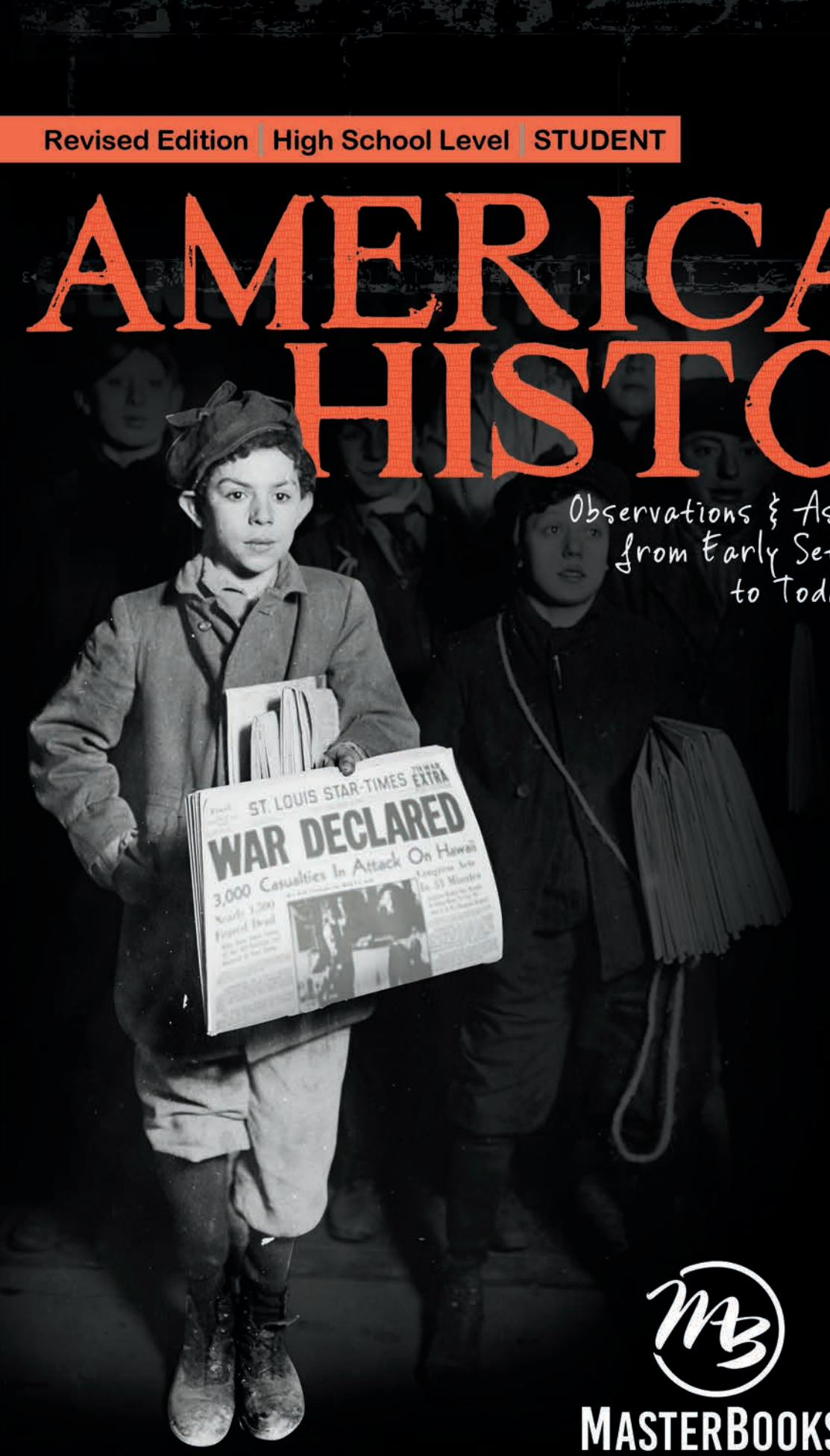
Revised Edition | High School Level | STUDENT

AMERICAN HISTORY

Observations & Assessments from Early Settlement to Today





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Observations & Assessments from Early Settlement to Today





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About the Author:

James P. Stobaugh and his wife, Karen, homeschooled their four children starting in 1985. They have a growing ministry, For Such a Time As This Ministries, committed to challenging this generation to change its world for Christ. Dr. Stobaugh is an ordained pastor, a certified secondary teacher, and an SAT coach. His academic credentials include: BA, cum laude Vanderbilt University; Teacher Certification, Peabody College for Teachers; MA, Rutgers University; MDiv, Princeton Theological Seminary; Merrill Fellow, Harvard University; DMin Gordon Conwell Seminary.

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PREFACE

The writing of history is the selection of information and the synthesis of this information into a narrative that will stand the critical eye of time. History, though, is never static. One never creates the definitive theory of a historical event. History invites each generation to reexamine its own story and to reinterpret past events in light of present circumstances.

The creation of this story is more difficult than it seems. From the beginning, the historian is forced to decide what sort of human motivation matters most: economic? political? religious? social?

For instance, what caused the American Revolution? The historian Bernard Bailyn argues that ideology or the history of thought caused the American Revolution. No, the historian Oscar Handlin argues, the Revolution was caused by social upheaval (i.e., the dislocation of groups and classes of people). Sydney Ahlstrom argues that religion was an important cause of the American Revolution. And so forth. Students will look at several theories of history, primary source material, and then decide for themselves what really happened.

In other words, *American History* invites students to be historians. Students look at the sources and scholarship available and make a decision. Students must know and accept that the past is constantly changing according to new scholarship discoveries. Therefore, as new sources are discovered, and old ones reexamined, students understand that theories of history may change. American History enables students to commit themselves to the task of examining these theories and primary source material and ultimately to form their own theories of history. "Every true history is contemporary history," historians Gerald Grob and George Billias write. My students make the theories of historical events personal and contemporary.



Main Reading Room of the Library of Congress in the Thomas Jefferson Building



While I know that my students can never be completely neutral about history, scholarly historical inquiry demands that they implement the following principles:

1. Historians must evaluate the veracity of sources. There must be a hierarchy of historical sources. Primary source material, for instance, is usually the best source of information.

2. Historians must be committed to telling both sides of the historical story. They may choose to lobby for one view over the other, but they must fairly examine all theories.

3. Historians must avoid stereotypes and archetypes. They must overcome personal prejudices and dispassionately view history in ruthlessly objective terms.

4. Historians must be committed to the truth no matter where their scholarship leads them. At times historians will discover unflattering information about their nation/state.

5. Finally, historians understand that real, abiding, and eternal history is ultimately made only by people who obey God at all costs.

After everything is said and done, historians are only studying the past. They cannot really change the past. Theories about the past come and go and change with each generation. However, the past is past. It is over.

Historians will debate about history, but they can never change history. God alters the course of history.

God alone is sovereign over history. When persons are reborn in Christ, their present, future, and, yes, even their past is changed. History is literally rewritten. They are new creations. That bad choice, that sin, that catastrophe is placed under the blood of the Lamb, and everything starts fresh and new. A new history for new people.

Let me illustrate. One hundred and fifty years ago, my great-great-great grandfather, whose passion was to kill Yankees, was a slave owner in Eastern Tennessee. With that inheritance, I grew up to mistrust African Americans. Like so many people captured by their history and culture, present and future became my past. However, when I was a senior in high school, I was saved; Jesus Christ became my Lord and Savior. My attitudes changed. It took time, but prejudices disappeared. Ultimately, I married a New Jersey woman, Karen, and we adopted three African American children.

Three of my children are African American. Imagine! Quite literally, my history was rewritten. It has been changed irrevocably by my decision to invite Jesus Christ to be Savior of my life. In a real sense, family prejudice and death existing for generations ended in my generation. The destructive, historical cycle that was part of my history has ended. No one and nothing can do that but the Lord. History has been rewritten!

My prayer is that if you do not know this God who can change history — even your history — this history text might encourage you to invite Jesus Christ into your heart as Savior.

—James Stobaugh

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

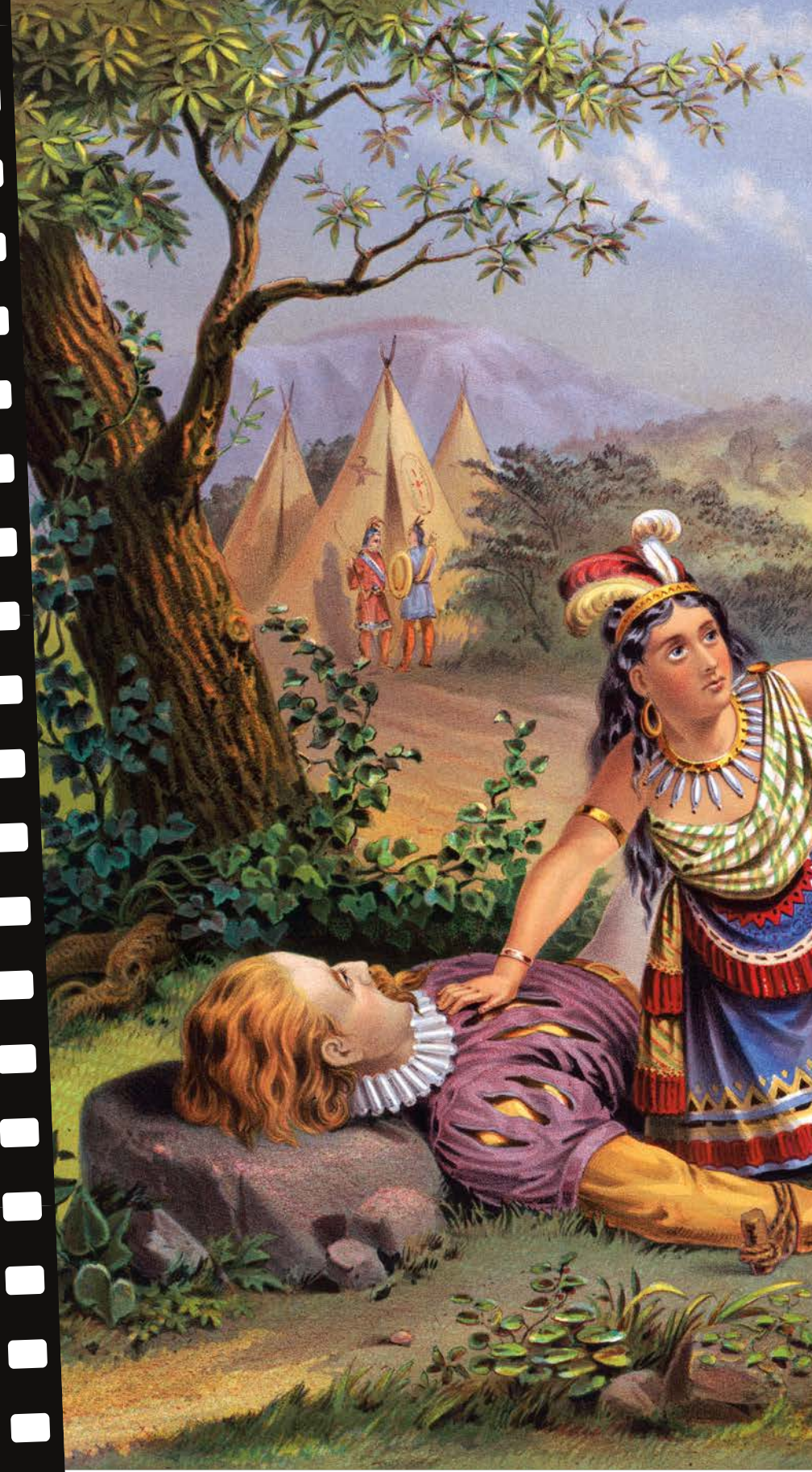
Chapter 1 presents the beginning of European America, for there were already Native American cultures when the Europeans arrived. We invite you to understand the complexity of the task of exploration, the difficulties of colonization, and the challenge of establishing relations with Native Americans. You will understand, analyze, and then evaluate the triumphs and tragedies that comprised the European exploration and conquest of the Americas.

READERS SHOULD BE ABLE TO

1. Analyze the worldviews in colonial society.
2. Describe what life was like for indigenous Native Americans.
3. Describe in greater detail the Native People groups.
4. Discuss Columbus' legacy in the New World.
5. Analyze primary sources and determine their credibility.

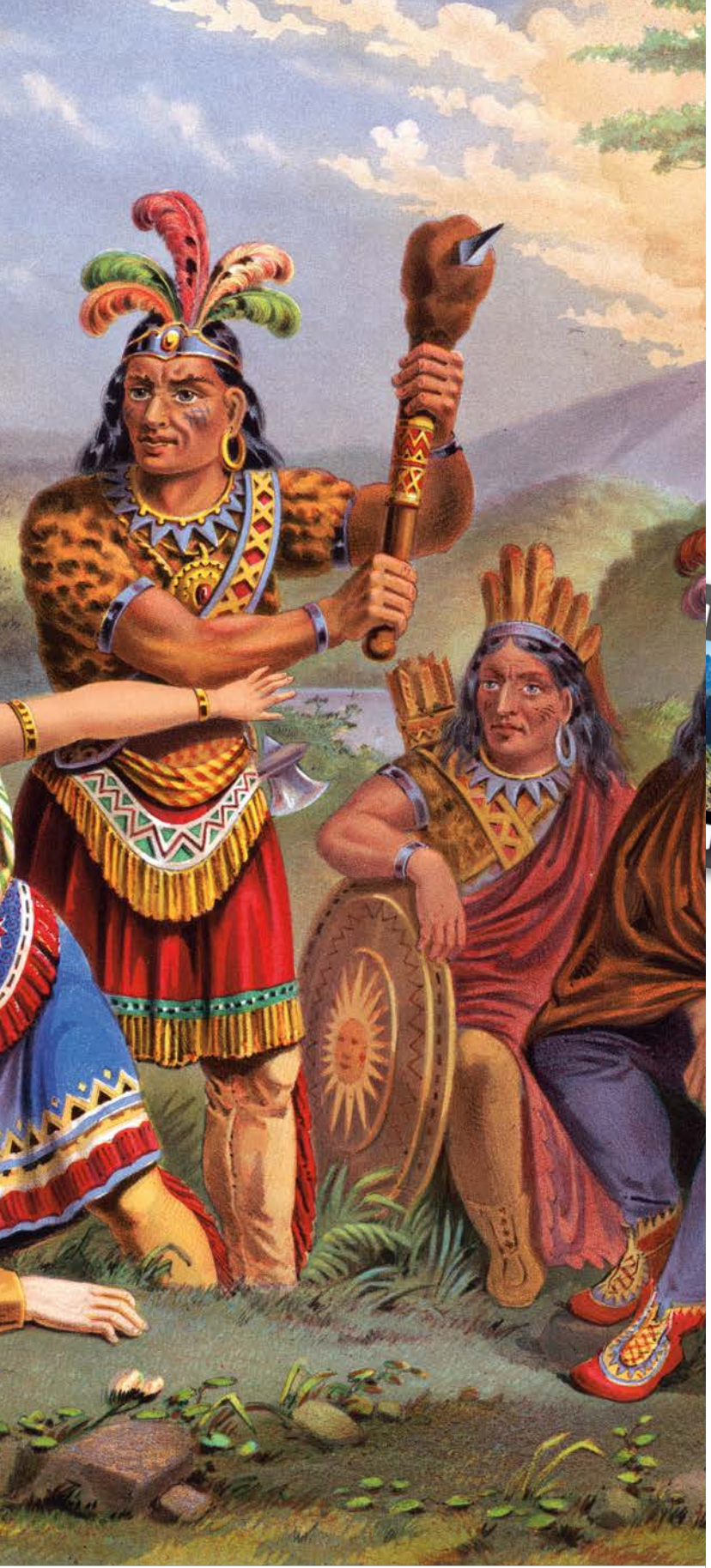
PEOPLE , PLACES, AND PRINCIPLES

Watch for the bolded words to help build your vocabulary this week. You will find these words and definitions from each chapter readily available to you in the glossary at the back of this book.



1200 to 400 BC
Olmec Culture thrives in Mexico

AD 1000
Vikings sail to North America



Pocahontas saving Captain John Smith from death by throwing herself between him and his Native American attackers.

1

NATIVES OF THE NEW WORLD



Can you imagine what it was like to be living in North or South America in the early 16th century and suddenly seeing bearded white men landing on your shore carrying strange flags and metal instruments from huge ships? Or can you imagine how it felt to be cooped up in a scurvy-ridden, drafty ship for two and a half months and then suddenly sighting a new land? This chapter will explore the developed civilizations of native peoples who greeted the new Europeans as they first explored and then settled in the Western Hemisphere.

AD 1778

Delaware people sign first Native American treaty

Lesson 1

War of the Worldviews

The Vital Nature of Worldview

What is a **worldview**? A worldview is a way that a person understands, relates to, and responds from a philosophical position that he embraces as his own. Worldview is a framework that ties everything together, that allows us to understand society, the world, and our place in it.

> Worldview – The way a person understands, relates to, and responds from a philosophical position that he embraces as his own.

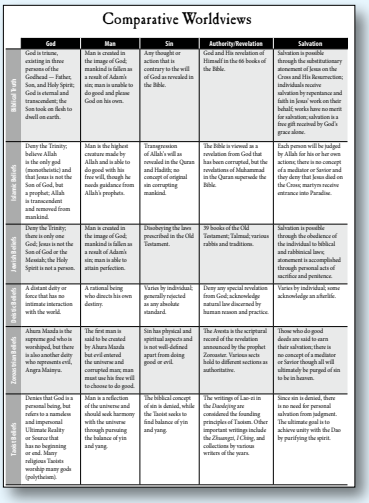
If you are a committed Christian believer, you will be challenged to analyze the worldviews of individuals and institutions around you. You are inextricably tied to your culture, but that does not mean you can't be in this culture but not of this culture. Furthermore, you will be asked to explain your own worldview and to defend it against all sorts of assaults. It is important that you pause and examine several worldviews that you will encounter. You also need to articulate your own worldview.

A worldview helps us make the critical decisions that will shape our future. A worldview colors all our decisions and all our artistic creations. In the first *Star Wars* movie (1977), for instance, Luke Skywalker clearly values a Judeo-Christian code of ethics. That does not mean that he is a believing Christian — indeed he is not — but he does uphold and fight for a moral world. Darth Vader, on the other hand, represents chaos and amoral behavior. He does whatever it takes to advance the emperor's agenda, regardless of whom he hurts or what rule he breaks. It is important that you articulate your worldview now so that you will be ready to discern other worldviews later.

Throughout your reading of this text, you will find references to the "Comparative Worldviews" chart in the appendix located in this student book and the teacher guide. Worldviews relevant to current people or cultures are noted for you to contrast to the Biblical Truth. If you have the teacher guide, you may choose to tear out the chart so you can keep it available while reading about the various religions and philosophies discussed in the book. It is always best to keep your primary focus on the foundation of Scripture when studying other teachings and worldviews.



Comparative Worldviews



Comparative Worldviews

	God	Man	Sin	Authority/Revelation	Salvation
Biblical Truth	God is triune, existing in three persons of the Godhead — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; God is eternal and transcendent; the Son took on flesh to dwell on earth.	Man is created in the image of God; mankind is fallen as a result of Adam's sin; man is unable to do good and please God on his own.	Any thought or action that is contrary to the will of God as revealed in the Bible.	God and His revelation of Himself in the 66 books of the Bible.	Salvation is possible through the substitutionary atonement of Jesus on the Cross and His Resurrection; individuals receive salvation by repentance and faith in Jesus' work on their behalf; works have no merit for salvation; salvation is a free gift received by God's grace alone.
Islamic Beliefs	Deny the Trinity; believe Allah is the only god (monotheistic) and that Jesus is not the Son of God, but a prophet; Allah is transcendent and removed from mankind.	Man is the highest creature made by Allah and is able to do good with his free will, though he needs guidance from Allah's prophets.	Transgression of Allah's will as revealed in the Quran and Hadith; no concept of original sin corrupting mankind.	The Bible is viewed as a revelation from God that has been corrupted, but the revelations of Muhammad in the Quran supersede the Bible.	Each person will be judged by Allah for his or her own actions; there is no concept of a mediator or Savior and they deny that Jesus died on the Cross; martyrs receive entrance into Paradise.
Jewish Beliefs	Deny the Trinity; there is only one God; Jesus is not the Son of God or the Messiah; the Holy Spirit is not a person.	Man is created in the image of God; mankind is fallen as a result of Adam's sin; man is able to attain perfection.	Disobeying the laws prescribed in the Old Testament.	39 books of the Old Testament; Talmud; various rabbis and traditions.	Salvation is possible through the obedience of the individual to biblical and rabbinical laws; atonement is accomplished through personal acts of sacrifice and penitence.
Deistic/Catholic	A distant deity or force that has no intimate interaction with the world.	A rational being who directs his own destiny.	Varies by individual; generally rejected as any absolute standard.	Deny any special revelation from God; acknowledge natural law discerned by human reason and practice.	Varies by individual; some acknowledge an afterlife.
Zoroastrian Beliefs	Ahura Mazda is the supreme god who is worshiped, but there is also another deity who represents evil, Angra Mainyu.	The first man is said to be created by Ahura Mazda but evil entered the universe and corrupted man; man must use his free will to choose to do good.	Sin has physical and spiritual aspects and is not well-defined apart from doing good or evil.	The Avesta is the scriptural record of the revelation announced by the prophet Zoroaster. Various sects hold to different sections as authoritative.	Those who do good deeds are said to earn their salvation; there is no concept of a mediator or Savior though all will ultimately be purged of sin to be in heaven.
Taoist Beliefs	Denies that God is a personal being, but refers to a nameless and impersonal Ultimate Reality or Source that has no beginning or end. Many religious Taoists worship many gods (polytheism).	Man is a reflection of the universe and should seek harmony with the universe through pursuing the balance of yin and yang.	The biblical concept of sin is denied, while the Taoist seeks to find balance of yin and yang.	The writings of Lao-zi in the *Daodejing* are considered the founding principles of Taoism. Other important writings include the *Zhuangzi*, *I Ching*, and collections by various writers of the years.	Since sin is denied, there is no need for personal salvation from judgment. The ultimate goal is to achieve unity with the Dao by purifying the spirit.

8 MAJOR WORLDVIEWS

Here is a short sketch of the eight major worldviews, with examples.

1 Theism: God is personally involved with humankind.

A belief that argues that the universe is a divinely-created entity. It argues that all human life is sacred, and all persons are of equal dignity. They are, in other words, created in the image of God. History is linear and moves toward a final goal. Nature is controlled by God and is an orderly system. Humanity is neither the center of nature nor the universe but is the steward of creation. Righteousness will triumph in a decisive conquest of evil. Earthly life does not exhaust human existence but looks ahead to the resurrection of the dead and to a final, comprehensive judgment of humanity (adapted from Carl F.H. Henry, *Toward a Recovery of Christian Belief*). This was the only viable worldview until the Renaissance. Examples: Homer, Virgil, C.S. Lewis, A.J. Cronin, J.R.R. Tolkien.

2 Deism: God was present but is no longer present.

A belief that the world is like a clock wound up by God many years ago, but He is now absent. The clock (i.e., the world) is present; God is absent. Still, though, deism embraced basic biblical morality. God's absence, for instance, in no way mitigated His importance to original creation. He was also omnipotent but not all knowing. His absence was His decision. He was in no way forced to be absent from the world. He chose to assume that role so that Socratic beliefs and rationalism could reign as sovereign king. Basic deism replaced biblical theism. Examples: Albert Einstein, Voltaire.

3 Romanticism: God is/was nature.

A belief that posited that God was nature, and "it" was good. The more natural things were, the better. Nature was inherently good. Nature alone was the ultimate reality. In other words, nature was the romantic god. Man was essentially a complex animal, too complex to be controlled by absolute, truth (as one would find in the Bible). Human intuition replaced the Holy Spirit. Depending on the demands on individual lives, truth and good became relative and changing. Romanticism, however, like deism, had not completely abandoned biblical morality. Examples: James Fenimore Cooper, Goethe.



4 Naturalism: If God exists, He is pretty weak.

A belief that only the laws of nature have any force. God is either uninterested or downright mean. All reality is reduced to impersonal processes. All life, including human life, would simply lead to death.

Truth and good, therefore, were also passing. This maturation, as it were, of the human race necessitated a deliberate rejection of all elements of a final authority. Examples: Epicurus, Ernest Nagel.

5 Realism: A world with no purpose.

A belief that sees a world with no purpose, no meaning, no order. Realism insists that personality has no ultimate status in the universe. Realism throws around terms like "dignity" and "human rights" and "power." What realists mean, however, is that these concepts are real when they fulfill a social agenda that enhances human dominance over the universe. Thus, realism believes in a world where bad things happen all the time to good people. Why not? There is no God, no controlling force for good. The world is a place where the only reality is that which we can experience, but it must be experience that we can measure or replicate. Certainly, pain and misery fit that category. If an experience is a unique occurrence (e.g., a miracle), it is not real. Examples: Plato, Amit Goswami.

6 Absurdism: There is no god nor any reason to have one.

A belief that suggests everything is disorganized and anarchy rules. There is a complete abandonment of explaining the cosmos and, therefore, an abandonment of being in relationship with the deity. It is not that the absurdists are unsure about who creates everything or is in control of everything. Absurdists simply to do not care one way or the other. Examples: Albert Camus, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

7 Existentialism: Everything is relative.

A belief that suggests God is reduced or excluded from the overwhelming data, and that this experience is the first step toward believing that God is dead. In this very pessimistic worldview, truth is open to debate. Examples: Franz Kafka, Jean-Paul Sartre, Nietzsche.



8 Postmodernism: Rejection of objective truth.

A belief that is a tendency in contemporary culture characterized by the rejection of objective truth and a common cultural narrative. In other words, in postmodernism, every sacred belief and ethic is in question. Before postmodernism, the Golden Rule, for instance, was universally accepted as a desirable moral trait. Not in postmodernism — everything is on the chopping block. This worldview emphasizes the role of language, power relations, and motivations. In particular, it attacks the use of classifications such as male versus female, straight versus gay, white versus black, and imperial versus colonial. Postmodernists avoid "categories," which by definition limit reality. Examples: The Simpsons TV show, Fredric Jameson, Jean-Francois Lyotard.



Worldview Transitions

At the beginning of the 21st century, there is truly an exciting phenomenon occurring in American society: Christian theism is experiencing an unprecedented revival. As sociologist Peter Berger accurately observes, evangelical Christians are growing in number and maturity.

We Christians generally subscribe to two strongly held propositions: that a return to Christian values is necessary if the moral confusion of our time is to be overcome and that the Enlightenment is to be blamed for much of the confusion of our time.

In fact, I believe that evangelicalism is one of the most potent anti-Enlightenment movements in world history. I most assuredly did not say "anti-intellectual." Excesses of Enlightenment rationalism have sabotaged the certitude of classicism and Christian theism that so strongly influenced Western culture long before the formidable onslaught of the likes of David Hume.

The good news is that things may be changing. Evangelical Christianity may be capturing the elite culture of America.

*E*vangelical professor Mark Noll once observed, "The scandal of the evangelical mind is that there is not much of an evangelical mind." Indeed. Not anymore. Today, more than ever, in the garb of Christian homeschooling and other sectors, evangelicalism has gained new life.

By side-stepping the Enlightenment, Christian homeschooling has opened up a whole new arena for debate. So has the Christian school. While conceding that faith is not a makeshift bridge to overcome some Kierkegaardian gap between beliefs and evidence, Christian schooling, especially Christian homeschooling, posits that it is still important that we look beyond our experience for reality. Human needs and aspirations are greater than the world can satisfy, so it is reasonable to look elsewhere for that satisfaction. Worth is the highest and best reality (a decidedly anti-Enlightenment notion) and its genesis and maintenance come exclusively from relationship with God alone. Homeschooling families, with their sacrificial love of one another and their extravagant gift of time to one another, offer a radical path into this new way of looking at reality.

Christian homeschooling and evangelical Christian schooling, then, move backward in time, far back in time, when intellectualism was not separate from religion. This blows the claims of the Enlightenment to bits. Christian schooling has brought back stability into the lives of countless millions in America when the majority of Americans are living in a context of clashing activities where (as Kenneth J. Gergen explains) the very ground of meaning, the foundations and structures of thought, language, and social discourse are up for grabs; where the concepts of personhood, spirituality, truth, integrity, and objectivity are all being demolished, breaking up, giving way. And homeschoolers do it the old-fashioned way: parents stay home and love the kids and in the process lay their lives down for all our futures.

Christian schooling. Millions strong. Unpretentious to a fault, this new cultural revolution is inviting Americans back to traditional truths that have been with us always and others that need to be rediscovered. Christian schooling has invited Americans to a comfortable marriage of intellectualism and transcendentalism that fares our culture and our nation well in the years ahead. In that sense, then, perhaps Christian schooling families, homeschooling and otherwise, are the new patriots, the hope for our weary nation and our dysfunctional culture. We shall see.



Lesson 2

North American Indigenous People Groups



Clovis points from the Rummells-Maske Site

It is instructive and tragic that the wildly popular Charles and Mary Beard's *History of the United States* (1921) begins the American story with a discussion of European immigration, without mention of Native Americans until page 56! Actually, it is likely that millions of Native Americans inhabited America at the time of the European arrivals, having traveled a land-bridge across the Bering Sound from Siberia, Russia, during the Ice Age into what is now Alaska. They had gradually migrated across the land and southward into Central America and beyond.

A stabilization in climate led to widespread migration, cultivation of crops, and subsequently a dramatic rise in population all over the Americas. One important group that emerged is the **Clovis people group**. The Clovis culture ranged over much of North America and also appeared in South America. The culture is identified by the distinctive Clovis point, a flaked flint spear-point with a notched flute, by which it was inserted into a shaft.

Clovis People Group – Identified by the distinctive Clovis point.

These were a people who owned no land but owned all land; they did not have a concept of land ownership. They were farmers, artisans, hunters, warriors, and fishermen. They made a point of using everything in the environment that they could. I don't think they could have even conceived of what was heading their way.

The Native Americans of the East Coast met the new 16th- and 17th-century visitors from Europe with nonchalance. They regarded these bearded white men as strange but were delighted with the trade goods the colonists and explorers brought: copper pots, tools, and weapons. However, the Europeans also brought measles, **smallpox**, cholera, yellow fever, and many more devastating diseases that drastically diminished the Native American population and annihilated entire villages. But they also brought the gospel, and some argue that the Jesuit, Anglican, and other missionaries brought new hope to these indigenous people groups.

Smallpox – One of the devastating diseases that drastically diminished the Native American population.

Who were the Native American people groups whom the European immigrants met as they settled along the eastern seaboard? While there were innumerable other tribes whose lives were affected by the coming European migration, we will examine the following: Delaware, Powhatan, Iroquois Confederation, Aztec, and Mayan.

Delaware Tribe

The name Delaware was given to the people who lived along the Delaware River, which had been named after Lord De La Warr, a later governor of the Jamestown colony. The name Delaware later came to be applied to almost all Lenape people. The **Delaware** were among the first native people groups to come in contact with the Europeans (Dutch, English, and Swedish) in the early 1600s. These European settlers landed in New Jersey and Delaware. The Delaware were called the "Grandfather" tribe because they often served to settle disputes among rival tribes. At the same time, while they were fierce warriors, they preferred to choose a path of peace with the Europeans.



Jennie Bobb, and her daughter, Nellie Longhat, both Delaware (Lenape), Oklahoma, 1915

Many of the early alliances and land sales the Delaware signed with the Europeans were, in their minds, more like rental agreements. This is true of other Native American tribes. The notion of land ownership was entirely alien to this culture. The early Delaware had no idea that land was something that could be sold and owned.

The Delaware people signed the **Delaware Treaty** with the newly formed United States government on September 17, 1778. Nevertheless, the Delaware continued to lose their land and ultimately moved westward, first to Ohio, then to Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, and finally to an area that would become known as Indian Territory, now Oklahoma.[1]

Concentrated along the rivers, which provided both food and transportation, the folk who lived here spoke a now-extinct form of **Algonquian**, a language that was common to many native peoples from present-day New York south to Florida.

Delaware Tribe – Among the first to come in contact with the European colonists.

Powhatan Tribe

The undisputed ruler of 1600 Tidewater Virginia was **Wahunsonacock**, usually referred to by the title "Powhatan." John Smith describes Powhatan as "a tall, well-proportioned man, with a sower look, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age (as of 1608) neare sixtie, of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour."

Delaware Treaty – A treaty with the Delaware people and the newly formed United States Government on September 17, 1778.

Powhatan, by 1607, ruled over 30 tribes. Each tribe was governed by a chief who owed allegiance and tribute to Powhatan. Powhatan also had an extensive family — more than 100 wives and innumerable offspring — one of whom was **Pocahontas**.

1. web.archive.org/web/20100701105515/http://www.delawaretribeofindians.nsn.us

Powhatan's people lived in villages, which could number as many as 100 homes. Some villages were protected by wooden palisades; each house boasted an extensive and carefully-tended garden, in which was sown such staples as corn, beans, peas, squash, pumpkin, sunflowers, and maypops (passionflower). Tobacco, primarily used for ceremonial purposes, was grown apart from the rest of the crops. The waterways afforded a rich diet of fish and shellfish, and the woods yielded nuts, fruits, and berries. Since the dog was the only animal domesticated by the Powhatans, hunting was an important way to supplement the diet, and was a task relegated to the men of the tribe.

Although early interaction between the English and Powhatans was sometimes violent, leaders of both peoples realized the mutual benefit that could be derived from peaceful relations. The marriage of Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas, to settler John Rolfe in 1614 ensured a few peaceful years between the Powhatans and the English. This ended in 1617 with the death of Pocahontas during a trip to England and, the next year, of her father.

On March 22, 1622, the Powhatans made the first, and perhaps most successful, attack to end European colonization on the North American continent. About 400 English settlers died and the colony received a near-fatal blow.

The short-lived peace was over. For over a decade, the English killed men and women, captured children, and systematically razed villages, seizing or destroying crops. The precipitous decline of Powhatan dominance was well underway.

Algonquian – A now-extinct language which was common to many native peoples from present-day New York south to Florida.

Wahunsonacock – The undisputed ruler of 1600 Tidewater Virginia.

Pocahontas – Powhatan's favorite daughter married a colonist, John Rolfe, in 1614 ensuring a few peaceful years between the Powhatans and the English.



The Baptism of Pocahontas, on display in the Rotunda of the US Capitol

Iroquois Confederation



Iroquois Confederation – One of the most influential Native American tribes.

Perhaps no Native American tribe was more influential in American history than the **Iroquois Confederation**. The six Iroquois nations, characterizing themselves as "the people of the longhouse," were the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Tuscarora, and Seneca.

As Encyclopedia Britannica explains, "The Iroquois Confederacy differed from other American Indian confederacies in the northeastern woodlands primarily in being better organized, more consciously defined, and more effective. The Iroquois used elaborately ritualized systems for choosing leaders and making important decisions. They persuaded colonial governments to use these rituals in their joint negotiations, and they fostered a tradition of political sagacity based on ceremonial sanction rather than on the occasional outstanding individual leader. Because the league lacked administrative control, the nations did not always act in unison; but spectacular successes in warfare compensated for this and were possible because of security at home."[2]



A typical Iroquois longhouse

2. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Iroquois-Confederacy

Lesson 3

South American Indigenous People Groups

Aztecs

While the Aztec Indians seem larger than life, in actuality, they were small in stature. Women were several inches shy of five feet tall, and the men barely topped that measurement. The society was Puritanical in its moral behavior. Drunkenness and promiscuity were often penalized by death in the Aztec culture.



Replica of an Aztec calendar

One of the many rules of the Aztec Indian society was the dress code. The way Aztecs dressed had to reflect their social strata. For instance, commoners had to wear plain clothing, no adornments. Nobility could wear colorful clothing and jewelry. If they did not abide by the dress code, they could be put to death. Homes reflected the same idea. Commoners could only live in a one-story home, but noblemen were allowed multiple stories.

Aztecs believed that **human sacrifice** was necessary to appease the gods. Fighting was also a major aspect of their lives. Aztec warriors were fierce.

Unless they were in the noble class, the way of life for the Aztec Indians was tough. They lived in fear of breaking some moral or societal code and being put to death. They worried about being singled out for human sacrifice. It was a way of life for hundreds of years until **Hernando Cortez**, the Spanish explorer, discovered the Aztec civilization. After that, their lives were changed forever, as we will see later in this chapter.[3]

Human Sacrifice – The Aztecs believed it was necessary to appease the gods.

Hernando Cortez – Spanish explorer, dismantled the Aztec monarchy and gained control of all Tenochtitlan in just two years.



Aztec warriors as depicted in the Codex Mendoza

3. http://indians.org/articles/aztec-indians.html

Mayas

The earliest of the major Meso-American civilizations was the **Olmec culture**, which is often regarded as the fostering influence behind the Mayan, Aztec, and other later societies. The Olmec were prominent in eastern coastal Mexico between 1200 and 400 B.C. and are remembered for constructing massive earthen mounds, sculpting giant basalt heads, and building large and prosperous cities that existed for hundreds of years. As the Olmec declined, the Mayas rose to prominence.

Settlement was extensive in the Yucatán Peninsula and stretched southward into Central America. Unlike the later Aztecs, the **Mayas** did not exercise strong administrative control over an empire, but instead developed as a series of largely autonomous city-states, such as Palenque, Tikal, and Chichén Itzá. Fortified residential areas were often surrounded by meticulously cultivated farmlands.

Mayan contributions were many. They developed an advanced writing system. Their history, entrusted to cactus fiber parchment, fared poorly against the ravages of time, and Spanish censors saw to the destruction of much of the remainder. However, many Mayan carvings on stone have survived and provide much of what is known today about their civilization.

The Mayas were gifted mathematicians who independently developed the concept of zero and astronomers who deduced that a solar year was slightly more than 365 days. Despite these achievements, the Mayas and other Meso-American cultures failed to discover the utility of the wheel.

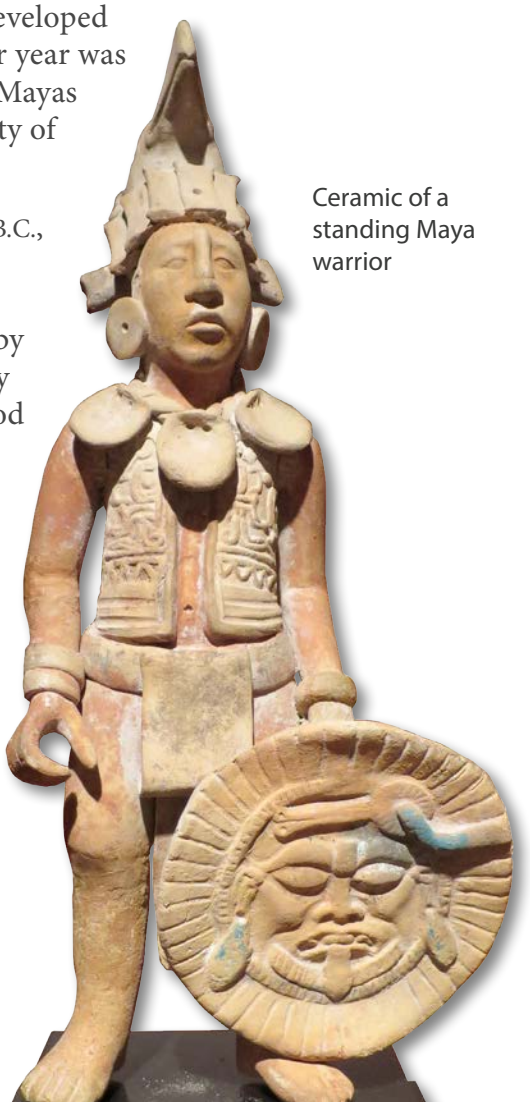
The decline of Mayan civilization was well under way by 1100 B.C., 2,000 years before conquistadors arrived. The causes are uncertain, but speculation points to warfare, crop failures, and disease as leading possibilities. The society was also enervated by its religion, which emphasized that human blood was extremely pleasing to its gods. Nobles mutilated themselves and their blood flowed onto fabric, which was burned as an offering.

As time passed, those gifts were deemed insufficient, and human sacrifice became commonplace. Victims had their still-beating hearts cut from their chests and displayed to throngs gathered for these spectacles. Most of those so dispatched were captives from battles, but others were Mayan volunteers seeking to placate the gods.

By the time of the Spanish arrival around A.D. 1520, the Mayas were a starkly diminished civilization. Their great cities were abandoned, and the remnants of their population widely scattered.[4]

Olmec Culture – Influence behind the Maya, Aztec, and other societies. Remembered for constructing massive earthen mounds, sculpting giant basalt heads, and building large and prosperous cities that existed for hundreds of years.

Mayas – Developed as a series of largely autonomous city-states. Created an advanced writing system, the mathematical concept of zero, and discovered a 365-day solar year.



Ceramic of a standing Maya warrior

4. https://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h433.html

Incas

Elaborate, massive, ancient Inca ruins at the foot of the peak of **Machu Picchu** in south-central Peru provide clear evidence that the Incas were a Native South American tribe who, at the time of the Spanish conquest in 1532, ruled an empire that extended along the Pacific coast and Andean highlands from the northern border of modern Ecuador to the Maule River in central Chile. The Incas established their capital at Cuzco (Peru) in the 12th century. They began their conquests in the early 15th century and within 100 years had gained control of an Andean population of about 12 million people.



The Inca ruins of the lost city Machu Picchu

The founder of the Incan dynasty, Manco Capac, led the tribe to settle in Cuzco, which remained thereafter its capital. Until the reign of the fourth emperor, Mayta Capac, in the 14th century, there was little to distinguish the Incas from the many other tribes inhabiting small domains throughout the Andes. Under Mayta Capac, the Incas began to expand, attacking and looting the villages of neighboring peoples and probably assessing some sort of tribute. Under Capac Yupanqui, the next emperor, the Incas first extended their influence beyond the Cuzco valley, and under Viracocha Inca, the eighth emperor, they began a program of permanent conquest by establishing garrisons among the settlements of the peoples whom they had conquered.

Machu Picchu – Referred to as "The Lost City of the Incas", Machu Picchu is one of the most familiar symbols of the Inca Empire.

Incan Architecture – Highly developed irrigation systems, palaces, temples, fortifications, and a vast network of roads, can still be seen throughout the Andes.

Incan architecture was highly developed, although not strikingly original. Their irrigation systems, palaces, temples, and fortifications can still be seen throughout the Andes. The economy was based on agriculture, its staples being corn (maize), white and sweet potatoes, squash, tomatoes, peanuts (groundnuts), chili peppers, cocoa, cassava, and cotton. They raised guinea pigs, ducks, llamas, alpacas, and dogs. Clothing was made of llama wool and cotton. Houses were of stone or adobe mud. Practically every man was a farmer, producing his own food and clothing.

The Incas built a vast network of roads throughout this empire. It comprised two north–south roads, one running along the coast for about 2,250 miles (3,600 km), the other inland along the Andes for a comparable distance, with many interconnecting links. Many short rock tunnels and vine-supported suspension bridges were constructed. Use of the system was strictly limited to government and military business; a well-organized relay service carried messages in the form of knotted cords (quipu) at a rate of 150 miles (240 km) a day. The network greatly facilitated the Spanish conquest of the Inca empire.[5]

5. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Inca

Lesson 4

Columbus, Conquistadors, and Colonization

The Age of Exploration

Around A.D. 1000, **Danish Vikings** sailed from Greenland to North America and set up a village on the tip of what is now Newfoundland. The real Vikings were nothing like the Minnesota Vikings! For one thing, they did not wear horned helmets!

The Vikings came from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. From A.D. 800 to A.D. 1100, the Vikings raided Western Europe, from Ireland to Russia. The Vikings were a very warlike people who nonetheless had strong families and a well-developed culture. The Vikings were the first Europeans to settle in North America. No one knows why the settlement disappeared, but in less than 50 years the Vikings disappeared from North America.

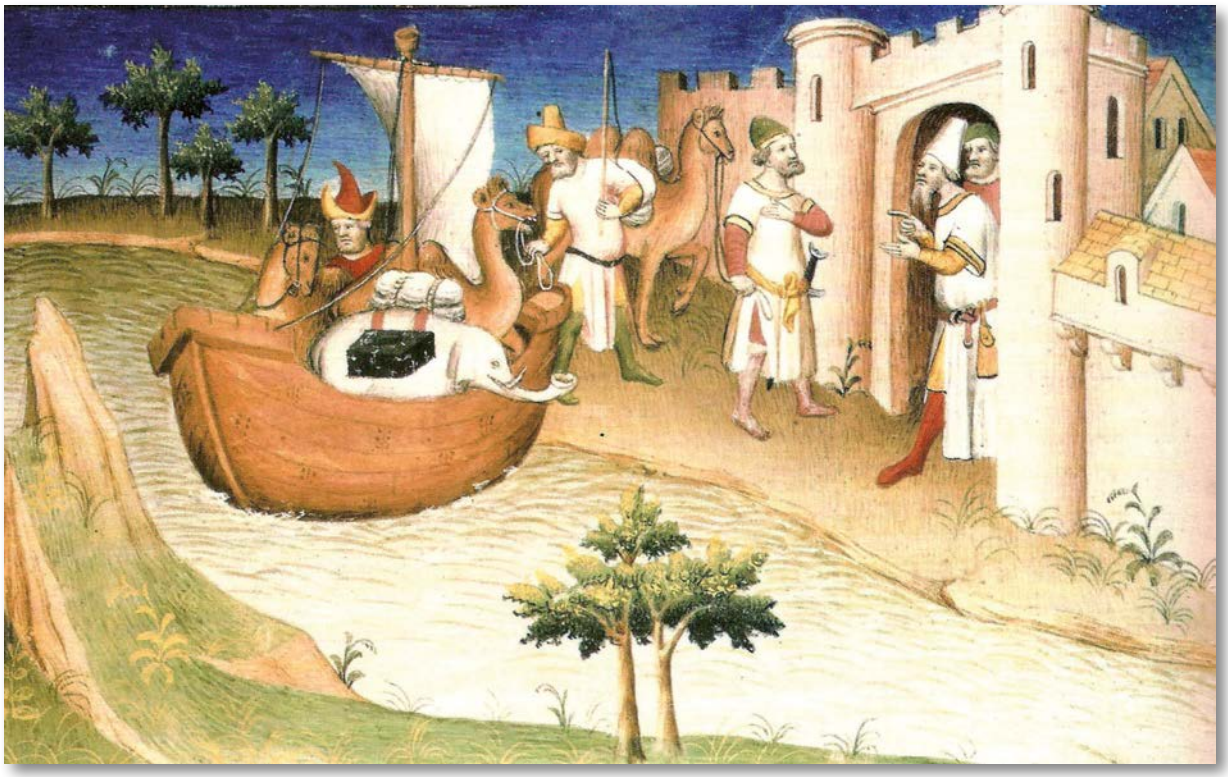
If the Vikings were the first Europeans to explore North America, **Christopher Columbus** was the most famous. Born Cristoforo Colombo between August and October 1451 in Genoa, Italy, Columbus was the eldest son of Domenico Colombo, a small-scale merchant. Columbus was largely schooled at home. Living in Renaissance Italy, Christopher Columbus saw the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Age of Exploration.

Danish Vikings – A warlike people with strong families and well-developed culture were the first Europeans to settle in North America.

Christopher Columbus – The most famous European to explore North America. Born in Italy in 1451, he saw the end of the Middle Ages and beginning of the Age of Exploration.



Christopher Columbus landing in America in1492



Marco Polo travelling, from the book *The Travels of Marco Polo* (*Il milione*), published during Polo's lifetime

The Age of Exploration grew out of largely economic impulses. For one thing, **Marco Polo** had introduced Europeans to exotic spices and teas from China and the East Indies. But Polo's access was a land route from Venice, Italy, to Peking (today's Beijing), China. However, toward the end of the 14th century, the vast empire of Kublai Kahn was breaking up; thus, merchants could no longer be assured of safe conduct along the land routes. Second, the growing power of Islamic Turkey blocked European attempts at trade. Still, in 1260, Marco Polo traveled east from Europe. In 1265, he arrived at Kaifeng, the capital of Kublai Khan's (also known as the Great Khan) Mongol Empire. In 1269, he returned to Europe with a request from Khan for the pope to send 100 missionaries to the Mongol Empire, supposedly to help convert the Mongols to Christianity. Sadly, the missionaries were not sent, but Marco Polo returned and set up a land trade route to China.

Marco Polo – Explored China and the East Indies, bringing exotic spices and teas to Europe. He set up a trade route to China.



Kublai Khan

Enormous profits could be made by traders who were able to bring even one caravan back from the Orient. At the same time, technological advances made a water trade route more practical. For one thing, the Portuguese developed a new type of ship called the Caravel. The Caravel was a particularly seaworthy ship that was both fast and dependable. The development of the Caravel would be similar to the transformation of air flight from propeller-driven craft to jet airplanes. At the same time, with the further improvement of the mariner's compass, European traders were ready to leave the land behind and explore the unknown on the seas.

By the 15th century, most educated Europeans believed that the world was round and that one could sail westward to reach China. Sailing there was another matter. Most scientists correctly postulated that the world was too big to sail westward to China. Christopher Columbus, on the other hand, was persuaded that the world was about 25 percent smaller than it really was. He thought that he would sail into Cathay a mere six weeks after he left Spain! Fifty years later, it actually took another explorer, Magellan, almost a year!

Queen Isabella & King Ferdinand – Supported Columbus in 1492, in search of a water-route to the lucrative East Indies, after he had been rejected by King John II.

In 1484, Columbus asked King John II of Portugal to back his voyage west, but King John calculated that it was too risky. The next year, Columbus went to Spain and asked **Queen Isabella** of Castile and her husband, **King Ferdinand** of Aragon. In January of 1492, after being twice rejected, Columbus finally obtained the support of Ferdinand and Isabella. With the fall of Granada, the last Moorish/Islamic stronghold in Spain, Spanish Christians believed they were close to eliminating the spread of Islam in southern Europe and beyond. Isabella and Ferdinand felt that they were ready now to support something more risky. Finally, in 1492, Spain sponsored Columbus' trip west to find a water route to the lucrative East Indies.

As the sun rose on August 3, 1492, three small ships left Palos de la Frontera, Spain, for the East Indies. At 2 a.m. on October 12, 1492, a member of Columbus' crew sighted land.



Columbus Before the Queen

Colonization of the New World

Columbus traveled to the New World four times. He died without realizing that he had not reached the East Indies. It is difficult to exaggerate or understate the historical significance of Christopher Columbus. The world was never the same after his voyages. Although he failed to find a new route to China, Columbus made the lands and peoples of the western hemisphere known to Europeans, setting in motion a chain of events that altered human history on a global scale.

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines **colony** as a body of people living in a new territory but retaining ties with the parent state. During the 16th century, Spain alone took seriously the colonization of territories. While other nations of Europe were contenting themselves with occasional voyages of discovery (hoping to find gold like Spain had), or with slave-carrying expeditions, the Spaniards extended their dominion in the New World. Colonies were established on the coasts of South and Central America and the islands of the Caribbean.



Vasco Nuñez de Balboa

Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519) was a Spanish conquistador and explorer who, along with his dog, was the first European to see the eastern part of the Pacific Ocean in 1513 after crossing the Isthmus of Panama.

Poor Balboa was charged with treason against Spain (although he was innocent and had been framed by a friend, Arias de Avila). Francisco Pizarro (who later conquered the Incas) arrested Balboa. Balboa was found guilty and was publicly beheaded in Acla (in what is now Panama) in January 1519.[6]

Hernando Cortez fared much better. In 1519, Cortez landed in the area of Vera Cruz, Mexico. By November of that year, Cortez entered into Tenochtitlan (the capital of the Aztec Empire near Mexico City) and simply arrested the emperor of the Aztecs, Montezuma. Within the span of two years, Cortez dismantled the Aztec monarchy and gained control of all of Tenochtitlan and many of its surrounding territories.

Why was the Aztec Empire taken so quickly by the Europeans led by Cortez? There are many factors to consider in answering such a question.

Colony – A body of people living in a new territory but retaining ties with the parent state.

Vasco Núñez de Balboa – A Spanish conquistador, was the first European to see the eastern part of the Pacific Ocean in 1513.

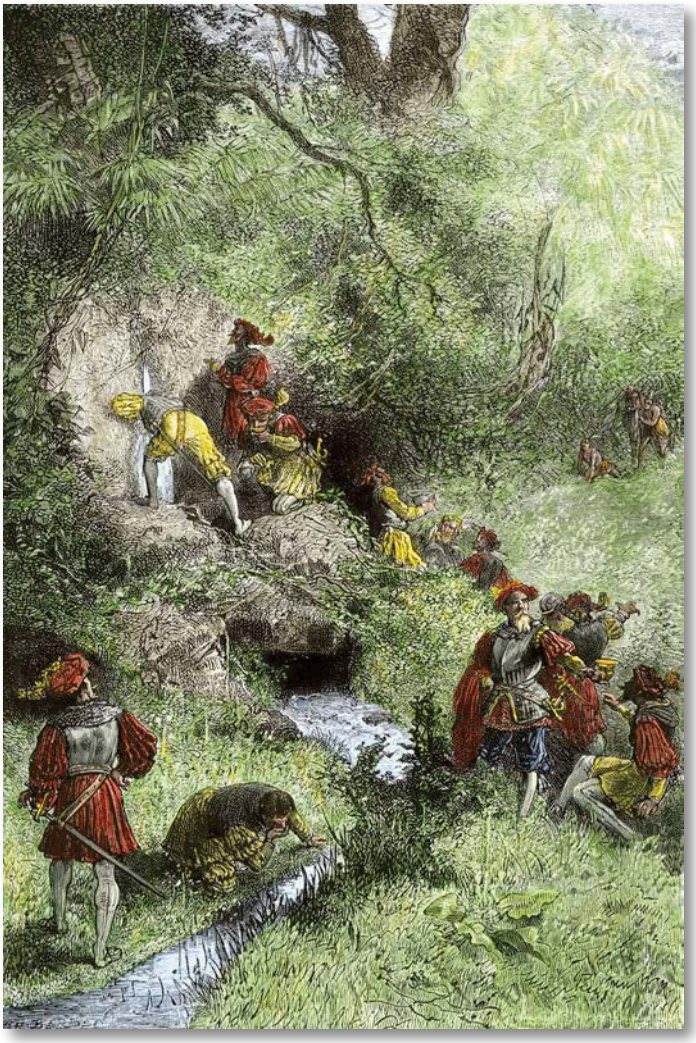
6. http://ces.heard.k12.ga.us/common/pages/DisplayFile.aspx?itemId=30903344

Of the most important is the time in which Cortez entered into Tenochtitlan. Prior to his arrival, the Aztecs had seen many astrological phenomena that seemed to portend the collapse of the empire itself. These portents of doom ranged from a comet seen in the daytime to the destruction of two temples. They created a sense of fear that blinded people to the truth, as is the nature of fear. In addition to these omens of doom, Cortez arrived at harvest time, when the Aztecs were generally not prepared for war, although there were battles. Also, the Tlaxcalan people helped Cortez fight the Aztecs. Outbreaks of epidemics also helped to weaken the Aztecs.

Francisco Pizarro – In 1531-33, he with 175 armed men, conquered the entire Incan Empire.

Other explorers conquered nothing but swampland. As a reward for his service to Spain, Ponce de Leon was given the right to find Bimini, one of the islands in the Bahamas. The "Fountain of Youth" was supposed to be in Bimini. Legend has it that anyone who drank from the fountain would never grow old. Ponce de Leon organized an expedition to find the fountain in March of 1513. He landed near the site of what is now St. Augustine, Florida. He didn't realize he was in North America. He thought he had landed on an island. He named it Florida because he saw lots of flowers (*florida* in Spanish means "flowery").

In 1527, **Francisco Pizarro** set off from Spain looking for the city of gold. In 1531 he entered Peru, where, with his small band of 175 men he conquered the entire Incan Empire. On May 13, 1532, he began to advance toward the empire's capital. As Pizarro's group advanced, they were confronted by roughly 5,000 Incan warriors within the town square of the capital city, Cajamarca, who were bent on destroying Pizarro's band. However, the Incas did not attack. Rather, Pizarro asked the Inca leader, Atahualpa, to meet with him and his bodyguards unarmed, and both the Incas and Pizarro's men stood at a standstill. Accepting Pizarro's offer was the Incas' worst mistake.[7]



Juan Ponce de León and his explorers drinking from a spring in Florida while supposedly seeking the Fountain of Youth

Pizarro knew that if he had the emperor, he would have the entire Incan Empire and all the gold that it held. Shortly after his meeting with Pizarro, Atahualpa's gold headband was torn from his head, and with the blast of a cannon, Pizarro's men slaughtered all of the Incas within the square

7. www.history.co.uk/this-day-in-history/16-november/pizarro-massacres-5000-incans-and-takes-incan-emperor-hostage

of Cajamarca. Atahualpa attempted to bargain with Pizarro for his life, offering him a room filled with gold (roughly 17 feet by 22 feet by 9 feet), but shortly after Atahualpa showed Pizarro the room, he was murdered.[8]



Atahualpa, the last Inca Emperor

During the late 16th century, 200,000 Spaniards migrated to South America. Quickly, South America began to change, with imported plants, large sugar plantations, vast estates, and imported animals overtaking the native landscape. Bureaucracy and government also took hold quickly in South America. The Spanish established the **encomiendas**, where the government granted conquerors the right to employ groups of indigenous peoples. The encomiendas, in truth, were a form of devastating legalized slavery. Relegated to practical slave labor within sugar cane plantations and mining caves, the native population of Peru declined from about 1.3 million in 1570 to 600,000 in 1620. In Meso-America, the circumstances were no different. This population went from several million in 1519 to a scant 1 million in 1605. Though forced labor played the largest part in the decimation of the Incas and Aztecs, disease was by no means minor within this time frame. Widespread epidemics of smallpox and other diseases were not uncommon, and they claimed the lives of millions. On the psychological front, historians and psychologists have offered another reason for the decimation of the Incan and Aztec populations, namely that they had lost the will to survive. With the quick loss of culture, accompanied by the pressure of laws preventing the practice of any form of native religion (for which there were strong repercussions, even death), Native Americans became as slaves to the Spanish invaders.[9]

Encomienda – The encomienda was a labor system—legalized slavery—Spanish officials employed during the colonization of the Americas.

8. http://m.myhotnews.com/publicaciond.php?PublicacionId=12966&lang=en
9. http://m.myhotnews.com/publicaciond.php?PublicacionId=12966&lang=en

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

We will explore different aspects of Jacksonian democracy and determine for ourselves whether it was a good thing for America. We will walk again the Trail of Tears and experience the horror that was inflicted on a Native American people.

READERS SHOULD BE ABLE TO

1. Discuss the philosophy of Ralph Waldo Emerson.
2. Discuss the distinctives and limits of a democratic society.
3. Assess the impact of the Jacksonian democratic revolution.
4. Measure the limits of Jacksonian democracy.
5. Discuss the impact of Daniel Webster on American history.

PEOPLE , PLACES, AND PRINCIPLES

Watch for the bolded words to help build your vocabulary this week. You will find these words and definitions from each chapter readily available to you in the glossary at the back of this book.



AD 1812
Beginning of the War of 1812

AD 1828
Andrew Jackson elected president



The capture of the *USS President*

AD 1830
Indian Removal Act

9

DEMOCRACY AND NEW GOVERNMENTS



In the election of 1824, the representatives of the "aristocracy" made their last successful stand. Until then, the leadership by men of "wealth and talents" had been undisputed. There had been five presidents — Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe — all East Coast men brought up in prosperous families. They were "old money" aristocrats. Then came Andrew Jackson — who never finished high school and was a rough, self-made Westerner. Some Americans loved Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Battle of New Orleans. Others hated him. Democracy is the best form of government, but in the Middle Period of American history, limitations emerged that have yet to be addressed.

Lesson 1

Philosophers and Worldviews

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) Humanist

Emerson was a frustrated pastor who gave up his faith, embraced **Transcendentalism**, and began writing literature and philosophy.

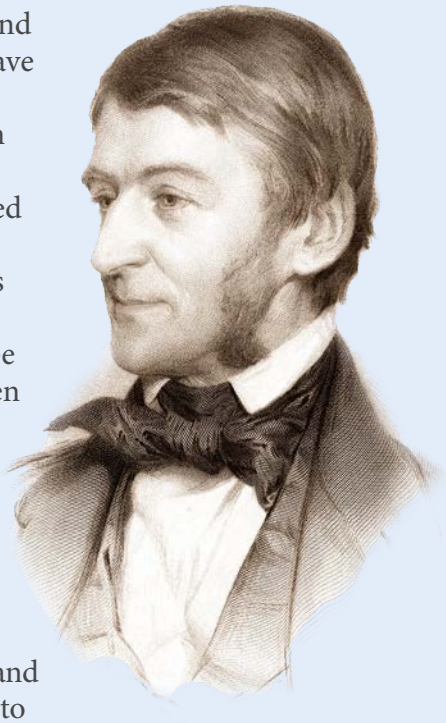
Transcendentalism – The American version of Romanticism, an artistic movement that celebrated nature as the highest power in the universe.

Emerson was part of the Transcendentalist movement, which was the American version of Romanticism. Romanticism questioned the power and virtue of reason. To Emerson and all Transcendentalists/Romantics, the subjective, the emotional, and the feelings were the epicenter of human existence. Emerson was, therefore, suspicious of reason and empiricism. As philosopher Martyn Oliver remarked, "To the Romantic the unthinkable was a common and enduring characteristic." This provided a stark contrast with Enlightenment philosophy, which was concerned to start, at least, with that which could be known with certainty. The Enlightenment epitomized the values of logic, certainty, and consistency, and the Romantic reveled in contradiction and uncertainty. For the first time since the Classical/Christian era, that which was abstract, that which could not be quantified, was celebrated and extolled.

A portion of Emerson's essay "Conduct of Life" (1860):

We are born believing. A man bears beliefs, as a tree bears apples. A self-poise belongs to every particle; and a rectitude to every mind, and is the Nemesis and protector of every society. I and my neighbors have been bred in the notion, that, unless we came soon to some good church — Calvinism, or Behmenism, or Romanism, or Mormonism — there would be a universal thaw and dissolution. No Isaiah or Jeremy has arrived. Nothing can exceed the anarchy that has followed in our skies. The stern old faiths have all pulverized. 'Tis a whole population of gentlemen and ladies out in search of religions. 'Tis as flat anarchy in our ecclesiastic realms, as that which existed in Massachusetts, in the Revolution, or which prevails now on the slope of the Rocky Mountains or Pike's Peak. Yet we make shift to live. Men are loyal. Nature has self-poise in all her works; certain proportions in which oxygen and azote combine, and, not less a harmony in faculties, a fitness in the spring and the regulator.

The decline of the influence of Calvin, or Fenelon, or Wesley, or Channing, need give us no uneasiness. The builder of heaven has not so ill constructed his creature as that the religion, that is, the public nature, should fall out: the public and the private element, like north and south, like inside and outside, like centrifugal and centripetal, adhere to every soul, and cannot be subdued, except the soul is dissipated. God builds his temple in the heart on the ruins of churches and religions.



Ralph Waldo Emerson

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) Humanist

When I entered Harvard Divinity School in 1976, Divinity Hall where I lived was already rich with stories — some of which were apocalyptic — about Emerson, Channing, and Thoreau, all three champions of the early Transcendental movement. Writer, philosopher, and naturalist Henry David Thoreau was a bona fide eccentric who has been the champion of advocates of nonviolence for at least three generations. "Eccentric" is a polite way to describe Thoreau — less generous individuals, in modern vernacular, would call him a certifiable "nut." To his friends Melville, Emerson, Hawthorne, and the Alcotts, Thoreau was always a lot of fun, for one never knew what Thoreau would do. But Thoreau was not harmless: he advanced the heresy called Transcendentalism. The problem with Emerson and Thoreau was that they were not merely writers — they were preachers, philosophers. People read their poems and essays. People were influenced by them. The same could be said for the Alcott sisters (one of whom wrote *Little Women*), Melville (*Moby Dick*), and Cooper (*Deerslayer*, et al.), but these three were primarily literary authors, not theologians.



Henry David Thoreau

A portion of Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*:

"The authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit to — for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do so well — is still an impure one: to be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress toward a true respect for the individual. Even the Chinese philosopher was wise enough to regard the individual as the basis of the empire. Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man? There will never be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly. I please myself with imagining a State at last which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor; which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellow men. A State which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which I have also imagined, but not yet anywhere seen.



Comparative Worldviews

Compare and contrast "Biblical Truth" on the chart with "Secular Humanism."

Lesson 2

The Rise of the American Political Tradition

The presidency of James Monroe (1817–1825) was termed the Era of Good Feelings, but, in many ways, it was just the opposite. While consensus appeared on the surface, it was a period of vigorous political and regional disagreement. Political opponents quietly built coalitions and advanced agendas. All of this posturing burst onto the political arena in the controversial 1824 election.



U.S. President James Monroe

Nonetheless, the administrations of Madison and especially Monroe clearly marked the end of the Federalist Party, and the appearance of a consensus — of some sorts — under the Jeffersonian democratic banner. However, within a very few years, the Federalist Party agenda would reappear in the Whig Party, and political hegemony by Jeffersonian Democrats was again challenged.

I use the word "party" with some trepidation. With political parties indelibly a part of contemporary American political life, it is difficult for Americans to understand that, until the middle of the 19th century, most Americans were not comfortable with the concept of "political parties," which were perceived as divisive, even seditious. The fact is, most Americans were suspicious of "factionalism." Also, in the case of the presidential election, the president was elected by the **electoral college** chosen by state legislatures, not by direct voters. Most people, therefore, really did not vote for President. This changed slowly over the course of the early 19th century.

Electoral College – Really elects the president; the popular vote merely informs their decision.

Of course, the Founding Fathers knew there would be "factions" and special interest groups, but they never planned for or expected to see permanent political parties emerge. Early Federalist leaders, schooled in the British constitutional system, hoped that factions would remain fluid and temporary rather than crystallize into firm organizational structures of established political parties. By 1800, however, the factions of Federalists and anti-Federalists had structured themselves into the beginnings of political parties.

Ironically, in his Farewell Address, President Washington expressed great anxiety about the development of political parties.

A portion of President Washington's Farewell Address:

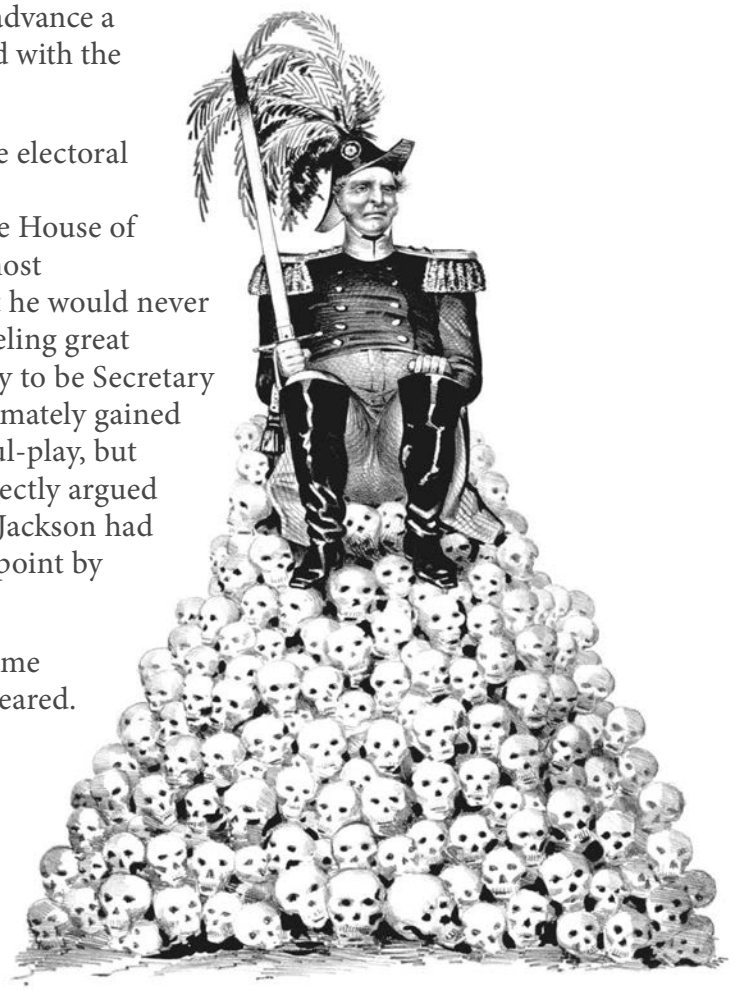
"All combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authorities, are destructive. . . . They serve to organize faction, to give an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of the party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.



By 1828, Americans were growing more comfortable with political parties. But these early political "parties" were more like caucuses than organized entities. There was no party chairperson, or organized fundraising. Political parties were groups of people crystallized around political issues, but they did not permanently advance a particular platform or agenda. This all changed with the election of Andrew Jackson.

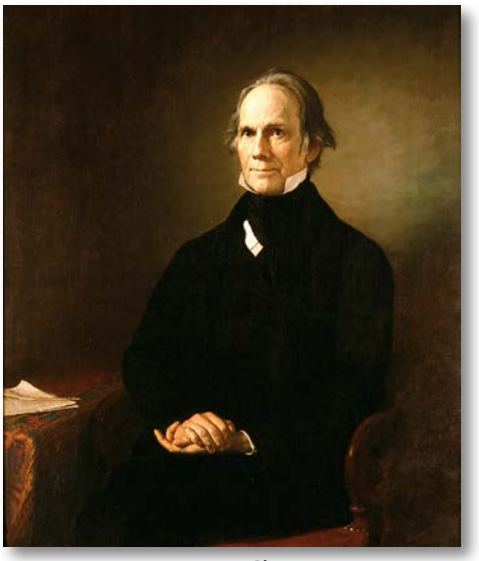
In 1824, no candidate gained a majority in the electoral college, so, according to the provisions of the Constitution, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Henry Clay was the most influential politician. Clay, though, knew that he would never win enough votes to carry the election. So, feeling great animosity toward Jackson and satisfied merely to be Secretary of State, Clay cut a deal with Adams, who ultimately gained the presidency. Jackson immediately cried foul-play, but Adams had won fair and square. Jackson correctly argued that Adams had not won the popular vote — Jackson had — and Jackson returned in 1828 to make his point by winning the presidency hands down.

During Adams' administration, for the first time really, extant, permanent political parties appeared. Adams' followers took the name of "National Republicans," later to be changed to "Whigs." Though he governed honestly and efficiently, Adams was not a popular president, and his administration was marked with frustrations. Adams failed in his effort to institute a national system of roads and canals. His years in office appeared to be one long campaign for reelection,



"An Available Candidate. The one qualification for a Whig president." Used at Whig party convention in Philadelphia, 1948

and his coldly intellectual temperament did not win friends. Jackson, by contrast, had enormous popular appeal, especially among his followers in the newly named Democratic Party that emerged from the Republican Party, with its roots dating back to presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. In the election of 1828, Jackson defeated Adams by an overwhelming electoral majority.[1]


Henry Clay

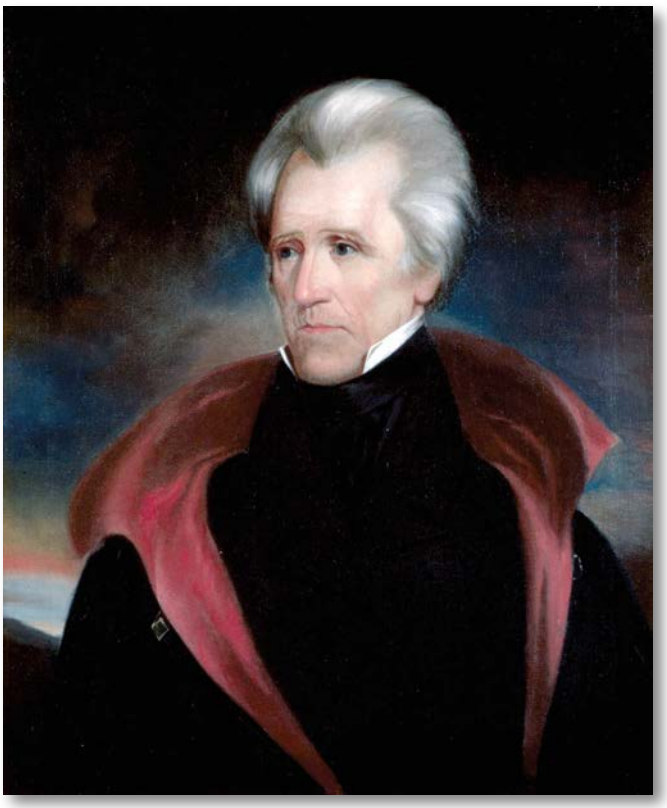
In 1824, Tennessee and Pennsylvania chose Andrew Jackson with South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun as his running mate. Kentucky selected Speaker of the House Henry Clay; Massachusetts, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams; and a congressional caucus, Treasury Secretary William Crawford. Personality and sectional allegiance played important roles in determining the outcome of the election.[2] Without a majority of the popular vote, Adams nevertheless won the election.

Date	Hamiltonians	Jeffersonians
1791	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
1824	National Republicans	Democratic-Republicans
1829	Republicans "Era of Good Feelings"	
1834	Whigs	Jackson Democrats
1840	Northern Whigs Anti-slavery Democrats	Southern Democrats
1854	Republicans	Democrats
Present	Republicans	Democrats

1. https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/history/ch5.htm
2. https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/history/ch5.htm

Lesson 3

Jacksonian Democracy



Andrew Jackson

Probably no candidate for the presidency ever had such passionate popular support as Andrew Jackson had in 1828. He was truly a man of the people. On the march and in camp, he endeared himself to his men by sharing their hardships, sleeping on the ground with them, and eating parched corn when nothing better could be found for the privates. From local prominence, he sprang into national fame by his exploit at the Battle of New Orleans. His reputation as a military hero was enhanced by the feeling that he had been a victim of political treachery in 1824. The farmers of the West and South claimed him as their own. The mechanics of the Eastern cities, newly enfranchised, also looked upon him as their friend. Though his views on the tariff, internal improvements, and other issues before the country were either vague or unknown, he was readily elected president.

The returns of the electoral vote in 1828 revealed the sources of Jackson's power. In New England, he received but one ballot, from Maine; he had a majority of the electors in New York and all of them in Pennsylvania; and he carried every state south of Maryland and beyond the Appalachians. Adams did not get a single electoral vote in the South and West.

When Jackson took the oath of office on March 4, 1829, the government of the United States entered into a new era. Until this time, the inauguration of a president — even that of Jefferson, the apostle of simplicity — had brought no rude shock to the course of affairs at the capital. When he was inaugurated, men and women journeyed hundreds of miles to witness the ceremony. Masses of people pressed into the White House, "upset the bowls of punch, broke the glasses, and stood with their muddy boots on the satin-covered chairs to see the people's President." If Jefferson's inauguration was, as he called it, the "great revolution," Jackson's inauguration was a cataclysm.

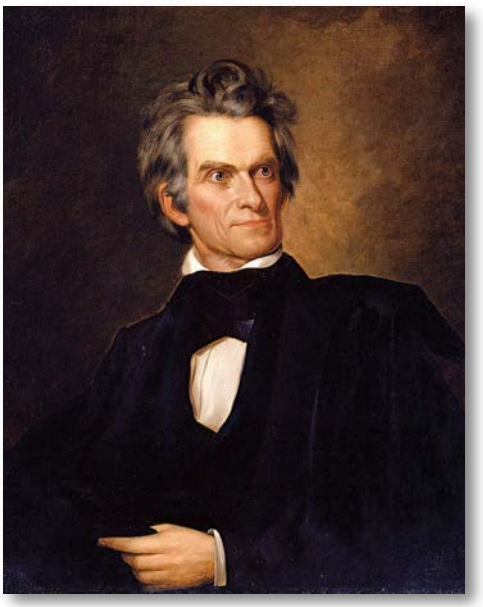
Andrew Jackson — Tennessee politician, Indian fighter, and hero of the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812 — drew his support from the small farmers of the West, and the workers, artisans, and small merchants of the East, who sought to use their vote to resist the rising commercial and manufacturing interests associated with the industrial

revolution. For the first time, an American politician consciously built a coalition to advance his cause.

Tariff – Taxes placed on imported manufactured products to protect early American industries.

The election of 1828 was a significant benchmark in the trend toward broader voter participation. By 1828, presidential electors were chosen by popular vote in every state but Delaware and South Carolina. Nothing dramatized this democratic sentiment more than the election of "Old Hickory" Andrew Jackson. He, however, ruled more like a federal despot than a popularly elected man of the people.

Toward the end of his first term in office, Jackson was forced to confront the state of South Carolina on the issue of the protective **tariff**. In their view, all the benefits of protection were going to Northern manufacturers, and while the country as a whole grew richer, South Carolina grew poorer, with its planters bearing the burden of higher prices. South Carolina planters, Southern planters in general, sold their products to British industrials who sold manufactured products to Southerners. As a result, when Northern tariffs raised the price of industrial goods, the price of cotton likewise fell. If one British table was worth 30 pounds of cotton, after tariffs increased British prices, the same table would then be worth 50 pounds of cotton.



John C. Calhoun

Ironically, it was the Southern-planter president, Jackson, who insisted that tariffs be increased. The protective tariff passed by Congress and signed into law by Jackson in 1832 was milder than that of 1828, but it further embittered many in the state. In response, a number of South Carolina citizens endorsed the states' rights principle of "nullification," which was enunciated by John C. Calhoun, Jackson's vice president until 1832, in his *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* (1828). South Carolina dealt with the tariff by adopting the **Ordinance of Nullification**, which declared both the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void within state borders. The legislature also passed laws to enforce the ordinance, including authorization for raising a military force and appropriations for arms.

This was only the most recent in a series of state challenges to the federal government. For instance, the Hartford Convention in New England had voiced its opposition to President Madison and the war against the British. Ironically, Northerners first suggested splitting the Union.

In response to South Carolina's threat, Jackson sent the navy to Charleston, South Carolina, in November 1832. On December 10, he issued a harsh warning to the confederates. Old Hickory refused to negotiate. Congress judiciously worked out a compromise. The South would try again in April 1861.

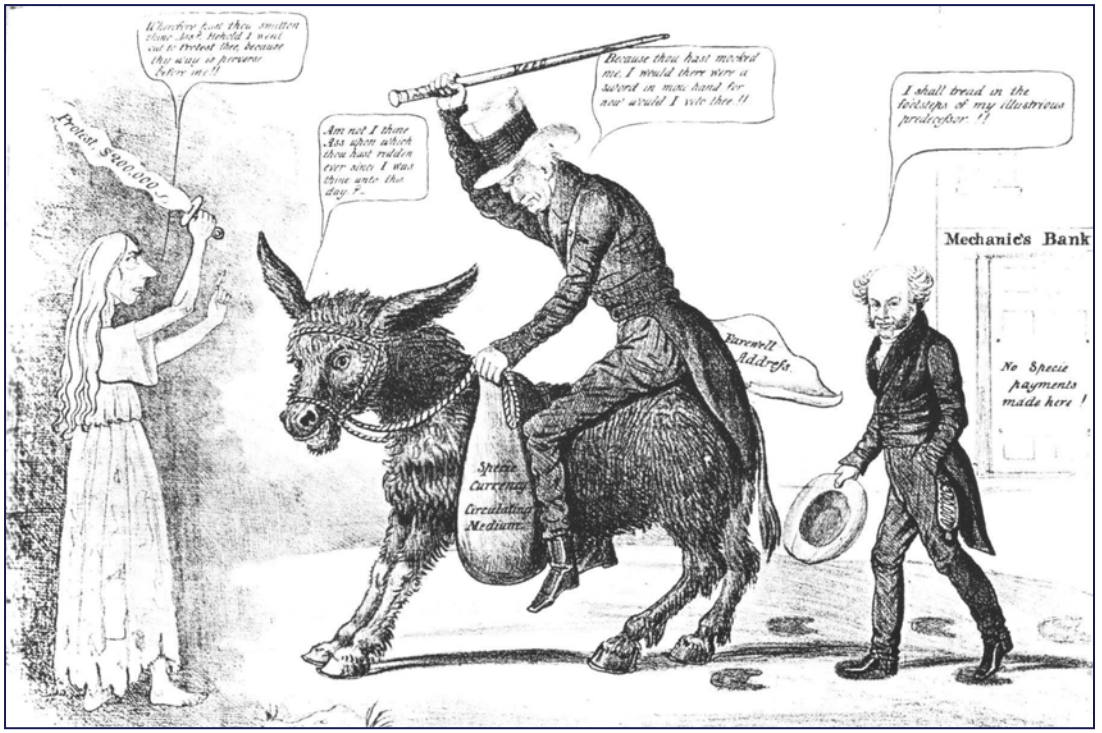
Ordinance of Nullification – A political theory that argued that states had the right to "nullify" or to "ignore" certain laws.

Even before the nullification issue had been settled, another more controversial issue challenged Jackson's leadership. It concerned the

re-chartering of the Second Bank of the United States. Hamilton had created the first bank in 1791. It had been chartered for a 20-year period. The national bank functioned as the caretaker of federal assets, much as our Federal Reserve System today. Though the government held some of its stock, it was not a government bank; rather, the bank was a private corporation with profits passing to its stockholders. It had been designed to stabilize the currency and stimulate trade; but it was resented by Westerners and working people who believed that it used nepotism to benefit a few urban Northerners. Besides, their land speculation required a fluid money supply. Thus, when its charter expired in 1811, it was not renewed.

With the expanding economy, this could not remain forever. For the next few years, the banking business was in the hands of state-chartered banks, which issued currency in excessive amounts, creating great confusion and runaway inflation. It became increasingly clear to everyone that state banks run by Uncle Roy or other local interests could not provide the country with a uniform currency and economic stability. 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 frontier territories, and with working class people everywhere. In other words, it was anathema among Jackson's supporters. Opponents claimed the bank possessed a virtual monopoly over the country's credit and currency and that it represented the interests of the wealthy few. On the whole, the bank was well-managed, though, and fulfilled its charter. Jackson, elected as a popular champion against it, vetoed a bill to re-charter the bank. Jackson was involved in the greatest battle of his life. The effort to override the veto, however, failed.

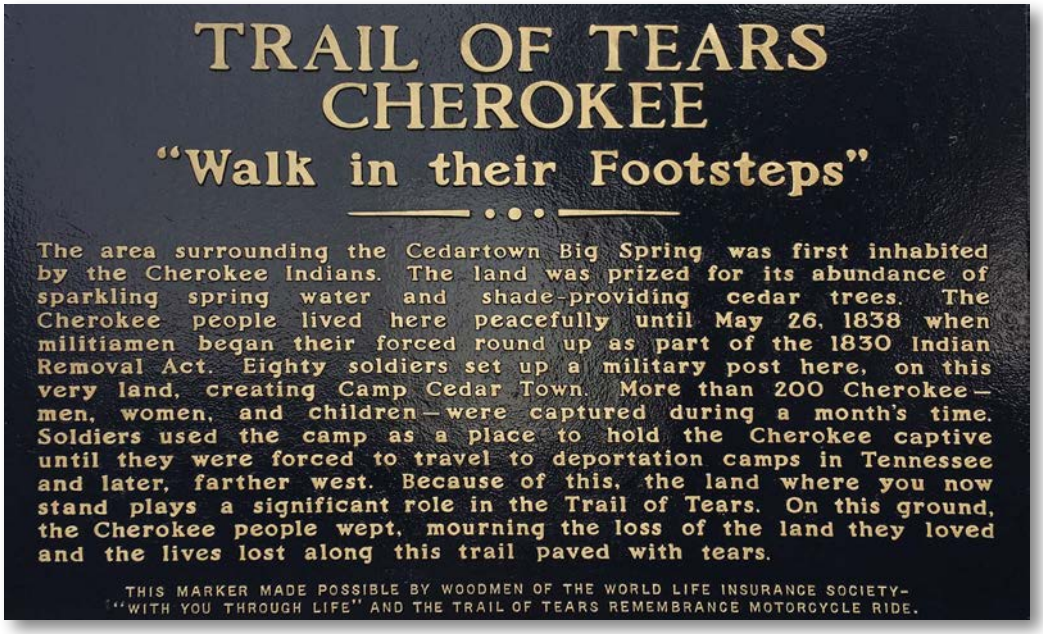


This 1837 political caricature Jacksonian Democracy is the first appearance of the Democratic Donkey. Jackson rides it and Van Buren follows it

In the election campaign that followed, America experienced division that seemed to confirm the Founding Fathers' worst nightmare. The division was shamelessly made along the lines of special interests. Statesmanship seemed to have disappeared.

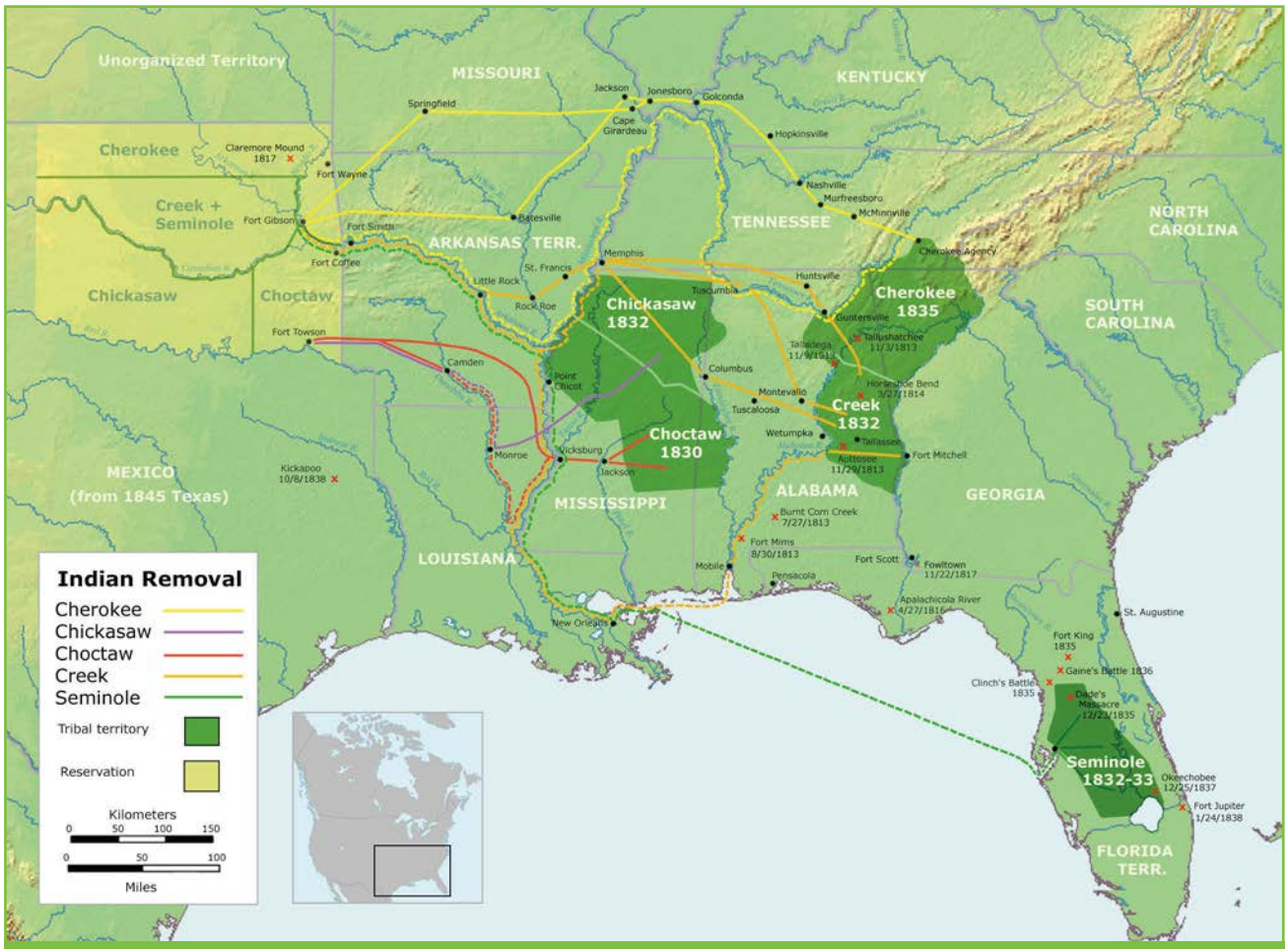
The bank question caused a fundamental division between the merchant, manufacturing and bankers, and the laboring and farming communities, who were often in debt to banks and therefore favored an increased money supply and lower interest rates. The outcome was an enthusiastic endorsement of "Jacksonism." Jackson saw his reelection in 1832 as a popular mandate to crush the bank irrevocably — and found a ready-made weapon in a provision of the bank's charter authorizing removal of public funds. The second National Bank charter did not expire until 1836, but Jackson intended to kill it prematurely. In September 1833 he ordered that no more government money be deposited in the bank, and that the money already in its custody be gradually withdrawn in the ordinary course of meeting the expenses of government. Carefully selected state banks, stringently restricted, were provided as a substitute. 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. It wasn't until the Civil War that the United States chartered a national banking system.

One final tragic footnote to the Jacksonian legacy: the Cherokee relocation, the "Trail of Tears." In 1819, Georgia appealed to the U.S. government to remove the Cherokee from Georgia lands, and when the appeal failed, attempts were made to purchase the territory. In reaction, the Cherokee Nation enacted a law forbidding any such sale on punishment of death.[3]



Trail of Tears sign in Big Spring Park

3. https://www.legendsofamerica.com/na-cherokee/



MAP 9.1: Map of the route of the Trails of Tears

- The forced march of Cherokee removal from the Southeastern United States for forced relocation to the Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma).

Since the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, America's policy had been to allow Native Americans to remain east of the Mississippi as long as they settled in one place, farmed the land, divided communal land into private property, and adopted a republican form of government. Nonetheless, in 1828, the Georgia legislature outlawed the Cherokee government and confiscated tribal lands. Cherokee appeals were rejected by President Andrew Jackson.[4]

In fact, President Andrew Jackson signed into law the Indian Removal Act in 1830. The Removal Act provided for the government to negotiate removal treaties with the various tribes. Some Cherokees sold the tribal land, but the majority of Cherokees refused to accept the deal. However, most of the tribe were driven west some 800 miles in a forced march that became known as the Trail of Tears. About 4,000 perished during the journey or in stockades awaiting removal.[5]

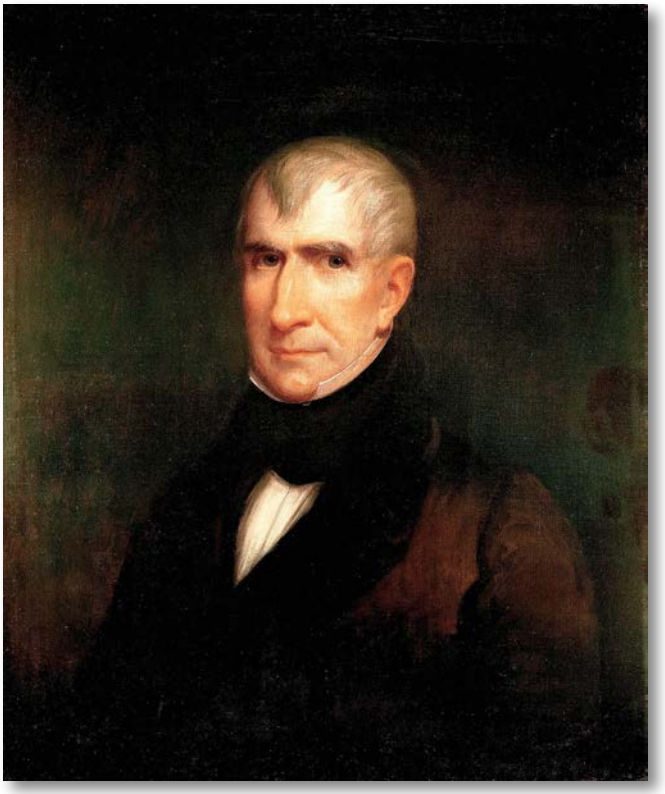
4. https://www.legendsofamerica.com/na-cherokee/
5. https://www.legendsofamerica.com/na-cherokee/

Because Jackson's political opponents had no hope of success so long as they remained divided, they attempted to bring all the dissatisfied elements together into a common party called the Whigs. 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 the charismatic Daniel Webster, the party solidified its membership. However, even in the 1836 election, the Whigs were still too divided to unite behind a single man or upon a common platform. New York Jacksonian Martin Van Buren, Jackson's vice president, won the contest hands down.

An economic depression and Jackson's larger-than-life shadow weakened Van Buren's merits. His leadership aroused no enthusiasm, and his foibles offered the Whigs a great opportunity in the 1840 election.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler too," the 1840 Whig campaign jingle went. The Whig candidate for president was William Henry Harrison of Ohio, vastly popular as a hero of the frontier conflicts as well as the War of 1812. He was regarded, like Jackson, as a representative of the democratic West. Electing Harrison, then, was perceived as electing Jackson all over again, even though Harrison was a Whig. His vice-presidential candidate was John Tyler — a Virginian whose views on states' rights and protectionism were applauded in the South. Harrison won a sweeping victory.

Within a month of his inauguration, however, the feeble 68-year-old Harrison died (ironically, he died because he was trying to prove he was not feeble: he stayed out in the cold as he gave a very long inaugural address), and Tyler became president. Tyler was not a typical Whig. In fact, his beliefs differed sharply from those of Clay and Webster, still the most influential men in Congress and the Whig Party. These differences led to an open break between the president and the party that had elected him and put Tyler in an uncomfortable place of being rejected by country and party.



William Henry Harrison

Americans, however, found themselves divided in more complex ways than simple partisan conflicts between Whigs and Democrats. For example, the large number of Catholic immigrants in the first half of the 19th century, primarily Irish and German, triggered a backlash among native-born Protestant Americans.

Immigrants brought more than strange new customs and religious practices to American shores. They competed with the native-born for jobs in cities along the eastern seaboard. Moreover, political changes in the 1820s and 1830s increased the political clout of the foreign-born. During those two decades, state constitutions were revised to permit universal voting for white males. This led to the end of rule by patrician politicians, who then blamed the immigrants for their fall from power. Finally, the Catholic Church's failure to support the temperance movement gave rise to charges that Rome was trying to subvert the United States through 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 1855, the organization managed to win control of legislatures in New York and Massachusetts; by 1855, about 52 U.S. congressmen were linked to the party.



A bust portrait of a young man representing the nativist ideal of the Know Nothing party.

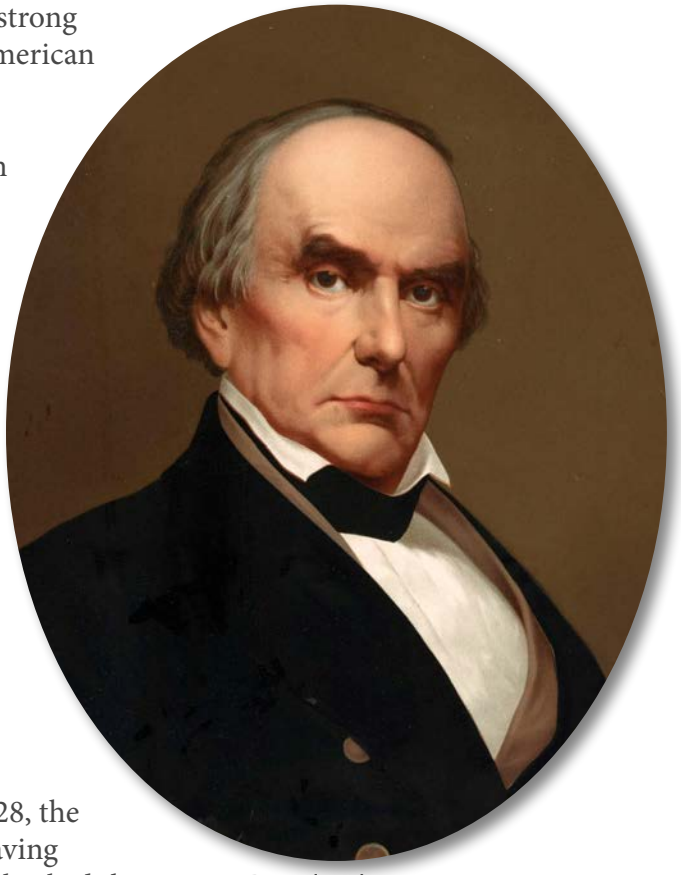
However, like so many antebellum political movements, disagreements over the slavery issue prevented the party from playing a role in national politics. The "Know-Nothings" of the South supported slavery while Northern members opposed it. At a convention in 1856 to nominate candidates for president and vice president, 42 Northern delegates walked out when a motion to support the Missouri Compromise was ignored, and the party died as a national force.[6]

6. Note: Much of the above material can be found online at https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/history/toc.htm

Lesson 4

History Maker: Daniel Webster

Daniel Webster — statesman, lawyer, orator, and strong Christian — was his era's foremost advocate of American **nationalism**. A farmer's son, he graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801. After a legal apprenticeship, Webster opened a legal practice in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1807. His life represented the paradox that was the Middle Period of American history. He was also unashamed of his strong faith in Christ.



Daniel Webster

Webster was elected (1812) to the U.S. House of Representatives. Being a man of principle, Webster vigorously opposed the War of 1812. In 1816, he left Congress.

Over the next six years, he established himself as the nation's leading lawyer and an outstanding orator. In 1823, Webster was returned to Congress from Boston, and in 1827, he was elected senator from Massachusetts. Webster joined the National Republican Party, allying himself with Westerner Henry Clay and endorsing federal aid for roads in the West. In 1828, the dominant economic interests of Massachusetts having shifted from shipping to manufacturing, Webster backed the high-tariff bill of that year. Angry Southern leaders condemned the tariff, and South Carolina's John C. Calhoun argued that his state had the right to nullify the law. Webster defended the Union.

Nationalism – A political policy that emphasized "home nation first."

Webster became a champion of American nationalism. His words "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" won wide acclaim. Webster and President Andrew Jackson, ideological opposites, joined forces in 1833 to suppress South Carolina's attempt to nullify the tariff.

The annexation of Texas in 1845 and the resulting popular war with Mexico, both opposed by Webster, forced the country to face the issue of the expansion of slavery. Webster opposed such expansion but feared even more a dissolution of the Union. In that vein, Webster supported the Compromise of 1850. (Note: Most of the above material can be found online at Geni.[7])

7. https://www.geni.com/people/Daniel-Webster-U-S-Senator-and-Secretary-of-State/6000000003043382639

Jacksonian Democracy

To many historians, the election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828 represents a pivotal point in American history. Before Jackson, the presidents had all come from established Eastern elite constituents. Jackson, however, appeared to be anything but an aristocrat. A Southerner/Westerner, Jackson represented the ultimate triumph of American democracy. Billias and Grob write, "Americans traditionally had attempted to define the unique characteristics that separated them from the rest of the world — a quest that inevitably led to an extended discussion of democracy and its meaning." The Jacksonian era appeared to be this watershed event.

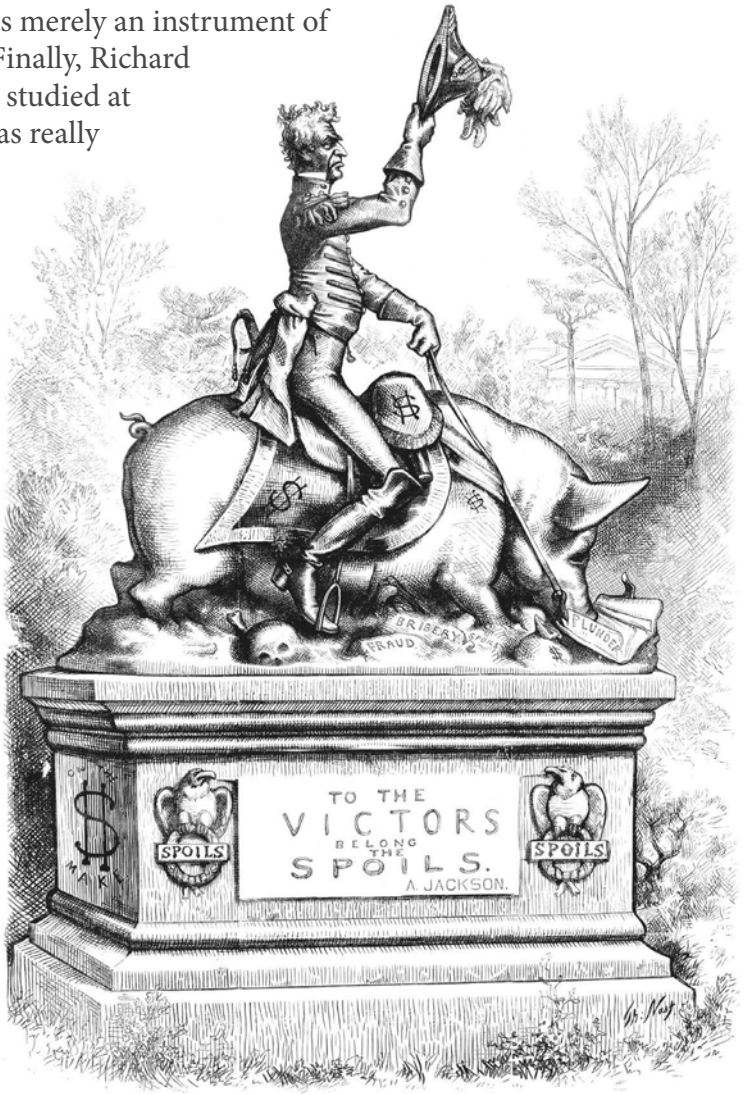
In fact, though, early historians like James Parton were very ungenerous with Jackson. He argued that Jackson was a despot who introduced awful things such as the **spoils system** to the American political system.

All this changed with the rise of the **Progressive movement** in the beginning of the 20th century. Now Jackson was seen as a champion of the people, a courageous reformer.

Later historians argued that Jackson was merely an instrument of another elite: Southern slave interests. Finally, Richard McCormick, a professor under whom I studied at Rutgers University, argued that there was really nothing distinctive about Jackson. This view was echoed by Lee Benson, who argued that Americans voted according to ethnicity and national origin, not according to income or education. Thus, there was no democratic revolution after all.

Spoils System – A political system that used political favors to reward friends.

Progressive Movement – A period of reform in America that lasted from the 1880s to the 1920s. Responding to the changes brought about by industrialization, the Progressives advocated a wide range of economic, political, social, and moral reforms.



Cartoon showing statue of Andrew Jackson on a pig, which is over "fraud," "bribery," and "spoils," eating "plunder." Illus. in: Harper's Weekly, 1877 April 28

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In chapter 18, we will examine the Gilded Age, its robber barons and tycoons. Next, we will look closely at the rise of organized labor. Finally, we will see that while America was experiencing unparalleled prosperity at home, the country was also emerging at the beginning of the 20th century as a world power to be reckoned with.

READERS SHOULD BE ABLE TO

1. Discuss what sorts of changes occurred in antebellum America.
2. Analyze the Gilded Age — its opportunities and its problems.
3. Evaluate the post–Civil War labor movement.
4. Gauge the importance of Lenin to world history.
5. Judge the character of Carnegie and other men like him.

PEOPLE , PLACES, AND PRINCIPLES

Watch for the bolded words to help build your vocabulary this week. You will find these words and definitions from each chapter readily available to you in the glossary at the back of this book.



AD 1862
The Homestead Act

AD 1873
Mark Twain publishes *The Gilded Age*

The Carnegie Library of Braddock, Pennsylvania, the first public library funded by Andrew Carnegie

18

THE GILDED AGE



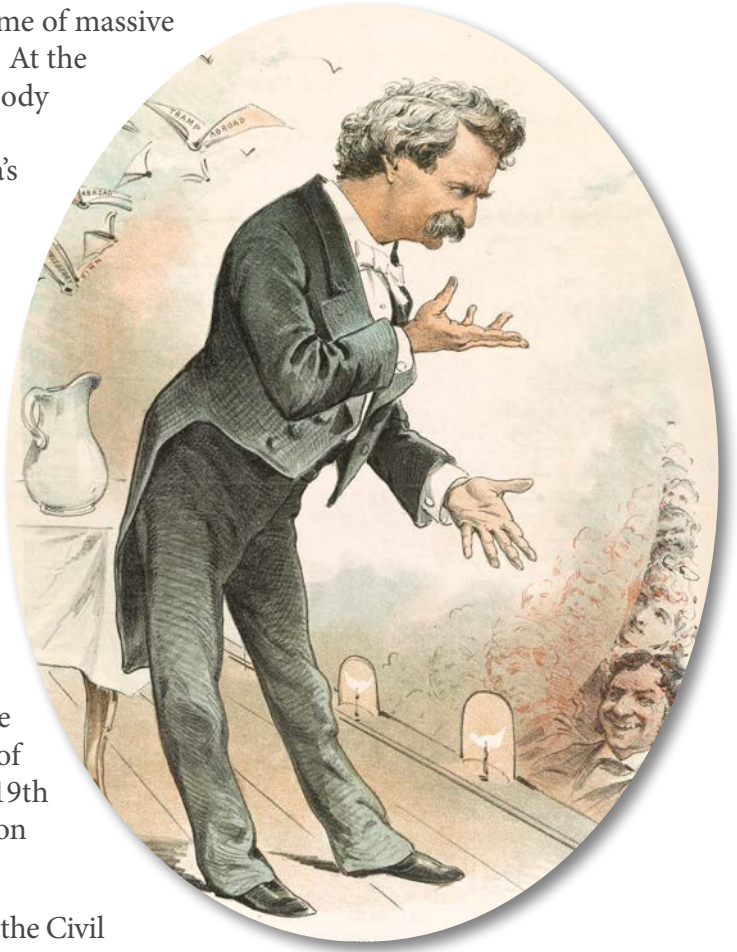
Willa Cather, perhaps the most famous female writer of the so-called Gilded Age, wrote an insightful short story called "A Wagnerian Matinee." Cather, in this short quote, captures the contradictions so evident in America during this strange Gilded Age, when some Americans lived in filthy sod houses in Lincoln, Nebraska, and others in extravagant mansions in New York City. "The first number was the Tannhauser overture. When the horns drew out the first strain of the Pilgrim's chorus my Aunt Georgiana clutched my coat sleeve. Then it was I first realized that for her this broke a silence of thirty years; the inconceivable silence of the plains."

AD 1896
Plessy v. Ferguson case

Lesson 1

The Gilded Age

The Gilded Age was a period of obscene materialism and blatant political corruption in U.S. history. It was a time of massive industrialization and serious social problems. At the same time, the Gilded Age ushered in the Moody Revivals in the Northeast and beyond. While industrial tycoons were squandering America's wealth, evangelical Christians in the name of Christ were tackling the most difficult urban problems this nation had ever known.



"Mark Twain"
America's Best Humorist

The period took its name from a novel by Mark Twain, *The Gilded Age* (1873). Predominately, the Gilded Age was a time of industrialization. In 1860, America was a rural society. Before 1861, most Americans were farmers. After 1917, most Americans were industrialized laborers. America became an urban society. In fact, for the first time since the time of Christ, the world was on its way to becoming an urban society. It was not to happen entirely until the end of the 20th century, but the dislocation and change of values were well underway by the end of the 19th century. In summary, by 1900, industrialization had transformed all aspects of American life.

Why did America industrialize so quickly after the Civil War? Other countries, like England, were heavily industrialized, but it had taken them a century or more to reach the mark that America reached in 40 years. Why? There were several reasons: cheap immigrant labor, new technology and inventions, seemingly endless natural resources, and readily available transportation.

The end of the 19th century also saw the beginning of **trusts**. In a trust, an aggressive group of business people, called trustees, acquire enough shares in several similar firms to control these companies and thereby control a particular market. Two examples were U.S. Steel, controlled by Andrew Carnegie, and Standard Oil, controlled by John D. Rockefeller. Named after an 1873 social satire by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, the Gilded Age encompassed the years from the 1870s to 1900. Scholars tend to see the legacies of the Civil War and Reconstruction as important contributors to the transformations that took place in the last three decades of the 19th century.[1]

Trust – A legal entity that allows individuals to control large corporations without being employees or even owners of the corporation.

1. This discussion is informed by Charles and Mary Beard's *History of the United States*.

The federal government was very business-friendly. The Homestead Act (1862) opened the West for settlement by individual farmers. Railroad expansion in combination with government land policies and the breaking of Native American resistance on the Plains in the 1870s and 1880s opened up the West for economic exploitation. Abundant natural resources and abundant cheap labor presaged an unprecedented economic boom.

Jim Crow Laws – Laws enacted to control African Americans.

Constitutional change, too, contributed to this process. Between 1875 and 1900, the Supreme Court removed many state laws restricting interstate commerce and also blocked federal attempts at regulation. The Interstate Commerce Commission was created in 1887, but its limited powers were further circumscribed by Court decisions. Legal change helped to create a political environment in which forces of social change could unfold.

There were many problems, though. Economic expansion came to a halt in the 1870s and crashed in the 1890s. In 1873, a credit scandal and the collapse of the Northern Pacific Railroad resulted in a recession from which the country finally recovered four years later in 1877. In May 1893, the collapse of the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad led to a prolonged recession, at the height of which four million workers lost their jobs. Americans were not going to see something that bad again until the 1930s.

The Gilded Age – A period of obscene materialism and blatant political corruption in U.S. history. The period took its name from a novel by Mark Twain, *The Gilded Age* (1873).

The Gilded Age had many contradictions. Along with the beginning of the modern American labor movement and a resurgence of the movement for women's rights, the age saw the implementation of **Jim Crow laws**, sanctioned by the Supreme Court's 1896 decision in Plessy v. Ferguson. The Gilded Age also witnessed the emergence of the United States as an imperialist foreign power. Desire for greatness on the seas, partially spawned by Alfred Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), led the United States into war with Spain in 1898 and into a subsequent war in the Philippines from 1899 to 1902. The Gilded Age saw the birth pangs of the United States as a global power; an urban,



Pennsylvania Railroad
2-8-2 number 520

industrial society; and a modern, liberal corporatist state. Many problems remained unsolved, however, for the Progressive Era and New Deal reform policies to address.

The first national labor organization, the Knights of Labor, organized in 1869, tried to include all workers. The Knights reached their greatest strength between 1884 and 1885, when railroad strikes raged, and then declined. As the Knights of Labor faded, a new federation of local and craft unions, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was organized in 1886. Led from 1886 to 1924 by Samuel Gompers, an immigrant cigar maker from England, the AFL welcomed skilled workers, almost all of them men. The method most often employed by the unions to force an issue was the work stoppage or the strike. In the 1880s, a decade of 10,000 strikes and lockouts, workers often succeeded in averting wage reductions and winning shorter hours.[2] Many of the strikes were violent. The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 declared illegal all strikes that hampered interstate commerce. Industrial workers of the late 19th century were often foreign-born. From 1865 to 1885, immigrants arrived mainly from northern and western Europe, as they had before the Civil War; the largest groups came from England, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia. From the mid-1880s until World War I began in 1914, the number of newcomers from southern, eastern, and central Europe increased. Many new immigrants were Slavs — Poles, Czechs, Russians, Ukrainians, Croatians — and others, including Jews, from the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Among the new immigrants were also Greeks, Romanians, and Italians, mainly from southern Italy or Sicily. Record numbers of immigrants arrived in the United States, some 9 million from 1880 to 1900, and 13 million from 1900 to 1914.[3] As immigration exploded, urban populations surged from 6 million in 1860 to 42 million in 1910. Big cities got bigger: Chicago tripled in size in the 1880s and 1890s. By 1900, three cities contained more than a million people: New York (3.5 million), Chicago (1.7 million), and Philadelphia (1.3 million).



Samuel Gompers, former leader of the American Federation of Labor

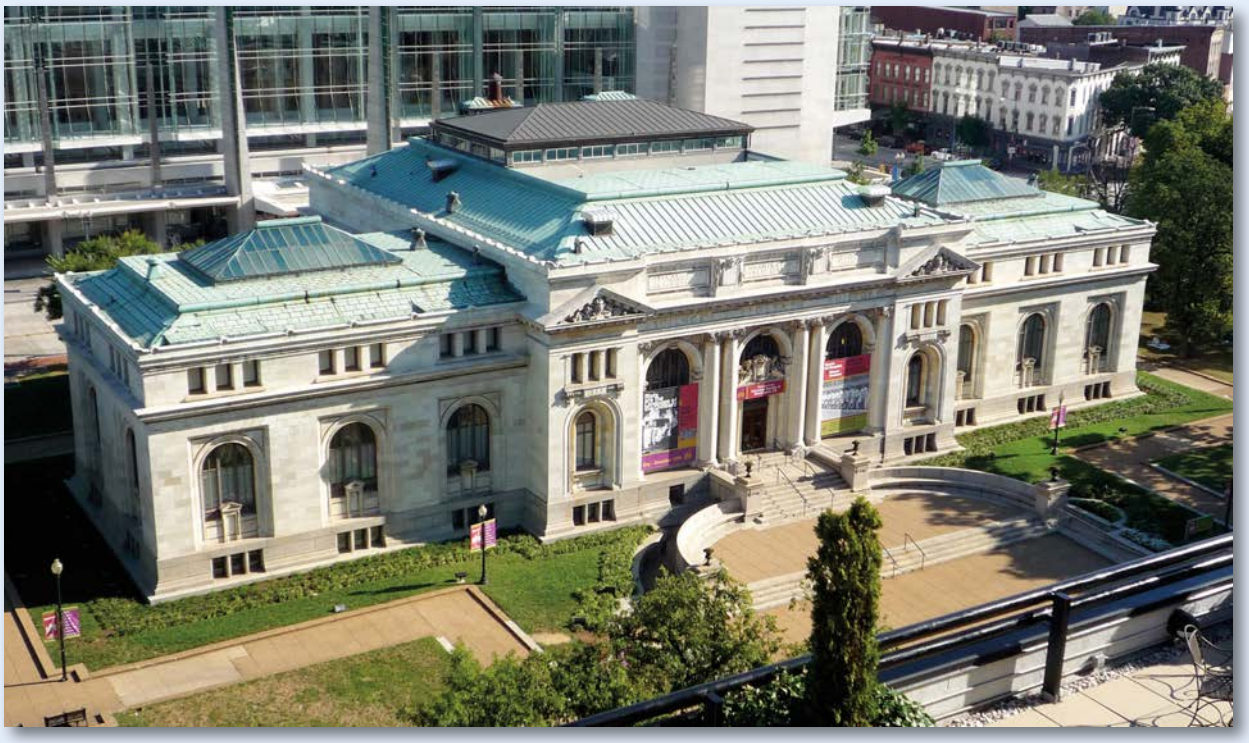
2. http://www.countriesquest.com/north_america/usa/history/industrialization_and_urbanization/labor.htm.
3. http://www.countriesquest.com/north_america/usa/history/industrialization_and_urbanization/immigration.htm.

A quote from Andrew Carnegie (1889):

"This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community — the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer — doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.[4]



Andrew Carnegie



The City Museum of Washington, D.C., originally one of the many Carnegie libraries

4. Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, 148, no. 391 (June 1889), 653, 657–662.

Lesson 2

American Labor Movement

The American laborer began in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts when the first child labor law (1836) was passed, whereby employment of children under the age of 15 was forbidden in incorporated factories, unless they had attended school for three months the prior year of their employment. Generally speaking, the federal government was reticent to involve itself in labor relations. The government's willingness to intervene in dealing with poor working conditions in industrialized cities was greatly affected by the principles of laissez-faire, which stated that "the functions of the state should be limited to internal police and foreign protection — no public education, no limitation of hours of labor, no welfare legislation."

Order of the Knights of Labor – Founded in 1869, the Knights' goal was to increase negotiating powers by unionizing all American workers.

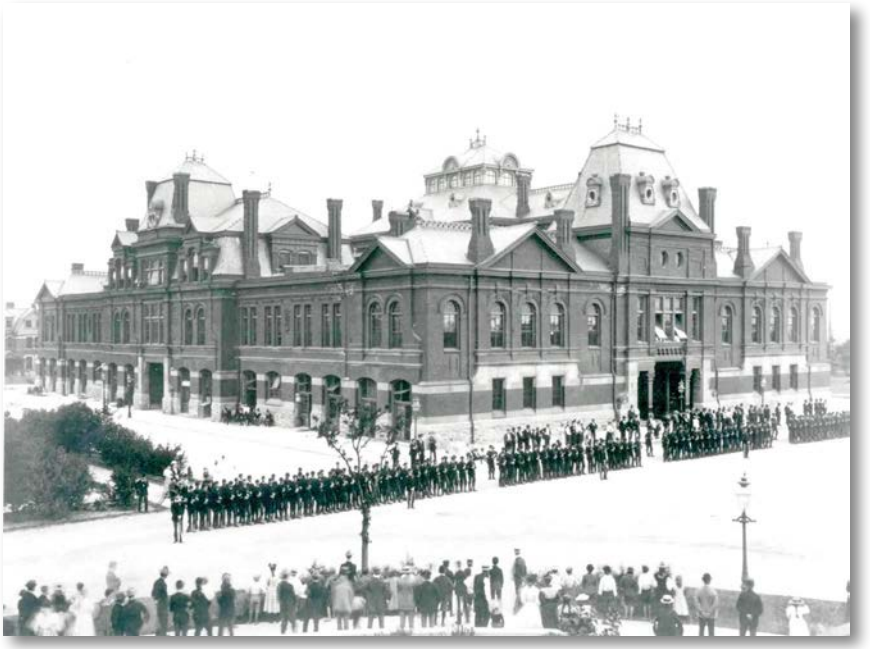
Labor then looked to itself for help. As the economy improved over the next few years, American labor took another direction: toward labor organizing. Several unions came into being, including the **Order of the Knights of Labor**. Founded in 1869, the Knights' goal was to increase negotiating powers by unionizing all American workers. The Knights of Labor, under the leadership of Pennsylvania machinist Terence V. Powderly, were essentially responsible for the Alien Contract Labor Law of 1885, which prohibited laborers migrating to America who had a contract to perform work.

Driven by wage cuts and poor working conditions, violent outbreaks of strikes and a long series of battles occurred all over the country during the 1870s. In 1877, around Pottsville, Pennsylvania, a secret miners' association called the Molly Maguires, mostly comprising Irish Catholics, burned buildings and murdered bosses who offended them.



Protest against child labor in a labor parade

By 1886, membership in the Knights of Labor had swollen to 700,000 workers, and it stood as a champion for the unskilled laborer. Unlike other labor unions, the Knights of Labor encouraged African Americans to join so that by 1886, approximately 60,000 African Americans had become members.



Pullman strikers outside Arcade Building in Pullman, Chicago, 1894

The Knights of Labor participated in the famous Haymarket Square riot of 1886 in Chicago, along with trade unions, socialist unions, and "anarchists," where workers fought for the eight-hour day, and where a bomb and subsequent shooting resulted in the deaths of eight policemen and injuries to 67 others. Eight anarchists were jailed, tried, and convicted of murder, of which four were hanged.

The American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L. — now simply AFL) began that same year. The AFL was spearheaded by Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker by trade.

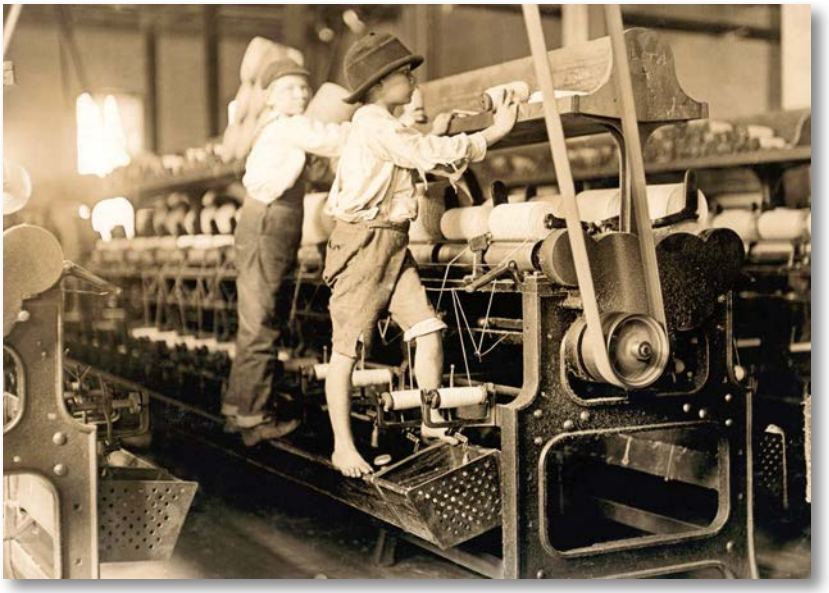
It was not until the Massachusetts' Ten-Hour Act (1874) went into effect that woman — and child — labor limits in factories were adequately enforced. But a New York act of 1883, which prohibited the manufacture of cigars in sweatshops, was overturned by the state's highest court, even though it had been sponsored by Theodore Roosevelt and signed by Governor Grover Cleveland. The court declared that government should not force workers to leave their homes to go to work and also should not interfere with the profitable use of real estate, without any compensation for the public good.

The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, which authorized federal action against any "combination in the form of trusts or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade," was used as a blanket injunction against labor to break the current strike and others in the future. The Pullman Strike (1894) against the Great Northern Railway of Chicago, led by Eugene V. Debs, then president of the American Railway Union, was staged because of cuts in wages and continued high rents in company-owned housing.[5]

5. https://tcmag.wordpress.com/2011/02/25/before-there-were-unions-by-v-lyn.

Lesson 3

Historical Debate



Children working in a mill in Macon, Georgia, 1909

The rise of American industry and immigration labor in the decades following the Civil War had a profound and lasting effect on the American nation. Industrialization had a fundamental effect on the way Americans saw their world. Traditionally, Americans were accustomed to think in terms of individualistic values. The rise of industry itself was often rationalized in the ideology of the self-made man who claimed he attained success by virtue of his own talents, drive, and ambition. By the end of the 19th century, it was becoming more difficult to conceive of industrial progress solely in terms of the achievements of a few individuals. The rise of the large, industrialized state flew in the face of individualism celebrated so lustily in the immigrant community. This argument is forcefully advanced by Kenneth E. Boulding. This loss of the so-called myth of hard work — that the sky was the limit if one was willing to work hard — was of great concern to late 19th century Americans. Because of greedy corporations and disparagement in wealth, was not America becoming like the feeble class-ridden society so many immigrants thought that they had left behind in Europe? Some historians like Vernon L. Parrington saw it that way. He wrote that America needed men who stood against the evil corporations which were "cesspools that were poisoning the national household" (Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, 1927). John Hicks joined Parrington and celebrated the reform movements of the late 19th century. Many of the participants of these reform movements were immigrants. Hicks looked back to the Jeffersonian (i.e., Thomas Jefferson) agrarian tradition (Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 1931). Some historians disagreed with Hicks and Parrington. Notable among these was the Marxist John Chamberlain, who thought that Hicks and Parrington were naive and out of touch with reality. There never were any "good old days," Chamberlain argued. Criticisms increased as a new generation of historians wrote history. These Marxist historians naturally saw history developing along economic lines, not along ideological lines. They saw history as a class struggle, not as a struggle between ideologies (e.g., individualism vs. industrialization). These historians, writing in the Great Depression, criticized Hicks and Parrington for seeing history as a morality play where good always triumphed over evil. Left to their own designs,

Chamberlain argued, men will always choose their own selfish, self-serving interests. The challenge to democracy posed by communism after World War II ensured that new historians would challenge Chamberlain and his Marxist friends.[6]

Writing from a conservative point of view, these historians stressed the basic goodness of American society and the consensus that has characterized the American people throughout most of their history.[7] In other words, these historians argued, we should see American history in terms of consensus, not in terms of struggle (the heartbeat of Marxist historians). The leader of these anti-Marxists historians was Richard Hofstadter. "The fierceness of the political struggles [in American history] has often been misleading; for the range of vision embraced by the primary contestants in the major parties has always been bounded by the horizons of property and enterprise. . . . The sanctity of private property, the right of the individual to dispose of and invest it, the value of opportunity, and the natural evolution of self-interest and self-assertion, within broad legal limits, into a beneficent social order have been staple tenets of the central faith in American political ideologies; these conceptions have been shared in large part by men as diverse as Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Bryan, Wilson, and Hoover."[8]



Bethlehem Iron Company, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1881

6. This discussion is informed by Gerald N. Grob and George Athan Billias, *Interpretations of American History: Patterns and Perspectives, Vol. 2*.
7. Ibid.
8. Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*.

Lesson 4

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

Vladimir Lenin's contribution to the modern world is that his worldview actually was put into practice! Other philosophers talked about the world changing, but Lenin actually brought it about through his actions as well as his words. I am speaking, of course, of the Russian Revolution in 1917 that literally changed the course of history. As philosopher Martyn Oliver states, "Lenin was impatient with Marxist [Karl Marx] theorizing, which, he believed, had spent too long discussing the perfect state of revolutionary consciousness among the working classes." Lenin did not believe that the working classes would have enough energy and expertise to start a revolution. They needed the help of an "elite" to guide them. In 1917, at the end of World War I, Lenin was able to gather and to motivate that same group of middle-class intellectuals who precipitated the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution in Russia. Lenin, of course, was a Marxist/Hegelian and believed that conflict among classes was both desirable and inevitable. He felt that the proletariat (workers) would ultimately win the day, and he sought to make sure that happened immediately and conclusively. He also believed strongly that once the workers' revolution began, it would not stop until it spread all over the world. He left a legacy that would impact America for years to come with the rise of communism and eventually the Cold War, which lasted from approximately 1946 to the early 1990s.

Marxism – The political, economic, and social principles espoused by 19th century economist Karl Marx; he viewed the struggle of workers as a progression of historical forces that would proceed from a class struggle of the proletariat (workers) exploited by capitalists (business owners).

Comparative Worldviews

Compare and contrast "Biblical Truth" on the chart with "Communism."

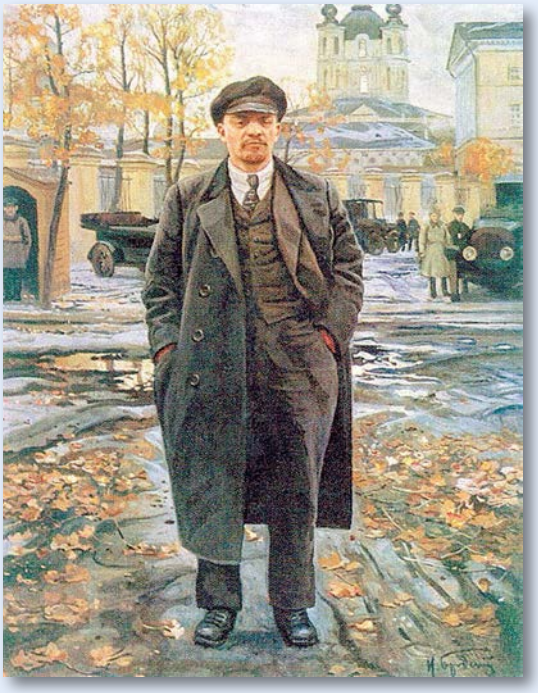


Lenin addressing crowd during Russian Revolution in 1917

The following is an excerpt from Lenin's influential pamphlet "What Is to Be Done?"

"

I assert: that no movement can be durable without a stable organization of leaders to maintain continuity; that the more widely the masses are spontaneously drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement and participate in it, the more necessary is it to have such an organization, and the more stable must it be (for it is much easier for demagogues to sidetrack the more backward sections of the masses); that the organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession; that in a country with an autocratic government, the more we restrict the membership of this organization to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organization, and the wider will be the circle of men and women of the working class or of other classes of society able to join the movement and perform active work in it. . . .



Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

Influence of Lenin – A leader of the Russian Revolution, he created a totalitarian state that crushed all oppostion and left a legacy of death.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In chapter 27, we will examine the inexorable progress that African Americans made in American society from 1933 to the present. We will speculate about possible racial reconciliation strategies that have yet to be fully realized.

READERS SHOULD BE ABLE TO

1. Define racism and prejudice.
2. Discuss the impact that welfare has had on African American families.
3. Analyze why the African American community turned to violence in the 1960s.
4. List events, legislation, and tactics that advanced African American rights since the 1960s.

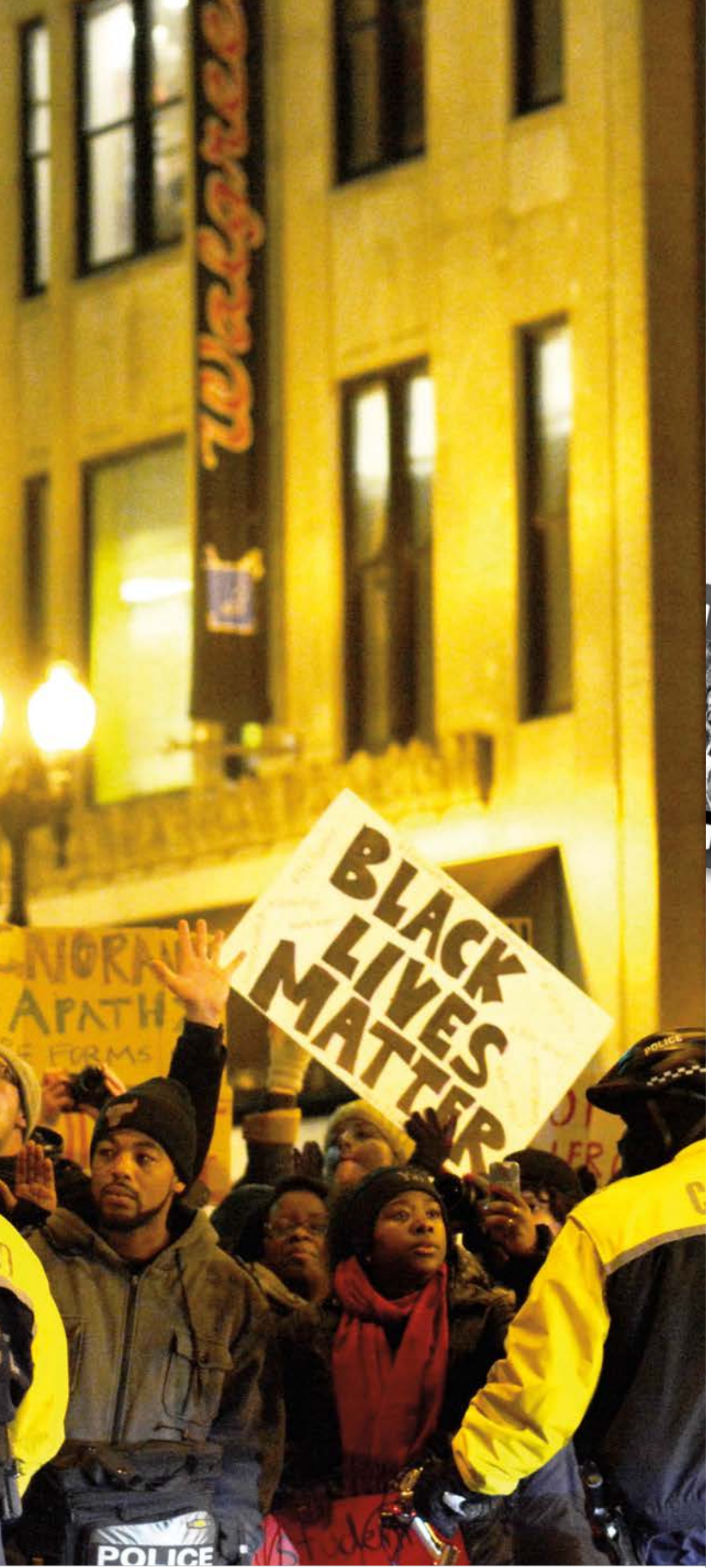
PEOPLE , PLACES, AND PRINCIPLES

Watch for the bolded words to help build your vocabulary this week. You will find these words and definitions from each chapter readily available to you in the glossary at the back of this book.



AD 1966
Black Panther Party Founded

AD 1967
Newark race riots



AD 1968
Black nationalism shown at Olympics

Black Lives Matter Protest police brutality against African Americans. in Chicago, Illinios, 2014

27

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY: NATIONALISM



Americans learned in the last half of the 20th century that no one can escape the effects of racism. Some of us who lived in the South during that era started the first grade in segregated schools and graduated from high school in integrated schools. The effect that the Civil Rights struggle had on the American nation would be hard to exaggerate! New heroes emerged — for example, Martin Luther King Jr. Forty years later, for the first time in history, an African American was elected president of the United States!

Lesson 1

Black Nationalism

When talking about racism, white people often define it in personal terms. When some African Americans talk about racism, they describe and define it in systemic terms.



March for justice for victims of police violence

African American Demographic Statistics:

- Infants born to African American teenage girls have a 50 percent higher mortality rate than those of the general population.
- 50 percent of African American teens are unemployed (triple the rate of whites).
- 25 percent of African American men aged 20 through 64 are unemployed.
- One-third of African Americans live below the poverty line.
- 25 percent of African American males 16 through 30 are in our prison system.
- 64 percent of the prison population is African American (and yet African Americans account for only 12 percent of the general population).
- 600,000 African Americans are in prisons, as opposed to 400,000 in college.
- Two-thirds of African American children are born to unwed mothers.
- 2.6 million of 4.6 million African American families are headed by single women.

- Homicide is the leading cause of death for African American males aged 15 through 44.
- Suicide is the second.[1]

In 1969, William Grier wrote:

> "We weep for the true victim, the African American. His wounds are deep. . . .For white Americans to understand the life of the African American man, it must be recognized that so much time has passed and so little has changed.

So much time had passed and so little had changed. By the middle of the 20th century, most African Americans felt they'd had enough, so they joined together to form their own nation.

Black nationalism was a movement among African Americans whose primary purpose was to define and to celebrate African American culture and heritage. The early civil rights movement sought to assimilate blacks into American society; black nationalism oftentimes sought to bring blacks out of American culture. Black nationalism engaged white America and gained civil rights for blacks. To black nationalists, American democracy was a modern form of tyranny inflicted on the black minority by the white majority.

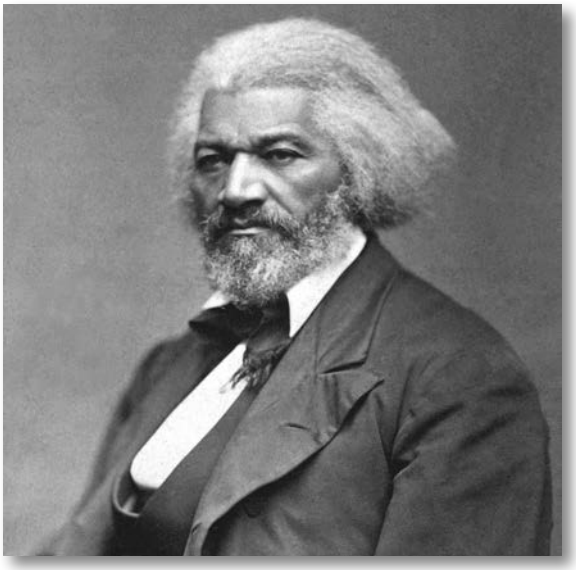
I use "black nationalism" and "Black Power" interchangeably. I also include within black nationalism the black Muslim movement.

Black Nationalism – A movement among African Americans whose primary purpose was to define and to celebrate African American culture and heritage.

Booker T. Washington – A former slave who became the foremost African American educator of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Genesis of Black Nationalism

Black nationalism had been a part of the African American vision since Frederick Douglass urged blacks to follow the examples of modern Jews in Europe and America, who, by emphasizing group solidarity and pride, improved their status. Likewise, **Booker T. Washington** offered a nonviolent celebration of "blackness" and called for his country to embrace a form of separatism and black pride.



Frederick Douglass

1. John M. Perkins, *Beyond Charity: The Call to Christian Community Development.*

W.E.B. Du Bois called his race to black nationalism:

W.E.B. Du Bois called his race to black nationalism:



W.E.B. Du Bois

> "The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world — a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

Black nationalism flowered in the 1960s under the leadership of Malcolm X. The civil rights movement increased expectations and black pride. Black nationalism grew out of this optimism and in reaction to it. In other words, black nationalists felt that the Civil Rights movement did not go far enough to improve black conditions. Black nationalism grew in what was perhaps the most disappointing period in African American history: the previous 35 years (1930–1965). For it was during this period that the Civil Rights movement brought increased expectations and profound disappointment — both at the same time.

The most impressive areas of racial solidarity occurred during 1967 in the political arena. The election of African American mayors in several urban areas was evidence that African Americans were gaining ground in American society. However, gains by the civil rights movement were mitigated by unemployment, by welfare, and by persistent racism. Civil rights gains were important, but many American hearts remained unchanged.

Black nationalist strategies called for the development of African American–controlled economic and political institutions. These institutions assured cultural preservation. Violence was not ruled out as a tactic to obtain desired ends.



Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X meet before a press conference, 1964

Lesson 2

Separatism

Separatism — intentional separation from white American-dominated culture and retreat into pan–African American nationalistic culture — was the main tactic embraced by black nationalism, in my opinion. Separatism was not a new tactic. Black slaves early learned to avoid the "Big House" and the "white master." By the 1960s, black leaders, many of whom were very angry at a lack of progress toward racial equality, urged fellow African Americans to live outside mainstream, mostly white, American culture. Black nationalism grew out of a belief that African Americans had a distinct culture and this distinctiveness needed to be expressed. This was vividly evidenced at the 1968 Olympics.



American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos protest against racial discrimination by raising their fists.

Separatism had several common themes:

- First, slavery and discrimination were more than aberrations or anomalies in the American ethos. They were fundamental to what it meant to be a white American.
- Second, African Americans assumed a position of moral authority, in some cases moral superiority, which made them in some way the true examples of American virtue.
- Third, because of racism, white America was failing its God-given task to be a city on a hill.
- Finally, some African Americans concluded that attempts at reconciliation were too late, that white America's apostasy was too great to be redeemed.

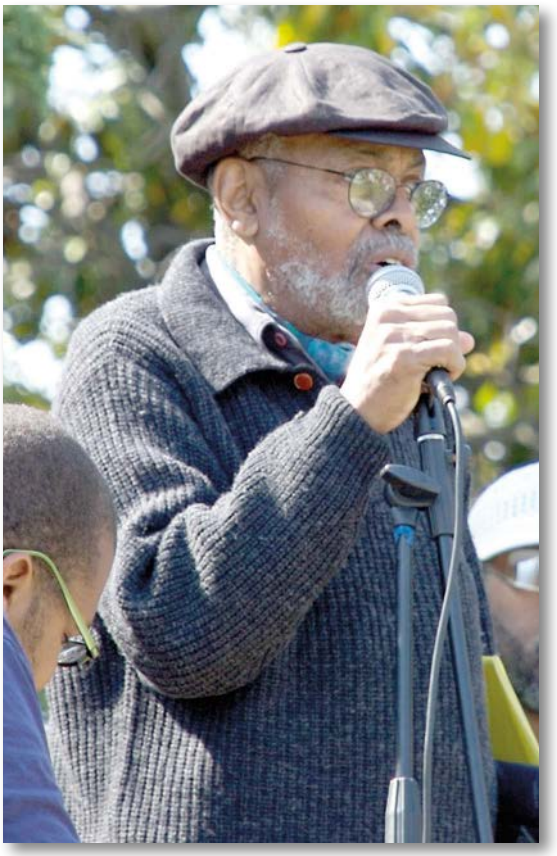
Separatism – Intentional separation from white American-dominated culture and retreat into pan–African American nationalistic culture.

The only thing left for African Americans was to preserve their own culture and to separate themselves from white America.

The preservation of their culture was a weighty matter. The African American writer Bell Hooks wrote: "This experience of relational love, of a beloved Black community, I long to know again. . . . Feelings of connection that held Black people together are swiftly eroding. Assimilation rooted in internalized racism further separates us." In Paule Marshall's novel *Praisesong for the Widow*, a black couple becomes so intent on prospering economically in the white world that they lose their sense of identity and history. Motivated by many such situations, black nationalists decided that the only way they could preserve African American culture was to withdraw from the predominant white American culture.

African Americans had always been aware of a special connection with each other. In the '60s, African American professionals volunteered their time to support African Americans in the ghetto. Many African Americans refused to move out of the ghetto, even when they were financially able to do so, because they wanted to remain in their own community. Milkman in Toni Morrison's book *Song of Solomon* describes white/black relations in this way: "Look. It's the condition our condition is in. Everybody wants the life of a black man.

Everyone. White men want us dead or quiet — which is the same thing as dead." Deep in the hearts of African Americans circa 1965 was an increasing frustration with white society. At the same time, there was a growing African American anger. Black Americans were willing to die in vast numbers for their cause, and many did.



LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka)

Violence

Black nationalism was mostly nonviolent. However, some African American leaders were extremely angry. To these people, gradualism was anathema. It suggested that races could coexist at the very time many were suggesting that the races should remain separate.

In *The Fire Next Time* (1962), James Baldwin wrote of the "rope, fire, torture, castration, infanticide, rape . . . fear by day and night, fear as deep as the marrow of the bone." By 1970, many African American thinkers, religious leaders, social workers, and politicians were outraged. In fact, hatred ran so deep in African American culture that the struggle became the end itself — instead of a means to an end.

Five days after the great 1967 Newark race riots, the National Conference on Black Power held an auspicious conference that marked a dramatic change in African American resistance strategies. A seminal paper was presented by Adelaide Cromwell Hill entitled "What is Africa to us?" Hill made this haunting observation: "On this soil, the Negro has never been given an opportunity to name himself." Black leaders vigorously called their people to resist cultural encroachments. For the first time, violence was openly sanctioned. The Black Nationalist movement was a Black Power movement.

In Pittsburgh, an inflammatory pamphlet, "The Black Mood in Pittsburgh," was widely read in the African American community. "Black is anger, Tom," it proclaims. This pamphlet called for a "Burn Day." "Black Power cannot mean only a black sheriff in the sovereign state of Alabama . . . . Black Power is the power to control our lives," LeRoi Jones wrote in 1971. "We can have nothing without power." Black Power consciously tied its views to the historical reality of America's prejudice. Part of the Black Power movement was trying to ameliorate its race through community-based interventions. But, from the beginning, black organizers saw themselves as soldiers in a war against white domination.



Symbol for the Black Power Movement

Some felt that white America was a culture that for 300 years dominated and controlled, not nurtured and comforted. Black nationalists now decided to wage war on that society. They felt they had no choice.

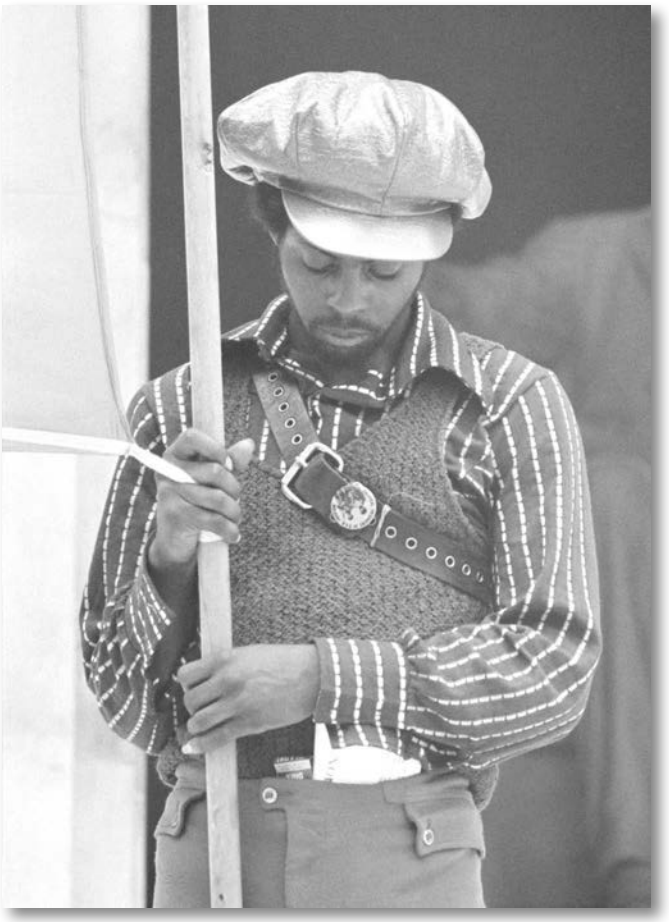
What caused the black community to move from nonviolent resistance to violent resistance? There were isolated instances of African American violence before (e.g., Nat Turner Slave Revolt), but nothing like the violence manifested in the summer of 1968. The black community moved from nonviolent resistance to violent resistance because African Americans saw themselves in an intolerable state. This violence was precipitated by the April assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., but frustration had been brewing in the African American heart for years. Violence was inevitably seen as a course of last resort — the black community understood that it was their community that was being destroyed, not the predominately white community — but it became necessary because they felt they had no choice. To the African American community, the 1968 riots were retributive justice. To most whites, this violence was a wake-up call.

African American violence increased even more with the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. For many African Americans, King's assassination sealed the demise of nonviolent resistance as a viable means of achieving equality for black America. But, as early as 1962, African American leaders like Stokely Carmichael were calling for a more radical response to racism. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton had a powerful vision: Pan-African Nationalism and Separatism. Carmichael's vision was decidedly political.



The ruins of buildings that were destroyed during the riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

A similar vision arose that emphasized the cultural uniqueness of African American culture. From this perspective, in 1966, the Black Panthers were founded by African American nationalists Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. Sympathetic to this movement included radicals like H. Rap Brown. Brown spoke with great pain and anger. "Separate but equal is cool with me. What's the big kick about going to school with white folks? . . . We stand for the transformation of the decadent, reactionary, racist system that exists at this time. . . . We don't like the system. We want to negate the system."



A member of the Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party of Self Defense was an organized movement designed to spread a message of pride and empowerment to African Americans. Their tactics were openly aggressive and violent if necessary (as contrasted with the National Association for the advancement of Colored People [NAACP] and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference). The Black Panthers wanted immediate results and were not willing to wait for legal and legislative processes. They wanted revolution, not gradualism. The Black Panthers did not allow radical whites to belong to their organization, which was an uncharacteristic phenomenon for any Black Power movement. Black Power advocates were calling for educational segregation.

Black Panthers were more than just urban fighters. They set up community-based medical testing for sickle-cell anemia and lead poisoning, registered voters, and organized food giveaways. Now blacks did not have to rely on whites for anything. All their programs promoted an old tactic first suggested by white supremacists: segregation. They urged the African American community to form a separate nation in the United States. They excluded themselves from white America.

Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan began the controversial Nation of Islam or African American Muslims. The idea of returning to Islam as the ancestral religion of African Americans was not new. In the 1920s, Marcus Garvey suggested that Blacks reject white institutions — including its religions — and form their own. But now, Farrakhan and Malcolm X connected Christianity to perceived white hatred. "A White Man's Heaven Is an African American Man's Hell" is the national anthem of the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan saw a vast conspiracy seeking to conceal the glorious past of African Americans, and the Nation of Islam sought to set the record straight. Sharod Baker, a Columbia University student, and a member of the Nation of Islam, recently stated, "I don't think there's

anything wrong with saying I hate them [whites]. They have caused me harm over and over, and I wish they are [were] dead."

In contrast, Martin Luther King Jr. called for reconciliation and nonviolence, assimilation and peaceful coexistence. Toward the end of his life, King shifted somewhat toward separatist tactics, but he never embraced violence. He stressed the unity of society and wanted to gain those ends through nonviolent means. "African Americans should have the same right to vote, the same access to education, and the same economic opportunities as every other American," King argued. "They have the same goal as every other immigrant group — full assimilation into American life." King gave both African Americans and whites hope that the race problem in America could be solved. But when African Americans saw that assimilation was not working, some embraced "tribalism."

Another Black Power champion was Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The SNCC was founded in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1960 at the suggestion of Martin Luther King Jr., as a student arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The SNCC's objective was defined as integration through nonviolent protest, all of which was incorporated into the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project launched in 1964. The SNCC formally adopted a black-consciousness philosophy and a separatist stance. African American resistance was clearly defined as pro-black and anti-white. Northern white activists were expelled, and the group broke with Martin Luther King Jr. The organization faded from the public eye by 1969, but its causes were embraced by nationalistic groups. The Black Panthers, too, were disbanded by the middle of the 1970s, but during this decade, they captured the African American social agenda and deeply impacted African American society. Any racial discussion that speaks of "black power," "black identity," or "black self-determination" traces its genesis to the black nationalistic movement.



40th Anniversary Reunion of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, 2006

The 1960s marked a shift in resistance: from nonviolence to violence, from gradualism to immediatism, from desegregation to separatism. This shift clearly marked a new challenge for racial reconciliation proponents. In the mid-1970s, fully 30 percent of black Americans felt that violence could be necessary to bring change and 8 percent were sure that it would be necessary. Little has changed since then. Similar studies and articles today confirm that those fears still exist among many African Americans.



By the 1990s within the African American community, the marriage of race and power was secure. Equality was no longer a goal: empowerment was. Now the movement wanted more than a piece of the pie — they wanted to be in charge. After so much misery and given the failure of the predominantly white society to address the needs of the African American urban community, who can blame them? The Black Power movement encouraged a permanent state of justifiable rage. "Anytime you make race a source of power," a Black Power leader wrote, "you are going to guarantee suffering, misery, and inequality. . . . We are going to have power because we are black!"

Many African Americans today, influenced by black nationalism, argue that the distribution of power in American society has become the single issue of overriding importance to the upward progress of African Americans. From 1965 to the present, a major focus has been whether or not policies have added to the economic or political empowerment of black people. In effect, Martin Luther King's dialogue of justice for all — whites and blacks — has been cast into the conflagration of empowerment. The triumph of black nationalism became an indelible part of the racial reconciliation quest.

Today, the politics of difference has led to what some say is an establishment of "grievance identities." The African American community has documented the grievance of their group, testifying to its abiding alienation.

While predominantly white colleges and universities now enroll a majority of the more than 1.3 million black college students, the fact is there is not much race mixing really occurring.

No one can deny that the **Civil Rights** initiatives in the 1960s brought substantial improvements to the African American community. In 2008, for the first time in history, an African American was elected president of the United States. As a result of these encouraging developments, many black Americans developed what some historians call a "black revolution in expectations." African Americans no longer felt that they had to put up with the humiliation of second-class citizenship. In 2020, the first African American female vice president was elected to office. Yet, the jury is still out regarding the actual racial progress being made.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 – This makes discrimination in the United States illegal based on religion, race, sex, color, or national origin.

Lesson 3

Racial Anger

Many African Americans are understandably angry. They are angry because they feel that the American dream has eluded them. They are angry because they are constantly being judged, harassed, and discriminated against because of their race. After such hopeful beginnings in the Great Migration, many found themselves held prisoner in unwholesome ghettos. Racism created a cycle of poverty in northern urban ghettos, and with it, a de facto segregation that remains.

A result of this experience was the denial of meaningful upward mobility. This was a unique element of American urban history. Other ethnic groups (e.g., Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians) fared better in the upward mobility trek than did many African Americans. The ghetto became an unavoidable symbol of the failure of America to overcome its racial divisiveness. As the African American ghetto rapidly declined throughout the 20th century and industrialization took hold, likewise the African American businessman and skilled craftsman disappeared from the American city. By the 1930s and 1940s, the goods and services once provided by neighbors were supplanted by mass retail outlets — a trend that continues today. In spite of affirmative action, federal job training programs, and ameliorated relationships with predominantly white unions, the number and proportion of African American skilled workers continued to decline, assuring that the black community would unfortunately continue to hold a low economic level in American society.



Rowhouse built for the African American population of Harlem in the 1930s



Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C., 1963

Some African American enclaves existed in white suburbs, but whites were by far the majority presence in American suburbs. As African American intellectuals like Fulwood remind us, money and education do not fully mitigate racial disparities.

The African American community is not without its strengths — witness the great Harlem Renaissance — but the strengths were constantly compromised. Ethnicity, class formation, political power — all of these forces were overshadowed by racism. Racism was not competing with ethnicity and other forces — it was overwhelming them all!

May 17, 1954, Brown v. Board of Education, was a momentous day in the history of the world: a nation voluntarily acknowledged and repudiated its own oppression of part of its own people. Martin Luther King and nonviolent passive resistance allowed the protestors to retain their "innocence." King's vision is truly a moral vision undaunted by racial parochialism.

In the late '60s, suddenly a sharp racial consciousness emerged to compete with the moral consciousness that was part of earlier civil rights issues. Whites were no longer welcome in the movement, and a vocal "African American power" minority gained control. It was from this phase — the Black Power phase — that black separatist organizations arose.

There was a time when African Americans expected to solve the racial problem. Now, after the violence of the previous 30 years, it was difficult for Americans even to discuss the topic.

The problem was that Americans sought racial, not moral, power, which led the African American Community into a series of contradictions. The civil rights movement sought equality by demanding that racism cease to be a significant category. Now, the Black Power movement was demanding that race must be a ubiquitous category. Thus, Black Power, grasping for political and economic power rather than justice, became itself unjust.

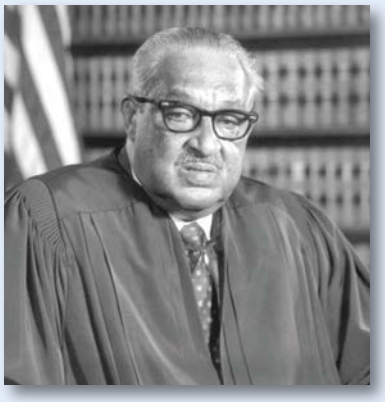
Now the African American community gave voice to grievances committed against them. They sought to document the grievances of their group, testifying to its abiding alienation. African Americans and whites alike were punished for not recognizing and accepting this viewpoint.

Much of the black community's worldview grew out of a feeling of anger and alienation. Listen to the rhetoric of a black leader, Cenie J. Williams, Jr.: "The thrust of Black people in the late '50s and in the '60s for black power is viewed by our racist oppressors as a most serious challenge to the continuation of the white power dynamic in this area of the world and indirectly throughout the world." Dr. Farris Page, an African American psychologist at the Children's Home Society, discussed adoption of black children by white families: "I have a young child who's in a school with only two or three black kids to a class and the impact is very, very tremendous. . . . The issues of race and color and hair are prevalent for black children in black homes. And they're going to be magnified in a white home." Dr. Page implied that racism is a dominant category. Clearly this rhetoric exhibited a politics of difference and displacement.

Within the civil rights movement and the black community in general was a profound discouragement. In African American communities, there was no doubt a loss of any optimism concerning the future. Racism had taken its toll.

Chief Justice Thurgood Marshall during the U.S. Bicentennial Celebration:

"In this bicentennial year (1976), we may not all participate in the festivities with flag-waving fervor. Some may more quietly commemorate the suffering, struggle, and sacrifice that has triumphed over much of what is wrong with the original document [the U.S. Constitution], and observe the anniversary with hopes not realized and promises not fulfilled.



Chief Justice
Thurgood Marshall



African American culture had grown terribly disillusioned by the late 1990s. Jim Crow laws had soured life in the South. De facto segregation had undermined attempts at advancement in the urban North. In reality, as Thomas Sowell explained, there is far less residential segregation in the northern city before the advent of aggressive government intervention than there is after the rise of the positive liberal state (government funds most social welfare interventions). Government intervention, too, had failed the African American community. This was evidenced by the tremendous, widespread decline of many African American urban families. Migrating African Americans experienced rejection from the Northern white and, in some cases, African Americans living in the North. Some Southern African American families, then, had found the Promised Land to be another empty dream.

Viktor E. Frankl, a survivor of the Nazi concentration camps, observes, "A man who could not see the end of his 'provisional existence' was not able to aim at an ultimate existence." Nietzsche observed, "He who has a why to live can bear with almost any how." Many in the black community had lost a "how" and a "why."

Race should not be a source of power and advantage or disadvantage in a Christian, free society. The civil rights movement in its early and middle years offered the best way out of America's racial impasse. It embodied a moral vision. And it was a very important step forward for all Americans. The civil rights movement thankfully removed many of the systemic problems in a divided America. However, much work remains. Black Lives Matter is a group that has emerged in recent years in response to the deaths of African Americans at the hands of the police and what is described as systemic racism in all levels of American society. However, it is just one group in a growing movement that is becoming more active throughout the United States. However, racial reconciliation will require more than systemic change; it will require that human hearts are changed, and human hearts are changed by the power of the Holy Spirit.



20th Anniversary of the Million Man March

Lesson 4

An Oral History by Dr. Stobaugh

Dwight Washington, a high school scholar and track star, had a conversion experience at one of our revival services. This was an aberration, to say the least. There existed, however, in our church a well-defined, strongly held white Christian racial orthodoxy that supported racism.

Pastor Garner predicted that America was the probable site of the coming millennium. For many African American believers, however, America was not the Promised Land — it was Egypt. No doubt Dwight felt some hesitation when he attended our church. I never told anyone, but I had invited him.

I knew that people like Uncle George — the Grand Wizard of the Klan — would not approve, but I felt that Dwight's life required a radical intervention. However, Dwight was converted on Wednesday night and thought he would visit us again on Sunday morning. He foolishly thought that since Jesus loved him all the time, and this church appeared to love him on Wednesday night, they would love him on Sunday morning, too.

So, he attended our Sunday morning worship service.

Only one African American had ever attended our church on Sunday morning. A new paper mill executive, Marcus Danforth, sought to transfer his membership from another Methodist church in Chicago, Illinois. Mrs. Ollie Smith fainted outright when Marcus sat in her deceased husband's pew.

Marcus never visited our church again. After Uncle George and his friends visited Marcus one evening and burned a cross in his finely landscaped lawn, and after his children were not allowed to play in the local little league, Marcus quickly transferred to Idaho Falls, Idaho.



Dwight arrived promptly at 10:45 and shook Tommy Somerville's hand. Without looking up, Tommy Somerville, who ushered the faithful to their pews, handed Dwight a bulletin. Dwight smiled. Mr. Somerville was speechless, but Dwight did not wait for Mr. Somerville to escort him to his seat; Dwight sat in T-Bone Arnold's seat.



Ten minutes later, arriving late from a fishing trip to Kate Adams Lake, T-Bone appeared noticeably irritated. Dwight was no doubt going to use the pew hymnal that was dedicated to his uncle Harry Arnold. This was T-Bone's favorite hymnal, and no one used it but T-Bone. Everyone in the church knew that.

T-Bone growled (literally) but eventually sat next to the Widow Adams, whose false teeth inevitably leaped from her mouth during the second hymn. T-Bone grimaced and carefully placed his *Hymns of Praise* in a position to catch the widow's teeth. The first hymn was everyone's favorite, "Holy! Holy! Holy!"

Before the end of the first verse, Mr. Somerville politely asked Dwight to leave because folks like him should go to their own churches. Dwight lowered his head and walked away from our church and Jesus.

Garner saw everything and was obviously displeased. Not that he castigated us. We could handle that. We enjoyed pastors who scolded us for our sins. We tolerated, even enjoyed his paternalistic diatribes. No, Garner did the intolerable: he wept. Right in the middle of morning worship, right where great preachers like Muzon Mann had labored, where our children were baptized, Garner wept! Right in the middle of morning worship, as if it were part of the liturgy, he started crying! Not loud, uncontrollable sobs, but quiet, deep crying. Old Man Henley, senile and almost deaf, remembering the last time he cried — when his wife died — started crying, too. And then the children started. My cousin Ronny, our organist, sensing Brother Garner's impropriety, judiciously played the last hymn.