

Instructor's Manual for
TAKING SIDES

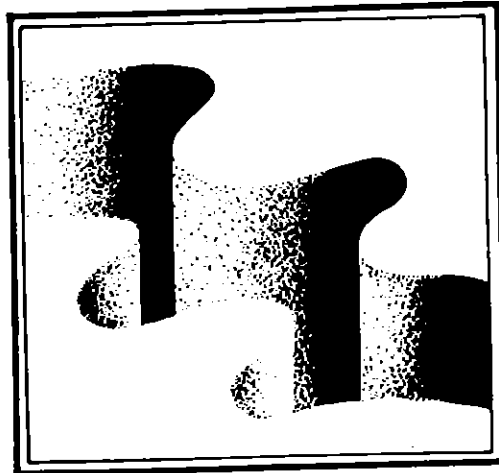
Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in American History, 3d ed.

Volume I The Colonial Period to Reconstruction

Volume II Reconstruction to the Present

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TEACHING AND TESTING SUGGESTIONS

by

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Preface

This instructor's manual has been prepared for use with *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in American History, Volumes One and Two*, Third Edition. For each of the issues covered in our book, we have provided the following: a synopsis of each author's position on the issue, teaching suggestions, and multiple-choice and essay questions.

The teaching hints consist of suggestions for generating class discussion around the themes raised by the clashing essays.

The multiple-choice questions are meant to force the student into making reasoned choices, in other words, to exercise good judgment. The essay questions encourage the student to write organized and coherent analyses of the issues.

We welcome any comments, good or bad, from teachers who have used *Taking Sides* in the classroom. We would especially welcome any suggestions as to how it might be improved. Write to us in care of our publisher, The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Sluice Dock, Guilford, CT 06437.

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Topic Guide for
*Taking Sides: Controversial Issues
 in American History, Volume I*
 The Colonial Period to Reconstruction

TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS A PRIMARY ISSUE IN: (Issue Number/Title)	TREATED AS A SECONDARY ISSUE IN: (Issue Number/Title)
Political History	10. 1828 Election 17. Reconstruction	7. Constitution 8. Jefferson 14. Abolitionism 15. South 17. Lincoln
Diplomatic History	6. American Revolution 12. Mexican War	
Military History		2. Native Americans 12. Mexican War 16. Lincoln
Religious History	5. Great Awakening	14. Abolitionism
Economic History		3. Colonial Women 6. American Revolution 7. Constitution 9. 19th Century Women 15. South
Legal History	7. Constitution	17. Reconstruction
Social History	1. Colonial American Character 3. Colonial Women	4. 18th Century Slavery 9. 19th Century Women 13. 19th Century Slavery
Cultural History	11. Antebellum Reform 14. Abolitionism 15. South	5. Great Awakening
Ethnic History	2. Native Americans 4. 18th Century Slavery 13. 19th Century Slavery	1. Colonial American Character 14. Abolitionism 17. Reconstruction
Women's History	3. Colonial Women 9. 19th Century Women	13. Slavery
Biographical History	8. Jefferson 16. Lincoln	14. Abolitionism

Volume I The Colonial Period to Reconstruction

ISSUE 1

Was Colonial American Culture Unique?

YES: Gary B. Nash, from *Race, Class, and Politics: Essays on American Colonial and Revolutionary Society* (University of Illinois Press, 1986)

NO: Carlton J. H. Hayes, from "The American Frontier—Frontier of What?" *American Historical Review* (January 1946)

Synopsis

Nash argues that colonial American culture developed from a convergence of three broad cultural traditions—European, Native American, and African—which produced a unique tri-racial culture in the New World. Hayes views American society as a New World extension of the traditions of European or Western culture.

Discussing the Issue

This issue provides an opportunity to discuss the role of ethnocentrism in the writing of history. Define this term and ask students how it relates to Hayes's essay. Explore the ways in which Nash's essay overcomes ethnocentric perspectives of early American society. A definition of the term culture may prove useful as well. Explore with students the contributions to American culture made by Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans. Ask students what they see as the strengths and shortcomings of each essay.

Another area of discussion involves the times in which these articles were written. Can Hayes's interpretation be better understood if we know it appeared soon after the end of World War II? Similarly, how might the climate of opinion in the 1980s have affected Nash's perspective? Hayes's position as ambassador to Spain (1942–1945) no doubt affected his world view as well as his scholarship. The role of personal experience in shaping a historian's interpretations could be discussed, with Thucydides, Edward Hyde (the Earl of Clarendon), and Winston Churchill being examples of individuals who participated in the events about which they later wrote historical accounts.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Nash argues that social development in colonial America was
 - a. determined by English people.
 - b. based upon French institutions.
 - c. a blend of European, Native-American, and African cultures.
 - d. controlled entirely by women.
2. Nash contends that English colonizers
 - a. failed to conquer or dislodge interior tribes.
 - b. dominated the fur trade in Canada.
 - c. readily intermingled with Native Americans.
 - d. were depopulated by diseases contracted from coastal tribes.
3. Nash believes that Africans
 - a. failed to develop their own culture in the colonies
 - b. readily adopted European ways.
 - c. were culturally homogeneous and produced a uniform slave society.
 - d. significantly affected the social development of colonial white society.
4. According to Professor Nash,
 - a. there was no unified Native-American experience.
 - b. there was a unified Native-American experience.
 - c. Native Americans were easily assimilated into the dominant white society.
 - d. Native Americans were really savages and uncivilized.
5. Native-American involvement in the North American fur trade
 - a. hastened the spread of epidemic disease.
 - b. depleted ecozones of animal life.
 - c. drew the Native Americans into a market economy dominated by whites.
 - d. all of the above
6. Recent scholarship on Native Americans
 - a. reinforces old stereotypes.

- b. presents the Native American as a "noble savage."
 - c. points out that large numbers of Native Americans died from diseases contracted from the white man.
 - d. all of the above
7. Recent scholarships on Afro-Americans emphasizes
- a. docile and passive slaves.
 - b. rebellious slaves.
 - c. the development of a distinct Afro-American culture in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake area.
 - d. the impact of the plantation owner on the values of the slaves.
8. In his essay on the American frontier, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes fails to discuss the contributions of
- a. women.
 - b. slaves.
 - c. Native Americans.
 - d. all of the above
9. According to Professor Hayes, the following are a part of the Western tradition with the exception of
- a. unquestioned military authority.
 - b. Greco-Roman traditions.
 - c. individualism and limitations on the state.
 - d. Judeo-Christian values.
10. According to Professor Hayes, the United States developed political and cultural values from
- a. the western frontier of North America.
 - b. Europe.
 - c. Asia.
 - d. the Middle East.
11. In 1946 Professor Hayes hoped that future historians would put more emphasis on writing _____ history
- a. political
 - b. military
 - c. economic
 - d. cultural
12. Professor Hayes favors a comparative approach to history so that Americans can appreciate their _____ heritage.
- a. Native-American
 - b. Judeo-Christian
 - c. Moslem
 - d. Semitic (Middle Eastern)

13. According to Professor Nash, the new history needs
- a. more local history.
 - b. more emphasis on religious influences.
 - c. an explanatory theory of sociological analysis.
 - d. a "modernization" theory.

Essay Questions

- 14. Compare and contrast the views of Nash and Hayes concerning the nature of American culture.
- 15. Define ethnocentrism and explain its relationship to the essays of Nash and Hayes.
- 16. Compare and contrast the ways in which Nash and Hayes evaluate the contributions made by Native Americans, Africans, and women to American culture.

Answers

1.c 2.a 3.d 4.a 5.d 6.c 7.c 8.d 9.a 10.b 11.d 12.b 13.c

ISSUE 2

Was Conflict Unavoidable Between Native Americans and Colonists?

YES: Alden T. Vaughan, from "White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indians," *American Historical Review* (October 1982)

NO: Richard R. Johnson, from "The Search for a Usable Indian: An Aspect of the Defense of Colonial New England," *Journal of American History* (December 1977)

Synopsis

Vaughan presents the Native American as a victim of color symbolism, racial differences, and nonconformity to European cultural traditions. Johnson chronicles

cooperative relations between settlers and natives in the New World.

Discussing the Issue

The element of time is a crucial factor in both Johnson's and Vaughan's arguments. Both agree that relations between the natives and newcomers deteriorated over time. In broad terms, relations in the seventeenth century were more amicable than in the eighteenth. Of course, King Philip's War was a major exception to this generalization. An initial topic of exploration can be how changes occur over time. It is important to note that Johnson discusses particular tribes and distinguishes among them while Vaughan considers "Indians" in the generic sense. Johnson's evidence, however, is limited to experiences in New England. At the center of each essay is the question of acculturation and, equally important, the failure of acculturation. This topic leads to others, such as the conflicts between expectations and hopes of the Europeans versus the realities of Native-American attitudes and feelings. Why did the Europeans expect that they could change the New World natives? Weren't their hopes based on feelings of cultural superiority? In a sense were they not treating Native Americans as objects rather than people? Both Vaughan and Johnson seem to share a basic interpretation of Native-American-white relations while discussing different aspects of this topic. Consequently, this issue is quite different from the previous one. Instead of comparison and contrast, synthesis would seem to be an appropriate goal of any discussion on this issue. Students will profit from this example of historians agreeing on many points while differing on others. Professors who wish to supplement this issue with a film might use the movie version of James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, which is available as an inexpensive video.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

- Initially, the Anglo-American view of Native Americans, according to Professor Alden T. Vaughan, was
 - friendly and optimistic.
 - hostile.
 - suspicious.
 - neutral and indifferent.
- Relations between seventeenth-century settlers in Virginia and Native Americans were usually
 - legalistic.
 - friendly.
 - hostile.
 - limited.
- Relations between seventeenth-century settlers in Massachusetts and Native Americans were usually
 - legalistic.
 - friendly.
 - hostile.
 - limited.
- By the end of the seventeenth century, it was clear that most Native Americans
 - would accept English values and the Christian religion.
 - would accept English values but not Christianity.
 - would accept Christianity but not English values.
 - would reject both English values and the Christian religion.
- According to the theory of the Great Chain of Being, Native Americans were
 - superior to the English race.
 - inferior to the English race.
 - on the same level as the English race.
 - never scientifically linked to the English race.
- Most colonists, by the time of the American Revolution, could not accept natives as Americans because of their
 - indifference to capitalism.
 - strange farming habits.
 - color.
 - unusual child-rearing practices.
- According to Professor Richard R. Johnson, seventeenth-century Native Americans in New England
 - were merely being used by the whites.
 - had all become converts to Christianity.
 - continuously fought wars against the white settlers.
 - used the whites for their own purposes of survival and warfare among the various tribes.
- When seventeenth-century New Englanders used Native-American tribes as their allies in military battles,
 - it reinforced the image of natives as noble allies.
 - it reinforced the image of natives as blood-thirsty terrorist savages.

- c. it led to a willingness to negotiate fair and equitable treaties with Native Americans.
 - d. it diminished New Englanders' racial prejudices against Native Americans.
9. In his essay "The Search for a Usable Indian," Professor Richard J. Johnson
- a. blames the New England colonists for the deterioration in Native-American-white relations in seventeenth-century New England.
 - b. blames Native Americans for the deterioration in Native-American-white relations in seventeenth-century New England.
 - c. reinforces the traditional view of Native-American-white relations in seventeenth-century New England.
 - d. presents a revised view of Native-American-white relations in seventeenth-century New England.
10. Both professors Vaughan and Johnson agree that by the end of the seventeenth century the white colonists considered Native Americans to be
- a. the same as whites.
 - b. different from whites.
 - c. not equal to and different from whites.
 - d. none of the above

Essay Questions

- 11. How does Johnson explain the willingness of Native Americans to cooperate with New England colonists?
- 12. Evaluate the steps by which natives became known as "Redskins."
- 13. Why did Native Americans reject the colonists' attempts to change their traditions?

Answers

1.a 2.c 3.b 4.d 5.b 6.c 7.d 8.b 9.d 10.c

ISSUE 3

Was the Colonial Period a "Golden Age" for Women in America?

YES: Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, from "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women

in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly* (October 1977)

NO: Lyle Koehler, from *A Search for Power: The "Weaker Sex" in Seventeenth-Century New England* (University of Illinois Press, 1980)

Synopsis

Carr and Walsh identify several factors that coalesced in the seventeenth century to afford women in Maryland a higher status with fewer restraints on their social conduct than those experienced by women in England. Koehler contends that the division of labor that separated work into male and female spheres and Puritan attitudes towards rights of inheritance severely limited opportunities for upward mobility among New England women.

Discussing the Issue

This issue provides an excellent opportunity for the teacher to explain the differences between traditional history, which focuses primarily upon political and military events, and the "new social" history, which examines how ordinary people lived. In addition to discussing the past from the bottom up, the new history often employs different types of sources. Since relatively few people kept diaries or letters, a collective analysis of public records is necessary if we are to uncover the lives of typical colonists. Carr and Walsh, for example, have examined census data, probate records of wills and inventories, church records, and real estate transactions in order to determine demographic patterns in Maryland.

The teacher also should ask students to explore the factors that contributed to the divergent conclusions expressed in these essays. Was region the crucial determinant? If so, what conditions created a different environment for women in New England and the Chesapeake? What role might religion have played in these differences? Would the authors' interpretations hold for the eighteenth century as well? What happens to Carr and Walsh's thesis if the status of nonwhite women is factored in?

Some interesting comparisons can be made between seventeenth-century families and modern families. For example, families in early Maryland were similar to modern families in terms of size, the short duration of marriage, and high rates of unwanted pregnancies. Of course there were important differences between the seventeenth-century Maryland family and the modern family, which should be discussed. Similar compari-

sons can be made about the status of women in seventeenth-century New England. What were women's traditional roles? How were women treated outside of the traditional domestic sphere? Has this changed today?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which of the following is *not* true of human experience in seventeenth-century Maryland?
 - a. The majority of inhabitants were born in Britain.
 - b. Immigrants had a high mortality rate.
 - c. Most immigrants arrived as indentured servants.
 - d. More women than men immigrated to Maryland in this period.
2. According to Carr and Walsh, women migrated to Maryland in the seventeenth century
 - a. in order to abandon their families in England.
 - b. to escape debtor's prison.
 - c. to seek better opportunities in the New World.
 - d. to gain religious freedom.
3. Chesapeake women tended to die earlier than men because
 - a. they were often the victims of attacks by Native Americans.
 - b. of childbirth.
 - c. they were physically weaker than men.
 - d. they were more susceptible to malaria.
4. Compared to women in eighteenth-century Maryland, those in the seventeenth century
 - a. enjoyed a more favorable status.
 - b. were more heavily oppressed.
 - c. held the same status as their eighteenth-century counterparts.
 - d. were less likely to be immigrants.
5. Lyle Koehler says that occupational opportunities for New England women were limited by
 - a. apprenticeship restrictions.
 - b. educational limitations.
 - c. inheritance patterns.
 - d. all of the above
6. The chief occupation for almost all New England women was
 - a. small shopkeeper.
 - b. housewife.
 - c. teacher.
 - d. agricultural laborer.
7. Women in colonial New England in the seventeenth century
 - a. earned the same wages as their male counterparts.
 - b. achieved economic independence.
 - c. lacked the capital necessary to establish large-scale businesses.
 - d. faced few restrictions in the types of occupations open to them.
8. Colonial New England women
 - a. labored at fewer occupations than their English counterparts.
 - b. benefited greatly from labor shortages in acquiring economic security.
 - c. acquired substantial amounts of real estate.
 - d. maintained family businesses far more frequently than did women in England.
9. According to Koehler, widows in seventeenth-century New England
 - a. inherited sizable estates from their husbands.
 - b. assumed their deceased husbands' jobs.
 - c. were better off than women in England.
 - d. depended upon the almshouse or their children for support.

Essay Questions

10. What factors contributed to the status of women in seventeenth-century Maryland?
11. According to Koehler, what was the occupational status of seventeenth-century New England women?
12. Compare and contrast the views of Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh and Lyle Koehler concerning the overall status of colonial women in the seventeenth century.

Answers

1.d 2.c 3.b 4.a 5.d 6.b 7.c 8.a 9.d

ISSUE 4

Testing on the Issue

Did American Slaves Develop a Distinct Afro-American Culture in the Eighteenth Century?

YES: Allan Kulikoff, from *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (University of North Carolina Press, 1986)

NO: Jean Butenhoff Lee, from "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* (October 1986)

Synopsis

Kulikoff claims that Chesapeake slaves developed their own social institutions and indigenous culture in the half century between 1740 and 1790. Lee emphasizes the difficult and often unsuccessful efforts of slaves to create a stable family and community life in eighteenth-century Maryland.

Discussing the Issue

While Issue 1 considers the nature of American culture in general, this issue explores the efforts by slaves to develop an autonomous community life for themselves. This is a topic that most students never have considered because: (a) little attention usually is given to slavery in the colonial period; and (b) it was long assumed that African slaves were totally dominated by their masters, who sought to encourage among their chattel property the values of white society. Since both essays in this issue focus on the Chesapeake region, the teacher should be prepared to address some of the following questions. How can data for the same place in the same time period yield different conclusions? What are the strengths and weaknesses of concentrating on a single county, as is the case with Professor Lee's article? Does her analysis completely invalidate Kulikoff's findings? If slaves were able to develop control over their own community life, what does this suggest about the ability of masters to exercise control over their slaves? The teacher should discuss with students the complexities that existed within the slave system that prevent any easy stereotype of master-slave relationships. Finally, this issue can serve to compare the nature of the slave family in colonial and antebellum America (see Issue 13).

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Kulikoff, American slaves formed settled communities when
 - a. they had fully assimilated the values of white society.
 - b. they lived on small farms.
 - c. there were large numbers of African imports expanding the population.
 - d. plantation size increased.
2. Slaves derived many aspects of their community life in the late eighteenth century from
 - a. newly arrived Africans.
 - b. European and West African cultural traditions.
 - c. American Indians.
 - d. their masters only.
3. According to Kulikoff, which of the following was *not* a pattern shared by whites and blacks in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake?
 - a. they lived in family units
 - b. families were monogamous
 - c. both groups exhibited a reluctance to marry first cousins
 - d. all of the above
4. According to Kulikoff, Afro-American slaves developed their own social institutions and indigenous culture
 - a. during the second half of the eighteenth century.
 - b. in the seventeenth century.
 - c. between 1690 and 1740.
 - d. in the nineteenth century.
5. Lee challenges Kulikoff's thesis by arguing that
 - a. Chesapeake slaves were dominated completely by their masters.
 - b. the opportunity for social interaction among slaves on different plantations was limited.
 - c. the presence of African-born slaves aided the emergence of a distinctive subculture among slaves.
 - d. Maryland was not typical of the colonies as a whole and, therefore, is not a valid example for a case study on Afro-American slave communities.
6. Lee suggests that Maryland slaves
 - a. developed a stable family life in the slave quarters
 - b. lived in families dominated by women

- c. lived with the threat that their family and community could be torn apart
- d. outnumbered whites

7. Lee's study focuses upon which of the following counties?
- a. Charles
 - b. Anne Arundel
 - c. Southampton
 - d. Prince George's
8. Lee complains that historians of North American slavery have
- a. treated slavery as a static institution.
 - b. not paid enough attention to the Chesapeake.
 - c. overstated the power that masters held over their slaves.
 - d. been too concerned with statistical analysis of demographic characteristics.

Essay Questions

- 9. According to Kulikoff and Lee, what factors contributed to and/or inhibited the development of Afro-American slave communities in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake?
- 10. Identify and discuss the origins of the major elements of Afro-American culture in the eighteenth century.
- 11. Analyze the views of both authors with respect to the nature of the eighteenth-century slave family.

Answers

1.d 2.b 3.c 4.a 5.b 6.c 7.a 8.a

Fiction," *Journal of American History* (September 1982)

Synopsis

McLoughlin claims that the Great Awakening, by promoting religious revitalization, intercolonial unity, and democracy, paved the way for the American Revolution. Butler challenges the validity of the term "the Great Awakening" and argues that a link between the eighteenth-century colonial religious revivals and the American Revolution was nonexistent.

Discussing the Issue

William McLoughlin's essay offers an intriguing interpretation that can be expanded for purposes of class discussion. Using Karl Marx's dictum that religion serves as an "opiate of the masses," teachers can explore more fully the relationship between religion and revolution. Ask students to think of examples in which religion has inspired rebellion rather than retarding it. Could it be argued, for example, that some slave uprisings (Nat Turner's revolt) benefited from religious imagery? Certainly, the battlegrounds in Northern Ireland, Lebanon, and Iran attest to the revolutionary potential derived at least in part from religious attachments. It also will be necessary to offer further explanation of the term "postmillennial" as used by McLoughlin. A full understanding of Jon Butler's revisionist essay requires a step-by-step analysis. What sources lead Butler to his conclusions? How do they differ from the materials selected by McLoughlin to support his argument? Finally, if religion was not the key to the American Revolution, what was? Ask students to identify other factors that contributed to this momentous event in American history.

ISSUE 5

Was the Great Awakening a Key to the American Revolution?

YES: William G. McLoughlin, from "Enthusiasm for Liberty": The Great Awakening as the Key to the Revolution," Jack P. Greene and William G. McLoughlin, *Preachers & Politicians: Two Essays on the Origins of the American Revolution* (American Antiquarian Society, 1977)

NO: Jon Butler, from "Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretative

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

- 1. According to McLoughlin, the religious environment of the colonies in the early 1700s
 - a. was stronger than it had been in England.
 - b. benefited from numerous denominations.
 - c. was characterized primarily by revivalistic activities.
 - d. eroded in the wake of change and migration.

2. McLoughlin says that the Great Awakening produced an interest in
 - a. the priesthood of the believer.
 - b. Antinomianism.
 - c. a republican ideal of government by consent.
 - d. an educated clergy.
3. McLoughlin sees a tie between the Great Awakening and the American Revolution in that
 - a. both reflected a challenge to authority.
 - b. both events were motivated primarily by religious issues.
 - c. both began in New England.
 - d. both produced support from the French.
4. McLoughlin argues that intercolonial unity developed in the colonies because of
 - a. opposition to the appointment of an Anglican bishop for the colonies.
 - b. the system of itinerant preaching during the Great Awakening.
 - c. the Stamp Act.
 - d. the Boston Massacre.
5. Butler and McLoughlin appear to differ on the significance of
 - a. Jonathan Edwards.
 - b. Gilbert Tennent.
 - c. George Whitefield.
 - d. Theodore Frelinghuysen.
6. Concerning the relationship between the revivals and the American Revolution, Butler says
 - a. the revivals provided little impetus for intercolonial unity.
 - b. several denominations associated with the Great Awakening originated anti-British protest.
 - c. colonial revivalism did not reinforce anti-British protest.
 - d. the revivals fostered a new system of mass communication among settlers.
7. Butler concludes that historians should
 - a. place more emphasis on the Great Awakening as the key to the Revolution.
 - b. abandon the term "the Great Awakening."
 - c. stress the importance the Enlightenment had on the Revolution.
 - d. none of the above
8. Which of the following is *not* part of Butler's model of the revivals of eighteenth-century America?
 - a. revivals were regional events occurring in only half of the colonies
 - b. their theological origins were international and diverse, not Calvinistic and uniquely American
 - c. they had modest effects on colonial religion
 - d. the link between the revivals and the American Revolution was virtually nonexistent

Essay Questions

9. According to William McLoughlin, what features of the Great Awakening were instrumental in paving the way for the American Revolution?
10. What arguments does Jon Butler use to insist that there was no "Great Awakening"?
11. Discuss the divergent views of McLoughlin and Butler with regard to the impact of the Great Awakening on the American Revolution.

Answers

1.d 2.c 3.a 4.b 5.c 6.a 7.b 8.c

ISSUE 6

Can the Revolution Serve as a Developmental Model for Third World Nations Today?

YES: Richard B. Morris, from *The Emerging Nations and the American Revolution* (Harper & Row, 1970)

NO: Carl N. Degler, from "The American Past: An Unsuspected Obstacle in Foreign Affairs," *The American Scholar* (Spring 1963)

Synopsis

Historian Richard F. Morris argues that the American Revolution was both a war of decolonization and a movement of wide-ranging political, social, and economic changes. Pulitzer Prize-winning author Carl N. Degler believes that, because of its unique conservative attempt to maintain the "status quo," the American Revolution is meaningless as a model for Third World nations to imitate.

Discussing the Issue

There are three major questions that students need to discuss in order to properly assess the worldwide impact of the American Revolution. First is the need to come up with a working definition of what constitutes a revolution. Distinctions should be made between the "strict constructionist" and "loose constructionist" approaches to the term. Is there a difference between a rebellion and a revolution? How deep should changes take place in the economic and social fabric of society before the term revolution merits application? Is violence a necessary component of a revolution? If so, what do the terms industrial revolution and transportation revolution mean?

A second area that deserves discussion is the distinction between an external and an internal revolution. The Neo-Whigs have stressed external causation. Had it not been for the political disputes over England's post-1763 new taxation policies, a break might not have occurred. Is this a valid assertion? Professor Richard Morris, who began writing history over fifty years ago when the progressive interpretations dominated American historiography, still believes that the American Revolution totally transformed our society. Students should list the changes that he says came about and compare them with Degler's conservative interpretation. Can the republican ideology that the independent American colonists used to fashion their government be considered revolutionary in the context of eighteenth-century history?

A third line of discussion centers around the issue of modernization. The teacher can play devil's advocate and ask students whether any country can export their political and economic systems to another country. Do you think socialist or communist countries can export their economic systems more easily than capitalist countries? Since the United States has been associated in history with policies enslaving its own black population and also governing colonies in the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico, do you think this has made it easier for Russia and China to gain a more sympathetic ear from Third World nations in the 1950s? Do you think this is still true in the 1980s?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Professor Degler, the American Revolution against British rule
 - a. brought radical changes into the American political and economic system.
 - b. was primarily a conservative revolt to restore the "status quo."
 - c. was unnecessary because the colonists really weren't oppressed by excessive taxes levied by the British Parliament.
 - d. was really a revolt against the tyrannical behavior of King George III.
2. According to Professor Degler, the greatest lesson the American past offers Third World nations is
 - a. the establishment of democracy.
 - b. American capitalism.
 - c. religious tolerance.
 - d. nothing.
3. According to Professor Degler, the American ideology is noted for its
 - a. practicality.
 - b. socialism.
 - c. revolutionary rhetoric.
 - d. logical patterns of thought.
4. According to Professor Degler, the American Revolutionary experience is different from the revolutionary movements of the twentieth century because
 - a. the colonists overthrew a feudal past.
 - b. radical social and economic changes took place in colonial America.
 - c. limited social and economic changes took place in colonial America.
 - d. a mercantilist economic system was replaced by a socialist economic system.
5. Richard Morris argues that the American Revolution
 - a. attempted to go back to the liberties that the colonists had enjoyed under the British government.
 - b. was basically a struggle to achieve political independence from Great Britain.
 - c. had little impact on French and Polish revolutions which took place in the 1790s.
 - d. totally transformed American society.
6. Like most Third World nations today, the American government's foreign policy in the 1780s was best characterized by the word
 - a. *interventionist*.
 - b. *neutrality*.
 - c. *radical*.
 - d. *imperialistic*.
7. According to Professor Morris, the colonists believed that equality meant
 - a. everyone had the same intellectual abilities.

- b. property should be equally divided among classes of people.
 - c. everyone had equal opportunities for economic advancement in America.
 - d. that the Loyalists should be exiled or executed.
8. Unlike many contemporary historians, Professor Morris believes that lands confiscated from the Loyalists
- a. enriched only a handful of speculators.
 - b. were equally distributed among the agrarian classes.
 - c. resulted in a number of tenants and formerly landless people acquiring small farms.
 - d. were given back to them under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1783.
9. Strict constructionist revolutionary theorists believe that revolutions
- a. are concerned with major political and social changes in a country achieved by means of violence.
 - b. are concerned with major political and social changes in a country achieved non-violently.
 - c. are concerned only with violent political changes in a country.
 - d. always fail to achieve their aims.

Essay Questions

- 10. Critically examine Degler's argument that the American Revolution was a conservative attempt to keep things as they were. Isn't the idea of a conservative revolution a contradiction in terms?
- 11. Do you agree with Degler that, in the 1980s, the American experience in dealing with racial splits in America still has no meaning for the revolutionary experiences of Third World nations? Does this apply to our economic and political systems as well? Do we really not have any ideology that Third World nations can learn from?
- 12. List and discuss at least three ways in which Professor Morris compares the revolutionary experience of the early American nation with that of the experiences of Third World nations today.
- 13. Professor Degler and Morris totally disagree. Explain how this is possible.
- 14. Compare and contrast and critically evaluate which experiences you feel are relevant and those which are irrelevant from the American Revolution as far as Third World nations are concerned.

Answers

1.b 2.d 3.a 4.c 5.d 6.b 7.c 8.c 9.a

ISSUE 7

The Constitution: Was It an Economic Document?

YES: Michael Parenti, from *Democracy for the Few*, 5th ed. (St. Martin's Press, 1988)

NO: Henry Steele Commager, from *The Search for a Usable Past* (Knopf, 1967)

Synopsis

Political scientist Michael Parenti argues that the Constitution was framed by financially successful planters, merchants, and creditors in order to protect the rights of property ahead of the rights and liberties of persons. Well-known essayist and historian Henry Steele Commager maintains that the Constitution was essentially a political document designed to solve the problem of the distribution of power between the national government *and* the state and local governments.

Discussing the Issue

Before beginning the class discussion on this issue, the teacher may want to examine the underlying assumptions of Parenti and Commager. Two basic points come to mind. First, Parenti assumes America is run by a power elite while Commager accepts a pluralistic or interest group concept of political decision making. Secondly, Parenti's explanations for root causes are usually economic whereas Commager's values lead him to accept political explanations as to why certain events took place. The best way to begin such a discussion is to raise certain issues with the class. For example, what motivates people: economic self-interest, fear, and power, or generosity, patriotism, and virtue? Are economic motives more important in determining people's actions or can politicians put aside base motives and act in a selfless patriotic manner when a crisis arises?

Another approach involves unraveling the stages of the Constitution's development through ratification.

On this point, material from the assigned textbook might come in handy. Professors could introduce material from the *Federalist Papers*, particularly No. 10, to move the discussion in another direction. Also, there is the Constitution itself. Since this document is included in almost every American history text, students could analyze its contents for evidence of economic self-interest. They should be cautioned that implications are as important as explicit statements.

A very different method of involving students in this issue is role playing. To draw students into this topic, divide the class into small groups, each one representative of different economic, political, and geographical interests as they existed between 1775 and 1790. Role playing has the advantage of making issues, perhaps formidable at first glance, less intimidating. Or, along the same lines, the class could be divided into thirteen groups and each assigned a state to research. Each group would compile evidence about the extent of the connection between economic self-interest and the ways in which their state was involved in the writing and ratification of the Constitution. These last two exercises could be combined for even greater effectiveness. These suggestions for in-class activities could be turned into writing assignments, or divided into written work and in-class oral assignments.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

- According to Professor Michael Parenti, the primary motive of the Founding Fathers for writing the Constitution was
 - political.
 - social.
 - economic.
 - military.
- According to professors Parenti and Beard, *Federalist Paper* No. 10, written by James Madison, argues that
 - tyranny will not emerge in a large republican state because various interest groups will act as a check against despots.
 - in a nation as large as the United States, the republican form of government will protect the established upper classes from the tyranny of the majority.
 - a republican form of government will not work because it gives too much power to the majority.
 - a democracy in the best form of government.
- In the original U.S. Constitution of 1787, the only officials to be directly elected by the people were:
 - members of the House of Representatives.
 - members of the Senate.
 - members of the Supreme Court.
 - Cabinet members.
- Both Parenti and Charles Beard argue that the Constitution established a
 - monarchy.
 - democracy.
 - republic dominated by the masses.
 - republic dominated by an elite.
- According to Professor Henry Steele Commager, the primary motive of the Founding Fathers for writing the Constitution was
 - political.
 - social.
 - economic.
 - military.
- According to Professor Commager, James Madison, in *Federalist Paper* No. 10, and in his debates at the Constitutional Convention, argued that
 - tyranny will not emerge in a large republican state because various groups will act as a check against despots.
 - in a nation as large as the United States, the republican government will protect the established upper classes from the tyranny of the majority.
 - a republican form of government will not work because it gives too-much power to the majority.
 - a democracy is the best form of government.
- According to Henry Steele Commager, the major objective of the Constitution of 1787 was
 - to protect an elite upper class from mob rule.
 - to curb the power of the presidency.
 - to limit the taxation power of the central government.
 - to solve the problem of the distribution of power between the central government and the state/local government.
- Professor Commager's major critique of the Beard thesis is as follows:
 - Beard overemphasizes the powers given to the new president.
 - Beard was too critical of the antifederalist opponents of the Constitution.
 - Beard's theory is deficient because the Founding Fathers did a poor job of writing

into the Constitution protection for property rights.

- d. Beard's theory is deficient because the Founding Fathers were *not* concerned with issues of liberty, power, and order in a society.

Essay Questions

- 9. Critically evaluate the theory of Charles Beard regarding the motivations of the Founding Fathers. Consider the following:
 - a. In a paragraph, state the Beard thesis.
 - b. Why was Beard's theory so controversial at the time it was written?
 - c. What evidence did Beard use to substantiate his theory?
 - d. How was Beard influenced by the times in which he wrote his book?
 - e. Explain why Beard's theory still permeates the major writings on the Constitution seventy-five years after his book was published.
- 10. Political scientist Michael Parenti argues that the Constitution was designed to protect the upper-class elites of 1787. Consider the following:
 - a. What evidence does he use to substantiate his point of view?
 - b. How does Parenti argue the Beard thesis?
 - c. Does Parenti misstate Madison's *Federalist Paper* No. 10 to substantiate his view?
 - d. Was there a power elite in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention? Does a power elite control America today?
 - e. Did the Constitution of 1787 curb the will of the majority?
 - f. Describe the concession Parenti says that the Constitution made on behalf of the people.
 - g. Critically evaluate this statement of Parenti: "If the founders sought to 'check power with power,' they seemed chiefly concerned with restraining mass power, while assuring the perpetuation of their own class power."
- 11.
 - a. Describe the ways in which Professor Henry Steele Commager criticizes Beard's view that the Constitution was designed to protect the property rights of the upper classes "beyond the reach of popular majorities."
 - b. Explain why Commager feels that the Founding Fathers did a terrible job of protecting their property rights via the Constitution if that was their motive (according to Beard).
 - c. Describe the political reasons that Commager argues the Constitution was written.

- 12. Compare and contrast and critically evaluate the essays of Parenti and Commager regarding the following:
 - a. reasons why the Constitution was written
 - b. economic versus political motives
 - c. their different interpretations of *Federalist Paper* No. 10, by James Madison
 - d. the power elite versus interest group theory of government.
 - e. conflict versus consensus history

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.a 4.d 5.a 6.a 7.d 8.c

ISSUE 8

Did President Jefferson Outfederalize the Federalists?

YES: Richard Hofstadter, from "Thomas Jefferson: The Aristocrat as Democrat," *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (Random House, 1948)

NO: Forrest McDonald, from *The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson* (The University Press of Kansas, 1976)

Synopsis

Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Richard Hofstadter argues that Thomas Jefferson was a moderate, practical politician who followed a course of action which eventually co-opted the major policies of the Federalists. But Professor Forrest McDonald believes that President Jefferson attempted to replace Hamiltonian Federalist principles with a Republican ideology and wanted to restore America's agrarian heritage.

Discussing the Issue

Each essay considers Jefferson from a very different viewpoint. McDonald sees Jefferson as a politician devoted to a very specific Republican ideology. Hofstadter, on the other hand, considers Jefferson to be a cautious, practical politician trying to appeal to moderate Federalists as well as to members of his own

party. A third author, Morton Borden, has argued that not only was Jefferson practical, he also adjusted his philosophical principles when it was necessary to advance the interests of the nation. These three views of Jefferson create a number of questions which students should discuss in class. For example, how flexible should a politician be before he is properly accused of being a hypocrite? How devoted to principles should a politician be? When is compromise necessary? Unnecessary? If Hofstadter is correct in arguing that Jefferson tried to appeal to moderates of both parties, then is this the only way to win a presidential election and get support for political programs? In the recent presidential contest, could you call Dukakis and Bush Jeffersonians because of the strategies both candidates used to appeal to middle-American voters?

Both Hofstadter and McDonald say that Jefferson is often quoted as if he were one of the immortals who spoke to mankind about the necessity to preserve freedom, democracy, religious liberty, etc. Yet Jefferson was a human being who held the presidency in the early nineteenth century at a time when the country was growing rapidly and political tensions between Federalists and Republicans were at a fever pitch. Many of Jefferson's actions and speeches were based on motives that were frankly political. A number of questions arise. Is it possible to take actions as president with motives that are both political and in the best interests of the nation? Was the Louisiana Purchase such a case? Can you give other examples? Thirty years ago, the late professor Clinton Rossiter wrote a clever article in which he counted seven Jeffersons who could be quoted by modern conservatives and liberals alike (see "Which Jefferson Do You Quote?" *The Reporter*, December 15, 1955). Does it make sense to quote a nineteenth-century president to justify a modern-day political action?

Finally, no matter which poll one uses, Thomas Jefferson has been ranked among the top half-dozen near-great presidents—just a few notches below Lincoln, Washington, and F.D.R. If McDonald's criticisms of Jefferson's darker side are correct, do we have problems in the way the presidency is perceived by the general population? For example, are popular standards about the presidency so high that no mortal could live up to them? Do Americans expect one person to be capable of solving problems that are impossible to cure given the nature of our political system?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. A major problem in writing an accurate biography of Thomas Jefferson is that
 - a. very few of his letters still exist.
 - b. historians tend to write negatively about him.
 - c. historians view Jefferson as the apostle of freedom who speaks to all ages rather than as a living human being.
 - d. he was our most intelligent and intellectual president.
2. According to Professor Hofstadter, Jefferson was primarily
 - a. an ideological president.
 - b. a practical politician.
 - c. a president interested in waging war.
 - d. an inventor who disliked politics.
3. According to Professor McDonald, Jefferson was primarily
 - a. an ideological president.
 - b. a practical politician.
 - c. a president interested in waging war.
 - d. an inventor who disliked politics.
4. In his inaugural speech in 1800, Jefferson
 - a. desired to conciliate his Federalist opponents.
 - b. promised to get rid of all his opponents from government jobs.
 - c. pushed for a political program based on the philosophy of states' rights.
 - d. argued that all men could be trusted with the government that they created.
5. According to Professor Hofstadter, Jefferson followed an economic philosophy of
 - a. socialism
 - b. mercantilism.
 - c. industrialism.
 - d. agrarianism.
6. According to Hofstadter, by 1820, the Jeffersonian Republicans
 - a. outfederalized the Federalists.
 - b. lost control of the government to the federal courts.

- c. republicanized the nation.
 - d. pushed the nation's economy in an agricultural direction.
7. According to McDonald, Jeffersonian Republicanism was
 - a. a coherent set of philosophical principles.
 - b. a body of thought taken from the Oppositionist tradition of eighteenth-century England.
 - c. a political philosophy based on Newton's scientific laws.
 - d. very similar to the principles of the Federalist party.
 8. In 1800, according to McDonald, the American people were noted for their
 - a. diversity.
 - b. homogeneity.
 - c. simplicity.
 - d. sense of nationalism.
 9. Both professors Hofstadter and McDonald would agree that Jefferson's presidency failed in the long run because of
 - a. the strengthening of the Federalist opposition.
 - b. the need to increase taxes.
 - c. the embargo and subsequent War of 1812.
 - d. the resistance of Native Americans to the expansion of settlers into the Louisiana territory.
 10. Professor McDonald believes that Jefferson reconciled which of the following two functions of the presidency?
 - a. commander-in-chief and chief diplomat
 - b. chief executive and commander-in-chief
 - c. chief executive and chief of party
 - d. chief ceremonial leader and chief executive
 12.
 - a. Describe the key components of the Republican ideology of Thomas Jefferson, according to Professor Forrest McDonald.
 - b. In what areas did Jefferson succeed in carrying out his philosophy?
 - c. How did Jefferson "republicanize" the presidency?
 13.
 - a. Why would Hofstadter and McDonald probably agree on the reasons Jefferson's presidency failed in the long run?
 - b. What was the immediate cause of this failure?
 - c. What was the long-run cause for the failure of Jefferson's presidency?
 14. President Jefferson has often been quoted by other presidents as a sage for all ages. Discuss whether you think it's fair to treat him as immortal.
 15. Jefferson has traditionally been ranked among the top five presidents. Do you think he has been overrated or underrated? Discuss.

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.a 4.a 5.d 6.a 7.b 8.a 9.c 10.d

ISSUE 9

Did Women Achieve Greater Autonomy in the New Nation?

YES: Nancy Woloch, from *Women and the American Experience* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1984)

NO: Gerda Lerner, from "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," *American Studies Journal* (Spring 1969)

Synopsis

"Within her own domestic space," argues Professor Nancy Woloch, women in the early nineteenth century "gained both a new degree of autonomy and a new

Essay Questions

11.
 - a. Discuss Professor Hofstadter's argument that President Jefferson was a moderate politician who compromised with his Federalist opponents in the political and economic arenas.
 - b. Explain what Hofstadter means when he says that Jefferson was not antistatist but anti-mercantilist.
 - c. Discuss why Jefferson was forced to accept manufacturing as well as farming as one of the key ingredients of the American economic system.

degree of authority over others." But Professor Gerda Lerner characterized this same time period as bringing "an actual deterioration in the economic opportunities open to women, a relative deterioration in their political status and a rising level of expectation and frustration in a privileged elite group of educated women."

Discussing the Issue

The question of class and its effects on historical interpretation lies at the center of this issue. A consideration of women of different classes, living between 1800 and 1840, reveals a stratification of interests and values. Other factors in addition to class contributed to social divisions. Where a woman lived determined her life-style as much as class did. Lerner's article, more than the selection from Woloch, raises these and other problems. Lerner points out two admonitions that help students understand the complexities of this issue. She argues that generalizations must reflect class stratification in order to be valid. She also sees irony in the phrase "a woman's place is in the home" because it gained currency at a time when many women worked outside their homes. In some respects, this issue is similar to Issue 2, which raised questions about relations between Native Americans and white settlers. The presentation of historical information in both of these issues is balanced between statements that encompass a large group (e.g., all women) and those which relate only to subgroups (e.g., mill girls). Lerner's approach and style parallels Johnson's in "The Search for a Usable Indian." In contrast, Vaughan's statements in Issue 2 are more sweeping. Woloch, in a similar manner, often suggests a sense of universality in her interpretation. Consequently, a discussion of this issue that starts out examining the difficulty of generalizing about social classes will lead to a critical evaluation of historical generalization on any subject.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to the early nineteenth century "cult of motherhood," a woman's place was
 - a. in school.
 - b. at work.
 - c. in the theatre.
 - d. at home.
2. The key characteristic(s) of the "cult of motherhood" includes(s) which of the following:
 - a. piety
 - b. purity
 - c. child-rearing
 - d. all of the above
3. During the Second Great Awakening in New England and New York State there were
 - a. an equal number of male and female converts.
 - b. more male than female converts.
 - c. more female than male converts.
 - d. few converts of either sex.
4. Between 1800 and 1900, the size of the middle-class family
 - a. dramatically increased.
 - b. slightly increased.
 - c. dramatically decreased.
 - d. remained basically the same.
5. Middle-class women used the "purity" component of the "cult of motherhood" ideology
 - a. to increase the size of their families.
 - b. to limit the frequency of sexual relations—as a form of birth control.
 - c. to completely refrain from engaging in sexual relations.
 - d. to force their husbands to use condoms when engaging in sexual relations.
6. According to Professor Gerda Lerner, most women in colonial America were
 - a. better off than women in the 1840s.
 - b. worse off than women in the 1840s
 - c. no better or no worse than women in the 1840s.
 - d. worse off than their English counterparts.
7. According to Professor Lerner, the egalitarian ideology (that everyone is equal) that was instituted during the American Revolution in place of hierarchical concepts of society
 - a. applied to men and women.
 - b. applied to men only.
 - c. applied to women only.
 - d. applied to everyone, including Native Americans and Afro-Americans.
8. According to Professor Lerner, the "professionalization" of the fields of medicine and education caused women's status in these fields to _____ by the 1850s.
 - a. increase
 - b. decline

- c. remain the same
- 9. Two fields in the work force that continued to be dominated by women even after "professionalization" took place by the mid-nineteenth century were
 - a. law and medicine.
 - b. ministry and law.
 - c. pharmacy.
 - d. nursing and education.
- 10. According to Professor Lerner's original article, the lady and the mill girl were women of different social classes who
 - a. shared identical problems.
 - b. had very different economic experiences.
 - c. had more in common than not.
 - d. had nothing in common at all.

Essay Questions

- 11.
 - a. Describe the meaning of the "cult of motherhood."
 - b. Why did it emerge in the early nineteenth century?
 - c. Discuss the meaning of its major components: piety and purity.
 - d. Explain its effects on a woman's religious practices, family size, child rearing practices, sexual relations in marriage, health, and education.
- 12.
 - a. Critically evaluate the cult of motherhood. Did it have any real meaning for working-class as well as middle-class women?
 - b. How real was the cult of motherhood for middle-class women?
- 13. According to Professor Lerner, the American Revolution replaced a hierarchical conception of society with one based on the principle that everyone was equal. Yet at the same time, women's status in society declined.
 - a. Explain the difference between a hierarchical and an egalitarian society.
 - b. Explain why women's status in society declined even as the Revolution replaced a hierarchical conception of society with one based on equality.
 - c. Explain how the "professionalization" of medicine, law, and teaching affected women in these areas.
 - d. Explain why teaching became a predominantly female profession by the 1880s.

- 14.
 - a. Explain why Professor Lerner entitles her article "The Lady and the Mill Girl."
 - b. Explain how the status of both were affected differently by the changes taking place in America by the mid-nineteenth century.

Answers

1.d 2.d 3.c 4.c 5.b 6.a 7.b 8.b 9.d 10.b

ISSUE 10

Did the Election of 1828 Represent a Democratic Revolt of the People?

YES: Robert V. Remini, from "Election of 1828," Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., ed., *The Coming to Power: Critical Presidential Elections in American History* (McGraw-Hill, 1972)

NO: Richard P. McCormick, from "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *American Historical Review* (January 1960)

Synopsis

Professor Robert V. Remini argues that the 1828 presidential election symbolized the people's arrival to political responsibility and began a genuine, nationally organized, two-party system that came of age in the 1830s. Historian Richard P. McCormick believes that voting statistics demonstrate a genuine political revolution did *not* take place until the presidential election of 1840, when fairly well-balanced political parties had been organized in virtually every state.

Discussing the Issue

Professor Robert Remini has recently completed a three-volume biography of Andrew Jackson. His essay on the 1828 election mixes a traditional, narrative framework with solid interpretations. Since Remini considers the 1828 election to be the first modern presidential election, he raises a number of questions about our method of selecting a president. What were the issues in the campaign? Were they coherently and logically expressed by the two major candidates so that

the voter could make an intelligent choice? If not, why? Why was organization such a key factor in this election? In fact, why is organization the most important element in any election? List any distortion of fact that occurred in this election. Do you feel voters are more intelligent today than in the early nineteenth century? Compare the presidential campaigning system that developed during the 1828 election with the system that functioned in our most recent presidential race. Should we make major changes in the selection and election processes for choosing our president?

Professor Richard McCormick approaches the 1828 election from a quantitative point of view. He uses statistics to break down a number of stereotypes about the significance of the election of 1828. He discounts (1) the removal of property qualifications for voting, (2) the influence of the West, and (3) the charisma of Jackson as the major reasons why twice as many voters turned out in the 1828 presidential race than they did four years earlier. He argues that a higher percentage of voters turned out for earlier gubernatorial and legislative elections in most states. But in his view, the key election was 1840, not 1828. Why? Because by this time the two parties were equally balanced in all sections of the country and voters turn out in larger numbers when they perceive a closely contested presidential race in their respective states. McCormick's essay, like all quantitative explorations, raises a number of questions about how statistics should be interpreted. As Professor Remini asks: "[Is it] possible to make meaningful comparisons between a presidential election and a state election for local officers held at different times or two presidential elections separated by a dozen or more years?" For example, McCormick disputes the claim that very few western states had as high a turnout as some of the eastern ones. Does this refute the notion that the western states had a minor impact on Jackson's election? Perhaps McCormick should have calculated an increase in the individual states' votes between 1824 and 1828 to see whether or not the western states were a primary cause for Jackson's victory.

Finally, it might be useful for students to assess the strengths and weaknesses of both the narrative and quantitative approaches to history. Which form is more interesting to read? Which is more useful in helping a nation understand its past errors so as to avoid repetition in the future?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Professor Remini, the 1828 presidential election
 - a. led to the development of the two-party system of the 1830s.
 - b. was not as important as the 1840 presidential election in attracting a large number of voters to the polls.
 - c. was fought over distinct ideological issues.
 - d. pointed out weaknesses in the manner in which presidents are elected.
2. According to Professor McCormick, the 1828 presidential election
 - a. led to the development of the two-party system of the 1830s.
 - b. was not as important as the 1840 presidential election in attracting a large number of voters to the polls.
 - c. was fought over distinct ideological issues.
 - d. pointed out weaknesses in the manner in which presidents are elected.
3. Newspapers were important in the 1828 election because
 - a. they educated the public.
 - b. presented the issues in a nonpartisan and objective way.
 - c. presented information that was very biased in support of their respective candidates.
 - d. they made it inexpensive to run a campaign.
4. Compared with earlier presidential elections, the 1828 campaign was
 - a. less expensive.
 - b. more expensive.
 - c. neither more nor less expensive.
5. Many of Jackson's supporters in Congress passed their campaign expenses onto the general public by means of
 - a. looting the national treasury.
 - b. being paid for campaign speeches.
 - c. abusing the franking privilege of free mailing services.

- d. traveling around the country and campaigning at the government's expense.
6. The one area of the country where Jackson did not do as well as John Quincy Adams was
- the West.
 - the South.
 - the Mid-Atlantic states.
 - New England.
7. The inauguration ceremony of Jackson as president in 1829
- was conducted in a dignified manner.
 - turned into a wild melee.
 - led to the rise of Secret Service agents guarding the president.
 - was conducted for the first time in Washington, D.C.
8. According to Professor Richard McCormick, which one of the following reasons explains why the vote in the Jackson presidential elections of 1828 and 1832 was relatively low when compared with previous and contemporary state elections and with presidential votes after 1840?
- lack of political organizations
 - property qualifications restricted the number of voters
 - lack of voting directly for a president
 - in most states, either Jackson or his opponent had such a one-sided advantage that the result was a foregone conclusion

1840, and 1844 refute Remini's contention that the 1828 election began a genuine two-party system that matured in the 1830s.

11. Compare the similarities in tactics, organization, and issues in the 1988 and 1828 presidential election. Are you disillusioned with politics?

Answers

1.a 2.b 3.c 4.b 5.c 6.d 7.b 8.d

ISSUE 11

Was Antebellum Reform Motivated Primarily by Humanitarian Goals?

YES: Alice Felt Tyler, from *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (University of Minnesota Press, 1944)

NO: Michael B. Katz, from "Poorhouses and the Origins of the Public Old Age Home," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* (Winter 1984)

Essay Questions

- 9.
- Describe the changes that had taken place in politics by the 1820s.
 - List three of the major issues in the campaign of 1828.
 - Describe the organization that Jackson built to run his campaign.
 - Describe the tactics used by the Jackson organization.
- 10.
- What do political scientists mean by the term "political systems of competition"?
 - Discuss why Professor Remini believes that the election of 1828 led to the development of the two-party system of competition.
 - Professor McCormick argues that a closely contested presidential election in every state is the key to the development of true two-party competition. Do you agree? Discuss.
 - Discuss whether McCormick's statistical analyses of the presidential elections of 1828,

Synopsis

Tyler argues that American reformers in the antebellum period were products of frontier democracy and evangelical religion who accepted a mission of perfecting human institutions. Katz contends that poorhouses were established not only to provide a refuge for the helpless but also to encourage the Protestant work ethic by deterring members of the working class from seeking poor relief.

Discussing the Issue

The essays in this issue provide a useful foundation for a more extensive discussion of reform impulses in American history. By providing information about Reconstruction, Populism, progressivism, the New Deal, and the civil rights movement of the 1960s, teachers can encourage students to view reform as a persistent theme in our nation's past. In addition, students can compare the climate of the times in which

various groups of reformers have operated and explore the factors contributing to efforts to change society.

Tyler points to evangelical religion as providing an important thrust to nineteenth-century reform. What role has religion played in twentieth century movements to promote social change? The teacher also may want to point out that several programs sponsored by antebellum reformers (prison reform, the peace movement, dietary reform, temperance) have their contemporary counterparts. Students should consider the ways in which proponents of recent anti-drug campaigns, school prayer amendments, and the anti-abortion movement are motivated by some of the same impulses described by both Tyler and Katz.

Michael B. Katz takes a more negative view of reformers' goals than does Tyler. Do you accept his view that the institutional movement was a conscious attempt by the "ruling classes" to keep order in the society and to train the lower classes in the discipline and work habits necessary for functioning in the new capitalist system? Teachers might point out in this regard that Whigs, rather than Jacksonian Democrats, filled the leadership positions of many antebellum reform organizations. Does Katz's observation that reformers attempted to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving poor have any application to American society today?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Tyler, which of the following was *not* characteristic of the changes occurring in nineteenth-century America?
 - a. the growth of industry in an urban setting
 - b. decline in immigration
 - c. transportation improvements
 - d. population expansion in the West
2. Tyler argues that social reform movements in the antebellum period were motivated by
 - a. a desire to bring Christianity to all the residents of the United States.
 - b. a singular desire to end slavery.
 - c. political demands for an educated electorate.
 - d. the desire to perfect human institutions.
3. Tyler's analysis of the growth of democracy is based upon the "frontier thesis" advanced by which of the following historians?
 - a. Charles Beard
 - b. Carl Becker
 - c. Frederick Jackson Turner

d. Arthur Schlesinger, Sr.

4. According to Tyler, American faith in democracy combined with which of the following to produce a reform agenda?
 - a. atheism
 - b. socialism
 - c. Calvinism
 - d. evangelical religion
5. According to Katz, the primary cause of pauperism in antebellum America was believed to be
 - a. the lack of personal initiative.
 - b. intemperance.
 - c. the absence of religious faith.
 - d. bad luck.
6. The Quincy report
 - a. distinguished between two classes of paupers.
 - b. ignored alcohol as a cause of poverty.
 - c. led to a national law regulating poorhouses.
 - d. all of the above
7. The increase of pauperism was blamed on all of the following except:
 - a. the growth of cities
 - b. immigration
 - c. the discriminatory features of capitalism
 - d. indiscriminate generosity of private charity
8. Katz concludes that the end goal of almshouses in antebellum America was to
 - a. encourage the poor to seek help.
 - b. remove the poor from society as a whole.
 - c. punish the poor.
 - d. generate fear of the poorhouse.

Essay Questions

9. According to Alice Felt Tyler, what factors contributed to the reform mentality of the antebellum United States?
10. According to Katz, how and why did the response to poor relief change in the antebellum period?
11. Compare and contrast the interpretations of antebellum reform offered by Tyler and Katz.

Answers

1.b 2.d 3.c 4.d 5.b 6.a 7.c 8.d

ISSUE 12

Was U.S. Foreign Policy in the Early Nineteenth Century Imperialistic?

YES: Ramon Edwards Ruiz, from "Manifest Destiny and the Mexican War," Howard H. Quint, Milton Cantor, Dean Albertson, eds., *Major Problems in American History*, Vol. 1, 5th Ed. (Dorsey Press, 1988)

NO: Robert H. Ferrell, from *American Diplomacy, A History*, 2d ed. (W. W. Norton, 1969)

Synopsis

Professor Ramon E. Ruiz argues that for the purpose of conquering Mexico's northern territories, the United States waged an aggressive war against Mexico, from which she never recovered. Diplomatic historian Robert Ferrell, however, believes that although the American government waged an aggressive war in Mexico, it remained the Manifest Destiny of the United States to possess Texas, New Mexico, and California.

Discussing the Issue

There are any number of issues that an instructor could discuss with students concerning the early foreign policy of the United States. First is the notion of American "exceptionalism." The policies of American isolationism, neutrality, and the Monroe Doctrine were premised on the rejection of the traditional European notion of balance of power politics. Manifest Destiny was a concept that extolled the spread of the unique American ideals of freedom, democracy, and capitalism across the North American continent (not including Canada). Europe, by contrast, was wedded to old-fashioned kingdoms that restrained economic development via mercantilist controls. American foreign policy was based on ideals; European diplomacy on cynical realism in which nations played games with one another to maintain a balance of power.

The issue of American "exceptionalism" raises several questions. Did not Benjamin Franklin play power politics when he violated the alliance with France and negotiated a separate peace treaty with England to gain our independence? Can you name other examples in the pre-Civil War period in which American presidents negotiated realistic agreements with foreign countries? In his book *Unmanifest Destiny: Mayhem and Illusion in American Foreign Policy—From*

the Monroe Doctrine to Reagan's War in El Salvador (Dial Press, 1984), journalist T. D. Allman believes American foreign policy has run amuck, spreading its unmanifested destiny to Vietnam in the 1960s and early 1970s and currently in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Was the American invasion of Grenada a violation of the Monroe Doctrine? Is American foreign policy imperialistic? If so, is Professor Robert Ferrell's definition of imperialism too narrow? Can one dominate a country or a continent like South America through the control of the major industries in the area even if these countries choose their own forms of government? For a view that perceives empire as a way of life in America, consult the first chapter of Professor William A. Williams's *Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Delta, 1962).

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which one of the following terms best expresses the belief that the North American continent would become American territory?
 - a. Monroe Doctrine
 - b. Manifest Destiny
 - c. "Fifty-four-forty or fight"
 - d. "Remember the Alamo"
2. According to Professor Ruiz, Manifest Destiny was an expansionist doctrine
 - a. with racial overtones.
 - b. that spread freedom and democracy to all nations on the North American and South American continents.
 - c. that was acceptable to Canada and the Latin American republics.
 - d. that gave hope and sustenance to the countries of Europe and Asia.
3. According to Professor Ruiz, the United States did not incorporate all of Mexico into its territorial boundaries because
 - a. Mexico was geographically too large.
 - b. such incorporation was militarily impossible.
 - c. it was felt that the Mexican people were unassimilable.
 - d. Whig politicians opposed Democratic president Polk's war policies.
4. According to Professor Ferrell, the United States did not incorporate all of Mexico into its territorial boundaries because
 - a. Mexico was geographically too large.
 - b. such incorporation was militarily impossible.

- c. it was felt that the Mexican people were unassimilable.
 - d. Whig politicians opposed Democratic president Polk's war policies.
5. According to Professor Ruiz, the *major* long range effect of the Mexican War was
- a. the loss to Mexico of half of its territory in a war from which it has never recovered.
 - b. the victory of the United States and her allies in both World War I and World War II.
 - c. the weakening of the Latin American republics.
 - d. the triumph of American imperialism over all of Mexico.
6. Professor Ferrell argues that the main reason President Polk waged war against Mexico was
- a. to extend slavery.
 - b. to acquire Texas.
 - c. to acquire California.
 - d. because he was a warmonger.
7. President Andrew Jackson was reluctant to annex the Texas republic as a state in 1835 because
- a. such action would have stirred up the slavery question.
 - b. such action would have brought about a war with Mexico.
 - c. he was concerned with the controversy with Great Britain in Oregon.
 - d. he disliked Texas.
8. American settlers were attracted to Texas in the 1820s and early 1830s because of
- a. religious freedom.
 - b. the discovery of gold.
 - c. the need to extend slavery.
 - d. the abundance of cheap land.
9. President Polk distrusted his military generals Taylor and Scott because they were
- a. militarily incompetent.
 - b. potential Whig political opponents.
 - c. widening the war unnecessarily.
 - d. stirring up unnecessary troubles with the Indians.
10. According to Professor Ferrell, the *major* long range effect of the Mexican War was
- a. the loss to Mexico of half its territory in a war from which it has never recovered.
 - b. the victory of the United States and her allies in both World War I and World War II.
 - c. the weakening of the Latin American republics.
 - d. the triumph of American imperialism over all of Mexico.

Essay Questions

- 11.
 - a. Define imperialism.
 - b. Critically analyze whether Ferrell's definition of imperialism is too narrow.
 - c. Discuss whether the United States pursued an imperialistic policy towards Mexico in the 1840s.
- 12.
 - a. Define Manifest Destiny.
 - b. Compare Ferrell and Ruiz's definitions of Manifest Destiny.
 - c. Critically analyze whether Manifest Destiny was merely a cover for American expansionist policies in Central America.
 - d. Compare and contrast the reasons given by Ferrell and Ruiz as to why all of Mexico was not incorporated into the territorial boundaries of the United States.
- 13.
 - a. Compare and contrast the values that lay behind Ruiz's and Ferrell's analyses of American foreign policy in Central America.
 - b. Attempt a reconciliation of Ruiz's and Ferrell's interpretation of the events leading up to the Mexican War.
 - c. Critically analyze this statement by Ferrell: "If such statesmen such as John Tyler and James K. Polk had taken Mexican complaints and protests as insuperable obstacles to realization of Manifest Destiny, the American people might today find their personal and public circumstances altogether unenviable."

Answers

1.b 2.a 3.c 4.d 5.d 6.c 7.a 8.d 9.b 10.b

ISSUE 13

Did Slavery Destroy the Black Family?

YES: Kenneth M. Stampp, from *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1956)

Multiple-Choice Questions

Synopsis

Stampp contends that the master's absolute power prevented slaves from establishing and maintaining stable family units. Owens recognizes the threats to family stability among slaves but emphasizes the relentless efforts of fathers, mothers, and children to achieve family unity within the slave quarters.

Discussing the Issue

This issue invites comparisons with some of the materials presented in Issue 4. In addition, students may find interesting a discussion of the contrasting views of Melville Herskovits and E. Franklin Frazier regarding the nature of the black family. Teachers should summarize the conclusions of these two scholars to elicit student reaction. Much has been written in recent years about the breakdown of the traditional two-parent household in American society, especially as a consequence of high divorce rates. Since these patterns affect all racial groups, how valid is it to conclude (as E. Franklin Frazier and others did) that slavery was responsible for the characteristics of lower-class black families when many of those same characteristics now are evident among those who are not black?

The slavery issue also presents instructors with an excellent opportunity to demonstrate how historical interpretations are influenced by the times in which we live. A discussion of the views of Ulrich B. Phillips, Kenneth Stampp, Stanley Elkins, John Blassingame, Eugene Genovese, and Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman will demonstrate to students the difficulty involved in fully assessing the nature of American slavery. Some teachers may wish to compare slave systems in the United States with those in ancient Greece and Rome, Africa, the Caribbean, and South America. Ask students to evaluate the similarities and differences in these slave societies. Finally, teachers should encourage students to understand that slavery was not a static institution. Consequently, in order to gain further appreciation for the complexities of slavery, we must be sensitive to factors such as place and time in evaluating the slave experience.

1. According to Stampp, the sanctity of the slave family was weakened by
 - a. state laws prohibiting legal slave marriages.
 - b. disinterest in marriage on the part of slaves.
 - c. the dominant role played by male slaves.
 - d. masters' efforts to keep slave families intact.
2. According to Stampp, which of the following was not true of the slave family?
 - a. Slave women performed their role as mothers only secondarily to their plantation service to the master.
 - b. Parents frequently had little role in child-rearing.
 - c. Children viewed their parents as authority figures.
 - d. Slave families had little significance as an economic unit.
3. Stampp says that the typical slave family was
 - a. matriarchal.
 - b. headed by the male slave father.
 - c. able to operate without much attention from the master.
 - d. comprised of only two generations.
4. According to Stampp, a consequence of the instability of slave families was
 - a. a deep concern among slaves for the marriage ceremony.
 - b. failure to end affection between husbands and wives.
 - c. a large number of children fathered by masters.
 - d. low birth rate among slaves.
5. Stampp and Owens agree that
 - a. the threat to slave family stability was great.
 - b. masters never permitted their slaves to marry.
 - c. slaves rarely expressed interest in marriage.
 - d. slave families were dominated totally by white masters.
6. According to Owens, the strength of the slave family is validated by
 - a. the fact that most slaves who married spent several years with one spouse.

- b. the fact that slaves totally controlled their own marital status.
- c. the large number of children born to slave parents.
- d. all of the above

7. Owens argues that the male slave's status was enhanced by
- a. his ability to dictate to the master how the slave family would be composed.
 - b. his power to determine who he would marry.
 - c. his identification as "breadwinner" in the household.
 - d. his ability to educate his children.

8. Slave children
- a. had little respect for their elders.
 - b. were at the top of the slave family hierarchy.
 - c. willingly accepted their bondage.
 - d. slowed down the daily plantation routine.

Essay Questions

- 9. According to Kenneth Stampp, what were the causes and results of the slave family's instability?
- 10. How did family life among antebellum Southern slaves differ from that of their masters?
- 11. Discuss the roles performed by the various members of the slave family.

Answers

1.a 2.c 3.a 4.b 5.a 6.a 7.c 8.d

ISSUE 14

Were the Abolitionists "Unrestrained Fanatics"?

YES: Avery Craven, from *The Coming of the Civil War*, 2d ed. (University of Chicago Press, 1957)

NO: Irving H. Bartlett, from "The Persistence of Wendell Phillips," Martin Duberman, ed., *The*

Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton University Press, 1965)

Synopsis

Avery Craven believes that the fanaticism of the abolitionist crusade created an atmosphere of crisis that resulted in the outbreak of the Civil War. Irving Bartlett differentiates between agitation and demagoguery and claims that abolitionists like Wendell Phillips were deeply committed to improving the quality of life for all American citizens, including those blacks held as slaves.

Discussing the Issue

Questions relating to Issue 11 also are pertinent for discussions of abolitionism. What factors motivated Americans to join the abolitionist ranks? Historian David Donald argues that the abolitionists were descendants of New England's established families whose traditional position of leadership was being eroded by the values of the newly emerging urban-industrial society. Abolitionism, then, was a product of the efforts by these displaced leaders to regain their former status. Ask students to relate this viewpoint to the argument of Michael Katz in Issue 11.

Students should be made to understand how unpopular abolitionists were. For example, William Lloyd Garrison was the victim of mob action and came close to losing his life on several occasions because his speeches and actions (such as burning copies of the Constitution of the United States) inflamed public opinion and produced violent reactions—in the North! Elijah Lovejoy, the publisher of an abolitionist newspaper in Illinois, lost his life for his beliefs at the hands of a mob in 1837. Teachers may find valuable a comparison of the reaction to the abolitionist crusaders in the antebellum period and civil rights workers in the South and antiwar protesters in the 1960s. Although professing unpopular views, each of these groups represented a "prophetic minority" voice in their respective generations. Ask students to respond to Wendell Phillips's argument that extremism was necessary to provoke public opinion sufficiently enough to produce social change. Would a more gradual approach have been more successful? Should the abolitionists have united politically to work "through the system" for an end to slavery?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. William Lloyd Garrison viewed slavery as
 - a. a system condemned by the Constitution.
 - b. a moral evil.
 - c. an institution supported by Christian principles.
 - d. a problem that Southerners should abolish through political action.
2. The driving force of the abolitionist movement in New York and the Northwest was
 - a. William Lloyd Garrison.
 - b. Benjamin Lundy.
 - c. Theodore Dwight Weld.
 - d. Lewis Tappan.
3. Avery Craven says that slaveholders were condemned by abolitionists for
 - a. threatening the destruction of American democracy.
 - b. ignoring political efforts to defeat slavery.
 - c. freeing slaves too gradually.
 - d. causing the Civil War.
4. According to Craven, abolitionist fanaticism
 - a. delayed the end of slavery.
 - b. was initiated by Charles G. Finney.
 - c. had no impact upon American perceptions of the slave system.
 - d. laid the groundwork for the Civil War.
5. Which of the following played the dominant role in making Wendell Phillips an abolitionist?
 - a. his Harvard education
 - b. his legal training
 - c. religion and the idealism of America's revolutionary tradition
 - d. Whig political philosophy
6. Bartlett says Phillips made a unique contribution to abolitionism through
 - a. his reliance on religion.
 - b. his use of the Declaration of Independence to support his antislavery activities.
 - c. his oratorical skills.
 - d. his editorial accomplishments.
7. Phillips believed the key to ending slavery was
 - a. obtaining a constitutional amendment supporting abolitionism.
 - b. creating an antislavery political party.
 - c. gradual emancipation followed by colonization.
 - d. successful swaying of public opinion.
8. According to Bartlett, Garrison and Phillips disagreed over
 - a. the role of politics in the antislavery movement.
 - b. the portrayal of slavery as a moral problem.
 - c. the need to continue agitation after 1865 to support black suffrage.
 - d. the value of propaganda in swaying public opinion.

Essay Questions

9. How did abolitionists influence public opinion on the slavery question?
10. What were Wendell Phillips's contributions to the abolitionist movement?
11. Discuss Craven's and Bartlett's characterizations of abolitionists as "fanatics," "agitators," "radicals," and "demagogues."

Answers

1.b 2.c 3.a 4.d 5.c 6.c 7.d 8.c

ISSUE 15

Was the Antebellum South a Unique Section in American History?

YES: Eugene D. Genovese, from *The Political Economy of Slavery* (Pantheon Books, 1965)

NO: Edward Pessen, from "How Different From Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?" *American Historical Review* (December 1980)

Synopsis

Marxist historian Eugene D. Genovese believes "that slavery gave the South a social system and a civilization with a distinct class structure, political community, economy, ideology, and set of psychological patterns." But social historian Edward Pessen disagrees. In his view a comparison of Northern and Southern states before the Civil War reveals common political, economic, and social practices.

Discussing the Issue

Before the class reads and debates this issue, the instructor might spend a portion of a class asking students to break up into small groups to discuss their images of the South. At the end of the discussion, the instructor should make a list on the blackboard of the adjectives used to describe the South. Definitions of stereotypes and myths should be agreed upon in order to determine whether any of the words used to describe the South have any factual basis. The following definition by Mark Schorer should help: "A myth is a large, controlling image that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life; that is, which has organizing value for experience." After students have completed the assignment, the class can discuss the words used to describe the South. Which ones are factual? Which mythical? At what point does a myth become a fact as far as people's actions are concerned?

A second approach involves a discussion of the methodological frameworks employed by professors Genovese and Pessen. The former is a well-known Marxist historian who has studied Southern history by using a very sophisticated class analysis of its social and economic structures. It would be useful to discuss the assumptions that Genovese makes before beginning an analysis of his article. For example, can the class agree upon any working definitions of class, hegemony, feudal, capitalism, and pre-capitalism? Do the students agree with Genovese's definitions of these terms? How do students feel about race and sex as other categories of analysis along with class? How do Marxist historians deal with these categories? Does Genovese understate the racial component in his analysis of the South?

Professor Pessen's work should be discussed as an example of the cliometric or quantitative approach to the study of history. By analyzing census records, church data, wills, and land deeds a great deal of information can be gleaned about the social structures of the antebellum North and South. Cliometricians claim to be objective because their analysis is based upon quantitative materials. But are they truly objective? What assumptions do they make? What are the limitations of quantitative data? In Pessen's case, does he overgeneralize from materials based upon local case studies? Does Pessen demonstrate that North and South were alike because of the widening gap that occurred between rich and poor in the three decades before the Civil War? Finally, what is the relationship between power and money? Did a power elite dominate the Whig and Democratic political parties in both the North and the South?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

- Howard Zinn believes that
 - Southerners' stereotypes about themselves are correct.
 - Northerners' stereotypes about the South are correct.
 - Non-Southerners project negative images onto the South and that those images reflect the least admirable qualities of the entire nation, not just the South alone.
 - Non-Southerners project positive images onto the South and that those images reflect the most admirable qualities of the entire nation, not just the South alone.
- According to Professor Eugene Genovese, the North and the South had _____ political and economic systems and social values before the Civil War.
 - similar
 - opposite
 - egalitarian
 - closed
- According to Professor Edward Pessen, the North and the South before the Civil War held social values and maintained political and economic systems that were
 - similar.
 - opposite.
 - egalitarian.
 - closed.
- According to Professor Eugene Genovese, Southern plantation owners were motivated by values that were
 - monarchical.
 - socialistic.
 - capitalistic.
 - pseudo-capitalistic or feudal.
- According to Professor Genovese, plantation owners directed reinvestment along a path that led to:
 - economic profitability.
 - economic stagnation.
 - increased trade with the Western states.
 - increased trade with European nations.

6. According to Professor Genovese, slavery and the plantation system led to agricultural methods that
 - a. depleted the soil.
 - b. increased the fertility of the soil.
 - c. brought about the increased mechanization of agriculture.
 - d. were imitated by the Northern and western states.
7. According to recent research, the economic gap between enslaved blacks and free white workers in the antebellum South was _____ than historians once thought.
 - a. wider
 - b. narrower
 - c. no different
8. According to Professor Pessen, Southern plantation owners were motivated by values that were
 - a. monarchical.
 - b. socialistic.
 - c. capitalistic.
 - d. pseudo-capitalistic or feudal.
9. According to professional historians today, about what percent of slave owners owned more than 20 slaves?
 - a. 10 percent
 - b. 30 percent
 - c. 50 percent
 - d. 70 percent
10. Professor Pessen believes that the major political leaders in both the pre-Civil War Northern and Southern states came from
 - a. the upper economic class.
 - b. the middle classes.
 - c. the poor classes.
 - d. groups composed of Irish and German immigrants.
11. Quantitative historians have engaged in research that seems to substantiate the view that America in the 1850s was primarily a society controlled by
 - a. new immigrants from Ireland and Germany.
 - b. middle-class farmers.
 - c. industrial workers.
 - d. slave holders in the South and urban/farmer elites in the North.
- inited by a slaveholding aristocracy. Critically evaluate his thesis by considering the following:
 - a. Define capitalism.
 - b. Explain Genovese's definition of capitalism.
 - c. Explain how a slaveholding economy dealt with agriculture, industry, and banking, according to Genovese.
 - d. Explain how farms, industries, and banks in a free market capitalistic system operated as compared to those in a slaveholding pre-capitalist economy.
13. Genovese is a Marxist historian. He employs a class analysis of society.
 - a. Explain how Genovese applies a class analysis in his evaluation of the pre-Civil War South.
 - b. Explain how Genovese's analysis of a unique antebellum South is very similar to the views of earlier traditional historians like Ulrich Phillips, who gave similar arguments. Where would Phillips and Genovese agree?
14. Genovese has been criticized for underplaying racism and overstressing class conflicts. Is this a valid criticism? Discuss.
15. Professor Pessen argues that politically, socially, and economically, Northern and Southern societies were more alike than they were different. Critically discuss the following questions about Professor Pessen's thesis.
 - a. Point out the similarities in the two-party system in both sections in the 1830s and 1840s. How similar were the approaches used by both sections in dealing with the slavery issue?
 - b. How effective is Professor Pessen in destroying the myth of an egalitarian America in both the North and the South during the age of Jackson?
 - c. Which groups constituted the power structure in the North? Which groups constituted the power structure in the South? How were they similar?
 - d. Was the South as similar in its economic development as the North? Does Pessen exaggerate these similarities?
 - e. Were Southern planters capitalists or pre-capitalists?
16. Pessen is summarizing the evidence of cliometricians or quantitative historians.
 - a. What kinds of evidence do quantitative historians use to evaluate our political, economic, and social patterns?

Essay Questions

12. Professor Genovese argues that the antebellum South contained a pre-capitalistic economy dom-

- b. How sophisticated and accurate a picture of America is yielded by such quantitative evidence?
- c. What are the strengths and limitations of this approach?

17. Compare the methodological approaches and frameworks employed by Pessen and Genovese in discussing the question of whether the antebellum South was a unique section in American history.

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.a 4.d 5.b 6.a 7.b 8.c 9.a 10.a 11.d

ISSUE 16

Was Abraham Lincoln America's Greatest President?

YES: Stephen B. Oates, from *Abraham Lincoln: The Man Behind the Myths* (Harper & Row, 1984)

NO: M. E. Bradford, from *Remembering Who We Are: Observations of a Southern Conservative* (University of Georgia Press, 1985)

Synopsis

Oates insists that Abraham Lincoln's greatness as president of the United States stemmed from a moral vision that had as its goal the protection and expansion of popular government. Bradford characterizes Lincoln as a cynical politician whose abuse of authority as president and commander-in-chief during the Civil War marked a serious departure from the republican goals of the Founding Fathers and established the prototype for the "imperial presidency" of the twentieth century.

Discussing the Issue

This issue provides an opportunity to explore Thomas Carlyle's assertion that "history is the biography of great men." Ask students to think about the validity of that claim, and have them make a list of characteristics that determine greatness in a person. Do great men (and women) shape the events of the past, or do the

events themselves shape the reputations of particular leaders? Students should be reminded that practitioners of the "new social history" are more likely to argue that the lives and actions of average citizens (not members of the elite) provide us with a better understanding of the past. Teachers also may want to analyze Lincoln's greatness from a comparative perspective. How was Lincoln's handling of the Civil War similar to and/or different from the responses by other American presidents, such as James Madison, James Polk, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Lyndon Johnson, to wars in their respective administrations?

Both Oates and Bradford discuss Lincoln's role as "the Great Emancipator." How valid is this title? Explain to students the details of the Emancipation Proclamation. Discuss with them the extent to which Southern slaves gained their freedom as a result of this executive policy. Does one have to be a self-proclaimed "Southern conservative" (like M. E. Bradford) to criticize Lincoln's views and policies toward blacks?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Oates, Lincoln was the greatest president in American history for all but which of the following reasons?
 - a. He possessed a moral vision to preserve and enlarge the rights of all the people.
 - b. His decisions affected the course of mankind.
 - c. He chose not to expand the powers of the presidency.
 - d. He articulated a promise for the liberation of oppressed people throughout the world.
2. According to Oates, the central issue of the war for Lincoln was
 - a. the need to end slavery.
 - b. the preservation of a system of popular government.
 - c. the desire to punish the Confederate states.
 - d. the need to enhance his personal popularity.
3. Oates says that Lincoln initially ignored the possibility of emancipation because
 - a. it would bring England into the war on the side of the Confederacy.
 - b. he supported the institution of slavery.
 - c. he needed the support of Northern Democrats and the border states.
 - d. he did not want to antagonize the leaders of the Confederacy.

4. According to Oates, Lincoln exercised emergency war measures
 - a. for the sole purpose of ending slavery.
 - b. as temporary necessities to end rebellion.
 - c. in such a way as to create a dictatorship.
 - d. with no approval from Congress.
5. According to Bradford, Lincoln's public response to slavery
 - a. reflected his abhorrence of the institution.
 - b. shielded his true absence of commitment to black Americans.
 - c. was designed solely to benefit Northern blacks.
 - d. was pro-Southern.
6. Bradford claims that Lincoln's pro-business sentiments were reflected in his program to
 - a. increase the protective tariff.
 - b. eliminate central banking.
 - c. balance the budget.
 - d. end slavery.
7. According to Bradford, Lincoln avoided peace proposals in 1864 because
 - a. the terms worked to the disadvantage of the North.
 - b. the Confederate proposals were not made in good faith.
 - c. an end to war might jeopardize Lincoln's reelection chances.
 - d. he believed a military victory would occur before peace negotiations could be concluded.
8. With reference to the origins of the Civil War, Bradford concludes that
 - a. Lincoln sincerely hoped to avoid conflict.
 - b. Lincoln accepted war as a means to end slavery.
 - c. the Confederacy forced Lincoln to declare war.
 - d. Lincoln desired a conflict that he could use for political advantage.

Essay Questions

9. In what ways does Oates think that Lincoln was America's greatest president?
10. Describe the major arguments in Bradford's "case" against Lincoln.
11. Compare and contrast the views of Oates and Bradford on the following topics:
 - a. emancipation
 - b. the use of presidential powers
 - c. Lincoln's role as commander-in-chief

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.c 4.b 5.b 6.a 7.c 8.d

ISSUE 17

Was Reconstruction a Total Failure?

YES: J. G. Randall, from *The Civil War and Reconstruction** (D. C. Heath and Company, 1937)

NO: Eric Foner, from "The New View of Reconstruction," *American Heritage* (October/November 1983)

Synopsis

J. G. Randall argues that Reconstruction failed because carpetbaggers and their "Negro" allies misgoverned the South and looted its treasuries. Professor Eric Foner believes that, although Reconstruction was nonrevolutionary and conservative, it was a splendid failure because it offered blacks a temporary vision of a free society.

Discussing the Issue

Students will discover that few issues contrast as sharply as the different interpretations of the Reconstruction period. It is important that students look at such things as the role of government in the nineteenth century as compared with the most recent fifty years of the twentieth century. The issue of rising government expenditures for social and educational services appears to be a less controversial and necessary fact of life today than it did to the citizens of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, there were real instances of corruption in government underplayed by the revisionists.

The corruption issue also leads to discussing the role of blacks during this period. Traditional historians, mostly from the South, assumed that the Negro was intellectually inferior to the white race. Therefore, he was ignorant and incapable of holding political office in a responsible manner or even of voting intelligently. Worse, as Professor Randall argues, Negroes became

* This text has been substantially revised by David Donald in the 1961 and 1985 editions in order to reflect recent changes in thought concerning this period.—EDS.

political pawns of corrupt carpetbaggers. Revisionists, on the other hand, see Negroes as intellectually equal to whites and, therefore, capable of exercising their political rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Recently, a new generation of black historians have examined the fissures in the black community. The high percentage of black officeholders during Reconstruction in South Carolina and Louisiana was made up of an educated group of free, middle-class blacks who lived in Charleston and New Orleans before the Civil War and had little in common with the ex-slave masses they were supposed to represent.

Students who wish to explore the issue further should look again at the issue that discusses whether or not the South was a unique section in American history. Recent historians have also argued that there was more continuity than discontinuity between the antebellum and postbellum South. Reconstruction was conservative, the plantation system was conservative, and arguments were limited to a discussion of who was in charge: the new country merchants who controlled credit or the old plantation aristocracy.

Finally, if this generation seems indifferent to the importance of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the newly-freed blacks, it might be profitable to compare the experiences of free blacks in the United States with those in other societies like Jamaica or Brazil.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Professor Randall, elections in the South during Reconstruction were
 - a. honest.
 - b. corrupt.
 - c. non-partisan.
 - d. controlled by the federal government.
2. According to Professor Randall, the purpose of the huge debts saddled upon the Southern states was to
 - a. loot the treasuries.
 - b. support the new public schools.
 - c. support the cotton industry.
 - d. support the tobacco industry.
3. According to Professor Foner, the purpose of the huge debts saddled upon the Southern states was to
 - a. loot the treasuries.
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 - d. support the tobacco industry.
4. According to the traditional interpretation of Reconstruction, blacks were
 - a. radical.
 - b. conservative.
 - c. pawns of the carpetbaggers.
 - d. partners with former Confederate officeholders.
5. According to the new interpretation of Reconstruction, blacks were
 - a. radical.
 - b. conservative.
 - c. pawns of the carpetbaggers.
 - d. partners with former Confederate officeholders.
6. According to the traditional interpretation of Reconstruction,
 - a. the plantation system survived in a modified form in the post-Civil War South. Therefore, Reconstruction brought about only superficial changes.
 - b. it was worth four years of radical Reconstruction to give the American Negro the ultimate promise of civil and political rights.
 - c. Johnson acted properly in trying to carry out Lincoln's lenient policy of Reconstruction.
7. According to the 1965 revisionist interpretation of Reconstruction,
 - a. the plantation system survived in a modified form in the post-Civil War South. Therefore, Reconstruction brought about only superficial changes.
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Essay Questions

9. Summarize the traditional version of Reconstruction. What assumptions does this interpretation make about the roles of Lincoln, Johnson, carpetbaggers, scalawags, Negroes, and former Confederates during this period?
10. Summarize the revisionist version of Reconstruction in a 150-word essay. How do their assumptions about the above differ from the traditional version?
11. Make a list of the successes and failures of Reconstruction. Can you develop an alternative scenario that would have made Reconstruction

more successful yet at the same time less controversial?

12.
 - a. Explain why the Reconstruction Era was one of the most controversial in the history of our country.
 - b. Explain why each generation interprets this period so differently. What assumptions do today's historians make in interpreting this period?

Answers

1.b 2.a 3.b 4.c 5.b 6.c 7.b 8.a

TEACHING AND TESTING SUGGESTIONS

FOR

VOLUME II

RECONSTRUCTION TO THE PRESENT

Topic Guide for
*Taking Sides: Controversial Issues
 in American History, Volume II*
 Reconstruction to the Present

TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS A PRIMARY ISSUE IN: (Issue Number/Title)	TREATED AS A SECONDARY ISSUE IN: (Issue Number/Title)
Political History	1. Reconstruction 6. City Government 7. Progressivism 12. New Deal	3. Labor 5. Populism
Diplomatic History	9. Nicaragua 12. Cold War 14. Vietnam	9. Wilson and World War I 13. Eisenhower
Military History	9. Wilson and World War I	12. Cold War 14. Vietnam 16. Declining America
Economic History	3. Labor 5. Populism 16. Declining America	2. Rockefeller 4. Immigration 6. City Government 7. Progressivism 11. New Deal
Social and Cultural History	4. Immigration 10. 1920s Women 16. Declining America	5. Populism 7. Progressivism 15. King
Ethnic History	4. Immigration	10. 1920s Women 15. King
Biographical History	2. Rockefeller 13. Eisenhower 15. King	9. Wilson and World War I

Volume II Reconstruction to the Present

ISSUE 1

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Worse, as Professor Randall argues, Negroes became political pawns of corrupt carpetbaggers. Revisionists, on the other hand, see Negroes as intellectually equal to whites and, therefore, capable of exercising their political rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Recently, a new generation of black historians have examined the fissures in the black community. The high percentage of black officeholders during Reconstruction in South Carolina and Louisiana was made up of an educated group of free, middle-class blacks who lived in Charleston and New Orleans before the Civil War and had little in common with the ex-slave masses they were supposed to represent.

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Answers

1.b 2.a 3.b 4.c 5.b 6.c 7.b 8.a

ISSUE 2

Was John D. Rockefeller a "Robber Baron"?

YES: Matthew Josephson, from *The Robber Barons* (Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1934, 1962)

NO: Maury Klein, from "The Robber Barons: Many May Not Have Deserved the Title," *American History Illustrated* (October 1971)

Synopsis

Social critic Matthew Josephson believes that John D. Rockefeller was the classic example of a monopoly capitalist who utilized ruthless and violent methods in organizing the oil industry. Historian Maury Klein maintains that Rockefeller was a successful industrial statesman who, with ruthless brilliance, organized the chaotic oil industry into a horizontally and vertically integrated empire, which created thousands of jobs and stimulated the development of many new industries.

Discussing the Issue

The reading selections present two extreme points of view about the nineteenth-century entrepreneurs. Josephson's chapter on Rockefeller, written fifty years ago, has often been reprinted and is the classic statement of Rockefeller as robber baron. Klein, on the other hand, distinguishes between "pirate" robber barons like Jay Gould, who would fit into Josephson's conceptual framework, and "enlightened" robbers barons like John D. Rockefeller, who brought order, efficiency, and new organizational structures into the oil industry. Though ruthless in the way in which he eliminated competitors, defenders of Rockefeller argue that Standard Oil created new jobs in numerous industries because of its vertically integrated structure. Active until his death at age 97, Rockefeller's modest lifestyle and the public uses of his money in the United States and foreign countries by means of the Rockefeller Foundation have been extolled by sympathetic biographers like Allen Nevins.

Students can engage in a number of useful discussions. First, the class should analyze the points of view of Josephson and Klein. The differences are obvious. It might be useful to point out some similarities in their arguments. For example, Josephson concedes that Rockefeller was efficient in bringing order into the chaotic industry while Klein admits that he employed ruthless tactics in his development of the Standard Oil Trust. But Josephson obviously disapproves of the system of monopoly capitalism while Klein sees more benefits than harm brought about by big business.

Students might also compare nineteenth-century and twentieth-century businessmen in terms of their styles of management. Are there any true entrepreneurs left in business?

Other points for discussion are as follows: Allen Nevins, in his 1953 two-volume biography of John D. Rockefeller, has argued that the United States would never have won World War II against Germany and Japan had it not been for the industrial power

unleashed by the robber barons. Do you agree or not? Others have suggested that the computer industry is at the same stage of development in 1985 as the oil industry was in 1875. Are there any similarities here? Is there a "hacker" playing with a computer in his garage just waiting to bring order and efficiency into the computer market?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. John D. Rockefeller grew up in a family that was
 - a. rich.
 - b. upper middle class.
 - c. struggling.
 - d. destitute.
2. An informal arrangement among companies to fix prices and divide the market is known as a
 - a. pool.
 - b. trust.
 - c. holding company.
 - d. conglomerate.
3. When the forty-odd companies controlled by Rockefeller in 1882 secretly turned over their stock to a nine-member board, they formed a
 - a. pool.
 - b. trust.
 - c. holding company.
 - d. conglomerate.
4. When Rockefeller's Vacuum Oil Company of Buffalo had its profits curbed by competition from a rival refinery, Rockefeller
 - a. undercut the rival by cutting prices.
 - b. blew up the rival company.
 - c. bought up controlling shares of stock in the rival company.
 - d. dissolved the Vacuum Oil Company.
5. According to Maury Klein, Rockefeller was a
 - a. monopoly capitalist.
 - b. organizational genius.
 - c. loud-mouthed liar.
 - d. crisis manager.
6. According to Maury Klein, Jay Gould was a
 - a. predator robber baron.
 - b. enlightened robber baron.
 - c. organizational genius.
 - d. crisis manager.

7. Modern business historians interpret the rise of big business in the late nineteenth century in a way that is
 - a. hostile to the robber barons.
 - b. sympathetic to the robber barons.
 - c. neutral with regards to the robber barons.
8. The control of the production process of a product through several stages is an example of
 - a. vertical integration.
 - b. horizontal integration.
 - c. a pool.
 - d. a trust.

Essay Questions

9. Matthew Josephson argues that John D. Rockefeller was the classic monopolist at work in the oil industry. Give three examples to illustrate this point.
10. Distinguish between the loose and formal definition of a trust. Describe how the Standard Oil Trust was formed, how it operated, and what Josephson maintains was its major purpose.
11. List the two conspicuous development characteristics of the new industrial order. List the two types of robber barons according to Klein. Which type was Jay Gould? Which type was John D. Rockefeller?
12. Compare and contrast the positive and negative qualities of John D. Rockefeller by contrasting the selections of Josephson and Klein. Discuss which author gives the more accurate treatment.

Answers

1.c 2.a 3.b 4.b 5.b 6.a 7.b 8.a

ISSUE 3

Was the American Labor Movement Radical?

YES: Leon Fink, from *Workingman's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (University of Illinois Press, 1983)

NO: Carl N. Degler, from *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, 3d ed. (Harper & Row, 1984)

Synopsis

Though stopping short of a frontal attack on capitalism, Professor Leon Fink argues that the Knights of Labor envisioned a kind of workingman's democracy that would ensure minimal standards of health and safety at the industrial workplace. But historian Carl N. Degler maintains that the American labor movement accepted capitalism and reacted conservatively to the radical organizational changes brought about in the economic system by big business.

Discussing the Issue

Ask students to discuss their attitudes toward labor unions today. Do they see any differences between the union movement before and after World War II? If they are more sympathetic to the earlier unions and hostile to unions today, are they merely expressing the same negative attitude towards unions expressed by the general public toward the Knights of Labor after the Haymarket Square Riot in 1886 and towards the IWW for the strike against Anaconda Copper during World War I?

Has the government's attitude towards unions changed? Are the Republicans more hostile to labor since the union leadership of the AFL-CIO (united since 1955) tends to support the Democratic party's presidential candidates? Were Reagan's actions against the air traffic controllers union similar to or different from the actions of President Cleveland against Pullman Company workers in 1894? It is important to discuss why the United States is the only major industrial country in the world that has never had a strong socialist or labor party. Is Professor Howard Zinn correct in implying that the government and large corporations have used force to repress any attempts to overthrow capitalism? See Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (Harper & Row, 1980). How valid is Professor Fink's contention that a "workingman's democracy" failed to emerge because of the "fortuitous convergence of events in the 1890s—a fragmented labor movement, a reorganized business system, and a realigned political party system"? What does he mean by this statement? For example is a "workingman's democracy" similar to a radical labor movement? Does the latter mean that the country's economy must be socialized? What about the more conservative interpretations for the failure of a viable socialist movement in America? Is Degler correct when he asserts that workers accepted the capitalistic system because they had experienced economic and social mobility in their own lives?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The Gilded Age (1887–1897) was an era of
 - a. political and labor unrest.
 - b. political and labor stability.
 - c. political stability and labor unrest.
 - d. political unrest and labor stability.
2. According to Professor Leon Fink, working-class radicalism during the Gilded Age drew upon the ideological heritage of
 - a. eighteenth-century republicanism.
 - b. populism.
 - c. socialism.
 - d. fascism.
3. Membership in the Knights of Labor included
 - a. only skilled workers.
 - b. only skilled and unskilled workers.
 - c. all people except those associated with idleness and corruption.
 - d. everyone (no exceptions).
4. According to Professor Leon Fink, a major independent working-class political movement never developed in the United States because
 - a. workers accepted the basic values of capitalism.
 - b. ethnic conflicts overshadowed any pretense of a unified working-class consciousness.
 - c. loyalty to the two major political parties developed before the transformation of the economy by the Industrial Revolution.
 - d. by the 1890s the labor movement had fragmented, business had reorganized, and the political parties had made an attempt to reform the worst abuses of the industrial system.
5. Which of the following ideas would a *typical* member of the Knights of Labor *not* have supported?
 - a. socialism
 - b. modified prohibition of alcoholic beverages
 - c. 8-hour work day
 - d. worker control over the assembly line
6. According to Degler and most historians, the event that led to the demise of the Knights of Labor was the
 - a. railroad strike of 1877.
 - b. Haymarket Square Riot of 1886.
 - c. Homestead Steel Strike of 1892.
 - d. Pullman Car Strike of 1894.
7. The leader of the American Federation of Labor from 1886 to 1924 was
 - a. Morris Hillquit.
 - b. Samuel Gompers.
 - c. Eugene Debs.
 - d. Grover Cleveland.
8. According to Professor Degler, the American trade union movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century represented a true
 - a. radical force.
 - b. progressive force.
 - c. conservative force.
 - d. reactionary force.
9. According to Professor Degler, American workers
 - a. supported class consciousness.
 - b. accepted group divisions along racial and ethnic lines.
 - c. voted the ways in which their union leaders wanted.
 - d. formed the American Labor party as a major party.
10. According to Professor Degler, socialism failed to develop into a mass movement in the United States because
 - a. loyalty to political parties was separated from economic issues.
 - b. of the success of capitalism
 - c. "Americanism" as an ideology substitutes for socialism.
 - d. all of the above

Essay Questions

11. According to Professor Leon Fink, what were the major characteristics of the Knights of Labor in terms of the following:
 - a. Who could join?
 - b. Who was excluded?
 - c. What were their attitudes towards home and liquor?
 - d. How did they revive the "Republicanism" ideology of the past?
 - e. What was their attitude towards capitalism? How were they ambivalent towards the changing capitalism of the industrial revolution?
 - f. How did the Knights of labor hope to make the system of capitalism more humane?
12. Critically examine Fink's reasons for why the Knights declined in the 1890s. Explain how Professor Degler might critique this reasoning.

13. Professor Leon Fink argues that the Knights of Labor represented a radical workingman's alternative to the worst abuses of a mature industrial capitalism, which emerged in the 1890s. Describe what the American industrial system would have looked like by 1910 if the Knights of Labor instead of the American Federation of Labor had become the major American labor union.
14. Compare and contrast and critically evaluate the reasons given by professors Fink and Degler for the failure of a major working-class political party to ever emerge in the American political system. Analyze where their arguments converge. Analyze whom you believe provides the better arguments.

Answers

1.c 2.a 3.c 4.d 5.a 6.b 7.b 8.c 9.b 10.d

ISSUE 4

Were the Immigrants' Old World Cultures Destroyed as They Adjusted to American Life?

YES: Oscar Handlin, from *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made The American People*, 2d ed. (Little, Brown, 1973)

NO: John Bodnar, from *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Indiana, 1985)

Synopsis

Oscar Handlin argues that the immigrants were alienated from their Old World cultures as they adjusted to an unfamiliar and hostile environment. But John Bodnar maintains that various immigrant groups retained, modified, and transformed their Old World cultures in responding to urban-industrial America in the years between 1880 and 1920.

Discussing the Issue

Did immigrants in the past assimilate into the mainstream of American life? Or did they maintain a separate identity as a particular ethnic group? Con-

temporaries, historians, and sociologists have debated this issue. Sociologists view the conflict in terms of assimilation versus cultural pluralism, and, to use the popular imagery, they ask whether American society is best described as a melting pot or a salad bowl. Yet, such polarized alternatives oversimplify the issue. In his book *Assimilation in America* (Oxford, 1964), Harvard professor Milton Gordon developed a more sophisticated model. He distinguishes among seven types of assimilation processes through which an immigrant passes upon entering the United States.

The list is summarized as follows in Joe R. Feagin's *Racial and Ethnic Relations* (Prentice-Hall, 1978):

Cultural assimilation—change of cultural patterns to those of core society

Structural assimilation—penetration into cliques and associations of core society at primary-group level

Marital assimilation—significant intermarriage

Identification assimilation—development of a sense of identity linked to core society.

Attitude receptional assimilation—absence of prejudice and stereotyping

Behavior receptional assimilation—absence of intentional discrimination

Civic assimilation—absence of value and power conflict

Gordon feels that most groups have achieved cultural assimilation by conforming to the values of the Anglo-Saxon core culture. Do you agree? What constitutes these values? Was this true in the nineteenth century? Today?

An excellent exercise for the class would be to take five or six different ethnic groups and discuss each one in relationship to Gordon's seven types of assimilation. Many interesting contemporary sociological as well as historical questions should emerge. For example, do Jews intermarry more often than Irish-Americans? Italian-Americans? Do the students in the class date only students with similar ethnic and racial backgrounds? Did their parents marry partners within a similar religious and ethnic group? As regards structural assimilation, how many Italian-Americans, like Lee Iacocca, have become the chairman of the board or the president of a large corporation? According to Thomas Dye's study of the top 4,000 decision-makers in *Who's Running America* (Prentice-Hall, 1976), in the corporate, government, and public-interest sectors of the economy, the social and economic backgrounds of these leaders were not representative of the population as a whole. Dye discovered that these leaders were basically affluent, white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant males. Does this study negate Handlin's assertion that social mobility for the immigrant groups was real?

To bring this issue up to the present, it might be useful to have the class compare the immigrant groups of the nineteenth century with immigrants of the 1980s.

The class can be divided into two groups. The first will list the positive and negative qualities of the nineteenth-century immigrants; the second group will do the same for the most recent immigrants. Write lists on the blackboard of the positive and negative aspects of the two waves of immigrants. Is there an immigrant problem today? If so, how should it be dealt with? Was the Simpson-Mazzoli bill an adequate solution?

Finally, students might distinguish racial and ethnic groups. Have we treated our white ethnics different from non-white groups? If so, how? Are non-whites assimilable into the Anglo-Saxon core culture?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Professor Handlin's major thesis in his book *The Uprooted* is that the immigrants of the nineteenth century
 - a. were alienated from their Old World cultures when they arrived in America.
 - b. easily adjusted to their new situation.
 - c. maintained many traditional values within their family and neighborhood structure as they became workers in the factories created by the Industrial Revolution.
 - d. maintained a traditional family structure and avoided economic and social assimilation into mainstream America for at least three generations.
2. Professor Bodnar's major thesis in *The Transplanted* is that the immigrants of the nineteenth century
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3. According to Professor Handlin, most immigrants were
 - a. anarchistic radicals.
 - b. free-thinking liberals.
 - c. tradition-bound conservatives.
 - d. unaware of their philosophical and religious beliefs.
4. Most late-nineteenth-century immigrants lived in
 - a. single-family houses.
 - b. tenements.
 - c. apartments.
 - d. farmhouses.
5. Dumbbell tenements were so named because
 - a. dwellers in these buildings were considered dumb.
 - b. they were indented in the middle to allow an airshaft between the two buildings.
 - c. they could hold more than twenty families in a six-story building.
 - d. they contained indoor bathrooms.
6. Professor Bodnar feels that most immigrants were
 - a. conservative.
 - b. radical.
 - c. traditional.
 - d. so diverse as to be all of the above.
7. According to Professor Bodnar, the most important group in the life of an individual immigrant was the
 - a. church.
 - b. fraternal societies.
 - c. family.
 - d. school.
8. According to Professor Bodnar, most immigrants were concerned with the
 - a. present.
 - b. past.
 - c. future.
 - d. hereafter.
9. According to Professor Bodnar, *all* immigrants were affected by changes in
 - a. religion.
 - b. schools.
 - c. the nature of work.
 - d. politics.

Essay Questions

10. Compare, contrast, and critically analyze the four major periods of immigration in American history. The four periods are: (1) 1607–1830; (2) 1830–1890; (3) 1890–1925; (4) 1968 to present. In your answer consider the following:
 - a. location of migrating groups in native country
 - b. push and pull factors
 - c. social and religious background
 - d. location of settlements in America
 - e. impact of immigrants on American economy

f. impact of American economy on immigrants

11. Define nativism. List its major characteristics. Was this negative response of the native-born Americans characteristic of the way immigrants were received in all four periods?
12. Critically analyze the following statement by Professor Oscar Handlin: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history."
13.
 - a. Explain what Professor Handlin means by the title of his book *The Uprooted*.
 - b. Explain what Professor Bodnar means by entitling his book *The Transplanted*.
 - c. Compare and contrast the major assumptions that both authors make concerning the immigrant experience in America.
14. Both Handlin and Bodnar are concerned with the importance of family in the immigrant experience. Explain how their perceptions of the immigrant family differ.

Answers

1.a 2.c 3.c 4.b 5.b 6.d 7.c 8.a 9.c

ISSUE 5

Were the Populists Democratic Reformers?

YES: Lawrence Goodwyn, from *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (Oxford University Press, 1976)

NO: Richard Hofstadter, from *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (Knopf, 1955)

Synopsis

Goodwyn defines Populism as a cooperative "people's movement" that sought to take control of the government in order to fulfill mass democratic aspirations. Hofstadter focuses upon the nostalgic, reactionary nature of the Populists, whose attitudes revealed a desire to create a rural utopia, using the early nineteenth-century United States as their model.

Discussing the Issue

The word *populism* has become a quite popular label in recent years, but the term has been applied in ways that defy clear definition. A case in point is the fact that both George Wallace and the Reverend Jesse Jackson have been portrayed as "populists." Teachers may want to start their discussion by examining the widely differing applications of the term populism.

The readings by professors Goodwyn and Hofstadter also may give the impression that the authors are describing completely different movements. Goodwyn is very sympathetic in his approach to the agrarian movement, while Hofstadter claims to uncover a darker side of the farmers' protest. Both authors, however, challenge traditional interpretations of Populism—Goodwyn by rejecting the Midwest as the cradle of Populist civilization, and Hofstadter by characterizing these farmers as bigots rather than democrats. Students should evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each argument to determine which is most accurate. Do Goodwyn and Hofstadter reflect a southern rural and northeastern urban slant in their respective essays?

Populism can provide a useful starting point for a discussion of twentieth-century reform impulses. For example, did the goals of American farmers at the end of the nineteenth century bear any relationship to programs enacted by the progressives and New Dealers? Following a discussion of the specific problems confronting rural America in the late nineteenth century, students should be asked to compare farmers' complaints then and now. Have the concerns of American farmers changed significantly in the past century?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Goodwyn, modern politics represents
 - a. the success of Populist programs.
 - b. a retreat from the democratic goals of the Populists.
 - c. a revival of Jeffersonian ideology.
 - d. the failure of Republican politicians to harness the power of big business.
2. According to Goodwyn, in 1896 the last symbol of national Populism was
 - a. Tom Watson.
 - b. William Jennings Bryan.
 - c. L. L. Polk.

- d. William McKinley.
3. Goodwyn argues that the essence of Populism was
 - a. the sub-treasury plan.
 - b. its greenback heritage.
 - c. the Omaha platform.
 - d. its aspiration as a mass democratic people's movement.
4. The Populist party was the immediate successor of
 - a. the Knights of Labor.
 - b. the National Grange.
 - c. the Farmers' Alliance.
 - d. the American Federation of Labor.
5. Hofstadter associates the Populist philosophy with that of the
 - a. Whigs.
 - b. Jeffersonian Republicans.
 - c. Jacksonian Democrats.
 - d. Federalists.
6. According to Hofstadter, the Populists supported
 - a. democracy through cooperative effort.
 - b. the belief in a conspiracy of the international money power.
 - c. the growth of industry at the expense of farmers.
 - d. reforms suggested by William McKinley.
7. Much of the Populist assault on financial interests focused upon
 - a. the South.
 - b. native-born Americans.
 - c. Italian immigrants.
 - d. England.
8. According to Hofstadter, Populists held many of the same views as
 - a. the imperialist elite in the East.
 - b. industrialists.
 - c. financial capitalists.
 - d. corporation lawyers.
9. Hofstadter believes the Populists were
 - a. utopian socialists.
 - b. practical politicians who dealt with the real problems confronting American farmers.
 - c. farmers who looked backward with longing to the lost agrarian Eden.
 - d. farmers who wanted to organize a big labor union.

Essay Questions

10. According to Goodwyn, what is the legacy of the Populist movement?
11. How did the Populists demonstrate their opposition to industrialism?
12. Compare and contrast the views of Goodwyn and Hofstadter regarding the nature of Populism.

Answers

1.b 2.a 3.d 4.c 5.c 6.b 7.d 8.a 9.c

ISSUE 6

Was City Government in Late Nineteenth-Century America a "Conspicuous Failure"?

YES: Ernest S. Griffith, from *A History of American City Government: The Conspicuous Failure, 1870-1900* (Praeger, 1974)

NO: Jon C. Teaford, from *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870-1900* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984)]

Synopsis

Griffith focuses upon illegal and unethical operations of the political machine and concludes that the governments controlled by the bosses represented a betrayal of public trust. Teaford argues that scholars traditionally have overlooked the remarkable success municipal governments in the late nineteenth century achieved in dealing with the challenges presented by rapid urbanization.

Discussing the Issue

Divide the class into four groups. Ask one group to list negative features of today's cities, while a second lists the positive attributes of the modern city. The remaining two groups should list negative and positive

aspects of American cities at the end of the 1800s, respectively. Then compare the four lists and identify modern urban problems that also were associated with the late nineteenth century. Encourage the students to discuss ways in which today's cities are better or worse than their counterparts of a century ago. This can lead to a discussion of the image of the city in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and ways in which attitudes toward urban living have changed over time. This issue also can be used with Issues 3, 4, and 5 to compare the status of rural and urban Americans. In what ways were people in the countryside better off than their urban counterparts? What advantages did urban society offer Americans, whether native or foreign born? Teachers may find Gunther Barth's *City People* to be a valuable source for describing the emergence of urban culture in the late 1800s. Barth uses the rise of the apartment house, the metropolitan press, the department store, the ball park, and the vaudeville house to define "modern city culture." Ask students to analyze how these institutions (or their equivalents) continue to play a prominent role in urban communities.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Griffith says that the key to political power in American democracy was
 - a. an effective party organization.
 - b. control of votes.
 - c. charismatic leadership.
 - d. sound political philosophy.
2. The corrupt political machine flourished as a result of
 - a. the patronage system.
 - b. control of city franchises.
 - c. support of the police.
 - d. all of the above
3. According to Griffith, the patronage system
 - a. provided jobs based solely on merit.
 - b. punished the supporters of political bosses.
 - c. encouraged city employees to support incumbents.
 - d. prevented the dispensation of jobs to family members.
4. Which of the following does Griffith *not* cite as a factor undergirding political corruption?
 - a. liquor
 - b. sex
 - c. gambling
 - d. voter fraud
5. According to Griffith, "blue laws" against drinking and gambling failed to be enforced because
 - a. the states' powers were limited.
 - b. cities had limited enforcement powers.
 - c. political machines intimidated urban residents from complaining about violations of the laws.
 - d. most urban dwellers opposed the laws.
6. The idea that American municipal government was a "conspicuous failure" was expressed originally by
 - a. James Bryce.
 - b. George Washington Plunkitt.
 - c. Lincoln Steffens.
 - d. Ernest S. Griffith.
7. According to Teaford, which of the following was *not* a problem confronting municipal leaders in the late nineteenth-century United States?
 - a. large-scale immigration
 - b. the physical expansion of cities
 - c. the need to expand city services
 - d. declining population
8. According to Teaford, municipal government and independent commissions were dominated by
 - a. ward-based bosses.
 - b. upper middle-class businessmen.
 - c. municipal professionals.
 - d. special interest lobbyists.
9. Teaford says that the critique of municipal government in the late nineteenth century was generated by
 - a. the unwillingness of various groups to accept contrasting views of urban politics.
 - b. the enormous amount of corruption in local government.
 - c. the reduced power of the American farmer.
 - d. jealousy among foreign observers of the American municipal scene.

Essay Questions

10. According to Griffith, what were the chief characteristics of urban government in the late nineteenth century?
11. According to Teaford, in what ways did city government respond effectively to the problems confronting urban America in the late nineteenth century?

12. Compare and contrast the views of late nineteenth-century city government offered by Griffith and Teaford.

Answers

1.b 2.d 3.c 4.d 5.d 6.a 7.d 8.b 9.a

ISSUE 7

Did the Progressives Fail?

YES: Richard Abrams, from "The Failure of Progressivism," Richard Abrams and Lawrence Levine, eds., *The Shaping of the Twentieth Century*, 2d ed. (Little, Brown, 1971)

NO: Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, from *Progressivism* (Harlan Davidson, 1983)

Synopsis

Professor Richard Abrams maintains that progressivism was a failure because it tried to impose a uniform set of values upon a culturally diverse people and never seriously confronted the inequities which still exist in American society. But professors Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick argue that the progressives were a diverse group of reformers who confronted and ameliorated the worst abuses which emerged in urban industrial America during the early 1900s.

Discussing the Issue

Progressivism is a good issue to use as a springboard to a discussion on the reform impulse that runs throughout American history. Problems of definition emerge. For example, what constitutes a reformer? How do you distinguish a reform movement from a reactionary one? In evaluating the progressive movement, most people would consider the movement to abolish child labor a reform impulse. But what about the prohibition movement? Or the Americanization movement to teach immigrants the English language? Was the Americanization movement an attempt to

force WASP values on the "new" immigrants coming into America at the turn of the twentieth century?

Defining what constituted the progressive movement is another way of approaching this issue. It is difficult to discuss the successes and failures of progressivism without knowing what it was. Professors Link and McCormick have defined it as "the way in which a whole generation of Americans defined themselves politically and responded to the nation's problems at the turn of the century." Granted that there was no unified movement, is it possible that Professor Filene is correct to argue that there was no such phenomenon as a progressive movement? See Peter Filene, "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement," *American Quarterly* (Spring 1970).

Once you work through the various components of defining progressivism, you encounter two problems nicely discussed in the essay by Richard Abrams. First, he argues, the reforms were merely Band-Aids to cover over the serious problems of a new and changed urban-industrial America. It is possible that the power of big business could not have been challenged in any serious way unless the economy was socialized. But was this ever a viable alternative in America? Obviously Link and McCormick disagree with Abrams's assumption. Here might be a good time to bring up their distinction between what was the *intended* reform and what *resulted* from the legislation. For example, was the Sherman Act and its amendments *intended* to curb the power of big business? Has it *resulted* in doing so? Why or why not?

A second point made by Abrams is that a number of reforms became more coercive and reactionary in their reliance on the state to impose a uniform set of values upon the society. This is especially true of the prohibition and Americanization movements. In the case of the former, the national government prohibited the distribution and consumption of most alcoholic beverages during the 1920s. Meanwhile the Americanization movement led to riots against blacks, German immigrants, and other non-conforming radicals during and immediately after World War I. A good question to discuss is at what point does the role of the state move from an agency of social reform (child labor, minimum wage, and tenement house reforms) to one of social control (prohibition, etc.).

Finally many of the same questions about reforms, definitions, and the use of state power can be brought up again when discussing the New Deal and the Great Society. Questions about the similarities and differences, the continuities and discontinuities, will be particularly useful later in the semester.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to professors Link and McCormick, the biggest mass-based reform era in American history was
 - a. Jacksonian democracy.
 - b. Populism.
 - c. progressivism.
 - d. the New Deal.
2. The progressives never resolved which of the following major problems?
 - a. inadequately funded programs.
 - b. the results of the reforms often did not work out as was originally intended.
 - c. the rise of too many bureaucratic agencies.
 - d. the agricultural depression of the early 1900s.
3. Progressives were ambivalent about
 - a. big business.
 - b. immigration.
 - c. alcohol.
 - d. all of the above
4. According to Link and McCormick, most progressives agreed that the major problem in America in 1905 was
 - a. alcohol.
 - b. drugs.
 - c. "the power of the trusts."
 - d. agricultural depression.
5. Newspapers and magazine writers who exposed the seamy side of America were known as
 - a. muckrakers.
 - b. garbage pickers.
 - c. journalists.
 - d. trustees.
6. The religious movement that swept through the Protestant churches in the 1890s and early 1900s, and which also influenced progressivism, was known as
 - a. born-again Christianity.
 - b. the social gospel movement.
 - c. Pentecostalism.
 - d. Mormonism.
7. According to Professor Richard M. Abrams, the progressive movement drew its strength from
 - a. big business.
 - b. farmers.
 - c. well-established middle-class reformers.
 - d. military leaders.
8. Professor Abrams believes that progressives wanted to
 - a. socialize the economy.
 - b. put the nation on the silver standard.
 - c. unionize the workers.
 - d. have government "moralize" the lives of individuals.
9. Who among the following would *most likely* have been considered a progressive in 1910?
 - a. a social worker
 - b. a socialist
 - c. a union leader
 - d. a populist farmer
10. According to Abrams, progressivism failed as a movement because
 - a. it lacked leadership.
 - b. it tried to impose a specific set of values on a nation that had become culturally diverse.
 - c. World War I killed the reform movement.
 - d. socialism was a more coherent and attractive political philosophy.
11. According to Abrams, progressivism
 - a. brought about major social and economic changes.
 - b. brought about limited social and economic changes.
 - c. caused America's entrance into World War I because of its militant ideology.
 - d. never really existed as a reform movement.

Essay Questions

12. Critically analyze the following three reasons why Link and McCormick argue that the progressives failed to achieve their goals.
 - a. The progressives relied on natural science and social science reforms.
 - b. The progressives had deep ambivalence about industrialism and its consequences.
 - c. The progressives never came to grips with the real conflicts of American society.
13. Link and McCormick argue that the problems faced by the progressives have continued to challenge Americans. Discuss what they mean by this. Do you agree?
14. State in one or two sentences Professor Abrams's definition of progressivism. Discuss who joined the movement, what the reformers' philosophical principles were, and who were the movement's five principal enemies.

15. List at least six reforms that were part of the progressive movement. Critically discuss how their effects never measured up to the original intentions of the reformers.
16. Critically examine why the attempt to impose a uniform set of moral values was bound to fail in a nation as culturally diverse as America was in 1910.
17. Critically examine those areas where Abrams says progressivism blunted "the sharper edges of self-interest in American life, and [reduced] the harsher cruelties suffered by the society's underprivileged."
18. Compare and contrast the successes of progressivism (Link and McCormick) with its failures (Abrams). Point out areas where the authors are in agreement and areas where they totally disagree.

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.d 4.c 5.a 6.b 7.c 8.d 9.a 10.b 11.b

ISSUE 8

Was U.S. Intervention in Nicaragua in the Early Twentieth Century Motivated by "Dollar Diplomacy"?

YES: Walter LaFeber, from *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (W. W. Norton, 1983)

NO: Samuel Flagg Bemis, from *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1943)

Synopsis

Professor Walter LaFeber argues that the United States developed a foreign policy which deliberately made the Caribbean nations its economic dependents since the early nineteenth century. But Samuel Flagg Bemis maintains that U.S. interventions in the Caribbean led to a short-lived period of "benevolent imperialism," which gave political and economic stability to the area

and at the same time prevented European intervention into the area's internal affairs.

Discussing the Issue

A logical starting point for a class discussion would be to define imperialism. Should we accept Bemis's assumptions that American intervention into the affairs of the Caribbean nations was only temporary and even beneficial to those Central American countries? Could the Russians make similar arguments about the nations of Eastern Europe and their involvement there?

At this point the class may also want to discuss the economic dependency theory put forward in Professor LaFeber's selection. How important are economic motivations in the analysis of historical events? Did the United States impose its economic will in the Caribbean in such a manner that these countries could not become economically self-sufficient? If the United States followed a course of "dollar diplomacy," give explicit examples of American companies exploiting the economy of Nicaragua.

A role playing exercise is another in-class approach to this issue that might be useful. Make believe the year is 1910 or 1927. Evenly divide your class (for example, divide a class of 42 into 6 groups composed of 7 people per group). The question to decide is whether or not the United States should send troops to Nicaragua in order for Nicaragua to hold free elections. Give each person a specific role. For example, students could play the parts of presidents Taft or Coolidge, secretaries of state Knox or Stimson; the president of an American tobacco or fruit company, and Nicaraguan politicians Diaz, General Moncado, or Cesar Sandino. Determine the reasons *why* the United States *should* intervene. Are these reasons based on security or economic needs? What types of responses came from the Nicaraguan politicians? Are their responses similar to or different from those of the political leaders in the United States? The major purpose of this exercise is to give the students a sense of how decisions are made and the complications entailed in making and implementing policy. Such an exercise could flesh out the students' perspectives on the bureaucratic model discussed in Abraham F. Lowenthal's "United States Policy toward Latin America: 'Liberal,' 'Radical,' and 'Bureaucratic' Perspectives," *Latin American Research Review* (Fall 1973).

Finally those students who wish to discuss the Reagan/Bush policies towards Nicaragua could engage in a similar discussion merely by changing the names of the U.S. and Nicaraguan political and economic leaders.

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Professor Walter LaFeber, U.S. interest in the Caribbean has been motivated primarily by
 - a. military concerns.
 - b. security concerns.
 - c. economic concerns.
 - d. political concerns.
2. According to Professor Samuel F. Bemis, U.S. interest in the Caribbean has been motivated primarily by
 - a. military concerns.
 - b. security concerns.
 - c. economic concerns.
 - d. political concerns.
3. The theory of "dependency" (also described as "neodependency") is a theory that maintains that
 - a. strong nations, in particular the United States, have politically ruled over the Caribbean nations.
 - b. strong nations, in particular the United States, have militarily ruled over the Caribbean nations.
 - c. strong nations, in particular the United States, use their economic strength to make the Caribbean nations subordinate to their interests.
 - d. the Caribbean nations now look to Russia for political, military, and economic help.
4. According to Professor Samuel F. Bemis, the U.S. foreign policy of interventionism in Caribbean affairs in the early twentieth century was
 - a. a great departure from its earlier policy of isolationism.
 - b. part of a policy of continual expansion, which had been in place since the early nineteenth century.
 - c. part of a policy of political imperialism similar to those policies followed by some European nations in Asia and Africa.
 - d. not really a coherent foreign policy.
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 - b. part of a policy of continual expansion, which had been in place since the early nineteenth century.
 - c. part of a policy of political imperialism similar to those policies followed by some European nations in Asia and Africa.
 - d. not really a coherent foreign policy.
6. Which U.S. president added the corollary to the Monroe Doctrine that stated that the United States would act as the policeman in the Western hemisphere?
 - a. Theodore Roosevelt
 - b. William H. Taft
 - c. Woodrow Wilson
 - d. Calvin Coolidge
7. President Taft and Secretary of State Philander Knox formulated a Latin American policy known as
 - a. non-interventionism.
 - b. the Taft memorandum.
 - c. Dollar Diplomacy.
 - d. the Good Neighbor policy.
8. The purpose of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty (1916) was to
 - a. rehabilitate Nicaragua's finances.
 - b. guarantee the United States the right to build a second canal connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific.
 - c. both a and b
 - d. none of the above
9. According to Bemis, bankers and industrialists were _____ to become involved with investments in Nicaragua in the early twentieth century.
 - a. anxious
 - b. reluctant
 - c. forced
 - d. foolish
10. According to Bemis, U.S. policy towards Nicaragua in the early twentieth century was one of
 - a. military imperialism.
 - b. economic imperialism.
 - c. communist aggression.
 - d. benevolent imperialism.
11. The guerrilla who harassed American soldiers in Nicaragua for several years until they left in 1933 was
 - a. Pancho Villa.
 - b. Cesar Sandino.
 - c. Anastasio Somoza.
 - d. Porfirio Diaz.

12. The leader of the Nicaraguan National Guard who, in 1936, became that country's dictatorial ruler was
 - a. Pancho Villa.
 - b. Cesar Sandino.
 - c. Anastasio Somoza.
 - d. Profririo Diaz.

Essay Questions

13. Discuss and critically analyze Professor LaFeber's argument that the Latin American revolutions were different from the American Revolution.
14. Critically analyze Professor LaFeber's statement that Latin American "revolutions have served the functions of elections in the United States."
15. Describe the theory of neodependency. Explain how LaFeber applies this theory in his analysis of United States-Caribbean relations. Critically analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the theory.
16. Describe Professor Bemis's overall thesis on U.S.-Latin American relations.
17. Describe Professor Bemis's description of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations from 1909 to 1933. What motivated U.S. military interventions? What motivated U.S. bankers and industrialists? Were U.S. leaders (government, industry, finance) "benevolent imperialists"?
18. Compare and contrast and critically evaluate the interpretations of LaFeber and Bemis about U.S.-Nicaraguan relations between 1900 and 1936. Consider the following:
 - a. motivations (security vs. economic interests)
 - b. use of U.S. troops
 - c. role played by internal politics
 - d. role of U.S. military, U.S. State Department, and U.S. bankers
 - e. role played by European countries before and after World War I
 - f. U.S. attitude towards revolutions in Central America

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.c 4.a 5.b 6.a 7.c 8.c 9.b 10.d
11.b 12.c

ISSUE 9

Did Woodrow Wilson Fail as Commander-in-Chief During World War I?

YES: George F. Kennan, from *American Diplomacy: 1900-1950* (Mentor Books, 1952)

NO: David F. Trask, from "Woodrow Wilson and the Reconciliation of Force and Diplomacy," *Naval War College Review* (January/February 1975)

Synopsis

Former diplomat and historian George F. Kennan believes that President Wilson was an impractical idealist who led America into the right war for the wrong reasons. But historian David F. Trask argues that Wilson developed realistic and clearly articulated war goals and coordinated his larger diplomatic aims with the use of force better than any wartime American president.

Discussing the Issue

Many students are intrigued with military history. A starting point for a discussion would be to assess Trask's favorable assessment of Wilson's use of force and diplomacy in attaining his goals during World War I. For comparison, you may want to consult Ernest May's critical analysis in *The Ultimate Decision* (George Braziller, 1960). Did Wilson neglect to oversee the daily operations of the military? Is this a valid criticism? Was it wise *not* to integrate American troops within an overall Allied command structure? Could the war have ended sooner had the United States done so? Should Wilson have played a stronger role in settling the inter-service rivalry between the army and navy with regard to leadership roles, promotion policies, and overall strategies? In addition to May, there are ample references to the new military history in Robert H. Ferrell, *Woodrow Wilson and World War I: 1917-1921* (Harper & Row, 1985).

A good subject for a later time might be a comparison of Wilson as commander-in-chief with earlier presidents such as Madison, Polk, and Lincoln, as well as with his twentieth-century successors F.D.R.,

Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon. A number of case studies in May's *The Ultimate Decision*, as well as his introductory essay, would be useful for this exercise.

A more traditional subject for discussion is Wilson's diplomacy. Why was he unable to obtain passage of the Treaty of Versailles? Did he fail to compromise because of his bad health? Was it because of the basic nature of his uncompromising personality? Was he too idealistic and moralistic (see Kennan), or was he a true realist (see Trask, Link, and most modern historians)? A good though somewhat dated reference is Ralph A. Stone's edited collection of readings *Wilson and the League of Nations* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967). Arthur S. Link is the preeminent Wilson scholar. His essays in *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace* (Harlan Davidson, 1979), represent a lifetime of scholarship devoted to the twenty-eighth president. To observe the evolution in Link's views on Wilson, these essays should be compared with Link's classic work, *Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies*, 2d ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963).

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Diplomat George Kennan sees Wilson as a
 - a. hard-headed realist.
 - b. short-sighted politician.
 - c. fuzzy-headed idealist.
 - d. militarist.
2. Kennan argues that World War I
 - a. saved Western civilization.
 - b. was caused primarily by Germany.
 - c. preserved the balance of power in the world.
 - d. destroyed the balance of power in Western Europe.
3. Kennan feels that Wilson
 - a. should have stayed neutral.
 - b. was too timid in fighting the war.
 - c. was correct in fighting the war to save Western civilization.
 - d. should have fought the war with a more limited goal of preserving the balance of power in Europe.
4. In Kennan's view, public opinion in any government is
 - a. easily manipulated by politicians and interest groups.
 - b. an accurate reflection of what is really happening.
 - c. a moderating influence on the actions of politicians.
 - d. non-existent.
5. In Kennan's view, the real tragedy of World War I was that
 - a. it paved the way for a communist government to take over Russia.
 - b. it paved the way for a second world war.
 - c. it enabled Japan to dominate Asia.
 - d. it failed to restore monarchical control over the Austro-Hungarian empire.
6. Historian David F. Trask sees Wilson as a
 - a. realist.
 - b. idealist.
 - c. militarist.
 - d. both a and b
7. Historian David F. Trask argues that Wilson entered World War I
 - a. only because the Germans violated their pledge to restrict submarine warfare.
 - b. in order to protect the economic interests of the United States.
 - c. on the side of the Allies in order to promote a balance of power in the world after the war.
 - d. to overthrow communism in Russia.
8. Historian Trask argues that Wilson followed a military strategy that emphasized
 - a. a military breakthrough in central Europe.
 - b. a hold-and-breakthrough in France.
 - c. containing the German fleet to its home base.
 - d. both c and d
9. According to Professor Trask, Wilson believed that the primary enemy in World War I was
 - a. France.
 - b. Germany.
 - c. Russia.
 - d. the Austro-Hungarian army.
10. According to Trask, by the end of World War I, Wilson had
 - a. failed to achieve all of his goals.
 - b. accomplished very few of his original goals.
 - c. accomplished most of what he set out to do when the United States entered World War I.
 - d. none of the above
11. During World War I, American military units usually
 - a. fought under a unified Allied military council.
 - b. fought separately under their own command structures.
 - c. coordinated strategy with their Russian allies.

- d. avoided combat whenever possible.

Essay Questions

12. Critically analyze diplomat George Kennan's argument that Wilson brought America into the right war for the wrong reasons.
13. Kennan is considered a "realist" in his approach to foreign policy. Discuss what this means. How does he use World War I as an example of America's legalistic and moralistic approach to its foreign policy?
14. If Kennan had been Woodrow Wilson, how would he have handled the events leading up to America's entrance into World War I? Given the structure of America's government and the nature of public opinion, do you consider Kennan's alternative scenario unrealistic?
15. Describe how Wilson was able to reconcile the use of force with diplomacy to obtain his long-term objectives during and after World War I, according to Professor David F. Trask. Do you think Wilson was as successful as Trask claims? Critically discuss.
16. What were the military objectives of the United States Army and Navy during World War I? What was Wilson's overall military objective? How well did he coordinate his military objectives with the Allies?
17.
 - a. Compare and contrast and critically evaluate the interpretations of Kennan and Trask regarding Wilson's approach to America's entrance into World War I.
 - b. Is there any way to reconcile the realistic and idealistic views of Wilson's diplomatic efforts?
 - c. Why do you think most modern historians tend to agree with Trask's viewpoint rather than Kennan's?

Answers

1.c 2.c 3.b 4.a 5.b 6.d 7.c 8.d 9.b 10.c 11.b

ISSUE 10

Did the Women's Movement Die in the 1920s?

YES: Lois W. Banner, from *Women in Modern America: A Brief History* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974)

NO: Anne Firor Scott, from *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (University of Chicago Press, 1970)

Synopsis

Banner concludes that, following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, antifeminist trends combined with a lack of unity among women's organizations to hinder further progress on women's issues in the 1920s. Scott insists that the suffrage victory produced a heightened interest in further social and political reform, which inspired Southern women to pursue these goals throughout the 1920s.

Discussing the Issue

There are several ways the instructor can discuss the issue of the women's movement of the 1920s. One approach is to examine the women's movement within a comparative framework featuring the 1840s, 1920s, and 1970s. A number of important questions can be discussed. For example, what conditions produced these reform efforts on the part of American women? What were the goals of these various movements? What types of women supported these movements? How did men react to these activities? It should be pointed out that in each case the women's movement was only one segment of a broader reform agenda in which women participated. For the twentieth century, students also should analyze the fact that periods of furious reform have been followed by periods of conservative reaction which have inhibited further success of the reformers' goals. Teachers should discuss with students the possibility that a nation, like individuals, can only process a limited amount of

2. Both Russia and the United States are very similar in that they are both
 - a. democracies.
 - b. very patriotic societies with a strong sense of mission.
 - c. supporters of one-party rule.
 - d. supporters of strong executive rule.
3. Russian historians argue that the United States was late in entering World War II because the country
 - a. was divided between isolationists and internationalists as to whether the U.S. should declare war on Germany.
 - b. was pro-German in its sympathies.
 - c. hoped to enter the postwar world relatively undamaged but massively armed and ready to dominate the world.
 - d. was waiting for the development of the atomic bomb before entering the war.
4. In the Russian view of the Cold War, which word best describes the behavior of the United States?
 - a. uninterested
 - b. humanitarian
 - c. imperialistic
 - d. socialistic
5. Most revisionist historians of America's Cold War policies are
 - a. sympathetic to the fear of communism faced by America's leaders after the war.
 - b. favorably disposed to the pre-war isolationists who never wanted to enter World War II.
 - c. critical of Stalin's behavior as a Russian leader.
 - d. critical of the need of American capitalism to dominate world markets.
6. Cordell Hull, President Roosevelt's secretary of state from 1933–1944, believed that world peace could best be preserved by
 - a. free trade among all nations.
 - b. a strong peacetime military force in the United States.
 - c. a true balance of power among the four strongest nations.
 - d. regional defense alliances.
7. Revisionist historians make the assumption that after World War II
 - a. both Russia and the United States were equal in military and economic power.
 - b. the United States dominated the world economically, politically, and militarily.
 - c. Russia dominated Europe economically, politically, and militarily.
 - d. neither Russia nor the United States had an important effect upon the balance of power in Europe.
8. Revisionist historian Thomas G. Paterson believes that American policymakers saw the events of the 1940s as a replay of the events of the 1930s. In this scenario, Soviet Russia was replacing which country as the world's major aggressor nation?
 - a. socialist Great Britain
 - b. fascist Italy
 - c. Nazi Germany
 - d. militaristic Japan
9. Revisionist historians view the Cold War similarly to the views of Soviet historians and see America's actions after World War II as
 - a. self-consciously expansionist.
 - b. humanitarian.
 - c. disinterested.
 - d. impartial.
10. Revisionist historian Thomas G. Paterson believes that American diplomats used sole possession of the atomic bomb in the fall of 1945
 - a. to threaten Russia with military extinction if it misbehaved.
 - b. to gain diplomatic concessions from Russia in Eastern Europe.
 - c. as means of securing true international control of atomic weapons by turning the secrets over to a United Nations international control agency.
 - d. as an example to the world how future wars would be fought.

Essay Questions

11. Compare, contrast, and critically evaluate the traditional view of the origins of the Cold War (1945–1947) with the revisionist view of its origins. In your answer consider the following:
 - a. historical sense of mission of both countries
 - b. post-war objectives of both Russia and the United States
 - c. socialist and capitalistic economic systems — are they by nature expansionist?
 - d. Did America's preeminent economic prosperity, as well as sole possession of the atomic bomb, affect its post-World War II outlook?
 - e. Was it possible to set up freely elected neutral governments in the center of Europe?
 - f. Were the great men—Roosevelt, Truman, or Stalin—responsible for the Cold War? Or were

they controlled by the events of the war? What political pressures—public opinion and Congress—operated on both U.S. and U.S.S.R. politicians during this time?

12. Compare the traditional American view as to how we became involved in World War II with the Russian view. Critically analyze differences between these two views and explain how they may account for differing interpretations of the origins of the Cold War.
13. Imagine lecturing from a traditional American history text to students at Moscow University. Discuss the problems you would encounter in a lecture discussion course. Why aren't you allowed to lecture on the post-1941 events? What problems would you encounter if you did lecture on the last 45 years of history? Reverse the situation and ask the same questions of a Russian professor, were he to teach American history at Harvard University.

Answers

1.c 2.b 3.c 4.c 5.d 6.a 7.b 8.c 9.a 10.b

ISSUE 13

Was Dwight Eisenhower a Great President?

YES: Stephen E. Ambrose, from *Eisenhower: The President*, vol. 2 (Simon & Schuster, 1984)

NO: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., from *The Cycles of American Politics* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1986)

Synopsis

Stephen Ambrose maintains that Eisenhower is a greater president than his Democratic and Republican predecessors and successors because he balanced the budget, stopped inflation, and kept the peace. But Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., argues that Eisenhower failed as a president because he refused to tackle moral and environmental issues at home and because he established a foreign policy that relied on covert CIA activities and threats of nuclear war.

Discussing the Issue

Both the Wilson and the Eisenhower issues can be used to generate a class discussion about the nature of the American presidency. Use Clinton Rossiter's six characteristics of the presidency to measure the effectiveness of Eisenhower. These include:

1. Chief of State (ceremonial)
2. Chief Executive (White House manager)
3. Chief of Political Party
4. Chief Policy Maker
5. Commander-in-Chief
6. Chief Diplomat

Get the class to discuss Eisenhower's presidency as it accords with Rossiter's standards. For example, is Rossiter's framework skewed towards outspoken, aggressive, liberal activist presidents? If this is true, does this explain why Eisenhower was not considered a great president in the 1960s? More specifically, how effective was Eisenhower as a ceremonial leader? If he was not as charismatic as F.D.R., or later Kennedy and Reagan, does that mean he was not a competent chief of state? If you argue along these lines, how do you account for Eisenhower's lasting popularity? If Eisenhower opposed limited wars and even avoided them, does this make him less competent than the democratic presidents F.D.R., Truman, and LBJ, who each led the nation through a major war? When Eisenhower consolidated or opposed further New Deal legislation, does this also mean he failed as a domestic policymaker?

At this point in the semester you may also want to play a game of "rate the presidents." Give the class two lists: the 1962 Schlesinger survey, which placed Ike in 21st place—the average category—and the more recent Murray/Blassing poll, which ranked Eisenhower in 11th place. How do you account for this discrepancy? What happened in the twenty years to give Eisenhower a higher ranking? Do you agree with conservative writer Jeffrey Hart that Ike should be ranked number two or with Schlesinger, who believes that the liberal/conservative pendulum will swing back and give Ike a lower rating in twenty years?

A last exercise might be to compare Eisenhower and Reagan. Again, use the Rossiter categories or Greenstein's hidden-hand agenda. (Greenstein is discussed on p. 305 in the text, in the Postscript to Issue 13.) Do students think in twenty years we will have discovered that Reagan was in control of all the major events of his administrations, including the Soviet arms talks and the Iran-Contra fiasco, and did not sleep through his presidency, as some contemporary critics charge?

transportation, shopping, leisure time, etc. Sum up the discussion by relating it to the issue: Has America entered a period of historical decline?

Testing on the Issue

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Paul Kennedy believes that the power of the United States
 - a. to dominate the world economy has increased in the past forty years.
 - b. to dominate the world economy has decreased in the past forty years.
 - c. has stayed the same in its economic relations with other nations.
 - d. has been adversely affected by Russia's increased economic power since World War II.
2. Professor Kennedy believes that in the future a declining United States
 - a. will become an insignificant power, like England is today.
 - b. will lose the Cold War to Russia.
 - c. will still be a significant world power because of its sheer size.
 - d. might start a nuclear war to eliminate its rivals.
3. Professor Kennedy argues that America's relative decline in the world's production of goods has occurred in
 - a. manufacturing.
 - b. high technology.
 - c. agriculture.
 - d. all of the above
4. Professor Kennedy argues that when a major power enters a period of decline
 - a. politicians on the left and right call for a renewal of the nation's major values.
 - b. an economic recession immediately occurs.
 - c. military spending decreases.
 - d. social welfare spending increases.
5. According to Professor Kennedy, the more money a declining great power spends on its defense,
 - a. the more secure it becomes.
 - b. the less secure it becomes.
 - c. the more complacent it becomes.
 - d. the less bellicose it becomes.

6. Professor Susan Strange argues that the United States still dominates the world economy if nations are measured by their
 - a. relational power.
 - b. relative power.
 - c. structural power.
 - d. military power.
7. Professor Strange believes that Russia challenges the United States' superiority in only one of the following areas:
 - a. financial power
 - b. production of goods and services
 - c. control over world knowledge
 - d. military strength
8. According to Professor Strange, the world is better off when the United States exerts
 - a. hegemonic power.
 - b. military power.
 - c. its influence through international organizations.
 - d. its control over communism.
9. Professor Strange believes that the deficit, which the United States has run for the past twenty-five years, demonstrates
 - a. U.S. weakness.
 - b. U.S. power.
 - c. fiscal irresponsibility by U.S. banks.
 - d. fiscal irresponsibility by U.S. presidents and the Congress.
10. The United States has difficulty maintaining consistent fiscal and monetary policies, according to Professor Strange, because
 - a. its military commitments are overextended.
 - b. the deficit is too large.
 - c. of the nature of the built-in checks and balances of the U.S. political system.
 - d. of the lack of economic knowledge possessed by recent presidents.

Essay Questions

11. Critically examine the major premise of Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, which is that America has entered a period of decline. In your answer consider the following:
 - a. the validity of his statistical evidence
 - b. his arguments concerning a declining share of the world's manufacturing, high tech, and agricultural production

- c. the inefficiency of increased military spending
 - d. the affect of rapidly increasing budget deficits
12. Critically examine why Kennedy does not believe that the decline of the United States today is not similar to England's decline in 1900? Do you agree or not? Why?
 13. Compare and contrast and critically evaluate the arguments of professors Kennedy and Strange regarding whether America is in a period of decline. Be sure to consider the following:
 - a. whether America is militarily overextended
 - b. whether defense spending hurts or improves U.S. ability to develop new technologies that improve U.S. standards of living
 - c. whether the relative decline of the United States' share of the world's GNP will affect U.S. dominance as a world power in the future
 - d. whether the United States is as structurally dominant over the global economy as Professor Strange argues
 14. Discuss what role the United States will play as a world power in the year 2025.
 15. Professor Susan Strange argues that structural power is more important than relational power. Explain what she means by this.
 16. Critically examine Strange's argument that the United States is structurally more powerful than all the other nations in the world in the following areas:
 - a. financial institutions
 - b. control over world knowledge
 - c. production of goods and services
 - d. military power (which the United States shares with Russia)
 17. If Professor Strange is correct in her analysis, then what should or could the United States do to avoid a future world depression? What limitations could stop the United States from developing a coherent policy? Critically discuss.

Answers

1.b 2.c 3.d 4.a 5.b 6.c 7.d 8.a 9.d 10.c

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