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SFSU PLSI 200.11

Lecture notes for September 24, 2007

HOME PAGE for course: [http://educationanddemocracy.org/Emery/Emery\\_SFSU.html](http://educationanddemocracy.org/Emery/Emery_SFSU.html)

First – remember Bacon’s Rebellion – planters wish to prevent freedmen and slaves from ever joining together again (seeing that they have common interests) – so create racism to persuade white freedmen to identify their interests as the same as planters (whiteness) instead of owners versus workers.

Second – NY Times article – Barack Obama address Wall Street Executives – warns them that he will regulate credit agencies because of their role in the housing bubble. Middle dream = owning a house. Need to keep that dream alive!!! Need to keep middle class believing that their interests lie with Wall Street and not the working poor--- if middle class becomes too small (loses its critical mass) then the stability of the political system is threatened.

Third – Dahl is pessimistic about our ability to bring about more political equality. Yet, he does argue that greater political equality HAS come about in U.S. history the following way:

1. subordinate groups don’t buy into the dominant ideology as much as elites do
2. changes in conditions offer sub groups oppty to express grievances
3. sub leaders org sub groups with elite allies --- incremental change
4. incremental change over time – revolution

SO let’s look at this model in light of CONDITIONS CHANGING that lead to subordinate groups organizing.

Picking up where we left off in week 2 . . . . .

1775 -- LEXINGTON AND CONCORD

1776 – Declaration of Independence

1777– Articles of Confederation

**HOW TO PAY FOR WAR???? Up to each state as well as new US govt**

FOR EXAMPLE --- MASSACHUSETTS

State Leg M, B, issue bonds (with promised interest)

Soldiers paid with money raised and promise of land

## AFTER WAR – 1783

Government owes M, B, amount of bond plus interest -- (costs more INFLATION)

**1784 TAXES FARMERS** -- WHO CAN'T PAY without losing land (for which they fought)

- in WEST – barter system, not a lot of cash
- Post war depression, price of crops falls
- Farmers already in debt

**1785 Court forecloses on land to sell to pay taxes and debts**

**1786 Farmers rebel and close down courts SHAYS REBELLION**

Farmers meet to write up petition of grievances and remedies to present to state legislature -- want a more democratic state government

e.g. Boston mechanics in 1776:

- public galleries in legislative halls
- published roll call votes
- open meetings
- more equitable taxes
- price controls
- election of mechanics and laborers to govt positions

1768 petitions of redress in SC: eliminate “the unequal chances the poor and weak have in contentions with the rich and powerful.”

in PA 1776 : petition to state bill of rights “enormous proportion of property vested in a few individuals is dangerous to the rights . . . of mankind . . . every free state shall have the right to discourage possession of such property.”

1787 M, B, give money to government to raise army to quell Western rebellion, which they due by luck

**SCARES LEADERS OF REVOLUTION** -- who were meeting in Annapolis discussing the deficiencies of A of C in 1786

- ½ had loaned out money at interest during war
- 40 out of 50 held govt bonds
- manufacturers wanted **national protective tariff**
- land speculators wanted protection when stealing Indian land
- slave owners need national **fugitive slave act**

1787 Meet in Philadelphia -- creates new govt

- assumes state debts – gets local rich people to be loyal to national govt
- levies taxes to pay bondholders -- WHISKEY REBELLION 1794 – throughout west – tax on whiskey finally repealed 1803
- funded US bonds as face value (speculators had bought them up at fraction of cost)
- **tariff defeated -- passed later, and only opposed by south in 1824**
- national bank to loan money for large scale business and land enterprises (**loose v strict construction of constitution**)
- national army to enforce collection of taxes, put down internal rebellions
- negotiates for the purchase of louisiana territory (safety valve to get rebels to go west)
- Fugitive slave act of 1793 (PA v VA -- PA not abiding by Article IV, Section 2 -- fugitive slaves are to be returned), req all courts to assist in returning freed slaves – so vague in led to free blacks being kidnapped (1793 cotton gin)

Southern Plantation Owners and Northern Merchants and Bankers form a consensus over slavery as the engine driving the U.S. Economy.

Merchants carry slaves on their ships

Bankers invest in slave trade

Planters need strong central govt to protect slavery

M and B need strong central govt to enforce collection of taxes and protect slavery

BUT CONDITIONS CHANGE -- shift from agricultural to manufacturing economy makes itself felt politically by 1830's

Manufacturing developing in NE – manufacturers want protection from British competition (tariff) and want to control raw materials of South (south fueling british manufacturing – textiles with cotton – cotton gin 1793 makes cotton more profitable than tobacco, rice or lumber supplies

### **RIFT begins among elites over tariff**

Subordinate groups get organized!!!! and launch first major social movement in this country -- incremental steps over time = revolution!!!

- Public education
- Women's suffrage
- Abolitionists
- Universal manhood suffrage
- Peace
- Communitarianism/transcendentalism
- Temperance
- Mental health
- Prisoner's rights

**Elite Response to Social Movement** (which is a direct challenge to their control of force and money – only way to compete with power of force and money is people power)

- Mexican American War – dramatically increases western frontier – go west young man (safety valve)
- Create state boards of education to control/coopt public education with standardized curriculum that teaches people to identify their interests with those of the elite
- Negotiate compromises amongst themselves – 1820, 1850, dred scott decision
- Promote the first demagogic president – Andrew Jackson
  - I will kill the Bank, or it will kill me
  - Donkey – AJ proud to accept accusation of being illiterate (man of the people)
  - Takes on elitist Supreme Court – ignores SC decision re Cherokees and sends army to conduct Trail of Tears

**But neither social movements go away nor is the rift among elites healing**

Slavery seen as a threat to “free labor”

Free labor, free men can’t move west so easily anymore – the plains are tough to farm

**Republicans** adopt platform that attracts

Oppose extension of slavery to the west – so they aren’t competition for free men

Promise a homestead act - -help in moving west

**Democrats** increasingly the party of slaveholders – become entrenched and defensive and increasingly authoritarian (chivalry ideology – a clue!)

When South secedes, north not willing to let control of cotton stay in the hands of the southerners to benefit British rivals – so Civil War, which conveniently interrupts and undermines social movement.

**Conditions changed again in 1880s** – shift from manufacturing to industrial economy (and surprise, another social movement, picks up where the last one left off)