N	ar	ne
1.4	uı	110

_	- 4 -			
1.1	ate			



## TELESCOPING THE TIMES The Civil War

AT STAFF VOOR AT TOT HOLD WAS THE TOT AT A REPORT OF THE ASSAULT SHARE AS A STAFF AS A S

CHAPTER OVERVIEW For four bloody years, North and South struggle in the Civil War as the North tries to restore the Union and to end slavery. Finally, Northern advantages in population, industry, and resources ensure victory.

#### O The Civil War Begins

KEY IDEA Secession forces the North and the South to take up arms in a war that no one expects to last long.

The Confederate states seized federal property in the South. When Southern forces fired on Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, in April of 1861, war began. After Lincoln called for volunteers, Virginia and three other states joined the Confederacy. Four border states that included slaves stayed in the Union.

The Union had more people, more industry, more food, and more railroads and a skilled leader in Lincoln. The Confederacy had able military leaders and armies motivated by defending their homes. Southerners hoped to use the British demand for cotton to their advantage, too. But the Confederate government was weak.

The Union planned to blockade the South to prevent sale of cotton and the arrival of supplies. It also hoped to seize the Mississippi River to split the South and to capture Richmond.

In July, Northern and Southern troops met in the battle of Bull Run near Washington, D.C. A Confederate rally late in the day turned into a stunning victory as the Union troops retreated.

Northern forces achieved victories in the West. General Ulysses S. Grant captured two river forts and defended Shiloh, Tennessee. Admiral David Farragut captured New Orleans. But, in the East, General George McClellan failed to capture Richmond. His opponent, Robert E. Lee, then launched an invasion into Maryland in late 1862. The ensuing battle at Antietam was the largest single-day loss of life in American history. When McClellan did not pursue the retreating Confederate army, Lincoln fired him.

#### **9** The Politics of War

KEY IDEA President Lincoln Issues the Emancipation Proclamation making slavery the focus of the war, which affects U.S. domestic and international politics.

The South sought Great Britain's support. Lincoln was equally determined to prevent that support. He extended war aims to include the end to slavery. On January 1, 1863, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. While the document was not able to free slaves in Confederate areas, the action was symbolically important.

Many in the North were pleased by the proclamation. Free blacks liked the fact that they could now enlist in the army. Northern Democrats said it would prolong the war by angering the South. Southerners did indeed become more determined to fight to victory. The British, who did not wish to be seen supporting slavery, decided not to recognize the South.

Lincoln and Davis both suspended the right of habeas corpus, thus allowing police to arrest and hold dissenters without trial. Both sides also drafted people into the army. Northern workers who opposed the draft started several riots. The worst, in New York, lasted four days. Many African Americans were attacked and some were killed.

#### O Life During Wartime

KEY IDEA The turmoil of war creates social and economic changes as people struggle with death, destruction, inflation, and the impending end of slavery.

A frican Americans began joining the Northern Army; by war's end, they numbered about 10 percent of the North's soldiers. They suffered discrimination, but in 1864 Congress made their pay equal to that of white soldiers.

Slaves in the South resisted control. Some refused to work or destroyed property. Others ran away, seeking out Union armies. By 1864, the plantation system and slavery were doomed.

The Confederacy faced food shortages, and prices rose sharply. Some Southerners secretly sold cotton to the North to gain the cash to buy food. The war stimulated an economic boom in the North. Industrial production rose. Farmers in the West produced more food. Many women joined the workforce. Business owners made huge profits, sometimes by cheating the government.

Life for soldiers in both armies was difficult.



To help care for the soldiers' health, a group of Northern women and doctors created the Sanitary Commission. Commission members taught soldiers how to make camps more healthful. They recruited nurses to care for the sick and wounded. Many Southern women worked as nurses as well,

## O The North Takes Charge

KEY IDEA After a victory in the bloody battle at Gettysburg, Union forces wear down the South and Robert E. Lea surrenders to Grant at Appomattox.

fter two more victories, Robert E. Lee invaded Athe North again, At Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the North won a major victory, though both sides had heavy losses. In the West, Grant captured Vicksburg, Mississippi and the Mississippi River fell completely into Union hands.

In the fall of 1863, the government held a ceremony to dedicate a cemetery at Gettysburg. Lincoln delivered a short address that helped establish in people's minds that the United States was not a collection of states but a single nation.

Lincoln named Grant as commander of all Northern armies. Grant planned to fight Lee's army while General William Tecumseh Sherman, now in command in the West, invaded Georgia. The fighting between Grant and Lee was flerce, and the North lost tens of thousands of men. After Sherman captured Atlanta, his army began a march to the sea, living off the land and destroying much property in the South.

Lincoln faced the 1864 election challenged on two sides. Democrats nominated former General McClellan as a peace candidate. Radicals in the Republican Party charged Lincoln with not being hard enough on the South. Sherman's victory in Atlanta helped ensure the election for Lincoln, In the spring of 1865, the South collapsed. Lee surrendered his army, as did other commanders. The war was over.

# The Legacy of the War

KEY IDEA The Civil War settles long-standing issues of national sovereignty and slavery and sets the nation on the path to industrialization and racial equality.

The Civil War had profound political effects. It 1 ended the threat of states seceding from the Union. It also led to increased federal power.

The war produced major economic changes. The North instituted pro-business policies, including the creation of a new national banking system. Many industries thrived, and the economy of the North boomed. In the South, though, industry was destroyed, almost half the livestock died, and farmland was ruined. The South would remain poor for many decades.

The human cost of the war was huge. More than 600,000 soldiers died and more than 500,000 more had been wounded. The conflict also transformed the way future wars were fought. Rifled guns made shooting more accurate, and soldiers adopted trench warfare to protect themselves. New weapons—land mines, grenades, and ironclad warships—appeared.

The biggest change came for African Americans, since approval of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 ended slavery. Shortly after Lee's surrender, John Wilkes Booth, an actor who sympathized with the South, shot and killed Abraham Lincoln.

#### Review

- 1. How did the relative strengths of the North and the South contribute to a long war?
- 2. What political divisions existed within both the North and South?
- 3. What social changes took place in the North and the South during the war?
- 4. What late strategy led to the Northern victory?
- 5. Why is the Civil War a historic turning point?



# TELESCOPING THE TIMES Reconstruction and Its Effects

CHAPTER OVERVIEW As Congress enacts a policy of punishing the South for the Civil War, African Americans struggle to establish new lives. Eventually, the North tires of Reconstruction, and Southern whites regain control over the states.

#### O The Politics of Reconstruction

KEY IDEA Presidents Lincoln and Johnson face opposition to their Reconstruction plans. Congress wins control, and Radical Reconstruction begins.

Reconstruction refers to the period from 1865 to 1877, when the country rebuilt from war and the federal government determined how the Southern states were to reenter the Union. Lincoln wanted the Southern states to rejoin quickly. His plan readmitted a state once 10 percent of voters took an oath of allegiance. He also promised to pardon most former Confederates.

Four states applied for readmission under this plan, but Radical Republicans in Congress blocked them. They wanted to deny power to former slave owners and to give the right to vote to African Americans. They passed a more severe bill in 1864, but Lincoln vetoed it.

After Lincoln was killed, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee became president. His Reconstruction policy was also lenient. Among provisions, a state had to declare secession illegal and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. Many Southern states met these terms, and in December 1865, new Southern members of Congress arrived in Washington.

The Radicals—outraged because many of these members had served in the Confederate government or fought in its armies—refused to seat the new members. Congress passed a law extending the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been created to help former slaves adjust to a new life. It also passed a civil rights bill. This law made African Americans citizens and banned the black codes. The codes were new Southern laws that restricted African Americans' freedom.

Johnson, feeling the two bills made the federal government too powerful, vetoed both. Congress voted to override the veto. It also passed the Fourteenth Amendment, which confirmed African Americans citizenship and barred most former Confederate leaders from political office. Johnson,

thinking the bill too punishing, angered Congress again by urging Southern states not to approve the amendment.

In the 1866 congressional elections, Johnson campaigned against the Radicals. His harsh words angered many Northern voters, as did race riots in the South that left many African Americans dead. The freed slaves needed the federal government, many thought. The Radicals won an overwhelming victory, gaining enough seats to override any presidential veto.

In 1867, the new Congress passed the Reconstruction Act. It declared the reorganized state governments invalid, put the Southern states under military control, and called for new state constitutions. Those new state laws had to give African Americans the right to vote.

The next year, the conflict between president and Congress reached a head. The House of Representatives voted to impeach President Johnson. If the Senate found him guilty, he would be removed from office. After an eleven-week trial, the Senate did not find him guilty.

That fall, Ulysses S. Grant won the presidential election with overwhelming support from African American voters in the South. Congress then passed the Fifteenth Amendment, which outlawed the denial of voting rights due to race.

#### **O** Reconstructing Society

KEY IDEA After the war, the South faces the problem of rebuilding its economy. African Americans begin to exercise freedoms denied to them in slavery.

The Southern states wrote new constitutions, and by 1870 all were back in the Union under the Radicals' terms. The war had destroyed the population and economy of the region, however. The new state governments undertook ambitious rebuilding programs and instituted the first public school systems in many Southern states. They had to raise taxes and borrow money to fund these programs.



The Americans @ 1998 McDougal Littell Inc. All rights reserved.

Three groups made up the Republican party in the South. Scalawags—white Southerners who joined the party—were mostly former Unionists. Carpetbaggers were Northerners who moved South after the war to reform Southern society or to make a fortune. The third group was African Americans eager to vote. Most white Southerners disliked the new governments. They resented Northern attitudes and could not accept equality for African Americans.

African Americans worked hard to improve their lives. Many sought husbands or wives who had been sold elsewhere in the South. Once reunited, they married and raised their families. Thousands—of all ages—sought an education in newly established schools. Many joined churches and volunteer groups to better African American society. Some joined the new state governments, and more than a dozen served in the U.S. Congress.

Economic changes were harder to enact, however. Congress debated whether to break up the plantations and give land to the freed slaves, but most members were unwilling to overturn the right to property. Southern planters forced black workers to sign labor contracts, but neither white landowners nor black workers liked the system. African Americans thought the wages too low. Planters lacked the cash to pay workers.

They created two optional plans. In sharecropping, planters gave small plots of land to workers—black and white—in return for a share of the crop. In tenant farming, laborers rented land. Both systems faced a new reality of Southern agriculture: world demand for Southern cotton—and thus the price of cotton—had fallen.

# **10** The Collapse of Reconstruction

KEY IDEA Continued opposition to Radical Reconstruction in the South and economic problems in the North bring the Reconstruction process to an end.

Some white Southerners formed groups that tortured and murdered former slaves. The most famous of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan. Between 1868 and 1871, the Klan killed several thousand people—including whites who helped African Americans. Some Klan leaders tried to stop the violence, but it continued. In the mid-1870s, Klan violence prevented African Americans from voting and returned Democrats to power in several

Southern states. Congress took action with laws in 1870 and 1871 to try to suppress the Klan. Other laws, however, weakened the Republican Party in the South.

Meanwhile, the Grant administration was plagued by scandal. Though Grant never engaged in any corruption, some of his appointees did, including his first vice-president; private secretary; and the secretaries of war, navy, and interior. In 1872, the Republican Party splintered. Reformminded members chose newspaper editor Horace Greeley to run for president. Though the Democrats also backed Greeley, Grant won.

A financial panic in 1873 upset the country further. Many banks closed, and a depression followed. People argued about whether or not to stop using paper money. The debate took attention away from Reconstruction.

By the mid-1870s, Northern desire to maintain Reconstruction was low. At the same time, Supreme Court decisions had weakened the power of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Sentiment in the North grew to reconcile the two sections of the country. A disputed election then helped Democrats regain control of Southern state governments.

In the 1876 presidential election, Democrat Samuel J. Tilden finished one electoral vote short of victory. Congress appointed a commission to settle disputed electoral votes. The commission chose Republican Rutherford B. Hayes after Hayes made a deal with Southern Democrats to end Reconstruction. Upon taking office, Hayes pulled federal troops out of the South. Democrats, called Redeemers, now controlled every Southern state government.

Reconstruction had failed to secure equality for African Americans. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments remained part of the Constitution, however. In later years, they were used to protect African Americans' rights.

#### **Review**

- 1. What were Lincoln's and Johnson's plans for Reconstruction?
- 2. What groups were important in the South during Reconstruction?
- 3. How did African Americans change during Reconstruction?
- 4. What factors led to the end of Reconstruction?

## The Long Drive: Will You Re-Up Next Year?

The glory days of the American cowboy were like a shooting star – bright, fast-moving, and short-lived. They began at the end of the Civil War in 1865 and ended, in part, with the introduction of barbed-wire fencing, which closed down the open range in the late 1880s.

At the heart of these glory days was an event known as the long drive. During the Civil War, many cattle ranches in south and central Texas went untended. With the young men away at war, domesticated longhorn cattle drifted into brush country, joined wild cattle, and got down

to the business of making calves. By the end of the war, there were about five million longhorns, many unbranded and unclaimed. Texans returning from the war saw an opportunity. So, too, did a few thousand others - ex-soldiers from the South and North, exslaves, Mexican vaqueros, a few Englishmen, and some Native Americans. Ranchers with money hired brushpoppers who chased down the cattle and branded them. Herds were created and walked north to rail-

road towns in Kansas or to northern ranges for breeding and fattening. From the railroad towns, most cattle were shipped off to **packing houses** in Chicago, where they were slaughtered and butchered. Beef soon replaced pork as America's favorite meat dish.

To walk cattle from south Texas to Kansas or Wyoming generally took three to four months. A drive might have 2,000 longhorn cattle, ten cowboys, a wrangler to tend the horses, a cook, and a trail boss. The first day of the drive was usually a hard push. The cattle were

nervous about leaving familiar ground and were more likely to stray or be spooked into a stampede. After a day or two, the herd would settle and a rhythm could be established. At the head was a lead bull, often a veteran of earlier drives who, with guidance from the trail boss, marched slowly but dependably north. By 1870, the Chisholm and other trails had been walked by hundreds of thousands of cattle, and the paths were well-worn and easy to follow.

The end of the trail for many Texas cowboys was a Kansas **cow town** like Abilene, Ellsworth,

or Dodge City. There, the saloon business bustled and a number of painted ladies with names like Big Nose Kate and Squirrel Tooth Alice were ready to help celebrate an evening. Gunfights were few, but cautious trail bosses often allowed cowboys only a couple of hours in town to get a shower and a shave. Then it was back to the cows.

The documents in this Mini-Q give us a glimpse of the long-drive experience. It should be said at

the outset that the long drive did not become a regular event in the lives of most cowboys. For many, one trip was enough. Some found work on northern ranges and stayed there; others moved on to new adventures. In fact, only about a third of long-drive cowboys returned to Texas to do it all over again the next year. But this Mini-Q concerns you, a cowboy fresh from the trail. Examine the documents that follow and then answer the question: *The long drive: Will you re-up next year?* 



#### The Long Drive: Will You Re-Up Next Year?

The glory days of the American cowboy were like a shooting star — bright, fast-moving, and short-lived. They began at the end of the Civil War in 1865 and ended, in part, with the introduction of barbed-wire fencing, which closed down the open range in the late 1880s.

At the heart of these glory days was an event known as the long drive. During the Civil War, many cattle ranches in south and central Texas went untended. With the young men away at war, domesticated **longhorn cattle** drifted into brush country, joined wild cattle, and got down

to the business of making calves. By the end of the war, there were about five million longhorns, many unbranded and unclaimed. Texans returning from the war saw an opportunity. So, too, did a few thousand others - ex-soldiers from the South and North, exslaves, Mexican vaqueros, a few Englishmen, and some Native Americans. Ranchers with money hired brushpoppers who chased down the cattle and branded them. Herds were created and walked north to rail-

road towns in Kansas or to northern ranges for breeding and fattening. From the railroad towns, most cattle were shipped off to **packing houses** in Chicago, where they were slaughtered and butchered. Beef soon replaced pork as America's favorite meat dish.

To walk cattle from south Texas to Kansas or Wyoming generally took three to four months. A drive might have 2,000 longhorn cattle, ten cowboys, a wrangler to tend the horses, a cook, and a trail boss. The first day of the drive was usually a hard push. The cattle were

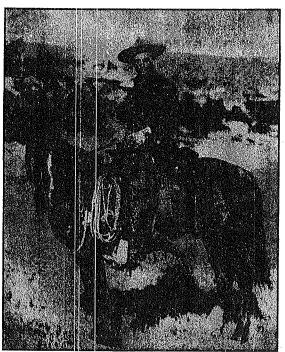
nervous about leaving familiar ground and were more likely to stray or be spooked into a stampede. After a day or two, the herd would settle and a rhythm could be established. At the head was a lead bull, often a veteran of earlier drives who, with guidance from the trail boss, marched slowly but dependably north. By 1870, the Chisholm and other trails had been walked by hundreds of thousands of cattle, and the paths were well-worn and easy to follow.

The end of the trail for many Texas cowboys was a Kansas cow town like Abilene, Ellsworth,

or Dodge City. There, the saloon business bustled and a number of painted ladies with names like Big Nose Kate and Squirrel Tooth Alice were ready to help celebrate an evening. Gunfights were few, but cautious trail bosses often allowed cowboys only a couple of hours in town to get a shower and a shave. Then it was back to the cows.

The documents in this Mini-Q give us a glimpse of the long-drive experience. It should be said at

the outset that the long drive did not become a regular event in the lives of most cowboys. For many, one trip was enough. Some found work on northern ranges and stayed there; others moved on to new adventures. In fact, only about a third of long-drive cowboys returned to Texas to do it all over again the next year. But this Mini-Q concerns you, a cowboy fresh from the trail. Examine the documents that follow and then answer the question: *The long drive: Will you re-up next year?* 



I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were but a measuring of ability; but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land when clad in the armor of a righteous cause is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. When this debate is concluded, a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration and also the resolution in condemnation of the administration. I shall object to bringing this question down to a level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal; and this has been a contest of principle.

-Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out as this issue has been by the voters themselves.

On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of a majority of the Democratic Party to control the position of the party on this paramount issue; concluding with the request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic Party should organize and take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic Party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly and courageously proclaiming their belief and declaring that if successful they would crystallize in a platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory, until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by the plain people of this country.

But in this contest, brother has been arrayed against brother, and father against son. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of freedom. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people.

We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York [Senator Hill], but we knew that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic Party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle; and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceded me [Governor Russell] spoke of the old state of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the state of Massachusetts.

But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest cities in the state of Massachusetts. When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your action. We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of a businessman. The man who is employed for wages is as much a businessman as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a businessman as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain. The miners who go 1,000 feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured in the channels of trade are as much businessmen as the few financial magnates who in a backroom corner the money of the world.

We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen. Ah. my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic Coast; but those hardy pioneers who braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near to nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their children and churches where they praise their Creator, and the cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this country.

It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came.

We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!

The gentleman from Wisconsin has said he fears a Robespierre. My friend, in this land of the free you need fear no tyrant who will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of aggregated wealth.

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which rest Democracy are as everlasting as the hills; but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen and we are attempting to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that is not a new idea. They criticize us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have made no criticism. We have simply called attention to what you know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinions of the Court. That will give you criticisms.

They say we passed an unconstitutional law. I deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one judge changed his mind; and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind.

The income tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said, you will find that he said that in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracies of Cataline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America.

We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin money and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than can the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation.

Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have a different opinion from the gentleman who has addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of the government and that the banks should go out of the governing business.

They complain about the plank which declares against the life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose in that plank is the life tenure that is being built up in Washington which establishes an office-holding class and excludes from participation in the benefits the humbler members of our society. . . .

Let me call attention to two or three great things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment providing that this change in our law shall not affect contracts which, according to the present laws, are made payable in gold. But if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed when he now insists that we must protect the creditor. He says he also wants to amend this platform so as to provide that if we fail to maintain the parity within a year that we will then suspend the coinage of silver. We reply that when we advocate a thing which we believe will be successful we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by trying to show what we will do if we are wrong.

I ask him, if he will apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says that he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why doesn't he tell us what he is going to do if they fail to secure an international agreement. There is more reason for him to do that than for us to expect to fail to maintain the parity. They have tried for thirty years—thirty years—to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who don't want it at all.

Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask us here why it is we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we did not embody all these things in our platform which we believe, we reply to them that when we have restored the money of the Constitution, all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of the country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platforms and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President; but they had good reasons for the suspicion, because there is scarcely a state here today asking for the gold standard that is not within the absolute control of the Republican Party.

But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it should be changed into bimetallism by an international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans; and everybody three months ago in the Republican Party prophesied his election. How is it today? Why, that man who used to boast that he looked like Napoleon, that man shudders today when he thinks that he was nominated on the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena.

Why this change? Ah, my friends. is not the change evident to anyone who will look at the matter? It is because no private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people the man who will either declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this people, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place legislative control in the hands of foreign potentates and powers. . . .

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue in this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. Why, if they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of a gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? If the gold standard, and I might call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention today and who tell you that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism and thereby declare that

the gold standard is wrong and that the principles of bimetallism are better—these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard and telling us that we could not legislate two metals together even with all the world.

I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let it go?

Here is the line of battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? So if they come to meet us on that, we can present the history of our nation. More than that, we can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed investments have.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between the idle holders of idle capital and the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country; and my friends, it is simply a question that we shall decide upon which side shall the Democratic Party fight. Upon the side of the idle holders of idle capital, or upon the side of the struggling masses? That is the question that the party must answer first; and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic Party, as described by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses, who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic Party.

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class that rests upon it.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

My friends, we shall declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth, and upon that issue we expect to carry every single state in the Union.

I shall not slander the fair state of Massachusetts nor the state of New York by saying that when citizens are confronted with the proposition, "Is this nation able to attend to its own business?"—I will not slander either one by saying that the people



of those states will declare our helpless impotency as a nation to attend to our own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but 3 million, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation upon earth. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to 70 million, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, it will never be the judgment of this people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good but we cannot have it till some nation helps us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States have.

If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of the nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

Source: Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention Held in Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, 1896, (Logansport, Indiana, 1896), 226–234. Reprinted in The Annals of America, Vol. 12, 1895–1904: Populism, Imperialism, and Reform (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1968), 100–105.



1

# CHAPTER TEST The Industrial Age

### Part 1: Key Ideas

•	Write th	ne letter of the best answer. (4 points each)
		<ol> <li>Which of the following most freed manufacturers from restrictions of where factories could be built?</li> <li>a. electricity</li> <li>b. steel beams</li> <li>c. the railroads</li> <li>d. the telephone</li> </ol>
		<ul><li>2. Pullman, Illinois, was an unusual town in that it</li><li>a. had one main industry.</li><li>b. specialized in a regional product.</li><li>c. owed its prosperity to the railroads.</li><li>d. was built by a company to house its workers.</li></ul>
		<ul> <li>3. The main purpose of the company known as Crédit Mobilier was to a. build the transcontinental railroad.</li> <li>b. steal railroad money for its shareholders.</li> <li>c. obtain a monopoly of the railroad industry.</li> <li>d. obtain powerful political positions for its shareholders.</li> </ul>
		<ul><li>4: The goal of the Interstate Commerce Act was to</li><li>a. build new railroads.</li><li>b. destroy the railroad industry.</li><li>c. lower excessive railroad rates.</li><li>d. increase the power of railroad companies.</li></ul>
		5. Andrew Carnegie gained control of a large percentage of the steel industry by doing all of the following except  a. buying out his suppliers.  b. buying out his competitors.  c. underselling his competitors.  d. cutting the quality of his products.
		6. Which of the following did Social Darwinism discourage?  a. hard work  b. industrialization  c. government regulation  d. the accumulation of wealth

\_\_\_\_ 20. George Westinghouse

\_\_\_ 21. Alexander Graham Bell

\_\_\_\_ 22. Mary Harris "Mother" Jones

23. William "Big Bill" Haywood

\_ 14. Eugene V. Debš

15. Samuel Gompers

16. Christopher Sholes

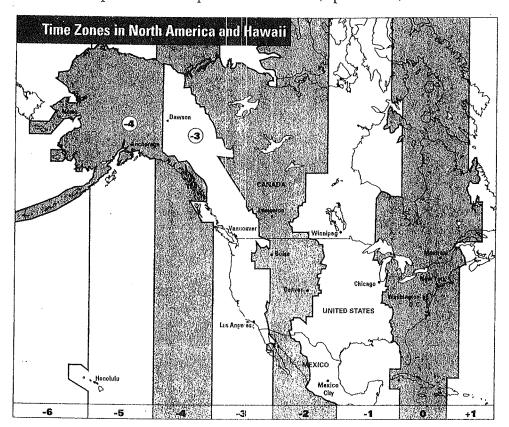
17. George M. Pullman

Name

The Americans © 1998 McDougal Littell Inc. All rights reserved.

#### Part 2: Map Skills

Use the map to answer the questions that follow. (3 points each)



Calculate times by subtracting the number of hours shown at the bottom of each zone or noted in a land area.

24,	now	many	ume	zones,	as see	n on th	ıs map,	does t	ne	United S	tates I	nave to	dayr .		 	
25.	Wher	n it's 6	:30 p.i	м. in N	lew Yo	rk City,	what i	s the ti	me	in Vanco	ouver?			<b></b>	 	

26. On this map, one time zone includes only one city. What is that city?

27. How many hours' time difference is there between Nome and Boise?

## Part 3: Critical Thinking

Answer the following questions on the back of this paper or on a separate sheet. (10 points each)

- 28. In a paragraph, note and explain the factors that encouraged the industrialization of the last half of the 19th century.
- 29. Do you think that the actions of the robber barons were more beneficial to the United States than they were harmful? Explain your opinion.