Chapter 20: Democracy and Empire, 1870–1900

Chapter Review

1. AMERICAN COMMUNITIES The Overthrow and Annexation of Hawai’i

On January 17, 1891, Lili’uokalani succeded her brother, King Kalakaua, to become the queen of Hawai’i. This allegiance—and her strong opposition to a movement to annex Hawai’i to the United States—brought her downfall. Within a year Hawai’ian sugar was entering the United States duty-free. After ascending to the throne, Queen Lili’uokalani struck back. Sanford B. Dole, Honolulu-born son of Protestant missionaries, stepped in as the president of the new provisional government of Hawai’i, now a protectorate of the United States.

 After investigating the situation, Cleveland agreed and ordered Lili’uokalani’s reinstatement as queen. “American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume,” declared Senator Albert J. Beveride, Republican from Indiana. While Queen Lili’uokalani was trying to regain control of her government, a mass political movement was forming in the United States to revive the nation’s own democratic impulse.

1. TOWARD A NATIONAL GOVERNING CLASS

A national governing class, barely in existence before the Civil War, began to take shape with the rise of industry, large cities, and a vast new immigrant population. Growing numbers of citizens for the first time looked toward government, from the local level upward, for public education, military veterans’ pensions, and other social services. The expansion of government at home laid the foundation for an expansion abroad. Far-sighted politicians sought to rein in corruption and to promote both efficiency and professionalism in the multiplying structures of government. Although from different and occasionally conflicting standpoints, control of markets and control of the government were linked and equally crucial.

a. The Growth of Government

Before the Civil War, local governments attended mainly to the promotion and regulation of trade and relied on private enterprise to supply vital services such as fire protection and water supplies. Cities gradually introduced professional police and firefighting forces and began to finance expanding school systems, public libraries, roads, and parks, an expansion requiring huge increases in local taxation. At the end of Reconstruction, various aspects of the federal government were trimmed at Congressional order, and the army was reduced to a fraction of its swollen size. Federal revenues also skyrocketed, from $257 million in 1878 to $567 million in 1900. The modern apparatus of departments, bureaus and cabinets took shape amid this upswing. Regulatory agencies sprung up, foremost the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). The ICC was created in 1887 to bring order to the growing patchwork of state laws concerning railroads. This set a precedent for future regulation of trade as well as for positive government, making rules for business while superseding state laws with federal power—that is, for the intervention of the federal government into the affairs of private enterprise.

b. The Machinery of Politics

Only gradually did Republicans and Democrats adapt to the demands of government expansion. Only 1 percent of the popular vote separated the presidential candidates in three of five elections between 1876 and 1892. With neither party sufficiently strong to govern effectively, Congress passed little legislation before 1890.

 One major political issue that separated the two parties was the tariff. Republicans, who represented mainly business interests, raised tariffs to new levels on a wide array of goods during the Civil War, and retained high tariffs as long as they held power. Despite the importance of the tariff in setting apart Republicans and Democrats, the two political parties operated essentially as state or local organizations.

 Partisans embraced the Democratic donkey or the Republican elephant as symbols of party fidelity. At the local level, where a combination of ethnicity, race, and religion determined party loyalty, powerful bosses and political machines dominated both parties. A large number of federal jobs, meanwhile, changed hands each time the presidency passed from one party to another. Upon taking office, President James Garfield encountered loyal Republicans “lying in wait” for him “like vultures for a wounded bison.”

c. The Spoils System and Civil Service Reform

As early as 1865, Republican representative Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island proposed a bill for civil service reform, but the majority in Congress, fearing that such a measure would hamper candidates in their relentless pursuit of votes, refused to pass reform legislation. Finally, a group comprising mainly professors, newspaper editors, lawyers, and ministers organized the Civil Service Reform Association and enlisted Ohio Democratic senator George H. Pendleton to sponsor reform legislation.

 In January 1883, a bipartisan congressional majority passed the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act. The commission established a system of standards for various federal jobs and instituted “open, competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for public service.” The Pendleton Act also barred political candidates from funding their campaigns by assessing a “tax” on the salaries of holders of party-sponsored government jobs.

 Although patronage did not disappear entirely, many departments of the federal government took on a professional character similar to that which doctors, lawyers, and scholars were imposing on their fields through regulatory societies such as the American Medical Association and the American Historical Association. With the Circuit Courts of Appeals Act of 1891, Congress granted the U.S. Supreme Court the right to review all cases at will.

1. FARMERS AND WORKERS ORGANIZE THEIR COMMUNITIES

Farmers and workers began to build regional as well as national organizations to oppose, as a Nebraska newspaper put it, “the wealthy and powerful classes who want the control of government to plunder the people.” By the 1890s, farmers and workers had formed a mass movement that presented the most significant challenge to the two-party system since the Civil War—Populism—and pledged themselves to restore the reins of government to “the hands of the people.”

a. The Grange

In 1867, white farmers in the Midwest formed the Patrons of Husbandry for their own “social, intellectual, and moral improvement.” Great Plains farmers barely survived the blizzards, grasshopper infestations, and droughts of the early 1870s. Grangers mounted their greatest assault on the railroad corporations. By bribing state legislators, railroads enjoyed a highly discriminatory rate policy, commonly charging farmers more to ship their crops short distances than over long hauls. In 1874, several Midwestern states responded to pressure and passed a series of so-called Granger laws establishing maximum shipping rates. Grangers also complained to their lawmakers about the price-fixing policies of grain wholesalers and operators of grain elevators. In 1873, the Illinois legislature passed a Warehouse Act establishing maximum rates for storing grains. In other states, Grangers ran banks as well as fraternal life and fire insurance companies.

 In the mid-1880s, the Supreme Court overturned most of the key legislation regulating railroads.

b. The Farmers’ Alliance

In the South, the falling price of cotton underscored the need for action, and farmers readily translated their anger into intense loyalty to the one organization pledged to improve their lot. With more than 500 chapters in Texas alone, and cooperative stores complemented by the cooperative merchandising of crops, the Southern Farmers’ Alliance became a viable alternative to the capitalist marketplace—if only temporarily.

 The Northern Farmers’ Alliance took shape in the Great Plains states, drawing upon larger organizations in Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and the Dakota Territory. Summer drought followed winter blizzards and ice storms, reducing wheat harvests by one-third on the plains. In 1889, the regional organizations joined forces to create the National Farmers’ Alliance and Industrial Union. Within a year the combined movement claimed 3 million white members. Grangers had pushed legislation that would limit the salaries of public officials, provide public school students with books at little or no cost, establish a program of teacher certification, and widen the admissions policies of the new state colleges. In comparison, the Farmers’ Alliance had few reservations about entering electoral races. By 1890, the alliances had won several local and state elections, gained control of the Nebraska legislature, and held the balance of power in Minnesota and South Dakota.

c. Workers Search for Power

While the Farmers’ Alliance put up candidates in the South and Plains states, workers launched labor parties in dozens of industrial towns and cities. In New York City, popular economist and land reformer Henry George, with the ardent support of the city’s Central Labor Council, the Knights of Labor, and the Irish community, put himself forward in 1886 as candidate for mayor on the United Labor Party ticket. Tammany Hall delivered many thousands of the ballots cast for George straight into the Hudson River. In the late 1880s, labor parties won seats on many city councils and state legislatures. The Milwaukee People’s Party elected the mayor, a state senator, six assemblymen, and one member of Congress. In smaller industrial towns where workers outnumbered the middle classes, labor parties did especially well. The victories of local labor parties caught the attention of farmers, who began to weigh their prospects for a political alliance with discontented urban workers. The new party made no headway against the two-party system, polling little more than 1 percent of the vote. Still, the successes in local communities nurtured hopes for a viable political alliance of the “producing classes,” rural as well as urban.

d. Women Build Alliances

Women activists helped build both the labor and agrarian protest movements while campaigning for their own rights as citizens.

 Women in both the Knights of Labor and the Farmers’ Alliance found their greatest leader in Frances E. Willard, the most famous woman of the nineteenth century and a shrew politician in her own right. From 1878 until her death in 1897, she presided over the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Most numerous in the Midwest, WCTU members preached total abstinence from the consumption of alcohol but ultimately endorsed Willard’s “do everything” agenda. By 1890, she had mobilized nearly 200,000 paid members into the largest organization of women in the world.

 Willard understood that for women to participate in politics they needed the right to vote. Under her leadership, the WCTU grew into the major force for woman suffrage, far surpassing the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association. By 1890, when the two rival suffrage associations merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WCTU had already pushed the heart of the suffrage campaign into the Great Plains states and the West. In Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, and especially Kansas, agitation for the right to vote provided a political bridge among women in the WCTU, Farmers’ Alliance, Knights of Labor, and various local suffrage societies.

e. Populism and the People’s Party

In December 1890, the Farmers’ Alliance called a meeting at Ocala, Florida, to press for the creation of a national third party. This was a risky proposition because the Southern Alliance hoped to capture control of the Democratic Party, whereas many farmers in the Plains states voted Republican. In some areas, however, the Farmers’ Alliance established its own parties, put up full slates of candidates for local elections, won majorities in state legislatures, and even sent a representative to Congress. The new People’s Party called for government ownership of railroads, banks, and telegraph lines, prohibition of large landholding companies, a graduated income tax, an eight-hour workday, and restriction of immigration. The most ambitious plan called for the national government to build local warehouses—“subtreasuries”—where farmers could store their crops until prices reached acceptable levels. However, a universal suffrage plank, drafted by Frances Willard who served on the platform committee, failed to pass. The People’s Party convened again in Omaha in July 1892 and nominated James Baird Weaver of Iowa for president and, to please the South, the Confederate veteran James G. Field from Virginia for vice president.

 The Populists, as supporters of the People’s Party styled themselves, quickly became a major factor in American politics. Although Democrat Grover Cleveland regained the presidency in 1892 (he had previously served from 1885 to 1889), Populists scored a string of local victories.

1. THE CRISIS OF THE 1890s

Populist Ignatius Donnelly wrote in the preface to his pessimistic novel *Caesar’s Column* (1891) that industrial society appears to be a “wretched failure” to “the great mass of mankind.” On the road to disaster rather than to a truly democratic community, “the rich, as a rule, hate the poor; and the poor are coming to hate the rich…society divides itself into two hostile camps…They wait only for the drum beat and the trumpet to summon them to armed conflict.”

 Many feared—while others hoped—that the entire political system would topple.

a. Financial Collapse and Depression

Other factors—tight credit, falling agricultural prices, a weak banking system, and overexpansion, especially in railroad construction—all helped to bring about the collapse of the U.S. economy. In May and June a crash in the stock market sent waves of panic splashing over business and financial institutions across the country. Agricultural prices meanwhile continued to plummet until they reached new lows. In many cities, unemployment rates reached 25 percent; Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), estimated nationwide unemployment at 3 million. Few people starved, but millions suffered. Unable to buy food, clothes, or household items, families learned to survive with the barest minimum.

 Populist Jacob Sechler Coxey decided to gather the masses of unemployed into a huge army and then to march to Washington, D.C. On Easter Sunday, 1894, Coxey left Massillon, Ohio, with several hundred followers. “Coxey’s Army” quickly disbanded, but not before voicing the public’s expectation of federal responsibility for the welfare of its citizens.

b. Strikes: Coeur d’Alene, Homestead, and Pullman

After the miners’ union refused to accept the cut, the owners locked out all union members and brought in strikebreakers by the trainload. The governor proclaimed martial law and dispatched a combined state-federal force of about 1,500 troops, who broke the strike. At Homestead, Pennsylvania, members of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the most powerful union of the AFL, had carved out an admirable position for themselves in the Carnegie Steel Company. In 1892, when the Amalgamated’s contract expired, Frick announced a drastic wage cut. Within a decade, every major steel company operated without union interference.

 The Pullman Palace Car Company deducted rent, library fees, and grocery bills from each worker’s weekly wages. Pullman workers found their champion in Eugene V. Debs, who had recently formed the American Railway Union (ARU) in order to bring railroad workers across the vast continent into one organization.

 This action soon turned into a sympathy strike by railroad workers across the country. Compared to the Uprising of 1877, the orderly Pullman strike at first produced little violence.

c. The Social Gospel

“Merely Christianity in action.” It inspired Edward Everett Hale’s *If Jesus Came to Boston* (1894), which similarly questioned social inequalities. Catholic clergy, doctrinally more inclined than Protestants to accept poverty as a natural condition, joined the social gospel movement in smaller numbers. Women guided the social gospel movement in their communities. Since the early part of the nineteenth century, middle-class women in northern cities had formed numerous voluntary associations to improve the conditions of the poor and destitute. In nearly every sizable city, groups of white women affiliated with various evangelical Protestant sects raised money to establish inexpensive residential hotels for working women, whose low wages rarely covered the price of safe, comfortable shelter. The Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) by 1900 had more than 600 local chapters. Meanwhile, Catholic lay women and nuns served the poor women of their faith, operating numerous schools, hospitals, and orphanages.

 Affiliated principally with the Baptist Church, African American women sponsored dozens of self-help programs and, in addition, emphasized the importance of education to racial uplift.

1. POLITICS OF REFORM, POLITICS OF ORDER

The presidential election of 1896, considered a turning point in American politics, marked both a dramatic realignment of voters and the centrality of economic issues. It also sanctioned the popular call for a stronger government, making the question of control vital to the nation’s voters as well as the composition of the electorate. Ultimately, the election of 1896 brought to national office politicians who perceived a clear link between domestic problems and the expansion of markets overseas and were willing to act aggressively to implement this vision.

a. The Free Silver Issue

Grover Cleveland owed his victory in 1892 over Republican incumbent Benjamin Harrison to the predictable votes of the Southern Democrats and to the unanticipated support of such Northern states as Illinois and Wisconsin, whose German-born voters turned against the increasingly nativist Republicans. But when the economy collapsed the following year, Cleveland and the Democrats who controlled Congress faced a public demanding action. Convinced that the economic crisis was “largely the result of financial policy…embodied in unwise laws,” the president called for a special session of Congress to reform the nation’s currency.

 For generations, reformers had advocated “soft” currency—that is, an increase in the money supply that would loosen credit. During the Civil War the federal government took decisive action, replacing state bank notes with a national paper currency popularly called “greenbacks” (from the color of the bills). The Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 directed the Treasury to increase the amount of currency coined from silver mined in the West and also permitted the U.S. government to print paper currency backed by silver. By exerting intense pressure on congressional Democrats, Cleveland succeeded in October 1893, but not without ruining his chances for renomination. The “Silver Democrats” of Cleveland’s own party vowed revenge and began to look to the Populists, mainly Westerners and farmers who favored “free silver”—that is, the unlimited coinage of silver.

b. Populism’s Last Campaigns

Populists had been buoyed by the 1894 elections, which delivered to their candidates nearly 1.5 million votes—a gain of 42 percent over their 1892 totals. A spellbinding orator, Bryan won a congressional seat in 1890. Noting the surging interest in free silver, Bryan became its champion. Pouring new life into his divided party, Bryan pushed Silver Democrats to the forefront.

 At the 1896 party convention, Bryan thrilled delegates with his evocation of agrarian ideals. The next day, Bryan carried the Democratic presidential nomination.

 The Populists realized that by nominating Bryan the Democrats had stolen their thunder. In the end, Populists nominated Bryan for president and one of their own, Georgian Tom Watson, for vice president. Most of the state Democratic Party organizations, however, refused to put the “fusion” ticket on the ballot, and Bryan and his Democratic running mate Arthur Sewall simply ignored the Populist campaign.

c. The Republican Triumph

After Cleveland’s blunders, Republicans anticipated an easy victory in 1896, but Bryan’s nomination, as party stalwart Mark Hanna warned, “changed everything.” Luckily, they had their own handsome, knowledgeable, courteous, and ruthless candidate, Civil War veteran William McKinley.

 The Republican campaign, in terms of sheer expense and skill of coordination, outdid all previous campaigns and established a precedent for future presidential elections. Delivering a hard-hitting negative campaign, they consistently cast Bryan as a nay-sayer.

 McKinley triumphed in the most important presidential election since Reconstruction. South. Moreover, the free silver campaign rebuffed traditionally Democratic urban voters who feared that soft money would bring higher prices. Many Catholics uncomfortable with Bryan’s Protestant moral piety also deserted the Democrats. McKinley’s triumph ended the popular challenge to the nation’s governing system.

d. Nativism and Jim Crow

“The supremacy of the white race of the South,” New South promoter Henry W. Grady declared in 1887, “must be maintained forever … because the white race is the superior race.” State after state in the South enacted new legislation to cover facilities such as restaurants, public transportation, and even drinking fountains. The United States Supreme Court upheld the new discriminatory legislation. In *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899), the Court allowed separate schools for blacks and whites, even where facilities for African American children did not exist.

 Racial violence escalated. After three local black businessmen were lynched in 1892, Wells vigorously denounced the outrage, blaming the white business competitors of the victims. The National Association of Colored Women, founded in 1896, took up the anti-lynching cause, and also fought to protect black women from sexual exploitation by white men.

 Few white reformers rallied to defend African Americans.

1. THE PATH TO IMPERIALISM

a. All the World’s a Fair

The World’s Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago, commemorated the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus’s landing and answered the Congress’s call for “an exhibition of the progress of civilization in the New World.” The section known as “The White City” celebrated the achievements of American business in the global economy. One of the most popular exhibits, attracting 20,000 people a day, featured a mock ocean liner built to scale by the International Navigation Company, where fair goers could imagine themselves as “tourists,” sailing in luxury to distant parts of the world. One enormous sideshow recreated Turkish bazaars and South Sea island huts. Very popular was the World Congress of Beauty, parading “40 Ladies from 40 Nations” dressed in native costume. By celebrating the brilliance of American industry and simultaneously presenting the “uncivilized” people of the world as a source of exotic entertainment, the planners of the fair delivered a powerful message. Former abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who attended the fair on “Colored People’s Day,” recognized it immediately. Wells boycotted the special day set aside for African Americans, while Douglass attended, using the occasion to deliver a speech upbraiding those white Americans for their racism.

 The exposition also gave material shape to prevalent ideas about the pre-eminence of American civilization as well as the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.

b. “Imperialism of Righteousness”

After the Civil War, the major evangelical Protestant denominations all sponsored missions directed at foreign lands.

 In all, some twenty-three American Protestant churches had established missions in China by the turn of the century, the majority staffed by women.

 Young Protestant women rushed to join foreign missionary societies. Since the early part of the nineteenth century, Protestant women had headed “cent” and “mite” societies, which gathered money to support overseas missionaries. By 1820, women were accompanying their minister husbands to distant parts to convert the “heathens” to Christianity. By 1900, the various Protestant denominations were supporting forty-one women’s missionary boards; several years later more than 3 million women had enrolled in societies to support this work, together surpassing in size all other women’s organizations in the United States. Women’s foreign missions ranged from India and Africa to Syria, the Pacific Islands, and nearby Latin America.

 Missionaries played an important role both in generating public interest in foreign lands and in preparing the way for American economic expansion. As Josiah Strong aptly put it, “Commerce follows the missionary.”

c. The Quest for Empire

Seward correctly predicted that foreign trade would play an increasingly important part in the American economy. Meanwhile, with European nations launched on their own imperialist missions in Asia and Africa, the United States increasingly viewed the Caribbean as an “American lake” and all of Latin America as a vast potential market for U.S. goods. Unlike European imperialists, powerful Americans dreamed of empire without large-scale permanent military occupation and costly colonial administration.

 Americans focused their expansionist plans on the Western Hemisphere, determined to dislodge the dominant power, Great Britain. Central and South America proved more accommodating to American designs (see Map 20.3).

 Bilateral treaties with Mexico, Colombia, the British West Indies, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic allowed American business to dominate local economies, importing their raw materials at low prices and flooding their local markets with goods manufactured in the United States. Often, American investors simply took over the principal industries of these small nations, undercutting national business classes. The Good Neighbor policy depended, Blaine knew, on peace and order in the Latin American states. If popular uprisings proved too much for local officials, the U.S. Navy would intervene and return American allies to power.

 For the United States to achieve global pre-eminence, he prescribed not only open markets but the control of colonies.

1. ONTO A GLOBAL STAGE

Influenced by Alfred Thayer Mahan, McKinley became an advocate of expansion as a means to make the United States first in international commerce and as a means to implement its humanitarian and democratic goals. In taking office, the new president specified: “We want no wars of conquest; we must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression.” Soon, however, McKinley found himself embroiled in a war with Spain that would establish the United States as a strong player in global imperialism. McKinley had to admit: “Isolation is no longer possible or desirable.” At the turn of the century, the United States had joined Europe and Japan in the quest for empire and claimed territories spread out across the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific.

a. A “Splendid Little War” in Cuba

After failing several times to buy the island outright, the United States settled for the continuation of the status quo and resolved to protect Spain’s sovereignty over Cuba against the encroachment of other powers, including Cuba itself.

 By July, the rebels declared Cuba a republic and established a rudimentary government.

 In the United States, the popular press whipped up support for the movement for Cuba Libre, circulating sensationalistic and even false stories of Spain’s atrocities against the insurgents. The impatient public, meanwhile, demanded revenge for the death of 266 American sailors.

 Finally, on April 11, McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war against Spain. On August 12, at a small ceremony in McKinley’s office marking Spain’s surrender, the United States secured Cuba’s independence from Spain, but not its own sovereignty. Under the Platt Amendment, sponsored by Republican senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut in 1901, Cuba was required to provide land for American bases; to devote national revenues to pay back debts to the United States; to sign no treaty that would be detrimental to American interests; and to acknowledge the right of the United States to intervene at any time to protect its interests in Cuba.

b. War in the Philippines

Shortly after Congress declared war on Spain, on May 4, the president dispatched 5,000 troops to occupy the Philippines. George Dewey, a Civil War veteran who commanded the American Asiatic Squadron, was ordered to “start offensive action.” Once the war ended, McKinley refused to sign the armistice unless Spain relinquished all claims to its Pacific islands. When Spain conceded, McKinley quickly drew up plans for colonial administration. The Filipino rebels, like the Cubans, at first welcomed American troops and fought with them against Spain. But when the Spanish-American War ended and they perceived that American troops were not preparing to leave, the rebels, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, turned against their former allies and attacked the American base of operations in Manila in February 1899. Predicting a brief skirmish, American commanders seriously underestimated the population’s capacity to endure great suffering for the sake of independence.

 On some of the Philippine islands, intermittent fighting lasted until 1935.

c. Critics of Empire

No mass movement formed to forestall U.S. expansion, but distinguished figures like Mark Twain, Andrew Carnegie, William Jennings Bryan, and Harvard philosopher William James voiced their opposition strongly. To protest military action in the Philippines, a small group of prominent Bostonians organized the Anti-Imperialist League. Morrison Swift, leader of the Coxey’s Army contingent from Massachusetts, formed a Filipino Liberation Society and sent antiwar materials to American troops. Others, such as Samuel Gompers, a league vice president, felt no sympathy for conquered peoples and simply wanted to prevent colonized nonwhites from immigrating into the United States and “inundating” American labor.

 Military leaders and staunch imperialists did not distinguish between racist and non-racist anti-imperialists. Newspaper editors accused universities of harboring antiwar professors, although college students as a group were enthusiastic supporters of the war.

 Within the press, which overwhelmingly supported the Spanish-American War, the voices of opposition appeared primarily in African American and labor papers. Untouched by the private tragedies of dead or wounded American soldiers and the mass destruction of civilian society in the Philippines, the vast majority could approve Theodore Roosevelt’s defense of armed conflict: “No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumphs of war.”

***Answer the following questions from Out of Many: Chapter 20:***

1. **The Growth of the Government:** How and why did governmental services develop and grow at all levels? What other federal bodies were founded or expanded at this time? What was the Interstate Commerce Commission and what was its significance in terms of governmental power? What was the result for the federal government’s power?

2. **The Spoils System and Civil Service Reform:** What was the spoils system and how extensive was it? What reform was proposed and enacted? What was the Pendleton Act and what effect did it have on patronage?

3. **Workers Search for Power:** What types of organizations did the workers develop? What were the Tompkins Square Riot and the “Great Uprising of 1877”? How did authorities react to each and what other general effects were there?

4. **Strikes and the Solidarity of Labor:** How united was the labor movement during the 1890s? What were the circumstances and outcome of the Homestead strike against the Carnegie Steel Company? In what way had the union defeated itself? What were the circumstances and outcome of the Pullman strike and how did Eugene V. Debs try to avoid the mistakes at Homestead? What did Debs go on to do in the late 1800s and early 1900s?

5. **Financial Collapse and the Depression:** What caused the financial collapse and resulting depression? What was the extent of the depression? What types of problems arose and what were the responses from government?

6. **The Election of 1896:** What was the problem for Populists in the 1896 election? Who was William Jennings Bryan and how did he fit in the free silver controversy and Populist ranks?

7. **The White Man’s Burden:** What was the notion of the white man’s burden?

8. **Foreign Missions:** How did foreign missions coincide with imperialism? What groups did the mission field appeal to? What successes did they have? What was meant by America’s three occupying forces: army, navy, and the “Y”? What overseas area was the most popular with missionaries and merchants alike? How did Josiah Strong express the connection of economics and religion?

9. **An Overseas Empire:** What areas did the United States acquire as empire? Who was William H. Seward and what was his role in empire building ideas? What areas did he actually acquire? How did the United States advocates of empire view the nations south and north of the United States? What actually happened? Who was Alfred Thayer Mahan and what argument did he present in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1873*? How did the U.S. annex Hawaii and what was the economic connection? How was Hawaii viewed in relation to the Pacific?

10. **A “Splendid Little War” in Cuba:** Who viewed the war as a “splendid little war?” Why did Americans want Cuba? How did Presidents Cleveland and McKinley react to the growing conflict? What events brought America into the war? What was the Senate vote on the war resolution? How was Cuba dealt with after the war?

11. **War in the Philippines:** How did the U.S. gain the Philippines? What was the policy of President McKinley? Why did the Filipino rebels turn against the U.S.? Why was the American action referred to as a modern guerrilla war? What was the outcome? What were the ideas expressed in Strong’s *Expansion*?

12. **Critics of Empire:** What individuals and groups made up the critics of empire? What were the contrary arguments of the anti-imperialists? What was the Anti-Imperialist League and what actions did they take? How did the two broad lines of dissent show themselves in the League? What views did the press have of the war? What was the public attitude?