationalist, Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh rose to prominence and was elected its first Prime Minister. As Prime Minister, Mossadegh alarmed the West by his nationalization of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which controlled all of the country's oil reserves. Britain immediately put an embargo on Iran. The British Intelligence Service (BIS) approached President Eisenhower, asking for support for Operation Ajax. Eisenhower agreed, and authorized the CIA to assist the BIS in

overthrowing Mossadegh. Thugs were hired to facilitate violence. Protests broke out across the nation. Anti- and pro-monarchy protestors violently clashed in the streets, leaving almost 300 dead. The operation was successful in triggering a coup, and within days of its commencement, pro-Shah tanks stormed the capital and bombarded the Prime Minister's residence. Mossadegh surrendered, and was arrested in 1953. He was tried for treason, and sentenced to three years in prison. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was then reinstated as Shah. His rule became increasingly autocratic in the following years and soon Iran became a model police state. With strong support from the US and UK, the Shah further modernized Iranian industry, but simultaneously crushed all forms of political opposition with his intelligence agency.

In 1951 in Guatemala, Arbenz assumed the presidency after Guatemala's first-ever universal-suffrage election, marking the first peaceful transition of power in Guatemala's history. After his inauguration, Arbenz secretly met with members of the Communist Guatemalan Party of Labour (PGT) in order to establish a land reform program. Such a program was proposed by Arbenz as a means of remedying the extremely unequal land distribution within the country. While Arbenz's proposed agenda was welcomed by impoverished peasants who made up the majority of Guatemala's population, it provoked the ire of the upper landowning classes, powerful U.S. corporate interests like United Fruit Company, and factions of the military, who accused Arbenz of bowing to Communist influence. The Eisenhower administration eventually ordered the CIA to sponsor a coup d'état, code-named Operation PBSUCCESS, that toppled the government of Arbenz and replaced him with a Guatemalan military officer more congenial to US interests.

But the US did not get involved in every revolutionary effort. For example, when a rebellion for democracy broke out in Hungary in 1956, the United States did not intervene as Soviet forces suppressed it.

Eisenhower's basic commitment to contain Communism remained, and to that end he increased American reliance on a nuclear shield. The United States had created the first atomic bombs. In 1950 Truman had authorized the development of a new and more powerful hydrogen bomb. Eisenhower, fearful that defense spending was out of control, reversed Truman's NSC-68 policy of a large conventional military buildup. Relying on what Dulles called "massive retaliation," the administration signaled it would use nuclear weapons if the nation or its vital interests were attacked.

In practice, however, the nuclear option could be used only against extremely critical attacks. Real Communist threats were generally peripheral. Eisenhower rejected the use of nuclear weapons in Indochina, when the French were ousted by Vietnamese Communist forces in 1954. In 1956, British and French forces attacked Egypt, following Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, and Israel invaded the Egyptian Sinai. The president exerted heavy pressure on all three countries to withdraw. Still, the nuclear threat may have been taken seriously by Communist China, which refrained not only from attacking Taiwan, but from occupying small islands held by Nationalist Chinese just off the mainland. It may also have deterred Soviet occupation of Berlin, which reemerged as a festering problem during Eisenhower's last two years in office.

## **THE COLD WAR AT HOME**

Not only did the Cold War shape U.S. foreign policy, it also had a profound effect on domestic affairs. Americans had long feared radical subversion. These fears could at times be overdrawn, and used to justify otherwise unacceptable political restrictions, but it also was true that individuals under Communist Party discipline and many "fellow traveler" hangers-on gave their political allegiance not to the United States, but to the international Communist movement, or, practically speaking, to Moscow. During the Red Scare of 1919-1920, the government had attempted to remove perceived threats to American society. After World War II, it made strong efforts against Communism within the United States. Foreign events, espionage scandals, and politics led to an anti-Communist fears.

When Republicans were victorious in the midterm congressional elections of 1946 and appeared ready to investigate subversive activity, President Truman established a Federal Employee Loyalty Program. It had little impact on the lives of most civil servants, but a few hundred were dismissed.

In 1947 the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigated the motion picture industry to determine whether Communist sentiments were being reflected in popular films. When some writers (who happened to be secret members of the Communist Party) refused to testify, they were cited for contempt and sent to prison. After that, the film companies refused to hire anyone with a marginally questionable past.

In 1948, Alger Hiss, who had been an assistant secretary of state and an adviser to Roosevelt at Yalta, was publicly accused of being a Communist spy by Whittaker Chambers, a former Soviet agent. Hiss denied the accusation, but in 1950 he was convicted of perjury. Subsequent evidence indicates that he was indeed guilty.

In 1949 the Soviet Union shocked Americans by testing its own atomic bomb. In 1950, the government uncovered a British American spy network that transferred to the Soviet Union materials about the development of the atomic bomb. Two of its operatives, Julius Rosenberg and his wife Ethel, were sentenced to death. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath declared there were many American Communists, each bearing "the germ of death for society."

The most vigorous anti-Communist warrior was Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin. He gained national attention in 1950 by claiming that he had a list of 205 known Communists in the State Department. Though McCarthy subsequently changed this figure several times and failed to prove his charges, he struck a responsive public chord.

McCarthy gained power when the Republican Party won control of the Senate in 1952. As a committee chairman, he now had a forum for his crusade. Relying on extensive press and television coverage, he continued to search for treachery among second-level officials in the Eisenhower administration. Enjoying the role of a tough guy doing dirty but necessary work, he pursued Communists with vigor.



McCarthy overstepped himself by challenging the U.S. Army when one of his assistants was drafted. Television brought the hearings into millions of homes. Many Americans saw McCarthy's tactics for the first time, and public support began to wane. The Republican Party, which had found McCarthy useful in challenging a Democratic administration when Truman was president, began to see him as an embarrassment. The Senate finally condemned him for his conduct.

McCarthy in some ways represented the excesses of the Cold War. As Americans repudiated him, it became natural for many to assume that the Communist threat at home and abroad had been grossly overblown. As the country moved into the 1960s, anti-Communism became increasingly suspect, especially among intellectuals and opinion-shapers.

### **THE POSTWAR ECONOMY: 1945-1960**

In the decade and a half after World War II, the United States experienced phenomenal economic growth and consolidated its position as the world's richest country. Gross national product (GNP), a measure of all goods and services produced in the United States, jumped from about \$200,000-million in 1940 to \$300,000-million in 1950 to more than \$500,000-million in 1960. More and more Americans now considered themselves part of the middle class.

The growth had different sources. The economic stimulus provided by large-scale public spending for World War II helped get it started. Two basic middle-class needs did much to keep it going. The number of automobiles produced annually quadrupled between 1946 and 1955. A housing boom, stimulated in part by easily affordable mortgages for returning servicemen, fueled the expansion. The rise in defense spending as the Cold War escalated also played a part.

After 1945 the major corporations in America grew even larger. There had been earlier waves of mergers in the 1890s and in the 1920s; in the 1950s another wave occurred. Franchise operations like McDonald's fast-food restaurants allowed small entrepreneurs to make themselves part of large, efficient enterprises.



Big American corporations also developed holdings overseas, where labor costs were often lower.

Workers found their own lives changing as industrial America changed. Fewer workers produced goods; more provided services. As early as 1956 a majority of employees held white-collar jobs, working as managers, teachers, salespersons, and office operatives. Some firms granted a guaranteed annual wage, long-term employment contracts, and other benefits. With such changes, labor militancy was undermined and some class distinctions began to fade.

Farmers -- at least those with small operations -- faced tough times. Gains in productivity led to agricultural consolidation, and farming became a big business. More and more family farmers left the land.

Other Americans moved too. The West and the Southwest grew with increasing rapidity, a trend that would continue through the end of the century. Sun Belt cities like Houston, Texas; Miami, Florida; Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Phoenix, Arizona, expanded rapidly. Los Angeles, California, moved ahead of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as the third largest U.S. city and then surpassed Chicago, metropolis of the Midwest.



The 1970 census showed that California had displaced New York as the nation's largest state. By 2000, Texas had moved ahead of New York into second place.

An even more important form of movement led Americans out of inner cities into new suburbs, where they hoped to find affordable housing for the larger families spawned by the postwar baby boom. Developers like William J. Levitt built new communities -- with homes that all looked alike -- using the techniques of mass production. Levitt's houses were prefabricated -- partly assembled in a factory rather than on the final location -- and modest, but Levitt's methods cut costs and allowed new owners to possess a part of the American dream.

As suburbs grew, businesses moved into the new areas. Large shopping centers containing a great variety of stores changed consumer patterns. The number of these centers rose from eight at the end of World War II to 3,840 in 1960. With easy parking and convenient evening hours, customers could avoid city shopping entirely. One byproduct was the "hollowing-out" of formerly busy urban cores.

New highways created better access to the suburbs and its shops. The Highway Act of 1956 provided \$26,000-million, the largest public works expenditure in U.S. history, to build more than 64,000 kilometers of limited access interstate highways to link the country together.

Television, too, had a powerful impact on social and economic patterns. Developed in the 1930s, it was not widely marketed until after the war. In 1946 the country had fewer than 17,000 television sets. Three years later consumers were buying 250,000 sets a month, and by 1960 three-quarters of all families owned at least one set. In the middle of the

decade, the average family watched television four to five hours a day. Popular shows for children included *Howdy Doody Time* and *The Mickey Mouse Club*; older viewers preferred situation comedies like *I Love Lucy* and *Father Knows Best*. Americans of all ages became exposed to increasingly sophisticated advertisements for products said to be necessary for the good life. Even in their “best” years, the television programming was typically immoral, suffering from the same ills that beset drama in general. But over time the level of immorality in TV programming would increase.

## **THE FAIR DEAL**

The Fair Deal was the name given to President Harry Truman's domestic program. Building on Roosevelt's New Deal, Truman naively believed that the Federal government should guarantee economic opportunity and social stability. There was fierce political opposition to Truman's program from legislators determined to reduce the role of centralized Federal government.

Truman's first priority in the immediate postwar period was to make the transition to a peacetime economy. Servicemen wanted to come home quickly, but once they arrived they faced competition for housing and employment. The G.I. Bill, passed before the end of the war, provided government-funded benefits such as guaranteed loans for homebuying and financial aid for industrial training and university education.

More troubling was labor unrest. As war production ceased, many workers found themselves without jobs. Others wanted pay increases they felt were long overdue. In 1946, 4.6 million workers went on strike, more than ever before in American history. They challenged the automobile, steel, and electrical industries. When they took on the railroads and soft-coal mines, Truman intervened to stop union excesses, but in so doing he alienated many workers.

While dealing with immediately pressing issues, Truman also proposed a broader agenda for action. Less than a week after the war ended, he presented Congress with a 21-point program, which provided for protection against what he believed to be unfair employment practices, a higher minimum wage, greater unemployment compensation, and housing assistance. In the next several months, he added proposals for health insurance and atomic energy legislation. But this scattershot approach often left Truman's priorities unclear.

Republicans were quick to attack. In the 1946 congressional elections they asked, "Had enough?" and voters responded that they had. Republicans, with majorities in both houses of Congress for the first time since 1928, were determined to reverse the liberal direction of the Roosevelt years.

Truman fought with the Congress as it cut spending and reduced taxes. In 1948 he sought reelection, despite polls indicating that he had little chance. After a vigorous campaign, Truman scored one of the great upsets in American politics, defeating the Republican nominee, Thomas Dewey, governor of New York. Reviving the old New Deal coalition, Truman held on to labor, farmers, and African-American voters.



Notably, however, this election began the slow exodus of white Southerners from the Democratic Party. The Southern Democrats who had walked out of the Democratic National Convention to protest the civil rights platform approved by the convention, and supported by Truman, formed another political party, which they named the States' Rights Democratic Party. More commonly known as the "Dixiecrats", the party's main goal was continuing the policy of racial segregation in the South and the Jim Crow laws that sustained it. Governor Thurmond of South Carolina, who had led the walkout, became the party's presidential nominee. The Dixiecrats were weakened, however, when most Southern Democratic leaders refused to support the party. In the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina, the party was able to be labeled as the main Democratic Party ticket on the local ballots on election night. Outside of these four states, however, it was only listed as a third-party ticket, and the party was short-lived. Over the coming decades white Southerners would instead move into the Republican Party. In truth, these white Southerners had more race realism than Northerners at the time.

In July 1948 Truman banned racial discrimination in Federal government hiring practices and ordered an end to segregation in the military. The minimum wage had risen, and social security programs had expanded. His housing program, like so many of his other programs, was an unnecessary waste of taxpayer money. National health insurance, aid to education measures, reformed agricultural subsidies, and his legislative civil rights agenda never made it through Congress. The president's pursuit of the Cold War, ultimately his most important objective, made it especially difficult to develop support for social reform in the face of intense opposition.

## **EISENHOWER'S APPROACH**

When Dwight Eisenhower succeeded Truman as president, he accepted the basic framework of government action established by the New Deal, but sought to hold the line more on programs and expenditures. He termed his approach "dynamic conservatism" or

"modern Republicanism," which meant, he explained, "conservative when it comes to money, liberal when it comes to human beings." It was a recipe for creeping socialism rather than high velocity socialism, and the setting aside of constitutional limitations.

Eisenhower's first priority was to balance the budget after years of deficits. He wanted to cut spending and taxes and maintain the value of the dollar. Republicans were willing to risk unemployment to keep inflation in check. Reluctant to stimulate the economy too much, they saw the country suffer three economic recessions in the eight years of the Eisenhower presidency, but none was very severe.

In other areas, the administration transferred control of offshore oil lands from the federal government to the states. It also favored private development of electrical power rather than the public approach the Democrats had initiated. In general, its orientation was sympathetic to business. Compared to Truman, Eisenhower had only a modest domestic program. When he was active in promoting a bill, it likely was to trim the New Deal legacy a bit -- as in reducing agricultural subsidies or placing mild restrictions on labor unions. His disinclination to push fundamental change in either direction was in keeping with the spirit of the generally economically prosperous Fifties. He was one of the few presidents who left office as popular as when he entered it.

## **THE CULTURE OF THE 1950S**

During the 1950s, the Biblical Protestant legacy still had a hold on the populace. Though men and women had been forced into new employment patterns during World War II, once the war was over, traditional roles were reaffirmed. Men expected to be the breadwinners in each family; women, even when they worked, still realized their primary duty was as homemaker, in accordance with scripture. In his influential book, *The Lonely Crowd*, sociologist David Riesman called this new society "other-directed," characterized by conformity, but also by stability. Many of the blessings of its Protestant heritage still maintained.

Yet beneath the surface, important segments of American society seethed with rebellion to overthrow the remaining vestiges of that Biblical Protestant heritage. A number of writers, collectively known as the "beat generation," went out of their way to challenge the patterns of respectability and shock the rest of the culture. Stressing spontaneity and spirituality, they preferred intuition over reason, Eastern mysticism over Western Christianity, tearing down nationalism and replacing it with one-world government.

The literary work of the beats displayed their sense of alienation and quest for self-realization. Jack Kerouac typed his best selling novel *On the Road* on a 75-meter roll of paper. Lacking traditional punctuation and paragraph structure, the book glorified the possibilities of the free life. Poet Allen Ginsberg gained similar notoriety for his poem "Howl," a scathing critique of modern, mechanized civilization. When police charged that it was obscene and seized the published version, Ginsberg successfully challenged the ruling in court.

Musicians and artists rebelled as well. Tennessee singer Elvis Presley was the most successful of several white performers who popularized a sensual, debauched and pulsating style of African-American music, which began to be called "rock and roll." At first, he outraged middle-class Americans with his ducktail haircut and undulating hips. But in a few years his performances would seem relatively tame alongside the evil antics of later performances such as the British Rolling Stones. Similarly, it was in the 1950s that painters like Jackson Pollock discarded easels and laid out gigantic canvases on the floor, then applied paint, sand, and other materials in wild splashes of color. All of these artists and authors, whatever the medium, provided models for the wider and more deeply felt social revolution of the 1960s.

## **ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

African Americans became increasingly restive in the postwar years. During the war they had challenged discrimination in the military services and in the work force, and they had made limited gains. Millions of African Americans had left Southern farms for Northern cities, where they hoped to find better jobs. They found instead crowded conditions in urban slums. Now, African-American servicemen returned home, many intent on rejecting second-class citizenship.

Jackie Robinson dramatized the racial question in 1947 when he broke baseball's color line and began playing in the major leagues. A member of the Brooklyn Dodgers, he often faced trouble with opponents and teammates as well. But an outstanding first season led to his acceptance and eased the way for other African American players, who now left the Negro leagues to which they had been confined.

Government officials, and many other Americans, discovered the connection between racial problems and Cold War politics. As the leader of the "free" world, the United States sought support in Africa and Asia. Discrimination at home impeded the effort to win friends in other parts of the world.

Harry Truman supported the early civil rights movement. He personally believed in political equality, though not in social equality, and recognized the growing importance of the African American urban vote. When lynchings and anti-black violence in the South were alleged in 1946, he appointed a committee on civil rights to investigate discrimination. Its report, *To Secure These Rights*, issued the next year, documented African Americans' second-class status in American life and recommended numerous Federal measures to secure equal rights in the USA.

Truman responded by sending a 10-point civil rights program to Congress. Southern Democrats in Congress were able to block its enactment, and formed the Dixiecrats in the 1948 election to rebuff him. Truman thereupon issued an executive order barring discrimination in federal employment, ordered equal treatment in the armed forces, and appointed a committee to work toward an end to military segregation, which was largely ended during the Korean War.

African Americans in the South in the 1950s still enjoyed limited civil and political privileges. In general, they could not vote. Jim Crow laws enforced segregation of the races in streetcars, trains, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, recreational facilities, and employment.

## **DESEGREGATION**

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) took the lead in efforts to overturn the judicial doctrine, established in the Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, that segregation of African-American and white students was constitutional if facilities were "separate but equal." That decree had been used for decades to sanction segregation in all aspects of Southern life.

African Americans achieved their goal of overturning *Plessy* in 1954 when the Supreme Court -- presided over by an Eisenhower appointee, Chief Justice Earl Warren -- handed down its *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. The Court declared unanimously that "separate facilities are inherently unequal," and decreed that the "separate but equal" doctrine could no longer be used in public schools. A year later, the Supreme Court demanded that local school boards move "with all deliberate speed" to implement the decision.

Eisenhower, although sympathetic to the needs of the South as it faced a major transition, nonetheless acted to see that the law was upheld in the face of massive resistance from much of the South. He faced a major crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957, when Governor Orval Faubus attempted to block a desegregation plan calling for the admission of nine black students to the city's previously all-white Central High School. After futile efforts at negotiation, the president sent federal troops to Little Rock to enforce the plan.

Governor Faubus responded by ordering the Little Rock high schools closed down for the 1958-59 school year. However, a federal court ordered them reopened the following year. They did so in a tense atmosphere with a tiny number of African-American students. Thus, school desegregation proceeded at a slow and uncertain pace throughout much of the South.



Another milestone in the civil rights movement occurred in 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama. Rosa Parks, a 42-year-old African-American seamstress who was also secretary of the state chapter of the NAACP, sat down in the front of a bus in a section reserved by law and custom for whites. Ordered to move to the back, she refused. Police came and arrested her for violating the segregation statutes. African-American leaders, who had been waiting for just such a case, organized a boycott of the bus system.

Martin Luther King Jr., a young minister of the Baptist church where the African Americans met, became a spokesman for the protest. King was arrested, as he would be again and again. But African Americans in Montgomery sustained the boycott. About a year later, the Federal Supreme Court affirmed that bus segregation, like school segregation, was unconstitutional and overturned states' rights. The boycott ended. The civil rights movement had won an important victory -- and discovered its most powerful leader in Martin Luther King Jr. Sadly, many of the civil rights leaders were wicked men like Martin Luther King Jr., who was anti-Trinitarian and an adulterer. King, like many blacks and whites in America, had adopted a social "gospel", while abandoning the Biblical gospel. They also refused to heed any lessons from God's dealings with ancient Babel or the curse on Ham's posterity.

African Americans also sought to secure voting rights. Eisenhower, working with Senate majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson, lent his support to a congressional effort to guarantee the vote. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorized federal intervention in cases where African Americans were denied the chance to vote. Yet loopholes remained, and so activists pushed successfully for the Civil Rights Act of 1960, which provided stiffer penalties for interfering with voting, but still stopped short of authorizing Federal officials to register African Americans.

## **CHAPTER 13 : DECADES OF PRECIPITOUS DECLENSION: 1960-1980**

By 1960, the United States was on the verge of a major social change. American society had always been more open and fluid than that of the nations in most of the rest of the world. Still, it had been dominated primarily by old-stock, white Protestant males. During the 1960s, groups that previously had been submerged or subordinate began more forcefully and successfully to assert

themselves: African Americans, American Indians, feminists, the white ethnic offspring of the "new immigration" (primarily Romanist and Jewish), and Latinos. The sins of the forefathers were coming back to haunt America in a way and to an extent they never had before. Furthermore, the spiritual declension of the mainline Protestant churches took a tremendous toll on the morality of the white Protestant population. Much of the support for change came from a young population larger than ever, making its way through a wickedly humanistic college and university system that was expanding at an unprecedented pace. Frequently embracing "countercultural" life styles and radical politics, many of the offspring of the World War II generation emerged as advocates of a new America characterized by a cultural and ethnic pluralism, and a more complete abandonment of the vestiges of the Biblical Protestant heritage. So the same decade that saw the USA land a man on the moon also ushered in a social revolution of rebellion.



### **THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1960-1980**

The struggle of African Americans for equality reached its peak in the mid-1960s. After progressive victories in the 1950s, African Americans became even more committed to political action. Groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), made up of African-American clergy, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), composed of younger activists, sought reform through protests. These African American leaders were generally destitute of sound religion. They led their community in a path that led to bitterness, and that did not address the sins of moral corruption and laziness rampant in the African American community, that had caused such a backlash from the Reconstruction era.

In 1960 African American college students sat down at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter in North Carolina and refused to leave. Their sit-in captured media attention and led to similar demonstrations throughout the South. The next year, civil rights workers organized "freedom rides," in which African Americans and whites boarded buses heading

south toward segregated terminals, where confrontations might capture media attention and lead to change.

They also organized rallies, the largest of which was the "March on Washington" in 1963. More than 200,000 people gathered in the nation's capital to demonstrate their agreement with a form of Jacobin egalitarianism. The climax of a day of songs and speeches came with the address of Martin Luther King Jr., who had emerged as the preeminent spokesman for civil rights. "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood," King proclaimed. Each time he used the refrain "I have a dream," the crowd roared.



President Kennedy was initially reluctant to press white Southerners for support on civil rights because he needed their votes on other issues. Events, driven by African Americans themselves, forced his hand. When James Meredith was denied admission to the University of Mississippi in 1962 because of his race, Kennedy sent federal troops to uphold the law. After protests aimed at the desegregation of Birmingham, Alabama, prompted a strong response by the police, he sent Congress a new civil rights bill mandating the integration of public places. Not even the March on Washington, however, could extricate the measure from a congressional committee, where it was still bottled up when Kennedy was assassinated in 1963.

President Lyndon B. Johnson was more successful. Displaying negotiating skills he had so frequently employed during his years as Senate majority leader, Johnson persuaded the Senate to limit delaying tactics preventing a final vote on the sweeping Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed discrimination in all public accommodations. The next year's Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized the federal government to register voters where local officials had prevented African Americans from doing so. By 1968 a million African Americans were registered in the deep South. Nationwide, the number of African-

American elected officials increased substantially. In 1968, the Congress passed legislation banning discrimination in housing.

Once unleashed, however, the civil rights revolution produced leaders impatient with both the pace of change and the goal of channeling African Americans into mainstream white society. Malcolm X, an activist, was the most prominent figure arguing for African-American separation from the white race. Stokely Carmichael, a student leader, became similarly disillusioned by the notions of nonviolence and interracial cooperation. He popularized the slogan "black power," to be achieved by "whatever means necessary," in the words of Malcolm X.

Violence accompanied militant calls for reform. Riots broke out in several big cities in 1966 and 1967. In the spring of 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. fell before an assassin's bullet. Several months later, Romanist Senator Robert Kennedy, a chief spokesman for the civil rights movement, an opponent of the Vietnam War, and the brother of the slain president, met the same fate. The growing militancy on the left, coupled with an inevitable conservative backlash, opened a rift in the nation's psyche.

A civil rights movement supported by court decisions, congressional enactments, and federal administrative regulations became woven into the fabric of American life. The major issues were about implementation of equality and access, not about the legality of segregation or disenfranchisement. The arguments of the 1970s and thereafter were over matters such as busing children out of their neighborhoods to achieve racial balance in metropolitan schools or about the use of "affirmative action." These policies were in fact a form of reverse discrimination.

The courts worked their way through these problems with decisions that were often inconsistent. In the meantime, the steady march of African Americans into the ranks of the middle-class and once largely white suburbs quietly reflected a profound demographic change. At the same time, however, there was significant white flight from the cities to the suburbs as whites sought to remove their families and children from integrated, decaying city schools, where leadership was often passing into the hands of African Americans.

## **THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT**

During the 1950s and 1960s, increasing numbers of married women entered the labor force, and feminism was on the rise. In 1963, the wicked feminist Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, a critique of middle-class living patterns that articulated a pervasive sense of discontent that Friedan contended was felt by many women. Arguing that women often had no outlets for expression other than "finding a husband and bearing children" (as encouraged in the Bible), Friedan encouraged her readers to seek new roles and responsibilities and to find their own personal and professional identities, rather than have them defined by what she claimed was a male-dominated society. As an unbeliever, she had little concern for what God Himself had revealed about these matters.

The women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s drew inspiration from the civil rights movement. It was made up mainly of members of the middle class, and thus partook of the spirit of rebellion that affected large segments of middle-class youth in the 1960s.

Reform legislation also prompted change. During debate on the 1964 Civil Rights bill, opponents hoped to defeat the entire measure by proposing an amendment to outlaw discrimination on the basis of gender as well as race. First the amendment, then the bill itself, passed, giving feminists a valuable legal tool.

In 1966, 28 professional women, including Friedan, established the National Organization for Women (NOW) "to take action to bring American women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now." While NOW and similar feminist organizations boast of substantial memberships today, arguably they attained their greatest influence in the early 1970s, a time that also saw the journalist Gloria Steinem and several other women found *Ms.* magazine. They also spurred the formation of counter-feminist groups, often led by women, including most prominently the Romanist political activist Phyllis Schlafly. These groups typically argued for more traditional gender roles and opposed the proposed "Equal Rights" constitutional amendment. The conservative arguments typically stressed tradition, rather than referencing divine command revealed in God's word.

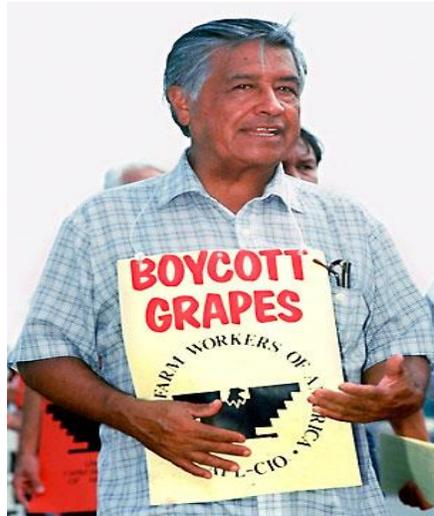
Passed by Congress in 1972, that amendment declared in part, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Over the next several years, 35 of the necessary 38 states ratified it. The courts also moved to expand women's rights. In 1973 the Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* sanctioned women's legal right to obtain a murderous abortion during the early months of pregnancy -- seen as a significant victory for the feminist movement -- but *Roe* also spurred the growth of an anti-abortion movement, primarily led by elements in the Roman Catholic Church, followed by the American evangelical Protestant community. The compromise of most professing Protestant churches concerning the legalization and use of contraception had significantly weakened their ability to fight against sinful abortion. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church at least officially had rightly rejected the legalization and use of contraception, so it was well poised to fight against the evil of abortion as well.

The feminist movement achieved its greatest success in the rising number of two-wage earner families and the decline of full-time female homemakers. But in some other respects the feminist movement stagnated in the mid to late-1970s. Divisions arose between moderate and radical feminists. Conservative opponents mounted a campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment, and it died in 1982 without gaining the approval of the 38 states needed for ratification.

## THE LATINO MOVEMENT

Chicanos, or Mexican Americans, mobilized in organizations like the radical Asociación Nacional Mexico-Americana, yet did not become confrontational until the 1960s. Hoping that Lyndon Johnson's poverty program would expand opportunities for them, they found that bureaucrats failed to respond to less vocal groups. The example of black activism in particular taught Hispanics the importance of pressure politics in a pluralistic society.

The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 had excluded agricultural workers from its guarantee of the right to organize and bargain collectively. But César Chávez, founder of the overwhelmingly Hispanic United Farm Workers, demonstrated that direct action could achieve employer recognition for his union. California grape growers agreed to bargain with the union after Chavez led a nationwide consumer boycott. Similar boycotts of lettuce and other products were also successful.



Hispanics became politically active as well. In 1961 Henry B. Gonzalez won election to Congress from Texas. Three years later Eligio ("Kika") de la Garza, another Texan, followed him, and Joseph Montoya of New Mexico went to the Senate. Both Gonzalez and de la Garza later rose to positions of power as committee chairmen in the House. In the 1970s and 1980s, the pace of Hispanic political involvement increased. Several prominent Hispanics have served in the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush cabinets.

Changes in immigration law dramatically increased the number of legal immigrants coming from Latin America. And illegal immigration from these regions significantly increased as well. Both in terms of aid and lobbying, the Roman Catholic Church greatly assisted in the further Romanization of the nation by its measures to increase the Latino population. In turn, the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed its own increasing power.

## **THE “NATIVE-AMERICAN” MOVEMENT**

In the 1950s, American Indians struggled with the government's policy of moving them off reservations and into cities where they might assimilate into mainstream America. Many of the uprooted often had difficulties adjusting to urban life. In 1961, when the policy was discontinued, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights noted that, for American Indians, "poverty and deprivation are common." In reality, many of their cultural characteristics led to this result.

In the 1960s and 1970s, watching both the development of Third World nationalism and the progress of the civil rights movement, American Indians became more aggressive in pressing for their own “rights.” A new generation of leaders went to court to protect what was left of tribal lands or to recover those which had been taken in previous times. In state after state, they challenged treaty violations, and in 1967 won the first of many victories for land and water rights. The American Indian Movement (AIM), founded in 1968, helped channel government funds to Indian-controlled organizations and American Indians in the cities.

Confrontations became more common. In 1969 a landing party of 78 American Indians seized Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and held it until federal officials removed them in 1971. In 1973 AIM took over the South Dakota village of Wounded Knee, where soldiers in the late 19th century had killed a Sioux encampment. Militants hoped to dramatize the poverty and alcoholism in the reservation surrounding the town. The episode ended after one American Indian was killed and another wounded, with a government agreement to re-examine treaty rights.

Still, American Indian activism brought legal results. Government officials responded with measures including the Education Assistance Act of 1975 and the 1996 Native-American Housing and Self-Determination Act. The Senate's first American Indian member, Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado, was elected in 1992. But spiritually, the American Indian population was more destitute than ever, ill served by its own wicked leadership and most mainstream politicians.

## **THE COUNTERCULTURE**

The agitation for equal opportunity sparked other forms of upheaval. Young people in particular rejected some Christian norms that had persisted despite the legal secularization of the government. Some youth plunged into radical political activity; many more embraced new standards of dress and sexual behavior, which included adulterous activity.

The visible signs of the evil counterculture spread through parts of American society in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Hair grew longer and beards became common among male youth. Blue jeans and tee shirts took the place of slacks, jackets, and ties. The use of illegal drugs increased. Rock and roll grew, proliferated, and transformed into many musical variations. The Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and other British groups took the country by

storm. "Hard rock" grew popular, and songs with a political or social commentary, such as those by singer-songwriter Bob Dylan, became common.



The youth counterculture reached its apogee in August 1969 at Woodstock, a three-day music festival in rural New York State attended by almost half-a-million persons. The festival, mythologized in films and record albums, gave its name to the era, the Woodstock Generation.

A parallel manifestation of the new sensibility of the young was the rise of the New Left, a group of young, college-age radicals. The New Leftists, who had close counterparts in Western Europe, were in many instances the children of the older generation of radicals. Nonetheless, they rejected old-style Marxist rhetoric. Instead, they depicted university students as themselves an oppressed class that possessed special insights into the struggle of other oppressed groups in American society.

New Leftists participated in the civil rights movement and the struggle against poverty. Their greatest political success -- and the one instance in which they developed a mass following -- was in opposing the Vietnam War, an issue of emotional interest to their draft-age contemporaries. By the late 1970s, the student New Left had disappeared, but many of its activists made their way into mainstream politics.

## **ENVIRONMENTALISM**

The energy that fueled the civil rights movement, the counterculture, and the New Left also stimulated an environmental movement in the mid-1960s. Many were aroused by the publication in 1962 of Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring*, which alleged that chemical pesticides, particularly DDT, caused cancer, among other ills. Public concern about the environment continued to increase throughout the 1960s as many became aware of other pollutants surrounding them -- automobile emissions, industrial wastes, oil spills -- that

threatened their health and the beauty of their surroundings. On April 22, 1970, schools and communities across the United States celebrated Earth Day for the first time. "Teachers" educated Americans about the dangers of environmental pollution. Sadly, the environmentalist movement at points went beyond the need for a wise stewardship of nature which scripture commands, to a worship of nature (which scripture forbids).

There was a reaction against the environmental movement, principally from the business community. Few denied that pollution was a problem, but the proposed solutions involved expense and inconvenience. Many believed these would reduce the economic growth upon which many Americans' standard of living depended.

Nevertheless, in 1970, Congress amended the Clean Air Act of 1967 to develop uniform national air-quality standards. It also passed the Water Quality Improvement Act, which assigned to the polluter the responsibility of cleaning up off-shore oil spills. Also, in 1970, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was created as an independent federal agency to spearhead the effort to bring abuses under control. During the next three decades, the EPA, bolstered by legislation that increased its authority, became one of the most active agencies in the government, issuing strong regulations covering air and water quality.

## **THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION**

Open sexual promiscuity, adultery and even sodomy became increasingly common beginning. In the 1950s Playboy magazine began publication, with its so called "softcore" pornography. Its wide circulation encouraged other magazine entrants, and by the 1970s "hardcore" pornography was becoming widely distributed in the US. Furthermore, movies and even TV were incorporating an increasing amount of such content.

"No-fault" divorce was pioneered in the United States by the state of California with the passage of the Family Law Act of 1969. The Act was signed by Governor Ronald Reagan in 1969. It abolished the old common law action for divorce and replaced it with the proceeding for dissolution of marriage on the grounds of "irreconcilable differences." By late 1983, every state but South Dakota had adopted some form of no-fault divorce (although some forms were not as easy to obtain as that in California). The no-fault revolution was complete when South Dakota finally adopted no-fault divorce in 1985.

Between 1900 and 2000 there was a more than ten-fold increase in the divorce rate in the US, and divorce became especially common in the between 1960-1980.

Sodomites joined the struggle for "rights", calling their movement the "gay liberation" movement or the "gay rights" movement. Open radicalism was catapulted by the Stonewall riots of 1969, when a group of transgender, lesbian and gay male patrons at a bar in New York resisted a police raid. San Francisco became the unofficial capital of the so called "gay rights" movement. Sodomites, using the tactics and rhetoric of the civil rights movement, depicted themselves as an oppressed group seeking recognition of basic rights. In 1975, the U.S. Civil Service Commission lifted its ban on employment of sodomites. Many states enacted anti-discrimination laws.

In judgment of religious infidelity, God was giving men up to adultery, sodomy and other perversions.

### **THE “GLOBAL NATION” MOVEMENT**

In 1965 Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the Hart–Celler Act, which was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson. The law abolished the National Origin Formula, which had been the basis of US immigration policy since the 1920s. The act removed *de facto* discrimination against Southern and Eastern Europeans, Asians, and other non-Northwestern European ethnic groups from American immigration policy. The Hart–Celler Act of 1965 marked a radical break from U.S. immigration policies of the past. Since Congress restricted naturalized citizenship to "white persons" in 1790, laws restricted immigration from Asia and Africa, and gave preference to northern and western Europeans over southern and Eastern Europeans. According to the Office of the Historian of the U.S. Department of State, the purpose of the 1924 Act was "to preserve the ideal of U.S. homogeneity" by limiting immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

In 1978 the hemispheric quotas were replaced by a worldwide ceiling of 290,000, a limit reduced to 270,000 after passage of the Refugee Act of 1980. Since the mid-1970s, the United States has experienced a fresh wave of immigration, with arrivals from Asia, Africa, and Latin America transforming communities throughout the country. In addition, illegal immigration swelled and transformed the USA into a “global nation” empire. Mexicans and other Latin Americans daily cross the Southwestern U.S. borders to find work, higher wages, and improved education and health care for their families. Likewise, there is a substantial illegal migration from countries like China and other Asian nations. The USA in the process has been demographically transformed into a “global nation” Babel, with all of its ill consequences and inevitability of break-up and fall.

### **KENNEDY AND THE RESURGENCE OF BIG GOVERNMENT LIBERALISM**

By 1960 government had become an increasingly powerful force in people's lives. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, new executive agencies were created to deal with many aspects of American life. During World War II, the number of civilians employed by the Federal government rose from one million to 3.8 million, then stabilized at 2.5 million in the 1950s. Federal expenditures, which had stood at \$3,100-million in 1929, increased to \$75,000-million in 1953 and passed \$150,000-million in the 1960s.

Most Americans accepted government's expanded role, even as they disagreed about how far that expansion should continue. Democrats generally wanted the government to ensure growth and stability. They wanted to extend Federal benefits for education, health, and welfare. Many Republicans accepted a level of government responsibility, but hoped to

cap spending and restore a larger measure of individual initiative. The presidential election of 1960 revealed a nation almost evenly divided between these visions.

John F. Kennedy, the Democratic victor by a narrow margin, was at 43 the youngest man ever to win the presidency. On television, in a series of debates with opponent Richard Nixon, he appeared able, articulate, and energetic.



In the campaign, he spoke of moving aggressively into the new decade, for "the New Frontier is here whether we seek it or not." In his first inaugural address, he concluded with a plea: "Ask not what your country can do for you -- ask what you can do for your country." Kennedy was the first Roman Catholic president in US history, reflecting the rising power of the Roman Catholic Church itself in the nation.

Kennedy wanted to exert strong leadership to extend government economic benefits to all citizens, but a razor-thin margin of victory limited his mandate. Even though the Democratic Party controlled both houses of Congress, conservative Southern Democrats often sided with the Republicans on issues involving the scope of governmental intervention in the economy. They resisted plans to increase federal aid to education, provide health insurance for the elderly, and create a new Department of Urban Affairs. And so, despite his lofty rhetoric, Kennedy's policies were often limited and restrained.

One priority was to end the recession, in progress when Kennedy took office, and restore economic growth. But Kennedy lost the confidence of business leaders in 1962, when he succeeded in rolling back what the administration regarded as an excessive price increase in the steel industry. Though the president achieved his immediate goal, he alienated an important source of support. Persuaded by his economic advisers that a large tax cut would stimulate the economy, Kennedy backed a bill providing for one. Conservative opposition

in Congress, however, appeared to destroy any hopes of passing a bill most congressmen thought would widen the budget deficit.

The overall legislative record of the Kennedy administration was meager. The president made some gestures toward civil rights leaders but did not embrace the goals of the civil rights movement until demonstrations led by Martin Luther King Jr. forced his hand in 1963. Like Truman before him, he could not secure congressional passage of Federal aid to public education or for a medical care program limited to the elderly. He gained only a modest increase in the minimum wage. Still, he did secure funding for a space program, and established the Peace Corps to send men and women overseas to assist developing countries in meeting their own needs.

### **KENNEDY AND THE COLD WAR**

President Kennedy came into office pledged to carry on the Cold War vigorously, but he also hoped for accommodation and was reluctant to commit American power. During his first year-and-a-half in office, he rejected American intervention after the CIA-guided Cuban exile invasion at the Bay of Pigs failed, effectively ceded the landlocked Southeast Asian nation of Laos to Communist control, and acquiesced in the building of the Berlin Wall. Kennedy's decisions reinforced impressions of weakness that Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev had formed in their only personal meeting, a summit meeting at Vienna in June 1961. It was against this backdrop that Kennedy faced the most serious event of the Cold War, the Cuban missile crisis.



In the fall of 1962, the administration learned that the Soviet Union was secretly installing offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba. After considering different options, Kennedy decided on a quarantine to prevent Soviet ships from bringing additional supplies to Cuba. He demanded publicly that the Soviets remove the weapons and warned that an attack from that island would bring retaliation against the USSR. After several days of tension, during which the world was closer than ever before to nuclear war, the Soviets agreed to remove the missiles. Critics charged that Kennedy had risked nuclear disaster when quiet diplomacy might have been effective. But most Americans and much of the non-

Communist world applauded his decisiveness. The missile crisis made him for the first time the acknowledged leader of the secular democratic West.

In retrospect, the Cuban missile crisis marked a turning point in U.S.-Soviet relations. Both sides saw the need to defuse tensions that could lead to direct military conflict. The following year, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed a landmark Limited Test Ban Treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere.

Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia), a French possession before World War II, was still another Cold War battlefield. The French effort to reassert colonial control there was opposed by Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese Communist, whose Viet Minh movement engaged in a guerrilla war with the French army.

Both Truman and Eisenhower, eager to maintain French support for the policy of containment in Europe, provided France with economic aid that freed resources for the struggle in Vietnam. But the French suffered a decisive defeat in Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. At an international conference in Geneva, Laos and Cambodia were given their independence. Vietnam was divided, with Ho in power in the North and Ngo Dinh Diem, a Roman Catholic anti-Communist in a largely Buddhist population, heading the government in the South. Elections were to be held two years later to unify the country.

Persuaded that the fall of Vietnam could lead to the fall of Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia, Eisenhower backed Diem's refusal to hold elections in 1956 and effectively established South Vietnam as an American client state.

Kennedy increased assistance, and sent small numbers of military advisors, but a new guerrilla struggle between North and South continued. Diem's unpopularity grew and the military situation worsened. In late 1963, Kennedy secretly assented to a coup d'etat. To the president's surprise, Diem and his powerful brother-in-law, Ngo Dien Nu, were killed. It was at this uncertain juncture that Kennedy's presidency ended three weeks later.

## **THE SPACE PROGRAM**

During Eisenhower's second term, outer space had become an arena for U.S.-Soviet competition. In 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik -- an artificial satellite -- thereby demonstrating it could build more powerful rockets than the United States. The United States launched its first satellite, Explorer I, in 1958. But three months after Kennedy became president, the USSR put the first man in orbit. Kennedy responded by committing the United States to land a man on the moon and bring him back "before this decade is out." With Project Mercury in 1962, John Glenn became the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the Earth.

After Kennedy's death, President Lyndon Johnson enthusiastically supported the space program. In the mid-1960s, U.S. scientists developed the two-person Gemini spacecraft. Gemini achieved several firsts, including an eight-day mission in August 1965 -- the longest space flight at that time -- and in November 1966, the first automatically controlled

reentry into the Earth's atmosphere. Gemini also accomplished the first manned linkup of two spacecraft in flight as well as the first U.S. walks in space.

The three-person Apollo spacecraft achieved Kennedy's goal and demonstrated to the world that the United States had surpassed Soviet capabilities in space. On July 20, 1969, with hundreds of millions of television viewers watching around the world, Neil Armstrong became the first human to walk on the surface of the moon.



Other Apollo flights followed, but many Americans began to question the value of manned space flight. In the early 1970s, as other priorities became more pressing, the United States scaled down the space program. Some Apollo missions were scrapped; only one of two proposed Skylab space stations was built.

## **DEATH OF A PRESIDENT**

On November 22, 1963 Kennedy was assassinated while riding in an open car during a visit to Dallas, Texas. His death, amplified by television coverage, was a traumatic event, just as Roosevelt's had been 18 years earlier. In retrospect, it is clear that Kennedy's reputation stems more from his style and stated ideals than from the implementation of his policies. He had laid out an aggressive agenda but at his death much remained blocked in Congress. It was largely because of the political skill and legislative victories of his successor that Kennedy would be seen as a force for “progressive” (i.e., liberal) change that would take the USA into greater depths of wickedness.



## **LYNDON JOHNSON AND THE GREAT SOCIETY**

Lyndon Johnson, a Texan who was majority leader in the Senate before becoming Kennedy's vice president, was a masterful, subtle, and evil politician. He had been schooled in Congress, where he developed an extraordinary ability to get things done. He excelled at pleading, cajoling, or threatening as necessary to achieve his ends. He wanted to make a name for himself in history. As president, he wanted to use his power aggressively to eliminate poverty and spread the benefits of prosperity to all, so that he would go down in history as a great president.

Johnson took office determined to secure the passage of Kennedy's legislative agenda. His immediate priorities were his predecessor's bills to reduce taxes and guarantee civil rights. Using his skills of persuasion and calling on the legislators' respect for the slain president, Johnson succeeded in gaining passage of both during his first year in office. The tax cuts stimulated the economy. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most far-reaching such legislation since Reconstruction.

Johnson addressed other issues as well. By the spring of 1964, he had begun to use the name "Great Society" to describe his socio-economic program. That summer he secured passage of a federal jobs program for impoverished young people. It was the first step in what he called the "War on Poverty." In the presidential election that November, he won a landslide victory over conservative Republican Barry Goldwater. Significantly, the 1964 election gave liberal Democrats firm control of Congress for the first time since

1938. This would enable them to pass legislation over the combined opposition of Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats.

The War on Poverty became the centerpiece of the administration's Great Society program. The Office of Economic Opportunity, established in 1964, provided training for

the poor and established various community-action agencies, guided by an ethic of "participatory democracy" that aimed to give the poor themselves a voice in housing, health, and education programs.

Medical care came next. Under Johnson's leadership, Congress enacted Medicare, a health insurance program for the elderly, and Medicaid, a program providing health-care assistance for the poor.

Johnson succeeded in the effort to provide more federal aid for elementary and secondary schooling, traditionally a state and local function. The measure that was enacted gave money to the states based on the number of their children from low-income families. Funds could be used to assist public- and private-school children alike.

Convinced the United States confronted an "urban crisis" characterized by declining inner cities, the Great Society architects devised a new housing act that provided rent supplements for the poor and established a Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Other legislation had an impact on many aspects of American life. Federal assistance went to artists and scholars to encourage their humanistic work. In September 1966, Johnson signed into law two transportation bills. The first provided funds to state and local governments for developing safety programs, while the other set up federal safety standards for cars and tires. The latter program reflected the efforts of a crusading young radical, Ralph Nader. In his 1965 book, *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-In Dangers of the American Automobile*, Nader argued that automobile manufacturers were sacrificing safety features for style, and charged that faulty engineering contributed to highway fatalities.

In 1965, Congress abolished the 1924 national-origin immigration quotas.



The new immigration law of 1965 triggered a new wave of immigration, much of it from South and East Asia and Latin America, along with Africa, which over time would greatly increase the infidel and heretical population, turning the USA into a veritable modern Babel state. The Roman Catholic Kennedys spearheaded this change, and they did so through lies to fellow Americans. "The bill will not flood our cities with immigrants," lead supporter Sen. Edward "Ted" Kennedy (D-Mass.) told the Senate during debate. "It will not upset the ethnic mix of our society. It will not relax the standards of admission. It will not cause American workers to lose their jobs."

The Great Society was the largest burst of legislative activity since the New Deal. But support weakened as early as 1966. Some of Johnson's programs did not live up to expectations; many went underfunded. The urban crisis seemed, if anything, to worsen, even as sin worsened. Johnson did not achieve his vainglorious end of eradicating poverty.

## **THE WAR IN VIETNAM**

Dissatisfaction with the Great Society came to be more than matched by unhappiness with the situation in Vietnam. A series of South Vietnamese strong men proved little more successful than Diem in mobilizing their country. The Viet Cong, insurgents supplied and coordinated from North Vietnam, gained ground in the countryside.

Determined to halt Communist advances in South Vietnam, Johnson made the Vietnam War his own. After a North Vietnamese naval attack on two American destroyers, Johnson won from Congress on August 7, 1964 passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which allowed the president to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."



After his re-election in November 1964, he embarked on a policy of escalation. From 25,000 troops at the start of 1965, the number of soldiers -- both volunteers and draftees - rose to 500,000 by 1968. A bombing campaign wrought havoc in both North and South Vietnam.

Grisly television coverage with a critical edge dampened support for the war. Some Americans thought it immoral; others watched in dismay as the massive military campaign seemed to be ineffective. Large protests, especially among the young, and a mounting general public dissatisfaction pressured Johnson to begin negotiating for peace.

## THE ELECTION OF 1968

By 1968 the country was in turmoil over both the Vietnam War and civil disorder, expressed in urban riots that reflected African-American anger. On March 31, 1968, the president renounced any intention of seeking another term. Just a week later, Martin Luther King Jr. was shot and killed in Memphis, Tennessee. John Kennedy's younger brother, Robert, made an emotional anti-war campaign for the Democratic nomination, only to be assassinated in June.

At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois, protesters fought street battles with police. A divided Democratic Party nominated Vice President Hubert Humphrey, once the hero of the liberals but now seen as a Johnson loyalist.

White opposition to the civil rights measures of the 1960s galvanized the third-party candidacy of Alabama Governor George Wallace, a Democrat who captured his home state, Mississippi, and Arkansas, Louisiana, and Georgia, states typically carried in that era by the Democratic nominee. It also reflected dismay with many Supreme Court decisions, such as one forbidding prayer in public schools led by school authorities.

Republican Richard Nixon, who ran on a plan to extricate the United States from the war and to increase "law and order" at home, scored a narrow victory. His "Southern strategy" of wooing white Southern voters to the Republican Party began to pay off.



## NIXON, VIETNAM, AND THE COLD WAR

Determined to achieve "peace with honor," Nixon slowly withdrew American troops while redoubling efforts to equip the South Vietnamese army to carry on the fight. He also ordered strong American offensive actions. The most important of these was an invasion of Cambodia in 1970 to cut off North Vietnamese supply lines to South Vietnam. This led to another round of protests and demonstrations. Students in many universities took to the streets. At Kent State in Ohio, the national guard troops who had been called in to restore order panicked and killed four students.



By the fall of 1972, however, troop strength in Vietnam was below 50,000 and the military draft, which had caused so much campus discontent, was all but dead. A ceasefire, negotiated for the United States by Nixon's national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, was signed in 1973. Although American troops departed, the war lingered on into the spring of 1975, when Congress cut off assistance to South Vietnam and North Vietnam consolidated its control over the entire country.

The war left Vietnam devastated, with millions maimed or killed. It also left the United States traumatized. The nation had spent over \$150,000-million in a losing effort that cost more than 58,000 American lives. Americans were no longer united by a widely held Cold War consensus, and many became wary of further foreign entanglements.

Yet as Vietnam wound down, the Nixon administration took historic steps toward closer ties with the major Communist powers. The most dramatic move was a new relationship with the People's Republic of China. In the two decades since Mao Zedong's victory, the United States had argued that the Nationalist government on Taiwan represented all of China. In 1971 and 1972, Nixon softened the American stance, eased trading restrictions, and became the first U.S. president ever to visit Beijing. The "Shanghai Communique" signed during that visit established a new U.S. policy: that there was one China, that Taiwan was a part of China, and that a peaceful settlement of the dispute of the question by the Chinese themselves was a U.S. interest.



With the Soviet Union, Nixon pursued the policy he and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called detente. He held several cordial meetings with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in which they agreed to limit stockpiles of missiles, cooperate in space, and ease trading restrictions. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) culminated in 1972 in an arms control agreement limiting the growth of nuclear arsenals and restricting anti-ballistic missile systems.

### **NIXON'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND DEFEATS**

Vice president under Eisenhower before his unsuccessful run for the presidency in 1960, Nixon was seen as among the shrewdest of American politicians. Most of his administration's policies were based in pragmatic political considerations that would bolster its own power, rather than based upon principle. Although Nixon professedly subscribed to the Republican value of fiscal responsibility, he accepted government's expanded role and did not oppose the basic contours of the welfare state. He simply wanted to manage its programs better, or so he said. Not opposed to African-American civil rights on principle, he was wary of large federal civil rights bureaucracies. Nonetheless, his administration vigorously enforced court orders on school desegregation even as it courted Southern white voters.

With respect to the economy, the United States was running not just a balance of payments deficit but also a trade deficit (for the first time in the twentieth century). The crucial turning point was 1970, which saw U.S. gold coverage deteriorate from 55% to 22%. This represented the point where holders of the dollar had lost faith in the U.S. ability

to cut its budget and trade deficits. In 1971 more and more dollars were being printed in Washington, then being pumped overseas, to pay for the nation's military expenditures and private investments. In the first six months of 1971, assets for \$22 billion fled the United States. In response, in 1971 Nixon unilaterally imposed 90-day wage and price controls, a 10% import surcharge, and most importantly "closed the gold window," making the dollar inconvertible to gold directly, except on the open market. Unusually, this failed economic policy was soon dubbed the Nixon shock. It was at best a band-aid to the nation's economic problems. But in the short run, these decisions stabilized the economy and established favorable conditions for Nixon's re-election in 1972. He won an overwhelming victory over Democratic Senator George McGovern, who had campaigned on an even more liberal agenda.

Things began to sour very quickly into the president's second term. Very early on, he faced charges that his re-election committee had managed a break-in at the Watergate building headquarters of the Democratic National Committee and that he had participated in a cover-up. Special prosecutors and congressional committees dogged his presidency thereafter.

In 1973 the war between Israel and Egypt and Syria prompted Saudi Arabia to embargo oil shipments to Israel's ally, the United States. Other member nations of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupled their prices. Americans faced both shortages, exacerbated in the view of many by over-regulation of distribution, and rapidly rising prices. Even when the embargo ended the next year, prices remained high and affected all areas of American economic life. What few Americans at the time realized was that commodity price rises simply reflected the fact that the US government had been increasing the US dollar supply in order to finance its many government programs. This naturally led to inflation. In 1974, the inflation rate reached 12 percent, causing disruptions that led to even higher unemployment rates. The unprecedented economic boom America had enjoyed since 1948 was grinding to a halt.

Nixon's rhetoric about the need for "law and order" in the face of rising crime rates, increased drug use, and more permissive views about sex resonated with more Americans than not. But this concern was insufficient to quell concerns about the Watergate break-in and the economy. Seeking to energize and enlarge his own political constituency, Nixon lashed out at demonstrators, attacked the press for distorted coverage, and sought to silence his opponents. Instead, he left an unfavorable impression with many who saw him on television and perceived him as unstable. Adding to Nixon's troubles, Vice President Spiro Agnew, his outspoken point man against the media and liberals, was forced to resign in 1973, pleading "no contest" to a criminal charge of tax evasion.

Nixon probably had not known in advance of the Watergate burglary, but he had tried to cover it up, and had lied to the American people about it. Evidence of his involvement mounted. On July 27, 1974, the House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend his impeachment. Facing certain ouster from office, he resigned on August 9, 1974.



## **THE FORD INTERLUDE**

Nixon's vice president, Gerald Ford (appointed to replace Agnew), had spent most of his public life in Congress. His first priority was to restore trust in the government. However, feeling it necessary to head off the spectacle of a possible prosecution of Nixon, he issued a blanket pardon to his predecessor. The move was unpopular with many.

In public policy, Ford followed the course Nixon had set. Economic problems remained serious, as inflation and unemployment continued to rise. Ford first tried to reassure the public, much as Herbert Hoover had done in 1929. When that failed, he imposed measures to curb inflation, which sent unemployment above 8 percent. A tax cut, coupled with higher unemployment benefits, helped a bit but the economy remained weak.

In foreign policy, Ford adopted Nixon's strategy of detente. Perhaps its major manifestation was the Helsinki Accords of 1975, in which the United States and Western European nations effectively recognized Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe in return for Soviet affirmation of human rights. Western nations effectively used periodic "Helsinki review meetings" to call attention to various abuses of human rights by Communist regimes of the Eastern bloc.

## **THE CARTER YEARS**

Jimmy Carter, former Democratic governor of Georgia, won the presidency in 1976. Portraying himself during the campaign as an outsider to Washington politics, he promised a fresh approach to governing, but his lack of experience at the national level complicated his tenure from the start. A naval officer and engineer by training, he often appeared to be

a technocrat, when Americans wanted someone more visionary to lead them through troubled times.

In economic affairs, Carter at first permitted a policy of deficit spending. Inflation rose to 10 percent a year when the Federal Reserve Board, responsible for setting monetary policy, increased the money supply to cover deficits. Carter responded by cutting the budget, but cuts affected social programs at the heart of Democratic domestic policy. In mid-1979, anger in the financial community practically forced him to appoint Paul Volcker as chairman of the Federal Reserve. Volcker was known as an "inflation hawk" who increased interest rates in an attempt to halt price increases, at the cost of negative consequences for the economy.

Carter also faced criticism for his failure to secure passage of an effective energy policy. He presented what he regarded as a comprehensive program, aimed at reducing dependence on foreign oil, that he called the "moral equivalent of war." Opponents thwarted it in Congress.

Though Carter called himself a populist, his political priorities were never wholly clear. He endorsed government's protective role, but then began the process of deregulation, the removal of governmental controls in economic life. Arguing that some restrictions over the course of the past century limited competition and increased consumer costs, he favored decontrol in the oil, airline, railroad, and trucking industries.

Carter's political efforts failed to gain either public or congressional support. By the end of his term, his disapproval rating reached 77 percent, and Americans began to look toward the Republican Party again.

In foreign policy, Carter led the negotiation of a peace settlement between Egypt, under President Anwar al-Sadat, and Israel, under Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Acting as both mediator and participant, he persuaded the two leaders to end a 30-year state of war. The subsequent peace treaty was signed at the White House in March 1979.



After protracted and often emotional debate, Carter also secured Senate ratification of treaties ceding the Panama Canal to Panama by the year 2000. Going a step farther than Nixon, he extended formal diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China.

Though Carter assumed office with detente with the Soviet Union at high tide and declared that the United States had escaped its "inordinate fear of Communism," his insistence that "our commitment to human rights must be absolute" antagonized the Soviet government. A SALT II agreement further limiting nuclear stockpiles was signed, but not ratified by the U.S. Senate, many of whose members felt the treaty was unbalanced. The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed the treaty and triggered a Carter defense build-up that paved the way for the huge expenditures of the 1980s.

Carter's most serious foreign policy challenge came in Iran. After an Islamic fundamentalist revolution led by Shiite Muslim leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini replaced a corrupt regime that America had helped install and maintain, Carter admitted the deposed shah to the United States for medical treatment. Angry Iranian militants, supported by the Islamic regime, seized the American embassy in Tehran and held 53 American hostages for more than a year. The long-running hostage crisis dominated the final year of his presidency and greatly damaged his chances for re-election.

## CHAPTER 14 : THE NEW CONSERVATISM AND A NEW WORLD ORDER

**"I have always believed that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans to be sought out by those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage."**

-- *California Governor Ronald Reagan, 1974*



### A SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Shifts in the structure of American society, begun years or even decades earlier, had become apparent by the time the 1980s arrived. The composition of the population and the most important jobs and skills in American society had undergone major changes.

The dominance of service jobs in the economy became undeniable. By the mid-1980s, nearly three-fourths of all employees worked in the service sector, for instance, as retail clerks, office workers, teachers, physicians, and government employees. Service-sector activity benefited from the availability and increased use of the computer. The information age arrived, with hardware and software that could aggregate previously unimagined amounts of data about economic and social trends. The Federal government had made significant investments in computer technology in the 1950s and 1960s for its military and space programs, while large private businesses were also investing in the new technology.

In 1976, two young California entrepreneurs, working out of a garage, assembled the first widely marketed computer for home use, named it the Apple, and ignited a computer revolution. By the early 1980s, millions of microcomputers had found their way into U.S. businesses and homes, and in 1982, *Time* magazine dubbed the computer its "Machine of the Year."

Meanwhile, America's "smokestack industries" were in decline. The U.S. automobile industry reeled under competition from highly efficient Japanese carmakers. By 1980

Japanese companies already manufactured a fifth of the vehicles sold in the United States. American manufacturers struggled with some success to match the cost efficiencies and engineering standards of their Japanese rivals, but their former dominance of the domestic car market was gone forever. The giant old-line steel companies shrank to relative insignificance as foreign steel makers adopted new technologies more readily.

Consumers were the beneficiaries of this ferocious competition in the manufacturing industries, but the painful struggle to cut costs meant the permanent loss of hundreds of

thousands of blue-collar jobs. Those who could made the switch to the service sector; others became unfortunate statistics.

Population patterns shifted as well. After the end of the postwar "baby boom" (1946 to 1964), the overall rate of population growth declined and the population grew older, as a result of the proliferation in sinful use of contraception and abortion. Household composition also changed, due in large measure to feminism and the sexual revolution. In 1980 the percentage of family households dropped; a quarter of all groups were now classified as "nonfamily households," in which two or more unrelated persons lived together.

New immigrants changed the character of American society in other ways. The 1965 reform in immigration policy shifted the focus away from Western Europe, facilitating a dramatic increase in new arrivals from Asia and Latin America. In 1980, 808,000 immigrants arrived, the highest number in 60 years, as the country once more became a haven for people from around the world, especially Roman Catholics and infidels.

Then, in 1981, came the discovery of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). Transmitted sexually or through blood transfusions, it struck sodomite men and intravenous drug users with particular virulence, although the general population proved vulnerable as well. By 1992, over 220,000 Americans had died of AIDS, driven on in large measure by sexual perversity. The AIDS epidemic has by no means been limited to the United States, and the effort to treat the disease has encompassed physicians and medical researchers throughout the world. But divine judgment did not bend to the will of men.

## **CONSERVATISM AND THE RISE OF RONALD REAGAN**

For many Americans, the economic, social, and political trends of the previous two decades -- crime and racial polarization in many urban centers, the legalization of murderous abortion, the sexual revolution, the economic downturn and inflation of the Carter years, etc. -- engendered a mood of disillusionment. It also strengthened a renewed suspicion of government and its ability to deal effectively with the country's social and political problems.

Conservatives, long out of power at the national level, were well positioned politically in the context of this new mood. Many Americans were receptive to their message of limited government, strong national defense, and the protection of traditional values. A large group of fundamentalist Christians were particularly concerned about crime and sexual immorality. In addition, various conservative leaders had been building the capabilities to propel the movement. One was Richard A. Viguerie, a Roman Catholic, who was especially adept at fundraising and mass mailing campaigns. He was also involved in the original discussions that led to the creation of the Moral Majority and, as its fundraiser, can be credited with its financial success. Paul Weyrich started various organizations, including originating the idea for the Moral Majority. In their search for an attractive public

figure for the organization, they chose Jerry Falwell, a Virginia Baptist minister. Moral Majority became one of the most politically effective groups in the early 1980s.



Another group, led by the Pat Robertson, a Pentecostal minister, built an organization, the Christian Coalition, that by the 1990s was a significant force in the Republican Party. Using television to spread their messages, Falwell, Robertson, and others like them developed substantial followings.

Perhaps the most galvanizing issue for conservatives was legalized abortion. Opposition to the 1973 Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade*, which upheld a woman's so called right to an abortion in the early months of pregnancy, brought together a wide array of organizations and individuals. They included, but were not limited to, Roman Catholics, political conservatives, and religious evangelicals, who rightly regarded abortion under virtually any circumstances as tantamount to murder. "Pro-choice" and pro-life demonstrations became a fixture of the political landscape. But the joining together of professing Protestants (albeit already thoroughly corrupted by many doctrinal heresies, starting with rampant Arminianism) and Roman Catholics proved a major stumbling block for these Protestants, and one that would propel American Protestantism even further downward.

Within the Republican Party, the conservative wing grew dominant once again. They had briefly seized control of the Republican Party in 1964 with its presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, then faded from the spotlight. By 1980, however, with the apparent failure of liberalism under Carter, a "New Right" was poised to return to dominance.

Using modern direct mail techniques as well as the power of mass communications to spread their message and raise funds, drawing on the ideas of conservatives like economist Milton Friedman, journalists William F. Buckley and George Will, and research institutions like the Heritage Foundation, the New Right played a significant role in defining the issues of the 1980s.

The "Old" Goldwater Right had favored strict limits on government intervention in the economy. This tendency was reinforced by a significant group of "New Right" "libertarian conservatives" who distrusted government in general and opposed state interference in personal behavior. But the New Right also encompassed a stronger, often evangelical faction determined to wield state power to encourage its views. The New Right favored tough measures against crime, a strong national defense, a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools, and opposition to legalized abortion.

The figure that drew all these disparate strands together was Ronald Reagan. Reagan, born in Illinois, achieved stardom as an actor in Hollywood movies and television before turning to politics. He first achieved political prominence with a nationwide televised speech in 1964 in support of Barry Goldwater. In 1966 Reagan won the governorship of California and served until 1975. He narrowly missed winning the Republican nomination for president in 1976 before succeeding in 1980 and going on to win the presidency from the incumbent, Jimmy Carter.

President Reagan's unflagging optimism and his ability to celebrate the achievements and aspirations of the American people persisted throughout his two terms in office. He was a figure of reassurance and stability for many Americans. Wholly at ease before the microphone and the television camera, Reagan was called the "Great Communicator."

Taking a phrase from the 17th-century Puritan leader John Winthrop, he told the nation that the United States was a "shining city on a hill," invested with a God-given mission to defend the world against the spread of Communist totalitarianism.

Reagan believed that government intruded too deeply into American life. He wanted to cut programs he contended the country did not need, and to eliminate "waste, fraud, and abuse." Reagan accelerated the program of deregulation begun by Jimmy Carter. He sought to abolish many regulations affecting the consumer, the workplace, and the environment. These, he argued, were inefficient, expensive, and detrimental to economic growth.

Reagan also reflected the belief held by many conservatives that the law should be strictly applied against violators. Shortly after becoming president, he faced a nationwide strike by U.S. air transportation controllers. Although the job action was forbidden by law, such strikes had been widely tolerated in the past. When the air controllers refused to return to work, he ordered them all fired. Over the next few years the system was rebuilt with new hires.

## THE ECONOMY IN THE 1980s

President Reagan's domestic program was rooted in his belief that the nation would prosper if the power of the private economic sector was unleashed. The guiding theory behind it, "supply side" economics, held that a greater supply of goods and services, made possible by measures to increase business investment, was the swiftest road to economic growth. Accordingly, the Reagan administration argued that a large tax cut would increase capital investment and corporate earnings, so that even lower taxes on these larger earnings would increase government revenues.



Despite only a slim Republican majority in the Senate and a House of Representatives controlled by the Democrats, President Reagan succeeded during his first year in office in enacting the major components of his economic program, including a 25-percent tax cut for individuals to be phased in over three years. The administration also sought and won significant increases in defense spending to modernize the nation's military and counter what it felt was a continual and growing threat from the Soviet Union.

Under Paul Volcker, the Federal Reserve's draconian increases in interest rates squeezed the runaway inflation that had begun in the late 1970s. The recession hit bottom in 1982,

with the prime interest rates approaching 20 percent and the economy falling sharply. That year, real gross domestic product (GDP) fell by 2 percent; the unemployment rate rose to nearly 10 percent, and almost one-third of America's industrial plants lay idle. Throughout the Midwest, major firms like General Electric and International Harvester released workers. Stubbornly high petroleum prices contributed to the decline. Economic rivals like Germany and Japan won a greater share of world trade, and U.S. consumption of goods from other countries rose sharply.

Farmers also suffered hard times. During the 1970s, American farmers had helped India, China, the Soviet Union, and other countries suffering from crop shortages, and had borrowed heavily to buy land and increase production. But the rise in oil prices pushed up costs, and a worldwide economic slump in 1980 reduced the demand for agricultural products. Their numbers declined, as production increasingly became concentrated in large operations. Small farmers who survived had major difficulties making ends meet.

The increased military budget -- combined with the tax cuts and the growth in government health spending -- resulted in the Federal government spending far more than it received in revenues each year. Some analysts charged that the deficits were part of a deliberate administration strategy to prevent further increases in domestic spending sought by the Democrats. However, both Democrats and Republicans in Congress refused to cut such spending. From \$74,000-million in 1980, the deficit soared to \$221,000-million in 1986 before falling back to \$150,000-million in 1987.

The deep recession of the early 1980s successfully curbed the runaway inflation that had started during the Carter years. Fuel prices, moreover, fell sharply, with at least part of the drop attributable to Reagan's decision to abolish controls on the pricing and allocation of gasoline. Economic conditions began to improve in late 1983. By early 1984, the economy had rebounded. By the fall of 1984, the recovery was well along, allowing Reagan to run for re-election on the slogan, "It's morning again in America." He defeated his Democratic opponent, former Senator and Vice President Walter Mondale, by an overwhelming margin.

The United States entered one of the longest periods of sustained economic growth since World War II. Consumer spending increased in response to the federal tax cut. The stock market climbed as it reflected the optimistic buying spree. Over a five-year period following the start of the recovery, Gross National Product grew at an annual rate of 4.2 percent. The annual inflation rate remained between 3 and 5 percent from 1983 to 1987, except in 1986 when it fell to just under 2 percent, the lowest level in decades. The nation's GNP grew substantially during the 1980s; from 1982 to 1987, its economy created more than 13 million new jobs.

Steadfast in his commitment to lower taxes, Reagan signed the most sweeping federal tax-reform measure in 75 years during his second term. This measure, which had widespread Democratic as well as Republican support, lowered income tax rates, simplified tax brackets, and closed loopholes.

However, a significant percentage of this growth was based on deficit spending. Moreover, the national debt, far from being stabilized by strong economic growth, nearly tripled. Much of the growth occurred in skilled service and technical areas. The administration, although an advocate of free trade, pressured Japan to agree to a voluntary quota on its automobile exports to the United States.

The economy was jolted on October 19, 1987, "Black Monday," when the stock market suffered the greatest one-day crash in its history, 22.6 percent. The causes of the crash included the large U.S. international trade and federal-budget deficits, the high level of corporate and personal debt, and new computerized stock trading techniques that allowed instantaneous selling of stocks and futures. Despite the memories of 1929 it evoked, however, the crash was a transitory event with little impact. In fact, economic growth continued, with the unemployment rate dropping to a 14-year low of 5.2 percent in June 1988.

Finally, the Reagan administration left an indelible mark on domestic affairs in the realm of immigration. Until 1986, the United States had never forgiven the act of illegal immigration in other than individual cases and had never rewarded large numbers of illegal aliens with the opportunity for U.S. citizenship. But in 1986 President Reagan granted amnesty to illegal immigrants when he signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. Of the nearly 4 million illegal immigrants eligible to apply for legal residency under the 1986 law, 55 percent were from Mexico, according to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. This action, along with the subsequent illegal immigration it encouraged, increased the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in the US even further. Its long term effects were disastrous.

## **FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

In foreign policy, Reagan sought a more assertive role for the nation, and Central America provided an early test. The United States provided El Salvador with a program of economic aid and military training when a Marxist guerrilla insurgency threatened to topple its government. A peace agreement was finally reached in early 1992.

U.S. policy toward Nicaragua was more controversial. In 1979 revolutionaries calling themselves Sandinistas overthrew the repressive right-wing Somoza regime and established a pro-Cuba, pro-Soviet dictatorship. Regional peace efforts ended in failure, and the focus of administration efforts shifted to support for the anti-Sandinista guerrilla insurgency, known as the contras.

Following intense political debate over this policy, Congress ended all military aid to the contras in October 1984, then, under administration pressure, reversed itself in the fall of 1986, and approved \$100 million in military aid. However, a lack of success on the battlefield, charges of human rights abuses, and the revelation that funds from secret arms sales to Iran had been diverted to the contras undercut congressional support to continue this aid.

Subsequently, the administration of President George H.W. Bush, who succeeded Reagan as president in 1989, abandoned any effort to secure military aid for the contras. The Bush administration also exerted pressure for free elections and supported an opposition political coalition, which won an astonishing upset election in February 1990, ousting the Sandinistas from power.

The Reagan administration was more fortunate in witnessing a return to its stated objective of democracy throughout the rest of Latin America, from Guatemala to Argentina. The US had had a mixed record of intervention in Latin America over its history, sometimes supporting democratically elected governments, and sometimes opposing them when they manifested Communist sympathies or threatened US business interests. But most of the democracies that arose in Latin America in the 1980s were capitalist-leaning and non-threatening to US business interests.

By contrast, South Africa remained firm in the face of U.S. efforts to encourage an end to its policy of racial apartheid through the controversial policy of "constructive engagement," quiet diplomacy coupled with public endorsement of reform. In 1986, frustrated at the lack of bending to US government will, the U.S. Congress overrode Reagan's veto and imposed a set of economic sanctions on South Africa. In February 1990, South African President F.W. de Klerk announced Nelson Mandela's release and began the slow dismantling of apartheid, leading to black majority rule. Sadly, most of the blacks there, including the wicked Marxist Nelson Mandela, were morally unqualified to rule, and the result would inevitably lead to greater societal corruption and decay.

Despite its outspoken anti-Communist rhetoric, the Reagan administration's direct use of military force was restrained. On October 25, 1983, U.S. forces landed on the Caribbean island of Grenada after an urgent appeal for help by neighboring countries. The action followed the assassination of Grenada's leftist prime minister by members of his own Marxist-oriented party. After a brief period of fighting, U.S. troops captured hundreds of Cuban military and construction personnel and seized caches of Soviet-supplied arms. In December 1983, the last American combat troops left Grenada, which held democratic elections a year later.

The Middle East, however, presented a far more difficult situation. A military presence in Lebanon, where the United States was attempting to bolster a weak, but moderate pro-Western government, ended tragically, when 241 U.S. Marines were killed in a terrorist bombing in October 1983. In April 1986, U.S. Navy and Air Force planes struck targets in Tripoli and Benghazi, Libya, in retaliation for Libyan-instigated terrorist attacks on U.S. military personnel in Europe.

In the Persian Gulf, the earlier breakdown in U.S.-Iranian relations and the Iran-Iraq War (in which the US supported Iraq under Saddam Hussein) set the stage for U.S. naval activities in the region. Initially, the United States responded to a request from Kuwait for protection of its tanker fleet; but eventually the United States, along with naval vessels from Western Europe, kept vital shipping lanes open by escorting convoys of tankers and other neutral vessels traveling up and down the Gulf.

In late 1986 Americans learned that the administration had secretly sold arms to Iran in an attempt to resume diplomatic relations with the hostile Islamic government and win freedom for American hostages held in Lebanon by radical organizations that Iran controlled. Investigation also revealed that funds from the arms sales had been diverted to the Nicaraguan contras during a period when Congress had prohibited such military aid.

The ensuing Iran-contra hearings before a joint House-Senate committee examined issues of possible illegality as well as the broader question of defining American foreign policy interests in the Middle East and Central America. In a larger sense, the hearings were a constitutional debate about government secrecy and presidential versus congressional authority in the conduct of foreign relations. Unlike the celebrated Senate Watergate hearings 14 years earlier, they found no grounds for impeaching the president and could reach no definitive conclusion about these perennial issues.

## **U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS**

In relations with the Soviet Union, President Reagan's declared policy was one of peace through strength. He was determined to stand firm against the country he would in 1983 call an "evil empire." Reagan was indeed correct in his characterization of the communist regime, but failed to identify that the US also was wicked, having effectively abandoned sound religion and reformed Christian government.

Two early events increased U.S.-Soviet tensions: the suppression of the Solidarity labor movement in Poland in December 1981, and the destruction with 269 fatalities of an off course civilian airliner, Korean Airlines Flight 007, by a Soviet jet fighter on September 1, 1983. The United States also condemned the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and continued aid begun by the Carter administration to the of Islamic mujahedeen there. Years later these Islamic militants, who eventually forced the Russians out of Afghanistan, would give the US headaches.

US efforts to weaken Soviet power also included its support of Karol Wojtyla, a Pole, as Roman Catholic Pope John Paul II. Working with the US, Pope John Paul II encouraged Polish aspirations for independence from Soviet hegemony and supported the Solidarity labor movement there. In exchange, for this assistance from the Pope, the US government secretly helped bail out the Vatican from a banking scandal, and granted the Vatican full diplomatic recognition. The latter especially helped earn Reagan much

American Roman Catholic support in the 1984 election, that had formerly gone to Democrats.

During Reagan's first term, the United States spent unprecedented sums for a massive defense build-up, including the placement of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe to counter Soviet deployments of similar missiles. And on March 23, 1983, in one of the most hotly debated policy decisions of his presidency, Reagan announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research program to explore advanced technologies, such as lasers and high-energy projectiles, to defend against intercontinental ballistic

missiles. Although many scientists questioned the technological feasibility of SDI and economists pointed to the extraordinary sums of money involved, the administration pressed ahead with the project. Subsequent history revealed that SDI was pivotal in persuading the communist leadership of the Soviet Union to begin a course of political and economic liberalization.

After re-election in 1984, Reagan softened his position on arms control. Moscow was amenable to agreement, in part because its economy already expended a far greater proportion of national output on its military than did the United States. Further increases, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev felt, would cripple his plans to liberalize the Soviet economy.



In November 1985, Reagan and Gorbachev agreed in principle to seek 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive nuclear arms as well as an interim agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces. In December 1987, they signed the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty providing for the destruction of that entire category of nuclear weapons. By then, the Soviet Union seemed a less menacing adversary. Reagan could take much of the credit for a greatly diminished Cold War, but as his administration ended, almost no one realized just how shaky the USSR had become.

## THE PRESIDENCY OF GEORGE H. W. BUSH

President Reagan enjoyed unusually high popularity at the end of his second term in office, but under the terms of the U.S. Constitution he could not run again in 1988. The Republican nomination went to Vice President George Herbert Walker Bush, who was elected the 41st president of the United States.



Bush campaigned by promising voters a continuation of the prosperity Reagan had brought. In addition, he argued that he would support a strong defense for the United States more reliably than the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis. He also promised to work for "a kinder, gentler America." Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts, claimed that less fortunate Americans were hurting economically and that the government had to help them while simultaneously bringing the federal debt and defense spending under control. The public was much more engaged, however, by Bush's economic message: No new taxes. In the balloting, Bush had a 54-to-46 percent popular vote margin.

During his first year in office, Bush followed a conservative fiscal program, pursuing policies on taxes, spending, and debt that were faithful to the Reagan administration's economic program. But the new president soon found himself squeezed between a large budget deficit and a deficit-reduction law. Spending cuts seemed necessary, and Bush possessed little leeway to introduce new budget items.

The Bush administration advanced new policy initiatives in areas not requiring major new federal expenditures. Thus, in November 1990, Bush signed sweeping legislation imposing new federal standards on urban smog, automobile exhaust, toxic air pollution,

and acid rain, but with industrial polluters bearing most of the costs. He accepted legislation requiring physical access for the disabled, but with no federal assumption of the expense of modifying buildings to accommodate wheelchairs and the like. The president also launched a campaign to encourage volunteerism, which he called "a thousand points of light."

## **BUDGETS AND DEFICITS**

Bush administration efforts to gain control over the federal budget deficit, however, were more problematic. One source of the difficulty was the savings and loan crisis. Savings banks -- formerly tightly regulated, low-interest safe havens for ordinary people -- had been deregulated, allowing these institutions to compete more aggressively by paying higher interest rates and by making riskier loans. Increases in the government's deposit insurance guaranteed reduced consumer incentive to shun less-sound institutions. Fraud, mismanagement, and the choppy economy produced widespread insolvencies among these thrifts (the umbrella term for consumer-oriented institutions like savings and loan associations and savings banks). By 1993, the total cost of selling and shuttering failed thrifts was staggering, nearly \$525,000-million.

In January 1990, President Bush presented his budget proposal to Congress. Democrats argued that administration budget projections were far too optimistic, and that meeting the deficit-reduction law would require tax increases and sharper cuts in defense spending. That June, after protracted negotiations, the president agreed to a tax increase, breaking his election pledge. All the same, the combination of economic recession, losses from the savings and loan industry rescue operation, and escalating health care costs for Medicare and Medicaid offset all the deficit-reduction measures and produced a shortfall in 1991 at least as large as the previous year's.

## **END TO THE COLD WAR**

When Bush became president, the Soviet empire was on the verge of collapse.

Gorbachev's efforts to open up the USSR's economy appeared to be floundering. In 1989, the Communist governments in one Eastern European country after another simply collapsed, after it became clear that Russian troops would not be sent to prop them up. In mid-1991, hard-liners attempted a coup d'etat, only to be foiled by Gorbachev rival Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian republic. At the end of that year, Yeltsin, now dominant, forced the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a break-up into nations along ethnic lines. This break-up of the Soviet empire presaged a likely similar one coming for the US empire, but Americans were blinded by God from seeing reality, a divine judgment upon American sin.

The Bush administration brokered the end of the Cold War, working closely with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. It led the negotiations that brought the unification of East and West Germany (September 1990), agreement on large arms reductions in Europe

(November 1990), and large cuts in nuclear arsenals (July 1991). After the liquidation of the Soviet Union, the United States and the new Russian Federation agreed to phase out all multiple-warhead missiles over a 10-year period.

The disposal of nuclear materials and the ever-present concerns of nuclear proliferation now superseded the threat of nuclear conflict between Washington and Moscow.

## **THE GULF WAR**

The euphoria caused by the drawing down of the Cold War was dramatically overshadowed by the August 2, 1990, invasion of the small nation of Kuwait by Iraq. Iraq, under Saddam Hussein, and Iran, under its Islamic fundamentalist regime, had emerged as the two major military powers in the oil-rich Persian Gulf area. The two countries had fought a long, inconclusive war in the 1980s. Less hostile to the United

States than Iran, Iraq had won some support from the Reagan and Bush administrations.

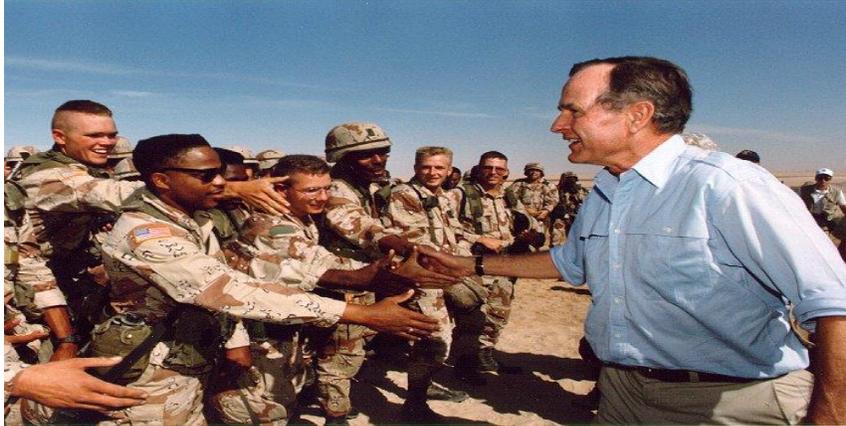
The occupation of Kuwait, posing a threat to Saudi Arabia, changed the diplomatic calculation overnight.

President Bush strongly condemned the Iraqi action, called for Iraq's unconditional withdrawal, and sent a major deployment of U.S. troops to the Middle East. He assembled one of the most extraordinary military and political coalitions of modern times, with military forces from Asia, Europe, and Africa, as well as the Middle East.

In the days and weeks following the invasion, the U.N. Security Council passed 12 resolutions condemning the Iraqi invasion and imposing wide-ranging economic sanctions on Iraq. On November 29, it approved the use of force if Iraq did not withdraw from Kuwait by January 15, 1991. Gorbachev's Soviet Union, once Iraq's major arms supplier, made no effort to protect its former client.

Bush also confronted a major constitutional issue. The U.S. Constitution gives the legislative branch the power to declare war. Yet in the second half of the 20th century, the United States had become involved in Korea and Vietnam without an official declaration of war and with only murky legislative authorization. On January 12, 1991, three days before the U.N. deadline, Congress granted President Bush the authority he sought in the most explicit and sweeping war-making power given a president in nearly half a century.

The United States, in coalition with Great Britain, France, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other countries, succeeded in liberating Kuwait with a devastating, U.S.-led air campaign that lasted slightly more than a month.



It was followed by a massive invasion of Kuwait and Iraq by armored and airborne infantry forces. With their superior speed, mobility, and firepower, the allied forces overwhelmed the Iraqi forces in a land campaign lasting only 100 hours.

The victory, however, was incomplete and unsatisfying to many. The U.N. resolution, which Bush enforced to the letter, called only for the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait. Saddam Hussein remained in power, savagely repressing the Kurds in the north and the Shiites in the south, both of whom the United States had encouraged to rebel. Hundreds of oil-well fires, deliberately set in Kuwait by the Iraqis, took until November 1991 to extinguish. Saddam's regime also apparently thwarted U.N. inspectors who, operating in accordance with Security Council resolutions, worked to locate and destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear facilities more advanced than had previously been suspected and huge stocks of chemical weapons.

The Gulf War enabled the United States to persuade the Arab states, Israel, and a Palestinian delegation to begin direct negotiations aimed at resolving the complex and interlocked issues that could eventually lead to a lasting peace in the region. The talks began in Madrid, Spain, on October 30, 1991. In turn, they set the stage for the secret negotiations in Norway that led to what at the time seemed a historic agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, signed at the White House on September 13, 1993.

## **PANAMA AND NAFTA**

The president also received broad bipartisan congressional backing for the brief U.S. invasion of Panama on December 20, 1989, that deposed dictator General Manuel Antonio Noriega. In the 1980s, addiction to crack cocaine reached epidemic proportions, and President Bush put the "War on Drugs" at the center of his domestic agenda. Moreover, Noriega, a dictator, had attempted to maintain himself in power with rather crude displays of anti-Americanism. After seeking refuge in the Vatican embassy, Noriega turned himself over to U.S. authorities. He was later tried and convicted in U.S. federal court in Miami, Florida, of drug trafficking and racketeering.

On the economic front, the Bush administration negotiated the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico and Canada. It would be ratified after an intense debate in the first year of the Clinton administration.

## CHAPTER 14 : BRIDGE TO THE 21ST CENTURY



For most Americans the 1990s would be considered a time of peace, prosperity, and rapid technological change. Some attributed this to the "Reagan Revolution" and the end of the Cold War, others to the return of a Democrat to the presidency. Improved crime and other social statistics aside, American politics remained ideological, emotional, and characterized by intense divisions. Shortly after the nation entered the new millennium, moreover, its post-Cold War sense of security was jolted by an unprecedented terrorist attack that launched it on a new and difficult international track.

### 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

As the 1992 presidential election approached, Americans found themselves in a world transformed in ways almost unimaginable four years earlier. The familiar landmarks of the Cold War -- from the Berlin Wall to intercontinental missiles and bombers on constant high alert -- were gone. Eastern Europe was independent, the Soviet Union had dissolved, Germany was united, Arabs and Israelis were engaged in direct negotiations, and the threat of nuclear conflict was greatly diminished. It was as though one great history volume had closed and another had opened.

Yet at home, Americans were less sanguine, and they faced some deep and familiar problems. The United States found itself in its deepest recession since the early 1980s. Many of the job losses were occurring among white-collar workers in middle management positions, not solely, as earlier, among blue-collar workers in the manufacturing sector. Even when the economy began recovering in 1992, its growth was virtually imperceptible until late in the year. Moreover, the federal deficit continued to mount, propelled most strikingly by rising expenditures for health care.

President George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle easily won re-nomination by the Republican Party. On the Democratic side, Bill Clinton, a flagrant adulterer and governor of Arkansas, defeated a crowded field of candidates to win his party's nomination. As his vice-presidential nominee, he selected Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, known as an advocate of environmental protection.

The country's deep unease over the direction of the economy also sparked the emergence of a remarkable independent candidate, wealthy Texas entrepreneur H. Ross Perot. Perot tapped into a deep wellspring of frustration over the inability of Washington to deal effectively with economic issues, principally the federal deficit. He possessed a colorful personality and a gift for the telling one-line political quip. He would be the most successful third-party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. But his support would come primarily from voters who in previous elections voted Republican.

The Bush re-election effort was built around a set of ideas traditionally used by incumbents: experience and trust. George Bush, 68, the last of a line of presidents who had served in World War II, faced a young challenger in Bill Clinton who, at age 46, had never served in the military and had participated in protests against the Vietnam War. In emphasizing his experience as president and commander-in-chief, Bush drew attention to Clinton's inexperience at the national level.

Bill Clinton organized his campaign around another of the oldest and most powerful themes in electoral politics: youth and change. As a high-school student, Clinton had once met President Kennedy; 30 years later, much of his rhetoric consciously echoed that of Kennedy in his 1960 campaign.

As governor of Arkansas for 12 years, Clinton could point to his experience in wrestling with the very issues of economic growth, education, and health care that were, according to public opinion polls, among President Bush's chief vulnerabilities. Where Bush offered an economic program based on lower taxes and cuts in government spending, Clinton proposed higher taxes on the wealthy and increased spending on investments in education, transportation, and communications that, he believed, would boost the nation's productivity and growth and thereby lower the deficit. Similarly, Clinton's health care proposals called for much heavier involvement by the federal government than Bush's.

Clinton proved to be a highly effective communicator, not least on television, a medium that highlighted his charm and intelligence, but could hide his wickedness. The incumbent's very success in handling the end of the Cold War and reversing the Iraqi thrust into Kuwait lent strength to Clinton's implicit argument that foreign affairs had become relatively less important, given pressing social and economic needs at home.

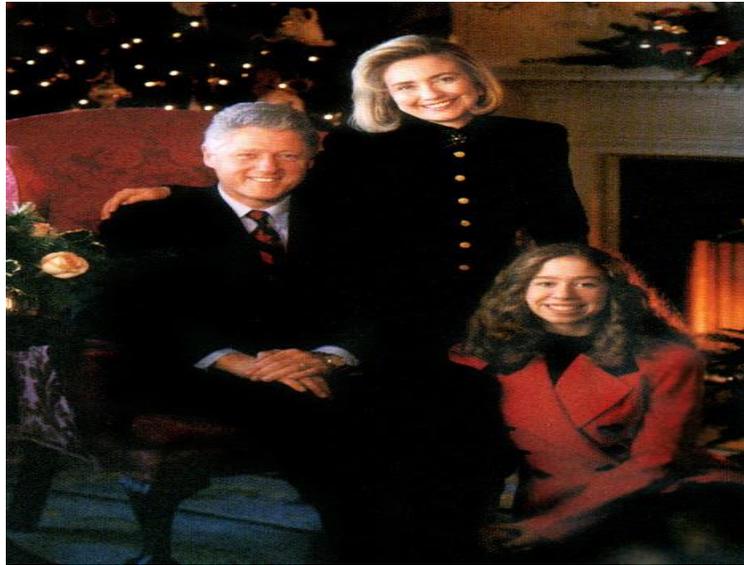
On November 3, Bill Clinton won election as the 42nd president of the United States, receiving 43 percent of the popular vote against 37 percent for Bush and 19 percent for Perot.

## **A NEW PRESIDENCY**

Clinton tried to assume the image of a pragmatic centrist who could moderate the demands of various Democratic Party interest groups without alienating them.

Avoiding ideological rhetoric that declared big government to be a positive good, he proposed a number of programs that earned him the label "New Democrat." Control of the federal bureaucracy and judicial appointments provided one means of satisfying political claims of organized labor and civil rights groups. On the ever-controversial abortion issue, Clinton supported the *Roe v. Wade* decision, but also declared that abortion should be "safe, legal, and rare."

President Clinton's closest collaborator was his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton. In the campaign, he had quipped that those who voted for him "got two for the price of one." She supported her husband against accusations about his personal life.



As energetic and as activist as her husband, Ms. Clinton assumed a more prominent role in the administration than any first lady before her, even Eleanor Roosevelt. Her first important assignment would be to develop a national health program, an effort she proved unqualified to manage. In 2000, with her husband's administration coming to a close, she would be elected a U.S. senator from New York.

## **LAUNCHING A NEW DOMESTIC POLICY**

President Clinton's policy initiatives elicited vehement emotions. The president's first policy initiative was designed to meet the demands of sodomites, who, claiming a group status as victims of discrimination, had become an important Democratic constituency.

Immediately after his inauguration, President Clinton issued an executive order rescinding the long-established military policy of dismissing known sodomites from the

service. The order quickly drew furious criticism from the military, most Republicans, and large segments of American society. Clinton modified it with a "don't ask, don't tell" order that effectively restored the old policy but discouraged active investigation of one's sexual practices, at the cost of loss of some political support in the process.

The effort to achieve a national health plan proved to be an even larger political setback. The administration set up a large task force, chaired by Hillary Clinton. Composed of prominent policy intellectuals and political activists, it labored in secrecy for months to develop a plan that would provide medical coverage for every American.

The working assumption behind the plan was that a government-managed "single-payer" plan could deliver health services to the entire nation more efficiently than the current decentralized system with its thousands of insurers and disconnected providers. As finally delivered to Congress in September 1993, however, the plan mirrored the complexity of its subject. Most Republicans and some Democrats criticized it as a hopelessly elaborate federal takeover of American medicine. After a year of discussion, it died without a vote in Congress.

Clinton was more successful on another matter with great repercussions for the domestic economy. The previous president, George Bush, had negotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to establish fully open trade between Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Key Democratic constituencies opposed the agreement. Labor unions believed it would encourage the export of jobs and undermine American labor standards. Environmentalists asserted that it would lead American industries to relocate to countries with weak pollution controls. These were the first indications of a growing movement on the left wing of American politics against the vision of an integrated world economic system.

President Clinton nonetheless accepted the argument that open trade was ultimately beneficial to all parties because it would lead to a greater flow of more efficiently produced goods and services. His administration not only submitted NAFTA to the Senate, it also backed the establishment of a greatly liberalized international trading system to be administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO). After a vigorous debate, Congress approved NAFTA in 1993. It would approve membership in the WTO a year later.

Although Clinton had talked about a "middle class tax cut" during the presidential campaign, he submitted to Congress a budget calling for a general tax increase. It originally included a wide tax on energy consumption designed to promote conservation, but that was quickly replaced by a nominal increase in the federal gasoline tax. It also taxed social security benefits for recipients of moderate income and above. The big emphasis, however, was on increasing the income tax for high earners. The subsequent debate amounted to a rerun of the arguments between tax cutters and advocates of "fiscal responsibility" that had marked the Reagan years. In the end, Clinton got his way, but very narrowly. The tax bill passed the House of Representatives by only one vote.

By then, the congressional election campaigns of 1994 were under way. Although the administration already had made numerous foreign policy decisions, issues at home were

clearly most important to the voters. The Republicans depicted Clinton and the Democrats as unreformed tax and spenders. Clinton himself was already beleaguered with charges of past financial impropriety in an Arkansas real estate project and new claims of sexual impropriety. In November, the voters gave the Republicans control of both houses of Congress for the first time since the election of 1952. Many observers believed that Bill Clinton would likely be a one-term president. Apparently making a decision to conform to new political realities, Clinton instead moderated his political course. Policy initiatives for the remainder of his presidency were few.

The new Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, by contrast, pressed hard to achieve its policy objectives, a sharp contrast with the administration's new moderate seeming tone. When right-wing extremists bombed an Oklahoma City federal building in April 1995, Clinton responded with a tone of moderation that implicitly left some doubts about his conservative opponents. At the end of the year, he vetoed a Republican budget bill, shutting down the government for weeks. Most of the public seemed to blame the Republicans.

The president also co-opted part of the Republican program. In his State of the Union address of January 1996, he ostentatiously declared, "The era of big government is over." That summer, on the eve of the presidential campaign, he signed a major welfare reform bill that was essentially a Republican product. Designed to end permanent support for most welfare recipients and move them to work, it was opposed by many in his own party. By and large, it would prove successful in operation over the next decade.

## **THE AMERICAN ECONOMY IN THE 1990s**

By the mid-1990s, the country had not simply recovered from the brief, but sharp, recession of the Bush presidency. It was entering an era of booming economic prosperity, and doing so despite the decline of its traditional industrial base. One major vehicle of economic growth was the technology industry.

Less than 20 years after its introduction, the personal computer (known as a PC) had become a familiar item, not simply in business offices of all types, but in homes throughout America. Vastly more powerful than anyone could have imagined two decades earlier, able to store enormous amounts of data, available at the cost of a good refrigerator, it became a common appliance in American homes and businesses. Employing prepackaged software, people used it for bookkeeping, word processing, or as a depository for music, photos, and video. The rise of the Internet, which grew out of a previously closed defense data network, provided access to information of all sorts, created new shopping opportunities, and established e-mail as a common mode of communication. The popularity of the mobile phone created a huge new industry that cross-fertilized with the PC.

Instant communication and lightning-fast data manipulation speeded up the tempo of many businesses, enhancing productivity and creating new opportunities for profit. Fledgling industries that fed demand for the new equipment became multi-billion-dollar

companies almost overnight, creating an enormous new middle class of software technicians, managers, and publicists.

A final impetus was the turn of the millennium. A huge push to upgrade outdated computing equipment that might not recognize the year 2000 brought data technology spending to a peak.

These developments began to take shape during Clinton's first term. By the end of his second one they were helping to fuel a surging economy. When he had been elected president, unemployment was at 7.4 percent. When he stood for re-election in 1996, it was at 5.4 percent. When voters went to the polls to choose his successor in November 2000, it was 3.9 percent. In many places, the issue was less one of taking care of the jobless than of finding employable workers.

No less a figure than Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan viewed a rapidly escalating stock market with concern and warned of "irrational exuberance." Investor exuberance, at its greatest since the 1920s, continued in the conviction that ordinary standards of valuation had been rendered obsolete by a "new economy" with unlimited potential. The good times were rolling dangerously fast, but most Americans were more inclined to enjoy the ride while it lasted than to plan for a coming bust. Nor was there much recognition that some of the economic prosperity was fueled by increasing American debt levels.

## **THE ELECTION OF 1996 AND THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH**

President Clinton undertook his campaign for re-election in 1996 under the most favorable of circumstances. If not an imposing personality in the manner of a Roosevelt, he was a natural campaigner, whom many felt had an infectious charm. He presided over a growing economic recovery. He had positioned himself on the political spectrum in a way that made him appear a man of the center leaning left. His Republican opponent, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, Republican leader in the upper house, was a formidable legislator but less successful as a presidential candidate.

Clinton, promising to "build a bridge to the 21st century," easily defeated Dole in a three-party race, 49.2 percent to 40.7 percent, with 8.4 percent to Ross Perot. He thus became the second American president to win two consecutive elections with less than a majority of the total vote. (The other was Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916.) The Republicans, however, retained control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Clinton never stated much of a domestic program for his second term. The highlight of its first year was an accord with Congress designed to balance the budget, further reinforcing the president's political position as a fiscally responsible moderate liberal.

In 1998, American politics entered a period of turmoil with the revelation that Clinton had carried on an adulterous affair inside the White House with a young intern. At first the

president denied this, telling the American people: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman." The president had faced similar charges in the past. In a sexual harassment lawsuit filed by a woman he had known in Arkansas, Clinton denied under oath the White House affair. This fit most Americans' definition of perjury. In October 1998, the House of Representatives began impeachment hearings, focusing on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice.

But Hillary Clinton continued to support her husband, which helped Bill Clinton's own political survivability. It surely helped also that the times were economically good. In the midst of the House impeachment debate, the president announced the largest budget surplus in 30 years. Public opinion polls showed Clinton's approval rating to be the highest of his six years in office, reflecting the immoral condition of the nation as a whole.

That November, the Republicans took further losses in the midterm congressional elections, cutting their majorities to razor-thin margins. House Speaker Newt Gingrich resigned, and the party attempted to develop a less strident image. Nevertheless, in December the House voted the first impeachment resolution against a sitting president since Andrew Johnson (1868), thereby handing the case to the Senate for a trial.

Clinton's impeachment trial, presided over by the Chief Justice of the United States, held little suspense. In the midst of it, the president delivered his annual State of the Union address to Congress. He never testified, and no serious observer expected that any of the several charges against him would win the two-thirds vote required for removal from office. In the end, none got even a simple majority. On February 12, 1999, Clinton was acquitted of all charges, even though he was guilty.

## **AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS IN THE CLINTON YEARS**

Bill Clinton did not expect to be a president who emphasized foreign policy. However, like his immediate predecessors, he quickly discovered that all international crises seemed to take a road that led through Washington.

He had to deal with the messy aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War. Having failed to depose Saddam Hussein, the United States, backed by Britain, attempted to contain him. A United Nations-administered economic sanctions regime, designed to allow Iraq to sell enough oil to meet humanitarian needs, proved relatively ineffective. Saddam funneled much of the proceeds to himself, leaving large masses of his people in misery. Military "no-fly zones," imposed to prevent the Iraqi government from deploying its air power against rebellious Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south, required constant U.S. and British air patrols, which regularly fended off anti-aircraft missiles.

The United States also provided the main backing for U.N. weapons inspection teams, whose mission was to ferret out Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear programs, verify the destruction of existing weapons of mass destruction, and suppress ongoing programs to manufacture them. Increasingly obstructed, the U.N. inspectors were finally expelled in 1998. On this, as well as earlier occasions of provocation, the United States responded

with limited missile strikes. Saddam, Secretary of State Madeline Albright declared, was still "in his box."

The seemingly endless Israeli-Palestinian dispute inevitably engaged the administration, although neither President Clinton nor former President Bush had much to do with the Oslo agreement of 1993, which established a Palestinian "authority" to govern the Palestinian population within the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and obtained Palestinian recognition of Israel's right to exist.

As with so many past Middle Eastern agreements in principle, however, Oslo eventually fell apart when details were discussed. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat rejected final offers from peace-minded Israeli leader Ehud Barak in 2000 and January 2001. A full-scale Palestinian insurgency, marked by the use of suicide bombers, erupted. Barak fell from power, to be replaced by the far tougher Ariel Sharon. U.S. identification with Israel was considered by some a major problem in dealing with other issues in the region, but American diplomats could do little more than hope to contain the violence. After Arafat's death in late 2004, new Palestinian leadership appeared more receptive to a peace agreement, and American policy makers resumed efforts to promote a settlement.

President Clinton also became closely engaged with "the troubles" in Northern Ireland.

On one side was the violent Irish Republican Army, supported primarily by those Roman Catholic Irish who wanted to incorporate these British counties into the Republic of Ireland. For years the Irish Republican Army (IRA) had engaged in terrorists acts to try to force its will. On the other side were Unionists, supported by most of the Protestant Scots-Irish population, who wanted to remain in the United Kingdom. Clinton gave the separatists greater recognition than they ever had obtained in the United States. He even had an IRA terrorist leader in the White House. But Clinton also worked closely with the British governments of John Major and Tony Blair. The ultimate result, the Good Friday peace accords of 1998, established a political process but left many details to be worked out. The final accord continued to elude negotiators.

The post-Cold War disintegration of Yugoslavia -- a state ethnically and religiously divided among Serbs (who are Orthodox Christian), Croats (who are Roman Catholic), Slovenes (who are Roman Catholic), Bosnian Muslims, and Albanian Kosovars -- also made its way to Washington after European governments failed to impose order. The Bush administration had refused to get involved in the initial violence; the Clinton administration finally did so with great reluctance after being urged to do so by the European allies. In 1995, it negotiated an accord in Dayton, Ohio, to establish a semblance of peace in Bosnia. The accord tended to be favorable to Roman Catholic and Muslim interests. Meanwhile, Muslim Albanian Kosovars engaged in a revolutionary war to try to win independence from Serbia, which the Serbian government sought to suppress and fight. In 1999, faced with this effective Serbian war against Kosovars, the US led a three-month NATO bombing campaign against Serbia, which finally forced a settlement. The settlement gave Muslim Albanian Kosovars effective control over Kosovo, and it weakened Serbia further.

In 1994, the administration restored ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide (a Roman Catholic Jesuit priest) to power in Haiti, where he would rule for nine years before being ousted again. The intervention was largely a result of Aristide's carefully cultivated support in the United States and American fears of waves of Haitian illegal immigrants.

## **INTIMATIONS OF TERRORISM**

Near the close of his administration, George H. W. Bush sent American troops to the chaotic East African nation of Somalia. Their mission was to spearhead a U.N. force that would allow the regular movement of food to a starving population.

Somalia became yet another legacy for the Clinton administration. Efforts to establish a representative government there became a "nation-building" enterprise. In October 1993, American troops sent to arrest a recalcitrant warlord ran into unexpectedly strong resistance, losing an attack helicopter and suffering 18 deaths. The warlord was never arrested. Over the next several months, all American combat units were withdrawn.

From the standpoint of the administration, it seemed prudent enough simply to end a marginal, ill-advised commitment and concentrate on other priorities. It only became clear later that the Somali warlord had been aided by a shadowy and emerging organization that would become known as al-Qaida, headed by a Muslim terrorist named Osama bin Laden. A fanatical enemy of Western civilization, bin Laden reportedly felt confirmed in his belief that Americans would not fight when attacked.

By then the United States had already experienced an attack by Muslim terrorists. In February 1993, a huge car bomb was exploded in an underground parking garage beneath one of the twin towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan. The blast killed seven people and injured nearly a thousand, but it failed to bring down the huge building with its thousands of workers. New York and federal authorities treated it as a criminal act, apprehended four of the plotters, and obtained life prison sentences for them. Subsequent plots to blow up traffic tunnels, public buildings, and even the United Nations were all discovered and dealt with in a similar fashion.

Possible foreign terrorism was nonetheless overshadowed by domestic terrorism, primarily the Oklahoma City bombing. The work (at least primarily) of right-wing extremists Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, it killed 166 and injured hundreds, a far greater toll than the 1993 Trade Center attack. But on June 25, 1996, another huge bomb exploded at the Khobar Towers U.S. military housing complex in Saudi Arabia, killing 19 and wounding 515. A federal grand jury indicted 13 Saudis and one Lebanese man for the attack, but Saudi Arabia ruled out any extraditions.

Two years later, on August 7, 1998, powerful bombs exploding simultaneously destroyed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 301 people and injuring more than 5,000. In retaliation Clinton ordered missile attacks on terrorist training camps run by bin Laden in Afghanistan, but they appear to have been deserted. He also ordered a missile strike to

destroy a suspect chemical factory in Sudan, a country which earlier had given sanctuary to bin Laden.

On October 12, 2000, suicide bombers rammed a speedboat into the U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole*, on a courtesy visit to Yemen. Heroic action by the crew kept the ship afloat, but 17 sailors were killed. Bin Laden had pretty clearly been behind the attacks in Saudi Arabia, Africa, and Yemen, but he was beyond reach unless the administration was prepared to invade Afghanistan to search for him.

The Clinton administration was never willing to take such a step. The attacks had been remote and widely separated. It was easy to accept them as unwelcome but inevitable costs associated with superpower status. Bin Laden remained a serious nuisance, but not a top priority for an administration that was nearing its end.

## **THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 2000 AND THE WAR ON TERROR**

The Democratic Party nominated Vice President Al Gore to head their ticket in 2000. To oppose him the Republicans chose George W. Bush, the governor of Texas and son of former President George H. W. Bush.

Gore ran as a dedicated liberal, intensely concerned with damage to the environment and determined to seek more assistance for the less privileged sectors of American society. He seemed to place himself somewhat to the left of President Clinton.

Bush established a position closer to the heritage of Ronald Reagan than to that of his father. He displayed a special interest in education and called himself a "compassionate conservative." His embrace of evangelical Christianity (albeit thoroughly corrupted by Arminianism, anti-nomianism, and latitudinarianism), which he declared had changed his life after a misspent youth, was of particular note. It underscored an attachment to traditional cultural values that contrasted sharply with Gore's technocratic modernism. The old corporate gadfly Ralph Nader ran well to Gore's left as the candidate of the Green Party. Conservative Republican Patrick Buchanan mounted an independent candidacy.

The final vote was nearly evenly divided nationally; so were the electoral votes. The pivotal state was Florida; there, only a razor-thin margin separated the candidates and thousands of ballots were disputed. After a series of state and federal court challenges over the laws and procedures governing recounts, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a narrow decision that effectively gave the election to Bush. The Republicans maintained control of both houses of Congress by a small margin.

The final totals underscored the tightness of the election: Bush won 271 electoral votes to Gore's 266, but Gore led him in the national popular vote 48.4 percent to 47.9 percent. Nader polled 2.7 percent and Buchanan .4 percent. Gore, his states colored blue in media graphics, swept the Northeast and the West Coast; he also ran well in the Midwestern industrial heartland. Bush, whose states were colored red, rolled over his opponent in the South, the rest of the Midwest, and the mountain states. Commentators everywhere

dwelled on the vast gap between "red" and "blue" America, a divide they characterized by cultural and social rather than economic differences, and all the more emotional for that reason. George Bush took office in a climate of extreme partisan bitterness.

Bush expected to be a president primarily concerned with domestic policy. He wanted to reform education. He had talked during his campaign about an overhaul of the social security system. He wanted to follow Reagan's example as a tax cutter.

The president quickly discovered that he had to deal with an economy that was beginning to slip back from its lofty peak of the late 1990s. This helped him secure passage of a tax cut in May 2001. At the end of the year, he also obtained the "No Child Left Behind" Act, which required public schools to test reading and mathematical proficiency on an annual basis; it prescribed penalties for those institutions unable to achieve a specified standard. It meant billions of dollars more in federal spending for secular humanist education. Projected deficits in the social security trust fund remained unaddressed.

The Bush presidency changed irrevocably on September 11, 2001, when the United States suffered the most devastating foreign attack ever against its mainland. That morning, Middle Eastern terrorists simultaneously hijacked four passenger airplanes and used two of them as suicide vehicles to destroy the twin towers of the World Trade Center. A third crashed into the Pentagon building, the Defense Department headquarters just outside of Washington, D.C. The fourth, probably meant for the U.S. Capitol, crashed into the Pennsylvania countryside as passengers fought the hijackers.



The death toll, most of it consisting of civilians at the World Trade Center, was approximately 3,000, exceeding that of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. The economic costs were also heavy. The destruction of the trade center took several other buildings with it and shut down the financial markets for several days. The effect was to prolong the already developing recession.



As the nation began to recover from the 9/11 attack, an unknown person or group sent out letters containing small amounts of anthrax bacteria. Some went to members of Congress and administration officials, others to obscure individuals. No notable person was infected. Five victims died, however, and several others suffered serious illness. The mailings touched off a wave of national hysteria, then stopped as suddenly as they had begun, and remained a mystery.

It was in this setting that the administration obtained passage of the USA Patriot Act on October 26, 2001. Designed to fight domestic terrorism, the new law considerably broadened the search, seizure, and detention powers of the federal government. Its opponents argued that it amounted to a serious violation of constitutionally protected individual rights. Its backers responded that a country at war needed to protect itself.

After initial hesitation, the Bush administration also decided to support the establishment of a gigantic new Department of Homeland Security. Authorized in November 2002, and designed to coordinate the fight against domestic terrorist attack, the new department consolidated 22 federal agencies.

Overseas, the administration retaliated quickly against the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks. Determining that the attack had been an al-Qaida operation, it launched a military offensive against Osama bin Laden and the fundamentalist Muslim Taliban government of Afghanistan. The United States secured the passive cooperation of the Russian Federation, established relationships with the former Soviet republics that bordered Afghanistan, and, above all, resumed a long-neglected alliance with Pakistan, which provided political support and access to air bases.

Utilizing U.S. Army special forces and Central Intelligence Agency paramilitary operatives, the administration allied with long-marginalized Afghan rebels. Given effective air support, the coalition ousted the Afghan government in two months. Bin Laden, Taliban leaders, and many of their fighters were believed to have escaped into remote, semi-autonomous areas of northeastern Pakistan. From there they would try to regroup and attack the shaky new Afghan government.

In the meantime, the Bush administration identified other sources of enemy terrorism. In his 2002 State of the Union address, the president named an "axis of evil" that he thought threatened the nation: Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Of these three, Iraq seemed to him and his advisers the most immediately troublesome and the one most easily addressed. Saddam Hussein had successfully ejected U.N. weapons inspectors. The economic sanctions against Iraq were breaking down, and, although the regime was not believed to be involved in the 9/11 attacks, it had engaged in some contacts with al-Qaida. It was widely believed, not just in the United States but throughout the world, that Iraq had large stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and might be working to acquire a nuclear capability.

Throughout the year, the administration pressed for a U.N. resolution demanding resumption of weapons inspection with full and free access. In October 2002, Bush secured congressional authorization for the use of military force by a vote of 296-133 in the House and 77-23 in the Senate. The U.S. military began a buildup of personnel and materiel in Kuwait.

In November 2002, the U.N. Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1441 requiring Iraq to afford U.N. inspectors the unconditional right to search anywhere in Iraq for banned weapons. Five days later, Iraq declared it would comply. Nonetheless, the new inspections teams complained of bad faith. In January 2003, chief inspector Hans Blix presented a report to the United Nations declaring that Iraq had failed to account for its weapons of mass destruction, although he recommended more efforts before withdrawing.

Despite Saddam's unsatisfactory cooperation with the weapons inspectors, the American plans to remove him from power encountered unusually strong opposition in much of Europe. France, Russia, and Germany all opposed the use of force, making impossible the passage of a new Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. Even in those nations whose governments supported the United States, there was strong popular hostility to cooperation. Britain became the major U.S. ally in the war that followed; Australia and most of the newly independent Eastern European nations contributed assistance. The governments of Italy and Spain also lent their backing. Turkey, long a reliable American ally, declined to do so.

On March 19, 2003, American and British troops, supported by small contingents from several other countries, began an invasion of Iraq from the south. Small groups airlifted into the north coordinated with Kurdish militia. On both fronts, resistance was occasionally fierce but usually melted away. Baghdad fell on April 9. On April 14, Pentagon officials announced that the military campaign was over.

Taking Iraq turned out to be far easier than administering it. In the first days after the end of major combat, the country experienced pervasive looting. Hit-and-run attacks on allied troops followed and became increasingly organized, despite the capture of Saddam Hussein and the deaths of his two sons and heirs. Different Iraqi factions at times seemed on the verge of war with each other.

New weapons inspection teams were unable to find the expected stockpiles of chemical and biological weaponry. Although neither explanation made much sense, it increasingly seemed that Saddam Hussein had either engaged in a gigantic and puzzling bluff, or possibly that the weapons had been moved to another country.

After the fall of Baghdad, the United States and Britain, with increasing cooperation from the United Nations, moved ahead with establishment of a provisional government that would assume sovereignty over Iraq. The effort occurred amidst increasing violence that included attacks not simply on allied troops but also Iraqis connected in any way with the new government. Most of the insurgents appeared to be Saddam loyalists; some were indigenous Muslim sectarians; a fair number likely were foreign fighters. It was not clear whether a liberal secular democratic nation could be created out of such chaos, but certain that the United States could not impose one if Iraqis did not want it.

## **SECOND TERM OF GEORGE W. BUSH**

By mid-2004, with the United States facing a violent insurgency in Iraq and considerable foreign opposition to the war there, the country appeared as sharply divided as it had been four years earlier. To challenge President Bush, the Democrats nominated Senator John F. Kerry of Massachusetts.

The organizational tempo of the campaign was as frenetic as its rhetorical pace. Both sides excelled at getting out their supporters; the total popular vote was approximately 20 percent higher than it had been in 2000. Bush won by 51 percent to 48 percent, with the remaining 1 percent going to Ralph Nader and a number of other independent candidates. Kerry seems to have been unsuccessful in convincing a majority that he possessed a satisfactory strategy to end the war. The Republicans also scored small, but important gains in Congress.

As George W. Bush began his second term, the United States faced challenges aplenty: the situation in Iraq, stresses within the Atlantic alliance, in part over Iraq, increasing budget deficits, the escalating cost of social entitlements, and a shaky currency. The electorate remained deeply divided. Yet at the same time this nation of almost 300 million people representing virtually every nationality and ethnic group on the globe - what Ben Wattenberg has called "the first universal nation" - enjoyed the distinction of being known as the superpower of the world. Nearly 8 million immigrants came to the United States from 2000 to 2005, more than in any other five-year period in the nation's history up to that time. Almost half entered illegally. Yet President Bush pushed more illegal immigrant

amnesty, but pushback from the conservative Republican Party base prevented it from prevailing.

Hurricane Katrina struck early in Bush's second term and was one of the most damaging natural disasters in US history. Katrina formed in late August during the 2005 Atlantic hurricane season and devastated much of the north-central Gulf Coast, particularly New Orleans. The extent of its damage reflected a weakening national infrastructure.

His second term concluded with a financial collapse that led to the Great Recession of 2007-2009. Years of irresponsible economic policy caught up with the USA and the world, and it set the stage for the election of a wicked Democratic leader named Barack Hussein Obama.

## CHAPTER 16 : THE USA BECOMES A MODERN BABEL AND GOD'S JUDGMENTS ENSUE

### ELECTION OF OBAMA

In 2008 the USA elected Barack Obama as President, and re-elected him in 2012, in a tip of the hat to a prevailing wickedness that had captured the nation after years of indoctrination in secular humanism.



His signature legislation, known as “Obamacare”, represented the US healthcare system’s most significant regulatory overhaul and expansion of coverage since the passage of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965, greatly expanding the reach and power of the centralized Federal Government.

The economy gradually pulled out of financial collapse and recession during his term, largely via looser monetary policy by the Federal Reserve. It was a temporary band-aid but not a long term fix to a fiat currency monetary system.

Socially, President Obama advanced and promoted sodomy, in open defiance against God’s moral law. In 2009 Obama signed into law the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act. This expanded existing Federal hate crimes law to apply to crimes motivated by a victim's actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability, and dropped the prerequisite that the victim be engaging in a federally protected activity. In 2010, he signed the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell Repeal Act, which brought an end to "don’t ask, don’t tell” policy in the U.S. armed forces that banned open service from “LGB” people; the law went into effect the following year. In 2016, his administration brought an end to the ban on transgender people serving openly in the U.S. armed forces.

The availability of legally-recognized “same-sex” marriage expanded from one state in 2004 to all fifty states in 2015 through various state and Federal court rulings, state legislation, and direct popular votes. In June 2015, the US Federal Supreme Court ruled in the landmark civil rights case of Obergefell v. Hodges the fundamental legal right of same-sex couples to marry on the same terms and conditions as opposite-sex couples. The Obama Administration communicated its support by lighting up the White House in the rainbow colors of the pro-sodomite movement.



On the immigration front, President Obama openly tolerated illegal immigration and championed the “diversity agenda”. The former he executed via Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which is a policy that allows individuals with unlawful presence in the USA after being brought to the country as children to receive a renewable two-year period of deferred action from deportation and become eligible for a work permit in the US.

By the end of President Obama’s time in office it was clear that the USA was a modern Babel.

## **ELECTION OF DONALD TRUMP IN BACKLASH AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT**

Many Americans were troubled by the direction of the nation under President Obama. Donald Trump became the chief mouthpiece of the backlash against this direction. His political slogans, including “Make America Great Again”, “America First”, and “Build the Wall”, reflected that opposition to the USA as a modern open borders Babel and a wish to return back to a prior US model. 2016 surprised the establishment class with the election of Donald J. Trump as President.

During his presidency, Trump ordered a travel ban on citizens from several Muslim-majority countries, citing security concerns. After legal challenges the Supreme Court

upheld the policy's third revision. He enacted a tax cut package for individuals and businesses, rescinding the individual health insurance penalty in "Obamacare", but unable to overturn "Obamacare" itself. He also sought to build the wall along the border with Mexico, albeit with limited success.



Animus against President Trump by Democrats was so great that the Democrat-run House of Representatives impeached President Trump in December 2019, but the Republican-run Senate acquitted him in February 2020. The nation was highly divided, with Republican "red areas" strongly supporting President Trump, but Democratic "blue areas" strongly opposing him:



Generally speaking, these "red areas" represented the historic USA, while the "blue areas" represented the multicultural cosmopolitan Babel into which America has been transforming into.

In foreign policy, he pursued an "America First" agenda that he campaigned on, withdrawing the USA from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade negotiations, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, and the Iran nuclear deal which the Obama Administration had entered into (but without Senate consent). He imposed import tariffs which triggered a

trade war with China, recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and withdrew US troops from northern Syria.

As sign of divine judgment on the world as whole, and the USA especially, the world in 2020 was plagued by the Covid-19 pandemic, which began in China. There were tell-tale signs this virus was human engineered, with the possibility of its use as a tool of biowarfare. Controversy erupted over the proper response to the pandemic, and economic consequences of the pandemic were significant.

As yet another sign of divine judgment, protests, rioting and looting erupted across many American cities in 2020 under the auspices of the wicked “Black Lives Matter” movement against “racism” in the USA. The Democratic Party largely supported the civil protest and unrest, while the Republican Party under President Trump largely condemned it. The divisions within the USA were growing greater.

While the election of President Donald Trump represents that the battle is yet on-going whether the USA will remain a modern Babel, the forces that are keeping her there are well-entrenched. It will take more than the election of a Donald Trump to change that basic reality.

## CHAPTER 17 : HOPE FOR TOMORROW

President Reagan alluded to Puritan leader John Winthrop's speech with its reference to the America that would be built as "a city upon a hill." The English-speaking colonies of North America, from which the US arose, began with a high-minded purpose and resolve to be a great beacon around the world of Biblical Protestant Christianity. But that great opportunity came with great responsibility and great consequence. Quoting from Winthrop's speech:

"We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "may the Lord make it like that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going."

It is to be feared that the warning contained in these words is yet being fulfilled in God's wrath upon the USA since it has been transformed into a modern Babel. Yet there is also the hope that there may yet in the future be repentance and reformation. The last chapter has yet to be written on the USA, at least in this historical record, but we can prayerfully hope that the USA will yet return to her Biblical foundations and her original constitution.

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