Chapter 18
Political and Cultural Conflict in a Decade of Depression and War: The 1890s

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 18, you should be able to:

1. Explain how the value of land changed in the United States.
2. Understand the tyranny of racial ideologies.
3. Detail the innovative role schools began to play in American society.
4. Discuss the rise of class conflict and the reasons behind the Populist revolt.
5. Analyze the factors that caused the rise and later fall of the Populists.
6. Explain the importance of women’s political activities.
7. Discuss cultural and commercial encounters with the exotic.
8. Comprehend the meaning of America’s “Great White Fleet.”
9. Explain the causes of the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War of 1898.
10. Detail the arguments employed by the critics of imperialism.

Time Line:

1887
U.S. got control over harbors at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii and Pogo Pogo, Samoa

1889
President Harrison opened unoccupied land in Oklahoma to white settlers

1890
Territory of Oklahoma established by Congress
Massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota
National-American Woman Suffrage Association formed
First Pan-American Conference held in Washington, D.C.

1891
Eleven Italians lynched in New Orleans

1892
Sierra Club founded by John Muir
First national convention of People’s, or Populist, Party held in Omaha, Nebraska
1893
Frederick Jackson Turner’s “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” published
Western Federation of Miners established in Butte, Montana
Hull House social workers successfully pushed for law protecting women and ending child labor

1894
Coxey’s Army marched on Washington, D.C.

1895
Cuban nationalists staged uprisings against the Spanish

1896
*Plessy v. Ferguson* opinion by Supreme Court approved racial segregation
William McKinley [Republican] defeated William Jennings Byran [Democrat] for president

1897
Arctic explorer Peary returned from Greenland with six Eskimos

1898
U.S. battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor
U.S. declared war on Spain
Hawaii annexed to the United States

1899
U.S. fought war against Filipino rebels [continued until 1901 with over 600,000 deaths]

**Chapter Overview**

Many Native Americans, like Luther Standing Bear, found themselves caught between two worlds. Luther Standing Bear learned the ways of the “long knives” and later worked as an actor in early movie “westerns.” Still, he spoke out against the treatment of his people and denounced the reservations as a “government prison.”

The last decade of the nineteenth century was a time of depression, civil strife, and war. A severe depression hit the nation in 1893, while the 1890s saw militant workers engage in bloody class warfare. Native-born whites began to look to new ideas of “racial” differences to justify distinctions between groups both at home and abroad.

A period of contrast, the 1890s saw both the celebration of progress in the Chicago World’s Fair and the brutal lynching of people of color at home, combined with a vicious war in Cuba and the Philippines.
Despite these events, a new political party, the Populists, attempted to bring together men and women of all backgrounds. Meanwhile, American elites used every device, from education to military force, to consolidate their own political power and cultural dominance.

I. Frontiers at Home, Lost and Found

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner, a historian, put forth the idea that the frontier had caused the United States to be different from other nations. Each new wave of immigrants was transformed by the struggle to tame the frontier into democratically minded individualists, he argued. With the frontier officially closed in 1890, the question arose whether the U.S.A. needed to conquer new lands and peoples to prevent the United States from becoming like Europe.

A. Claiming and Managing the Land

In the early 1890s, the last major piece of Indian land was thrown open to Euro-American settlers. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison opened the unoccupied lands of Oklahoma to white farmers. Congress passed the Territory of Oklahoma Act in 1890 and in 1893 allowed Euro-American occupation. In a single day in September 1893, 100,000 people rushed to claim 6.5 million acres.

At the same time, Congress began to manage western lands and resolve land disputes. The courts typically sided with Euro-American claimants against Hispanic settlers who had received titles from Mexico in previous generations. Pushed off their land, many Hispanic became dependent on white landowners for land and credit.

The federal government also helped shape rural life by providing information and services from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In addition, forecasts related to rainfall and temperatures were provided by the Weather Bureau, the Division of Road Inquiries studied road building, and the Division of Biological Survey classified species of plants that were disappearing under population pressures.

A dispute over whether the wilderness should be preserved or utilized commercially formed the basis for a wider debate between conservationists and preservationists. During this time, many citizens took to hiking and other forms of recreational tourism.

B. The Tyranny of Racial Ideologies

As America became more diverse, many opinion-makers claimed that people could be distinguished by their “natural” characteristics. They claimed that there existed racial groups such as “Caucasiod,” “Mongolid,” and “Negroid.” Racists began to rank groups as “superior” or “inferior” based on a complex hierarchy.
With people of color being colonized both here and abroad, theories of “racial difference” were used to justify the suppress of darker-skinned individuals. Racial ideology was promoted in countless areas of American life as scientists filled journals with “evidence” of the superiority of the “white race.”

In the South, notions of racial superiority meant that white Democrats imposed restrictions on the voting rights of African American men using a variety of techniques such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and “grandfather clauses.” In 1896, the Supreme Court approved segregated schools and public transportation in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.

Between 1882 and 1901, over a hundred persons, mainly black males, were lynched yearly in the U.S., while 1892 set a record with 230 such murders. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a black female newspaper editor, condemned racial killings and was ultimately forced to flee to the North. African Americans who were assertive or merely successful were attacked for being “out of their place.”

Racism was not just about being strictly black and white. Italians and Jews occupied a middle group with neither group being seen as completely “white.” A variety of organizations sought to enforce a strict racial hierarchy, such as the White League, which lynched Italian workers in New Orleans in 1891.

C. New Roles for Schools

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, three million immigrants came to the United States, the majority being from southern and eastern Europe. At this time, new patriotic rituals such as the pledge of allegiance were introduced into public life.

Despite claims that education was an equalizer among social groups, American schooling often served to separate children according to culture, religion, class, and race. Schooling was often tailor-made for certain groups; Hispanic students were taught both literacy and Protestantism, Native American children were told their cultures were worthless, and African Americans were educated for a clearly second-class form of citizenship.

Institutions were created or old ones modified to stress the trades and “domestic arts” rather than liberal arts subjects to people of color. Among African Americans, Booker T. Washington urged his people to concentrate on manual skills and refrain from civil rights agitation, while W.E.B. DuBois ridiculed the idea that blacks were fit only to be maids, carpenters, and sharecroppers.

Some immigrant groups sponsored their own schools to avoid the Protestant agenda that lay behind most public institutions. By the end of the century, Catholics were the single largest denomination in the country, with nine million members.
New educational forms reinforced class and cultural distinctions, as middle-class families would allow their children to continue longer in school and high schools became a logical extension of public education. The newly rich industrialists established new colleges to socialize young people of privilege; these included Stanford, established by railroad tycoon Leland Stanford, and the University of Chicago, set up by Standard Oil’s John D. Rockefeller.

College life became increasingly associated with personal development marked not only by study but also by group activities such as football. College football games became spectacles, drawing thousands of paying spectators, while the invention of basketball in 1891 furthered these developments.

D. Connections Between Consciousness and Behavior

Although the geographical frontier might be closed, Americans increasingly looked to the interior frontier of human will and imagination. The new field of psychology, pioneered by Vienna’s Sigmund Freud, was promoted by William James, a Harvard University professor. His brother Henry explored psychological themes of class, gender, and national identity in his short stories, plays, novels, and literary criticism.

Stephen Crane combined reality with a sensitive probing of human psychology in novels like the Red Badge of Courage (1894). Kate Chopin depicted gender roles within New Orleans Creole society. Along with psychologists and novelists, the Church of Christ, the Scientist prospered and expanded. Founded in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy, this group held that illness was a sign of sin and could be cured by faith and prayer.

II. The Search For Alliances

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Americans were divided from each other more than ever before. A few possessed amazing wealth and engaged in what sociologist Thorstein Veblen called “conspicuous consumption” to showcase their riches. At the same time, working people toiled long hours under dangerous conditions and suffered from frequent unemployment. Racism pitted different groups against each other.

Members of the elite placed their faith in public institutions, like schools, museums, and libraries, which combined with consumerism, to create “American” values in immigrants and the poor. The Populist Party had a major impact on the nation, while women helped fuse domestic issues with politics.
A. Class Conflict

Under President Harrison, a high tariff was placed on imported goods and the government committed itself to the purchase of millions of ounces of silver each month. This drove up the price of consumer goods while wages failed to keep pace. The result was widespread worker unrest. In 1892, Homestead, Pennsylvania workers reacted to a wage cut by Andrew Carnegie’s steel company by arming themselves and fighting a battle with 300 Pinkerton detectives. Before the workers’ ultimate defeat, ten people died.

Western miners encountered difficulties in forming labor unity, as Catholics were suspect to Protestants, the English and Irish distrusted each other, and Euro-Americans looked down on Mexicans and Chinese. An 1892 strike against wage cuts was defeated only after fifteen hundred government troops arrived and seven miners perished. Out of this conflict came a new organization in 1893, the Western Federation of Miners.

Discontent led to the defeat of President Harrison in 1892 and was also a factor in the role of the People’s Party, who polled over a million votes for their Presidential Candidate James B. Weaver. The first national Populist convention took place in the summer of 1892 and the new party was supported by numerous farmers who had watched themselves go deeper and deeper into debt. The Populists endorsed a platform calling for free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, a graduated income tax, government ownership of railroad, telegraph, and telephone companies as well as an end to land speculation. In addition, they called for direct election of Senators, public referenda on major policy issues, and giving voters the ability to recall elected officials they felt had failed in office.

In order to win urban workers to their mainly rural organization, the Populist included resolutions supporting labor and calling for the eight-hour day. The Populists gained further strength after a depression hit in 1893. The depression cost as many as 20 percent of workers their jobs as eight thousand businesses failed. One response was a 1894 march on Washington headed by Jacob S. Coxey, who led an “army” of five thousand to demand public work projects.

Eugene V. Debs, of the American Railroad Union, led a strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company that crippled railroads across the nation. President Cleveland dispatched federal troops to Chicago and broke the strike by force, resulting in Debs and other union leaders going to jail. To many workers, the crushing of the Pullman strike illustrated the unholy alliance between government and big business.

The courts also handed down decisions which suggested that government was conspiring with the rich against the poor. The Supreme Court ruled that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act did not apply to manufacturers and ruled unconstitutional a tiny federal income tax.
B. Rise and Demise of the Populists

In 1896, the Republicans nominated William McKinley for President, while the Democrats dumped the now unpopular Cleveland. Instead, the Democratic Party turned to William Jennings Bryan, a Populist from Nebraska. By nominating Bryan, the Democrats co-opted the Populist cause of free silver. While conservative Democrats refused to support Bryan, the Populist movement was split over working within a mainstream party.

In the 1896 election, McKinley was given millions by industrialists and was able to outspend Bryan sixteen to one. After the Republican triumph in the elections, the People’s Party rapidly fell apart. Still, the influence of the Populist movement was to have long-term effects. The Populist legacy was mixed with examples of both remarkable interracial coalitions and outright racism against African Americans.

C. Barriers to a U.S. Workers’ Political Movement

During the 1890s, European workers were forming their own political parties, often pushing bold socialist demands. In America, despite violent class struggle, no similar party emerged for a number of complex reasons.

Farmers and industrial workers found it difficult to work together. Immigrants meant competition for even low-paying jobs and employers manipulated racial, ethnic, and religious differences to divide their employees. In the last twenty years of the century, at least twenty-nine major strikes saw the use of African American strikebreakers. This only gave further excuses to unions to exclude certain groups from membership.

Many different types of jobs were transformed in different ways by new technology. This made alliances between workers in varied crafts all the more difficult. Some industries were fully mechanized while others still required skilled craft workers. Moreover, many American workers thought they would one day own their own business, while others moved around the nation, failing to make a commitment to a particular union or workplace. Private security agencies combined with government troops to use force against any labor action. Finally, the U.S. political system, with a “winner take all” practice and two-party monopoly, made it difficult for an independent labor voice to emerge. By way of contrast, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) succeeded because it based itself almost exclusively on a select membership of mainly skilled white men.

D. Challenges to Traditional Gender Roles

Women’s suffrage, club, missionary, and social-settlement movements became important political forces in the 1890s, although white women mainly refused to ally with women of color. The suffrage movement brought together women from throughout the nation and was involved in
international cooperation yet, to become “respectable,” white native-born Protestants distanced themselves from the poor, immigrants, African Americans and workers.

Some women entered politics through local women’s clubs. Originally stressing self-improvement, by the 1890s, many clubs lobbied local politicians and raised money for hospitals and playgrounds. Like the mainstream suffrage organizations, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs did not welcome African Americans. Black women formed their own clubs, which fought against lynching and segregation while working on community improvement.

In the West, Protestant “mission homes” helped women in need. The San Francisco Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home, for example, provided safety for Chinese women fleeing abuse. In addition, missions set up shelters for unwed mothers and abused girls. At times, religious belief allowed white women to overcome their prejudice and reach out to women of color, as some grew to believe that Christianity, not nationality, should shape identity.

Social settlement houses were founded by well-educated women. By the end of the century, more than two hundred social settlement houses were helping immigrants by giving classes in English, health, and personal hygiene. In 1893, women from Hull House lobbied the Illinois state legislature to protect females and prohibit child labor.

Although associated with urban areas, many settlement houses also reached into rural areas, such as the Hindman Settlement School in Kentucky. Since most early settlements refused to reach out to African Americans, black-led settlements were formed to help black families. Some women even challenged traditional gender relations, like the Russian-born anarchist Emma Goldman, who saw the sexual liberation of women and the rights of workers as intertwined. Charlotte Perkins Gilman was a well-known critic of the division of labor in the home. She proposed that housework be divided into specialized tasks to be performed by professionals, thus freeing women from this unpaid, mind-numbing role.

Men wondered about the effects of industrial society on their role, too. Some yearned to embrace the outdoors and prove their manliness in the process. Theodore Roosevelt argued that masculine bravado was the key to American strength. For the country to remain strong, men must take on the “strenuous life” of their grandfathers and throw themselves into imperialism at home and abroad.

III. American Imperialism

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, America’s industrial-manufacturing sector demanded new markets and a growing consumer base. Combined with the desire to spread the Protestant standard, this caused government and business to combine to extend political and cultural dominance abroad. The public was presented with this “Anglo-Saxon” mission of defined conquest in terms of race and masculine virility.
A. Cultural Encounters with the Exotic

In October 1897, Arctic explorer Robert Peary returned from Greenland with six Eskimos, including Qisuk and his seven-year old son Minik. The Eskimos were put on display and New Yorkers viewed them with great curiosity. Over the next year, four of the visitors from Greenland died, including Qisuk, while one returned home. Within a few years, the orphaned Minik was abandoned by the people who had once touted him as a great “scientific” discovery. Unable to adjust to Greenland when he returned as a young man, Minik returned to the United States in 1916 and died in the flu epidemic of 1918. Minik’s short life reveals aspects of Americans’ encounter with “exotic” peoples.

During the late nineteenth century, Americans showed keen interest in far-away places, particularly Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. They stereotyped darker-skinned peoples as primitive, sexual, and inscrutable. Photographers and artists traveled abroad to capture images of strange lands and peoples. These cultural images were used to sell products and entertainment.

B. Initial Imperialist Ventures

With both the opening of Asia to American trade and the military challenges posed by European imperial powers, the United States began to expand the Navy. In 1887, the U.S. gained control over Pearl Harbor in Hawaii as well as the harbor at Pago Pago in Samoa.

The first Pan-American Conference in Washington in 1890 adapted standardized weights and measures and discussed an intercontinental railroad. The United States threatened Great Britain when the former mother country attempted to maintain her influence in Latin America.

In the South Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands were an opportunity for American interests. Increasing production of sugar entered the U.S. duty-free from 1875 onwards, while immigrant workers -- Chinese, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Japanese, and Portuguese-- worked much like sharecroppers in the American South. When workers rejected regimentation, whether by drinking or celebrating holidays, clergy and growers became alarmed. When the tariff of 1890 raised duties on imports of sugar, (mainly American) planters began to panic. Receiving no support from the Queen of Hawaii, the planters, with the support of U.S. Marines, overthrew the native government and asked the United States to annex the islands. When President Cleveland refused, he incurred the anger of American imperialists.
C. The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War of 1898

In Cuba, Jose Marti led a rebellion against the Spanish in 1895. The arrival of Spanish military officials who brutally repressed the rebellion and herded rebels into barbed-wire concentration camps caused a great uproar in the United States. Both humanitarians and businessmen, although for different reasons, urged President McKinley to intervene.

Two newspaper publishers, William Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, boosted their companies’ circulations by highlighting Spanish atrocities against the Cubans. In 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was in Havana harbor to evacuate Americans if need be. It exploded, with two hundred and sixty American dead. Although subsequent investigations found that this explosion was caused by an internal accident, the Hearst papers blamed the Spanish. War sold papers.

Under pressure from American businesses, which feared for their Cuban interests, and other Americans outraged at Spanish brutality, President McKinley asked Congress to declare war on Spain. In the Pacific, Commodore George Dewey led the American Asiatic Squadron in a attack on the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. Dewey easily sank the ancient Spanish ships and, once reinforcements arrived, overran Manila with the help of Filipino nationalists. Meanwhile, the war gave a pretext for the annexation of Hawaii, which was said to be needed to secure a re-fueling station for Dewey’s troops.

In late June 1898, American troops, including a large number of African American soldiers, invaded Cuba. Although assigned to the Cuban campaign because it was thought that black soldiers would be better able to withstand the tropical heat, later accounts minimized or even ignored the vital contribution of African Americans during the war. By July, the Spanish fleet in Santiago Bay was destroyed. By August, Spain had been forced to surrender. Spain gave up Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam and the United States agreed to pay $20 million for the Philippines.

The Philippines was a huge prize to business interests as it was said to be the gateway to China and Protestants hoped to convert the Spanish-speaking Catholic population. Filipino rebels had no interest in substituting one colonial power for another. Over the next two years, the U.S. committed 100,000 troops to subdue the rebels. Before it was over, four thousand Americans and over 600,000 Filipino civilians were to die.

The United States promoted the so-called “Open Door” policy as concerned China, which said all nations should be free to trade with the great Asian nation. This was opposed by the European imperial powers who had already established themselves in China. The U.S. and European powers would compete for the Chinese market for many years to come.
D. Critics of Imperialism

Men as different as Mark Twain, Samuel Gompers of the AFL, and the industrialist Andrew Carnegie were part of the Anti-Imperialist League. Agreeing on little else save that imperialism was a bad idea, anti-imperialists ranged from some believing that all peoples had the right to run their own affairs to those who feared contamination from “inferior” peoples.

The United States had grown tremendously in size, population, and prosperity in the years from 1800 to 1900. Still, a generations-old conflict lingered between prosperity and equality for some groups and poverty and powerlessness for others. The drive for worldwide economic and political power was overshadowing America’s earlier revolutionary heritage and the values of democracy and self-determination.

Identification

Explain the significance of each of the following:

1. Frederick Jackson Turner:

2. Sierra Club:

3. “New Immigration”:

4. “grandfather clause”:

5. *Plessy v. Ferguson*:

6. Ida B. Wells-Barnett:

7. pledge of allegiance:

8. “Atlanta Compromise”:

9. W.E.B. DuBois:
10. William James:

11. Church of Christ, the Scientist:

12. “conspicuous consumption”:

13. People’s Party:

14. Homestead (1892):

15. Western Federation of Miners:

16. Coxey’s Army:

17. American Railroad Union:

18. Pullman Strike:

19. “Cross of Gold” speech:

20. American Federation of Labor (AFL):

21. Young Women’s Christian Association:

22. Hull House:

23. Charlotte Perkins Gilman:
24. “Great White Fleet”:

25. Queen Liliuokalani:

26. Jose Julian Marti:

27. “Yellow journalism”:

28. San Juan Hill:

29. “water cure”:

30. Anti-Imperialist League (1898):

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Frederick Jackson Turner’s “Frontier Thesis” held that the United States was
   A. identical to Europe in all important aspects.
   B. unique because of the contribution of African Americans.
   C. shaped by the process of settling the West.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

2. President Benjamin Harrison opened unoccupied lands in Oklahoma in 1889 to
   A. resettlement by members of the Five Civilized Tribes.
   B. white settlement.
   C. African Americans wishing to escape racism in the Southern states.
   D. Chinese immigrants who wished to become citizens.
   E. none of the above.
3. Racial ideology began to claim the world consisted of people who were either
   A. Mongoloid, Negroid or Caucasoid.
   B. white, black or green.
   C. Caucasoid, white or European.
   D. black or white.
   E. Christian, Jewish, or Moslem.

4. Which of the following was designed to prevent African American men from voting?
   A. poll tax
   B. literacy requirements
   C. “grandfather clauses”
   D. KKK terror
   E. all of the above

5. In the racial hierarchy of 1890s America, Italians and Jews occupied
   A. a middle ground between black and white.
   B. the position just below black businessmen.
   C. a position above most whites because of their skill in business.
   D. the same position as other whites.
   E. none of the above.

6. Public schools in the last decade of the nineteenth century were
   A. seen as a dangerous socialist experiment by the middle-class “Victorians.
   B. equally excellent throughout the nation.
   C. often unable to fulfill their promise as agents of equal opportunity.
   D. equally funded regardless of the race or class of the students.
   E. all of the above.

7. Harvard University Professor William James wrote
   A. *Daisy Miller* (1878).
   B. *Principles of Psychology* (1890).
   D. *The Deer Slayer* (1903).
   E. all of the above.

8. The Homestead Strike of 1892 showed that
   A. Andrew Carnegie was a great supporter of labor.
   B. some workers refused to accept pay cuts amidst rising profits.
   C. force was never applied against strikers in the United States.
   D. only unskilled, immigrant workers complain about their pay.
   E. all of the above.
9. The Populist Party Platform of 1892 called for
A. government ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones.
B. free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold.
C. a graduated income tax.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

10. William Jennings Byran in his “Cross of Gold” speech argued
A. Native Americans must be given the same rights as all Americans.
B. Americans must abandon religion as a roadblock to science.
C. the U.S. must abandon the gold standard once and for all.
D. in favor of the tariff bill of 1890.
E. America must expand her overseas Naval fleet.

11. White native-born Protestant suffragists
A. implicitly left out immigrant and poor women from their movement.
B. refused to admit black women’s suffrage clubs into their organization.
C. called for an “educated franchise.”
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

12. Emma Goldman, a Russian immigrant and self-proclaimed anarchist,
A. paired the sexual liberation of women with the rights of workers.
B. supported Theodore Roosevelt in the Presidential election of 1912.
C. later became a born-again Christian.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

13. Which of the following was NOT a cause of American imperialism?
A. surpluses of goods that Americans could not buy
B. demand for new markets
C. need to contain Communism abroad
D. desire to spread Protestant standards to other peoples
E. fear of Islamic extremism

14. “Yellow journalism” refers to
A. Chinese newspapers, particularly in San Francisco.
B. sensational news reporting that blurred the line between fact and fiction.
C. radio reporting on the Spanish-American War.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.
15. Critics of Theodore Roosevelt, particularly anti-imperialists, called him
A. “clearly insane.”
B. a “madman.”
C. “that damned cowboy.”
D. “insanest upon war.”
E. all of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 18.4 — COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS BY STATE, what conclusions can you draw about the cultural and political differences between various regions of the nation?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Compare and contrast the American system of education of the late nineteenth century with the one existing today. What has changed? What has not? Why?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Explain what you think the testimony of Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes tells us about the attitudes of Americans as concerns people of color.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. B
3. A
4. E
5. A
6. C
7. B
8. B
9. D
10. C
11. D
12. A
13. C
14. B
15. E