

A western state, Wyoming, was the first to grant full suffrage to women, in 1869. By 1900, some states allowed women to vote in local elections, and most allowed women to own and control property after marriage.

Temperance Movement Another cause that attracted the attention of urban reformers was temperance. Excessive drinking of alcohol by male factory workers was one cause of poverty for immigrant and working-class families. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was formed in 1874. Advocating total abstinence from alcohol, the WCTU, under the leadership of Frances E. Willard of Evanston, Illinois, had 500,000 members by 1898. The Antisaloon League, founded in 1893, became a powerful political force and by 1916 had persuaded 21 states to close down all saloons and bars. Unwilling to wait for the laws to change, Carry A. Nation of Kansas created a sensation by raiding saloons and smashing barrels of beer with a hatchet.

Urban Reforms Across the country, grassroots efforts arose to combat corruption in city governments. In New York, a reformer named Theodore Roosevelt tried to clean up the New York City Police Department. As a result of his efforts, he became a vice-presidential nominee in 1896, and later the president. However, many of the reformers of the Gilded Age would not see their efforts reach fruition or have a national impact until the early 20th century.

Intellectual and Cultural Movements

The change from an agricultural to an industrial economy and from rural to urban living profoundly affected all areas of American life, including education, sciences, literature, arts, and popular entertainment.

Changes in Education

The growing complexity of life, along with reactions to Darwin's theory of evolution, raised challenging questions about what schools should teach.

Public Schools Elementary schools after 1865 continued to teach the 3 R's (reading, writing, arithmetic) and the traditional values promoted in the standard texts, McGuffey's readers. New compulsory education laws that required children to attend school, however, dramatically increased the number students enrolled. As a result, the literacy rate rose to 90 percent of the population by 1900. The practice of sending children to kindergarten (a concept borrowed from Germany) became popular and reflected the growing interest in early-childhood education in the United States.

Perhaps even more significant than lower-grade schools was the growing support for tax-supported public high schools. At first these schools followed the college preparatory curriculum of private academies, but soon the public high schools became more comprehensive. They began to provide vocational and citizenship education for a changing urban society.

Higher Education The number of U.S. colleges increased in the late 1800s largely as a result of: (1) land-grant colleges established under the federal Morrill acts of 1862 and 1890, (2) universities founded by wealthy philanthropists—the University of Chicago by John D. Rockefeller, for

example, and (3) the founding of new colleges for women, such as Smith, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke. By 1900, 71 percent of the colleges admitted women, who represented more than one-third of the attending students.

The college curriculum also changed greatly in the late 19th century. Soon after becoming president of Harvard in 1869, Charles W. Eliot reduced the number of required courses and introduced electives (courses chosen by students) to accommodate the teaching of modern languages and the sciences: physics, chemistry, biology, and geology. Johns Hopkins University was founded in Baltimore in 1876 as the first American institution to specialize in advanced graduate studies. Following the model of German universities, Johns Hopkins emphasized research and free inquiry. As a result of such innovations in curriculum, the United States produced its first generation of scholars who could compete with the intellectual achievements of Europeans. As the curriculum was changing, colleges added social activities, fraternities, and intercollegiate sports, additions that soon dominated the college experience for many students.

Social Sciences The application of the scientific method and the theory of evolution to human affairs revolutionized the study of human society in the late 19th century. New fields, known as the social sciences, emerged, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science. Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins attacked laissez-faire economic thought as dogmatic and outdated and used economics to study labor unions, trusts, and other existing economic institutions not only to understand them but also to suggest remedies for economic problems of the day. Evolutionary theory influenced leading sociologists (Lester F. Ward), political scientists (Woodrow Wilson), and historians (Frederick Jackson Turner) to study the dynamic process of actual human behavior instead of logical abstractions.

One social scientist who used new statistical methods to study crime in urban neighborhoods was W. E. B. Du Bois. The first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard, Du Bois was the leading black intellectual of the era. He advocated for equality for blacks, integrated schools, and equal access to higher education for the “talented tenth” of African Americans.

The Professions Scientific theory and methodology also influenced the work of doctors, educators, social workers, and lawyers. Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. argued that the law should evolve with the times in response to changing needs and not remain restricted by legal precedents and judicial decisions of the past. Clarence Darrow, a famous lawyer, argued that criminal behavior could be caused by a person’s environment of poverty, neglect, and abuse. These changes in the professions, along with changes in the universities, would provide a boost to progressive legislation and liberal reform in the 20th century.

Literature and the Arts

American writers and artists responded in diverse ways to industrialization and urban problems. In general, the work of the best-known innovators of the era reflected a new realism and an attempt to express an authentic American style.

Realism and Naturalism Many of the popular works of literature of the post-Civil War years were romantic novels that depicted ideal heroes and heroines. Breaking with this genteel literary tradition were regionalist writers such as Bret Harte, who depicted life in the rough mining camps of the West. Mark Twain (the pen name for Samuel L. Clemens) became the first great realist author. His classic work, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), revealed the greed, violence, and racism in American society.

A younger generation of authors who emerged in the 1890s became known for their naturalism, which focused on how emotions and experience shaped human experience. In his naturalistic novel *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), Stephen Crane told how a brutal urban environment could destroy the lives of young people. Crane also wrote the popular *Red Badge of Courage* about fear and human nature on the Civil War battlefield before dying himself of tuberculosis at only 29. Jack London, a young California writer and adventurer, portrayed the conflict between nature and civilization in novels such as *The Call of the Wild* (1903). A naturalistic book that caused a sensation and shocked the moral sensibilities of the time was Theodore Dreiser's novel about a poor working girl in Chicago, *Sister Carrie* (1900).

Painting Some American painters responded to the new emphasis on realism, while others continued to cater to the popular taste for romantic subjects. Winslow Homer, the foremost American painter of seascapes and watercolors, often rendered scenes of nature in a matter-of-fact way. Thomas Eakins's realism included paintings of surgical scenes and the everyday lives of working-class men and women. He also used the new technology of serial-action photographs to study human anatomy and paint it more realistically.



Source: George Bellows, *Cliff Dwellers*, 1913. Oil on Canvas. Los Angeles County Museum of Art

James McNeill Whistler was born in Massachusetts but spent most of his life in Paris and London. His most famous painting, *Arrangement in Grey and Black* (popularly known as “Whistler’s Mother”), hangs in the Louvre. This study of color, rather than subject matter, influenced the development of modern art. A distinguished portrait painter, Mary Cassatt, also spent much of her life in France where she learned the techniques of impressionism, especially in her use of pastel colors. As the 19th century ended, a group of social realists, such as George Bellows, of the “Ashcan School” painted scenes of everyday life in poor urban neighborhoods. Upsetting to realists and romanticists alike were the abstract, nonrepresentational paintings exhibited in the Armory Show in New York City in 1913. Art of this kind would be rejected by most Americans until the 1950s when it finally achieved respect among collectors of fine art.

Architecture In the 1870s, Henry Hobson Richardson changed the direction of American architecture. While earlier architects found inspiration in classical Greek and Roman styles, his designs were often based on the medieval Romanesque style of massive stone walls and rounded arches. Richardson gave a gravity and stateliness to functional commercial buildings. Louis Sullivan of Chicago went a step further by rejecting historical styles in his quest for a suitable style for the tall, steel-framed office buildings of the 1880s and 1890s. Sullivan’s buildings achieved a much-admired aesthetic unity, in which the form of a building flowed from its function—a hallmark of the Chicago School of architecture. Frank Lloyd Wright, an employee of Sullivan’s in the 1890s, developed an “organic” style of architecture that was in harmony with its natural surroundings. Wright’s vision is exemplified in the long, horizontal lines of his prairie-style houses. Wright became the most famous American architect of the 20th century. Some architects, such as Daniel H. Burnham,



Frank Lloyd Wright, Robie House, Chicago, 1909. Library of Congress

who revived classical Greek and Roman architecture in his designs for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, continued to explore historical styles.

One of the most influential urbanists, Frederick Law Olmsted specialized in the planning of city parks and scenic boulevards, including Central Park in New York City and the grounds of the U.S. Capitol in Washington. As the originator of landscape architecture, Olmsted not only designed parks, parkways, campuses, and suburbs but also established the basis for later urban landscaping.

Music With the growth of cities came increasing demand for musical performances appealing to a variety of tastes. By 1900, most large cities had either an orchestra, an opera house, or both. In smaller towns, outdoor bandstands were the setting for the playing of popular marches by John Philip Sousa.

Among the greatest innovators of the era were African Americans in New Orleans. Jelly Roll Morton and Buddy Bolden expanded the audience for jazz, a musical form that combined African rhythms with European instruments, and mixed improvisation with a structured format. The remarkable black composer and performer Scott Joplin sold nearly a million copies of sheet music of his "Maple Leaf Rag" (1899). Also from the South came blues music that expressed the pain of the black experience. Jazz, ragtime, and blues music gained popularity during the early 20th century as New Orleans performers headed north into the urban centers of Memphis, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago.

Popular Culture

Entertaining the urban masses became big business in the late 19th century. People wanted amusements as respites from their work.

Popular Press Mass-circulation newspapers had been around since the 1830s, but the first newspaper to exceed a million in circulation was Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. Pulitzer filled his daily paper with both sensational stories of crimes and disasters and crusading feature stories about political and economic corruption. Another New York publisher, William Randolph Hearst, pushed scandal and sensationalism to new heights (or lows).

Mass-circulation magazines also became numerous in the 1880s. Advertising revenues and new printing technologies made it possible for the *Ladies' Home Journal* and similar magazines to sell for as little as 10 cents a copy.

Amusements In addition to urbanization, other factors also promoted the growth of leisure-time activities: (1) a gradual reduction in the hours people worked, (2) improved transportation, (3) promotional billboards and advertising, and (4) the decline of restrictive Puritan and Victorian values that discouraged "wasting" time on play. Based on numbers alone, the most popular form of recreation in the late 19th century, despite the temperance movement, was drinking and talking at the corner saloon. Theaters that presented comedies and dramas flourished in most large cities, but vaudeville with its variety of acts drew the largest audiences. The national rail network encouraged traveling circuses such as Barnum and Bailey and the Ringling Brothers to create circus

trains that moved a huge number of acts and animals from town to town, as the “Greatest Show on Earth.” Also immensely popular was the Wild West show brought to urban audiences by William F. Cody (“Buffalo Bill”) and headlining such personalities as Sitting Bull and the markswoman Annie Oakley.

Commuter streetcar and railroad companies also promoted weekend recreation in order to keep their cars running on Sundays and holidays. They created parks in the countryside near the end of the line so that urban families could enjoy picnics and outdoor recreation.

Spectator Sports Professional spectator sports originated in the late 19th century. Boxing attracted male spectators from all classes, and champions such as John L. Sullivan became national heroes. Baseball, while it recalled a rural past of green fields and fences, was very much an urban game that demanded the teamwork needed for an industrial age. Owners organized teams into leagues, much as trusts of the day were organized. In 1909, when President William Howard Taft started the tradition of the president throwing out the first ball of the season, baseball was the national pastime. However, Jim Crow laws and customs prevented blacks from playing on all-white big-league baseball teams between the 1890s and 1947.

Football developed primarily as a college activity, with the first game played by two New Jersey colleges, Rutgers and Princeton, in 1869. In the 1920s professional football teams and leagues were organized. Basketball was invented in 1891 at Springfield College, in Massachusetts. Within a few years, high schools and colleges across the nation had teams. The first professional basketball league was organized in 1898.

American spectator sports were played and attended by men. They were part of a “bachelor subculture” for single men in their twenties and thirties, whose lives centered around saloons, horse races, and pool halls. It took years for some spectator sports, such as boxing and football, to gain middle-class respectability.

Amateur Sports The value of sports as healthy exercise for the body gained acceptance by the middle and upper classes in the late 19th century. Women were considered unfit for most competitive sports, but they engaged in such recreational activities as croquet and bicycling. Sports such as golf and tennis grew, but mostly among the prosperous members of athletic clubs. The very rich pursued expensive sports of polo and yachting. Clubs generally discriminated against Jews, Catholics, and African Americans.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: MELTING POT OR CULTURAL DIVERSITY?

To what extent did immigrants give up their heritage to become Americanized, or fully assimilated into the existing culture? The prevailing view in the 19th and early 20th centuries was that the United States was a melting pot, in which immigrant groups quickly shed old-world characteristics in order to become successful citizens of their adopted country. This view was expressed as early as 1782 by a naturalized Frenchman, J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur. In his *Letters From an American Farmer*, Crèvecoeur described how the American experience “melted” European immigrants “into a new race of men.” The term “melting pot” became firmly associated with immigration in a popular play by that name: Israel Zangwill’s *The Melting Pot* (1908). One line of this drama described “how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them [immigrants] with purging flames!”

In recent decades, the melting pot concept has come under intense scrutiny and challenge by modern historians. Carl N. Degler, for example, has argued that a more accurate metaphor would be the salad bowl, in which each ingredient (ethnic culture) remains intact. To support this view, Degler points to the diversity of religions in the United States. Neither immigrants nor their descendants gave up their religions for the Protestantism of the American majority.

In his groundbreaking study of immigration, *The Uprooted* (1952), Oscar Handlin observed that newcomers to a strange land often became alienated from both their native culture and the culture of their new country. According to Handlin, first-generation immigrants remained alienated and did not lose their cultural identity in the melting pot. Only the immigrants’ children and children’s children became fully assimilated into mainstream culture.

Many historians agree with Handlin that, after two or three generations, the melting pot, or assimilation, process reduced the cultural differences among most ethnic groups. However, certain groups have had a different experience. Historian Richard C. Wade has observed that African Americans who migrated to northern cities faced the special problem of racism, which has created seemingly permanent ghettos with “a growingly alienated and embittered group.”

Historians remain divided in their analysis of the melting pot. Those who accept the concept see people of diverse ethnic backgrounds coming together to build a common culture. Others see American urban history characterized by intergroup hostility, alienation, crime, and corruption. The questions about past immigration shape current views of ethnic tensions in contemporary society. Is there a process, common to all groups, in which initial prejudice against the most recent immigrants fades after two or three generations? Is the cultural diversity in U.S. society today a permanent condition—or just unmelted bits of foreign ways that will someday fuse into a homogeneous culture?

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Immigration (MIG, POL)

causes of immigration
old immigrants
new Immigrants
Statue of Liberty
Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882
Immigration Act of 1882
Contract Labor Act of 1885
American Protective Association
Ellis Island 1892
melting pot vs. cultural diversity

City Growth (MIG, POL)

causes of migration
streetcar cities
steel-framed buildings
tenements, poverty
ethnic neighborhoods
residential suburbs
politic machines, "boss"
Tammany Hall
urban reformers
"City Beautiful" movement

Reformers (CUL)

Henry George
Edward Bellamy
Jane Addams
settlement houses
Social Gospel
Walter Rauschenbusch
Cardinal Gibbons

Dwight Moody
Salvation Army
family size, divorce
Susan B. Anthony, NAWSA
Francis Willard, WCTU
Antisaloon League
Carrie Nation

Education (CUL)

kindergarten
public high school
college elective system
Johns Hopkins University

Professions (CUL)

new social sciences
Richard T. Ely
Oliver Wendell Holmes
Clarence Darrow
W.E.B. Du Bois

Arts and Writing (CUL)

realism, naturalism
Mark Twain
Stephen Crane
Jack London
Theodore Dreiser
Winslow Homer
Thomas Eakins
Impressionism
James Whistler
Mary Cassatt
Ashcan School
Armory Show
abstract art

Architecture (CUL)

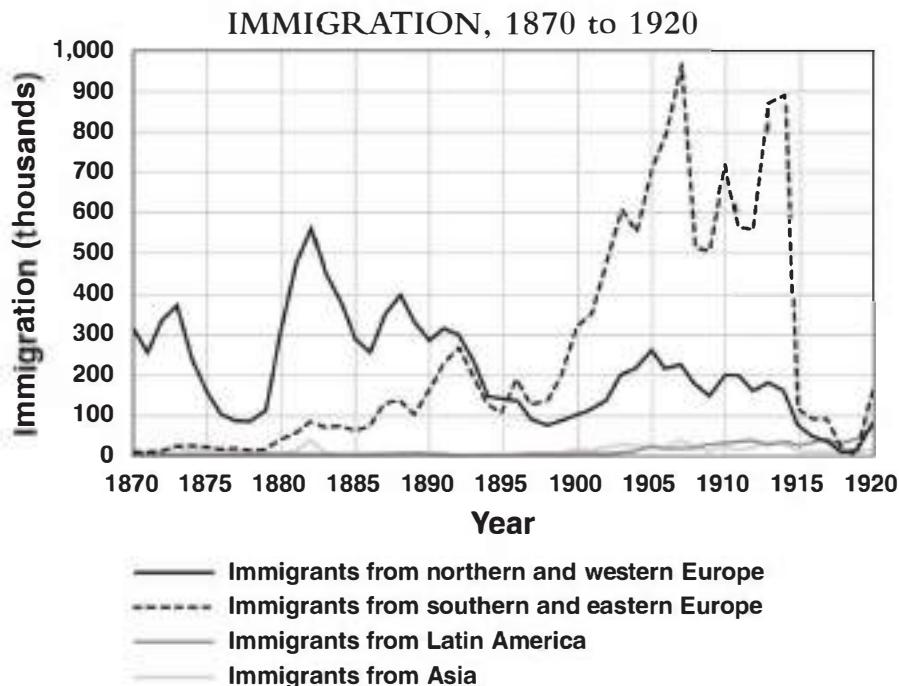
Henry Hobson Richardson
Romanesque style
Louis Sullivan
"form follows function"
Frank Lloyd Wright
organic architecture
Frederick Law Olmsted
landscape architecture

Popular Culture (CUL)

growth of leisure time
John Philip Sousa
jazz, blues, ragtime
Jelly Roll Morton
Scott Joplin
mass circulation newspapers
Joseph Pulitzer
William Randolph Hearst
Ladies' Home Journal
circus trains
Barnum & Bailey
"Greatest Show on Earth"
"Buffalo Bill" Wild West Show
spectator sports, boxing, baseball
amateur sports, bicycling, tennis
social class and discrimination
country clubs, golf, polo, yachts
corner saloon, pool halls

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Questions 1–2 refer to the graph below.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

1. In the chart above, the “new immigrants” include those who arrived in the United States from
 - (A) northern and western Europe
 - (B) southern and eastern Europe
 - (C) Latin America
 - (D) Asia
2. Which of the following most likely explains the significant reduction of immigration during the 1870s and 1890s to the United States?
 - (A) Conflicts between the “old” and “new” immigrants.
 - (B) Competition for jobs from Asian immigrations
 - (C) Financial panics and depressions
 - (D) Military conflicts in Europe

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“Today three-fourths of its [New York’s] people live in tenements. . . .

“If it shall appear that the sufferings and the sins of the ‘other half,’ and the evil they breed, are but as a just punishment upon the community that gave it no other choice, it will be because that is the truth. . . . In the tenements all the influences make for evil; because they are the hotbeds of the epidemics that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts; that throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks to the island asylums and workhouses year by year; that turned out in the last eight years around half million beggars to prey upon our charities; that maintain a standing army of ten thousand tramps with all that that implies; because above all, they touch the family life with deadly moral contagion. . . .”

—Jacob A. Riis, journalist, *How the Other Half Lives*, 1890

3. Which phrase best summarizes what Riis considers the cause of the problems he sees?
 - (A) “are but as a just punishment upon the community”
 - (B) “In the tenements all the influences make for evil”
 - (C) “throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks”
 - (D) “touch the family life with deadly moral contagion”
4. During the late 19th century, which of the following groups most benefited from the poverty described by Riis?
 - (A) Salvation Army
 - (B) Political machines
 - (C) Social Darwinists
 - (D) Social scientists
5. Which group would be most likely to oppose government intervention to improve the tenements?
 - (A) Social scientists who used the scientific method to research poverty and urban problems
 - (B) State governments in which representative districts were determined by area, not population
 - (C) Protestant clergy who espoused the cause of social justice for the poor
 - (D) Leaders and workers who provided services in the settlement house movement

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“I stand before you tonight under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen’s rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any state to deny. . . . Are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens; and no state has a right to make any law, or to enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several states is today null and void, precisely as is every one against Negroes.”

—Susan B. Anthony, “Is It a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” 1873

6. Susan B. Anthony was arrested and fined \$100 for casting an illegal vote in the presidential election of 1872. She refused to pay the fine. Her protest was most similar to which of the following?
 - (A) The dumping of chests of British tea into the Boston harbor by colonists disguised as American Indians
 - (B) The jailing of Henry David Thoreau for not paying taxes for what he considered an immoral war
 - (C) The federal suit to free the slave Dred Scott after he resided in a free state
 - (D) The raid of abolitionists led by John Brown on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry
7. Susan B. Anthony’s arguments for women’s suffrage can best be understood in the context of
 - (A) *Marbury v. Madison*
 - (B) The Monroe Doctrine
 - (C) The Reconstruction amendments
 - (D) The American Protective Association
8. Anthony targeted the states as the parts of government discriminating against women primarily for which of the following reasons?
 - (A) Except for the 14th and 15th amendments, the United States Constitution left the power to the states to determine who could vote
 - (B) She believed that all states were in violation of federal voting laws
 - (C) The states established marriage laws and at the time these laws kept women in an inferior legal position to men
 - (D) The federal government already supported suffrage for women

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; 1882.
Library of Congress

1. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the cartoonist's point of view on immigration.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE specific cause of the anti-immigration sentiment in the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE change in federal immigration policy from 1865 to 1900 that either supported or opposed the cartoonist's viewpoint.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE specific problem that was caused by the rapid growth of cities during the period from 1865 to 1900.
- b) Briefly explain ONE reason that American cities were unprepared or slow to address problems such as the one identified above.
- c) Briefly explain ONE specific reform movement that developed in the period from 1865 to 1900 to address one or more urban problems.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c. (*continued on the next page*)

- a) Briefly explain ONE development in education that was influenced by the economic or cultural changes of the period from 1865 to 1900.
- b) Briefly explain ONE change in visual arts or architecture that was influenced by the economic and cultural changes in the late 1800s.

- c) Briefly explain ONE change in literature or music that was influenced by the economic and cultural changes in the late 1800s.

Question 4 is based on the following excerpts.

“After all, the country club is nothing more than a rendezvous for a colony of congenial spirits. . . . Spring opens with polo, lawn tennis and yachting. . . . Turn your back on the racecourse and you well might fancy yourself at a huge garden party. . . . Who shall deny the country club to have been a veritable blessing . . . and given us blue sky, green grass and restful shade in exchange for smoke-laden atmosphere, parboiled pavements and never ceasing glare and racket of the city?”

—Caspar Whitney, sportwriter, *Harper's New Monthly*, 1894

“The saloon was the only club the workingmen had then. For a few cents we could buy a glass of beer and hours of congenial society. Talk in these meeting places has a peculiar freedom from formality that engendered good-fellowship.”

—Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, 1925

4. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE economic development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that contributed to the differences reflected in these two excerpts.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE change in American urban development during the period from 1865 to 1900 that contributed to the differences reflected in these two excerpts.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE important cause not addressed in (a) and (b) of the increased significance of popular culture and leisure activities during the period from 1865 to 1900.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERPRETATION

Which TWO of the following statements best express historical interpretations?

1. By giving people shared experiences as fans, spectator sports promoted the blending of diverse immigrants into Americans.
2. Globalization in recent years has caused historians to focus on European influences on American culture in the late 19th century.
3. People today still read the works of Jack London and Stephen Crane.

THE POLITICS OF THE GILDED AGE, 1877–1900

*My country, 'is of thee, Once land of liberty, Of thee I sing.
Land of the Millionaire; Farmers with pockets bare;
Caused by the cursed snare—The Money Ring.*

Alliance Songster, 1890

Congress had enacted an ambitious reform program during the 1860s and 1870s—the era of Civil War and Reconstruction. After the election of President Rutherford B. Hayes and the Compromise of 1877, the national government settled into an era of stalemate and comparative inactivity. However, the causes of limited achievements and failure of politicians to address the growing problems related to industrialization and urbanization are often as instructive as periods of political achievements.

Politics in the Gilded Age

The expression “Gilded Age,” first used by Mark Twain in 1873 as the title of a book, referred to the superficial glitter of the new wealth so prominently displayed in the late 19th century. Historians often criticize the politics of the era as more show than substance. It was the era of “forgettable” presidents, none of whom served two consecutive terms, and of politicians who largely ignored problems arising from the growth of industry and cities. The two major parties in these years often avoided taking stands on controversial issues.

Causes of Stalemate

Factors accounting for the complacency and conservatism of the era included (1) the prevailing political ideology of the time, (2) campaign tactics of the two parties, and (3) party patronage.

Belief in Limited Government The idea of “do-little” government was in tune with two other popular ideas of the time: laissez-faire economics and Social Darwinism. Furthermore, the federal courts narrowly interpreted the government’s powers to regulate business, and this limited the impact of the few regulatory laws that Congress did pass.

Campaign Strategy The closeness of elections between 1876 and 1892 was one reason that Republicans and Democrats alike avoided taking strong positions on the issues. The Democrats won only two presidential contests in the electoral college (but four in the popular vote). They nevertheless controlled the House of Representatives after eight of the ten general elections. The result was divided government in Washington (except for two years of the Harrison administration, 1889–1891, when the Republicans were in control of both the presidency and the two houses of Congress). With elections so evenly matched, the objective was to get out the vote and not alienate voters on the issues.

Election campaigns of the time were characterized by brass bands, flags, campaign buttons, picnics, free beer, and crowd-pleasing oratory. Both parties had strong organizations, the Republicans usually on the state level and the Democrats in the cities. The irony is that the issue-free campaigns brought out nearly 80 percent of the eligible voters for presidential elections, much higher than elections in later periods. The high turnout was a function of strong party identification and loyalty, often connected with the regional, religious, and ethnic ties of voters.

Republicans In the North, Republican politicians kept memories of the Civil War alive during the Gilded Age by figuratively waving the “bloody shirt” in every campaign and reminding the millions of veterans of the Union army that their wounds had been caused by (southern) Democrats and that Abraham Lincoln had been murdered by a Democrat. The party of Lincoln, because of its antislavery past, kept the votes of reformers and African Americans. The core of Republican strength came from men in business and from middle-class, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, many of whom supported temperance or prohibition. Republicans followed the tradition of Hamilton and the Whigs, supporting a pro-business economic program of high protective tariffs.

Democrats After 1877, Democrats could count upon winning every election in the former states of the Confederacy. The solid South was indeed solidly Democratic until the mid-20th century. In the North, Democratic strength came from big-city political machines and the immigrant vote. Democrats were often Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews who objected to temperance and prohibition crusades conducted by Protestant (and largely Republican) groups. Democrats of the Gilded Age argued for states’ rights and limiting powers for the federal government, following in the Jeffersonian tradition.

Party Patronage Since neither party had an active legislative agenda, politics in this era was chiefly a game of winning elections, holding office, and providing government jobs to the party faithful. In New York, for example, Republican Senator Roscoe Conkling became a powerful leader of his party by dictating who in the Republican ranks would be appointed to lucrative jobs in the New York Customs House. Conkling and his supporters were known as the Stalwarts, while their rivals for patronage were the Halfbreeds, led by James G. Blaine. Who got the patronage jobs within the party became a more important issue than any policy. Republicans who did not play the patronage

game were ridiculed as the Mugwumps for sitting on the fence—their “mugs” on one side of the fence and “wumps” on the other. Historians generally consider this era a low point in American politics.

Political Party Affiliations in Congress, 1881–1901				
	House		Senate	
Year	Major Parties	Minor Parties	Major Parties	Minor Parties
1881–1883	R-147, D-135	11	R-37, D-37	1
1883–1885	D-197, R-118	10	R-38, D-36	2
1885–1887	D-183, R-140	2	R-43, D-34	0
1887–1889	D-169, R-152	4	R-39, D-37	0
1889–1891	R-166, D-159	0	R-39, D-37	0
1891–1893	D-235, R-88	9	R-47, D-39	2
1893–1895	D-218, R-127	11	D-44, R-38	3
1895–1897	R-244, D-105	7	R-43, D-39	6
1897–1899	R-204, D-113	40	R-47, D-34	7
1899–1901	R-185, D-163	9	R-53, D-26	8

R: Republican D: Democrat

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Presidential Politics

The administrations of presidents Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur reflected the political stalemate and patronage problems of the Gilded Age.

Rutherford B. Hayes After being declared the winner of the disputed election of 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes’s most significant act was to end Reconstruction by withdrawing the last federal troops from the South. President Hayes also attempted to re-establish honest government after the corrupt Grant administration. As temperance reformers, Hayes and his wife, “Lemonade Lucy,” cut off the flow of liquor in the White House. Hayes vetoed efforts to restrict Chinese immigration.

James Garfield Republican politicians, more interested in spoils and patronage than reform, were happy to honor President Hayes’s pledge in 1877 to serve only one term. In the election of 1880, the Republicans compromised on the nomination of “Halfbreed” James A. Garfield of Ohio (a key swing state of the times), and “Stalwart” Chester A. Arthur of New York as vice president. The Democrats nominated Winfield S. Hancock, a former Union general who had been wounded at Gettysburg. The Garfield-Arthur ticket defeated the Democratic war hero in a very close popular vote.

In his first weeks in office, Garfield was besieged in the White House by hordes of Republicans seeking some 100,000 federal jobs. Garfield's choice of Halfbreeds for most offices provoked a bitter contest with Senator Conkling and his Stalwarts. While the president was preparing to board a train for a summer vacation in 1881, a deranged office seeker who identified with the Stalwarts shot Garfield in the back. After an 11-week struggle, the gunshot wound proved fatal. Chester A. Arthur then became president.

Chester A. Arthur Arthur proved a much better president than people expected. He distanced himself from the Stalwarts, supported a bill reforming the civil service. This bill expanded the number of government employees hired based on their qualifications rather than their political connections. In addition, he approved the development of a modern American navy and began to question the high protective tariff. His reward was denial of renomination by the Republican party in 1884.

Congressional Leaders

Weak presidents do not necessarily mean strong Congresses. Lawmakers of the Gilded Age typically had long but undistinguished careers. John Sherman, brother of the famous Civil War general, was in Congress from 1855 to 1898 but did little other than allow his name to be attached to a number of bills, including the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Thomas "Czar" Reed from Maine, a sharp-tongued bully, became Speaker of the House in 1890 and instituted an autocratic rule over the House that took years to break. Senator James G. Blaine, also from Maine, had the potential of being a great political leader and largely succeeded in reshaping the Republicans from an antislavery party into a well-organized, business-oriented party. However, Blaine's reputation was tarnished by links with railroad scandals and other corrupt dealings.

The Election of 1884

In 1884 the Republicans nominated Blaine for president, but suspicions about Blaine's honesty were enough for the reform-minded Mugwumps to switch allegiance and campaign for the Democratic nominee, Grover Cleveland. Unlike most Gilded Age politicians, Cleveland was honest, frugal, conscientious, and uncompromising. He had been an honest mayor of Buffalo and incorruptible governor of New York State. Republicans raised questions, however, about the New Yorker's private life, making much of the fact that Cleveland had fathered the child of a woman not his wife. In a notably dirty campaign, the Democrats were labeled the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Catholic voters were offended by the phrase, and their votes in key states such as New York may have been enough to ensure Cleveland's victory as the first Democrat to be elected president since Buchanan in 1856.

Cleveland's First Term

The Democratic president believed in frugal and limited government in the tradition of Jefferson. He implemented the new civil service system (see below) and vetoed hundreds of private pension bills for those falsely claiming to have

served or been injured in the Civil War. He signed into law both (1) the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the federal government's first effort to regulate business, and (2) the Dawes Act, which reformers hoped would benefit American Indians. Cleveland's administration also retrieved some 81 million acres of government land from cattle ranchers and the railroads.

Issues: Civil Service, Currency, and Tariffs

During the 1870s and 1880s, the Congresses in Washington were chiefly concerned with such issues as patronage, the money supply, and the tariff issue. They left the states and local governments to deal with the growing problems of the cities and industrialization.

Civil Service Reform Public outrage over the assassination of President Garfield in 1881 pushed Congress to remove certain government jobs from the control of party patronage. The Pendleton Act of 1881 set up the Civil Service Commission and created a system by which applicants for classified federal jobs would be selected on the basis of their scores on a competitive examination. The law also prohibited civil servants from making political contributions. At first, the law applied to only 10 percent of federal employees, but in later decades, the system was expanded until most federal jobs were classified (that is, taken out of the hands of politicians).

Politicians adapted to the reform by depending less on their armies of party workers and more on the rich to fund their campaigns. People still debate which approach is more harmful to democratic government.

Money Question The most hotly debated issues of the Gilded Age was how much to expand the money supply. For the economy to grow soundly, it needed more money in circulation. However, the money question reflected the growing tension in the era between the “haves” and the “have-nots.”

Debtors, farmers, and start-up businesses wanted more “easy” or “soft” money in circulation, since this would enable them to (1) borrow money at lower interest rates and (2) pay off their loans more easily with inflated dollars. After the Panic of 1873, many Americans blamed the gold standard for restricting the money supply and causing the depression. To expand the supply of U.S. currency, easy-money advocates campaigned first for more paper money (greenbacks) and then for the unlimited minting of silver coins.

On the opposite side of the question, bankers, creditors, investors, and established businesses stood firm for “sound” or “hard” money—meaning currency backed by gold stored in government vaults. Supporters of hard money argued that dollars backed by gold would hold their value against inflation. Holders of money understood that as the U.S. economy and population grew faster than the number of gold-backed dollars, each dollar would gain in value. As predicted, the dollar did increase in value by as much as 300 percent between 1865 and 1895.

Greenback Party Paper money not backed by specie (gold or silver) had been issued by the federal government in the 1860s as an emergency measure for financing the Civil War. Northern farmers, who received high

prices during the war, prospered from the use of “greenbacks.” On the other hand, creditors and investors attacked the use of unbacked paper money as a violation of natural law. In 1875, Congress sided with the creditors, and passed the Specie Resumption Act, which withdrew all greenbacks from circulation.

Supporters of paper money formed a new political party, the Greenback party. In the congressional election of 1878, Greenback candidates received nearly 1 million votes, and 14 members were elected to Congress, including James B. Weaver of Iowa (a future leader of the Populist party). When the hard times of the 1870s ended, the Greenback party died out, but the goal of increasing the amount of money in circulation did not.

Demands for Silver Money In addition to removing greenbacks, Congress in the 1870s also stopped the coining of silver. Critics call this action “the Crime of 1873.” Then silver discoveries in Nevada revived demands for the use of silver to expand the money supply. A compromise law, the Bland-Allison Act, was passed over Hayes’s veto in 1878. It allowed only a limited coinage of between \$2 million and \$4 million in silver each month at the standard silver-to-gold ratio of 16 to 1. Not satisfied, farmers, debtors, and western miners continued to press for the unlimited coinage of silver.

Tariff Issue In the 1890s, tariffs provided more than half of federal revenue. Western farmers and eastern capitalists disagreed on the question of whether tariff rates on foreign imports should be high or low. During the Civil War, the Republican Congress had raised tariffs to protect U.S. industry and also fund the Union government. After the war, southern Democrats as well as some northern Democrats objected to high tariffs because these taxes raised the prices on consumer goods. Another result of the protective tariff was that other nations retaliated by placing taxes of their own on U.S. farm products. American farmers lost some overseas sales, contributing to surpluses of corn and wheat and resulting in lower farm prices and profits. From a farmer’s point of view, industry seemed to be growing rich at the expense of rural America.

The Growth of Discontent, 1888–1896

The politics of stalemate and complacency would begin to lose their hold on the voters by the late 1880s. Discontent over government corruption, the money issue, tariffs, railroads, and trusts was growing. In response, politicians began to take small steps to respond to public concerns, but it would take a third party (the Populists) and a major depression in 1893 to shake the Democrats and the Republicans from their lethargy.

Harrison and the Billion-Dollar Congress

Toward the end of his first term, President Cleveland created a political storm by challenging the high protective tariff. He proposed that Congress set lower tariff rates, since there was a growing surplus in the federal treasury and the government did not need the added tax revenue.

The Election of 1888 With the tariff question, Cleveland introduced a real issue, the first in years that truly divided Democrats and Republicans. In

the election of 1888, Democrats campaigned for Cleveland and a lower tariff; Republicans campaigned for Benjamin Harrison (grandson of the former president, William Henry Harrison) and a high tariff. The Republicans argued that a lower tariff would wreck business prosperity. They played upon this fear to raise campaign funds from big business and to rally workers in the North, whose jobs depended on the success of U.S. industry. The Republicans also attacked Cleveland's vetoes of pension bills to bring out the veteran vote. The election was extremely close. Cleveland received more popular votes than Harrison, but ended up losing the election because Harrison's sweep of the North gained the Republican ticket a majority of votes in the electoral college.

Billion-dollar Congress For the next two years, Republicans controlled the presidency and both houses of Congress—unusual for this era of close elections. The new Congress was the most active in years, passing the first billion-dollar budget in U.S. history. It enacted the following:

- The McKinley Tariff of 1890, which raised the tax on foreign products to a peacetime high of more than 48 percent
- Increases in the monthly pensions to Civil War veterans, widows, and children
- The Sherman Antitrust Act, outlawing “combinations in restraint of trade” (see Chapter 16)
- The Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which increased the coinage of silver, but too little to satisfy farmers and miners
- A bill to protect the voting rights of African Americans, passed by the House but defeated in the Senate

Return of the Democrats In the congressional elections of 1890, the voters, especially in the Midwest, replaced many Republicans with Democrats. They were reacting in part to unpopular measures passed by Republican state legislatures: prohibition of alcohol and laws requiring business to close on Sundays. Voters who were neither Anglo-Saxon nor Protestant rushed back to the Democrats, who had not tried to legislate public morality.

Rise of the Populists

Another factor in the Republican setbacks of 1890 was growing agrarian discontent in the South and West. Members of the Farmers' Alliances elected U.S. senators and representatives, the governors of several states, and majorities in four state legislatures in the West.

Omaha Platform The Alliance movement provided the foundation of a new political party—the People's, or Populist, party. Delegates from different states met in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1892 to draft a political platform and nominate candidates for president and vice president for the new party. Populists

were determined to do something about the concentration of economic power in the hands of trusts and bankers. Their Omaha platform called for both political and economic reforms. Politically, it demanded an increase in the power of common voters through (1) direct popular election of U.S. senators (instead of indirect election by state legislatures) and (2) the use of initiatives and referendums, procedures that allowed citizens to vote directly on proposed laws. Economically, the Populist platform was even more ambitious. Populists advocated: (1) unlimited coinage of silver to increase the money supply, (2) a graduated income tax (the greater a person's income, the higher the percentage of the tax on his or her income), (3) public ownership of railroads by the U.S. government, (4) telegraph and telephone systems owned and operated by the government, (5) loans and federal warehouses for farmers to enable them to stabilize prices for their crops, and (6) an eight-hour day for industrial workers.

At the time, the Populist movement seemed revolutionary not only for its attack on laissez-faire capitalism but also for its attempt to form a political alliance between poor whites and poor blacks. In the South, Thomas Watson of Georgia appealed to poor farmers of both races to unite on their common economic grievances by joining the People's party.

The Election of 1892 In 1892, James Weaver of Iowa, the Populist candidate for president, won more than 1 million votes and 22 electoral votes, making him one of the few third-party candidates in U.S. history to win votes in the electoral college. Nevertheless, the Populist ticket lost badly in the South and failed to attract urban workers in the North. The fear of Populists uniting poor blacks and whites drove conservative southern Democrats to use every technique to disfranchise African Americans (see Chapter 17).

The two major parties provided a rematch between President Harrison and former president Cleveland. This time, Cleveland won a solid victory in both the popular and electoral vote. He won in part because of the unpopularity of the high-tax McKinley Tariff. Cleveland became the first and only former president thus far to return to the White House after having left it.

Depression Politics

No sooner did Cleveland take office than the country entered into one of its worst and longest depressions.

Panic of 1893 In the spring and summer of 1893, the stock market crashed as a result of overspeculation, and dozens of railroads went into bankruptcy as a result of overbuilding. The depression continued for almost four years. Farm foreclosures reached new highs, and the unemployed reached 20 percent of the workforce. Many people ended up relying on soup kitchens and riding the rails as hoboes. President Cleveland, more conservative than he had been in the 1880s, dealt with the crisis by championing the gold standard and otherwise adopting a hands-off policy toward the economy.

Gold Reserve and Tariff A decline in silver prices encouraged investors to trade their silver dollars for gold dollars. The gold reserve (bars of gold bullion stored by the U.S. Treasury) fell to a dangerously low level, and President

Cleveland saw no alternative but to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. This action, however, failed to stop the gold drain. The president then turned to the Wall Street banker J. P. Morgan to borrow \$65 million in gold to support the dollar and the gold standard. This deal convinced many Americans that the government in Washington was only a tool of rich eastern bankers. Workers became further disenchanted with Cleveland when he used court injunctions and federal troops to crush the Pullman strike in 1894 (see Chapter 16).

The Democrats did enact one measure that was somewhat more popular. Congress passed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff in 1894, which (1) provided a moderate reduction in tariff rates and (2) included a 2 percent income tax on incomes of more than \$2,000. Since the average American income at this time was less than \$1,000, only those with higher incomes would be subject to the income tax. Within a year after the passage of the law, however, the conservative Supreme Court declared an income tax unconstitutional.

Jobless on the March As the depression worsened and the numbers of jobless people grew, conservatives feared class war between capital and labor. They were especially alarmed by a march to Washington in 1894 by thousands of the unemployed led by Populist Jacob A. Coxey of Ohio. “Coxey’s Army” demanded that the federal government spend \$500 million on public works programs to create jobs. Coxey and other protest leaders were arrested for trespassing, and the dejected marchers returned home.

Also in 1894, a little book by William H. Harvey presenting lessons in economics seemed to offer easy answers for ending the depression. Illustrated with cartoons, *Coin’s Financial School* taught millions of discontented Americans that their troubles were caused by a conspiracy of rich bankers, and that prosperity would return if the government coined silver in unlimited quantities.

Turning Point in American Politics: 1896

National politics was in transition. The repeal of the Silver Purchase Act and Cleveland’s handling of the depression thoroughly discredited the conservative leadership of the Democratic party. The Democrats were buried in the congressional elections of 1894 by the Republicans. At the same time, the Populists continued to gain both votes and legislative seats. The stage was set for a major reshaping of party politics in 1896.

The Election of 1896

The election of 1896 was one of the most emotional in U.S. history. It also would mark of the beginning of a new era in American politics.

Bryan, Democrats, and Populists Democrats were divided in 1896 between “gold” Democrats loyal to Cleveland and prosilver Democrats looking for a leader. Their national convention in Chicago in the summer of 1896 was dominated by the prosilver forces. Addressing the convention, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska captured the hearts of the delegates with a speech that ended with these words: “We will 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.' " So powerful was Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech that it made him instantly the Democratic nominee for president. Bryan was only 36 years old.

The Democratic platform favored the unlimited coinage of silver at the traditional, but inflationary, ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. (The market price then was about 32 to 1.) Thus, the Democrats had taken over the leading issue of the Populist platform. Given little choice, the Populist convention in 1896 also nominated Bryan and conducted a "fused" campaign for "free silver."

Unhappy with Bryan and free silver, the conservative faction of "Gold Bug" Democrats, including Cleveland, either formed the separate National Democratic party or voted Republican.

McKinley, Hanna, and Republicans For their presidential nominee, the Republicans nominated William McKinley of Ohio, best known for his support of a high protective tariff but also considered a friend of labor. Marcus (Mark) Hanna, who had made a fortune in business, was the financial power behind McKinley's nomination as well as the subsequent campaign for president. After blaming the Democrats for the Panic of 1893, the Republicans offered the American people the promise of a strong and prosperous industrial nation. The Republican platform proposed a high tariff to protect industry and upheld the gold standard against unlimited coinage of silver.

The Campaign The defection of "Gold Bug" Democrats over the silver issue gave the Republicans an early advantage. Bryan countered by turning the Democratic-Populist campaign into a nationwide crusade. Traveling by train from one end of the country to the other, the young candidate covered 18,000 miles and gave more than 600 speeches. His energy, positive attitude, and rousing oratory convinced millions of farmers and debtors that the unlimited coinage of silver was their salvation.

Mark Hanna meanwhile did most of the work of campaigning for McKinley. He raised millions of dollars for the Republican ticket from business leaders who feared that "silver lunacy" would lead to runaway inflation. Hanna used the money to sell McKinley through the mass media (newspapers, magazines), while the Republican candidate stayed home and conducted a safe, front-porch campaign, greeting delegations of supporters.

In the last weeks of the campaign, Bryan was hurt by (1) a rise in wheat prices, which made farmers less desperate, and (2) employers telling their workers that factories would shut down if Bryan was elected. On election day, McKinley carried all of the Northeast and the upper Midwest in a decisive victory over Bryan in both the popular vote (7.1 million to 6.5 million) and the electoral vote (271 to 176).

McKinley's Presidency

McKinley was lucky to take office just as the economy began to revive. Gold discoveries in Alaska in 1897 increased the money supply under the gold standard, which resulted in the inflation that the silverites had wanted. Farm

prices rose, factory production increased, and the stock market climbed. The Republicans honored their platform by enacting the Dingley Tariff of 1897 that increased the tariff to more than 46 percent, and, in 1900, making gold the official standard of the U.S. currency. McKinley was a well-liked, well-traveled president who tried to bring conflicting interests together. As leader during the war with Spain in 1898, he helped to make the United States a world power.

Significance of the Election of 1896

The election of 1896 had significant short-term and long-term consequences on American politics. It marked the end of the stalemate and stagnation that had characterized politics in the Gilded Age. In addition, the defeat of Bryan and the Populist free-silver movement initiated an era of Republican dominance of the presidency (seven of the next nine elections) and of both houses of Congress (17 of the next 20 sessions). Once the party of “free soil, free labor, and free men,” the Republicans had become the party of business and industry, though it continued to advocate for a strong national government. The Democrats carried on in defeat as the sectional party of the South and host of whatever Populist sentiment remained.

Populist Demise The Populist party declined after 1896 and soon ceased to be a national party. In the South, Thomas Watson and other Populist leaders gave up trying to unite poor whites and blacks, having discovered the hard lesson that racism was stronger than common economic interests. Ironically, in defeat, much of the Populist reform agenda, such as the graduated income tax and popular election of senators, was adopted by both the Democrats and Republicans during the reform-minded Progressive era (1900–1917).

Urban Dominance The election of 1896 was a clear victory for big business, urban centers, conservative economics, and moderate, middle-class values. It proved to be the last hope of rural America to reclaim its former dominance in American politics. Some historians see the election marking the triumph of the values of modern industrial and urban America over the rural ideals of the America of Jefferson and Jackson.

Beginning of Modern Politics McKinley emerged as the first modern president, an active leader who took the United States from being relatively isolated to becoming a major player in international affairs. Mark Hanna, the master of high-finance politics, created a model for organizing and financing a successful campaign. McKinley’s model focused on winning favorable publicity in the dominant mass media of his day: newspapers.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHO WERE THE POPULISTS?

Historians debate whether the Populist crusade was realistic or romantic. Was it a practical, liberal response to problems or an idealistic, reactionary effort to bring back a farmer-dominated society?

Early histories of the Populists depicted them as farmers and small producers who challenged the abuses of industrial America and the corruption of the political system. As reformers, they were seeking only economic fairness and an honest democratic process. The reforms that they advocated in the Omaha platform of 1892 had long-term significance in preparing the way for similar reforms in the Progressive era (1900–1917) and the New Deal (1933–1939).

An alternative view of the Populists sees them largely as reactionaries who dreamed up conspiracies by eastern bankers instead of seriously trying to understand the complex causes of the decline of farm income. Critics argue that Populists—rather than dealing with the world as it was—isolated themselves from the new urban and industrial age and were often racists, nativists, anti-Semites, and anti-Catholics. Richard Hofstadter in *The Age of Reform* (1955) saw both positive and negative aspects in the Populist movement. He credited the Populists for insisting on the federal government's responsibility to promote the common good and deal with problems of industrialization. At the same time, Hofstadter criticized the Populists' backward-looking and nostalgic ideology and their hopeless quest to restore an agrarian golden age that existed only in myth.

Since Hofstadter, historians have returned to the view that the farmers' grievances were real and that American democracy was endangered by powerful economic groups. Members of the National Farmers' Alliance and the Populist movement were not ignorant of complex economic changes; instead, they worked to educate themselves about economics and politics. Nor were most of them bigoted. Walter Nugent in *The Tolerant Populists* (1963) depicts them as democratic humanists who welcomed into their ranks people of all races, creeds, and ethnic backgrounds.

As a style of politics, populism remains powerful. Michael Kazin in *The Populist Persuasion* (1995) analyzed populism as a political attitude and posture that combines anti-elitism with advocacy for the common people. According to Kazin, populism shifted to the right in the 1960s with the emergence of George Wallace and the presidency of Richard Nixon. The populist movements of the late 20th century were primarily conservative reactions against the increased role of government. Populist movements of the 2010s, such as the Tea Party, proved again the appeal of the outsiders and anti-establishment voices, and that the populist tradition remains a potent part of American politics.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Political Stalemate (POL) lassiez-faire economics and politics divided electorate Identity politics "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" close elections divided government weak presidents patronage politics corrupt politicians	assassination of James Garfield Chester Arthur Pendleton Act of 1881 civil service reform election of 1884 Grover Cleveland	Rise of Discontent (POL) election of 1888, Harrison "Billion Dollar Congress" rise of the Populist Party Farmers' Alliances in South and West Alliance of whites and blacks in South Thomas Watson reformers vs. racism in South Omaha Platform government regulation and ownership election of 1892, Cleveland returns Panic of 1893 Coxey's Army, March on Washington <i>Coin's Financial School</i>
Republican Party (POL) Union veterans, "bloody shirt" Whig past, pro-business Hamiltonian tradition Social reformers, temperance Anglo-Saxon heritage Protestant religion African Americans	Tariff Issue (POL, WXT) high tariff business vs. consumers Cleveland threatens lower tariff McKinley Tariff of 1890 Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 Dingley Tariff of 1897–46.5 percent	
Democratic Party (POL) former Confederacy, "Solid South" states' rights, limited government Jeffersonian tradition big-city political machines immigrant vote against prohibition Catholics, Lutherans, Jews	Money Supply (WXT, POL) "hard" money vs. "soft" money banks, creditors vs. debtors Panic of 1873, "Crime of 73" Specie Resumption Act of 1875 Greenback party James B. Weaver Bland-Allison Act of 1878 Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 run on gold reserves, J. P. Morgan bail out repeal of Sherman Silver Purchase Act	Election of 1896 (POL) William Jennings Bryan "Cross of Gold" Speech fusion of Democrats and Populists unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 "Gold Bug" Democrats Mark Hanna, money and mass media McKinley victory gold standard and higher tariff rise of modern urban-industrial society decline of traditional rural-agricultural start of the modern presidency era of Republican dominance
Patronage Issue (POL) federal government jobs Stalwarts, Halfbreeds, and Mugwumps Election of 1880		

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“My Dear Nephew,

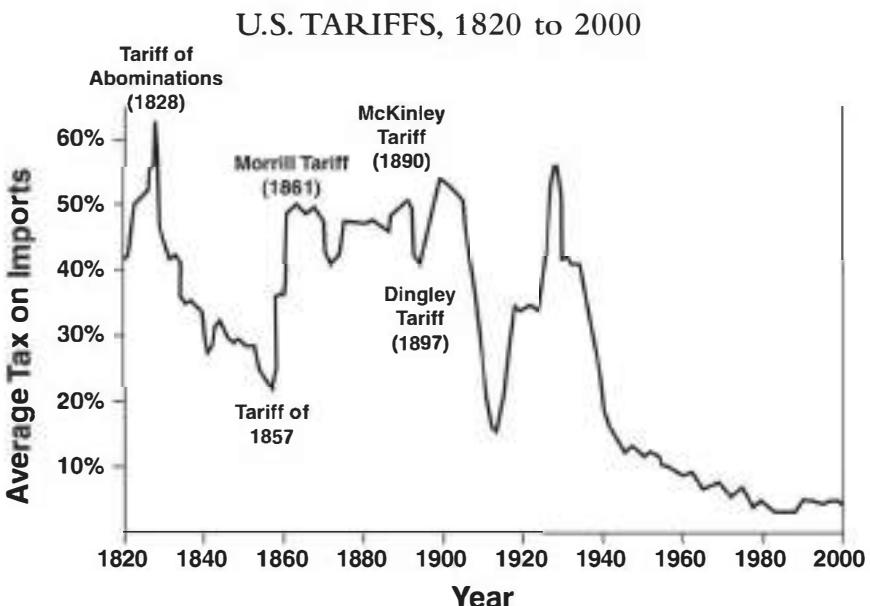
“Never allow yourself to lose sight of that fact that politics, and not poker, is our great American game. If this could be beaten into the heads of some presumably well-meaning but glaringly unpractical people, we should hear less idiotic talk about reform in connection with politics. Nobody ever dreams of organizing a reform movement in poker. . . .

“Mr. Lincoln, a very estimable and justly popular, but in some respects an impracticable man, formulated widely different error regard to politics. He held that ours is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. I maintain, on the contrary, that it is government of politicians, by politicians, for politicians. If your political career is to be a success, you must understand and respect this distinction with a difference.”

—William McElroy, journalist, “An Old War Horse to a Young Politician,” published anonymously in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1880

1. McElroy’s letter uses humor to make a point. Which of the following statements reflects McElroy’s true criticism?
 - (A) Americans pay too much attention to politics
 - (B) Elections were so close that for candidates it was similar to gambling
 - (C) Lincoln was admired more than he deserved to be
 - (D) Politics was primarily about holding office for personal gain
2. Voters demanded patronage reform in politics after
 - (A) President James Garfield was assassinated
 - (B) the Mugwumps sided with the opposing party
 - (C) the Greenback Party won mid-year elections in 1878
 - (D) Grover Cleveland threatened Republican dominance
3. Which of the following would the author, as a critic of the politics of the era, most likely oppose?
 - (A) Laws limiting the number of terms one person could serve in an elective office
 - (B) Rules reducing the number of patronage jobs controlled by politicians
 - (C) Court decisions allowing unlimited campaign contributions by wealthy donors
 - (D) Prosecutions of corruption in urban political parties and among political bosses

Questions 4–5 refer to the graph below.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

4. Which of the following best explains the tariff rates during the period from 1865 to 1900?
 - (A) American farmers believed that high tariffs would result in high farm prices
 - (B) Republicans believed that high tariffs would protect American business from foreign competition
 - (C) Democrats believed that high tariffs would create jobs for American workers
 - (D) Consumers believed that high tariffs would result in high-quality manufactured goods made in the United States
5. Which statement best describes the level of tariffs in the United States in the 19th century?
 - (A) Tariffs were generally highest during Democratic administrations
 - (B) The election of Lincoln ushered in a period of high tariffs
 - (C) The election of McKinley resulted in a period of lower tariffs
 - (D) Tariffs were closely linked to the value of the U.S. dollar

Questions 6–8 refer to the table below.

Money in Circulation in the United States, 1865–1895

Year	Total Currency (in thousands of dollars)	Population (in thousands)
1865	1,180,197	35,701
1870	899,876	39,905
1875	925,702	45,073
1880	1,185,550	50,262
1885	1,537,434	56,658
1890	1,685,123	63,056
1895	1,819,360	69,580

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

6. Which of the following most likely explains the change in the amount of currency in circulation between 1865 and 1870?
 - (A) The decline of gold mining in the United States
 - (B) The withdrawal of “greenbacks” from circulation
 - (C) The refusal of Congress to purchase silver for coinage
 - (D) The increasing poverty of most Americans
7. Which of the following groups during the period from 1865 to 1895 most actively campaigned to increase the money supply?
 - (A) Farmers and debtors
 - (B) Bankers and lenders
 - (C) Merchants and consumers
 - (D) The federal and state governments
8. A decline in the amount of money in circulation in proportion to the population would most likely result in a(n)
 - (A) increase in prices and a decline in wages
 - (B) increase in the value of the dollar along with decrease in purchasing power
 - (C) increase in interest rates and a decline in prices
 - (D) decrease the value of the dollar and increase in prices

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE significant factor that influenced voting patterns during the period from 1865 to 1900.
- b) Briefly explain ONE cause of very high voter turnout during the period from 1865 to 1900.
- c) Briefly explain ONE cause of the often stalemated and ineffective government on a national level during the period from 1877 to 1900.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpts.

“The Populists looked backward with longing to the lost Eden, to the republican America of the early years of the nineteenth century in which there were few millionaires . . . when the laborer had excellent prospects and the farmers had abundance, when statesmen responded to the mood of the people and there was no such thing as the money power.”

—Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 1955

“Populists sought to rethink the meaning of freedom to meet the exigencies of the 1890s. . . . Like the labor movement Populists rejected the era’s laissez-faire orthodoxy. . . . a generation would pass before a major party offered so sweeping a plan for government action on the behalf of economic freedom as the Omaha platform.”

—Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 1998

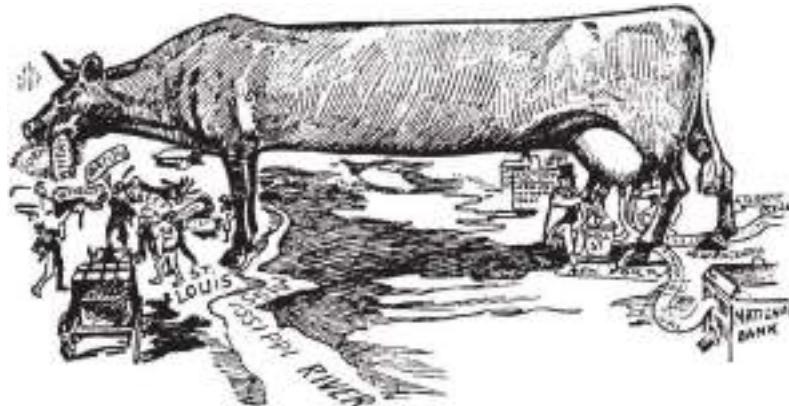
2. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE significant difference or contrast between Hofstadter’s interpretation and Foner’s interpretation of the Populists.
- b) Briefly explain ONE example or development from 1865 to 1900 that could be used to support Hofstadter’s interpretation of the Populists.
- c) Briefly explain ONE example or development from 1865 to 1900 that could be used to support Foner’s interpretation of the Populists.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE proposal of the Populist Party to reform politics or elections in the United States.
- b) Briefly explain ONE way the money issue affected the 1896 election.
- c) Briefly explain ONE argument to support the interpretation that the election of 1896 was a turning point in American politics.

Question 4 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: 1896, The Granger Collection, NYC

4. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the point of view of the artist about ONE of the following.
 - Western Farmers
 - New York's Wall Street
 - b) Briefly explain ONE development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that supported the point of view of the artist.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that challenged the point of view expressed by the artist.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATING A THESIS ABOUT CAUSATION

The thesis statement is the organizing idea for an essay. It should express a clear idea that can be supported with evidence. Which THREE of the following statements would make the best thesis statements?

1. The Gilded Age shows that Hamilton, Clay, and Lincoln were correct in advocating for a strong role of the federal government in the economy.
2. Racial conflict slowed the growth and development of the U.S. economy in the 19th century.
3. The energy and goals of the 19th-century populists make them my favorite movement in U.S. history.
4. James Garfield was the second president to be assassinated in less than two decades.
5. The McKinley campaign of 1896 run by Mark Hanna set the pattern that most later candidates and presidents would follow.

PERIOD 6 Review: 1865–1898

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Compare the objectives and strategies of organized labor and the Populists for challenging the prevailing economic beliefs and practices of the Gilded Age.
2. Compare and contrast the roles of the federal government as both promoter and regulator of industrial development and market capitalism from 1865 to 1900.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Explain and analyze the impact of industrialization and expanding markets on the development of TWO of the following regions between 1865 and 1900.
 - Northeast/Midwest
 - South
 - West
4. Explain and analyze the impact of changes in transportation and marketing on both urban and rural consumers in the United States between 1865 and 1900.

Choose EITHER Question 5 or Question 6.

5. Analyze and evaluate the ways that both external and internal migration changed over time from 1830 to 1900.
6. Analyze and evaluated the ways TWO of the following groups changed their response over time to discrimination from 1830 to 1900.
 - African Americans
 - American Indians
 - women

Choose EITHER Question 7 or Question 8.

7. Analyze and evaluate ways in which TWO of the following areas reflected or challenged the dominate culture after the Civil War to 1900.
 - architecture
 - art and literature
 - education
 - religion
8. Analyze and evaluate the ways in which Social Darwinism and the Gospel of Wealth were used to defend the dominant economic and social order after the Civil War to 1900.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION 1

Directions: The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents 1–7 and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period. (For complete directions for a DBQ, see the Introduction, page 404.)

1. Some historians have characterized the industrial and business leaders of the 1865–1900 period as “robber barons,” who used extreme methods to control and concentrate wealth and power. To what extent is that characterization justified based on the historical evidence?

Document 1

Source: Interview with William H. Vanderbilt, *Chicago Daily News*, 1882

Q: How is the freight and passenger pool working?

W.V.: Very satisfactorily. I don’t like that expression “pool,” however, that’s a common construction applied by the people to a combination which the leading roads have entered into to keep rates at a point where they will pay dividends to the stockholders. The railroads are not run for the benefit of the “dear public”—that cry is all nonsense—they are built by men who invest their money and expect to get a fair percentage on the same.

Q: Does your limited express pay?

W.V.: No; not a bit of it. We only run it because we are forced to do so by the action of the Pennsylvania road. It doesn’t pay expenses. We would abandon it if it was not for our competitor keeping its train on.

Q: But don’t you run it for the public benefit?

W.V. The public be damned. What does the public care for the railroads except to get as much out of them for as small consideration as possible? I don’t take any stock in this silly nonsense about working for anybody’s good but our own.

Document 2

Source: Thomas Alva Edison, Letter written November 14, 1887

My laboratory will soon be completed. . . . I will have the best equipped and largest Laboratory extant, and the facilities incomparably superior to any other for rapid & cheap development of an invention, & working it up into Commercial shape with models, patterns & special machinery. In fact there is no similar institution in Existence. We do our own castings and forgings. Can build anything from a lady's watch to a Locomotive.

The Machine shop is sufficiently large to employ 50 men & 30 men can be worked in other parts of the works. Invention that formerly took months & cost a large sum can now be done in 2 or 3 days with very small expense, as I shall carry a stock of almost every conceivable material of every size, and with the latest machinery a man will produce 10 times as much as in a laboratory which has but little material, not of a size, delays of days waiting for castings and machinery not universal or modern. . . .

You are aware from your long acquaintance with me that I do not fly any financial Kites, or speculate, and that the works I control are well-managed. In the early days of the shops it was necessary that I should largely manage them [alone], first because the art had to be created, 2nd, because I could get no men who were competent in such a new business. But as soon as it was possible I put other persons in charge. I am perfectly well aware of the fact that my place is in the Laboratory; but I think you will admit that I know how a shop should be managed & also know how to select men to manage them.

Document 3

Source: Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, 1889

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmony. . . .

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still. For it is to this law that we owe out wonderful material development which brings improved conditions. While the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few; and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race.

Document 4

Source: James B. Weaver, "A Call to Action," 1892

It is clear that trusts are contrary to public policy and hence in conflict with the common law. They are monopolies organized to destroy competition and restrain trade. . . .

It is contended by those interested in trusts that they tend to cheapen production and diminish the price of the article to the consumer. . . . Trusts are speculative in their purpose and formed to make money. Once they secure control of a given line of business, they are masters of the situation and can dictate to the two great classes with which they deal—the producer of the raw material and the consumer of the finished product. They limit the price of the raw material so as to impoverish the producer, drive him to a single market, reduce the price of every class of labor connected with the trade, throw out of employment large numbers of persons who had before been engaged in a meritorious calling and finally . . . they increase the price to the consumer. . . . The main weapons of the trust are threats, intimidation, bribery, fraud, wreck, and pillage.

Document 5

Source: Standard Oil Company with tentacles, Library of Congress



Document 6

Source: Statement of Pullman Strikers, June 1894

Pullman, both the man and the town, is an ulcer on the body politic. He owns the houses, the schoolhouses, and the churches of God in the town he gave his once humble name. The revenue he derives from these wages he pays out with one hand—the Pullman Palace Car Company—he takes back with the other—the Pullman Land Association. He is able by this to bid under any contract car shop in this country. His competitors in business, to meet this, must reduce the wages of their men. This gives him the excuse to reduce ours to conform to the market. His business rivals must in turn scale down, so must he. And thus the merry war—the dance of skeletons bathed in human tears—goes on; and it will go on, brothers, forever unless you, the American Railway Union, stop it.

Document 7

Source: Major gifts by John D. Rockefeller before his death (1937)

American Baptist Foreign Mission Society New York City	\$6,845,688.52
American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York City	6,994,831.62
American Baptist Missionary Society, Dayton, Ohio	1,902,132.58
General Education Board	129,209,167.10
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, New York	73,985,313.77
Minister and Missionaries Benefit Board of Northern Baptist Convention	7,090,579.06
Rockefeller Foundation, New York	182,851,480.90
Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research	59,931,891.60
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois	34,708,375.28
Yale University, New Haven	1,001,000.00
Y.M.C.A., International Committee	2,295,580.73
TOTAL	\$506,816,041.18

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION 2

Directions: Question 2 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
2. “The politics of the Gilded Age failed to deal with the critical social and economic issues of the times.” Assess the validity of this statement. Use both the documents and your knowledge of the United States from 1865 to 1900.

Document 1

Source: James Bryce, British commentator and later ambassador to the United States, *The American Commonwealth*, 1891

To explain the causes which keep much of the finest intellect of the country away from national business is one thing; to deny the unfortunate results would be quite another. Unfortunate they are. But the downward tendency observable since the end of the Civil War seems to have been arrested. When the war was over, the Union saved, the curse of slavery gone forever, there came a season of contentment and of lassitude. A nation which had surmounted such dangers seemed to have nothing more to fear. Those who had fought with tongue and pen and rifle might now rest on their laurels. After long continued strain and effort, the wearied nerve and muscle sought repose. It was repose from political warfare only. For the end of the war coincided with the opening of a time of swift material growth and abounding material propensity in which industry and the development of the West absorbed more and more of the energy of the people. Hence a neglect of details of politics such as had never been seen before.

Document 2

Source: Henry Demarest Lloyd, financial writer and social reformer, "Lords of Industry," *North American Review*, June 1884

We have had an era of material inventions. We now need a renaissance of moral inventions. . . . Monopoly and anti-monopoly . . . represent the two great tendencies of our time: monopoly, the tendency to combination; anti-monopoly, the demand for social control of it. As the man is bent toward business or patriotism, he will negotiate combination or agitate for laws to regulate them. The first is capitalistic and the second is social. The first, industrial; the second, moral. The first promotes wealth; the second, citizenship. Our young men can no longer go west; they must go up or down. Not new land, but new virtue must be the outlet for the future.

Document 3

Source: J. Keppler, "The Bosses of the Senate," 1899. Library of Congress



Document 4

Source: The Interstate Commerce Act, 1887

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the provisions of this act shall apply to any common carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers or property wholly by railroad, . . . from one state or territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, to any other state or territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia. . . .

Section 3. That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality. . . .

Section 4. That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provision of this act to charge or receive any greater compensation in the aggregate for the transportation of passengers or of like kind of property, under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, for a shorter than for a longer distance over the same line.

Document 5

Source: "Third Annual Report of the Factory Inspectors of the State of New York for the Year Ending December 1st, 1888," 1889

By the act of the legislature of 1888, the factory inspectors were required to enforce the law relating to the indenturing of apprentices. . . . The industrial conditions existing at, and previously to, the time of the passage of the Law of 1871 are so completely revolutionized that the old form of apprenticeship has become almost obsolete. Where, in former times, boys were expected to learn a trade in all its features, they are now simply put at a machine or at one branch of the craft, and no understanding exists that they shall be taught any other branch or the use of any other machine. Employers claim that these boys are not apprentices, and even if they so desired, could not teach . . . an apprentice all the intricacies of a trade, for the reason that where the skill and intelligence of a journeyman [trained] workman were once essential, a simple machine now unerringly performs the service, and consequently there is no occasion for an apprentice to learn to do the labor by hand. These were the principal reasons given by employers as to why the law had become inoperative.

Document 6

Source: Dr. Timothy D. Stow, Report of the Committee of the Senate Upon the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1890

The Chairman: We want to find out how the working people of Fall River [Massachusetts] are living and doing. . . . Just tell us the condition of the operatives there, in your own way.

The Witness: [Dr. Stow]: With regard to the effect of the present industrial system upon [the laboring classes'] physical and moral welfare, I should say it was of such a character as to need mending, to say the least. It needs some radical remedy. Our laboring population is made up very largely of foreigners, men, women, and children, who have either voluntarily come to Fall River or who have been induced to come there by the manufactures. As a class they are dwarfed physically. . . .

They are dwarfed, in my estimation, sir, as the majority of men and women who are brought up in factories must be dwarfed under the present industrial system; because by their long hours of indoor labor and their hard work they are cut off from the benefit of breathing fresh air and from the sights that surround a workman outside a mill. Being shut up all day long in the noise and in the high temperature of these mills they become physically weak.

Document 7

Source: Populist Party Platform, 1892

We have witnessed, for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them.

Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

PERIOD 7: 1890–1945

Chapter 20 *Becoming a World Power, 1865–1917*

Chapter 21 *The Progressive Era, 1901–1917*

Chapter 22 *World War I and Its Aftermath, 1914–1920*

Chapter 23 *The Modern Era of the 1920s*

Chapter 24 *The Great Depression and New Deal, 1929–1939*

Chapter 25 *Diplomacy and World War II, 1929–1945*

In less than one lifetime, Americans went from buggies to automobiles to airplanes. And in within three decades, they experienced two horrific wars and the worst depression in American history.

Overview The era was shaped by continued industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. The role and size of government, especially on the federal level, expanded to meet the challenges of a boom and bust economy and two global wars. Debates over the role of government, science and religion, culture and ethnic diversity also created anxiety and conflicts during this period that included the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. In foreign policy, the road from noninvolvement to international leadership was unsure, reversed, and then reluctantly accepted by Americans.

Alternate View This period begins with the Spanish-American War in 1898 and ends with World War II in 1945. But politically, the Progressive Era had its roots in the last two decades of the 19th century, and the New Deal coalition built in the 1930s continues to shape politics today.

Key Concepts

7.1: Growth expanded opportunity, while economic instability led to new efforts to reform U.S. society and its economic system.

7.2: Innovations in communications and technology contributed to the growth of mass culture, while significant changes occurred in internal and international migration patterns.

7.3: Participation in a series of global conflicts propelled the United States into a position of international power while renewing domestic debates over the nation's proper role in the world.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

BECOMING A WORLD POWER, 1865–1917

We are Anglo-Saxons, and must obey our blood and occupy new markets, and, if necessary, new lands.

Senator Albert Beveridge, April 27, 1898

Our form of government, our traditions, our present interests, and our future welfare, all forbid our entering upon a career of conquest.

William Jennings Bryan, December 13, 1898

Since the 1790s, U.S. foreign policy had centered on expanding westward, protecting U.S. interests abroad, and limiting foreign influences in the Americas. The period after the Civil War saw the development of a booming industrial economy, which created the basis for a major shift in U.S. relations with the rest of the world. Instead of a nation that—at least since the War of 1812—had been relatively isolated from European politics, the United States became a world power controlling territories in the Caribbean and extending across the Pacific to the Philippines. How and why did the United States acquire an overseas empire and intervene in the affairs of Cuba, Mexico, and other Latin American nations? The origins of these developments appear in the years just after the Civil War.

Seward, Alaska, and the French in Mexico

A leading Republican of the 1850s and 1860s, William H. Seward of New York served as secretary of state (1861–1869) under both Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. Seward was the most influential secretary of state since John Quincy Adams (who formulated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823). During the Civil War, Seward helped prevent Great Britain and France from entering the war on the side of the Confederacy. He led the drive to annex Midway Island in the Pacific, gained rights to build a canal in Nicaragua, and purchased the vast territory of Alaska.

Though a powerful advocate for expansion, Seward did not get all he wanted. For example, he failed to convince Congress to annex Hawaii and to purchase the Danish West Indies.

The French in Mexico

Napoleon III (nephew of the famous emperor Napoleon Bonaparte) had taken advantage of U.S. involvement in the Civil War by sending French troops to occupy Mexico. As soon as the Civil War ended in 1865, Seward invoked the Monroe Doctrine and threatened U.S. military action unless the French withdrew. Napoleon III backed down, and the French troops left Mexico.

The Purchase of Alaska

For decades, Russia and Great Britain both claimed the vast territory of Alaska. Russia finally assumed control and established a small colony for seal hunting, but the territory soon became an economic burden because of the threat of a British takeover. Seeking buyers, Russia found Seward to be an enthusiastic champion of the idea of the United States purchasing Alaska. As result of Seward's lobbying, and also in appreciation of Russian support during the Civil War, Congress in 1867 agreed to buy Alaska for \$7.2 million. However, for many years, Americans saw no value in Alaska and referred to it derisively as "Seward's Folly" or "Seward's Icebox."

The "New Imperialism"

As the United States industrialized in the late 19th century, it also intensified its foreign involvement, partly because it wanted both sources of raw materials for manufacturing and worldwide markets for its growing quantity of industrial and agricultural products. In addition, many conservatives hoped that overseas territories and adventures might offer a safety valve for unhappiness at home after the Panic of 1893. They were concerned about the growing violence of labor-management disputes and the unrest of farmers. For the most part, advocates of an expansionist policy hoped to achieve their ends by economic and diplomatic means, not by military action.

International Darwinism

Darwin's concept of the survival of the fittest was applied not only to competition in business but also to competition among nations and races for military advantage, colonies, and spheres of influence. Therefore, to demonstrate strength in the international arena, expansionists wanted to acquire territories overseas. They saw this expansion as an extension of the idea of manifest destiny into the Caribbean, Central America, and the Pacific Ocean.

Imperialism Americans were not alone in pursuing imperialism, which meant either acquiring territory or gaining control over the political or economic

life of other countries. Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and other nations struggled to influence or possess weaker countries in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Ocean. Some in the United States believed that the nation needed to compete with the imperialistic nations for new territory or it would be reduced to a second-class power. In the United States, advocates of American expansion included missionaries, politicians, naval strategists, and journalists.

Missionaries In his book *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis* (1885), the Reverend Josiah Strong wrote that people of Anglo-Saxon stock were “the fittest to survive.” He believed that Protestant Americans had a religious duty to colonize other lands in order to spread Christianity and the benefits of their “superior” civilization (medicine, science, and technology) to less fortunate peoples of the world. Many missionaries who traveled to Africa, Asia, and the Pacific islands believed in the racial superiority and natural supremacy of whites. Mission activities of their churches encouraged many Americans to support active U.S. government involvement in foreign affairs.

Politicians Many in the Republican party were closely allied with business leaders. Republican politicians therefore generally endorsed the use of foreign affairs to search for new markets. Congressional leaders such as Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and the Republican governor of New York, Theodore Roosevelt, were eager to build U.S. power through global expansion.

Naval Power U.S. Navy Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan wrote an important book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (1890), in which he argued that a strong navy was crucial to a country’s ambitions of securing foreign markets and becoming a world power. Mahan’s book was widely read by prominent American citizens—as well as by political leaders in Europe and Japan. Using arguments in Mahan’s book, U.S. naval strategists persuaded Congress to finance the construction of modern steel ships and encouraged the acquisition of overseas islands, such as Samoa, that were desired as coaling and supply stations so that the new fleet could project its sea power around the world. By 1900, the United States had the third largest navy in the world.

Popular Press Newspaper and magazine editors found that they could increase circulation by printing adventure stories about distant and exotic places. Stories in the popular press increased public interest and stimulated demands for a larger U.S. role in world affairs.

Latin America

Beginning with the Monroe Doctrine in the 1820s, the United States had taken a special interest in problems of the Western Hemisphere and had assumed the role of protector of Latin America from European ambitions. Benjamin Harrison’s Secretary of State James G. Blaine of Maine played a principal role in extending this tradition.

Blaine and the Pan-American Conference (1889) Blaine's repeated efforts to establish closer ties between the United States and its southern neighbors bore fruit in 1889 with the meeting of the first Pan-American Conference in Washington. Representatives from various nations of the Western Hemisphere decided to create a permanent organization for international cooperation on trade and other issues. Blaine had hoped to bring about reductions in tariff rates. Although this goal was not achieved, the foundation was established for the larger goal of hemispheric cooperation on both economic and political issues. The Pan-American Union continues today as part of the Organization of American States, which was established in 1948.

Cleveland, Olney, and the Monroe Doctrine One of the most important uses of the Monroe Doctrine in the 19th century concerned a boundary dispute between Venezuela and its neighbor—the British colony of Guiana. In 1895 and 1896, President Cleveland and Secretary of State Richard Olney insisted that Great Britain agree to arbitrate the dispute. The British initially said the matter was not the business of the United States. However, the United States argued that the Monroe Doctrine applied to the situation. If the British did not arbitrate, the United States would back up its argument with military force.

Deciding that U.S. friendship was more important to its long-term interests than a boundary dispute in South America, the British agreed to U.S. demands. As it turned out, the arbitrators ruled mainly in favor of Britain, not Venezuela. Even so, Latin American nations appreciated U.S. efforts to protect them from European domination. Most important, the Venezuela boundary dispute marked a turning point in U.S.–British relations. From 1895 on, the two countries cultivated a friendship rather than continuing their former rivalry. The friendship would prove vital for both nations in the 20th century.

The Spanish-American War

A principal target of American imperialism was the nearby Caribbean area. Expansionists from the South had coveted Cuba as early as the 1850s. Now, in the 1890s, large American investments in Cuban sugar, Spanish misrule of Cuba, and the Monroe Doctrine all provided justification for U.S. intervention in the Caribbean's largest island.

Causes of War

In the 1890s, American public opinion was being swept by a growing wave of *jingoism*—an intense form of nationalism calling for an aggressive foreign policy. Expansionists demanded that the United States take its place with the imperialist nations of Europe as a world power. Not everyone favored such a policy. Presidents Cleveland and McKinley were among many who thought military action abroad was both morally wrong and economically unsound. Nevertheless, specific events combined with background pressures led to overwhelming popular demand for war against Spain.

Cuban Revolt Cuban nationalists, after fighting but failing to overthrow Spanish colonial rule between 1868 and 1878, renewed the struggle in 1895. Through sabotage and laying waste to Cuban plantations, they hoped to either force Spain's withdrawal or pull in the United States as an ally. In response, Spain sent autocratic General Valeriano Weyler and over 100,000 troops to crush the revolt. Weyler forced civilians into armed camps, where tens of thousands died of starvation and disease, and gained him the title of "The Butcher" in the American press.

Yellow Press Actively promoting war fever in the United States was yellow journalism, sensationalistic reporting that featured bold and lurid headlines of crime, disaster, and scandal. Among the most sensationalistic were two New York newspapers, Joseph Pulitzer's *World* and William Randolph Hearst's *Journal*, which printed exaggerated and false accounts of Spanish atrocities in Cuba. Believing what they read daily in their newspapers, many Americans urged Congress and the president to intervene in Cuba for humanitarian reasons and put a stop to the atrocities and suffering.

De Lôme Letter (1898) One story that caused a storm of outrage was a Spanish diplomat's letter that was leaked to the press and printed on the front page of Hearst's *Journal*. Written by the Spanish minister to the United States, Dupuy de Lôme, the letter was highly critical of President McKinley. Many considered it an official Spanish insult against the U.S. national honor.

Sinking of the Maine Less than one week after the de Lôme letter made headlines, a far more shocking event occurred. On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was at anchor in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, when it suddenly exploded, killing 260 Americans on board. The yellow press accused Spain of deliberately blowing up the ship, even though experts later concluded that the explosion was probably an accident.

McKinley's War Message Following the sinking of the *Maine*, President McKinley issued an ultimatum to Spain demanding that it agree to a ceasefire in Cuba. Spain agreed to this demand, but U.S. newspapers and a majority in Congress kept clamoring for war. McKinley yielded to the public pressure in April by sending a war message to Congress. He offered four reasons for the United States to intervene in the Cuban revolution on behalf of the rebels:

1. "Put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries" in Cuba
2. Protect the lives and property of U.S. citizens living in Cuba
3. End "the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people"
4. End "the constant menace to our peace" arising from disorder in Cuba

Teller Amendment Responding to the president's message, Congress passed a joint resolution on April 20 authorizing war. Part of the resolution, the Teller Amendment, declared that the United States had no intention of taking political control of Cuba and that, once peace was restored to the island, the Cuban people would control their own government.

Fighting the War

The first shots of the Spanish-American War were fired in Manila Bay in the Philippines, thousands of miles from Cuba. The last shots were fired only a few months later in August. So swift was the U.S. victory that Secretary of State John Hay called it "a splendid little war."

The Philippines Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley's assistant secretary of the navy, was an expansionist who was eager to show off the power of his country's new, all-steel navy. Anticipating war and recognizing the strategic value of Spain's territories in the Pacific, Roosevelt had ordered a fleet commanded by Commodore George Dewey to the Philippines. This large group of islands had been under Spanish control ever since the 1500s.

On May 1, shortly after war was declared, Commodore Dewey's fleet fired on Spanish ships in Manila Bay. The Spanish fleet was soon pounded into submission by U.S. naval guns. The fight on land took longer. Allied with Filipino rebels, U.S. troops captured the city of Manila on August 13.

Invasion of Cuba More troublesome than the Philippines was the U.S. effort in Cuba. An ill-prepared, largely volunteer force landed in Cuba by the end of June. Here the most lethal enemy proved to be not Spanish bullets but tropical diseases. More than 5,000 American soldiers died of malaria, typhoid, and dysentery, while fewer than 500 died in battle.

Attacks by both American and Cuban forces succeeded in defeating the much larger but poorly led Spanish army. Next to Dewey's victory in Manila Bay, the most celebrated event of the war was a cavalry charge up San Juan Hill in Cuba by the Rough Riders, a regiment of volunteers led by Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned his navy post to take part in the war. Roosevelt's volunteers were aided in victory by veteran regiments of African Americans. Less heroic but more important than the taking of San Juan Hill was the success of the U.S. Navy in destroying the Spanish fleet at Santiago Bay on July 3. Without a navy, Spain realized that it could not continue fighting, and in early August 1898 asked for U.S. terms of peace.

Annexation of Hawaii

Since the mid-1800s, American missionaries and entrepreneurs had settled in the Pacific islands of Hawaii. Expansionists coveted the islands and, in 1893, American settlers aided in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarch, Queen Liliuokalani. However, President Cleveland opposed imperialism and blocked Republican efforts to annex Hawaii. Then the outbreak of war in

the Philippines gave Congress and President McKinley the pretext to complete annexation in July 1898. The Hawaiian islands became a territory of the United States in 1900 and the fiftieth state in the Union in August 1959.

Controversy Over the Treaty of Peace

Far more controversial than the war itself were the terms of the treaty of peace signed in Paris on December 10, 1898. It provided for (1) recognition of Cuban independence, (2) U.S. acquisition of two Spanish islands—Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and Guam in the Pacific, and (3) U.S. acquisition of the Philippines in return for payment to Spain of \$20 million. Since the avowed purpose of the U.S. war effort was to liberate Cuba, Americans accepted this provision of the treaty. However, many were not prepared for taking over a large Pacific island nation, the Philippines, as a colony.

The Philippine Question Controversy over the Philippine question took many months longer to resolve than the brief war with Spain. Opinion both in Congress and the public at large became sharply divided between imperialists who favored annexing the Philippines and anti-imperialists who opposed it. In the Senate, where a two-thirds vote was required to ratify the Treaty of Paris, anti-imperialists were determined to defeat the treaty because of its provision for acquiring the Philippines. Anti-imperialists argued that, for the first time, the United States would be taking possession of a heavily populated area whose people were of a different race and culture. Such action, they thought, violated the principles of the Declaration of Independence by depriving Filipinos of the right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” and also would entangle the United States in the political conflicts of Asia.

On February 6, 1899, the the Treaty of Paris (including Philippine annexation) came to a vote in Congress. The treaty was approved 57 to 27, just one vote more than the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution for ratification. The anti-imperialists fell just two votes short of defeating the treaty.

The people of the Philippines were outraged that their hopes for national independence from Spain were now being denied by the United States. Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo had fought alongside U.S. troops during the Spanish-American War. Now he led bands of guerrilla fighters in a war against U.S. control. It took U.S. troops three years and cost thousands of lives on both sides before the insurrection finally ended in 1902.

Other Results of the War

Imperialism remained a major issue in the United States even after ratification of the Treaty of Paris. An Anti-Imperialist League, led by William Jennings Bryan, rallied opposition to further acts of expansion in the Pacific.

Insular Cases. One question concerned the constitutional rights of the Philippine people: Did the Constitution follow the flag? In other words, did the provisions of the U.S. Constitution apply to whatever territories fell under

U.S. control, including the Philippines and Puerto Rico? Bryan and other anti-imperialists argued in the affirmative, while leading imperialists argued in the negative. The issue was resolved in favor of the imperialists in a series of Supreme Court cases (1901–1903) known as the insular (island) cases. The Court ruled that constitutional rights were not automatically extended to territorial possessions and that the power to decide whether or not to grant such rights belonged to Congress.

Cuba and the Platt Amendment (1901) Previously, the Teller Amendment to the war resolution of 1898 had guaranteed U.S. respect for Cuba's sovereignty as an independent nation. Nevertheless, U.S. troops remained in Cuba from 1898 until 1901. In the latter year, Congress made withdrawal of troops conditional upon Cuba's acceptance of terms included in an amendment to an army appropriations bill—the Platt Amendment of 1901. Bitterly resented by Cuban nationalists, the Platt Amendment required Cuba to agree (1) to never sign a treaty with a foreign power that impaired its independence, (2) to permit the United States to intervene in Cuba's affairs to preserve its independence and maintain law and order, and (3) to allow the U.S. to maintain naval bases in Cuba, including one permanent base at Guantanamo Bay.

A Cuban convention reluctantly accepted these terms, adding them to its country's new constitution. In effect, the Platt Amendment made Cuba a U.S. protectorate. As a result, Cuba's foreign policy would, for many years, be subject to U.S. oversight and control.

Election of 1900 The Republicans renominated President McKinley, along with war hero and New York Governor Theodore Roosevelt for vice president. The Democrats, as they had in 1896, nominated William Jennings Bryan. He again argued for free silver and vigorously attacked the growth of American imperialism. However, most Americans accepted the recently enacted gold standard and saw the new territory, including the Philippines, acquired during the war as an accomplished fact. With growing national economic prosperity, the electorate gave McKinley a larger margin of victory than in 1896.

Recognition of U.S. Power One consequence of the Spanish-American War was its effect on the way both Americans and Europeans thought about U.S. power. The decisive U.S. victory in the war filled Americans with national pride. Southerners shared in this pride and became more attached to the Union after their bitter experience in the 1860s. At the same time, France, Great Britain, and other European nations recognized that the United States was a first-class power with a strong navy and a new willingness to take an active role in international affairs.

Open Door Policy in China

Europeans were further impressed by U.S. involvement in global politics as a result of John Hay's policies toward China. As McKinley's secretary of state, Hay was alarmed that the Chinese empire, weakened by political corruption

and failure to modernize, was falling under the control of various outside powers. In the 1890s, Russia, Japan, Great Britain, France, and Germany had all established *spheres of influence* in China, meaning that they could dominate trade and investment within their sphere (a particular port or region of China) and shut out competitors. To prevent the United States from losing access to the lucrative China trade, Hay dispatched a diplomatic note in 1899 to nations controlling spheres of influence. He asked them to accept the concept of an Open Door, by which all nations would have equal trading privileges in China. The replies to Hay's note were evasive. However, because no nation rejected the concept, Hay declared that all had accepted the Open Door policy. The press hailed Hay's initiative as a diplomatic triumph.

Boxer Rebellion (1900) As the 19th century ended, nationalism and *xenophobia* (hatred and fear of foreigners) were on the rise in China. In 1900, a secret society of Chinese nationalists—the Society of Harmonious Fists, or Boxers—attacked foreign settlements and murdered dozens of Christian missionaries. To protect American lives and property, U.S. troops participated in an international force that marched into Peking (Beijing) and quickly crushed the rebellion of the Boxers. The countries forced China to pay a huge sum in indemnities, which further weakened the imperial regime.

Hay's Second Round of Notes Hay feared that the expeditionary force in China might attempt to occupy the country and destroy its independence. In 1900, therefore, he wrote a second note to the imperialistic powers stating U.S. commitment to (1) preserve China's territorial integrity as well as (2) safeguard "equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire." Hay's first and second notes set U.S. policy on China not only for the administrations of McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt but also for future presidents. In the 1930s, this Open Door policy for China would strongly influence U.S. relations with Japan.

Hay's notes in themselves did not deter other nations from exploiting the situation in China. For the moment, European powers were kept from grabbing larger pieces of China by the political rivalries among themselves.

Theodore Roosevelt's Big-Stick Policy

In 1901, only a few months after being inaugurated president for a second time, McKinley was fatally shot by an anarchist (person who opposed all government). Succeeding him in office was the Republican vice president—the young expansionist and hero of the Spanish-American War, Theodore Roosevelt. Describing his foreign policy, the new president had once said that it was his motto to "speak softly and carry a big stick." The press therefore applied the label "big stick" to Roosevelt's aggressive foreign policy. By acting boldly and decisively in a number of situations, Roosevelt attempted to build the reputation of the U.S. as a world power. Imperialists applauded his every move, but critics disliked breaking the tradition of noninvolvement in global politics.

The Panama Canal

As a result of the Spanish-American War, the new American empire stretched from Puerto Rico in the Caribbean to the Philippines in the Pacific. As a strategic necessity for holding on to these far-flung islands, the United States desired a canal through Central America to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. However, building a canal would be difficult. The French had already failed to complete a canal through the tropic jungles. And before the United States could even try, it needed to negotiate an agreement with the British to abrogate (cancel) an earlier treaty of 1850 in which any canal in Central America was to be under joint British-U.S. control. This agreement, called the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, was signed in 1901. With the British agreement to let United States build a canal alone, the young and activist President Roosevelt took charge.

Revolution in Panama Roosevelt was eager to begin the construction of a canal through the narrow but rugged terrain of the isthmus of Panama. He was frustrated, however, by Colombia's control of this isthmus and its refusal to agree to U.S. terms for digging the canal through its territory. Losing patience with Colombia's demands of more money and sovereignty over the canal, Roosevelt orchestrated a revolt for Panama's independence in 1903. With the support of the U.S. Navy, the rebellion succeeded immediately and almost without bloodshed. However, the new government of an independent Panama had to sign the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903 granting the United States all rights over the 51-mile-long and 10-mile-wide Canal Zone as "if it were sovereign . . . in perpetuity" to keep U.S. protection. Years later, Roosevelt boasted, "I took Canal Zone and let Congress debate."

Building the Canal Started in 1904, the Panama Canal was completed in 1914. Hundreds of laborers lost their lives in the effort. The work was completed thanks in great measure to the skills of two Army colonels—George Goethals, the chief engineer of the canal, and Dr. William Gorgas, whose efforts eliminated the mosquitoes that spread deadly yellow fever.

Most Americans approved of Roosevelt's determination to build the canal, but many were unhappy with his high-handed tactics to secure the Canal Zone. Latin Americans were especially resentful. To compensate, Congress finally voted in 1921 to pay Colombia an indemnity of \$25 million for its loss of Panama. In 1999, United States returned the Canal Zone to the Republic of Panama to end the growing bitterness over the original treaty (See Chapter 29).

The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

Another application of Roosevelt's big-stick diplomacy involved Latin American nations that were in deep financial trouble and could not pay their debts to European creditors. For example, in 1902, the British dispatched warships to Venezuela to force that country to pay its debts. In 1904, it appeared that European powers stood ready to intervene in Santo Domingo (the Dominican

Republic) for the same reason. Rather than let Europeans intervene in Latin America—a blatant violation of the Monroe Doctrine—Roosevelt declared in December 1904 that the United States would intervene instead, whenever necessary. This policy became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. It meant that the United States would send gunboats to a Latin American country that was delinquent in paying its debts. U.S. sailors and marines would then occupy the country's major ports to manage the collection of customs taxes until European debts were satisfied.

Over the next 20 years, U.S. presidents used the Roosevelt Corollary to justify sending U.S. forces into Haiti, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. One long-term result of such interventions was poor U.S. relations with the entire region of Latin America.

East Asia

As the 20th century began, Japan and the United States were both relatively new imperialist powers in East Asia. Their relationship during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, though at first friendly, grew increasingly competitive.

Russo-Japanese War Imperialist rivalry between Russia and Japan led to war in 1904, a war Japan was winning. To end the conflict, Roosevelt arranged a diplomatic conference between the two foes at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905. Although both Japan and Russia agreed to the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japanese nationalists blamed the United States for not giving their country all that they believed they deserved from Russia.

“Gentlemen’s Agreement” A major cause of friction between Japan and the United States concerned the laws of California, which discriminated against Japanese Americans. San Francisco’s practice of requiring Japanese American children to attend segregated schools was considered a national insult in Japan. In 1908, President Roosevelt arranged a compromise by means of an informal understanding, or “gentlemen’s agreement.” The Japanese government secretly agreed to restrict the emigration of Japanese workers to the United States in return for Roosevelt persuading California to repeal its discriminatory laws.

Great White Fleet To demonstrate U.S. naval power to Japan and other nations, Roosevelt sent a fleet of battleships on an around-the-world cruise (1907–1909). The great white ships made an impressive sight, and the Japanese government warmly welcomed their arrival in Tokyo Bay.

Root-Takahira Agreement (1908) An important executive agreement was concluded between the United States and Japan in 1908. Secretary of State Elihu Root and Japanese Ambassador Takahira exchanged notes pledging mutual respect for each nation’s Pacific possessions and support for the Open Door policy in China.

Peace Efforts

Roosevelt saw his big-stick policies as a way to promote peaceful solutions to international disputes. For his work in settling the Russo-Japanese War, Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. In the same year, he helped arrange and direct the Algeciras Conference in Spain, which succeeded in settling a conflict between France and Germany over claims to Morocco. The president also directed U.S. participation at the Second International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907, which discussed rules for limiting warfare. As an expansionist, interventionist, and finally as an internationalist, Theodore Roosevelt embodied the vigor of a youthful nation arriving on world stage.

William Howard Taft and Dollar Diplomacy

Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft (1909–1913), did not carry a big stick. He adopted a foreign policy that was mildly expansionist but depended more on investors' dollars than on the navy's battleships. His policy of promoting U.S. trade by supporting American enterprises abroad was known as *dollar diplomacy*.

Dollar Diplomacy in East Asia and Latin America

Taft believed that private American financial investment in China and Central America would lead to greater stability there, while at the same time promoting U.S. business interests. His policy, however, was thwarted by one major obstacle: growing anti-imperialism both in the United States and overseas.

Railroads in China Taft first tested his policy in China. Wanting U.S. bankers to be included in a British, French, and German plan to invest in railroads in China, Taft succeeded in securing American participation in an agreement signed in 1911. In the northern province of Manchuria, however, the United States was excluded from an agreement between Russia and Japan to build railroads there. In direct defiance of the U.S. Open Door policy, Russia and Japan agreed to treat Manchuria as a jointly held sphere of influence.

Intervention in Nicaragua To protect American investments, the United States intervened in Nicaragua's financial affairs in 1911, and sent in marines when a civil war broke out in 1912. The marines remained, except for a short period, until 1933.

The Lodge Corollary

Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican senator from Massachusetts, was responsible for another action that alienated both Latin America and Japan. A group of Japanese investors wanted to buy a large part of Mexico's Baja Peninsula, extending south of California. Fearing that Japan's government might be secretly scheming to acquire the land, Lodge introduced and the Senate in 1912 passed a resolution known as the Lodge Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The resolution stated that non-European powers (such as Japan) would be excluded from owning territory in the Western Hemisphere. President Taft opposed the corollary, which also offended Japan and angered Latin American countries.

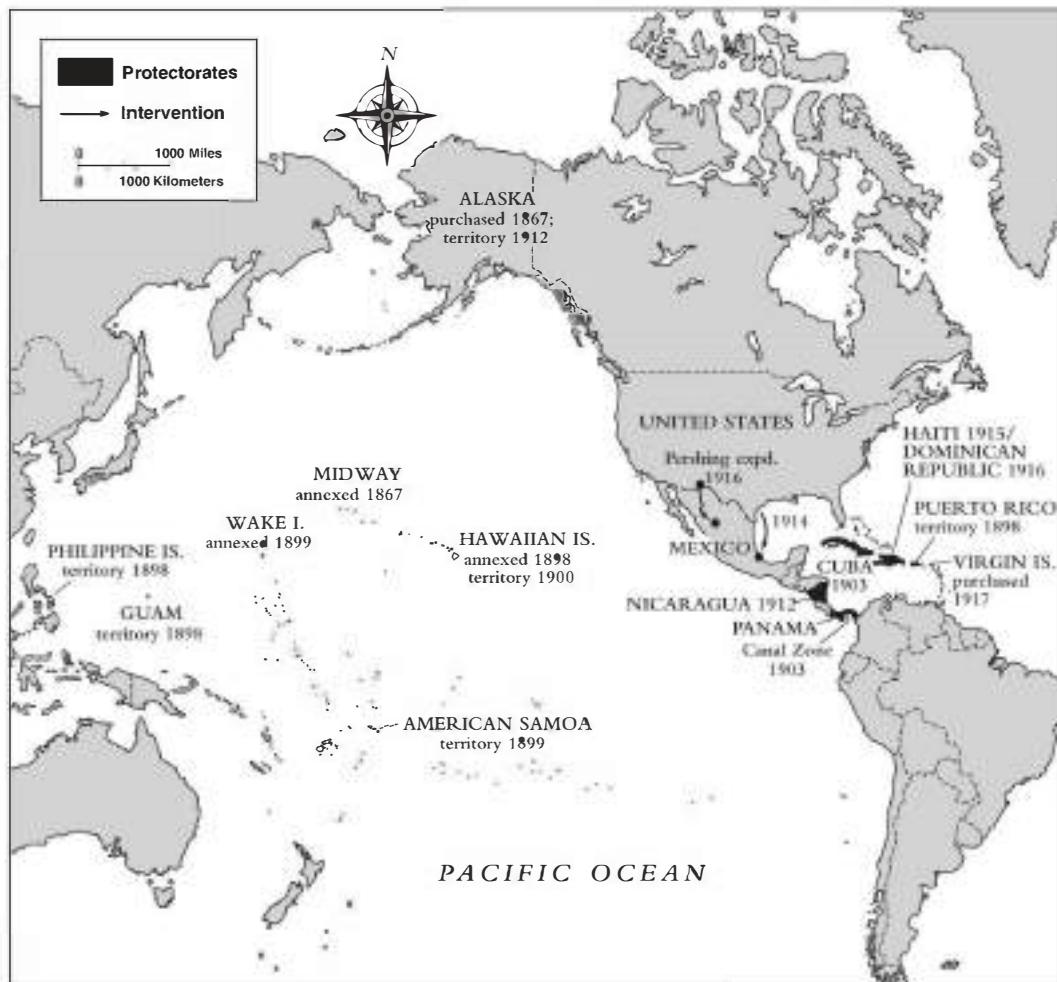
Woodrow Wilson and Foreign Affairs

In his campaign for president in 1912, the Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson called for a *New Freedom* in government and promised a moral approach to foreign affairs. Wilson said he opposed imperialism and the big-stick and dollar-diplomacy policies of his Republican predecessors.

Wilson's Moral Diplomacy

In his first term as president (1913–1917), Wilson had limited success applying a high moral standard to foreign relations. He and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan hoped to demonstrate that the United States respected other nations' rights and would support the spread of democracy. Hoping to demonstrate that his presidency was opposed to self-interested imperialism, Wilson took steps to correct what he viewed as wrongful policies of the past.

U.S. TERRITORIES AND PROTECTORATES, 1917



The Philippines Wilson won passage of the Jones Act of 1916, which (1) granted full territorial status to that country, (2) guaranteed a bill of rights and universal male suffrage to Filipino citizens, and (3) promised independence for the Philippines as soon as a stable government was established.

Puerto Rico An act of Congress in 1917 granted U.S. citizenship to all the inhabitants and also provided for limited self-government.

The Panama Canal Wilson persuaded Congress in 1914 to repeal an act that had granted U.S. ships an exemption from paying the standard canal tolls charged other nations. Wilson's policy on Panama Canal tolls angered American nationalists such as Roosevelt and Lodge but pleased the British, who had strongly objected to the U.S. exemption.

Conciliation Treaties Wilson's commitment to the ideals of democracy and peace was fully shared by his famous secretary of state, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan's pet project was to negotiate treaties in which nations pledged to (1) submit disputes to international commissions and (2) observe a one-year cooling-off period before taking military action. Bryan arranged, with Wilson's approval, 30 such conciliation treaties.

U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE CARIBBEAN, 1898 TO 1917



Military Intervention under Wilson

Wilson's commitment to democracy and anticolonialism had a blind spot with respect to the Mexico and countries of Central America and the Caribbean. He went far beyond both Roosevelt and Taft in his use of U.S. marines to straighten out financial and political troubles in the region. He kept marines in Nicaragua and ordered U.S. troops into Haiti in 1915 and the Dominican Republic in 1916. He argued that such intervention was necessary to maintain stability in the region and protect the Panama Canal.

Wilson's moral approach to foreign affairs was severely tested by a revolution and civil war in Mexico. As a supporter of democracy, Wilson refused to recognize the military dictatorship of General Victoriano Huerta, who had seized power in 1913 by having the democratically elected president killed.

Tampico Incident To aid revolutionaries fighting Huerta, Wilson called for an arms embargo against the Mexican government and sent a fleet to blockade the port of Vera Cruz. In 1914, several U.S. sailors went ashore at Tampico where they were arrested by Mexican authorities. They were soon released. However, Huerta refused to apologize, as demanded by a U.S. naval officer. Wilson retaliated by ordering the U.S. Navy to occupy Veracruz. War seemed imminent. It was averted, however, when South America's ABC powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—offered to mediate the dispute. This was the first dispute in the Americas to be settled through joint mediation.

Pancho Villa and the U.S. Expeditionary Force Huerta fell from power in late 1914. Replacing him was a more democratic regime led by Venustiano Carranza. Almost immediately, the new government was challenged by a band of rebels loyal to Pancho Villa. Hoping to destabilize his opponent's government, Villa led raids across the U.S.–Mexican border and murdered several people in Texas and New Mexico. In March 1916, President Wilson ordered General John J. Pershing and an “expeditionary force” to pursue Villa into northern Mexico. They failed to capture Villa. President Carranza protested the American presence in Mexico. In January 1917, the growing possibility of U.S. entry into World War I caused Wilson to withdraw Pershing's troops.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: DID ECONOMICS DRIVE IMPERIALISM?

For most of the 20th century, historians writing on U.S. emergence as a world power stressed economic motives as the principal reason for the imperialism. Whether explaining the Spanish-American War or later actions, historians such as William Appelman Williams and Walter La Feber focused on U.S. desires for overseas markets, raw materials, and investments.

Some historians have challenged this economic explanation of U.S. imperialism. In the Spanish-American War, historians note that business interests initially opposed U.S. intervention in Cuba because they feared that it would disrupt commerce. Only later did bankers and manufacturers support the war as a stabilizing influence. The change in view may have occurred only after war had started.

Other critics of the economic interpretation of imperialism stress the importance of noneconomic motives. Influenced by shocking stories in the yellow press, Americans public opinion seemed to express genuine humanitarian impulses—and also nationalistic outrage over the sinking of the *Maine*. Other historians, studying the motives of nationalist leaders like Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, have concluded that their chief interest was in establishing U.S. power on the world stage. In securing U.S. control of the Philippines, Roosevelt's role was crucial, and he was motivated by strategic considerations (establishing a naval base in the Pacific), not by economics. In response, those stressing economic motives argue that, even if Roosevelt had not ordered Dewey to Manila Bay, the Philippines would soon have become a target of U.S. ambitions.

Other historians believe that a new generation of foreign-policy makers had come to power around 1900. These talented leaders—chiefly Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson—were critical of the mediocre leadership in Washington in the post-Civil War years and were eager to take bold new directions. Historians taking this view portray Theodore Roosevelt as a realist who saw diplomacy as a question of balance-of-power politics, as opposed to the idealist, Woodrow Wilson, who approached foreign policy as a matter of morals and legality.

Historian Richard Hofstadter interpreted the Spanish-American War from the perspective of social psychology. He argued that the popular support for war resulted from a psychic crisis in the nation. In Hofstadter's view, the American people were expressing aggression built up by economic depressions, the closing of the frontier, the rise of big business, and fears of labor radicalism.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Overseas Involvement (WOR)	George Dewey Rough Riders Theodore Roosevelt Treaty of Paris: Puerto Rico Guam and Philippines annexation dispute Emilio Aguinaldo Anti-Imperialist League Insular cases Platt Amendment (1901)	Noble Peace Prize (1906) segregation in San Francisco schools gentlemen's agreement Great White Fleet Algeciras Conference (1906) Hague Conference 1907 Root-Takahira Agreement (1908)
Causes of U.S. Imperialism (WOR, NAT)	China Policy (WOR) spheres of influence John Hay Open Door policy Boxer Rebellion U.S. joined international force Second Hay Note	Dollar Diplomacy (WOR, WXT) William Howard Taft role of American money railroads in China Manchurian problem intervention in Nicaragua Henry Cabot Lodge Lodge Corollary
Spanish-American War, (WOR, POL)	TR Policies (WOR) “big-stick policy” TR supports Panama revolt Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903) building the Panama Canal George Goethals William Gorgas Roosevelt Corollary Santo Domingo Russo-Japanese War Treaty of Portsmouth (1905)	Moral Diplomacy (WOR) Woodrow Wilson anti-imperialism William Jennings Bryan Jones Act (1916) Puerto Rico citizenship Conciliation treaties military intervention Mexican civil war General Huerta Tampico incident ABC powers Pancho Villa expeditionary force John J. Pershing
Cuban revolt Valeriano Weyler “jingoism” “yellow journalism” De Lôme Letter sinking of the <i>Maine</i> Teller Amendment “a splendid little war” invade the Philippines		

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the newspaper below.



Source: *New York Journal*, February 17, 1898. The Granger Collection, NYC

1. Newspaper headlines such as those above most directly contributed to which of the following?
 - (A) The capture of the terrorists by American authorities
 - (B) The selection of Theodore Roosevelt as a vice-presidential candidate
 - (C) The declaration of war against Spain by the U.S. Congress
 - (D) The attack by the U.S. Navy on Manila Bay
2. Who of the following would most strongly support the sentiments in these headlines?
 - (A) Members of Protestant missionary societies
 - (B) Midwestern and western Democrats
 - (C) President William McKinley
 - (D) Expansionists such as Henry Cabot Lodge
3. The point of view of this newspaper most clearly reflects
 - (A) the theory of the safety-valve
 - (B) the concept of jingoism
 - (C) the idea of isolationism
 - (D) the views of the pro-business lobby

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. . . .

“We earnestly condemn the policy of the present national administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. . . . We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods. We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.”

—Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, October 17, 1899

4. With which of the following would supporters of this excerpt most likely agree?
 - (A) The peoples of Asia had a right to govern themselves without outside interference.
 - (B) The United States had a duty to bring a new civilization and religion to the former Spanish colonies.
 - (C) The people of the Philippines were unprepared and unfit to govern themselves.
 - (D) The United States should control weak countries that might fall to other great powers.
5. Which of the following most directly contributed to the anti-imperialist sentiments expressed in the excerpt?
 - (A) The sensationalism of the popular press of the time
 - (B) The provisions of the peace treaty ending the Spanish-American War
 - (C) The expansionist politics of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge
 - (D) The debate over the Platt Amendment and its consequences
6. Which of the following represents a policy that the authors of the excerpt would most likely support?
 - (A) Secretary John Hay’s Open Door Policy
 - (B) President Roosevelt’s “gentlemen’s agreement”
 - (C) President Taft’s “dollar diplomacy”
 - (D) President Wilson’s signing of the Jones Act in 1916

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of international police power . . .

“We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or has invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations.”

—Theodore Roosevelt, Speech to Congress, Dec. 6, 1904

7. This excerpt most directly reflects the continuation of the policy that
 - (A) the United States should remain neutral and impartial in European conflicts
 - (B) the United States should exercise international police power
 - (C) the independent nations of the Americas should remain free from European intervention
 - (D) the United States should civilize and educate other nations in the Americas
8. Which of the following was the most direct result of the policy stated in this excerpt?
 - (A) The United States aided the Cuban rebels against their Spanish rulers
 - (B) The United States intervened in many American countries in the early 20th century
 - (C) U.S. troops helped American settlers overthrow the monarchy in Hawaii
 - (D) President Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE argument that supports the view that the Spanish-American War was caused by humanitarian concerns.
- b) Briefly explain ONE argument that supports the view that the Spanish-American War was caused by imperialist motives.
- c) Briefly explain ONE argument why the Spanish-American War could be considered the beginning of a new era in American foreign policy.

Question 2 is based on the excerpt below.

“A quintessentially American figure and a legitimate American hero, [Theodore] Roosevelt has been a subject of controversy. Especially during periods when interventionism has been out of fashion, he has been denounced as a heavy-handed imperialist, insensitive to the nationalism of the people he considered backward. During the Cold War years, on the other hand, he was widely praised as a realist, more European than American in his thinking, a shrewd and skillful diplomat who understood power politics, appreciated the central role America must play in the world, and vigorously defended its interests.”

—George C. Herring, historian, *From Colony to Superpower*, 2008

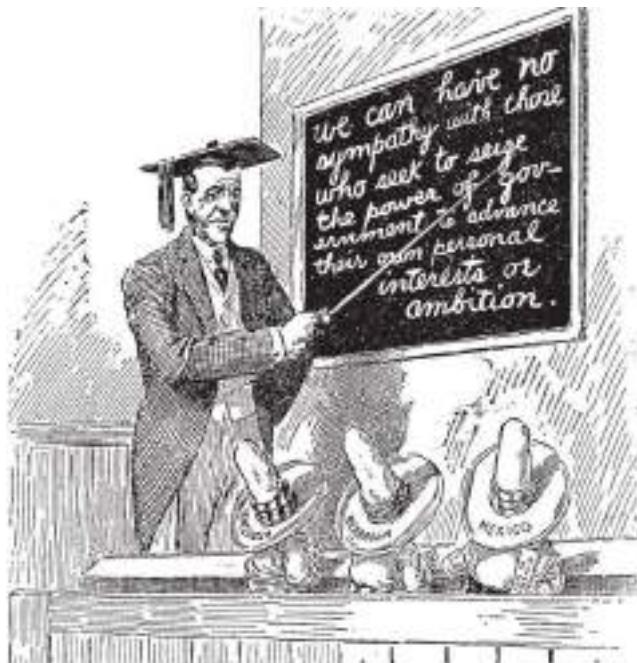
2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE example that supports the view that President Roosevelt was a “heavy-handed imperialist.”
- b) Briefly explain ONE example that supports the view that President Roosevelt was “a shrewd and skillful diplomat.”
- c) Briefly explain why the author believed that Roosevelt’s reputation has changed over time.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE example of why the U.S. relationship with Great Britain improved during the period from the 1890s to 1914.
- b) Briefly explain ONE example of why the U.S. relationship with Japan became more difficult.
- c) Briefly explain ONE example of why the U.S. relationship with Mexico became more difficult.

Question 4 is based on the cartoon below.



Source: 1914,
The Granger
Collection, NYC

4. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c. The teacher represents Woodrow Wilson. The board says, “We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition.” The hats are labeled Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Mexico.
- Briefly explain the point of view expressed by the cartoonist.
 - Briefly explain ONE event during the Woodrow Wilson administration that supported the point of view expressed by the artist.
 - Briefly explain ONE difference or similarity between the policies of Wilson and either Theodore Roosevelt or William Howard Taft.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: CHOOSING A POSITION ABOUT CONTINUITY

Historians debate whether the increased role for the United States in international affairs after 1896 was an extension of earlier policies or a departure from them. Which events listed below indicate it was an extension and which indicate it was a departure?

1. Washington’s Farewell Address
2. Monroe Doctrine
3. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
4. Kanagawa Treaty
5. Purchase of Alaska

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1901–1917

I am, therefore, a Progressive because we have not kept up with our own changes of conditions, either in the economic field or in the political field. We have not kept up as well as other nations have. We have not adjusted our practices to the facts of the case. . . .

Woodrow Wilson, campaign speech, 1912

Large-scale industrialization, immigration, and urban expansion changed the United States dramatically during the last quarter of the 19th century. (See Chapters 16, 18, and 19.) By the turn of the century, a reform movement had developed that included a wide range of groups and individuals with a common desire to improve life in the industrial age. Their ideas and work became known as *progressivism*, because they wanted to build on the existing society, making moderate political changes and social improvements through government action. Most Progressives were not revolutionaries but shared the goals of limiting the power of big business, improving democracy for the people, and strengthening social justice. Achieving these goals often included a more active role for the federal government. This chapter will examine the origins, efforts, and accomplishments of the Progressive era. While Progressives did not cure all of America's problems, they improved the quality of life, provided a larger role for the people in their democracy, and established a precedent for a more active role for the federal government.

Origins of Progressivism

Although the Progressive movement had its origins in the state reforms of the early 1890s, it acquired national momentum only with the dawn of a new century and the unexpected swearing into office of a young president, Theodore Roosevelt, in 1901. The Progressive era lasted through the Republican presidencies of Roosevelt (1901–1909) and William Howard Taft (1909–1913), and the first term of the Democrat Woodrow Wilson (1913–1917). U.S. entry into World War I in 1917 diverted public attention away from domestic issues and brought the era to an end—but not before major regulatory laws had been enacted by Congress and various state legislatures.

Attitudes and Motives

As they entered a new century, most Americans were well aware of rapid changes in their country. The relatively homogeneous, rural society of independent farmers of the past was transforming into an industrialized nation of mixed ethnicity centered in the growing cities. For decades, middle-class Americans had been alarmed by the rising power of big business, the uncertainties of business cycles, the increasing gap between rich and poor, the violent conflict between labor and capital, and the dominance of corrupt political machines in the cities. Most disturbing to minorities were the racist Jim Crow laws in the South that relegated African Americans to the status of second-class citizens. Crusaders for women's suffrage added their voices to the call for greater democracy.

Who Were the Progressives? The groups participating in the Progressive movement were extremely diverse. Protestant church leaders championed one set of reforms, African Americans proposed other reforms, union leaders sought public support for their goals, and feminists lobbied their state legislatures for votes for women. Loosely linking these reform efforts under a single label, Progressive, was a belief that society badly needed changes and that government was the proper agency for correcting social and economic ills.

Urban Middle Class Unlike the Populists of the 1890s, whose strength came from rural America, most Progressives were middle-class men and women who lived in cities. The urban middle class had steadily grown in the final decades of the 19th century. In addition to doctors, lawyers, ministers, and storekeepers (the heart of the middle class in an earlier era), thousands of white-collar office workers and middle managers employed in banks, manufacturing firms, and other businesses formed a key segment of the economy.

Professional Class Members of this business and professional middle class took their civic responsibilities seriously. Some were versed in scientific and statistical methods and the findings of the new social sciences. They belonged to the hundreds of national business and professional associations that provided platforms to address corrupt business and government practices and urban social and economic problems.

Religion A missionary spirit inspired some middle-class reformers. Protestant churches preached against vice and taught a code of social responsibility, which included caring for the less fortunate and insisting on honesty in public life. The Social Gospel popularized by Walter Rauschenbusch (see Chapter 18) was an important element in Protestant Christians' response to the problem of urban poverty. Most of these Protestants were native-born and older stock Americans, often from families of older elites who felt that their central role in society had been replaced by wealthy industrialists and urban political machines.

Leadership Without strong leadership, the diverse forces of reform could not have overcome conservatives' resistance to change. Fortunately for the Progressives, a number of dedicated and able leaders entered politics at the turn of the century to challenge the status quo. Theodore Roosevelt and Robert La Follette in the Republican party and William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson in the Democratic party demonstrated a vigorous style of political leadership that had been lacking from national politics during the Gilded Age.

The Progressives' Philosophy The reform impulse was hardly new. In fact, many historians see progressivism as just one more phase in a reform tradition going back to the Jeffersonians in the early 1800s, the Jacksonians in the 1830s, and the Populists in the 1890s. Without doubt, the Progressives—like American reformers before them—were committed to democratic values and shared in the belief that honest government and just laws could improve the human condition.

Pragmatism A revolution in thinking occurred at the same time as the Industrial Revolution. Charles Darwin, in his *Origin of Species*, presented the concept of evolution, which had an impact well beyond simply justifying the accumulation of wealth (see Chapter 16). The way people thought and reasoned was challenged, and the prevailing philosophy of romantic transcendentalism in America gave way to a balanced *pragmatism*. In the early 20th century, William James and John Dewey were two leading American advocates of this new philosophy. They defined "truth" in a way that many Progressives found appealing. James and Dewey argued that the "good" and the "true" could not be known in the abstract as fixed and changeless ideals. Rather, they said, people should take a pragmatic, or practical, approach to morals, ideals, and knowledge. They should experiment with ideas and laws and test them in action until they found something that would produce a well-functioning democratic society.

Progressive thinkers adopted the new philosophy of pragmatism because it enabled them to challenge fixed notions that stood in the way of reform. For example, they rejected laissez-faire theory as impractical. The old standard of rugged individualism no longer seemed viable in a modern society dominated by impersonal corporations.

Scientific Management Another idea that gained widespread acceptance among Progressives came from the practical studies of Frederick W. Taylor. By using a stopwatch to time the output of factory workers, Taylor discovered ways of organizing people in the most efficient manner—the scientific management system. Many Progressives believed that government too could be made more efficient if placed in the hands of experts and scientific managers. They objected to the corruption of political bosses partly because it was anti-democratic and partly because it was an inefficient way to run things.

The Muckrakers

Before the public could be roused to action, it first had to be well-informed about the scandalous realities of politics, factories, and slums. Newspaper and magazine publishers found that their middle-class readers loved to read about underhanded schemes in politics. Therefore, many publications featured in-depth, investigative stories. Writers specializing in such stories were referred to as “muckrakers” by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Origins One of the earliest muckrakers was Chicago reporter Henry Demarest Lloyd, who in 1881 wrote a series of articles for the *Atlantic Monthly* attacking the practices of the Standard Oil Company and the railroads. Published in book form in 1894, Lloyd’s *Wealth Against Commonwealth* fully exposed the corruption and greed of the oil monopoly but failed to suggest how to control it.

Magazines An Irish immigrant, Samuel Sidney McClure, founded *McClure's Magazine* in 1893, which became a major success by running a series of muckraking articles by Lincoln Steffens (*Tweed Days in St. Louis*, 1902) and another series by Ida Tarbell (*The History of the Standard Oil Company*, also in 1902). Combining careful research with sensationalism, these articles set a standard for the deluge of muckraking that followed. Popular 10- and 15-cent magazines such as *McClure's*, *Collier's*, and *Cosmopolitan* competed fiercely to outdo their rivals with shocking exposés of political and economic corruption.

Books The most popular series of muckraking articles were usually collected and published as best-selling books. Articles on tenement life by Jacob Riis, one of the first photojournalists, were published as *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). Lincoln Steffens’ *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) also caused a sensation by describing in detail the corrupt deals that characterized big-city politics from Philadelphia to Minneapolis.

Many of the muckraking books were novels. Two of Theodore Dreiser’s novels, *The Financier* and *The Titan*, portrayed the avarice and ruthlessness of an industrialist. Fictional accounts such as Frank Norris’ *The Octopus* (on the tyrannical power of railroad companies) and *The Pit* (grain speculation) were more effective than many journalistic accounts in stirring up public demands for government regulations.

Decline of Muckraking The popularity of muckraking books and magazine articles began to decline after 1910 for several reasons. First, writers found it more and more difficult to top the sensationalism of the last story. Second, publishers were expanding and faced economic pressures from banks and advertisers to tone down their treatment of business. Third, by 1910 corporations were becoming more aware of their public image and developing a new specialty: the field of public relations. Nevertheless, muckraking had a lasting effect on the Progressive era. It exposed inequities, educated the public about corruption in high places, and prepared the way for corrective action.

Political Reforms in Cities and States

The cornerstone of Progressive ideology was faith in democracy. Progressives believed that, given a chance, the majority of voters would elect honest officials instead of the corrupt ones backed by boss-dominated political machines.

Voter Participation

Progressives advocated a number of reforms for increasing the participation of the average citizen in political decision-making.

Australian, or Secret, Ballot Political parties could manipulate and intimidate voters by printing lists (or “tickets”) of party candidates and watching voters drop them into the ballot box on election day. In 1888, Massachusetts was the first state to adopt a system successfully tried in Australia of issuing ballots printed by the state and requiring voters to mark their choices secretly within a private booth. By 1910, all states had adopted the secret ballot.

Direct Primaries In the late 19th century, Republicans and Democrats commonly nominated candidates for state and federal offices in state conventions dominated by party bosses. In 1903, the Progressive governor of Wisconsin, Robert La Follette, introduced a new system for bypassing politicians and placing the nominating process directly in the hands of the voters—the direct primary. By 1915, some form of the direct primary was used in every state. The system’s effectiveness in overthrowing boss rule was limited, as politicians devised ways of confusing the voters and splitting the antimachine vote. Some southern states even used white-only primaries to exclude African Americans from voting.

Direct Election of U.S. Senators Traditionally, U.S. senators had been chosen by the state legislatures rather than by direct vote of the people. Progressives believed this was a principal reason that the Senate had become a millionaires’ club dominated by big business. Nevada in 1899 was the first state to give the voters the opportunity to elect U.S. senators directly. By 1912, a total of 30 states had adopted this reform, and in 1913, adoption of the 17th Amendment required that all U.S. senators be elected by popular vote.

Initiative, Referendum, and Recall If politicians in the state legislatures balked at obeying the “will of the people,” then Progressives proposed two methods for forcing them to act. Amendments to state constitutions offered voters (1) the *initiative*—a method by which voters could compel the legislature to consider a bill and (2) the *referendum*—a method that allowed citizens to vote on proposed laws printed on their ballots. A third Progressive measure, the *recall*, enabled voters to remove a corrupt or unsatisfactory politician from office by majority vote before that official’s term had expired.

Between 1898, when South Dakota adopted the initiative and referendum, and 1918 (the end of World War I), a total of 20 states—most of them west of the Mississippi—offered voters the initiative and the referendum, while 11 states offered the recall.

Municipal Reform

City bosses and their corrupt alliance with local businesses (trolley lines and utility companies, for example) were the first target of Progressive leaders. In Toledo, Ohio, in 1897, a self-made millionaire with strong memories of his origins as a workingman became the Republican mayor. Adopting “golden rule” as both his policy and his middle name, Mayor Samuel M. “Golden Rule” Jones delighted Toledo’s citizens by introducing a comprehensive program of municipal reform, including free kindergartens, night schools, and public playgrounds. Another Ohioan, Tom L. Johnson, devoted himself to tax reform and three-cent trolley fares for the people of Cleveland. As Cleveland’s mayor from 1901–1909, Johnson fought hard—but without success—for public ownership and operation of the city’s public utilities and services (water, electricity, and trolleys).

Controlling Public Utilities Reform leaders arose in other cities throughout the nation seeking to break the power of the city bosses and take utilities out of the hands of private companies. By 1915 fully two-thirds of the nation’s cities owned their own water systems. As a result of the Progressives’ efforts, many cities also came to own and operate gas lines, electric power plants, and urban transportation systems.

Commissions and City Managers New types of municipal government were another Progressive innovation. In 1900, Galveston, Texas, was the first city to adopt a commission plan of government, in which voters elected the heads of city departments (fire, police, and sanitation), not just the mayor. Ultimately proving itself more effective than the commission plan was a system first tried in Dayton, Ohio, in 1913, in which an expert manager was hired by an elected city council to direct the work of the various departments of city government. By 1923, more than 300 cities had adopted the manager-council plan of municipal government.

State Reform

At the state level, reform governors battled corporate interests and championed such measures as the initiative, the referendum, and the direct primary to give common people control of their own government. In New York, Charles Evans Hughes battled fraudulent insurance companies. In California, Hiram Johnson successfully fought against the economic and political power of the Southern Pacific Railroad. In Wisconsin, Robert La Follette established a strong personal following as the governor (1900–1904) who won passage of the “Wisconsin Idea”—a series of Progressive measures that included a direct primary law, tax reform, and state regulatory commissions to monitor railroads, utilities, and business such as insurance.

Temperance and Prohibition Whether or not to shut down saloons and prohibit the drinking of alcohol was one issue over which the champions of reform were sharply divided. While urban Progressives recognized that saloons were often the neighborhood headquarters of political machines, they generally had little sympathy for the temperance movement. Rural reformers, on the

other hand, thought they could clean up morals and politics in one stroke by abolishing liquor. The drys (prohibitionists) were determined and well organized. By 1915, they had persuaded the legislatures of two-thirds of the states to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Social Welfare Urban life in the Progressive era was improved not only by political reformers but also by the efforts of settlement house workers (see Chapter 18) and other civic-minded volunteers. Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and other leaders of the social justice movement found that they needed political support in the state legislatures for meeting the needs of immigrants and the working class. They lobbied vigorously and with considerable success for better schools, juvenile courts, liberalized divorce laws, and safety regulations for tenements and factories. Believing that criminals could learn to become effective citizens, reformers fought for such measures as a system of parole, separate reformatories for juveniles, and limits on the death penalty.

Child and Women Labor Progressives were most outraged by the treatment of children by industry. The National Child Labor Committee proposed model state child labor laws that were passed by two-thirds of the states by 1907. Ultimately state compulsory school attendance laws proved most effective in keeping children out of the mines and factories.

Florence Kelley and the National Consumers' League promoted the passage of state laws to protect women from long working hours. While in *Lochner v. New York* (1905) the Supreme Court ruled against a state law limiting workers to a ten-hour workday, later in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) the high court ruled that health of women needed special protection from long hours. The Triangle Shirtwaist fire (1911) in a New York City high-rise garment factory took 146 lives, mostly women. The tragedy sparked greater women's activism and motivated states to pass laws to improve safety and working conditions in factories. One unforeseen consequence of efforts to protect women in the workplace was that the legislation kept women out of physically demanding but higher paying jobs in industry and mining. Later, many in the women's movement wanted these restrictions lifted so that women could compete as equals with men.

Political Reform in the Nation

While Progressive governors and mayors were battling conservative forces in the state houses and city halls, three presidents—Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson—sought broad reforms and regulations at the national level.

Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal

Following President McKinley's assassination in September 1901, Theodore Roosevelt became, at the age of 42, the youngest president in U.S. history. He was also one of the most athletic. He was unusual not simply because of his age and vigor but also because he believed that the president should do much more than lead the executive departments. He thought it was the president's job to set the legislative agenda for Congress as well. Thus, by the accident

of McKinley's death, the Progressive movement suddenly shot into high gear under the dynamic leadership of an activist, reform-minded president.

"Square Deal" for Labor Presidents in the 19th century had consistently taken the side of owners in conflicts with labor (most notably Hayes in the railroad strike of 1877 and Cleveland in the Pullman strike of 1894). However, in the first economic crisis in his presidency, Roosevelt quickly demonstrated that he favored neither business nor labor but insisted on a *Square Deal* for both. The crisis involved a strike of anthracite coal miners through much of 1902. If the strike continued, many Americans feared that—without coal—they would freeze to death when winter came. Roosevelt took the unusual step of trying to mediate the labor dispute by calling a union leader and coal mine owners to the White House. The mine owners' stubborn refusal to compromise angered the president. To ensure the delivery of coal to consumers, he threatened to take over the mines with federal troops. The owners finally agreed to accept the findings of a special commission, which granted a 10 percent wage increase and a nine-hour workday to the miners. However, the owners did not have to recognize the union.

Voters seemed to approve of Roosevelt and his Square Deal. They elected him by a landslide in 1904.

Trust-Busting Roosevelt further increased his popularity by being the first president since the passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890 to enforce that poorly written law. The trust that he most wanted to bust was a combination of railroads known as the Northern Securities Company. Reversing its position in earlier cases, the Supreme Court in 1904 upheld Roosevelt's action in breaking up the railroad monopoly. Roosevelt later directed his attorney general to take antitrust action against Standard Oil and more than 40 other large corporations. Roosevelt did make a distinction between breaking up "bad trusts," which harmed the public and stifled competition, and regulating "good trusts," which through efficiency and low prices dominated a market.

Railroad Regulation President Roosevelt also took the initiative in persuading a Republican majority in Congress to pass two laws that significantly strengthened the regulatory powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). Under the Elkins Act (1903), the ICC had greater authority to stop railroads from granting rebates to favored customers. Under the Hepburn Act (1906), the commission could fix "just and reasonable" rates for railroads.

Consumer Protection *The Jungle*, a muckraking book by Upton Sinclair, described in horrifying detail the conditions in the Chicago stockyards and meatpacking industry. The public outcry following the publication of Sinclair's novel caused Congress to enact two regulatory laws in 1906:

1. The *Pure Food and Drug Act* forbade the manufacture, sale, and transportation of adulterated or mislabeled foods and drugs.

2. The *Meat Inspection Act* provided that federal inspectors visit meatpacking plants to ensure that they met minimum standards of sanitation.

Conservation As a lover of the wilderness and the outdoor life, Roosevelt enthusiastically championed the cause of conservation. In fact, Roosevelt's most original and lasting contribution in domestic policy may have been his efforts to protect the nation's natural resources. Three actions were particularly important.

1. Roosevelt made repeated use of the Forest Reserve Act of 1891 to set aside 150 million acres of federal land as a national reserve that could not be sold to private interests.
2. In 1902, Roosevelt won passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act, a law providing money from the sale of public land for irrigation projects in western states.
3. In 1908, the president publicized the need for conservation by hosting a White House Conference of Governors to promote coordinated conservation planning by federal and state governments. Following this conference, a National Conservation Commission was established under Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, whom Roosevelt had earlier appointed to be the first director of the U.S. Forest Service.

Taft's Presidency

The good-natured William Howard Taft had served in Roosevelt's cabinet as secretary of war. Honoring the two-term tradition, Roosevelt refused to seek reelection and picked Taft to be his successor. The Republican party readily endorsed Taft as its nominee for president in 1908 and, as expected, defeated for a third time the Democrats' campaigner, William Jennings Bryan.

More Trust-Busting and Conservation Taft continued Roosevelt's Progressive policies. As a trustbuster, Taft ordered the prosecution of almost twice the number of antitrust cases as his predecessor. Among these cases was one against U.S. Steel, which included a merger approved by then President Theodore Roosevelt. An angry Roosevelt viewed Taft's action as a personal attack on his integrity. As a conservationist, Taft established the Bureau of Mines, added large tracts in the Appalachians to the national forest reserves, and set aside federal oil lands (the first president to do so).

Two other Progressive measures were at least equal in importance to legislation enacted under Roosevelt. The Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to suspend new railroad rates and oversee telephone, telegraph, and cable companies. The Sixteenth Amendment, ratified by the states in 1913, authorized the U.S. government to collect an income tax. (This reform was originally proposed by the Populists in their 1892 platform.) Progressives heartily approved the new tax because, at first, it applied only to the very wealthy.

Split in the Republican Party Progressives in the Republican party were unimpressed with Taft's achievements. In fact, they became so disenchanted with his leadership that they accused him of betraying their cause and joining the conservative wing of the party. These were their reasons:

1. Payne-Aldrich Tariff During his 1908 campaign, Taft had promised to lower the tariff. Instead, conservative Republicans in Congress passed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in 1909, which raised the tariff on most imports. Taft angered Progressives in his party not only by signing the tariff bill but by making a public statement in its defense.

2. Pinchot-Ballinger Controversy The Progressives respected the chief of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, as a dedicated conservationist. On the other hand, they distrusted Taft's secretary of the interior, Richard Ballinger, especially after he opened public lands in Alaska for private development. In 1910, when Pinchot criticized Ballinger, Taft stood by his cabinet member and fired Pinchot for insubordination. Conservatives applauded; Progressives protested.

3. House Speaker Joe Cannon Taft angered Progressive Republicans when he failed to support their effort to reduce the dictatorial powers of Congress' leading conservative, Speaker of the House Joseph Cannon.

4. Midterm Elections Fighting back against his Progressive critics, Taft openly supported conservative candidates for Congress in the midterm elections of 1910. It was a serious political mistake. Progressive Republicans from the Midwest easily defeated the candidates endorsed by Taft. After this election, the Republican party was split wide open between two opposing groups: a conservative faction loyal to Taft and a Progressive faction. The latter group of Republicans fervently hoped that their ex-president and hero, Theodore Roosevelt, would agree to become their candidate again in 1912.

Rise of the Socialist Party

A third party developed in the first decade of the 1900s that was dedicated to the welfare of the working class. Originally called the Socialist Labor party in 1897, it changed its name in 1901 to the Socialist Party of America. The Socialist platform called for more radical reforms than the Progressives favored: public ownership of the railroads, utilities, and even of major industries such as oil and steel.

Eugene V. Debs One of the Socialist party's founders, Eugene Debs, was the party's candidate for president in five elections from 1900 to 1920. A former railway union leader, Debs adopted socialism while jailed for the Pullman strike. He was an outspoken critic of business and a champion of labor.

Influence On such issues as workers' compensation and minimum wage laws, Progressives and some Socialists joined forces. For the most part, however, Progressives wanted to distance themselves from the ideas of Socialists, since the majority of voters favored only mild reforms, not radical causes. Eventually, however, some Socialist ideas were accepted: public ownership of utilities, the eight-hour workday, and pensions for employees.

The Election of 1912

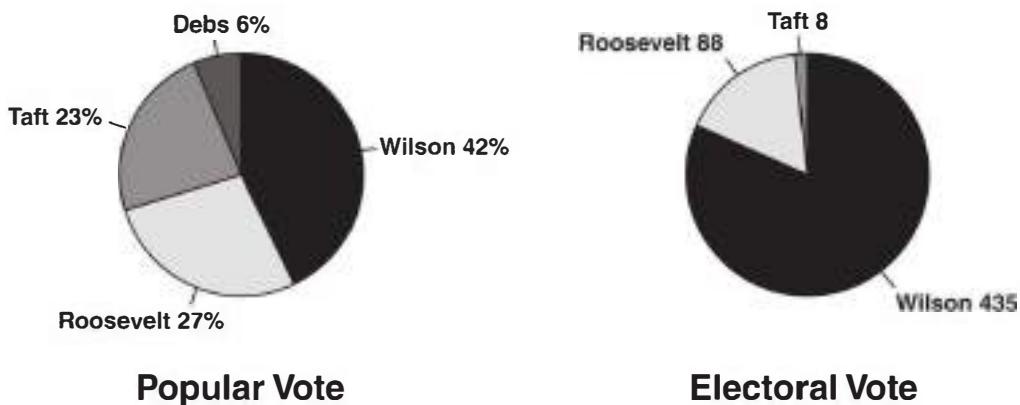
Reform efforts dominated a campaign that involved four notable presidential candidates.

Candidates President Taft was renominated by the Republicans after his supporters excluded Theodore Roosevelt's delegates from the party's convention. Progressive Republicans then formed a new party and nominated Theodore Roosevelt. (Roosevelt's claim that he was as strong as a bull moose gave the new Progressive party its nickname: the Bull Moose party.) After lengthy balloting, Democrats united behind Woodrow Wilson, a newcomer who had first been elected to office in 1910 as governor of New Jersey. The Socialist party, at the peak of its strength, again nominated Eugene V. Debs.

Campaign With Taft enjoying little popularity and Debs considered too radical, the election came down to a battle between Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt called for a New Nationalism, with more government regulation of business and unions, women's suffrage, and more social welfare programs. Wilson pledged a New Freedom, which would limit both big business and big government, bring about reform by ending corruption, and revive competition by supporting small business.

Results Wilson won less than a majority of the popular vote, but with the Republicans split, he won a landslide in the electoral college and the Democrats gained control of Congress. The overwhelming support for the Progressive presidential candidates ensured that reform efforts would continue under Wilson, while the failure of the Progressive party to elect local candidates suggested that the new party would not last. But the idea contained in Roosevelt's New Nationalism—of strong federal government regulations helping the people—did have a lasting influence for much of the century (see, in Chapter 24, the New Deal, and, in Chapter 28, the Great Society).

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1912



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Woodrow Wilson's Progressive Program

Wilson, who grew up in Virginia during the Civil War, was only the second Democrat elected president since the war (Cleveland was the other), and the first southerner to occupy the White House since Zachary Taylor (1849–1850). Wilson was idealistic, intellectual, righteous, and inflexible. Like Roosevelt, he believed that a president should actively lead Congress and, as necessary, appeal directly to the people to rally support for his legislative program.

In his inaugural address in 1913, the Democratic president pledged again his commitment to a New Freedom. To bring back conditions of free and fair competition in the economy, Wilson attacked “the triple wall of privilege”: tariffs, banking, and trusts.

Tariff Reduction Wasting no time to fulfill a campaign pledge, Wilson on the first day of his presidency called a special session of Congress to lower the tariff. Past presidents had always sent written messages to Congress, but Wilson broke this longstanding tradition by addressing Congress in person about the need for lower tariff rates to bring consumer prices down. Passage of the Underwood Tariff in 1913 substantially lowered tariffs for the first time in over 50 years. To compensate for the reduced tariff revenues, the Underwood bill included a graduated income tax with rates from 1 to 6 percent.

Banking Reform Wilson’s next major initiative concerned the banking system and the money supply. He was persuaded that the gold standard was inflexible and that banks, rather than serving the public interest, were too much influenced by stock speculators on Wall Street. The president again went directly to Congress in 1913 to propose a plan for building both stability and flexibility into the U.S. financial system. Rejecting the Republican proposal for a private national bank, he proposed a national banking system with 12 district banks supervised by a Federal Reserve Board. After months of debate, Congress finally passed the Federal Reserve Act in 1914. Ever since, Americans have purchased goods and services using the Federal Reserve Notes (dollar bills) issued by the federally regulated banking system.

Business Regulation Two major pieces of legislation in 1914 completed Wilson’s New Freedom program:

1. Clayton Antitrust Act This act strengthened the provisions in the Sherman Antitrust Act for breaking up monopolies. Most important for organized labor, the new law contained a clause exempting unions from being prosecuted as trusts.

2. Federal Trade Commission The new regulatory agency was empowered to investigate and take action against any “unfair trade practice” in every industry except banking and transportation.

Other Reforms Wilson was at first opposed to any legislation that seemed to favor special interests, such as farmers’ groups and labor unions. He was finally persuaded, however, to extend his reform program to include the following Progressive measures:

1. Federal Farm Loan Act In 1916, 12 regional federal farm loan banks were established to provide farm loans at low interest rates.

2. Child Labor Act This measure, long favored by settlement house workers and labor unions alike, was enacted in 1916. It prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of products manufactured by children under 14 years old. However, the Supreme Court found this act to be unconstitutional in the 1918 case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart*.

African Americans in the Progressive Era

In championing greater democracy for the American people, most leaders of the Progressive movement thought only in terms of the white race. African Americans were, for the most part, ignored by Progressive presidents and governors. President Wilson, with a strong southern heritage and many of the racist attitudes of the times, acquiesced to the demands of southern Democrats and permitted the segregation of federal workers and buildings.

The status of African Americans had declined steadily since Reconstruction. With the Supreme Court's "separate but equal" decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), racial segregation had been the rule in the South and, unofficially, in much of the North. Ironically and tragically, the Progressive era coincided with years when thousands of blacks were lynched by racist mobs. Few Progressives did anything about segregation and lynching. Most shared in the general prejudice of their times. In addition, many considered other reforms (such as lower tariffs) to be more important than antilynching laws because such reforms benefited everyone, not just one group.

Two Approaches: Washington and Du Bois

Though lacking widespread white support, African-Americans took action to alleviate poverty and discrimination. Economic deprivation and exploitation was one problem; denial of civil rights was another. Which problem was primary was a difficult question that became the focus of a debate between two African American leaders: Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.

Washington's Stress on Economics The most influential African American at the turn of the century was the head of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Booker T. Washington. In his Atlanta Exposition speech in 1895, Washington argued that blacks' needs for education and economic progress were of foremost importance, and that they should concentrate on learning industrial skills for better wages. Only after establishing a secure economic base, said Washington, could African Americans hope to realize their other goal of political and social equality. (See Chapter 17.)

Du Bois' Stress on Civil Rights Unlike Washington, who had been born into slavery on a southern plantation, W. E. B. Du Bois was a northerner with a college education, who became a distinguished scholar and writer. In his book

The Souls of Black Folk (1903), Du Bois criticized Booker T. Washington's approach and demanded equal rights for African Americans. He argued that political and social rights were a prerequisite for economic independence.

Washington's pragmatic approach to economic advancement and Du Bois' militant demands for equal rights framed a debate in the African American community that continued throughout much of the 20th century.

The Great "Migration"

At the close of the 19th century, about nine out of ten African Americans lived in the South. In the next century, this ratio steadily shifted toward the North. This internal migration began in earnest between 1910 and 1930 when about a million people traveled north to seek jobs in the cities. Motivating their decision to leave the South were: (1) deteriorating race relations, (2) destruction of their cotton crops by the boll weevil, and (3) job opportunities in northern factories that opened up when white workers were drafted in World War I. The Great Depression in the 1930s slowed migration, but World War II renewed it. Between 1940 and 1970, over 4 million African Americans moved north. Although many succeeded in improving their economic conditions, the newcomers to northern cities also faced racial tension and discrimination.

Civil Rights Organizations

Racial discrimination during the Progressive era prompted black leaders to found three powerful civil rights organizations in a span of just six years.

1. In 1905, W. E. B. Du Bois met with a group of black intellectuals in Niagara Falls, Canada, to discuss a program of protest and action aimed at securing equal rights for blacks. They and others who later joined the group became known as the *Niagara Movement*.
2. On Lincoln's birthday in 1908, Du Bois, other members of the Niagara Movement, and a group of white Progressives founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Their mission was no less than to abolish all forms of segregation and to increase educational opportunities for African American children. By 1920, the NAACP was the nation's largest civil rights organization, with over 100,000 members.
3. Another organization, the National Urban League, was formed in 1911 to help people migrating from the South to northern cities. The league's motto, "Not Alms But Opportunity," reflected its emphasis on self-reliance and economic advancement.

Women, Suffrage, and the Progressive Movement

The Progressive era was a time of increased activism and optimism for a new generation of feminists. By 1900, the older generation of suffrage crusaders led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had passed the torch to younger women. They sought allies among male Progressives, but not always with success. For example, President Wilson refused to support the suffragists' call for a national amendment until late in his presidency.

The Campaign for Women's Suffrage

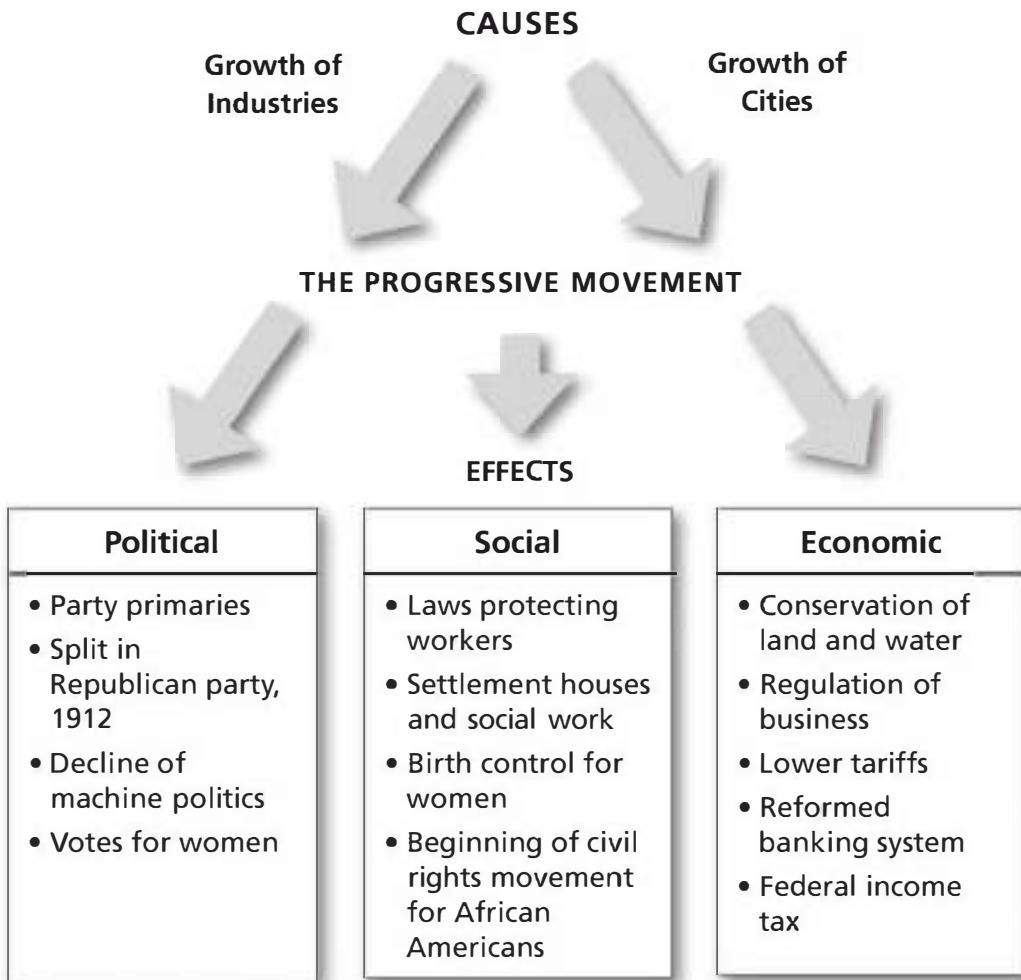
Carrie Chapman Catt, an energetic reformer from Iowa, became the new president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1900. Catt argued for the vote as a broadening of democracy which would empower women, thus enabling them to more actively care for their families in an industrial society. At first, Catt continued NAWSA's drive to win votes for women at the state level before changing strategies and seeking a suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Militant Suffragists A more militant approach to gaining the vote was adopted by some women, who took to the streets with mass pickets, parades, and hunger strikes. Their leader, Alice Paul of New Jersey, broke from NAWSA in 1916 to form the National Woman's party. From the beginning, Paul focused on winning the support of Congress and the president for an amendment to the Constitution.

Nineteenth Amendment (1920) The dedicated efforts of women on the home front in World War I finally persuaded a two-thirds majority in Congress to support a women's suffrage amendment. Its ratification as the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 guaranteed women's right to vote in all elections at the local, state, and national levels. Following the victory of her cause, Carrie Chapman Catt organized the League of Women Voters, a civic organization dedicated to keeping voters informed about candidates and issues.

Other Issues

In addition to winning the right to vote, Progressive women worked on other issues as well. Margaret Sanger advocated birth-control education, especially among the poor. Over time, the movement developed into the Planned Parenthood organization. Women made progress in securing educational equality, liberalizing marriage and divorce laws, reducing discrimination in business and the professions, and recognizing women's rights to own property.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: REFORM OR REACTION?

Historians have generally agreed that the Progressive movement was a response to industrialization and urbanization. They do not agree, however, on whether the Progressives were truly seeking to move society in new directions or whether they were reacting *against* new trends and attempting to maintain society as it once was.

Progressives saw themselves as genuine reformers, and for many years, historians accepted this view. Historians said that Progressives were simply acting in the tradition of earlier reformers: the Jeffersonians, Jacksonians, and Populists. William Allen White argued that the Progressives adopted the complete Populist package of reforms except for free silver. Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., thought that U.S.

history moved in a liberal-conservative cycle and that progressivism was a predictable phase in that cycle following the conservatism of late-19th century politics.

Another, complementary view of the Progressives, depicts them not as democratic champions of “the people” but as modernizers who wanted to apply rational, scientific methods to the operations of social and political institutions. Samuel P. Hay’s study of municipal reform, for example, shows that Progressive leaders were an educated, upper-class elite working to make government more efficient under the direction of skilled experts. Some historians fault the Progressive movement’s emphasis on scientific expertise, boards, and commissions for creating institutions that seem to take away power from the voters and elected officials. For example, the chair of the Federal Reserve Board is often considered the second most powerful person in government after the president, but once appointed, this individual is largely independent of the president and Congress.

Those historians who view Progressives as conservatives in disguise—or even as reactionaries—stress how disturbed these citizens were by labor strife, by the agrarian discontent of the Populists, and by signs of revolutionary ferment among the urban masses. Gabriel Kolko argues that the business elite, far from being opposed to government regulation, in fact wanted regulation as a means of stabilizing industry. Kolko points out that the regulation of the meatpacking industry, although inspired by muckraking literature, benefitted the large meatpackers, who lobbied behind the scenes for government controls.

Historians have debated the relationship between Progressives and the working class. Did the middle-class Progressives act out of sympathy for the workers or out of fear of a socialist revolution? George Mowry in the early 1950s characterized the Progressive movement as a reaction of middle-class professionals and small-business owners to pressures both from above (large corporations) and from below (labor unions). In this view, the middle class was attempting to maintain its traditional leadership of society by directing reform. The neglect of unions and African Americans by Progressives provides further evidence that the reformers were conservative at heart.

On the other hand, some historians argue that middle-class motives for reform might have been an expression of that group’s strong sense of social conscience. The Protestant churches had cultivated a sense of responsibility and justice. The muckrakers’ articles stirred their readers’ conscience and aroused genuine feelings of guilt with respect to the poor and outrage with respect to dishonest politics.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Progressive Movement (CUL) urban middle class male and female white, old stock Protestants professional associations Pragmatism William James John Dewey Frederick W. Taylor scientific management	Social and Labor Reform (POL) state Prohibition laws state regulation of education and safety National Child Labor Committee compulsory school attendance Florence Kelley National Consumers' League <i>Lochner v. New York</i> <i>Muller v. Oregon</i> Triangle Shirtwaist fire	William Howard Taft Presidency (POL) Mann-Elkins Act (1910) Sixteenth Amendment, federal income tax Payne-Aldrich Tariff (1909) firing of Pinchot
Muckrakers (CUL) Henry Demarest Lloyd Standard Oil Company Lincoln Steffans Ida Tarbell Jacob Riis Theodore Dreiser	Theodore Roosevelt Presidency (POL, GEO) Square Deal anthracite coal miners' strike (1902) trust-busting bad vs. good trusts Elkins Act (1903) Hepburn Act (1906) Upton Sinclair <i>The Jungle</i> ; Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) Meat Inspection Act (1906) conservation of public lands	Woodrow Wilson Presidency (POL) Underwood Tariff (1913) Federal Reserve Act (1914) Federal Reserve Board Clayton Antitrust Act (1914) Federal Trade Commission Federal Farm Loan Act (1916)
Voting Rights (POL) Australian ballot direct primary Robert La Follett Seventeenth Amendment direct election of senators initiative, referendum, and recall	<i>Newlands Reclamation Act (1902)</i> White House Conference Gifford Pinchot	African Americans (NAT, PEO) racial segregation laws increased lynching Booker T. Washington W. E. B. Du Bois National Association for the Advancement of Colored People National Urban League
City and State Government (POL) municipal reform Samuel M. Jones Tom L. Johnson commission plan city manager plan Charles Evans Hughes Hiram Johnson “Wisconsin Idea” regulatory commissions	Election of 1912, POL Socialist Party of America Eugene V. Debs Bull Moose party New Nationalism New Freedom	Women's Movement (NAT, POL) Carrie Chapman Catt National American Woman Suffrage Association Alice Paul National Woman's party Nineteenth Amendment League of Women Voters Margaret Sanger

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Question 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“To be sure, much of progressivism was exclusionary. Yet we can now recognize not a singular political persuasion, but rather a truly plural set of progressivisms, with workers, African Americans, women, and even Native Americans—along with a diverse and contentious set of middling folk—taking up the language and ideas of what was once conceived of as an almost entirely white, male, middle-class movement. As for the dreams of democracy from the period: despite the frequent blindness of those who embodied them, they remain bold, diverse, and daring. It is for this reason that democratic political theorists . . . have looked so longingly at the active citizenship of the Progressive Era, seeking ways to rekindle the democratic impulses of a century ago.”

—Robert D. Johnston, historian, “The Possibilities of Politics,” 2011

1. Which of the following interpretations of progressivism would most likely support this excerpt?
 - (A) Progressives were mostly conservatives in disguise
 - (B) Progressives were almost entirely white, middle class, and urban
 - (C) Progressives were educated modernizers interested in efficiency
 - (D) Progressives were a diverse group who supported various reforms
2. Which of the following would most directly support the argument that Progressives were “exclusionary”?
 - (A) Rural agrarian reformers played little role in the movement
 - (B) Women’s movements were sidelined by male-dominated governments
 - (C) Progressives did little to end the segregation of African Americans
 - (D) Most Progressive wanted to keep immigrants and laborers from voting
3. Which of the following Progressive reforms most directly promoted “active citizenship”?
 - (A) City manager laws
 - (B) Breaking up trusts
 - (C) The direct election of senators
 - (D) Regulatory commissions

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“Worst of any, however, were the fertilizer men, and those who served in the cooking rooms. These people could not be shown to the visitor—for the odor of a fertilizer man would scare any ordinary visitor at a hundred yards, and as for other men, who worked in tank rooms full of steam, their peculiar trouble was that they fell into the vats; and when they were fished out, there was never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting—sometimes they would be overlooked for days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham’s Pure Leaf Lard!”

—Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 1906

4. The above excerpt is most closely associated with which sector of the Progressive movement?
 - (A) Politicians who supported state regulatory commissions to curtail abuses in business
 - (B) Reformers who fought to break up monopolies and trusts
 - (C) Investigative journalists and authors known as “muckrakers”
 - (D) The union movement associated with the American Federation of Labor
5. *The Jungle* most directly contributed to which of the following?
 - (A) Federal regulations to promote safety and health protection for industrial workers
 - (B) A federal inspection system to ensure minimum standards for processed meats and food
 - (C) The shutdown of Chicago meatpacking factories by the state of Illinois
 - (D) Pressure on publishers to reduce sensational articles and books attacking businesses
6. Which of the following most effectively addressed the concerns that Upton Sinclair and others had for industrial workers?
 - (A) State legislation that limited the hours and working conditions for women and children
 - (B) President Theodore Roosevelt’s promise for an impartial set of rules, or “Square Deal,” for labor
 - (C) Legislation passed during the Wilson presidency to legalize the organization of labor unions
 - (D) The formation of the Socialist Party under the leadership of Eugene Debs

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and, therefore, we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in equal rights of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom.

“We believe in a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed of gain; in ‘peace on earth and goodwill to men.’

“We therefore formulate and, for ourselves, adopt the following pledge, asking our sisters and brothers of a common danger and a common hope to make common cause with us in working its reasonable and helpful precepts into the practice of everyday life:

“I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine, beer, and cider, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same.”

—National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, Annual Leaflet, 1902

7. The above excerpt most directly reflects that the temperance movement
 - (A) started out as an unpopular women’s fringe group
 - (B) appealed to a varied constituency of reformers
 - (C) drew strong support from immigrant groups
 - (D) gained support by opposing the “liquor trust”
8. The Prohibition movement was similar to other Progressive reforms because it
 - (A) began on the local and state levels before becoming national
 - (B) started out under the leadership of the Christian clergy
 - (C) primarily was concerned about poor immigrant workers
 - (D) aimed to reduce immorality destroying family life

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the cartoon below.



Source: Clifford Berryman,
Washington Evening Star, 1907. Library of Congress

1. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the point of view of the cartoon on Theodore Roosevelt's approach to trusts.
 - b) Briefly explain the point of view of the cartoon on Theodore Roosevelt's distinction between "good" and "bad" trusts.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE way that the antitrust policies of Woodrow Wilson differed from those of Theodore Roosevelt.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE significant contribution of the philosophy of pragmatism to the Progressive movement.
- b) Briefly explain ONE significant contribution of either scientific management or regulatory commissions to the Progressive movement.
- c) Briefly explain ONE reason why the Progressives thought government needed to play a more active role in solving America's problems.

Question 3 is based on the excerpt below.

“We believe also in protest against the curtailment of civil rights. . . . We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life. . . . We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government, and human brotherhood. . . .

“Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency or prejudice. . . . but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, [or] color [of] skin are relics of the unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

“Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent, manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the cooperation of all men of all races.”

—Principles of the Niagara Movement, July 1905

3. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE difference in the approaches advocated by the Niagara Movement and by Booker T. Washington.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE form of the “curtailment of civil rights” of African Americans from this period that would support this excerpt.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE way the Niagara Movement reflected the ideas of W. E. B. Du Bois.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE way the Wilson administration fulfilled the long-standing goals of reforming the United States banking system.
- b) Briefly explain ONE way the Wilson administration fulfilled the long-standing goals of reforming federal tariff and taxation policies
- c) Briefly explain how ONE of the reforms identified above either reflected or violated Wilson’s policies promised in his New Freedom campaign.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: MAKING A CHOICE ABOUT PERIODIZATION

If you were writing a history of women in the United States, what years would you include in a chapter title “Women in the Progressive Era”? Explain your choices.

WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1914–1920

*It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
That all his hours of travail here for men
Seem in vain. And who will bring white peace
That he may sleep upon his hill again?*

Vachel Lindsay, "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight," 1914

The sequence of events in 1914 leading from peace in Europe to the outbreak of a general war occurred with stunning rapidity:

- SARAJEVO, JUNE 28: A Serbian nationalist assassinates Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand—the heir apparent to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian empire—and his wife.
- VIENNA, JULY 23: The Austrian government issues an ultimatum threatening war against Serbia and invades that country four days later.
- ST. PETERSBURG, JULY 31: Russia, as an ally of Serbia, orders its army to mobilize against Austria.
- BERLIN, AUGUST 1: Germany, as Austria's ally, declares war against Russia.
- BERLIN, AUGUST 3: Germany declares war against France, an ally of Russia, and immediately begins an invasion of neutral Belgium because it offers the fastest route to Paris.
- LONDON, AUGUST 4: Great Britain, as an ally of France, declares war against Germany.

The assassination of the archduke sparked the war, but the underlying causes were (1) nationalism, (2) imperialism, (3) militarism, and (4) a

combination of public and secret alliances, as explained above, which pulled all the major European powers into war before calm minds could prevent it. It was a tragedy that haunted generations of future leaders and that motivated President Woodrow Wilson to search for a lasting peace.

President Wilson's first response to the outbreak of the European war was a declaration of U.S. neutrality, in the tradition of Washington and Jefferson, and he called upon the American people to support his policy by not taking sides. However, in trying to steer a neutral course, Wilson soon found that it was difficult—if not impossible—to protect U.S. trading rights and maintain a policy that favored neither the Allied Powers (Great Britain, France, and Russia) nor the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empires of Turkey). During a relatively short period (1914–1919), the United States and its people rapidly moved through a wide range of roles: first as a contented neutral country, next as a country waging a war for peace, then as a victorious world power, and finally, as an alienated and isolationist nation.

Neutrality

In World War I (as in the War of 1812), the trouble for the United States arose as the belligerent powers tried to stop supplies from reaching the enemy. Having the stronger navy, Great Britain was the first to declare a naval blockade against Germany by mining the North Sea and seizing ships—including U.S. ships—attempting to run the blockade. President Wilson protested British seizure of American ships as a violation of a neutral nation's right to freedom of the seas.

Submarine Warfare

Germany's one hope for challenging British power at sea lay with a new naval weapon, the submarine. In February 1915, Germany announced the British blockade by announcing a blockade of its own and warned that ships attempting to enter the “war zone” (waters near the British Isles) risked being sunk on sight by German submarines.

Lusitania Crisis The first major crisis challenging U.S. neutrality occurred on May 7, 1915, when German torpedoes hit and sank a British passenger liner, the *Lusitania*. Most of the passengers drowned, including 128 Americans. In response, Wilson sent Germany a strongly worded diplomatic message warning that Germany would be held to “strict accountability” if it continued its policy of sinking unarmed ships. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan objected to this message as too warlike and resigned from the president's cabinet.

Other Sinkings In August 1915, two more Americans lost their lives at sea as the result of a German submarine attack on another passenger ship, the *Arabic*. This time, Wilson's note of protest prevailed upon the German

government to pledge that no unarmed passenger ships would be sunk without warning, which would allow time for passengers to get into lifeboats.

Germany kept its word until March 1916 when a German torpedo struck an unarmed merchant ship, the *Sussex*, injuring several American passengers. Wilson threatened to cut off U.S. diplomatic relations with Germany—a step preparatory to war. Once again, rather than risk U.S. entry into the war on the British side, Germany backed down. Its reply to the president, known as the Sussex pledge, promised not to sink merchant or passenger ships without giving due warning. For the remainder of 1916, Germany was true to its word.

Economic Links With Britain and France

Even though the United States was officially a neutral nation, its economy became closely tied to that of the Allied powers, Great Britain and France. In early 1914, before the war began, the United States had been in a business recession. Soon after the outbreak of war, the economy rebounded in part because of orders for war supplies from the British and the French. By 1915, U.S. businesses had never been so prosperous.

In theory, U.S. manufacturers could have shipped supplies to Germany as well, but the British blockade effectively prevented such trade. Wilson's policy did not deliberately favor the Allied powers. Nevertheless, because the president more or less tolerated the British blockade while restricting Germany's submarine blockade, U.S. economic support was going to one side (Britain and France) and not the other. Between 1914 and 1917, U.S. trade with the Allies quadrupled while its trade with Germany dwindled to the vanishing point.

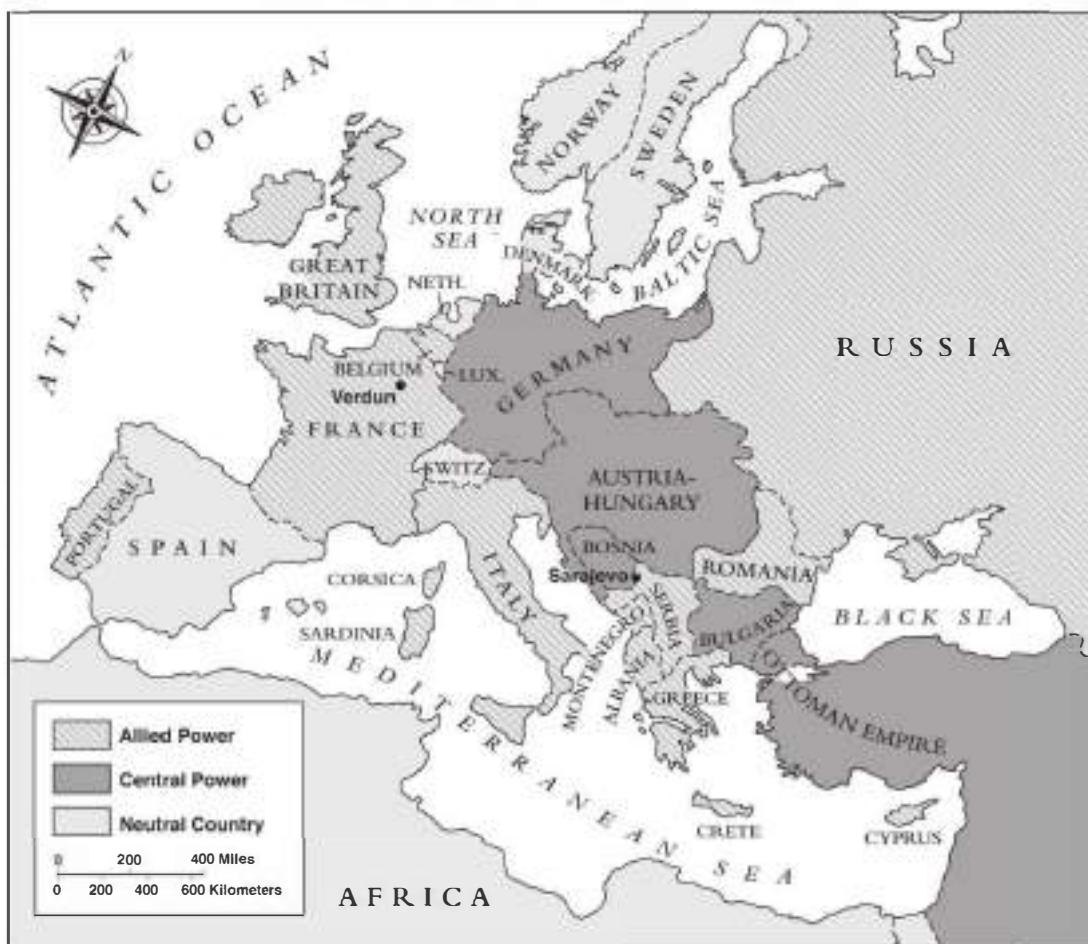
Loans In addition, when the Allies could not finance the purchase of everything they needed, the U.S. government permitted J. P. Morgan and other bankers to extend as much as \$3 billion in secured credit to Britain and France. These loans promoted U.S. prosperity as they sustained the Allies' war effort.

Public Opinion

If Wilson's policies favored Britain, so did the attitudes of most Americans. In August 1914, as Americans read in their newspapers about German armies marching ruthlessly through Belgium, they perceived Germany as a cruel bully whose armies were commanded by a mean-spirited autocrat, Kaiser Wilhelm. The sinking of the *Lusitania* reinforced this negative view of Germany.

Ethnic Influences In 1914, first- and second-generation immigrants made up over 30 percent of the U.S. population. They were glad to be out of the fighting and strongly supported neutrality. Even so, their sympathies reflected their ancestries. For example, German Americans strongly identified with the struggles of their "homeland." And many Irish Americans, who hated Britain because of its oppressive rule of Ireland, openly backed the Central Powers. On the other hand, when Italy joined the Allies in 1915, Italian Americans began cheering on the Allies in their desperate struggle to fend off German assaults on the Western Front (entrenched positions in France).

OPPOSING SIDES IN WORLD WAR I



Overall, though, the majority of native-born Americans wanted the Allies to win. Positive U.S. relations with France since the Revolutionary War bolstered public support for the French. Americans also tended to sympathize with Britain and France because of their democratic governments. President Wilson himself, as a person of Scotch-English descent, had long admired the British political system.

British War Propaganda Not only did Britain command the seas but it also commanded the war news that was cabled daily to U.S. newspapers and magazines. Fully recognizing the importance of influencing U.S. public opinion, the British government made sure the American press was well supplied with stories of German soldiers committing atrocities in Belgium and the German-occupied part of eastern France.

The War Debate

After the *Lusitania* crisis, a small but vocal minority of influential Republicans from the East—including Theodore Roosevelt—argued for U.S. entry into the war against Germany. Foreign policy realists believed that a German victory

would change the balance of power and United States needed a strong British navy to protect the status-quo. However, the majority of Americans remained thankful for a booming economy and peace.

Preparedness

Eastern Republicans such as Roosevelt were the first to recognize that the U.S. military was hopelessly unprepared for a major war. They clamored for “preparedness” (greater defense expenditures) soon after the European war broke out.

At first, President Wilson opposed the call for preparedness, but in late 1915, he changed his policy. Wilson urged Congress to approve an ambitious expansion of the armed forces. The president’s proposal provoked a storm of controversy, especially among Democrats, who until then were largely opposed to military increases. After a nationwide speaking tour on behalf of preparedness, Wilson finally convinced Congress to pass the National Defense Act in June 1916, which increased the regular army to a force of nearly 175,000. A month later, Congress approved the construction of more than 50 warships (battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines) in just one year.

Opposition to War

Many Americans, especially in the Midwest and West, were adamantly opposed to preparedness, fearing that it would soon lead to U.S. involvement in the war. The antiwar activists included Populists, Progressives, and Socialists. Leaders among the peace-minded Progressives were William Jennings Bryan, Jane Addams, and Jeannette Rankin—the latter the first woman to be elected to Congress. Woman suffragists actively campaigned against any military buildup (although after the U.S. declaration of war in 1917, they supported the war effort).

The Election of 1916

President Wilson was well aware that, as a Democrat, he had won election to the presidency in 1912 only because of the split in Republican ranks between Taft conservatives and Roosevelt Progressives. Despite his own Progressive record, Wilson’s chances for reelection did not seem strong after Theodore Roosevelt declined the Progressive party’s nomination for president in 1916 and rejoined the Republicans. (Roosevelt’s decision virtually destroyed any chance of the Progressive party surviving.) Charles Evans Hughes, a Supreme Court justice and former governor of New York, became the presidential candidate of a reunited Republican party.

“He Kept Us Out of War” The Democrats adopted as their campaign slogan: “He kept us out of war.” The peace sentiment in the country, Wilson’s record of Progressive leadership, and Hughes’ weakness as a candidate combined to give the president the victory in an extremely close election. Democratic strength in the South and West overcame Republican power in the East.

Peace Efforts

Wilson made repeated efforts to fulfill his party's campaign promise to keep out of the war. Before the election, in 1915, he had sent his chief foreign policy adviser, Colonel Edward House of Texas, to London, Paris, and Berlin to negotiate a peace settlement. This mission, however, had been unsuccessful. Other efforts at mediation also were turned aside by both the Allies and the Central Powers. Finally, in January 1917, Wilson made a speech to the Senate declaring U.S. commitment to his idealistic hope for "peace without victory."

Decision for War

In April 1917, only one month after being sworn into office a second time, President Wilson went before Congress to ask for a declaration of war against Germany. What had happened to change his policy from neutrality to war?

Unrestricted Submarine Warfare

Most important in the U.S. decision for war was a sudden change in German military strategy. The German high command had decided in early January 1917 to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. Germany recognized the risk of the United States entering the war but believed that, by cutting off supplies to the Allies, they could win the war before Americans could react. Germany communicated its decision to the U.S. government on January 31. A few days later, Wilson broke off U.S. diplomatic relations with Germany.

Immediate Causes

Wilson still hesitated, but a series of events in March 1917 as well as the president's hopes for arranging a permanent peace in Europe convinced him that U.S. participation in the war was now unavoidable.

Zimmermann Telegram On March 1, U.S. newspapers carried the shocking news of a secret offer made by Germany to Mexico. Intercepted by British intelligence, a telegram to Mexico from the German foreign minister, Arthur Zimmermann, proposed that Mexico ally itself with Germany in return for Germany's pledge to help Mexico recover lost territories: Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The Zimmermann Telegram aroused the nationalist anger of the American people and convinced Wilson that Germany fully expected a war with the United States.

Russian Revolution Applying the principle of moral diplomacy, Wilson wanted the war to be fought for a worthy purpose: the triumph of democracy. It bothered him that one of the Allies was Russia, a nation governed by an autocratic czar. This barrier to U.S. participation was suddenly removed on March 15, when Russian revolutionaries overthrew the czar's government and proclaimed a republic. (Only later in November would the revolutionary government be taken over by Communists.)

Renewed Submarine Attacks In the first weeks of March, German submarines sank five unarmed U.S. merchant ships. Wilson was ready for war.

Declaration of War

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson stood before a special session of senators and representatives and solemnly asked Congress to recognize that a state of war existed between Germany and the United States. His speech condemned Germany's submarine policy as "warfare against mankind" and declared: "The world must be made safe for democracy." On April 6, an overwhelming majority in Congress voted for a declaration of war, although a few pacifists, including Robert La Follette and Jeanette Rankin, defiantly voted no.

Mobilization

U.S. mobilization for war in 1917 was a race against time. Germany was preparing to deliver a knockout blow to end the war on German terms. Could the United States mobilize its vast economic resources fast enough to make a difference? That was the question Wilson and his advisers confronted in the critical early months of U.S. involvement in war.

Industry and Labor

The Wilson administration, with Progressive efficiency, created hundreds of temporary wartime agencies and commissions staffed by experts from business and government. The legacy of this mobilization of the domestic economy under governmental leadership proved significant in the Great Depression New Deal programs. For example:

- Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street broker, volunteered to use his extensive contacts in industry to help win the war. Under his direction, the War Industries Board set production priorities and established centralized control over raw materials and prices.
- Herbert Hoover, a distinguished engineer, took charge of the Food Administration, which encouraged American households to eat less meat and bread so that more food could be shipped abroad for the French and British troops. The conservation drive paid off; in two years, U.S. overseas shipment of food tripled.
- Harry Garfield volunteered to head the Fuel Administration, which directed efforts to save coal. Nonessential factories were closed, and daylight saving time went into effect for the first time.
- Treasury Secretary William McAdoo, headed the Railroad Administration which took public control of the railroads to coordinate traffic and promoted standardized railroad equipment.

- Former president William Howard Taft helped arbitrate disputes between workers and employers as head of the National War Labor Board. Labor won concessions during the war that had earlier been denied. Wages rose, the eight-hour day became more common, and union membership increased

Finance

Paying for the costly war presented a huge challenge. Wilson's war government managed to raise \$33 billion in two years by a combination of loans and taxes. It conducted four massive drives to convince Americans to put their savings into federal government Liberty Bonds. Congress also increased both personal income and corporate taxes and placed an excise tax on luxury goods.

Public Opinion and Civil Liberties

The U.S. government used techniques of both patriotic persuasion and legal intimidation to ensure public support for the war effort. Journalist George Creel took charge of a propaganda agency called the Committee on Public Information, which enlisted the voluntary services of artists, writers, vaudeville performers, and movie stars to depict the heroism of the "boys" (U.S. soldiers) and the villainy of the kaiser. They created films, posters, pamphlets, and volunteer speakers—all urging Americans to watch out for German spies and to "do your bit" for the war.

War hysteria and patriotic enthusiasm provided an excuse for nativist groups to take out their prejudices by charging minorities with disloyalty. One such group, the American Protective League, mounted "Hate the Hun" campaigns and used vigilante actions to attack all things German—from the performing of Beethoven's music to the cooking of sauerkraut. Under the order of the U.S. Secretary of Labor, manufacturers of war materials could refuse to hire and could fire American citizens of German extraction.

Espionage and Sedition Acts A number of socialists and pacifists bravely risked criticizing the government's war policy. The Espionage Act (1917) provided for imprisonment of up to 20 years for persons who either tried to incite rebellion in the armed forces or obstruct the operation of the draft. The Sedition Act (1918) went much further by prohibiting anyone from making "disloyal" or "abusive" remarks about the U.S. government. About 2,000 people were prosecuted under these laws, half of whom were convicted and jailed. Among them was the Socialist leader Eugene Debs, who was sentenced to ten years in federal prison for speaking against the war.

Case of Schenck v. United States The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Espionage Act in a case involving a man who had been imprisoned for distributing pamphlets against the draft. In 1919, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes concluded that the right to free speech could be limited when it represented a "clear and present danger" to the public safety.

Armed Forces

As soon as war was declared, thousands of young men voluntarily enlisted for military service. Still, the military felt it needed more soldiers and sailors.

Selective Service Act (1917) To meet this need, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker devised a “selective service” system to conscript (draft) men into the military. He wanted a democratic method run by local boards for ensuring that all groups in the population would be called into service. The government required all men between 21 and 30 (and later between 18 and 45) to register for possible induction into the military. Under the Selective Service Act, about 2.8 million men were eventually called by lottery, in addition to the almost 2 million who volunteered to serve. About half of all those in uniform made it to the Western Front.

African Americans Racial segregation applied to the army as it did to civilian life. Almost 400,000 African Americans served in World War I in segregated units. Only a few were permitted to be officers, and all were barred from the Marine Corps. Nevertheless, W. E. B. Du Bois believed that the record of service by African Americans, fighting to “make the world safe for democracy,” would earn them equal rights at home when the war ended. However, he would be bitterly disappointed.

Effects on American Society

All groups in American society—business and labor, women and men, immigrants and native-born—had to adjust to the realities of a wartime economy.

More Jobs for Women As men were drafted into the military, the jobs they vacated were often taken by women, thousands of whom entered the workforce for the first time. Women’s contributions to the war effort, both as volunteers and wage earners, finally convinced Wilson and Congress to support the 19th Amendment.

Migration of Mexicans and African Americans Job opportunities in wartime America, together with the upheavals of the revolution in Mexico, caused thousands of Mexicans to cross the border to work in agriculture and mining. Most were employed in the Southwest, but a significant number also traveled to the Midwest for factory jobs. African Americans also took advantage of job opportunities opened up by the war and migrated north.

African American Population, 1900 to 1960

Region	1900	1930	1960
Northeast	385,000	1,147,000	3,028,000
Midwest	496,000	1,262,000	3,446,000
South	7,923,000	9,362,000	11,312,000
West	30,000	120,000	1,086,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. All numbers in the above table are rounded.

Fighting the War

By the time the first U.S. troops were shipped overseas in late 1917, millions of European soldiers on both sides had already died in trench warfare made more murderous in the industrial age by heavy artillery, machine guns, poison gas, tanks, and airplanes. A second revolution in Russia by Bolsheviks (or Communists) took that nation out of the war. With no Eastern Front to divide its forces, Germany concentrated on one all-out push to break through Allied lines in France.

Naval Operations

Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare was having its intended effect. Merchant ships bound for Britain were being sunk at a staggering rate: 900,000 tons of shipping was lost in just one month (April 1917). U.S. response to this Allied emergency was to undertake a record-setting program of ship construction. The U.S. Navy also implemented a convoy system of armed escorts for groups of merchant ships. By the end of 1917, the system was working well enough to ensure that Britain and France would not be starved into submission.

American Expeditionary Force

Unable to imagine the grim realities of trench warfare, U.S. troops were eager for action. The idealism of both the troops and the public is reflected in the popular song of George M. Cohan that many were singing:

Over there, over there,
Send the word, send the word over there
That the Yanks are coming,
The Yanks are coming,
The drums rum-tumming ev'ry where—

The American Expeditionary Force (AEF) was commanded by General John J. Pershing. The first U.S. troops to see action were used to plug weaknesses in the French and British lines, but by the summer of 1918, as American forces arrived by the hundreds of thousands, the AEF assumed independent responsibility for one segment of the Western Front.

Last German Offensive Enough U.S. troops were in place in spring 1918 to hold the line against the last ferocious assault by German forces. At Château-Thierry on the Marne River, Americans stopped the German advance (June 1918) and struck back with a successful counterattack at Belleau Wood.

Drive to Victory In August, September, and October, an Allied offensive along the Meuse River and through the Argonne Forest (the Meuse–Argonne offensive) succeeded in driving an exhausted German army backward toward the German border. U.S. troops participated in this drive at St. Mihiel—the southern sector of the Allied line. On November 11, 1918, the Germans signed an armistice in which they agreed to surrender their arms, give up much of their navy, and evacuate occupied territory.

U.S. Casualties After only a few months of fighting, U.S. combat deaths totaled nearly 49,000. Many more thousands died of disease, including a flu epidemic in the training camps, bringing total U.S. fatalities in World War I to 112,432.

Making the Peace

During the war, Woodrow Wilson never lost sight of his ambition to shape the peace settlement when the war ended. In January 1917 he had said that the United States would insist on “peace without victory.” A year later he presented to Congress a detailed list of war aims, known as the Fourteen Points, designed to address the causes of World War I and prevent another world war.

The Fourteen Points

Several of the president’s Fourteen Points related to specific territorial questions: for example, Germany had to return the regions of Alsace and Lorraine to France, and to evacuate Belgium in the west and Romania and Serbia in the east. Of greater significance were the following broad principles for securing the peace:

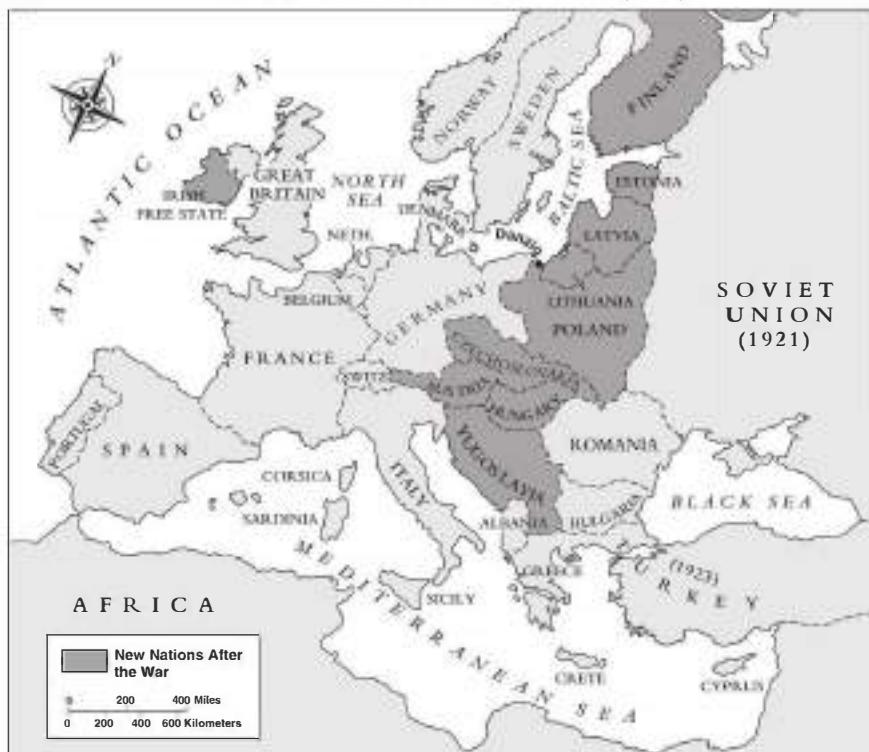
- Recognition of freedom of the seas
- An end to the practice of making secret treaties
- Reduction of national armaments
- An “impartial adjustment of all colonial claims”
- Self-determination for the various nationalities
- Removal of trade barriers
- “A general association of nations . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike”

The last point was the one that Wilson valued the most. The international peace association that he envisioned would soon be named the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Versailles

The peace conference following the armistice took place in the Palace of Versailles outside Paris, beginning in January 1919. Every nation that had fought on the Allied side in the war was represented. No U.S. president had ever traveled abroad to attend a diplomatic conference, but President Wilson decided that his personal participation at Versailles was vital to defending his Fourteen Points. Republicans criticized him for being accompanied to Paris by several Democrats, but only one Republican, whose advice was never sought.

EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR I (1919)



The Big Four Other heads of state at Versailles made it clear that their nations wanted both revenge against Germany and compensation in the form of indemnities and territory. They did not share Wilson's idealism, which called for a peace without victory. David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy met with Wilson almost daily as the Big Four. After months of argument, the president reluctantly agreed to compromise on most of his Fourteen Points. He insisted, however, that the other delegations accept his plan for a League of Nations.

Peace Terms When the peace conference adjourned in June 1919, the Treaty of Versailles included the following terms:

1. Germany was disarmed and stripped of its colonies in Asia and Africa. It was also forced to admit guilt for the war, accept French occupation of the Rhineland for 15 years, and pay a huge sum of money in reparations to Great Britain and France.
2. Applying the principle of self-determination, territories once controlled by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia were taken by the Allies; independence was granted to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, and Poland; and the new nations of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were established.
3. Signers of the treaty would join an international peacekeeping organization, the League of Nations. Article X of the covenant (charter) of the League called on each member nation to stand ready to protect the independence and territorial integrity of other nations.

The Battle for Ratification

Returning to the United States, President Wilson had to win approval of two-thirds of the Senate for all parts of the Treaty of Versailles, including the League of Nations covenant. Republican senators raised objections to the League, especially to Article X, arguing that U.S. membership in such a body might interfere with U.S. sovereignty and might also cause European nations to interfere in the Western Hemisphere (a violation of the Monroe Doctrine).

Increased Partisanship After the War Wilson made winning Senate ratification difficult. In October 1918 he had asked voters to support Democrats in the midterm elections as an act of patriotic loyalty. This political appeal had backfired badly. In the 1918 election, Republicans had won a solid majority in the House and a majority of two in the Senate. In 1919 Wilson needed Republican votes in the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Instead, he faced the determined hostility of a leading Senate Republican, Henry Cabot Lodge.

Opponents: Irreconcilables and Reservationists Senators opposed to the Treaty of Versailles formed two groups. The irreconcilable faction could not accept U.S. membership in the League, no matter how the covenant was worded. The reservationist faction, a larger group led by Senator Lodge, said they could accept the League if certain reservations were added to the covenant. Wilson had the option of either accepting Lodge's reservations or fighting for the treaty as it stood. He chose to fight.

Wilson's Western Tour and Breakdown Believing that his policy could prevail if he could personally rally public support, Wilson boarded a train and went on an arduous speaking tour to the West to make speeches for the League of Nations. On September 25, 1919, he collapsed after delivering a speech in Colorado. He returned to Washington and a few days later suffered a massive stroke from which he never fully recovered.

Rejection of the Treaty The Senate defeated the treaty without reservations. When it came up with reservations, the ailing Wilson directed his Senate allies to reject the compromise, and they joined with the irreconcilables in defeating the treaty a second time.

After Wilson left office in 1921, the United States officially made peace with Germany. It never ratified the Versailles Treaty nor joined the League of Nations.

Postwar Problems

Americans had trouble adjusting from the patriotic fervor of wartime to the economic and social stresses of postwar uncertainties.

Demobilization

During the war, 4 million American men had been taken from civilian life and the domestic economy. Not all the returning soldiers could find jobs right away, but many who did took employment from the women and African Americans who, for a short time, had thrived on war work. The business boom of wartime also went flat, as factory orders for war production fell off. With European farm products back on the market, farm prices fell, which hurt U.S. farmers. In the cities, consumers went on a

buying spree, leading to inflation and a short boom in 1920. The spree did not last. In 1921, business plunged into a recession, and 10 percent of the American workforce was unemployed.

The Red Scare

In 1919, the country suffered from a volatile combination of unhappiness with the peace process, fears of communism fueled by the Communist takeover in Russia, and worries about labor unrest at home. The anti-German hysteria of the war years turned quickly into anti-Communist hysteria known as the Red Scare. These anti-radical fears also fueled xenophobia that resulted in restrictions on immigration in the 1920s.

Palmer Raids A series of unexplained bombings caused Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to establish a special office under J. Edgar Hoover to gather information on radicals. Palmer also ordered mass arrests of anarchists, socialists, and labor agitators. From November 1919 through January 1920, over 6,000 people were arrested, based on limited criminal evidence. Most of the suspects were foreign born, and 500 of them, including the outspoken radical Emma Goldman, were deported.

The scare faded almost as quickly as it arose. Palmer warned of huge riots on May Day, 1920, but they never took place. His loss of credibility, coupled with rising concerns about civil liberties, caused the hysteria to recede.

Labor Conflict

In a nation that valued free enterprise and rugged individualism, a large part of the American public regarded unions with distrust. Their antiunion attitude softened during the Progressive era. Factory workers and their unions were offered a “square deal” under Theodore Roosevelt and protection from lawsuits under the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914. During the war, unions made important gains. In the postwar period, however, a series of strikes in 1919 as well as fear of revolution turned public opinion against unions.

Strikes of 1919 The first major strike of 1919 was in Seattle in February. Some 60,000 unionists joined shipyard workers in a peaceful strike for higher pay. Troops were called out, but there was no violence. In Boston, in September, police went on strike to protest the firing of a few police officers who tried to unionize. Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge sent in the National Guard to break the strike. Also in September, workers for the U.S. Steel Corporation struck. State and federal troops were called out and, after considerable violence, the strike was broken in January 1920.

Race Riots

The migration of African Americans to northern cities during the war increased racial tensions. Whites resented the increased competition for jobs and housing. During the war, race riots had erupted, the largest in East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917. In 1919, racial tensions led to violence in many cities. The worst riot was in Chicago, where 40 people were killed and 500 were injured. Conditions were no better in the South, as racial prejudice and fears of returning African American soldiers led to an increase in racial violence and lynchings by whites.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS WILSON A GOOD PRESIDENT?

Analysis of U.S. involvement in World War I focuses on two questions: (1) Why did the United States go to war, and (2) how did the peace treaty fail? Central to answering both questions is an understanding of the leadership and personality of Woodrow Wilson. Historical interpretations of Wilson from the 1920s to our own times are widely divergent.

Within ten years of the end of World War I, historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes offered highly critical studies of Wilson's policies and motives. They argued that Wilson had strong pro-British sympathies, that his policies favored Britain throughout the period of neutrality, and that the interests of U.S. bankers and arms manufacturers in making war profits influenced Wilson's decision for war. Historians, like most Americans, looked back upon World War I as a tragic mistake. This view remained common through the 1930s.

In the 1940s, after U.S. entry into World War II, historians adopted a "realist" perspective on Wilson. They saw the decision for war as a necessary and unavoidable response to German submarine attacks. They also looked positively on Wilson's commitment to the League of Nations as a pioneering step toward the formation of the United Nations in 1945. The diplomat and historian George F. Kennan argued that Wilson was a pragmatist in foreign policy who recognized the dire consequences to U.S. security if Germany were permitted to overthrow the balance of power in Europe.

More recent historians have looked on Wilson favorably. Arthur S. Link portrayed him as a gifted leader who responded appropriately to both British and German violations of U.S. neutral rights and who was forced by events outside his control into a war he did not want. Link also believes that the primary motivation for Wilson's war message of 1917 was his desire for the United States to play a leading role in the peacemaking process. Arno J. Mayer and Gordon Levin believed that Wilson skillfully combined his democratic ideals with consideration for U.S. economic and strategic interests. They pointed out how the president's efforts to ensure free trade and self-determination and to end colonialism and militarism served the purpose of advancing liberal capitalism. According to Levin, Wilson's motivations went beyond economics. His championing of the League of Nations transcended narrow U.S. self-interest and reflected a vision of a new world order based on collective security.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Causes of WWI (WOR)

Allied power
Central Powers
neutrality
submarine warfare
Lusitania
Sussex pledge
propaganda
ethnic support

Debate over War (WOR)

preparedness
election of 1916
Robert LaFollette
Jeannette Rankin
Edward House
Zimmermann telegram
Russian Revolution
declaration of war

Mobilization (POL)

war industry boards
Food Administration
Railroad Administration
National War Labor Board
taxes and bonds
Selective Service Act
service of African Americans

Civil Liberties (POL)

Committee on Public Information
George Creel
anti-German hysteria
Espionage Act (1917)
Sedition Act (1918)
Eugene Debs
Schenck v. United States

Social Impact of the War (MIG, WXT)

wartime jobs for women
attitudes toward suffrage
migration of blacks and Hispanics

Fighting in Europe, (WOR)

Bolsheviks withdraw
American Expeditionary Force
John J. Pershing
Western front
November 11, 1918

Peace Treaty (WOR)

"peace without victory"
Fourteen Points
Wilson in Paris
Big Four
Treaty of Versailles
self-determination
League of Nations
Article X

Debate over Treaty (POL)

election of 1918
Henry Cabot Lodge
Irreconcilables
Reservationists
Wilson's stroke
rejection of treaty

Aftermath of War (WXT, POL, MIG)

recession, loss of jobs
falling farm prices
Red Scare
anti-radical hysteria
Palmer raids
xenophobia
strikes of 1919
Boston police strike
race riots

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“On the first of February, we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to keep neutral the United States of America.

“If this attempt is not successful we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: that we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. The details are left for your settlement.”

—Arthur Zimmermann, German Foreign Minister, January 19, 1917

1. Which of the following does this excerpt support as the primary cause of the U.S. declaration of war in April 1917?
 - (A) Mexico’s plan to invade the United States
 - (B) Germany’s violations of U.S. neutral rights
 - (C) Pro-British intelligence and propaganda
 - (D) Germany’s violation of the Monroe Doctrine
2. When the Zimmermann message was made public, most people in the United States
 - (A) viewed it as a threat by Germany against Mexico
 - (B) feared that a German victory would split the United States
 - (C) expressed nationalist anger against Germany
 - (D) assumed it was the result of Allied propaganda
3. The issue of freedom of the seas in World War I most closely resembles the cause of which of the following conflicts?
 - (A) War of 1812
 - (B) Mexican War of 1846
 - (C) The American Civil War
 - (D) Spanish-American War of 1898

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“I think all men recognize that in time of war the citizen must surrender some rights for the common good which he is entitled to enjoy in time of peace. But sir, the right to control their own government, according to constitutional forms, is not one of the rights that the citizens of this country are called upon to surrender in time of war. . . .

“Mr. President, our Government, above all others, is founded on the right of the people freely to discuss all matters pertaining to their Government, in war not less than in peace. . . . How can the popular will express itself between elections except by meetings, by speeches, by publications, by petitions, and by addresses to the representatives of the people?

“Any man who seeks to set a limit upon these rights, whether in war or peace, aims a blow at the most vital part of our Government.”

—Robert M. LaFollette, *Congressional Record*, October 6, 1917

4. What does the author imply by the phrase, “not one of the rights that the citizens of this country are called upon to surrender in time of war”?
 - (A) Citizens do not lose their freedom of speech during war
 - (B) Citizens should not have to pay taxes during war
 - (C) The Constitution protects the rights of people to disrupt the draft
 - (D) The Constitution allows people to fight for the opponent in a war
5. Which of the following during World War I proved the most direct threat to the perspective on civil rights in this excerpt?
 - (A) Spread of the Bolshevik Revolution
 - (B) The Espionage and Sedition Acts
 - (C) The Committee for Public Information
 - (D) *Schenck v. United States*
6. Which of the following conflicts raised the most similar concerns about the violation of civil rights as did World War I?
 - (A) War of 1812
 - (B) Mexican War of 1846
 - (C) The American Civil War
 - (D) Spanish-American War of 1898

Questions 7–8 refer to the poster below.



Source: Frederick Strothmann, 1918.
Poster from the Third
Liberty Loan Drive.
Library of Congress

7. During World War I, the government propaganda, such as poster shown above, most likely contributed to which of the following?
 - (A) The decline of votes for the Socialist Party
 - (B) Increased fear of foreigners and immigrants
 - (C) Increased popularity of the Democratic Party
 - (D) Decline in trade with Germany
8. During the war, a government agency named the Committee of Public Information, headed by George Creel, was
 - (A) unsuccessful in enlisting movie stars as volunteers
 - (B) infiltrated by German spies and saboteurs
 - (C) the source of the most accurate information about the war
 - (D) the producer of a vast number of posters, pamphlets, and films

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE example of how the government mobilized industry or labor during World War I.
- b) Briefly explain ONE significant impact of World War I on American women.
- b) Briefly explain ONE significant impact of World War I on one of the following.
 - African Americans
 - German Americans
 - Mexican Americans

Question 2 is based on the photo below.



Source: 1918. National Archive

2. Using the photo, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE context or purpose of the photograph.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE way the poster may represent the morale or make-up of troops involved in World War I.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE role of U.S. troops such as those shown in the photograph in Europe during World War I.

Question 3 is based on the excerpt below.

“The League of Nations failed to take hold in America because the country was not yet ready for so global a role. Nevertheless, Wilson’s intellectual victory proved . . . seminal. . . . For, whenever America has faced the task of constructing a new world order, it has returned in one way or another to Woodrow Wilson’s precepts. At the end of World War II, it helped build the United Nations on the same principle as those of the League, hoping to found peace on a concord of the victors. When this hope died, America waged the Cold War . . . as a moral struggle for democracy. When communism collapsed, the Wilsonian idea that the road to peace lay in collective security . . . was adopted by administrations of both major American political parties.”

—Henry Kissinger, Harvard professor and secretary of state under Presidents Nixon and Ford, *Diplomacy*, 1994

3. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- Briefly explain ONE cause for the failure of the Treaty of Versailles in the U.S. Senate, in addition to the one given by Kissinger.
- Briefly explain ONE example what the author meant in the excerpt by “Woodrow Wilson’s precepts.”
- Briefly explain ONE reason for the influence of Wilson’s ideas on U.S. foreign policy over time.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- Briefly explain ONE way the Red Scare was related to World War I.
- Briefly explain ONE way the post-war labor problems were related to World War I.
- Briefly explain ONE way the race riots of 1917–1919 were related to World War I.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: ORGANIZING EVIDENCE FOR COMPARISONS

In a short essay, a writer might describe one topic in detail and then describe the other, and make comparisons and contrasts in the final paragraph. Or a writer might describe one trait at a time, going back and forth between events. Writers can use the same two types of organization within a paragraph. Is each example below organized by topic or by trait?

- In government, both the United States and Great Britain were democracies with free elections and basic civil liberties.
- Great Britain was a democracy, a long-standing world power, and ethnically homogenous. The United States was a democracy, new on the world stage, and ethnically diverse.

THE MODERN ERA OF THE 1920S

*My candle burns at both ends;
It will not last the night;
But ah, my foes, and oh, my friends—
It gives a lovely light!*

Edna St. Vincent Millay, "First Fig," 1920

The armistice ending World War I was two years in the past in November 1920 when the American people—women as well as men—went to the polls to cast their votes for president. Their choice was between two men from Ohio: Governor James Cox, a Democrat who urged the adoption of the League of Nations, and Senator Warren G. Harding, a Republican who was unclear about where he stood on every issue. The only memorable phrase in Harding's campaign was his assertion that the American people wanted a "return to normalcy." Harding apparently was right, because he was elected by a landslide. It was a sign that the idealism and activism that had characterized the prewar years of the Progressive era were over.

Republican Control

Through the 1920s, three Republican presidents would control the executive branch. Congress too was solidly Republican through a decade in which U.S. business boomed, while farmers and unions struggled.

Business Doctrine

The great leader of the progressive wing of the Republican party, Theodore Roosevelt, died in 1919. This loss, combined with public disillusionment over the war, allowed the return of the old-guard (conservative) Republicans. Unlike the Republicans of the Gilded Age, however, Republican leadership in the 1920s did not preach laissez-faire economics but rather accepted the idea of limited government regulation as an aid to stabilizing business. The regulatory commissions established in the Progressive era were now administered by appointees who were more sympathetic to business than to the general public. The prevailing idea of the Republican party was that the nation would benefit if business and the pursuit of profits took the lead in developing the economy.

The Presidency of Warren Harding

Harding had been a newspaper publisher in Ohio before entering politics. He was handsome and well-liked among the Republican political cronies with whom he regularly played poker. His abilities as a leader, however, were less than presidential. When the Republican national convention of 1920 deadlocked, the party bosses decided “in a smoke-filled room” to deliver the nomination to Harding as a compromise choice.

A Few Good Choices Harding recognized his limitations and hoped to make up for them by appointing able men to his cabinet. He appointed the former presidential candidate and Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes to be secretary of state; the greatly admired former mining engineer and Food Administration leader Herbert Hoover to be secretary of commerce; and the Pittsburgh industrialist and millionaire Andrew Mellon to be secretary of the treasury. When the Chief Justice’s seat on the Supreme Court became vacant, Harding filled it by appointing former President William Howard Taft.

Domestic Policy Harding did little more than sign into law the measures adopted by the Republican Congress. He approved (1) a reduction in the income tax, (2) an increase in tariff rates under the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922, and (3) establishment of the Bureau of the Budget, with procedures for all government expenditures to be placed in a single budget for Congress to review and vote on.

Harding did surprise many people, particularly his conservative allies, by pardoning and releasing from federal prison Socialist leader Eugene Debs. Debs had been convicted of violating the Espionage Act during World War I. Though in prison, Debs received 920,000 votes in the 1920 presidential election. Harding’s decision to pardon Deb’s was prompted by the president’s generous spirit.

Scandals and Death Curiously, Harding’s postwar presidency was marked by scandals and corruption similar to those that had occurred under an earlier postwar president, Ulysses S. Grant. Having appointed some excellent officials, Harding also selected a number of incompetent and dishonest men to fill important positions, including Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall and Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty. In 1924, Congress discovered that Fall had accepted bribes for granting oil leases near Teapot Dome, Wyoming. Daugherty also took bribes for agreeing not to prosecute certain criminal suspects.

However, in August 1923, shortly before these scandals were uncovered publicly, Harding died suddenly while traveling in the West. He was never implicated in any of the scandals.

The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge

Harding’s vice president and successor, Calvin Coolidge, had won popularity in 1919 as the Massachusetts governor who broke the Boston police strike. He was a man of few words who richly deserved the nickname “Silent Cal.” Coolidge once explained why silence was good politics. “If you don’t say anything,” he said, “you won’t be called on to repeat it.” Also unanswerable was the president’s sage comment: “When more and more people are thrown out of work, unemployment

results.” Coolidge summarized both his presidency and his era in the phrase: “The business of America is business.”

The Election of 1924 After less than a year in office, Coolidge was the overwhelming choice of the Republican party as their presidential nominee in 1924. The Democrats nominated a conservative lawyer from West Virginia, John W. Davis, and tried to make an issue of the Teapot Dome scandal. Unhappy with conservative dominance of both parties, liberals formed a new Progressive party led by its presidential candidate, Robert La Follette of Wisconsin. Coolidge won the election easily, but the Progressive ticket did extremely well for a third party in a conservative era. La Follette received nearly 5 million votes, chiefly from discontented farmers and laborers.

Vetoes and Inaction Coolidge believed in limited government that stood aside while business conducted its own affairs. Little was accomplished in the White House except keeping a close watch on the budget. Cutting spending to the bone, Coolidge vetoed even the acts of the Republican majority in Congress. He would not allow bonuses for World War I veterans and vetoed a bill (the McNary-Haugen Bill of 1928) to help farmers as crop prices fell.

Hoover, Smith, and the Election of 1928

Coolidge declined to run for the presidency a second time. The Republicans therefore turned to an able leader with a spotless reputation, self-made millionaire and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. Hoover had served three presidents (Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge) in administrative roles but had never before campaigned for elective office. Nevertheless, in 1928, he was made the Republican nominee for president.

Hoover’s Democratic opponent was the governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith. As a Roman Catholic and an opponent of Prohibition, Smith appealed to many immigrant voters in the cities. Many Protestants, however, were openly prejudiced against Smith.

Republicans boasted of “Coolidge Prosperity,” which Hoover promised to extend. He even suggested (ironically, as it proved) that poverty would soon be ended altogether. Hoover won in a landslide and even took a large number of the electoral votes in the South. In several southern states—including Texas, Florida, and Virginia—the taste of prosperity and general dislike for Smith’s religion outweighed the voters’ usual allegiance to the Democratic party.

Mixed Economic Development

Politics took a backseat in the 1920s, as Americans adapted to economic growth and social change. The decade began with a brief postwar recession (1921), included a lengthy period of business prosperity (1922–1928), and ended in economic disaster (October 1929) with the nation’s worst stock market crash. During the boom years, unemployment was usually below 4 percent. The standard of living for most Americans improved significantly. Indoor plumbing and central heating became commonplace. By 1930, two-thirds of all homes had electricity. Real income for both the middle class and the working class increased substantially.

The prosperity, however, was far from universal. In fact, during the 1920s as many as 40 percent of U.S. families in both rural and urban areas had incomes in the poverty range—they struggled to live on less than \$1,500 a year. Farmers in particular did not share in the booming economy.

Causes of Business Prosperity

The business boom—led by a spectacular rise of 64 percent in manufacturing output between 1919 and 1929—resulted from several factors.

Increased Productivity Companies made greater use of research, expanding their use of Frederick W. Taylor's time-and-motion studies and principles of scientific management. The manufacturing process was made more efficient by the adoption of improved methods of mass production. In 1914, Henry Ford had perfected a system for manufacturing automobiles by means of an assembly line. Instead of losing time moving around a factory as in the past, Ford's workers remained at one place all day and performed the same simple operation over and over again at rapid speed. In the 1920s, most major industries adopted the assembly line and realized major gains in worker productivity.

Energy Technologies Another cause of economic growth was the increased use of oil and electricity, although coal was still used for the railroads and to heat most homes. Increasingly, oil was used to power factories and to provide gasoline for the rapidly increasing numbers of automobiles. By 1930, oil would account for 23 percent of U.S. energy (up from a mere 3 percent in 1900). Electric motors in factories and new appliances at home increased electrical generation over 300 percent during the decade.

Government Policy Government at all levels in the 1920s favored the growth of big business by offering corporate tax cuts and doing almost nothing to enforce the antitrust laws of the Progressive era. Large tax cuts for higher-income Americans also contributed to the imbalance in incomes and increased speculation in markets. The Federal Reserve contributed to the overheated economic boom first through low interest rates and relaxed regulation of banks and then by tightening the money supply at the wrong time.

Consumer Economy

Electricity in their homes enabled millions of Americans to purchase the new consumer appliances of the decade—refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines. Automobiles became more affordable and sold by the millions, making the horse-and-buggy era a thing of the past. Advertising expanded as businesses found that consumers' demand for new products could be manipulated by appealing to their desires for status and popularity. Stores increased sales of the new appliances and automobiles by allowing customers to buy on credit. Later, as consumers faced more “easy monthly payments” than they could afford, they curtailed buying, contributing to the collapse of the economic boom. Chain stores, such as Woolworth's and the A & P, proliferated. Their greater variety of products were attractively displayed and often priced lower than the neighborhood stores, which they threatened to displace.

Impact of the Automobile More than anything else, the automobile changed society. By 1929, a total of 26.5 million automobiles were registered, compared to 1.2 million in 1913. The enormous increase in automobile sales meant that, by the end of the decade, there was an average of nearly one car per American family. In economic terms, the production of automobiles replaced the railroad industry as the key promoter of economic growth. Other industries—steel, glass, rubber, gasoline, and highway construction—now depended on automobile sales. In social terms, the automobile affected all that Americans did: shopping, traveling for pleasure, commuting to work, even dating. Of course, there were new problems as well: traffic jams in the cities, injuries and deaths on roads and highways.

Farm Problems

Farmers did not share in the Coolidge prosperity. Their best years had been 1916–1918, when crop prices had been kept artificially high by (1) wartime demand in Europe and (2) the U.S. government’s wartime policy of guaranteeing a minimum price for wheat and corn. When the war ended, so did farm prosperity. Farmers who had borrowed heavily to expand during the war were now left with a heavy burden of debt. New technologies (chemical fertilizers, gasoline tractors) helped farmers increase their production in the 1920s, but did not solve their problems. In fact, productivity only served to increase their debts, as growing surpluses produced falling prices.

Labor Problems

Wages rose during the 1920s, but the union movement went backward. Membership in unions declined 20 percent, partly because most companies insisted on an *open shop* (keeping jobs open to nonunion workers). Some companies also began to practice welfare capitalism—voluntarily offering their employees improved benefits and higher wages in order to reduce their interest in organizing unions. In the South, companies used police, state militia, and local mobs to violently resist efforts to unionize the textile industry.

In an era that so strongly favored business, union efforts at strikes usually failed. The United Mine Workers, led by John L. Lewis, suffered setbacks in a series of violent and ultimately unsuccessful strikes in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky. Conservative courts routinely issued injunctions against strikes and nullified labor laws aimed at protecting workers’ welfare.

A New Culture

The Census of 1920 reported that, for the first time, more than half of the American population lived in urban areas. The culture of the cities was based on popular tastes, morals, and habits of mass consumption that were increasingly at odds with the strict religious and moral codes of rural America. Moralists of the 1920s blamed the automobile, “a bordello on wheels,” for the breakdown of morals, especially among the young, but soon the music, dances, movies and fashions were added to the list.

The Jazz Age

High school and college youth expressed their rebellion against their elders' culture by dancing to jazz music. Brought north by African American musicians, jazz became a symbol of the "new" and "modern" culture of the cities. The proliferation of phonographs and radios made this new style of music available to a huge (and chiefly youthful) public.

Entertainment Newspapers had once been the only medium of mass communication and entertainment. In the 1920s, a new medium—the radio—suddenly appeared. The first commercial radio station went on the air in 1920 and broadcast music to just a few thousand listeners. By 1930 there were over 800 stations broadcasting to 10 million radios—about a third of all U.S. homes. The organization of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1924 and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1927 provided networks of radio stations that enabled people from coast to coast to listen to the same programs: news broadcasts, sporting events, soap operas, quiz shows, and comedies.

The movie industry centered in Hollywood, California, became big business in the 1920s. Going to the movies became a national habit in cities, suburbs, and small towns. Sexy and glamorous movie stars such as Greta Garbo and Rudolf Valentino were idolized by millions. Elaborate movie theater "palaces" were built for the general public. With the introduction of talking (sound) pictures in 1927, the movie industry reached new heights. By 1929, over 80 million tickets to the latest Hollywood movies were sold each week.

Popular Heroes In an earlier era, politicians such as William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson had been popularly viewed as heroic figures. In the new age of radio and movies, Americans radically shifted their viewpoint and adopted as role models the larger-than-life personalities celebrated on the sports page and the movie screen. Every sport had its superstars who were nationally known. In the 1920s, people followed the knockouts of heavyweight boxer Jack Dempsey, the swimming records of Gertrude Ederle, the touchdowns scored by Jim Thorpe, the home runs hit by Babe Ruth, and the golf tournaments won by Bobby Jones.

Of all the popular heroes of the decade, the most celebrated was a young aviator who, in 1927, thrilled the nation and the entire world by flying nonstop across the Atlantic from Long Island to Paris. Americans listened to the radio for news of Charles Lindbergh's flight and welcomed his return to the United States with ticker tape parades larger than the welcome given to the returning soldiers of World War I.

Gender Roles, Family, and Education

The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment did not change either women's lives or U.S. politics as much as had been anticipated. Voting patterns in the election of 1920 showed that women did not vote as a bloc, but adopted the party preferences of their husbands or fathers.

Women at Home The traditional separation of labor between men and women continued into the 1920s. Most middle-class women expected to spend

their lives as homemakers and mothers. The introduction into the home of such laborsaving devices as the washing machine and vacuum cleaner eased but did not substantially change the daily routines of the homemaker.

Women in the Labor Force Participation of women in the workforce remained about the same as before the war. Employed women usually lived in the cities, were limited to certain categories of jobs as clerks, nurses, teachers, and domestics, and received lower wages than men.

Revolution in Morals Probably the most significant change in the lives of young men and women of the 1920s was their revolt against sexual taboos. Some were influenced by the writings of the Austrian psychiatrist Sigmund Freud, who stressed the role of sexual repression in mental illness. Others, who perhaps had never heard of Freud, took to premarital sex as if it were—like radio and jazz music—one of the inventions of the modern age. Movies, novels, automobiles, and new dance steps (the fox-trot and the Charleston) also encouraged greater promiscuity. The use of contraceptives for birth control was still against the law in almost every state. Even so, the work of Margaret Sanger and other advocates of birth control achieved growing acceptance in the twenties.

A special fashion that set young people apart from older generations was the flapper look. Influenced by movie actresses as well as their own desires for independence, young women shocked their elders by wearing dresses hemmed at the knee (instead of the ankle), “bobbing” (cutting short) their hair, smoking cigarettes, and driving cars. High school and college graduates also took office jobs until they married. Then, as married women, they were expected to abandon the flapper look, quit their jobs, and settle down as wives and mothers.

Divorce As a result of women’s suffrage, state lawmakers were now forced to listen to feminists, who demanded changes in the divorce laws to permit women to escape abusive and incompatible husbands. Liberalized divorce laws were one reason that one in six marriages ended in divorce by 1930—a dramatic increase over the one-in-eight ratio of 1920.

Education Widespread belief in the value of education, together with economic prosperity, stimulated more state governments to enact compulsory school laws. Universal high school education became the new American goal. By the end of the 1920s, the number of high school graduates had doubled to over 25 percent of the school-age young adults.

The Literature of Alienation

Scorning religion as hypocritical and bitterly condemning the sacrifices of wartime as a fraud perpetrated by money interests were two dominant themes of the leading writers of the postwar decade. This disillusionment caused the writer Gertrude Stein to call these writers a “lost generation.” The novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and Sinclair Lewis, the poems of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, and the plays of Eugene O’Neill expressed disillusionment with the ideals of an earlier time and with the materialism of a business-oriented culture. Fitzgerald and O’Neill took to a life of drinking, while Eliot and Hemingway expressed their unhappiness by moving into exile in Europe.

Art and Architecture

The fusion of art and technology during the 1920s and 1930s created a new profession of industrial designers. Influenced by Art Deco and streamlining styles, they created functional products from toasters to locomotives that had aesthetic appeal. Many skyscrapers, such as the Chrysler and Empire State buildings in New York, were also built in the Art Deco style that captured modernist simplification of forms, while using the machine age materials.

Painters, such as Edward Hopper, were inspired by the architecture of American cities to explore loneliness and isolation of urban life. Regional artists, such as Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton, celebrated the rural people and scenes of the heartland of America.

On the stage, Jewish immigrants played a major role in the development of the American musical theatre during this era. For example, composer George Gershwin, the son of Russian-Jewish immigrants, blended jazz and classical music in his symphonic *Rhapsody in Blue* and the folk opera *Porgy and Bess*.



The Chrysler Building, New York City

Source: Carol M. Highsmith / Library of Congress

Harlem Renaissance

By 1930, almost 20 percent of African Americans lived in the North, as migration from the South continued. In the North, African Americans still faced discrimination in housing and jobs, but they found at least some improvement in their earnings and material standard of living. The largest African American community developed in the Harlem section of New York City. With a population of almost 200,000 by 1930, Harlem became famous in the 1920s for its

concentration of talented actors, artists, musicians, and writers. Because of their artistic achievements this period is known as the Harlem Renaissance.

Poets and Musicians The leading Harlem poets included Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, and Claude McKay. Commenting on the African American heritage, their poems expressed a range of emotions, from bitterness and resentment to joy and hope.

African American jazz musicians such as Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong were so popular among people of all races that the 1920s is often called the Jazz Age. Other great performers included blues singer Bessie Smith and the multitalented singer and actor Paul Robeson. While these artists sometimes performed before integrated audiences in Harlem, they often found themselves and their audiences segregated in much of the rest of the nation.

Marcus Garvey In 1916, the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was brought to Harlem from Jamaica by a charismatic immigrant, Marcus Garvey. Garvey advocated individual and racial pride for African Americans and developed political ideas of black nationalism. Going beyond the efforts of W. E. B. Du Bois, Garvey established an organization for black separatism, economic self-sufficiency, and a back-to-Africa movement. Garvey's sale of stock in the Black Star Steamship line led to federal charges of fraud. In 1925, he was tried, convicted, and jailed. Later, he was deported to Jamaica and his movement collapsed.

W. E. B. Du Bois and other African American leaders disagreed with Garvey's back-to-Africa idea but endorsed his emphasis on racial pride and self-respect. In the 1960s, Garvey's thinking helped to inspire a later generation to embrace the cause of black pride and nationalism.

Values in Conflict

The dominant social and political issues of the 1920s expressed sharp divisions in U.S. society between the young and the old, between urban modernists and rural fundamentalists, between prohibitionists and antiprohibitionists, and between nativists and the foreign-born.

Religion

Divisions among Protestants reflected the tensions in society between the traditional values of rural areas and the modernizing forces of the cities.

Modernism A range of influences, including the changing role of women, the Social Gospel movement, and scientific knowledge, caused large numbers of Protestants to define their faith in new ways. Modernists took a historical and critical view of certain passages in the Bible and believed they could accept Darwin's theory of evolution without abandoning their religious faith.

Fundamentalism Protestant preachers in rural areas condemned the modernists and taught that every word in the Bible must be accepted as literally true. A key point in fundamentalist doctrine was that creationism (the idea that God had created the universe in seven days, as stated in the Book of Genesis) explained the origin of all life. Fundamentalists blamed the liberal views of modernists for causing a decline in morals.

Revivalists on the Radio Ever since the Great Awakening of the early 1700s, religious revivals swept through America periodically. Revivalists of the 1920s preached a fundamentalist message but did so for the first time making full use of the new tool of mass communication, the radio. The leading radio evangelists were Billy Sunday, who drew large crowds as he attacked drinking, gambling, and dancing; and Aimee Semple McPherson, who condemned the twin evils of communism and jazz music from her pulpit in Los Angeles.

Fundamentalism and the Scopes Trial

More than any other single event, a much-publicized trial in Tennessee focused the debate between religious fundamentalists in the rural South and modernists of the northern cities. Tennessee, like several other southern states, outlawed the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution in public schools. To challenge the constitutionality of these laws, the American Civil Liberties Union persuaded a Tennessee biology teacher, John Scopes, to teach the theory of evolution to his high school class. For doing so, Scopes was arrested and tried in 1925.

The Trial The entire nation followed the Scopes trial both in newspapers and by radio. Defending Scopes was the famous lawyer Clarence Darrow. Representing the fundamentalists was three-time Democratic candidate for president William Jennings Bryan, who testified as an expert on the Bible.

Aftermath As expected, Scopes was convicted, but the conviction was later overturned on a technicality. Laws banning the teaching of evolution remained on the books for years, although they were rarely enforced. The northern press asserted that Darrow and the modernists had thoroughly discredited fundamentalism. However, to this day, questions about the relationship between religion and the public schools remain controversial and unresolved.

Prohibition

Another controversy that helped define the 1920s concerned people's conflicting attitudes toward the 18th Amendment. Wartime concerns to conserve grain and maintain a sober workforce moved Congress to pass this amendment, which strictly prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, including liquors, wines, and beers. It was ratified in 1919. The adoption of the Prohibition amendment and a federal law enforcing it (the Volstead Act, 1919) were the culmination of many decades of crusading by temperance forces.

Defying the Law Prohibition did not stop people from drinking alcohol either in public places or at home. Especially in the cities, it became fashionable to defy the law by going to clubs or bars known as speakeasies, where bootleg (smuggled) liquor was sold. City police and judges were paid to look the other way. Even elected officials such as President Harding served alcoholic drinks to guests. Liquors, beers, and wines were readily available from bootleggers who smuggled them from Canada or made them in their garages or basements.

Rival groups of gangsters, including a Chicago gang headed by Al Capone, fought for control of the lucrative bootlegging trade. Organized crime became

big business. The millions made from the sale of illegal booze allowed the gangs to expand other illegal activities: prostitution, gambling, and narcotics.

Political Discord and Repeal Most Republicans publicly supported the “noble experiment” of Prohibition (although in private, many politicians drank). Democrats were divided on the issue, with southerners supporting it and northern city politicians calling for repeal. Supporters of the 18th Amendment pointed to declines in alcoholism and alcohol-related deaths, but as the years passed, they gradually weakened in the face of growing public resentment and clear evidence of increased criminal activity. With the coming of the Great Depression, economic arguments for repeal were added to the others. In 1933, the 21st Amendment repealing the Eighteenth was ratified, and millions celebrated the new year by toasting the end of Prohibition.

Nativism

The world war had interrupted the flow of immigrants to the United States, but as soon as the war ended, immigration shot upward. Over a million foreigners entered the country between 1919 and 1921. Like the immigrants of the prewar period, the new arrivals were mainly Catholics and Jews from eastern and southern Europe. Once again, nativist prejudices of native-born Protestants were aroused. Workers feared competition for jobs. Isolationists wanted minimal contact with Europe and feared that immigrants might foment revolution. In response to public demands for restrictive legislation, Congress acted quickly.

Quota Laws Congress passed two laws that severely limited immigration by setting quotas based on nationality. The first quota act of 1921 limited immigration to 3 percent of the number of foreign-born persons from a given nation counted in the 1910 Census (a maximum of 357,000). To reduce the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, Congress passed a second quota act in 1924 that set quotas of 2 percent based on the Census of 1890 (before the arrival of most of the “new” immigrants). Although there were quotas for all European and Asian nationalities, the law chiefly restricted those groups considered “undesirable” by the nativists. By 1927, the quota for all Asians and eastern and southern Europeans had been limited to 150,000, with all Japanese immigrants barred. With these acts, the traditional United States policy of unlimited immigration ended.

Canadians and Latin Americans were exempt from restrictions. Almost 500,000 Mexicans migrated legally to the Southwest during the 1920s.

Case of Sacco and Vanzetti Although liberal American artists and intellectuals were few in number, they loudly protested against racist and nativist prejudices. They rallied to the support of two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who in 1921 had been convicted in a Massachusetts court of committing robbery and murder. Liberals protested that the two men were innocent, and that they had been accused, convicted, and sentenced to die simply because they were poor Italians and anarchists (who were against all government). After six years of appeals and national and international debates over the fairness of their trial, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in 1927.

Ku Klux Klan

The most extreme expression of nativism in the 1920s was the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. Unlike the original Klan of the 1860s and 1870s, the new Klan founded in 1915 was as strong in the Midwest as in the South. The Klan attracted new members because of the popular silent film, *Birth of a Nation*, which portrayed the KKK during Reconstruction as the heroes, and from the white backlash to the race riots of 1919. The new Klan used modern advertising techniques to grow to 5 million members by 1925. It drew most of its support from lower-middle-class white Protestants in small cities and towns. Northern branches of the KKK directed their hostility not only against blacks but also against Catholics, Jews, foreigners, and suspected Communists.

Tactics The Klan employed various methods for terrorizing and intimidating anyone targeted as “un-American.” Dressed in white hoods to disguise their identity, Klan members would burn crosses and apply vigilante justice, punishing their victims with whips, tar and feathers, and even the hangman’s noose. In its heyday in the early 1920s, the Klan developed strong political influence. In Indiana and Texas, its support became crucial for candidates hoping to win election to state and local offices.

Decline At first, the majority of native-born white Americans appeared to tolerate the Klan because it vowed to uphold high standards of Christian morality and drive out bootleggers, gamblers, and adulterers. Beginning in 1923, however, investigative reports in the northern press revealed that fraud and corruption in the KKK were rife. In 1925, the leader of Indiana’s Klan, Grand Dragon David Stephenson, was convicted of murder. After that, the Klan’s influence and membership declined rapidly. Nevertheless, it continued to exist and advocate for white supremacy into the 1960s.

Foreign Policy: The Fiction of Isolation

During the 1920s, widespread disillusionment with World War I, Europe’s post-war problems, and communism in the Soviet Union (as Russia was renamed) made Americans fearful of being pulled into another foreign war. But despite the U.S. refusal to join the League of Nations, the makers of U.S. foreign policy did not retreat to the isolationism of the Gilded Age. Instead, they actively pursued arrangements in foreign affairs that would advance American interests while also maintaining world peace.

Disarmament and Peace

The Republican presidents of the 1920s tried to promote peace and also scale back expenditures on defense by arranging treaties of disarmament. The most successful disarmament conference—and the greatest achievement of Harding’s presidency—was held in Washington, D.C., in 1921.

Washington Conference (1921) Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes initiated talks on naval disarmament, hoping to stabilize the size of the U.S. Navy relative to that of other powers and to resolve conflicts in the Pacific.

Representatives to the Washington Conference came from Belgium, China, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal. Three agreements to relieve tensions resulted from the discussions:

1. Five-Power Treaty Nations with the five largest navies agreed to maintain the following ratio with respect to their largest warships, or battleships: the United States, 5; Great Britain, 5; Japan, 3; France, 1.67; Italy, 1.67. Britain and the United States also agreed not to fortify their possessions in the Pacific, while no limit was placed on the Japanese.

2. Four-Power Treaty The United States, France, Great Britain, and Japan agreed to respect one another's territory in the Pacific.

3. Nine-Power Treaty All nine nations represented at the conference agreed to respect the Open Door policy by guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China.

Kellogg-Briand Pact American women took the lead in a peace movement committed to outlawing future wars. (For her efforts on behalf of peace, Jane Addams won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.) The movement achieved its greatest success in 1928 with the signing of a treaty arranged by U.S. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and the French foreign minister Aristide Briand. Almost all the nations of the world signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which renounced the aggressive use of force to achieve national ends. This international agreement would prove ineffective, however, since it (1) permitted defensive wars and (2) failed to provide for taking action against violators of the agreement.

Business and Diplomacy

Republican presidents believed that probusiness policies brought prosperity at home and at the same time strengthened U.S. dealings with other nations. Thus, they found it natural to use diplomacy to advance American business interests in Latin America and other regions.

Latin America Mexico's constitution of 1917 mandated government ownership of all that nation's mineral and oil resources. U.S. investors in Mexico feared that the government might confiscate their properties. A peaceful resolution protecting their interests was negotiated by Coolidge's ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, in 1927.

Elsewhere in Latin America, Coolidge kept U.S. troops in Nicaragua and Haiti but withdrew them from the Dominican Republic in 1924. While American military influence declined, American economic impact increased. U.S. investments in Latin America doubled between 1919 and 1929.

Middle East The oil reserves in the Middle East were becoming recognized as a major source of potential wealth. British oil companies had a large head start in the region, but Secretary of State Hughes succeeded in winning oil-drilling rights for U.S. companies.

Tariffs Passed by Congress in 1922, the Fordney-McCumber Tariff increased the duties on foreign manufactured goods by 25 percent. It was protective of U.S. business interests in the short run but destructive in the long run. Because of it, European nations were slow to recover from the war and had difficulty repaying their war debts to the United States. They responded to the high U.S. tariffs by imposing tariffs of their own on American imports. Ultimately, these obstacles to international trade weakened the world economy and were one reason for the Great Depression of the 1930s.

War Debts and Reparations

Before World War I, the United States had been a debtor nation, importing more than it exported. It emerged from the war as a creditor nation, having lent more than \$10 billion to the Allies. Harding and Coolidge insisted that Britain and France pay back every penny of their war debts. The British and French objected. They pointed out that they suffered much worse losses than the Americans during the war, that the borrowed money had been spent in the United States, and that high U.S. tariffs made it more difficult to pay the debts. To be sure, the Treaty of Versailles required Germany to pay \$30 billion in reparations to the Allies. But how were Britain and France to collect this money? Germany was bankrupt, had soaring inflation, and was near anarchy.

Dawes Plan Charles Dawes, an American banker who would become Coolidge's vice president, negotiated a compromise that was accepted by all sides in 1924. The Dawes Plan established a cycle of payments flowing from the United States to Germany and from Germany to the Allies. U.S. banks would lend Germany huge sums to rebuild its economy and pay reparations to Britain and France. In turn, Britain and France would use the reparations money to pay their war debts to the United States. This cycle helped to ease financial problems on both sides of the Atlantic. After the stock market crash of 1929, however, U.S. bank loans stopped and the prosperity propped up by the Dawes Plan collapsed.

Legacy Ultimately, Finland was the only nation to repay its war debts in full. The unpaid debts of the other nations left bad feelings on all sides. Many Europeans resented what they saw as American greed, while Americans saw new reasons to follow an isolationist path in the 1930s.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: HOW CONSERVATIVE WERE THE 1920S?

By the 1930s, the 1920s seemed to be a unique decade—a period of social fun and business boom wedged between two calamities, World War I and the Great Depression. In his popular history *Only Yesterday* (1931), Frederick Lewis Allen gave support to the ideas of the leading social critics of the 1920s, H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis. He portrayed the period as one of narrow-minded materialism in which the middle class abandoned Progressive reforms, embraced conservative Republican policies, and either supported or condoned nativism, racism, and fundamentalism. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. generally accepted this view of the twenties, seeing it within the framework of his cyclical view of history. He argued that the politics of the decade represented a conservative reaction to the liberal reforms of the Progressive era.

Revisionist historians of the 1950s questioned whether the 1920s truly broke with the Progressive past. They argued that the period continued earlier protest movements such as Populism. Richard Hofstadter and other “consensus” writers distinguished between two middle classes: a new urban group with modern values and an older middle class with traditional values. William Leuchtenburg in *The Perils of Prosperity* (1958) portrayed the traditionalists as threatened by cultural pluralism and modern ideas.

A third assessment took a more positive view of the traditionalists. Some historians, including Alan Brinkley in the 1980s, argued that people in the “old” middle class, including fundamentalists and nativists, were understandably trying to protect their own economic and social self-interests. At the same time, they were seeking to preserve individual and community freedom in face of the modernist movement toward centralized bureaucratic and national control. This effort to maintain local control and independence from big government is seen as continuing from the 1920s to the present.

Given the extreme and deeply felt differences between the modernists and the traditionalists, some historians have wondered why there was not more conflict in the twenties. One explanation, which has grown from the 1960s to the present, is the importance of the consumer culture. Historians, including Stuart Ewen and Roland Marchand, have in diverse ways shown how the influence of growing materialism and prosperity caused people to accept increased bureaucratic control of their lives. They place varying emphasis on the ways in which material affluence, consumer goods, advertising, and a homogeneous mass culture redefined the social and political values of the United States. Though these historians agree on the importance of consumer culture, they differ greatly on its positive and negative influences. With their emphasis on materialism and consumption, historians have returned to the assessments of Mencken, Lewis, and Allen.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

1920s Politics (POL) Warren Harding Charles Evans Hughes Andrew Mellon Harry Daugherty Albert Fall Teapot Dome Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act Bureau of the Budget Calvin Coolidge Herbert Hoover Alfred E. Smith	Literature and the Arts (CUL) Gertrude Stein Lost Generation F. Scott Fitzgerald Ernest Hemingway Sinclair Lewis Ezra Pound T. S. Eliot Eugene O'Neill industrial design Art Deco Edward Hopper regional artists Grant Wood George Gershwin	Conflict over Prohibition (CUL, POL) Volstead Act (1919) rural vs. urban organized crime Al Capone 21st Amendment
1920s Economy (WXT) business prosperity standard of living scientific management Henry Ford assembly line open shop welfare capitalism consumerism electric appliances impact of the automobile	African American Identity (CUL, ID) northern migration Harlem Renaissance Countee Cullen Langston Hughes James Weldon Johnson Claude McKay Duke Ellington Louis Armstrong Bessie Smith Paul Robeson Back to Africa movement Marcus Garvey black pride	Conflict over Immigration (CUL, POL, NAT) quota laws of 1921 and 1924 Sacco and Vanzetti Case Ku Klux Klan <i>Birth of a Nation</i> blacks, Catholics and Jews foreigners and Communists
A Modern Culture (CUL) jazz age radio, phonographs national networks Hollywood movie stars movie palaces popular heroes role of women Sigmund Freud morals and fashions Margaret Sanger high school education consumer culture Frederick Lewis Allen <i>Only Yesterday</i>	Foreign Policy (WOR) disarmament Washington Conference (1921) Five-Power Naval treaty Nine-Power China Treaty Kellogg-Briand Treaty (1928) Latin America policy war debts reparations Dawes Plan (1924)	Conflict over Religion (CUL) modernism fundamentalism revivalists: Billy Sunday, Aimee Semple McPherson Scopes trial Clarence Darrow

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

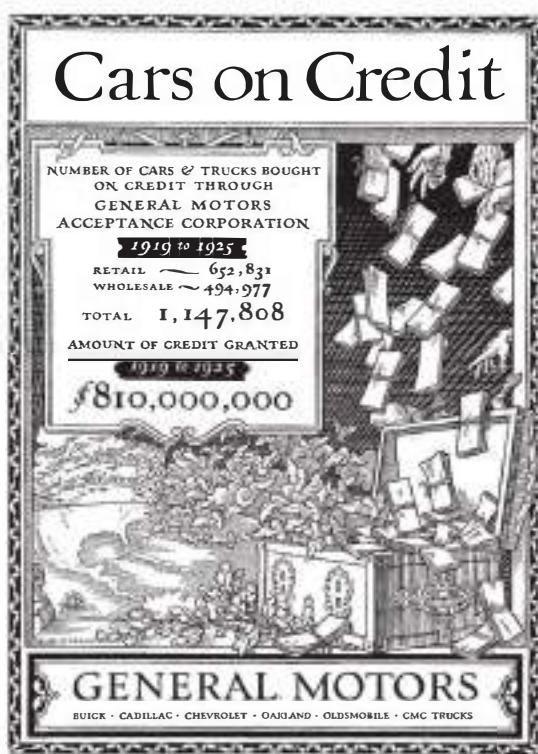
Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“A widely held view of the Republican administrations of the 1920s is that they represented a return to an older order that had existed before Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson became the nation’s chief executives. Harding and Coolidge especially are seen as latter-day McKinleys, political mediocrities who peopled their cabinets with routine, conservative party hacks of the kind almost universal in Washington from the end of the Civil War until the early 20th century. In this view, the 1920s politically were an effort to set back the clock.”

—David A. Shannon, historian, *Between the Wars: America, 1919–1941*, 1965

1. Which of the following groups from the 1920s most likely would have supported the perspective of this excerpt?
 - (A) Business and financial leaders
 - (B) Democrats and Republicans who supported Progressive reforms
 - (C) Supporters of reduced government spending and tax cuts
 - (D) Native-born and older Americans with traditional values
2. Which of the following from the 1920s mostly clearly challenges the interpretation expressed in the excerpt?
 - (A) The disarmament agreement among the great powers to limit warships and aggression
 - (B) The passage of legislation to increase tariff rates and cut income taxes
 - (C) The leasing of public lands to private oil companies
 - (D) The reduction of federal regulations for businesses and the banking system
3. Which of the following groups of politicians from between 1865 and 1900 most closely resemble the corrupt politicians during the Harding administration?
 - (A) Politicians who failed to protect the freedmen in the South
 - (B) Politicians who took shares of railroad stock in return for government subsidies
 - (C) Politicians who gave government jobs to their political supporters as rewards
 - (D) Politicians who violated the temperance laws and their professed moral beliefs

Questions 4–6 refer to the advertisement below.



Source: General
Motors, 1925.
The Granger
Collection, NYC

4. Which of the following trends of the 1920s is most clearly portrayed in this advertisement?
 - (A) The expansion of auto dealers throughout the country
 - (B) The use of extended payment plans to purchase consumer goods
 - (C) The emergence of General Motors as the largest company
 - (D) The growth of middle-class incomes
5. Many historians criticize the economy that developed during the 1920s. Which of the following statements best supports that point of view?
 - (A) Consumerism weakened the moral character of the nation
 - (B) The growth of the auto industry badly hurt the railroads
 - (C) Advertising was based on gaining status and popularity
 - (D) The boom was based on speculation and borrowed money
6. Which of the following groups faced the most difficult economic conditions during the 1920s?
 - (A) Non-unionized workers in older industries
 - (B) Assembly line workers in factories
 - (C) Farmers and many rural areas
 - (D) Businesses that did not accept credit cards

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

The problem of birth control has arisen directly from the efforts of the feminine spirit to free itself from bondage. . . .

The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom. A free race cannot be born of slave mothers. A woman enchainèd cannot choose but give a measure of that bondage to her sons and daughters. No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.

—Margaret Sanger, *Woman and the New Race*, 1920

7. Which of the following developments in the 1920s would most directly support the author's sentiments in the excerpt?
 - (A) Liberalized divorce laws
 - (B) Labor-saving household appliances
 - (C) Employment as secretaries, nurses, and teachers
 - (D) New fashions and hair styles
8. Which of the following most influenced thinking about sexual behavior during the 1920s?
 - (A) Research of Frederick Taylor
 - (B) Writing of the Lost Generation
 - (C) Advertising of consumer products
 - (D) Popularization of Sigmund Freud

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the excerpt below.

“Through his artistic efforts the Negro is smashing this immemorial stereotype faster than he has ever done through any other method he has been able to use. . . . He is impressing upon the national mind the conviction that he is an active and important force in American life; that he is a creator as well as a creature; that he has given as well as received; that he is the potential giver of larger and richer contributions. . . .

“I do not think it too much to say that through artistic achievement the Negro has found a means of getting at the very core of the prejudice against him by challenging the Nordic superiority complex. A great deal has been accomplished in this decade of ‘renaissance.’”

—James Weldon Johnson, poet and secretary of the NAACP, *Harper's*, 1928

1. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE way the Harlem Renaissance supported the point of view in the excerpt.
- b) Briefly explain ONE example of an African American artist’s achievement from the era that would support this excerpt.
- c) Briefly explain what the author most likely meant by “the very core of prejudice” faced by African Americans in the 1920s.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE example of how religion and science were a source of conflict in American society during the 1920s.
- b) Briefly explain ONE development during the 1920s that changed attitudes toward Prohibition.
- c) Briefly explain ONE important difference in the immigrant legislation of the 1920s in comparison to earlier periods.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE example of how the media of 1920s contributed to development of a shared national culture.
- b) Briefly explain ONE development that caused the disillusionment among writers of the 1920s.
- c) Briefly explain ONE important artistic response during the 1920s and 1930s to industrial development or urban experience.

Question 4 is based on the excerpts below.

“I couldn’t forgive him or like him, but I saw that what he had done was, to him, entirely justified. It was all very careless and confused. They were careless people, Tom and Daisy—they smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness, or whatever it was that kept them together, and let other people clean up the mess they had made.”

—F. Scott Fitzgerald, novelist, *The Great Gatsby*, 1925

“Never was a decade snuffed out so quickly as the 1920’s. The stock market crash was taken as a judgment pronounced on the whole era, and, in the grim days of the depression, the 1920’s were condemned as a time of irresponsibility and immaturity.”

—William E. Leuchtenburg, historian, *The Perils of Prosperity*, 1959

4. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE social development in the 1920s that supports the Fitzgerald quote.
- b) Briefly explain ONE economic development of the 1920s that supports the Leuchtenburg argument.
- c) Briefly explain ONE argument that supports that the 1920s made a positive contribution to the long-term prosperity of the United States.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: ADDING DETAILS FOR CONTEXTUALIZATION

Adding information about the historical context of an event helps the reader understand its significance. Which THREE of the sentences below best demonstrate the use of contextualization?

1. The corruption in the Harding administration involving Albert Fall and Harry Daugherty was serious.
2. The Kellogg-Briand Treaty expressed a reaction against war that could be seen throughout Europe and eastern Asia.
3. In his novels, F. Scott Fitzgerald reflected the materialism, consumer culture, and fascination with wealth that dominated the 1920s.
4. The Harlem Renaissance was even more impressive because it occurred during a period when the KKK and anti-immigrant feelings were on the increase.
5. Grant Wood appreciated the subtle beauty of Iowa and other rural parts of the United States.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL, 1929–1939

*Once I built a tower, to the sun.
Brick and rivet and lime,
Once I built a tower,
Now it's done,
Brother, can you spare a dime?*

E. Y. Harburg and Jay Gorney,
"Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?", 1932

When the new Democratic president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, said in his 1933 inaugural address, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," he struck a note that the millions who listened to him on the radio could well understand. In 1933, after having experienced nearly four years of the worst economic depression in U.S. history, Americans were gripped by fear for their survival.

In the past, overproduction and business failures had periodically caused economic downturns measured in months that would be followed by recovery and eventual prosperity. These depressions and recessions were thought to be nothing more than part of the natural rhythm of the business cycle in a free market economy. However, depressions that included widespread bank failures and the collapse of investment and credit systems often resulted in long-term and deeper depressions extending several years, such as the depressions of 1837, 1873, and 1893.

This depression of the 1930s felt different. It lasted far longer, caused more business failures and unemployment, and affected more people—both middle class and working class—than any preceding period of hard times. This was in fact not just an ordinary depression, but the *Great Depression*. Before it was over, two presidents—Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt—would devote 12 years to seeking the elusive path toward recovery.

Causes and Effects of the Depression, 1929–1933

What caused the spectacular business boom of the 1920s to collapse dramatically in October 1929?

Wall Street Crash

The ever-rising stock prices had become both a symbol and a source of wealth during the prosperous 1920s. A “boom” was in full force both in the United States and in the world economy in the late 1920s. On the stock exchange on Wall Street in New York City, stock prices had kept going up and up for 18 months from March 1928 to September 1929. On September 3, the Dow Jones Industrial Average of major stocks had reached an all-time high of 381. An average investor who bought \$1,000 worth of such stocks at the time of Hoover’s election (November 1928) would have doubled his or her money in less than a year. Millions of people did invest in the boom market of 1928—and millions lost their money in October 1929, when it collapsed.

Black Thursday and Black Tuesday Although stock prices had fluctuated greatly for several weeks preceding the crash, the true panic did not begin until a Thursday in late October. On this Black Thursday—October 24, 1929—there was an unprecedented volume of selling on Wall Street, and stock prices plunged. The next day, hoping to stave off disaster by stabilizing prices, a group of bankers bought millions of dollars of stocks. The strategy worked for only one business day, Friday. The selling frenzy resumed on Monday. On Black Tuesday, October 29, the bottom fell out, as millions of panicky investors ordered their brokers to sell—but almost no buyers could be found.

From that day on, prices on Wall Street kept going down and down. By late November, the Dow Jones index had fallen from its September high of 381 to 198. Three years later, stock prices would finally hit bottom at 41, less than one-ninth of their peak value.

Causes of the Crash

While the collapse of the stock market in 1929 may have triggered economic turmoil, it alone was not responsible for the Great Depression. The depression throughout the nation and the world was the result of a combination of factors, and economists continue to debate their relative importance.

Uneven Distribution of Income Wages had risen relatively little compared to the large increases in productivity and corporate profits. Economic success was not shared by all, as the top 5 percent of the richest Americans received over 33 percent of all income. Once demand for their products declined, businesses laid off workers contributing to a downward spiral in demand, and more layoffs.

Stock Market Speculation Many people in all economic classes believed that they could get rich by “playing the market.” People were no longer investing their money in order to share in the profits of a company—they were speculating that the price of a stock would go up and that they could sell it for a quick profit. *Buying on margin* allowed people to borrow most of the cost of the stock, making down payments as low as 10 percent. Investors depended on the price of the stock increasing so that they could repay the loan. When stock prices dropped, the market collapsed, and many lost everything they had borrowed and invested.

Excessive Use of Credit Low interest rates and a belief of both consumers and business that the economic boom was permanent led to increased borrowing and installment buying. This over-indebtedness would result in defaults on loans and bank failures.

Overproduction of Consumer Goods Business growth, aided by increased productivity and use of credit, had produced a volume of goods that workers with stagnant wages could not continue to purchase.

Weak Farm Economy The prosperity of the 1920s never reached farmers, who had suffered from overproduction, high debt, and low prices since the end of World War I. As the depression continued through the 1930s, severe weather and a long drought added to farmers' difficulties.

Government Policies During the 1920s, the government had complete faith in business and did little to control or regulate it. Congress enacted high tariffs which protected U.S. industries but hurt farmers and international trade.

Some economists have concentrated blame on the Federal Reserve for its tight money policies, as hundreds of banks failed. Instead of trying to stabilize banks, the money supply, and prices, The Federal Reserve tried to preserve the gold standard. Without depositors' insurance, people panicked to get their money out of the banks, which caused more bank failures.

Global Economic Problems Nations had become more interdependent because of international banking, manufacturing, and trade. Europe had never recovered from World War I, but the United States failed to recognize Europe's postwar problems (The United States reacted differently after World War II. See Chapter 26). Instead, U.S. insistence on loan repayment in full and high tariffs policies weakened Europe and contributed to the worldwide depression.

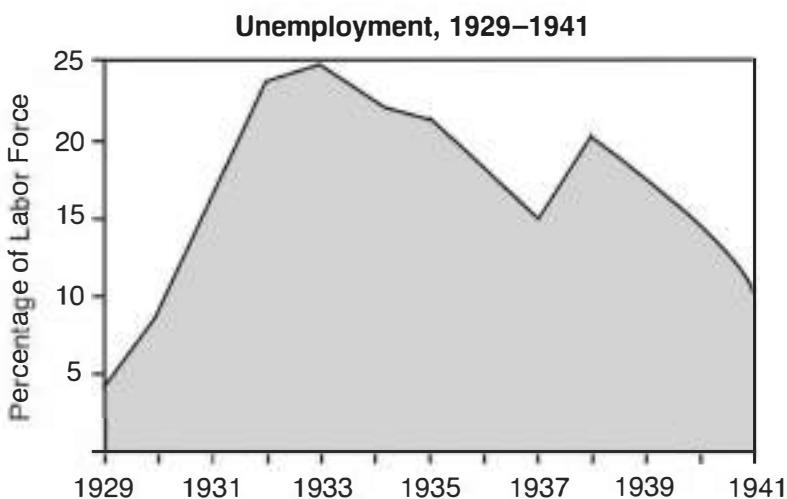
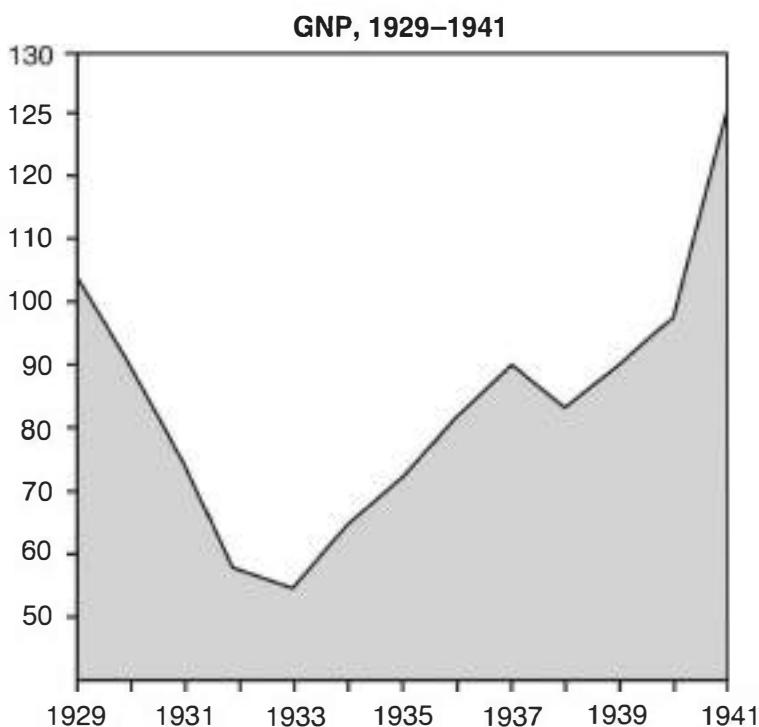
Effects

It is difficult to imagine the pervasive impact of the Great Depression. While in retrospect it can be seen that the economic decline reached bottom in 1932, complete recovery came only with the beginning of another world war, in 1939. The Great Depression's influence on American thinking and policies has even extended beyond the lifetimes of those who experienced it.

Various economic statistics serve as indicators that track the health of a nation's economy. The U.S. Gross National Product—the value of all the goods and services produced by the nation in one year—dropped from \$104 billion to \$56 billion in four years (1929 to 1932), while the nation's income declined by over 50 percent. Some 20 percent of all banks closed, wiping out 10 million savings accounts. As banks failed, the money supply contracted by 30 percent. By 1933, the number of unemployed had reached 13 million people, or 25 percent of the workforce, not including farmers.

The crash ended Republican domination of government. People accepted dramatic changes in policies and the expansion of the federal government.

The social effects of the depression were felt by all classes. Those who had never fully shared in the prosperity of the 1920s, such as farmers and African



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Americans, had increased difficulties. Poverty and homelessness increased, as did the stress on families, as people searched for work. Mortgage foreclosures and evictions became commonplace. The homeless traveled in box cars and lived in shantytowns, named “Hoovervilles,” in mock honor of their president.

Hoover's Policies

At the time of the stock market crash, nobody could foresee how long the downward slide would last. President Hoover was wrong—but hardly alone—in thinking that prosperity would soon return. The president believed the nation could get through the difficult times if the people took his advice about exercising voluntary action and restraint. Hoover urged businesses not to cut wages, unions not to strike, and private charities to increase their efforts for the needy and the jobless. Until the summer of 1930, he hesitated to ask Congress for legislative action on the economy, afraid that government assistance to individuals would destroy their self-reliance. Gradually, President Hoover came to recognize the need for more direct government action. However, he took the traditional view that public relief should come from state and local governments, not the federal government.

Responding to a Worldwide Depression

Repercussions from the crash on Wall Street were soon felt in the financial centers of Europe. Through trade and the Dawes Plan for the repayment of war debts, European prosperity was closely tied to that of the United States. Hoover's first major decision concerning the international situation was one of the worst mistakes of his presidency.

Hawley-Smoot Tariff (1930) In June 1930, the president signed into law a schedule of tariff rates that was the highest in history. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff passed by the Republican Congress set tax increases ranging from 31 percent to 49 percent on foreign imports. In retaliation for the U.S. tariff, however, European countries enacted higher tariffs of their own against U.S. goods. The effect was to reduce trade for all nations, meaning that both the national and international economies sank further into depression.

Debt Moratorium By 1931, conditions became so bad both in Europe and the United States that the Dawes Plan for collecting war debts could no longer continue. Hoover therefore proposed a moratorium (suspension) on the payment of international debts. Britain and Germany readily accepted, but France balked. The international economy suffered from massive loan defaults, and banks on both sides of the Atlantic scrambled to meet the demands of the many depositors withdrawing their money.

Domestic Programs: Too Little, Too Late

By 1931, Hoover was convinced that some federal action was needed to pull the U.S. economy out of its doldrums. He therefore supported and signed into law programs that offered assistance to indebted farmers and struggling businesses.

Federal Farm Board The Farm Board was actually created in 1929, before the stock market crash, but its powers were later enlarged to meet the economic crisis. The board was authorized to help farmers stabilize prices by temporarily holding surplus grain and cotton in storage. The program, however, was far too modest to handle the continued overproduction of farm goods.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) This federally funded, government-owned corporation was created by Congress early in 1932 as a measure for propping up faltering railroads, banks, life insurance companies, and other financial institutions. The president reasoned that emergency loans from the RFC would help to stabilize these key businesses. The benefits would then “trickle down” to smaller businesses and ultimately bring recovery. Democrats scoffed at this measure, saying it would only help the rich.

Despair and Protest

By 1932, millions of unemployed workers and impoverished farmers were in a state bordering on desperation. Some decided to take direct action to battle the forces that seemed to be crushing them.

Unrest on the Farms In many communities, farmers banded together to stop banks from foreclosing on farms and evicting people from their homes. Farmers in the Midwest formed the Farm Holiday Association, which attempted to reverse the drop in prices by stopping the entire crop of grain harvested in 1932 from reaching the market. The effort collapsed after some violence.

Bonus March Also in the desperate summer of 1932, a thousand unemployed World War I veterans marched to Washington, D.C., to demand immediate payment of the bonuses promised them at a later date (1945). They were eventually joined by thousands of other veterans who brought their wives and children and camped in improvised shacks near the Capitol. Congress failed to pass the bonus bill they sought. When two veterans were killed in a clash with police, Hoover ordered the army to break up the encampment. General Douglas MacArthur, the army’s chief of staff, used tanks and tear gas to destroy the shantytown and drive the veterans from Washington. The incident caused many Americans to regard Hoover as heartless and uncaring.

The Election of 1932

The depression’s worst year, 1932, happened to be a presidential election year. The disheartened Republicans renominated Hoover, who warned that a Democratic victory would only result in worse economic problems.

Democrats At their convention, the Democrats nominated New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt for president and Speaker of the House John Nance Garner of Texas for vice president. As a candidate, Roosevelt pledged a “new deal” for the American people, the repeal of Prohibition, aid for the unemployed, and cuts in government spending.

Results In voters’ minds, the only real issue was the depression, and which candidate—Hoover or Roosevelt—could do a better job of ending the hard times. Almost 60 percent of them concluded that it was time for a change. The Roosevelt-Garner ticket carried all but six states, Republican strongholds in the Northeast. Desperate for change, many Socialists deserted their candidate,

Norman Thomas, to support Roosevelt. Not only was the new president a Democrat but both houses of Congress had large Democratic majorities.

Hoover as “Lame-Duck” President For the four months between Roosevelt’s election and his inauguration in March 1933, Hoover was still president. However, as a “lame duck,” Hoover was powerless to cope with the depression, which continued to get worse. He offered to work with the president-elect through the long period, but Roosevelt declined, not wanting to be tied to any of the Republican president’s ideas. The Twentieth Amendment (known as the *lame-duck amendment*), passed in February 1933 and ratified by October 1933, shortened the period between presidential election and inauguration. The amendment set the start of each president’s term for January 20.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal

The new president was a distant cousin of President Theodore Roosevelt and was married to Theodore’s niece, Eleanor. More than any other president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt—popularly known by his initials, FDR—expanded the size of the federal government, altered its scope of operations, and greatly enlarged presidential powers. He would dominate the nation and the government for an unprecedented stretch of time, 12 years and two months. FDR became one of the most influential world leaders of the 20th century.

FDR: The Man

Franklin Roosevelt was the only child of a wealthy New York family. He personally admired cousin Theodore and followed in his footsteps as a New York state legislator and then as U.S. assistant secretary of the navy. Unlike Republican Theodore, however, Franklin was a Democrat. In 1920 he was the Democratic nominee for vice president. He and James Cox, the presidential candidate, lost badly in Warren G. Harding’s landslide victory.

Disability In the midst of a promising career, Roosevelt was paralyzed by polio in 1921. Although he was wealthy enough to retire, he labored instead to resume his career in politics and eventually regained the full power of his upper body, even though he could never again walk unaided and required the assistance of crutches, braces, and a wheelchair. Roosevelt’s greatest strengths were his warm personality, his gifts as a speaker, and his ability to work with and inspire people. In 1928, campaigning from a car and in a wheelchair, FDR was elected governor of New York. In this office, he instituted a number of welfare and relief programs to help the jobless.

Eleanor Roosevelt Roosevelt’s wife, Eleanor, emerged as a leader in her own right. She became the most active first lady in history, writing a newspaper column, giving speeches, and traveling the country. Though their personal relationship was strained, Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt had a strong mutual respect. She served as the president’s social conscience and influenced him to support minorities and the less fortunate.

New Deal Philosophy

In his campaign for president in 1932, Roosevelt offered vague promises but no concrete programs. He did not have a detailed plan for ending the depression, but he was committed to action and willing to experiment with political solutions to economic problems.

The Three R's In his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention in 1932, Roosevelt had said: "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people." He had further promised in his campaign to help the "forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid." During the early years of his presidency, it became clear that his New Deal programs were to serve three R's: *relief* for people out of work, *recovery* for business and the economy as a whole, and *reform* of American economic institutions.

Brain Trust and Other Advisers In giving shape to his New Deal, President Roosevelt relied on a group of advisers who had assisted him while he was governor of New York. Louis Howe was to be his chief political adviser. For advice on economic matters, Roosevelt turned to a group of university professors, known as the Brain Trust.

The people that Roosevelt appointed to high administrative positions were the most diverse in U.S. history, with a record number of African Americans, Catholics, Jews, and women. For example, his secretary of labor was Frances Perkins, the first woman ever to serve in a president's cabinet.

The First Hundred Days

With the nation desperate and close to the brink of panic, the Democratic Congress looked to the new president for leadership, which Roosevelt was eager to provide. Immediately after being sworn into office on March 4, 1933, Roosevelt called Congress into a hundred-day-long special session. During this brief period, Congress passed into law every request of President Roosevelt, enacting more major legislation than any single Congress in history. Most of the new laws and agencies were commonly referred to by their initials: WPA, AAA, CCC, NRA.

Bank Holiday In early 1933, banks were failing at a frightening rate, as depositors flocked to withdraw funds. As many banks failed in 1933 (over 5,000) as had failed in all the previous years of the depression. To restore confidence in those banks that were still solvent, the president ordered the banks closed for a bank holiday on March 6, 1933. He went on the radio to explain that the banks would be reopened after allowing enough time for the government to reorganize them on a sound basis.

Repeal of Prohibition The new president kept a campaign promise to enact repeal of Prohibition and also raised needed tax money by having Congress pass the Beer-Wine Revenue Act, which legalized the sale of beer and wine. Later in 1933, the ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment repealed the Eighteenth Amendment, bringing Prohibition to an end.

Fireside Chats Roosevelt went on the radio on March 12, 1933, to present the first of many fireside chats to the American people. The president assured his listeners that the banks which reopened after the bank holiday were safe. The public responded as hoped, with the money deposited in the reopened banks exceeding the money withdrawn.

Financial Recovery and Reform Programs As the financial part of his New Deal, FDR persuaded Congress to enact the following measures:

- The Emergency Banking Relief Act authorized the government to examine the finances of banks closed during the bank holiday and reopen those judged to be sound.
- The Glass-Steagall Act increased regulation of the banks and limited how banks could invest customers' money. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) guaranteed individual bank deposits. The gold standard was restricted to international transactions, and the Americans could no longer exchange their dollars for gold.
- The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) provided refinancing of small homes to prevent foreclosures.
- The Farm Credit Administration provided low-interest farm loans and mortgages to prevent foreclosures on the property of indebted farmers.

Relief for the Unemployed A number of programs created during the Hundred Days addressed the needs of the millions of unemployed workers. These plans created jobs with government stimulus dollars to provide both relief and to create more demand for goods and services, which it hoped would create more jobs in the private sector.

- The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) offered outright grants of federal money to states and local governments that were operating soup kitchens and other forms of relief for the jobless and homeless. The director of FERA was Harry Hopkins, one of the president's closest friends and advisers.
- The Public Works Administration (PWA), directed by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, allotted money to state and local governments for building roads, bridges, dams, and other public works. Such construction projects were a source of thousands of jobs.
- The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) employed young men on projects on federal lands and paid their families small monthly sums.

- The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was a huge experiment in regional development and public planning. As a government corporation, it hired thousands of people in one of the nation's poorest regions, the Tennessee Valley, to build dams, operate electric power plants, control flooding and erosion, and manufacture fertilizer. The TVA sold electricity to residents of the region at rates that were well below those previously charged by a private power company.

Industrial Recovery Program The key measure in 1933 to combine immediate relief and long-term reform was the National Recovery Administration (NRA). Directed by Hugh Johnson, the NRA was an attempt to guarantee reasonable profits for business and fair wages and hours for labor. With the antitrust laws temporarily suspended, the NRA could help each industry (such as steel, oil, and paper) set codes for wages, hours of work, levels of production, and prices of finished goods. The law creating the NRA also gave workers the right to organize and bargain collectively. The complex program operated with limited success for two years before the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional (*Schechter v. U.S.*) in 1935.

Farm Production Control Program Farmers were offered a program similar in concept to what the NRA did for industry. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) encouraged farmers to reduce production (and thereby boost prices) by offering to pay government subsidies for every acre they plowed under. The AAA met the same fate as the NRA. It was declared unconstitutional in a 1935 Supreme Court decision.

Other Programs of the First New Deal

Congress adjourned briefly after its extraordinary legislative record in the first Hundred Days of the New Deal. Roosevelt, however, was not finished devising new remedies for the nation's ills. In late 1933 and through much of 1934, the Democratic Congress was easily persuaded to enact the following:

- The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was added to the PWA and other programs for creating jobs. This agency hired laborers for temporary construction projects sponsored by the federal government.
- The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was created to regulate the stock market and to place strict limits on the kind of speculative practices that had led to the Wall Street crash in 1929. The SEC also required full audits of and financial disclosure by corporations to protect investors from fraud and insider trading.
- The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) gave both the construction industry and homeowners a boost by insuring bank loans for building new houses and repairing old ones.

- A new law took the United States off the gold standard in an effort to halt deflation (falling prices). The value of the dollar was set at \$35 per ounce of gold, but paper dollars were no longer redeemable in gold.

The Second New Deal

Roosevelt's first two years in office were largely focused on achieving one of the three R's: recovery. Democratic victories in the congressional elections of 1934 gave the president the popular mandate he needed to seek another round of laws and programs. In the summer of 1935, he launched the second New Deal, which concentrated on the other two R's: relief and reform.

Relief Programs

Harry Hopkins became even more prominent in Roosevelt's administration with the creation in 1935 of a new and larger relief agency.

Works Progress Administration (WPA) Much bigger than the relief agencies of the first New Deal, the WPA spent billions of dollars between 1935 and 1940 to provide people with jobs. After its first year of operation under Hopkins, it employed 3.4 million men and women who had formerly been on the relief rolls of state and local governments. It paid them double the relief rate but less than the going wage for regular workers. Most WPA workers were put to work constructing new bridges, roads, airports, and public buildings. Unemployed artists, writers, actors, and photographers were paid by the WPA to paint murals, write histories, and perform in plays.

One part of the WPA, the National Youth Administration (NYA), provided part-time jobs to help young people stay in high school and college or until they could get a job with a private employer.

Resettlement Administration (RA) Placed under the direction of one of the Brain Trust, Rexford Tugwell, the Resettlement Administration provided loans to sharecroppers, tenants, and small farmers. It also established federal camps where migrant workers could find decent housing.



Source: Carl Morris, Eugene, Oregon, Post Office, c. 1939, WPA Federal Arts Project. Oregon Scenic County Images

Reforms

The reform legislation of the second New Deal reflected Roosevelt's belief that industrial workers and farmers needed to receive more government help than members of the business and privileged classes.

National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act (1935) This major labor law of 1935 replaced the labor provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, after that law was declared unconstitutional. The Wagner Act guaranteed a worker's right to join a union and a union's right to bargain collectively. It also outlawed business practices that were unfair to labor. A new agency, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), was empowered to enforce the law and make sure that workers' rights were protected.

Rural Electrification Administration (REA) This new agency provided loans for electrical cooperatives to supply power in rural areas.

Federal Taxes A revenue act of 1935 significantly increased the tax on incomes of the wealthy few. It also increased the tax on large gifts from parent to child and on capital gains (profits from the sale of stocks or other properties).

The Social Security Act

The reform that, for generations afterward, would affect the lives of nearly all Americans was the passage in 1935 of the Social Security Act. It created a federal insurance program based upon the automatic collection of payments from employees and employers throughout people's working careers. The Social Security trust fund would then be used to make monthly payments to retired persons over the age of 65. Also receiving benefits under this new law were workers who lost their jobs (unemployment compensation), persons who were blind or otherwise disabled, and dependent children and their mothers.

The Election of 1936

The economy was improving but still weak and unstable in 1936 when the Democrats nominated Roosevelt for a second term. Because of his New Deal programs and active style of personal leadership, the president was now enormously popular among workers and small farmers. Business, however, generally disliked and even hated him because of his regulatory programs and prounion measures such as the Wagner Act.

Alf Landon Challenging Roosevelt was the Republican nominee for president, Alfred (Alf) Landon, the progressive-minded governor of Kansas. Landon criticized the Democrats for spending too much money but in general accepted most of the New Deal legislation.

Results Roosevelt swamped Landon, winning every state except Maine and Vermont and more than 60 percent of the popular vote. Behind their president's New Deal, the Democratic party could now count on the votes of a new coalition of popular support. Through the 1930s and into the 1960s, the Democratic

or New Deal coalition would consist of the Solid South, white ethnic groups in the cities, midwestern farmers, and labor unions and liberals. In addition, new support for the Democrats came from African Americans, mainly in northern cities, who left the Republican party of Lincoln because of Roosevelt's New Deal.

Opponents of the New Deal

Opinion polls and election results showed that a large majority of Americans supported Roosevelt. Nevertheless, his New Deal programs were extremely controversial and became the target of vitriolic attacks by liberals, conservatives, and demagogues.

Liberal Critics

Socialists and extreme liberals in the Democratic party criticized the New Deal (especially the first New Deal of 1933–1934) for doing too much for business and too little for the unemployed and the working poor. They charged that the president failed to address the problems of ethnic minorities, women, and the elderly.

Conservative Critics

More numerous were those on the right who attacked the New Deal for giving the federal government too much power. These critics charged that relief programs such as the WPA and labor laws such as the Wagner Act bordered on socialism or even communism. Business leaders were alarmed by (1) increased regulations, (2) the second New Deal's prounion stance, and (3) the financing of government programs by means of borrowed money—a practice known as *deficit financing*. Conservative Democrats, including former presidential candidates Alfred E. (Al) Smith and John W. Davis, joined with leading Republicans in 1934 to form an anti-New Deal organization called the American Liberty League. Its avowed purpose was to stop the New Deal from “subverting” the U.S. economic and political system.

Demagogues

Several critics played upon the American people's desperate need for immediate solutions to their problems. Using the radio to reach a mass audience, they proposed simplistic schemes for ending “evil conspiracies” (Father Coughlin), guaranteeing economic security for the elderly (Dr. Townsend), and redistributing wealth (Huey Long).

Father Charles E. Coughlin This Catholic priest attracted a huge popular following in the early 1930s through his weekly radio broadcasts. Father Coughlin founded the National Union for Social Justice, which called for issuing an inflated currency and nationalizing all banks. His attacks on the

New Deal became increasingly anti-Semitic and Fascist until his superiors in the Catholic Church ordered him to stop his broadcasts.

Dr. Francis E. Townsend Before the passage of the Social Security Act, a retired physician from Long Beach, California, became an instant hero to millions of senior citizens by proposing a simple plan for guaranteeing a secure income. Dr. Francis E. Townsend proposed that a 2 percent federal sales tax be used to create a special fund, from which every retired person over 60 years old would receive \$200 a month. By spending their money promptly, Townsend argued, recipients would stimulate the economy and soon bring the depression to an end. The popularity of the Townsend Plan persuaded Roosevelt to substitute a more moderate plan of his own, which became the Social Security system.

Huey Long From Roosevelt's point of view, the most dangerous of the depression demagogues was the "Kingfish" from Louisiana, Senator Huey Long. Immensely popular in his own state, Long became a prominent national figure by proposing a "Share Our Wealth" program that promised a minimum annual income of \$5,000 for every American family, to be paid for by taxing the wealthy. In 1935, Huey Long challenged Roosevelt's leadership of the Democratic party by announcing his candidacy for president. Both his candidacy and his populist appeal were abruptly ended when he was killed by an assassin.

The Supreme Court

Of all the challenges to Roosevelt's leadership in his first term in office, the conservative decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court proved the most frustrating. In two cases in 1935, the Supreme Court effectively killed both the NRA for business recovery and the AAA for agricultural recovery by deciding that the laws creating them were unconstitutional. Roosevelt interpreted his landslide reelection in 1936 as a mandate to end the obstacles posed by the Court.

Court Reorganization Plan President Roosevelt did not have an opportunity to appoint any Justices to the Supreme Court during his first term. He hoped to remove the Court as an obstacle to the New Deal by proposing a judicial-reorganization bill in 1937. It proposed that the president be authorized to appoint to the Supreme Court an additional justice for each current justice who was older than a certain age ($70 \frac{1}{2}$ years). In effect, the bill would have allowed Roosevelt to add up to six more justices to the Court—all of them presumably of liberal persuasion. Critics called it a "Court-packing" bill.

Reaction Republicans and many Democrats were outraged by what they saw as an attempt to tamper with the system of checks and balances. They accused the president of wanting to give himself the powers of a dictator. Roosevelt did not back down—and neither did the congressional opposition. For the first time in Roosevelt's presidency, a major bill that he proposed went down to decisive defeat by a defiant Congress. Even a majority of Democratic senators refused to support him on this controversial measure.

Aftermath Ironically, while Roosevelt was fighting to “pack” the Court, the justices were already backing off their former resistance to his program. In 1937, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of several major New Deal laws, including the Wagner (Labor) Act and the Social Security Act. Also, as it happened, several justices retired during Roosevelt’s second term, enabling him to appoint new justices who were more sympathetic to his reforms.

Rise of Unions

Two New Deal measures—the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and the Wagner Act of 1935—caused a lasting change in labor-management relations by legalizing labor unions. Union membership, which had slumped badly under the hostile policies of the 1920s, shot upward. It went from less than 3 million in the early 1930s to over 10 million (more than one out of four non-farm workers) by 1941.

Formation of the C.I.O.

As unions grew in size, tensions and conflicts between rival unions grew in intensity. The many different unions that made up the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.) were dominated by skilled white male workers and were organized according to crafts. A group of unions within the A.F. of L. wanted union membership to be extended to all workers in an industry regardless of their race and sex, including those who were unskilled. In 1935, the industrial unions, as they were called, joined together as the Committee of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.). Their leader was John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers union. In 1936, the A.F. of L. suspended the C.I.O. unions. Renamed the *Congress of Industrial Organizations*, the C.I.O. broke away from the A.F. of L. and became its chief rival. It concentrated on organizing unskilled workers in the automobile, steel, and southern textile industries.

Strikes

Even though collective bargaining was now protected by federal law, many companies still resisted union demands. Strikes were therefore a frequent occurrence in the depression decade.

Automobiles At the huge General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, in 1937, the workers insisted on their right to join a union by participating in a sit-down strike (literally sitting down at the assembly line and refusing to work). Neither the president nor Michigan’s governor agreed to the company’s request to intervene with troops. Finally, the company yielded to striker demands by recognizing the United Auto Workers union (U.A.W.). Union organizers at the Ford plant in Michigan, however, were beaten and driven away.

Steel In the steel industry, the giant U.S. Steel Corporation voluntarily recognized one of the C.I.O. unions, but smaller companies resisted. On Memorial Day, 1937, a demonstration by union picketers at Republic Steel in Chicago ended in four deaths, as the police fired into the crowd. However, eventually almost all the smaller steel companies agreed to deal with the C.I.O. by 1941.

Fair Labor Standards Act

A final political victory for organized labor in the 1930s also represented the last major reform of the New Deal. In 1938, Congress enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act, which established several regulations on businesses in interstate commerce:

- a minimum wage, initially fixed at 40 cents an hour
- a maximum standard workweek of 40 hours, with extra pay (“time-and-a-half”) for overtime
- child-labor restrictions on hiring people under 16 years old

Previously, the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional a 1916 law prohibiting child labor. However, in 1941, in the case of *U.S. v. Darby Lumber Co.*, the Supreme Court reversed its earlier ruling by upholding the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Last Phase of the New Deal

Passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act was not only the last but also the only major reform of Roosevelt’s second term. The New Deal lost momentum in the late 1930s for both economic and political reasons.

Recession, 1937–1938

From 1933 to 1937 (Roosevelt’s first term), the economy showed signs of gradually pulling out of its nosedive. Banks were stabilizing, business earnings were increasing, and unemployment, though still high at 15 percent, had declined from the 25 percent figure in 1933. In the winter of 1937, however, the economy once again had a backward slide and entered into a recessionary period.

Causes Government policy was at least partly to blame. The new Social Security tax reduced consumer spending at the same time that Roosevelt was curtailing expenditures for relief and public works. In reducing spending for relief, the president hoped to balance the budget and reduce the national debt.

Keynesian Economics The writings of the British economist John Maynard Keynes taught Roosevelt that he had made a mistake in attempting to balance the budget. According to Keynesian theory, deficit spending was helpful in difficult times because the government needed to spend well above its tax revenues in order to initiate economic growth. Deficit spending “prime the pump” to increase investment and create jobs. Roosevelt’s economic advisers adopted this theory in 1938 with positive results. As federal spending on public works and relief went up, so too did employment and industrial production.

Weakened New Deal

Although the economy improved, there was no boom and problems remained. After the Court-packing fight of 1937, the people and Congress no longer

automatically followed FDR, and the 1938 elections brought a reduced Democratic majority in Congress. A coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats blocked further New Deal reform legislation. Also, beginning in 1938, fears about the aggressive acts of Nazi Germany diverted attention from domestic concerns toward foreign affairs.

Life During the Depression

Millions of people who lived through the Great Depression and hard times of the 1930s never got over it. They developed a “depression mentality”—an attitude of insecurity and economic concern that would always remain, even in times of prosperity.

Women

During the depression, added pressures were placed on the family as unemployed fathers searched for work, and declining incomes presented severe challenges for mothers in the feeding and clothing of their children. To supplement the family income, more women sought work, and their percentage of the total labor force increased. Women were accused of taking jobs from men, even though they did not get the heavy factory jobs that were lost to all, and most men did not seek the types of jobs available to women. Even with Eleanor Roosevelt championing women’s equality, many New Deal programs allowed women to receive lower pay than men.

Dust Bowl Farmers

As if farmers did not already have enough problems, a severe drought in the early 1930s ruined crops in the Great Plains. This region became a *dust bowl*, as poor farming practices coupled with high winds blew away millions of tons of dried topsoil. With their farms turned to dust, and their health often compromised, thousands of “Okies” from Oklahoma and surrounding states migrated westward to California in search of farm or factory work that often could not be found. The novelist John Steinbeck wrote about their hardships in his classic study of economic heartbreak, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

In response to one of the worst ecological disasters in American history, the federal government created the Soil Conservation Service in 1935 to teach and subsidize the plains farmers to rotate crops, terrace fields, use contour plowing, and plant trees to stop soil erosion and conserve water. For those who could stay behind, the region recovered, but environmental issues remained.

African Americans

Racial discrimination continued in the 1930s with devastating effects on African Americans, who were the last hired, first fired. Their unemployment rate was higher than the national average. Black sharecroppers were forced off the land in the South because of cutbacks in farm production. Often, despite their extreme poverty, jobless African Americans were excluded from state and local relief programs. Hard times increased racial tensions, particularly in the South

where lynchings continued. Civil rights leaders could get little support from President Roosevelt, who feared the loss of white southern Democratic votes.

Improvements Some New Deal programs, such as the WPA and the CCC did provide low-paying jobs for African Americans, though these jobs were often segregated. Blacks also received moral support from Eleanor Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes in a famous incident in 1939. The distinguished African American singer Marian Anderson had been refused the use of Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., by the all-white Daughters of the American Revolution. Eleanor Roosevelt and Ickes promptly arranged for Anderson to give a special concert at the Lincoln Memorial.

Over one hundred African Americans were appointed to middle-level positions in federal departments by President Roosevelt. One of them, Mary McLeod Bethune, had been a longtime leader of efforts for improving education and economic opportunities for women. Invited to Washington to direct a division of the National Youth Administration, she established the Federal Council on Negro Affairs for the purpose of increasing African American involvement in the New Deal.

Fair Employment Practices Committee An executive order in 1941 set up a committee to assist minorities in gaining jobs in defense industries. President Roosevelt took this action only after A. Philip Randolph, head of the Railroad Porters Union, threatened a march on Washington to demand equal job opportunities for African Americans.

American Indians

John Collier, a long-time advocate of American Indian rights, was appointed commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1933. He established conservation and CCC projects on reservations and gained American Indian involvement in the WPA and other New Deal programs.

Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act (1934) Collier won Roosevelt's support for a major change in policy. In 1934, Congress repealed the Dawes Act of 1887, which had encouraged American Indians to be independent farmers, and replaced it with the Indian Reorganization Act. The new measure returned lands to the control of tribes and supported preservation of Indian cultures. Despite this major reform, critics later accused the New Deal of being paternalistic and withholding control from American Indians.

Mexican Americans

Mexican Americans also suffered from discrimination in the 1930s. In California and the Southwest, they had been a principal source of agricultural labor in the 1920s. However, during the depression, high unemployment and drought in the Plains and the Midwest caused a dramatic growth in white migrant workers who pushed west in search of work. Discrimination in New Deal programs and competition for jobs forced many thousands of Mexican Americans to return to Mexico.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS THE NEW DEAL REVOLUTIONARY?

Roosevelt's New Deal was unique. In later decades, there would be nothing quite like it in terms of either the challenges faced or the legislative record achieved. Recognizing its scope, historians have debated whether the New Deal represented a revolutionary break with the past or an evolutionary outgrowth of earlier movements.

The first historical interpretations tended to praise the New Deal as a continuation or revival of the Progressive reform movement. In the late 1950s, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. saw the New Deal in terms of his theory of a recurring political cycle from a period of liberal reforms to a period of conservative reaction and back again to reform.

Some liberal historians such as Carl Degler went further and characterized the New Deal as a third American Revolution that went far beyond earlier reforms. They argued that such measures as the NRA, the WPA, and the Social Security Act redefined the role of government in American society. In his *Age of Reform* (1955), Richard Hofstadter agreed that the New Deal had ventured beyond traditional reform movements. It was unique, he said, because it concentrated not on regulating corporate abuses as in the past but on providing social-democratic guarantees for different groups in such forms as Social Security, housing credits, and minimum wage laws.

Revisionists of the 1960s and 1970s viewed the New Deal differently. William E. Leuchtenburg in *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (1963) depicted a "halfway revolution" that helped some (farmers and labor unions), ignored others (African Americans), and implemented changes without being either completely radical or conservative. Leuchtenburg believed Roosevelt did the best he could given both his own personal ideas and the political realities of the time. A highly critical interpretation came from New Left scholars (radical thinkers of the 1970s), who argued that the New Deal was a missed opportunity that did not do enough to meet society's needs. They saw New Deal measures as conservative in purpose, aimed at preserving capitalism from a worker revolution. New Left historians have been criticized for judging the New Deal in terms of the 1970s rather than the 1930s.

In recent years, some historians have questioned whether it is useful to characterize the New Deal as either conservative on the one hand or revolutionary on the other. They see the New Deal as nothing more or less than a pragmatic political response to various groups. In their view, Roosevelt and his political advisers had no central plan but simply responded to the different needs of special interests (farmers, business, labor, and elderly). In defense of Roosevelt, they ask: If the nation in general and the South in particular was essentially conservative, then how far could the New Deal go in improving race relations? If the government bureaucracy was relatively small in the 1930s, how could it be expected to implement massive new programs?

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Causes of the Depression (WXT) stock market crash Black Tuesday Dow Jones index buying on margin uneven income distribution excessive debt overproduction Federal Reserve postwar Europe debts and high tariffs	Roosevelt Administration (POL) Franklin D. Roosevelt Eleanor Roosevelt New Deal relief, recovery, reform Brain Trust Frances Perkins Hundred Days bank holiday repeal of Prohibition fireside chats Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Public Works Administration Harold Ickes Civilian Conservation Corps Tennessee Valley Authority National Recovery Administration <i>Schechter v. U.S.</i> Securities and Exchange Commission Federal Housing Administration	election of 1936 New Deal coalition John Maynard Keynes recession of 1937
Effect of the Depression (WXT) Gross National Product unemployment bank failures poverty and homeless		New Deal Opponents (POL) Father Charles Coughlin Francis Townsend Huey Long Supreme Court reorganization plan conservative coalition
Hoover Administration (POL) Herbert Hoover self-reliance Hawley-Smoot Tariff (1930) debt moratorium Farm Board Reconstruction Finance Corporation bonus march (1932) Twentieth Amendment ("lame-duck")		Rise of Unions (WXT) Congress of Industrial Organizations John L. Lewis sit-down strike Fair Labor Standards Act minimum wage
	Second New Deal (POL) Works Progress Administration Harry Hopkins National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act (1935) Social Security Act (1935)	Impact on Americans (MIG) depression mentality drought; dust bowl; Okies John Steinbeck, <i>The Grapes of Wrath</i> Marian Anderson Mary McLeod Bethune Fair Employment Practices Committee A. Philip Randolph Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act (1934) Mexican deportation

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“The farmers are being pauperized by the poverty of industrial populations and the industrial populations are being pauperized by the poverty of the farmers. Neither has the money to buy the product of the other, hence we have overproduction and under consumption at the same time and in the same country.

“I have not come here to stir you in a recital of the necessity for relief for our suffering fellow citizens. However, unless something is done for them and done soon, you will have a revolution on hand. . . .

“There is a feeling among the masses that something is radically wrong . . . they say that this government is a conspiracy against the common people to enrich the already rich.”

—Oscar Ameringer, editor of the *Oklahoma Daily Leader*, testimony to the House Committee on Labor, February, 1932

1. Which of the following most directly supports the author’s analysis?
 - (A) Gross national product fell from \$104 billion in 1929 to \$56 billion in 1932
 - (B) Bank assets fell from \$72 billion in 1929 to \$51 billion in 1932
 - (C) Farm income fell from \$11.4 billion in 1929 to \$6.3 billion in 1932
 - (D) Government spending rose from \$3.2 billion in 1929 to \$4.6 billion in 1932
2. Which of the following was most directly related to the phrase in the testimony “the necessity for relief for our suffering fellow citizens”?
 - (A) Twenty percent of the banks were closed
 - (B) The Dawes Plan was suspended
 - (C) The Federal Farm Board was created
 - (D) Twenty-five percent of the workforce was unemployed
3. Which of the following would most likely support a belief that the government was “against the common people”?
 - (A) Creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
 - (B) Treatment of the Bonus Marchers
 - (C) Efforts to stabilize farm prices
 - (D) Passage of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“Illumined by the stern-lantern of history, the New Deal can be seen to have left in place a set of institutional arrangement that constituted a more coherent pattern than is dreamt of in many philosophies. That pattern can be summarized in a single word: security—security for vulnerable individuals, to be sure, as Roosevelt famously urged in his campaign for the Social Security Act of 1935, but security for capitalists and consumers, for workers and builders as well. Job-security, life-cycle security, financial security, market security—however it might be defined, achieving security was the leitmotif of virtually everything the New Deal attempted.”

—David M. Kennedy, historian, *Freedom From Fear*, 1999

4. Which of the following groups would most likely oppose the philosophy of the New Deal as explained in this excerpt?
 - (A) Advocates of unregulated markets and balanced budgets
 - (B) Many academics, especially in the fields of economics and social sciences
 - (C) Critics who thought that the New Deal did not go far enough to address poverty and inequality
 - (D) Consumers who depended on the banking system and the stock markets
5. Which of the following New Deal policies most directly addressed “security for capitalists”?
 - (A) Roosevelt’s “bank holiday” and examination of banks’ records
 - (B) Federal funding of construction projects that pumped money into the economy
 - (C) The creation of the FDIC to insure individual bank deposits up to \$5,000
 - (D) Regulations to curtail fraud in investment banking and the stock markets
6. Which of the following New Deal policies most clearly addressed “job security” for workers?
 - (A) Programs to construct roads, bridges, airports, and public buildings
 - (B) Laws to guarantee worker rights to collective bargaining, minimum wage, and fair treatment
 - (C) Federal programs to collect funds for retirement, unemployment, and injuries on the job
 - (D) Government program to employ young men in conservation projects on federal lands

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Though Franklin himself never tried to discourage me and was undisturbed by anything I wanted to say or do, other people were frequently less happy about my actions. I knew, for instance, that many of my racial beliefs and activities in the field of social work caused . . . grave concern. They were afraid that I would hurt my husband politically and socially, and I imagine they thought I was doing many things without Franklin’s knowledge and agreement. On occasion they blew up to him and to other people. I knew it at the time, but there was no use in my trying to explain, because our basic values were very different.”

—Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, 1949

7. Eleanor Roosevelt expressed the most independence from President Franklin Roosevelt and his advisers in her
 - (A) support for socialism
 - (B) support for American Indians
 - (C) opposition to racial discrimination
 - (D) opposition to social work
8. The excerpt suggests that Eleanor Roosevelt knew that her positions could most harm her husband’s standing with which of the following groups?
 - (A) The Catholic Church
 - (B) White ethnic groups
 - (C) Wall Street capitalists
 - (D) Southern Democrats

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the composition of the New Deal political coalition.
- b) Briefly explain ONE way the New Deal caused a long-term realignment in U.S. politics.
- c) Briefly explain ONE specific political challenge to Franklin Roosevelt and his policies.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the internal migration that resulted from the Dust Bowl.
- b) Briefly explain the impact of the Great Depression on migration of ONE of the following.
 - African Americans
 - Mexican Americans
- c) Briefly explain how federal policies for Native Americans changed as part of the New Deal.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE similarity or difference between the Great Depression of 1929 and depressions from 1865 to 1900.
- b) Briefly explain ONE example of continuity between the policies of the Progressive era and the New Deal era.
- c) Briefly explain ONE New Deal reform that went beyond the reforms of the Progressive era.

Question 4 is based on the excerpts below.

“When the New Deal was over, capitalism remained intact. The rich still controlled the nation’s wealth, as well as its laws, courts, police, newspaper, churches, colleges. Enough help had been given to enough people to make Roosevelt a hero to millions, but the same system that had brought depression and crisis—the system of waste, of inequality, of concern for profit over human need—remained.”

—Howard Zinn, historian, *A People’s History of the United States*, 1999

“Most of Roosevelt’s solutions did little. The public hoopla of ‘job programs’ barely dented unemployment numbers, which still stood at 12.5 percent in 1939, or ten times what they had been under Coolidge. . . . Did FDR do anything right? Yes. By taking the United States off the gold standard, he saved what was left of the banking system. But as they say, even a blind squirrel finds a nut once in a while.”

—Larry Schweikart, historian, *48 Liberal Lies about American History*, 2008

4. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE development during the New Deal era not mentioned in the excerpts that supports Zinn’s point of view.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE development during the New Deal era not mentioned in the excerpts that supports Scheikart’s point of view.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE additional development that supports the position that the New Deal produced a “limited welfare state.”

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USING DOCUMENTS IN ARGUMENTS

When using information from sources in an essay or document-based question (DBQ), identify the source by the author’s name rather than its document or page number and quote only the key words. Add clarifying information as needed. Which of the following uses information from a source more effectively?

1. Eleanor Roosevelt was aware that her advocacy for civil rights caused “grave concern” among her husband’s political advisers.
2. In the quotation from Eleanor Roosevelt on page 518, she says that “I knew, for instance, that many of my racial beliefs and activities in the field of social work caused . . . grave concern.”

DIPLOMACY AND WORLD WAR II, 1929–1945

We seek peace—enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 13, 1945

President Roosevelt's fervent desire for peace was hardly new. World War I, after all, was meant to be a “war to end all wars” and, as Woodrow Wilson had said, a war “to make the world safe for democracy.” In 1933, however, few people believed that the fragile peace established by the Treaty of Versailles would hold up for much longer. In Asia, Japan was threatening China. In Europe, the Nazi party under Adolf Hitler had come to power in Germany with promises of reasserting German nationalism and militarism. In the United States, worries about the depression overshadowed concerns about a second world war. Even if war did break out, most Americans were determined not to send troops abroad again.

However, a second world war did occur, and the United States played a major role in fighting it. How and why U.S. foreign policy changed from disengagement to neutrality and from neutrality to total involvement is the subject of this chapter. Moreover, the war transformed American economy and society in many ways more dramatically than the New Deal.

Herbert Hoover's Foreign Policy

Hoover concurred with the prevailing opinion of the American people that the United States should not enter into firm commitments to preserve the security of other nations. Such an opinion, in the 1930s, would be labeled “isolationism.”

Japanese Aggression in Manchuria

In the early 1930s, Japan posed the greatest threat to world peace. Defying both the Open Door policy and the covenant of the League of Nations, Japanese troops marched into Manchuria in September 1931, renamed the territory Manchukuo, and established a puppet government.

JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN ASIA IN THE 1930s



Despite its commitment to taking action against blatant aggression, the League of Nations did nothing except to pass a resolution condemning Japan for its actions in Manchuria. The Japanese delegation then walked out of the League, never to return. In the Manchuria crisis, the League, through its failure to take action, showed its inability to maintain peace. Its warnings would never be taken seriously by potential aggressors.

Stimson Doctrine U.S. response to Japan's violation of the Open Door policy was somewhat stronger than the League's response—but no more effective in deterring further aggression. Secretary of State Henry Stimson declared in 1932 that the United States would honor its treaty obligations under the Nine-Power Treaty (1922) by refusing to recognize the legitimacy of any regime like

“Manchukuo” that had been established by force. The League of Nations readily endorsed the Stimson Doctrine and issued a similar declaration.

Latin America

Hoover actively pursued friendly relations with the countries of Latin America. In 1929, even before being inaugurated, the president-elect went on a goodwill tour of the region. As president, he ended the interventionist policies of Taft and Wilson by (1) arranging for U.S. troops to leave Nicaragua by 1933 and (2) negotiating a treaty with Haiti to remove all U.S. troops by 1934.

Franklin Roosevelt's Policies, 1933–1938

In his first term, Roosevelt's concentration on dealing with the economic crisis at home kept him from giving much thought to shaping foreign policy. He did, however, extend Hoover's efforts at improving U.S. relations with Latin America by initiating a good-neighbor policy.

Good-Neighbor Policy

In his first inaugural address in 1933, Roosevelt promised a “policy of the good neighbor” toward other nations of the Western Hemisphere. First, interventionism in support of dollar diplomacy no longer made economic sense, because U.S. businesses during the depression lacked the resources to invest in foreign operations. Second, the rise of militarist regimes in Germany and Italy prompted Roosevelt to seek Latin America's cooperation in defending the region from potential danger. FDR implemented his good-neighbor policy through several actions.

Pan-American Conferences At Roosevelt's direction, the U.S. delegation at the Seventh Pan-American Conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933, pledged never again to intervene in the internal affairs of a Latin American country. In effect, Franklin Roosevelt repudiated the policy of his older cousin, Theodore, who had justified intervention as a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Another Pan-American conference was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936. Roosevelt himself attended the conference. He personally pledged to submit future disputes to arbitration and also warned that if a European power such as Germany attempted “to commit acts of aggression against us,” it would find “a hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good.”

Cuba Cubans had long resented the Platt Amendment, which had made their country's foreign policy subject to U.S. approval. In 1934, President Roosevelt persuaded Congress to nullify the Platt Amendment, retaining only the U.S. right to keep its naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

Mexico Mexico tested U.S. patience and commitment to the good-neighbor policy in 1938 when its president, Lázaro Cárdenas, seized oil properties owned by U.S. corporations. Roosevelt rejected corporate demands to intervene and encouraged American companies to negotiate a settlement.

Economic Diplomacy

Helping the U.S. economy was the chief motivation for Roosevelt's policies toward other foreign policy issues in his first term.

Recognition of the Soviet Union The Republican presidents of the 1920s had refused to grant diplomatic recognition to the Communist regime that ruled the Soviet Union. Roosevelt promptly changed this policy by granting recognition in 1933. His reason for doing so, he said, was to increase U.S. trade and thereby boost the economy.

Philippines Governing the Philippines cost money. As an economy measure, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934, which provided for the independence of the Philippines by 1946 and the gradual removal of U.S. military presence from the islands.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acting in the tradition of Progressive Democrats such as William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson, President Roosevelt favored lower tariffs as a means of increasing international trade. In 1934, Congress enacted a plan suggested by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, which gave the president power to reduce U.S. tariffs up to 50 percent for nations that reciprocated with comparable reductions for U.S. imports.

Events Abroad: Fascism and Aggressive Militarism

The worldwide depression soon proved to have alarming repercussions for world politics. Combined with nationalist resentments after World War I, economic hardships gave rise to military dictatorships in Italy in the 1920s and Japan and Germany in the 1930s. Eventually, in 1940, Japan, Italy, and Germany signed a treaty of alliance which formed the Axis Powers.

Italy A new regime seized power in Italy in 1922. Benito Mussolini led Italy's Fascist party, which attracted dissatisfied war veterans, nationalists, and those afraid of rising communism. Dressed in black shirts, the Fascists marched on Rome and installed Mussolini in power as "Il Duce" (the Leader). Fascism—the idea that people should glorify their nation and their race through an aggressive show of force—became the dominant ideology in European dictatorships in the 1930s.

Germany The Nazi party was the German equivalent of Italy's Fascist party. It arose in the 1920s in reaction to deplorable economic conditions after the war and national resentments over the Treaty of Versailles. The Nazi leader, Adolf Hitler, used bullying tactics against Jews as well as Fascist ideology to increase his popularity with disgruntled, unemployed German workers. Hitler seized the opportunity presented by the depression to play upon anti-Semitic hatreds. With his personal army of "brown shirts," Hitler gained control of the German legislature in early 1933.

Japan Nationalists and militarists in Japan increased their power in the 1920s and 1930s. As economic conditions worsened, they persuaded Japan's

nominal ruler, the emperor, that the best way to ensure access to basic raw materials (oil, tin, and iron) was to invade China and Southeast Asia and thereby give Japan control over what their leaders proclaimed to be the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

American Isolationists

Public opinion in the United States was also nationalistic but expressed itself in an opposite way from fascism and militarism. Disillusioned with the results of World War I, American isolationists wanted to make sure that the United States would never again be drawn into a foreign war. Japanese aggression in Manchuria and the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany only increased the determination of isolationists to avoid war at all costs. Isolationist sentiment was strongest in the Midwest and among Republicans.

The Lesson of World War I In the early 1930s, Americans commonly felt that U.S. entry into World War I had been a terrible mistake. An investigating committee led by Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota bolstered this view when it concluded in 1934 that the main reason for U.S. participation in the world war was to serve the greed of bankers and arms manufacturers. This committee's work influenced isolationist legislation in the following years.

Neutrality Acts Isolationist senators and representatives in both parties held a majority in Congress through 1938. To ensure that U.S. policy would be strictly neutral if war broke out in Europe, Congress adopted a series of neutrality acts, which Roosevelt signed with some reluctance. Each law applied to nations that the president proclaimed to be at war.

- The *Neutrality Act of 1935* authorized the president to prohibit all arms shipments and to forbid U.S. citizens to travel on the ships of belligerent nations.
- The *Neutrality Act of 1936* forbade the extension of loans and credits to belligerents.
- The *Neutrality Act of 1937* forbade the shipment of arms to the opposing sides in the civil war in Spain.

Spanish Civil War The outbreak of civil war in Spain in 1936 was viewed in Europe and the United States as an ideological struggle between the forces of fascism, led by General Francisco Franco, and the forces of republicanism, called Loyalists. Roosevelt and most Americans sympathized with the Loyalists but, because of the Neutrality Acts, could not aid them. Ultimately, in 1939, Franco's Fascists prevailed and established a military dictatorship.

America First Committee In 1940, after World War II had begun in Asia and Europe, isolationists became alarmed by Roosevelt's pro-

British policies. To mobilize American public opinion against war, they formed the America First Committee and engaged speakers such as Charles Lindbergh to travel the country warning against reengaging in Europe's troubles.

Prelude to War

In the years 1935 to 1938, a series of aggressive actions by the Fascist dictatorships made democratic governments in Britain and France extremely nervous. It was known that Hitler was creating an air force more powerful than anything they could match. Hoping to avoid open conflict with Germany, the democracies adopted a policy of appeasement—allowing Hitler to get away with relatively small acts of aggression and expansion. The United States went along with the British and French policy.

Appeasement The following events showed how unprepared the democracies were to challenge Fascist aggression.

1. Ethiopia, 1935 In a bid to prove fascism's military might, Mussolini ordered Italian troops to invade Ethiopia. The League of Nations and the United States objected but did nothing to stop the Italian aggressor, which succeeded in conquering the African country after a year of bitter fighting.

2. Rhineland, 1936 This region in western Germany was supposed to be permanently demilitarized, according to the Versailles Treaty. Hitler openly defied the treaty by ordering German troops to march into the Rhineland.

3. China, 1937 Full-scale war between Japan and China erupted in 1937 as Japan's troops invaded its weaker neighbor. A U.S. gunboat in China, the *Panay*, was bombed and sunk by Japanese planes. Japan's apology for the sinking was quickly accepted by the U.S. government.

4. Sudetenland, 1938 In Europe, Hitler insisted that Germany had a right to take over a strip of land in Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland, where most people were German-speaking. To maintain peace, the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, and the French president, Édouard Daladier, with Roosevelt's support, met with Hitler and Mussolini in Munich. At this conference in September 1938, the British and French leaders agreed to allow Hitler to take the Sudetenland unopposed. The word "Munich" has since become synonymous with appeasement.

Quarantine Speech Roosevelt recognized the dangers of Fascist aggression but was limited by the isolationist feelings of the majority of Americans. When Japan invaded China in 1937, he tested public opinion by making a speech proposing that the democracies act together to "quarantine" the aggressor. Public reaction to the speech was overwhelmingly negative, and Roosevelt dropped the quarantine idea as politically unwise.

Preparedness Like Wilson in 1916, Roosevelt argued for neutrality and an arms buildup at the same time. Congress went along with his request in late 1938 by increasing the military and naval budgets by nearly two-thirds. Some isolationists accepted the increased defense spending, thinking it would be used only to protect against possible invasion of the Western Hemisphere.

AXIS AGGRESSION IN THE 1930s



From Neutrality to War, 1939–1941

In March 1939, Hitler broke the Munich agreement by sending troops to occupy all of Czechoslovakia. After this, it became clear that Hitler's ambitions had no limit and that war was probably unavoidable.

Outbreak of War in Europe

Recognizing the failure of appeasement, Britain and France pledged to fight if Poland was attacked. They had always assumed that they could count on the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, to oppose Hitler, since communism and fascism were ideological enemies. The democracies were therefore shocked in August 1939 when Stalin and Hitler signed a nonaggression pact. Secretly, the Soviet and German dictators agreed to divide Poland between them.

Invasion of Poland On September 1, 1939, German tanks and planes began a full-scale invasion of Poland. Keeping their pledge, Britain and France declared war against Germany—and soon afterward, they were also at war with its Axis allies, Italy and Japan. World War II in Europe had begun.

Blitzkrieg Poland was the first to fall to Germany's overwhelming use of air power and fast-moving tanks—a type of warfare called *blitzkrieg* (lightning war). After a relatively inactive winter, the war was resumed in the spring of 1940 with Germany attacking its Scandinavian neighbors to the north and its chief enemy, France, to the west. Denmark and Norway surrendered in a few days, France in only a week. By June 1940, the only ally that remained free of German troops was Great Britain.

Changing U.S. Policy

President Roosevelt countered isolationism in the United States by gradually giving aid to the Allies, especially Great Britain. Now that war had actually begun, most Americans were alarmed by news of Nazi tanks, planes, and troops conquering one country after another. They were strongly opposed to Hitler but still hoped to keep their country out of the war. President Roosevelt believed that British survival was crucial to U.S. security. The relationship that was built over the coming years between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and FDR proved one of keys to Allied success in the war. The president chipped away at the restrictive neutrality laws until practically nothing remained to prevent him from giving massive aid to Britain. After the surrender of France to the Germans in 1940, most Americans accepted the need to strengthen U.S. defenses, but giving direct aid to Britain was controversial.

“Cash and Carry” The British navy still controlled the seas. Therefore, if the United States ended its arms embargo, it would help only Britain, not Germany. Roosevelt persuaded Congress in 1939 to adopt a less restrictive Neutrality Act, which provided that a belligerent could buy U.S. arms if it used its own ships and paid cash. Technically, “cash and carry” was neutral, but in practice, it strongly favored Britain.

Selective Service Act (1940) Without actually naming Germany as the potential enemy, Roosevelt pushed neutrality back one more step by persuading Congress to enact a law for compulsory military service. The Selective Training and Service Act of September 1940 provided for the registration of all American men between the ages of 21 and 35 and for the training of 1.2 million troops in just one year. There had been a military draft in the Civil War and World War I but only when the United States was officially at war. Isolationists strenuously opposed the peacetime draft, but they were now outnumbered as public opinion shifted away from strict neutrality.

Destroyers-for-Bases Deal In September 1940, Britain was under constant assault by German bombing raids. German submarine attacks threatened British control of the Atlantic. Roosevelt knew that selling U.S. destroyers to

the British outright would outrage the isolationists. He therefore cleverly arranged a trade. Britain received 50 older but still serviceable U.S. destroyers and gave the United States the right to build military bases on British islands in the Caribbean.

The Election of 1940

Adding to suspense over the war was uncertainty over a presidential election. Might Franklin Roosevelt be the first president to break the two-term tradition and seek election to a third term? For months, the president gave an ambiguous reply, causing frenzied speculation in the press. At last, he announced that, in those critical times, he would not turn down the Democratic nomination if it were offered. Most Democrats were delighted to renominate their most effective campaigner. During the campaign, Roosevelt made the rash pronouncement: "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Wendell Willkie The Republicans had a number of veteran politicians who were eager to challenge the president. Instead, they chose a newcomer to public office: Wendell Willkie, a lawyer and utility executive with a magnetic personality. Although he criticized the New Deal, Willkie largely agreed with Roosevelt on preparedness and giving aid to Britain short of actually entering the war. His strongest criticism of Roosevelt was the president's decision to break the two-term tradition established by George Washington.

Results Roosevelt won with 54 percent of the popular vote—a smaller margin than in 1932 and 1936. Important factors in the president's reelection were (1) a strong economic recovery enhanced by defense purchases and (2) fear of war, which caused voters to stay with the more experienced leader.

Arsenal of Democracy

Roosevelt viewed Germany's conquest of most of Europe as a direct threat both to U.S. security and to the future of democratic governments everywhere. After his reelection, he believed that he was in a stronger position to end the appearance of U.S. neutrality and give material aid to Britain. In a December 1940 fireside chat to the American people, he explained his thinking and concluded: "We must be the great arsenal of democracy."

Four Freedoms Addressing Congress on January 6, 1941, the president delivered a speech that proposed lending money to Britain for the purchase of U.S. war materials. He justified such a policy by arguing that the United States must help other nations defend "four freedoms:" freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

Lend-Lease Act Roosevelt proposed ending the cash-and-carry requirement of the Neutrality Act and permitting Britain to obtain all the U.S. arms it needed on credit. The president said it would be like lending a neighbor a garden hose to put out a fire. Isolationists in the America First Committee campaigned vigorously against the lend-lease bill. By now, however, majority opinion had shifted toward aiding Britain, and the Lend-Lease Act was signed into law in March 1941.

Atlantic Charter With the United States actively aiding Britain, Roosevelt knew that the United States might soon enter the war. He arranged for a secret meeting in August with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill aboard a ship off the coast of Newfoundland. The two leaders drew up a document known as the Atlantic Charter that affirmed that the general principles for a sound peace after the war would include self-determination for all people, no territorial expansion, and free trade.

Shoot-on-Sight In July 1941, the president extended U.S. support for Britain even further by protecting its ships from submarine attack. He ordered the U.S. Navy to escort British ships carrying lend-lease materials from U.S. shores as far as Iceland. On September 4, the American destroyer *Greer* was attacked by a German submarine it had been hunting. In response, Roosevelt ordered the navy to attack all German ships on sight. In effect, this meant that the United States was now fighting an undeclared naval war against Germany.

Disputes With Japan

Meanwhile, through 1940 and 1941, U.S. relations with Japan were becoming increasingly strained as a result of Japan's invasion of China and ambitions to extend its conquests to Southeast Asia. Beginning in 1940, Japan was allied with Germany and Italy as one of the Axis powers. Hitler's success in Europe enabled Japanese expansion into the Dutch East Indies, British Burma, and French Indochina—territories still held as European colonies.

U.S. Economic Action When Japan joined the Axis in September 1940, Roosevelt responded by prohibiting the export of steel and scrap iron to all countries except Britain and the nations of the Western Hemisphere. His action was aimed at Japan, which protested that it was an "unfriendly act." In July 1941, Japanese troops occupied French Indochina. Roosevelt then froze all Japanese credits in the United States and also cut off Japanese access to vital materials, including U.S. oil.

Negotiations Both sides realized that Japan needed oil to fuel its navy and air force. If the U.S. embargo on oil did not end, Japan would likely seize the oil resources in the Dutch East Indies. At the same time, Japan's invasion of China was a blatant violation of the Open Door policy, to which the United States was still committed. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull insisted that Japan pull its troops out of China, which Japan refused to do. The Japanese ambassador to the United States tried to negotiate a change in U.S. policy regarding oil. Agreement, however, seemed most unlikely. In October, a new Japanese government headed by General Hideki Tojo made a final attempt at negotiating an agreement. Neither side, however, changed its position.

U.S. military leaders hoped to delay armed confrontation with Japan until U.S. armed forces in the Pacific were strengthened. Japan, on the other hand, believed that quick action was necessary because of its limited oil supplies.

Pearl Harbor

The U.S. fleet in the Pacific was anchored at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. On Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, while most American sailors were still asleep in their bunks, Japanese planes from aircraft carriers flew over Pearl Harbor bombing every ship in sight. The surprise attack lasted less than two hours. In that time, 2,400 Americans were killed (including over 1,100 when the battleship *Arizona* sank), almost 1,200 were wounded, 20 warships were sunk or severely damaged, and approximately 150 airplanes were destroyed.

Partial Surprise The American people were stunned by the attack on Pearl Harbor. High government officials, however, knew that an attack somewhere in the Pacific was imminent because they had broken the Japanese codes. They did not know the exact target and date for the attack, which many felt would be in the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, or Malaya.

Declaration of War Addressing Congress on the day after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt described December 7th as “a date which will live in infamy.” He asked Congress to declare “that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.” On December 8, Congress acted immediately by declaring war, with only one dissenting vote. Three days later, Germany and Italy honored their treaty with Japan by declaring war on the United States.

Soviet Union Invaded By December 1941, the battlefield in Europe had shifted from the west to the east. Breaking his nonaggression pact with Stalin, Hitler had ordered an invasion of the Soviet Union. Thus, the principal Allies fighting Nazi Germany from 1942 to 1945 were Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The three Allied leaders—Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin—agreed to concentrate on the war in Europe before shifting their resources to counter Japanese advances in the Pacific.

World War II: The Home Front

FDR compared the transition after Pearl Harbor to a patient with new problems. It was time for Dr. Win-the-War to take over from Dr. New Deal.

Mobilization

The success of U.S. and Allied armed forces depended on mobilizing America’s people, industries, and creative and scientific communities. The role of federal government expanded well beyond anything in World War I or the New Deal.

Federal Government As in World War I, the U.S. government organized a number of special agencies to mobilize U.S. economic and military resources for the wartime crisis. Early in 1942, the War Production Board (WPB) was established to manage war industries. Later the Office of War Mobilization (OWM) set production priorities and controlled raw materials. The government

used a cost-plus system, in which it paid war contractors the costs of production plus a certain percentage for profit. One federal agency, the Office of Price Administration (OPA), regulated almost every aspect of civilians' lives by freezing prices, wages, and rents and rationing such commodities as meat, sugar, gasoline, and auto tires, primarily to fight wartime inflation.

Deficit spending during the depression was dwarfed by the deficits incurred during the war. Federal spending increased 1,000 percent between 1939 and 1945. As a result the gross national product grew by 15 percent or more a year. World War II proved what the New Deal did not, that the government could spend its way out of a depression. By war's end, the national debt had reached the then staggering figure of \$250 billion, five times what it had been in 1941.

Business and Industry Stimulated by wartime demand and government contracts, U.S. industries did a booming business, far exceeding their production and profits of the 1920s. The depression was over, vanquished at last by the coming of war. By 1944, unemployment had practically disappeared.

War-related industrial output in the United States was astonishing. By 1944, it was twice that of all the Axis powers combined. Instead of automobiles, tanks and fighter planes rolled off the assembly lines. American factories produced over 300,000 planes, 100,000 tanks, and ships with a total capacity of 53 million tons. So efficient were production methods that Henry Kaiser's giant shipyard in California could turn out a new ship in just 14 days. The war concentrated production in the largest corporations, as smaller business lost out on government contracts to larger businesses with more capacity. The 100 largest corporations accounted for up to 70 percent of wartime manufacturing.

Research and Development Government worked closely not only with industries, but also universities and research labs to create and improve technologies that could be used to defeat the enemy. The Office of Research and Development was established to contract scientists and universities to help in the development of electronics, such as radar and sonar, medicines such as penicillin, jet engines, rockets, and in the top secret Manhattan Project, the atomic bomb. Ironically, many of the European scientists that had to flee Fascist persecution would contribute to its defeat working in United States.

Workers and Unions Labor unions and large corporations agreed that while the war lasted, there would be no strikes. Workers became disgruntled, however, as their wages were frozen while corporations made large profits. John L. Lewis therefore called a few strikes of coal unions. The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act of 1943, passed over Roosevelt's veto, empowered the government to take over war-related businesses whose operations were threatened by a strike. In 1944, Roosevelt had occasion to use this law when he ordered the army to operate the nation's railroads for a brief period.

Financing the War The government paid for its huge increase in spending (\$100 billion spent on the war in 1945 alone) by (1) increasing the income

tax and (2) selling war bonds. For the first time, most Americans were required to pay an income tax, and in 1944, the practice was begun of automatically deducting a withholding tax from paychecks. Borrowing money by selling \$135 billion in war bonds supplemented the tax increase. In addition, the shortage of consumer goods made it easier for Americans to save.

Wartime Propaganda Few people opposed the war, so the government's propaganda campaign of posters, songs, and news bulletins was primarily to maintain public morale, to encourage people to conserve resources, and to increase war production. The Office of War Information controlled news about troop movements and battles. Movies, radio, and popular music all supported and reflected a cheerful, patriotic view of the war. For example, Norman Rockwell's popular illustrations of the "Four Freedoms" captured the liberties and values at stake in the war. The unity of Americans behind the war's democratic ideals helped that generation remember it as "the Good War."

The War's Impact on Society

Every group in the U.S. population adjusted to the unique circumstances of wartime. The increase in factory jobs caused millions to leave rural areas for industrial jobs in the Midwest and on the Pacific Coast, especially California. Entirely new communities arose around the construction of new factories and military bases. Many of the new defense installations were located in the South because of that region's warm climate and low labor costs. The wartime expansion set the stage for a post-war migration to the Sunbelt.

African Americans Attracted by jobs in the North and West, over 1.5 million African Americans left the South. In addition, a million young men left home to serve in the armed forces. Whether as soldiers or civilians, all faced continued discrimination and segregation. White resentment in urban areas led to dozens dying in race riots in New York and Detroit during the summer of 1943. Civil rights leaders encouraged African Americans to adopt the "Double V" slogan—one for victory over fascism abroad and one for equality at home.

Membership in the NAACP increased during the war. Another civil rights organization, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), was formed in 1942 to work more militantly for African American interests. After black leaders threatened a protest march on Washington, the Roosevelt administration issued an executive order to prohibit discrimination in government and in businesses that received federal contracts. One judicial victory was achieved in the Supreme Court case of *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), which ruled that it was unconstitutional to deny membership in political parties to African Americans as a way of excluding them from voting in primaries.

Mexican Americans Many Mexican Americans worked in defense industries, and over 300,000 served in the military. A 1942 agreement with Mexico allowed Mexican farmworkers, known as *braceros*, to enter the United States

in the harvest season without going through formal immigration procedures. The sudden influx of Mexican immigrants into Los Angeles stirred white resentment and led to the so-called zoot suit riots in the summer of 1943, in which whites and Mexican Americans battled on the streets.

American Indians American Indians also contributed to the war effort. Approximately 25,000 served in the military, and thousands more worked in defense industries. Having discovered the opportunities off their reservations, more than half never returned.

Japanese Americans More than any other ethnic group, Japanese Americans suffered from their association with a wartime enemy. Almost 20,000 native-born Japanese Americans served loyally in the military. Nevertheless, following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans were suspected of being potential spies and saboteurs, and a Japanese invasion of the West Coast was considered imminent by many. In 1942, these irrational fears as well as racism prompted the U.S. government to order over 100,000 Japanese Americans on the West Coast to leave their homes and reside in the barracks of internment camps. Japanese Americans living in other parts of the U.S., including Hawaii, did not come under this order. In the case of *Korematsu v. U.S.* (1944), the Supreme Court upheld the U.S. government's internment policy as justified in wartime. Years later, in 1988, the federal government agreed the ruling was unjust and awarded financial compensation to those still alive who had been interned.

Women The war also changed the lives of women. Over 200,000 women served in uniform in the army, navy and marines, but in noncombat roles. As in World War I, an acute labor shortage caused women to take jobs vacated by men in uniform. Almost 5 million women entered the workforce, many of them working in industrial jobs in the shipyards and defense plants. The number of married women in the workforce increased to 24 percent. A song about "Rosie the Riveter" was used to encourage women to take defense jobs. However, they received pay well below that of male factory workers.

Wartime Solidarity The New Deal helped immigrant groups feel more included, and serving together as "bands of brothers" in combat or working together for a common cause in defense plants helped to reduce prejudices based on nationality, ethnicity and religion. The wartime migrations also helped to soften regional differences, and open the eyes of many Americans to the injustice of racial discrimination.

The Election of 1944

With the war consuming most of people's attention, the presidential election of 1944 had less interest than usual.

Again, FDR Many felt that, in the war emergency, there should be no change in leadership. The president therefore sought and received the Democratic nomination for the fourth time. There was a change, however, in the Democrats' choice of a vice presidential running mate. Party leaders felt that Roosevelt's third-term vice president, Henry Wallace, was too radical and

unmanageable. With Roosevelt's agreement, they replaced Wallace with Harry S. Truman, a Missouri senator with a national reputation for having conducted a much-publicized investigation of war spending. Although Roosevelt publicly denied medical problems, those near him recognized his uncertain health.

Thomas Dewey The Republicans nominated the 42-year-old governor of New York, Thomas Dewey, who had a strong record of prosecuting corruption and racketeering. The Republican candidate was unable to offer any real alternative to Roosevelt's leadership or generate enthusiasm for change.

Results Winning 53 percent of the popular vote and an overwhelming 432–99 victory in the electoral college, the president was elected to an unprecedented fourth term. As it proved, however, FDR would live for less than three months after his inauguration. Most of his term would be served by Truman.

World War II: The Battlefronts

The fighting of World War II was waged on two fronts, or “theaters of operation.” In the Pacific, Japanese forces reached the height of their power in 1942, occupying islands throughout the western Pacific Ocean. In Europe, much of the fighting in the first year of war was between the Germans and the Soviets, as the latter fought desperately to prevent the conquest of Russia.

Fighting Germany

The high tide of the German advance ended in 1942, partly as a result of U.S. entry into the war but mainly because of a Soviet victory at Stalingrad in the winter of that year.

Defense at Sea, Attacks by Air Coordinating their military strategy, the British and Americans concentrated on two objectives in 1942: (1) overcoming the menace of German submarines in the Atlantic and (2) beginning bombing raids on German cities. The protracted naval war to control the shipping lanes was known as the Battle of the Atlantic. German submarines sank over 500 Allied ships in 1942. Gradually, however, the Allies developed ways of containing the submarine menace through the use of radar, sonar, and the bombing of German naval bases. The U.S. bombers carried out daylight “strategic bombing” raids on military targets in Europe, but the lines between military and civilian targets became blurred as the war carried on, especially in Japan,

From North Africa to Italy The Allies had the daunting task of driving German occupying forces out of their advance positions in North Africa and the Mediterranean. They began their North Africa campaign, Operation Torch, in November 1942. Led by U.S. General Dwight Eisenhower and British General Bernard Montgomery, Allied forces succeeded in taking North Africa from the Germans by May 1943.

The next U.S.–British target was the Mediterranean island of Sicily, which they occupied in the summer of 1943, preparatory to an invasion of

Italy. Mussolini fell from power during the summer, but Hitler's forces rescued him and gave him nominal control of northern Italy. In fact, German troops controlled much of Italy at the time that the Allies invaded the peninsula in September 1943. The Germans put up a determined resistance to the Allied offensive, holding much of northern Italy until their final surrender in May 1945.

From D-Day to Victory in Europe The Allied drive to liberate France began on June 6, 1944, with the largest invasion by sea in history. On D-Day, as the invasion date was called, British, Canadian, and U.S. forces under the command of General Eisenhower secured several beachheads on the Normandy coast. After this bloody but successful attack, the Allied offensive moved rapidly to roll back German occupying forces. By the end of August, Paris was liberated. By September, Allied troops had crossed the German border for a final push toward Berlin. The Germans launched a desperate counterattack in Belgium in December 1944 in the Battle of the Bulge. After this setback, however, Americans reorganized and resumed their advance.

German Surrender and Discovery of the Holocaust Since 1942, Allied bombing raids over Germany had reduced that nation's industrial capacity and ability to continue fighting. Recognizing that the end was near, as the Russian army closed in on Berlin, Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945. The unconditional surrender of the Nazi armies took place a week later, on May 7.

As U.S. troops advanced through Germany, they came upon German concentration camps and witnessed the horrifying extent of the Nazis' program of genocide against the Jews and others. Americans and the world were shocked to learn that 6 million Jewish civilians and several million non-Jews had been systematically murdered by Nazi Germany.

Fighting Japan

In Europe, British, Soviet, and U.S. forces were jointly responsible for defeating Germany, but in the Pacific, it was largely the U.S. armed forces that challenged the Japanese. After the Pearl Harbor attack, Japan seized control of much of East Asia and Southeast Asia. By early 1942, Japanese troops occupied Korea, eastern China, the Philippines, British Burma and Malaya, French Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), and most of the Pacific islands west of Midway Island.

Turning Point, 1942 The war in the Pacific was dominated by naval forces battling over a vast area. Intercepting and decoding Japanese messages enabled U.S. forces to destroy four Japanese carriers and 300 planes in the decisive Battle of Midway on June 4–7. This battle ended Japanese expansion.

Island-Hopping After the victory at Midway, the United States began a long campaign to get within striking distance of Japan's home islands by seizing strategic locations in the Pacific. Using a strategy called "island-hopping,"

commanders bypassed strongly held Japanese posts and isolated them with naval and air power. Allied forces moved steadily toward Japan.

Major Battles Early in 1942, the Japanese had conquered the Philippines. When General Douglas MacArthur, the commander of army units in the Southern Pacific, was driven from the islands, he famously vowed, “I shall return.” The conflict that prepared the way for U.S. reoccupation of the Philippines was the largest naval battle in history. At the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944, the Japanese navy was virtually destroyed. For the first time in the war, the Japanese used *kamikaze* pilots to make suicide attacks on U.S. ships. Kamikazes also inflicted major damage in the colossal Battle of Okinawa (April to June 1945). Before finally succeeding in taking this island near Japan, U.S. forces suffered 50,000 casualties and killed 100,000 Japanese.

Atomic Bombs After Okinawa, a huge invasion force stood ready to attack Japan. Extremely heavy casualties were feared. By this time, however, the United States had developed a frightfully destructive new weapon. The top-secret Manhattan Project had begun in 1942. Directed by the physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, the project employed over 100,000 people and spent \$2 billion to develop a weapon whose power came from the splitting of the atom. The atomic bomb, or A-bomb, was successfully tested on July 16, 1945, at Alamogordo, New Mexico. The new president, Harry Truman, and his wartime allies called on Japan to surrender unconditionally or face “utter destruction.” When Japan gave an unsatisfactory reply, Truman consulted with his advisers and decided to use the new weapon on two Japanese cities. On August 6, an A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, and on August 9, a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. About 250,000 Japanese died, either immediately or after a prolonged period of suffering, as a result of the two bombs.

Japan Surrenders Within a week after the second bomb fell, Japan agreed to surrender if the Allies would allow the emperor to remain as a titular (powerless) head of state. General MacArthur received Japan’s formal surrender on September 2, 1945, in Tokyo harbor aboard the battleship *Missouri*.

Wartime Conferences

During the war, the Big Three (leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain) arranged to confer secretly to coordinate their military strategies and to lay the foundation for peace terms and postwar involvement.

Casablanca The first conference involved only two of the Big Three. In January 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed on the grand strategy to win the war, including to invade Sicily and Italy and to demand “unconditional surrender” from the Axis powers.

Teheran The Big Three—Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin—met for the first time in the Iranian city of Teheran in November 1943. They agreed that the British and Americans would begin their drive to liberate France in the spring

of 1944 and that the Soviets would invade Germany and eventually join the war against Japan.

Yalta In February 1945, the Big Three conferred again at Yalta, a resort town on the Black Sea coast of the Soviet Union. Their agreement at Yalta would prove the most historic of the three meetings. After victory in Europe was achieved, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agreed that

- Germany would be divided into occupation zones
- there would be free elections in the liberated countries of Eastern Europe (even though Soviet troops controlled this territory)
- the Soviets would enter the war against Japan, which they did on August 8, 1945—just as Japan was about to surrender
- the Soviets would control the southern half of Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands in the Pacific and would have special concessions in Manchuria
- a new world peace organization (the future United Nations) would be formed at a conference in San Francisco

Death of President Roosevelt When the president returned from Yalta and informed Congress of his agreement with Churchill and Stalin, it was apparent that his health had deteriorated. On April 12, 1945, while resting in a vacation home in Georgia, an exhausted Franklin Roosevelt died suddenly. News of his death shocked the nation almost as much as Pearl Harbor. Harry S. Truman entered the presidency unexpectedly to assume enormous responsibilities as commander in chief of a war effort that had not yet been won.

Potsdam In late July, after Germany's surrender, only Stalin remained as one of the Big Three. Truman was the U.S. president, and Clement Attlee had just been elected the new British prime minister. The three leaders met in Postsdam, Germany (July 17–August 2, 1945) and agreed (1) to demand that Japan surrender unconditionally, and (2) to hold war-crime trials of Nazi leaders.

The War's Legacy

The most destructive war in the history of the world had profound effects on all nations, including the United States.

Costs

The deadliest war in human history resulted in the deaths of some 50 million military personnel and civilians worldwide. Fifteen million Americans served in uniform and approximately 300,000 Americans lost their lives either in Europe or the Pacific, and 800,000 were wounded. Excluding the Civil War, more

Americans died in World War II than in all other U.S. wars combined. The war left the country with a huge national debt, but domestically the United States had suffered little compared to others.

The United Nations

Unlike the rejection of the League of Nations following World War I, Congress readily accepted the peacekeeping organization that was conceived during World War II and put in place immediately after the war. Meeting in 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington, D.C., Allied representatives from the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China proposed an international organization to be called the United Nations. Then in April 1945, delegates from 50 nations assembled in San Francisco, where they took only eight weeks to draft a charter for the United Nations. The Senate quickly voted to accept U.S. involvement in the U.N. On October 24, 1945, the U.N. came into existence when the majority of member-nations ratified its charter.

Expectations

In a final speech, which he never delivered, Franklin Roosevelt wrote: “The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be the doubts of today.” There were doubts, to be sure, about the new world order to emerge from World War II. Initially at least, there were also widely shared hopes that life would be better and more prosperous after the war than before. While other combatants, such as China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the Soviet Union, had suffered extensive damage from the war, the cities of the United States had remained unscarred. Without a doubt, the United States in 1945 was at once the most prosperous and the most powerful nation in the world. It had played a major role in defeating the Fascist dictators. Now people looked forward with some optimism to both a more peaceful and more democratic world. Unfortunately, the specters of the Soviet Union and the A-bomb would soon dim these expectations of a brighter tomorrow.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS PEARL HARBOR AVOIDABLE?

At first it seemed that U.S. entry into World War II was simply a reaction to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Probing more deeply, some historians placed part of the blame for the outbreak of World War II on U.S. policies in the late 1930s. They argued that U.S. isolationism emboldened the Fascist dictators and also left U.S. territories vulnerable to attack through military unpreparedness.

In the late 1940s, revisionists wrote that the Pearl Harbor attack could have been avoided if the diplomacy of Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull had been more flexible. Charles A. Beard took the extreme view that Roosevelt intended the embargo on raw materials to force Japan into war. Many of the revisionists believed that Roosevelt wanted the United States in the war because of his anti-Fascist beliefs and pro-British sympathies.

Later revisionist criticisms of the 1950s and 1960s asked why naval authorities at Pearl Harbor were unprepared for an attack since the United States had broken the Japanese code. Presumably, officials knew that a Japanese attack was coming but could not determine precisely when and where it would be.

For many, the definitive study of Pearl Harbor is Gordon W. Prange's *At Dawn We Slept* (1981). While Prange believes the government could have done better predicting and preparing for an attack, he finds no evidence of a secret plot to allow Pearl Harbor to happen. His key point is that the Japanese had brilliantly planned and executed an attack that was inconceivable to most Americans at that time.

Taking the opposite position is John Toland's *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (1982). Toland argues that Roosevelt had advance knowledge of the attack but withheld any warning so that a surprise attack would bring the United States into the war. A major problem with this argument is that the author presents no direct evidence for his conclusion.

The divergent views on the Pearl Harbor attack show the difference between historical *analysis* of how and why events occurred and historical *judgment* of a leader's underlying motives. In judging motives, historians often show their own values.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Hoover-FDR Policies (WOR) Good Neighbor policy Pan-American conferences Soviet Union recognized Independence for Philippines reciprocal trade agreements Militarist/Fascist Aggression (WOR) Japan takes Manchuria Stimson Doctrine fascism Italian Fascist party Benito Mussolini Ethiopia German Nazi party Adolf Hitler Axis Powers Spanish Civil War Francisco Franco Rhineland Sudetenland Munich appeasement Poland; blitzkrieg Isolationist Response (WOR) isolationism Nye Committee Neutrality Acts America First Committee Charles Lindbergh	FDR's Response (WOR) Quarantine speech cash and carry Selective Training and-Service Act (1940) destroyers-for-bases deal FDR, third term Wendell Willkie Four Freedoms speech Lend-Lease Act (1941) Atlantic Charter escort convoys oil and steel embargo Pearl Harbor Mobilization (WXT, POL) War Production Board Office of Price Administration government spending, debt role of large corporations research and development Manhattan Project Office of War Information “the Good War”	Home Front (MIG, POL) wartime migration civil rights, “Double V” executive order on jobs <i>Smith v. Allwright</i> Braceros program Japanese internment <i>Korematsu v. U.S.</i> “Rosie the Riveter” wartime solidarity election of 1944 Harry S. Truman Wartime Strategies (WOR) Battle of the Atlantic strategic bombing Dwight Eisenhower D-Day Holocaust island-hopping Battle of Midway Douglas MacArthur kamikaze attacks J. Robert Oppenheimer atomic bomb Hiroshima; Nagasaki Wartime Diplomacy (WOR) Big Three Casablanca Conference unconditional surrender Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam United Nations
--	---	---

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the cartoon below.



1. Which of the following attitudes most directly contributed to the perspective of this cartoon?
 - (A) The priority of President Roosevelt to protect Latin American nations
 - (B) The strong opposition to helping the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin
 - (C) The isolationist sentiment that developed after World War I
 - (D) The antiwar policies of the Franklin Roosevelt administration
2. Which of the following events most directly conflicted with the perspective of this cartoon?
 - (A) Congressional hearings into the causes of U.S. entry into World War I
 - (B) The Spanish Civil War between the fascist and the republican forces
 - (C) Passage of laws prohibiting arms sales, bank loans, and travel to nations at war
 - (D) Roosevelt's call for democracies to "quarantine" aggressive nations
3. Which of the following individuals and groups most directly supported the perspective of this cartoon?
 - (A) Herbert Hoover and East Coast leaders of the Republican Party
 - (B) Charles Lindbergh and Midwest and rural newspapers and voters
 - (C) American men who were eligible for the military draft
 - (D) Wendell Willkie and the progressive wing of the Republican Party

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“It has been said, times without number, that if Hitler cannot cross the English Channel he cannot cross three thousand miles of sea. But there is only one reason why he has not crossed the English Channel. That is because forty-five million determined Britons, in a heroic resistance, have converted their island into a armed base, from which proceeds a steady stream of sea and air power. As Secretary Hull has said: “It is not the water that bars the way. It is the resolute determination of British arms. Were the control of the seas by Britain lost, the Atlantic would no longer be an obstacle—rather, it would become a broad highway for a conqueror moving westward.”

—*The New York Times*, April 30, 1941

4. Which of the following would the author(s) of this excerpt most likely support?
 - (A) Aiding the Soviet Union in case the British surrendered
 - (B) Extending the Good Neighbor Policy to Great Britain
 - (C) Prohibiting travel on ships of belligerent nations
 - (D) Passing the Lend Lease Act to provide arms on credit to Great Britain
5. Which of the following statements best characterizes American opinion about involvement in World War II at the time this excerpt was published?
 - (A) The United States should increase defense spending, but providing direct aid to Britain is controversial.
 - (B) Britain faces certain defeat by Germany and the United States should stay out of the war.
 - (C) The Atlantic Ocean is an effective barrier to a military invasion by Germany.
 - (D) The United States should immediately come to the aid of Britain against Germany.
6. Which of the following proved to be the turning point in American opinion about World War II?
 - (A) The re-election of President Franklin Roosevelt for a third term in 1940
 - (B) The invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler’s Germany
 - (C) The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the Philippines
 - (D) The British victory over the German and Italian armies in North Africa

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Rationing is a vital part of your country’s war effort. Any attempt to violate the rules is an effort to deny someone his share and will create hardship and help the enemy. This book is our Government’s assurance of your right to buy your fair share of certain goods made scarce by war. Price ceilings have also been established for your protection. Dealers must post these prices conspicuously. Don’t pay more. Give your whole support to rationing and thereby conserve our vital goods. Be guided by the rule: “If you don’t need it, DON’T BUY IT.”

“IMPORTANT: When you used your ration, salvage the TIN CANS and WASTE FATS. They are needed to make munitions for our fighting men. Cooperate with your local Salvage Committee.”

—*War Ration Books 3 and 4*, Office of Price Administration, 1943

7. Which of the following was the primary economic purpose for the rationing program found in the above document?
 - (A) Control inflation caused by shortages of consumer goods
 - (B) Discourage the development of black markets
 - (C) Encourage industries to stop making consumer products
 - (D) Encourage workers and unions not to demand higher wages
8. Which of the following best explains the campaign behind the above government documents?
 - (A) Governments needed to control civilian behavior during wartime to reassure people that they were still in control
 - (B) Industrial production was essential to successful modern warfare and it required an effort by the entire nation
 - (C) Salvaging waste materials promoted patriotism by giving everyone a way to support the war effort
 - (D) Governments had to stop civilian hoarding during wartime so that people would not focus their anger on each other

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the excerpts below.

“Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin to the detriment of workers’ morale and national unity: Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution. . . I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color or national origin.”

—Executive Order No. 8802, June 25, 1941

“Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense. . . I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War . . . to prescribe military areas . . . from which any and all persons may be excluded.”

—Executive Order 9066, February 19, 1942

1. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the context for the executive order of June 25, 1941.
- b) Briefly explain the context for the executive order of February 19, 1942.
- c) Briefly explain ONE inconsistency or similarity between the two orders.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the role of ONE of the following in the mobilization of American economy during World War II.
 - federal government
 - large corporations
 - universities and scientific labs
- b) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following in U.S wartime strategy.
 - internal migration
 - Mexican Americans
 - American women
- c) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following in U.S. wartime diplomacy.
 - Manhattan Project
 - Holocaust
 - United Nations

Question 3 is based on the excerpt below.

“[T]his announcement of unconditional surrender was very deeply deliberated. . . It was a true statement of Roosevelt’s considered policy and he refused all suggestions that he retract the statement or soften it and continued refusal to the day of his death. . . What Roosevelt was saying was that there would be no negotiated peace, no compromise with Nazism and Fascism, no ‘escape clauses’ provided by another Fourteen Points which could lead to another Hitler. (The ghost of Woodrow Wilson was again at his shoulder.) . . . He wanted to ensure that when the war was won it would stay won.”

—Robert A. Sherwood, writer, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 1948

3. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain Sherwood’s point of view on unconditional surrender.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE criticism of the policy of unconditional surrender.
 - c) Briefly explain the reference to the “ghost of Woodrow Wilson.”

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of these during World War II.
 - quarantine speech
 - cash and carry
 - Atlantic Charter
- b) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following in U.S. wartime strategy.
 - strategic bombing
 - island hopping
 - kamikaze attacks
- c) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following in wartime diplomacy.
 - Big Three
 - Casablanca Conference
 - Yalta Conference

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: SELECTING RELEVANT EVIDENCE

Which three of the following would be most relevant for an essay about whether wars increase or decrease acts of prejudice?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>Korematsu v. United States</i> | 3. Four Freedoms speech |
| 2. <i>Smith v. Allwright</i> | 4. zoot suit riots |

PERIOD 7 Review: 1890–1945

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Analyze how TWO of the following helped to shape the national identity in the 20th century.
 - Spanish American War
 - World War I
 - Great Depression/New Deal
 - World War II
2. Analyze how women's identity was influenced by both peacetime and wartime experiences in the period from 1900 to 1945.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Compare and contrast the beliefs and strategies of TWO of the following to address the needs of the U.S. economic system.
 - Progressives
 - Economic conservatives of the 1920s and 1930s
 - New Deal
4. Compare and contrast the effects of TWO of the following on business and labor.
 - World War I
 - Great Depression
 - New Deal
 - World War II

Choose EITHER Question 5 or Question 6.

5. Analyze the causes and effects of changes in immigration patterns and policies from 1900 to 1945
6. Analyze the causes and effects of changes in internal migration patterns from 1900 to 1945

Choose EITHER Question 7 or Question 8.

7. Some historians have argued that the most important political development between 1900 and 1945 was the increased role of the federal government in the U.S. economy. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.
8. Some historians have argued that the greatest threat to civil liberties came during wartime. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence from the period of 1898–1945.

Choose EITHER Question 9 or Question 10.

9. Compare and contrast the goals of U.S. policy makers in the Spanish American War, World War I and World War II.
10. Compare and contrast the influence of TWO of the following wars on postwar foreign policy.
 - Spanish-American War
 - World War I
 - World War II

Choose EITHER Question 11 or Question 12.

11. Analyze the role of the arts and popular culture, including immigrant and African American artists, in American society from 1900 to 1945.
12. Analyze how science and technological innovations contributed to changes in American values and attitudes between 1900 and 1945.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION 1

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. “The ideals used to justify U.S. involvement in World War I disguised the real reasons for Wilson’s change in policy from neutrality to war and, in fact, violated the traditional values of the American nation.” Assess this statement and the reasons for the change in U.S. policy in 1917 AND whether these reasons were consistent with traditional American values.

Document 1

Source: Oswald Garrison Villard, writer and journalist, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1916

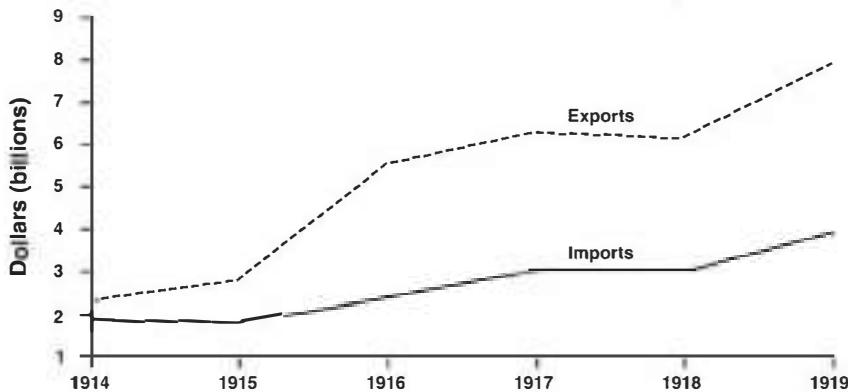
Now, the real significance of this [campaign for preparedness] is that we have all at once, in the midst of a terrifying cataclysm, abjured our faith in many things American. We no longer believe, as for 140 years, in the moral power of an America unarmed and unafraid; we believe suddenly that the influence of the United States is to be measured only by the numbers of our soldiery and our dreadnoughts—our whole history to the contrary notwithstanding.

Next, the preparedness policy signifies an entire change in our attitude toward the military as to whom we inherited from our forefathers suspicions and distrust. A cardinal principle of our polity has always been the subordination of the military to the civil authority as a necessary safeguard for the republic.”

Document 2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States*,

VALUE OF UNITED STATES IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1914 to 1919



Document 3

Source: President Woodrow Wilson, War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Document 4

Source: Senator George W. Norris, Speech in the U.S. Senate, April 4, 1917

We are taking a step today that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money. . . . We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate. By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

Document 5

Source: Library of Congress



Document 6

Source: Norman Thomas, socialist and pacifist, *The New Republic*, May 26, 1917

Tolerance arises from the existence of varying types of doers, all willing to respect one another's special competence. It is not too extreme to assert that in wartime (as in peacetime) some of the most heroic deeds are performed by those who do not (and, if called upon, would not) take up arms in defense of the cause. There are other forms of bravery than the purely military one. Let us be reasonable.

In bringing the gift of freedom to the distant unemancipated, shall we betray so precious a cause by brute denial of freedom to those of our own blood and tradition, to our own freedom lovers within the gate? What a sorry, tragical miscarriage of wisdom!

Document 7

Source: Theodore Roosevelt, Pledge of Loyalty, September 11, 1917

We ask that good Americans . . . uphold the hands of the government at every point efficiently and resolutely against our foreign and domestic foes, and that they constantly spur the government to speedier and more effective action. Furthermore, we ask that, where government action cannot be taken, they arouse an effective and indignant public opinion against the enemies of our country, whether these enemies masquerade as pacifists, or proclaim themselves the enemies of our allies, or act through organizations such as the I.W.W. and the Socialist Party machine, or appear nakedly as the champions of Germany. Above all, we ask that they teach our people to spurn any peace save the peace of overwhelming victory in the war to which we have set our hands.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION 2

Directions: Question 2 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
2. “To a greater or lesser extent, three factors were involved in explaining U.S. response to Japanese and German aggression: (a) economics, (b) national security, and (c) democratic values.” Drawing upon the documents that follow as well as your knowledge of history, write an essay analyzing to what extent these factors influenced foreign policy from 1937 through 1941.

Document 1

Source: Council on Foreign Relations, *The United States in World Affairs*, 1937, 1938

The Commandant of the Third Naval District expressed “hearty accord” with President Roosevelt’s proposal to increase the nation’s naval strength by a huge and extraordinary appropriation of public funds. “A navy second to none,” said he, was needed as a “contribution to world peace,” and he denounced “all foolish nations which through mistaken ideas of altruism were unprepared to defend themselves when attacked.”

In the stock markets [according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, December 30], “intermittent buying in aircrafts, steels, and a selected assortment of heavy industrials pushed prices substantially higher, demand apparently being based on expectations of large rearmament expenditures by the national government.

Document 2

Source: Advertisement, *New York Times*, June 10, 1940

If Hitler wins in Europe—if the strength of the British and French armies and navies is forever broken—the United States will find itself alone in a barbaric world—a world ruled by Nazis, with “spheres of influence” assigned to their totalitarian allies. However different the dictatorships may be, racially, they all agree on one primary objective: “Democracy must be wiped from the face of the earth.”

The world will be placed on a permanent war footing. Our country will have to pile armaments upon armaments to maintain even the illusion of security. We shall have no other business, no other aim in life, but primitive self-defense. We shall exist only under martial law—or the law of the jungle.”

Document 3

Source: Wendell Willkie, Acceptance Speech at the Republican National Convention, August 17, 1940

I cannot ask the American people to put their faith in me without recording my conviction that some form of selective service is the only democratic way in which to secure the trained and competent manpower we need for national defense.

Also, in the light of my principle, we must honestly face our relationship with Great Britain. We must admit that the loss of the British Fleet would greatly weaken our defense. This is because the British Fleet has for years controlled the Atlantic, leaving us free to concentrate in the Pacific. If the British Fleet were lost or captured, the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life, controlling in that event most of the ships and shipbuilding facilities of Europe.

This would be calamity for us. We might be exposed to attack on the Atlantic. Our defense would be weakened until we could build a navy and air force strong enough to defend both coasts. Also, our foreign trade would be profoundly affected. That trade is vital to our prosperity. But if we had to trade with a Europe dominated by the present German trade policies, we might have to change our methods to some totalitarian form. This is a prospect that any lover of democracy must view with consternation.

Document 4



Source: Brown Brothers

Document 5

Source: Franklin Roosevelt, Speech to Congress, "Four Freedoms," January 6, 1941

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation. . . .

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That is our purpose and our pledge."

Document 6

Source: Adapted from Gilbert C. Fite, Jim E. Reese, *An Economic History of the United States*, 1959

The Effect of World War II on Industry			
Category	1939	1940	1941
Index of manufacturing output (1939 = 100)	100	116	154
Corporate profits before taxes (billions of dollars)	6.4	9.3	17.0
Corporate profits before taxes (billions of dollars)	5.0	6.5	9.4
Business failures	14,768	13,619	11,848

Document 7

Source: Charles A. Lindbergh, Speech in New York City, April 23, 1941

The United States is better situated from a military standpoint than any other nation in the world. Even in our present condition of unpreparedness no foreign power is in a position to invade us today. If we concentrate on our own defenses and build the strength that this nation should maintain, no foreign army will ever attempt to land on American shores.

War is not inevitable for this country. Such a claim is defeatism in the true sense. No one can make us fight abroad unless we ourselves are willing to do so. No one will attempt to fight us here if we arm ourselves as a great nation should be armed. Over 100 million people in this nation are opposed to entering the war. If the principles of democracy mean anything at all, that is reason enough for us to stay out.

PERIOD 8: 1945–1980

Chapter 26 *Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1952*

Chapter 27 *The Eisenhower Years, 1952–1960*

Chapter 28 *Promise and Turmoil, The 1960s*

Chapter 29 *Limits of a Superpower, 1969–1980*

In 1945, the United States emerged from World War II with the world's largest and strongest economy. Despite fears of a return to an economic depression, Americans were happy to get back to civilian life. What no one could predict was how the fall of colonial empires, the spread of Communism, and changes in the global economy would impact American lives in the future.

Overview At home, Americans enjoyed a robust economic growth through the 1960s with little competition, as the rest of world's economies recovered from the war. Democrats, expanding on the New Deal, enacted major domestic programs, such as Medicare, aid to education, and civil rights for African Americans and women. The Cold War against Communist governments dominated U.S. foreign policy. While the threat of the use of nuclear weapons kept the great powers from attacking each other, limited "hot" wars in Korea and Vietnam cost America more than 100,000 lives. By the late 1960s, frustration over the Vietnam War, and opposition to liberal domestic programs, such as civil rights, and increased civil unrest weakened the Democratic majority, which slowly gave way during the 1970s to a conservative resurgence in 1980.

Alternate View Historians debate when postwar prosperity and optimism gave way to pessimism and a declining standard of living for many Americans. Some identify 1968, a year of assassinations, riots, and intense conflict over the Vietnam War as a starting point. Others point to the mid-1970s, when wage growth stagnated for many average Americans.

Key Concepts

8.1: The United States responded to an uncertain and unstable postwar world by asserting and working to maintain a position of global leadership, with far-reaching domestic and international consequences.

8.2: New movements for civil rights and liberal efforts to expand the role of government generated a range of political and cultural responses.

8.3: Postwar economic and demographic changes had far-reaching consequences for American society, politics, and culture.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

TRUMAN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945–1952

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable. Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

President Harry S. Truman,

Inaugural Address, January 20, 1949

World War II dramatically changed the United States from an isolationist country into a military superpower and a leader in world affairs. After the war, most of the Americans at home and the millions coming back from military service wished to return to normal domestic life and enjoy the revitalized national economy. However, during the Truman presidency, the growing conflict between the Communist Soviet Union and the United States—a conflict that came to be known as the Cold War—dampened the nation’s enjoyment of the postwar boom.

Postwar America

The 15 million American soldiers, sailors, and marines returning to civilian life in 1945 and 1946 faced the problem of finding jobs and housing. Many feared that the end of the war might mean the return of economic hard times. Happily, the fears were not realized because the war years had increased the per-capita income of Americans. Much of that income was tucked away in savings accounts, since wartime shortages meant there had been few consumer goods to buy. Pent-up consumer demand for autos and housing combined with government road-building projects quickly overcame the economic uncertainty after the war and introduced an era of unprecedented prosperity and economic growth. By the 1950s, Americans enjoyed the highest standard of living achieved by any society in history.

GI Bill—Help for Veterans

The Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill of Rights, proved a powerful support during the transition of 15 million veterans to a peacetime economy. More than half the returning GIs (as the men and women in uniform were called) seized the opportunity afforded by the GI Bill to continue their education at government expense. Over 2 million GIs attended college,

which started a postwar boom in higher education. The veterans also received over \$16 billion in low-interest, government-backed loans to buy homes and farms and to start businesses. By focusing on a better educated workforce and also promoting new construction, the federal government stimulated the post-war economic expansion.

Baby Boom

One sign of the basic confidence of the postwar era was an explosion in marriages and births. Younger marriages and larger families resulted in 50 million babies entering the U.S. population between 1945 and 1960. As the *baby boom* generation gradually passed from childhood to adolescence to adulthood, it profoundly affected the nation's social institutions and economic life in the last half of the 20th century. Initially, the baby boom tended to focus women's attention on raising children and homemaking. Nevertheless, the trend of more women in the workplace continued. By 1960, one-third of all married women worked outside the home.

Suburban Growth

The high demand for housing after the war resulted in a construction boom. William J. Levitt led in the development of postwar suburbia with his building and promotion of Levittown, a project of 17,000 mass-produced, low-priced family homes on Long Island, New York. Low interest rates on mortgages that were both government-insured and tax deductible made the move from city to suburb affordable for even families of modest means. In a single generation, the majority of middle-class Americans became suburbanites. For many older inner cities, the effect of the mass movement to suburbia was disastrous. By the 1960s, cities from Boston to Los Angeles became increasingly poor and racially divided.

Rise of the Sunbelt

Uprooted by the war, millions of Americans made moving a habit in the postwar era. A warmer climate, lower taxes, and economic opportunities in defense-related industries attracted many GIs and their families to the Sunbelt states from Florida to California. By transferring tax dollars from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West, military spending during the Cold War helped finance the shift of industry, people, and ultimately political power from one region to the other.

Postwar Politics

Harry S. Truman, a moderate Democratic senator from Missouri, replaced the more liberal Henry Wallace as FDR's vice president in the 1944 election. Thrust into the presidency after Roosevelt's death in April 1945, Truman matured into a decisive leader whose basic honesty and unpretentious style appealed to average citizens. Truman attempted to continue in the New Deal tradition of his predecessor.

Economic Program and Civil Rights

Truman's proposals for full employment and for civil rights for African Americans ran into opposition from conservatives in Congress.

Employment Act of 1946 In September 1945, during the same week that Japan formally surrendered, Truman urged Congress to enact a series of progressive measures, including national health insurance, an increase in the minimum wage, and a bill to commit the U.S. government to maintaining full employment. After much debate, the watered-down version of the full-employment bill was enacted as the Employment Act of 1946. It created the Council of Economic Advisers to counsel both the president and Congress on means of promoting national economic welfare. Over the next seven years, a coalition between Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats, combined with the beginning of the Cold War, hindered passage of most of Truman's domestic program.

Inflation and Strikes Truman urged Congress to continue the price controls of wartime in order to hold inflation in check. Instead, southern Democrats joined with Republicans to relax the controls of the Office of Price Administration. The result was an inflation rate of almost 25 percent during the first year and a half of peace.

Workers and unions wanted wages to catch up after years of wage controls. Over 4.5 million workers went on strike in 1946. Strikes by railroad and mine workers threatened the national safety. Truman took a tough approach to this challenge, seizing the mines and using soldiers to keep them operating until the United Mine Workers finally called off its strike.

Civil Rights Truman was the first modern president to use the powers of his office to challenge racial discrimination. Bypassing southern Democrats who controlled key committees in Congress, the president used his executive powers to establish the Committee on Civil Rights in 1946. He also strengthened the civil rights division of the Justice Department, which aided the efforts of black leaders to end segregation in schools. Most importantly, in 1948 he ordered the end of racial discrimination throughout the federal government, including the armed forces. The end of segregation changed life on military bases, many of which were in the South.

Recognizing the odds against passage of civil rights legislation, Truman nevertheless urged Congress to create a Fair Employment Practices Commission that would prevent employers from discriminating against the hiring of African Americans. Southern Democrats blocked the legislation.

Republican Control of the Eightieth Congress

Unhappy with inflation and strikes, voters were in a conservative mood in the fall of 1946 when they elected Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. Under Republican control, the Eightieth Congress attempted to pass two tax cuts for upper-income Americans, but Truman vetoed both measures. More successful were Republican efforts to amend the Constitution and roll back some of the New Deal gains for labor.

Twenty-second Amendment (1951) Reacting against the election of Roosevelt as president four times, the Republican-dominated Congress proposed a constitutional amendment to limit a president to a maximum of two full terms in office. The 22nd Amendment was ratified by the states in 1951.

Taft-Hartley Act (1947) In 1947, Congress passed the probusiness Taft-Hartley Act. Truman vetoed the measure as a “slave-labor” bill, but Congress overrode his veto. The one purpose of the Republican-sponsored law was to check the growing power of unions. Its provisions included

- outlawing the closed shop (contract requiring workers to join a union *before* being hired)
- permitting states to pass “right to work” laws outlawing the union shop (contract requiring workers to join a union *after* being hired)
- outlawing secondary boycotts (the practice of several unions supporting a striking union by joining a boycott of a company’s products)
- giving the president the power to invoke an 80-day cooling-off period before a strike endangering the national safety could be called

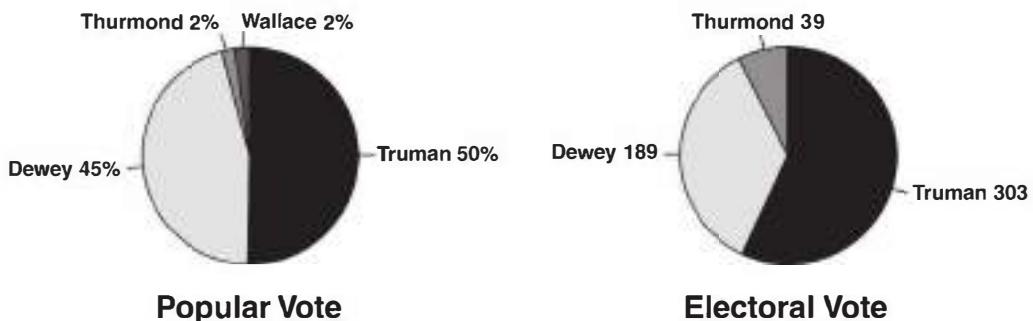
For years afterward, unions sought unsuccessfully to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The act became a major issue dividing Republicans and Democrats in the 1950s.

The Election of 1948

As measured by opinion polls, Truman’s popularity was at a low point as the 1948 campaign for the presidency began. Republicans were confident of victory, especially after both a liberal faction and a conservative faction in the Democratic party abandoned Truman to organize their own third parties. Liberal Democrats, who thought Truman’s aggressive foreign policy threatened world peace, formed a new Progressive party that nominated former vice president Henry Wallace. Southern Democrats also bolted the party in reaction to Truman’s support for civil rights. Their States’ Rights party, better known as the Dixiecrats, chose Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as its presidential candidate.

The Republicans once again nominated New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who looked so much like a winner from the outset that he conducted an overly cautious and unexciting campaign. Meanwhile, the man without a chance toured the nation by rail, attacking the “do-nothing” Republican Eightieth Congress with “give-’em-hell” speeches. The feisty Truman confounded the polling experts with a decisive victory over Dewey, winning the popular vote by 2 million votes and winning the electoral vote 303 to 189. The president had succeeded in reuniting Roosevelt’s New Deal coalition, except for four southern states that went to Thurmond and the Dixiecrats.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1948



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The Fair Deal

Fresh from victory, Truman launched an ambitious reform program, which he called the *Fair Deal*. In 1949, he urged Congress to enact national health care insurance, federal aid to education, civil rights legislation, funds for public housing, and a new farm program. Conservatives in Congress blocked most of the proposed reforms, except for an increase in the minimum wage (from 40 to 75 cents an hour) and the inclusion of more workers under Social Security.

Most of the Fair Deal bills were defeated for two reasons: (1) Truman's political conflicts with Congress, and (2) the pressing foreign policy concerns of the Cold War. Nevertheless, liberal defenders of Truman praised him for at least maintaining the New Deal reforms of his predecessor and making civil rights part of the liberal agenda.

Origins of the Cold War

The Cold War dominated international relations from the late 1940s to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The conflict centered around the intense rivalry between two superpowers: the Communist empire of the Soviet Union and the leading Western democracy, the United States. Superpower competition usually was through diplomacy rather than armed conflict, but, in several instances, the Cold War took the world dangerously close to a nuclear war.

Among historians there is intense debate over how and why the Cold War began. Many analysts see Truman's policies as a reasonable response to Soviet efforts to increase their influence in the world. However, some critics argue that Truman misunderstood and overreacted to Russia's historic need to secure its borders. Other critics have attacked his administration as being weak or "soft" on communism.

U.S.-Soviet Relations to 1945

The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union against the Axis powers was actually a temporary halt in their generally poor relations of the past. Since the Bolshevik Revolution that established a Communist

government in Russia in 1917, Americans had viewed the Soviets as a threat to all capitalistic countries. In the United States, it led to the Red Scare of 1919. The United States refused to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. Even then, after a brief honeymoon period of less than a year, Roosevelt's advisers concluded that Joseph Stalin and the Communists could not be trusted. Confirming their view was the notorious Nonaggression Pact of 1939, in which Stalin and Hitler agreed to divide up Eastern Europe.

Allies in World War II In 1941, Hitler's surprise invasion of the Soviet Union and Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor led to a U.S.–Soviet alliance of convenience—but not of mutual trust. Stalin bitterly complained that the British and Americans waited until 1944 to open a second front in France. Because of this wait, the Soviets bore the brunt of fighting the Nazis. By some estimates, half of all deaths in World War II were Soviets. The postwar conflicts over Central and Eastern Europe were already evident in the negotiations between Britain, the Soviet Union, and the U.S. at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945. Roosevelt hoped that personal diplomacy might keep Stalin in check, but when Truman came to power, he quickly became suspicious of the Soviets.

Postwar Cooperation and the U.N. The founding of the United Nations in the fall of 1945 provided one hopeful sign for the future. The General Assembly of the United Nations was created to provide representation to all member nations, while the 15-member Security Council was given the primary responsibility within the U.N. for maintaining international security and authorizing peacekeeping missions. The five major allies of wartime—the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union—were granted permanent seats and veto power in the U.N. Security Council. Optimists hoped that these nations would be able to reach agreement on international issues. In addition, the Soviets went along with a U.S. proposal to establish an Atomic Energy Commission in the United Nations. They rejected, however, a plan proposed by Bernard Baruch for regulating nuclear energy and eliminating atomic weapons. Rejection of the Baruch Plan was interpreted by some American leaders as proof that Moscow did not have peaceful intentions.

The United States also offered the Soviets participation in the new International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) created at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The bank's initial purpose was to fund rebuilding of a war-torn world. The Soviets, however, declined to participate because they viewed the bank as an instrument of capitalism. The Soviets did join the other Allies in the 1945–1946 Nuremberg trials of 22 top Nazi leaders for war crimes and violations of human rights.

Satellite States in Eastern Europe Distrust turned into hostility beginning in 1946, as Soviet forces remained in occupation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Elections were held by the Soviets—as promised by Stalin at Yalta—but the results were manipulated in favor of Communist candidates. One by one, from 1946 to 1948, Communist dictators, most of them loyal to Moscow, came to power in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Apologists for the Soviets argued that Russia needed buffer

states or satellites (nations under the control of a great power), as a protection against another Hitler-like invasion from the West.

The U.S. and British governments were alarmed by the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe. They regarded Soviet actions in this region as a flagrant violation of self-determination, genuine democracy, and open markets. The British especially wanted free elections in Poland, whose independence had been the issue that started World War II.

Occupation Zones in Germany At the end of the war, the division of Germany and Austria into Soviet, French, British, and U.S. zones of occupation was meant to be only temporary. In Germany, however, the eastern zone under Soviet occupation gradually evolved into a new Communist state, the German Democratic Republic. The conflict over Germany was at least in part a conflict over differing views of national security and economic needs. The Soviets wanted a weak Germany for security reasons and large war reparations for economic reasons. The United States and Great Britain refused to allow reparations from their western zones because both viewed the economic recovery of Germany as important to the stability of Central Europe. The Soviets, fearing a restored Germany, tightened their control over East Germany. Also, since Berlin lay within their zone, they attempted to force the Americans, British, and French to give up their assigned sectors of the city.

Iron Curtain “I’m tired of babying the Soviets,” Truman told Secretary of State James Byrnes in January 1946. News of a Canadian spy ring stealing atomic secrets for the Soviets and continued Soviet occupation of northern Iran further encouraged a get-tough policy in Washington.

In March 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, Truman was present on the speaker’s platform as former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared: “An iron curtain has descended across the continent” of Europe. The iron curtain metaphor was later used throughout the Cold War to refer to the Soviet satellite states of Eastern Europe. Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech called for a partnership between Western democracies to halt the expansion of communism. Did the speech anticipate the Cold War—or help to cause it? Historians still debate this question.

Containment in Europe

Early in 1947, Truman adopted the advice of three top advisers in deciding to “contain” Soviet aggression. His containment policy, which was to govern U.S. foreign policy for decades, was formulated by the secretary of state, General George Marshall; the undersecretary of state, Dean Acheson; and an expert on Soviet affairs, George F. Kennan. In an influential article, Kennan had written that only “a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies” would eventually cause the Soviets to back off their Communist ideology of world domination and live in peace with other nations.

Did the containment policy attempt to do too much? Among the critics who argued that it did was journalist Walter Lippmann, who had coined the term “Cold War.” Lippmann argued that some areas were vital to U.S. security, while others were merely peripheral; some governments deserved U.S. support, but others did

not. American leaders, however, had learned the lesson of Munich (when leaders had given into demands by Hitler for land in 1938) and appeasement well and felt that Communist aggression, wherever it occurred, must be challenged.

The Truman Doctrine

Truman first implemented the containment policy in response to two threats: (1) a Communist-led uprising against the government in Greece, and (2) Soviet demands for some control of a water route in Turkey, the Dardanelles. In what became known as the Truman Doctrine, the president asked Congress in March 1947 for \$400 million in economic and military aid to assist the “free people” of Greece and Turkey against “totalitarian” regimes. While Truman’s alarmist speech may have oversimplified the situation in Greece and Turkey, it gained bipartisan support from Republicans and Democrats in Congress.

The Marshall Plan

After the war, Europe lay in ruins, short of food and deep in debt. The harsh winter of 1946–1947 further demoralized Europeans, who had already suffered through years of depression and war. Discontent encouraged the growth of the Communist party, especially in France and Italy. The Truman administration feared that the western democracies might vote the Communists into power.

In June 1947, George Marshall outlined an extensive program of U.S. economic aid to help European nations revive their economies and strengthen democratic governments. In December, Truman submitted to Congress a \$17 billion European Recovery Program, better known as the Marshall Plan. In 1948, \$12 billion in aid was approved for distribution to the countries of Western Europe over a four-year period. The United States offered Marshall Plan aid to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, but the Soviets refused it, fearing that it would lead to dependence on the United States.

Effects The Marshall Plan worked exactly as Marshall and Truman had hoped. The massive infusion of U.S. dollars helped Western Europe achieve self-sustaining growth by the 1950s and ended any real threat of Communist political successes in that region. It also bolstered U.S. prosperity by greatly increasing U.S. exports to Europe. At the same time, however, it deepened the rift between the non-Communist West and the Communist East.

The Berlin Airlift

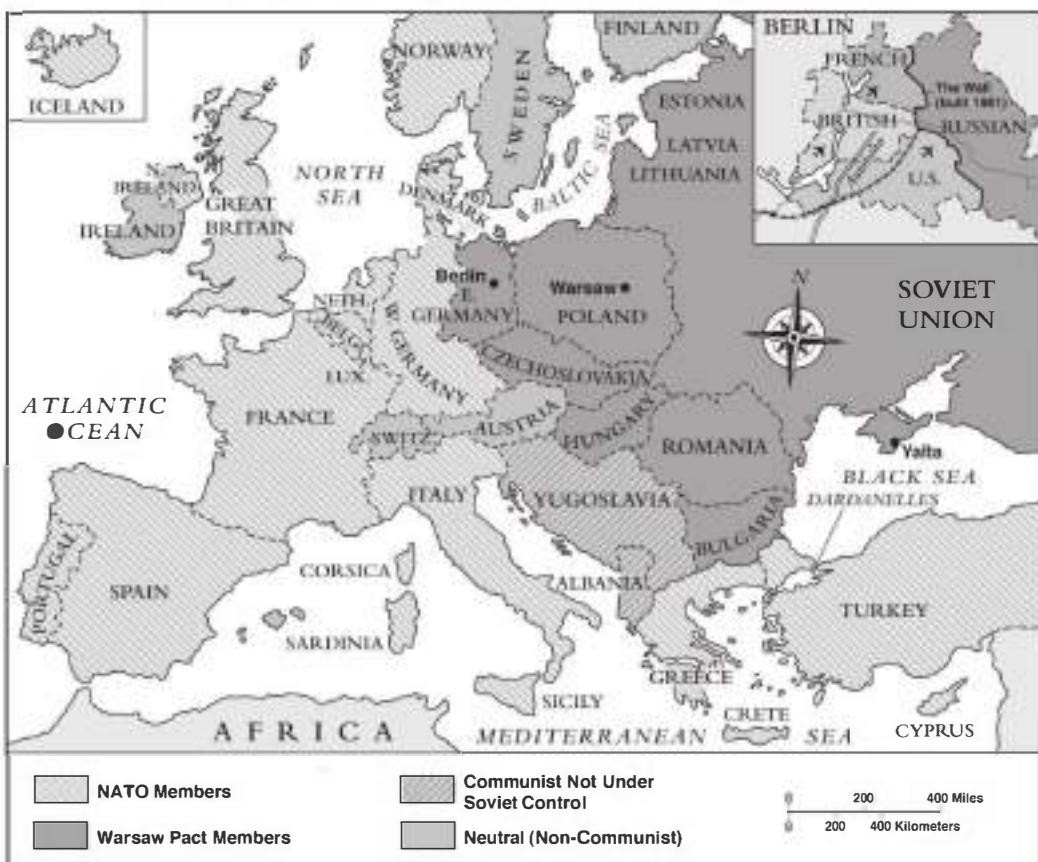
A major crisis of the Cold War focused on Berlin. In June 1948, the Soviets cut off all access by land to the German city. Truman dismissed any plans to withdraw from Berlin, but he also rejected using force to open up the roads through the Soviet-controlled eastern zone. Instead, he ordered U.S. planes to fly in supplies to the people of West Berlin. Day after day, week after week, the massive airlift continued. At the same time, Truman sent 60 bombers capable of carrying atomic bombs to bases in England. The world waited nervously for the outbreak of war, but Stalin decided not to challenge the airlift. (Truman’s stand on Berlin was partly responsible for his victory in the 1948 election.)

By May 1949, the Soviets finally opened up the highways to Berlin, thus bringing their 11-month blockade to an end. A major long-term consequence of the Berlin crisis was the creation of two Germanies: the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany, a U.S. ally) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany, a Soviet satellite).

NATO and National Security

Ever since Washington's farewell address of 1796, the United States had avoided permanent alliances with European nations. Truman broke with this tradition in 1949 by recommending that the United States join a military defense pact to protect Western Europe. The Senate readily gave its consent. Ten European nations joined the United States and Canada in creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance for defending all members from outside attack. Truman selected General Eisenhower as NATO's first Supreme Commander and stationed U.S. troops in Western Europe as a deterrent against a Soviet invasion. Thus, the containment policy led to a military buildup and major commitments abroad. The Soviet Union countered in 1955 by forming the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance for the defense of the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II: THE COLD WAR



National Security Act (1947) The United States had begun to modernize its military capability in 1947 by passing the National Security Act. It provided for (1) a centralized Department of Defense (replacing the War Department) to coordinate the operations of the army, navy, and air force; (2) the creation of the National Security Council (NSC) to coordinate the making of foreign policy in the Cold War; and (3) the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to employ spies to gather information on foreign governments. In 1948, the Selective Service System and a peacetime draft were instituted.

Atomic Weapons After the Berlin crisis, teams of scientists in both the Soviet Union and the United States were engaged in an intense competition—or *arms race*—to develop superior weapons systems. For a period of just four years (1945–1949), the United States was the only nation to have the atomic bomb. It also developed in this period a new generation of long-range bombers for delivering nuclear weapons.

The Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in the fall of 1949. Truman then approved the development of a bomb a thousand times more powerful than the A-bomb that had destroyed Hiroshima. In 1952, this hydrogen bomb (or H-bomb) was added to the U.S. arsenal. Earlier, in 1950, the National Security Council had recommended, in a secret report known as NSC-68, that the following measures were necessary for fighting the Cold War:

- quadruple U.S. government defense spending to 20 percent of GNP
- form alliances with non-Communist countries around the world
- convince the American public that a costly arms buildup was imperative for the nation’s defense

Evaluating U.S. Policy Critics of NATO and the defense buildup argued that the Truman administration intensified Russian fears and started an unnecessary arms race. Regardless, NATO became one of the most successful military alliances in history. In combination with the deterrent power of nuclear weapons, NATO effectively checked Soviet expansion in Europe and thereby maintained an uneasy peace until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

Cold War in Asia

The successful containment policy in Europe could not be duplicated in Asia. Following World War II, the old imperialist system in India and Southeast Asia crumbled, as former colonies became new nations. Because these nations had different cultural and political traditions and bitter memories of Western colonialism, they resisted U.S. influence. Ironically, the Asian nation that became most closely tied to the U.S. defense system was its former enemy, Japan.

Japan

Unlike Germany, Japan was solely under the control of the United States. General Douglas MacArthur took firm charge of the reconstruction of Japan. Seven

Japanese generals, including Premier Hideki Tojo, were tried for war crimes and executed. Under MacArthur's guidance, the new constitution adopted in May 1947 set up a parliamentary democracy. It retained Emperor Hirohito as the ceremonial head of state, but the emperor gave up his claims to divinity. The new constitution also renounced war as an instrument of national policy and provided for only limited military capability. As a result, Japan depended on the military protection of the United States.

U.S.-Japanese Security Treaties With the signing of two treaties in 1951, Japan surrendered its claims to Korea and islands in the Pacific, and the United States ended formal occupation of Japan. One of the treaties also provided for U.S. troops to remain in military bases in Japan for that country's protection against external enemies, particularly Communists. Japan became a strong ally and prospered under the American shield.

The Philippines and the Pacific

On July 4, 1946, in accordance with the act passed by Congress in 1934, the Philippines became an independent republic, but the United States retained important naval and air bases there throughout the Cold War. This, together with U.S. control of the United Nations trustee islands taken from Japan at the end of the war, began to make the Pacific Ocean look like an American lake.

China

Since coming to power in the late 1920s, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jie-shi) had used his command of the Nationalist, or Kuomintang, party to control China's central government. During World War II, the United States had given massive military aid to Chiang to prevent all of China from being conquered by Japan. As soon as the war ended, a civil war dating back to the 1930s was renewed between Chiang's Nationalists and the Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong. The Nationalists were losing the loyalty of millions of Chinese because of runaway inflation and widespread corruption, while the well-organized Communists successfully appealed to the poor landless peasants.

U.S. Policy The Truman administration sent George Marshall in 1946 to China to negotiate an end to the civil war, but his compromise fell apart in a few months. By 1947, Chiang's armies were in retreat. Truman seemed unsure of what to do, after ruling out a large-scale American invasion to rescue Chiang. In 1948, Congress voted to give the Nationalist government \$400 million in aid, but 80 percent of the U.S. military supplies ended up in Communist hands because of corruption and the collapse of the Nationalist armies.

Two Chinas By the end of 1949, all of mainland China was controlled by the Communists. Chiang and the Nationalists had retreated to an island once under Japanese rule, Formosa (Taiwan). From there, Chiang still claimed to be the legitimate government for all of China. The United States continued to support Chiang and refused to recognize Mao Zedong's regime in Beijing (the People's Republic of China) until 30 years later, in 1979.

In the United States, Republicans blamed the Democrats for the “loss of China” to the Communists. In 1950, the two Communist dictators, Stalin and Mao, signed a Sino-Soviet pact, which seemed to provide further proof of a worldwide Communist conspiracy.

The Korean War

After the defeat of Japan, its former colony Korea was divided along the 38th parallel by the victors. Soviet armies occupied Korean territory north of the line, while U.S. forces occupied territory to the south. By 1949 both armies were withdrawn, leaving the North in the hands of the Communist leader Kim Il Sung and the South under the conservative nationalist Syngman Rhee.

Invasion On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army surprised the world, possibly even Moscow, by invading South Korea. Truman took immediate action, applying his containment policy to this latest crisis in Asia. He called for a special session of the U.N. Security Council. Taking advantage of a temporary boycott by the Soviet delegation, the Security Council under U.S. leadership authorized a U.N. force to defend South Korea against the invaders. Although other nations participated in this force, U.S. troops made up most of the U.N. forces sent to help the South Korean army. Commanding the expedition was General Douglas MacArthur. Congress supported the use of U.S. troops in the Korean crisis but failed to declare war, accepting Truman’s characterization of U.S. intervention as merely a “police action.”

Counterattack At first the war in Korea went badly, as the North Koreans pushed the combined South Korean and American forces to the tip of the peninsula. However, General MacArthur reversed the war with a brilliant amphibious assault at Inchon behind the North Korean lines. U.N. forces then proceeded to destroy much of the North Korean army, advancing northward almost as far as the Chinese border. MacArthur failed to heed China’s warnings that it would resist threats to its security. In November 1950, masses of Chinese troops crossed the border into Korea, overwhelmed U.N. forces in one of the worst defeats in U.S. military history, and drove them out of North Korea.

Truman Versus MacArthur MacArthur stabilized the fighting near the 38th parallel. At the same time, he called for expanding the war, including bombing and invading mainland China. As commander in chief, Truman cautioned MacArthur about making public statements that suggested criticism of official U.S. policy. The general spoke out anyway. In April 1951, Truman, with the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recalled MacArthur for insubordination.

MacArthur returned home as a hero. Most Americans understood his statement, “There is no substitute for victory,” better than the president’s containment policy and concept of “limited war.” Critics attacked Truman and the Democrats as appeasers for not trying to destroy communism in Asia.

Armistice In Korea, the war was stalemated along a front just north of the 38th parallel. At Panmunjom, peace talks began in July 1951. The police action dragged on for another two years, however, until an armistice was finally

THE KOREAN WAR



signed in 1953 during the first year of Eisenhower's presidency. More than 2.5 million people died in the Korean conflict, including 54,000 Americans.

Political Consequences From the perspective of the grand strategy of the Cold War, Truman's containment policy in Korea worked. It stopped Communist aggression without allowing the conflict to develop into a world war. The Truman administration used the Korean War as justification for dramatically expanding the military, funding a new jet bomber (the B-52), and stationing more U.S. troops in overseas bases.

However, Republicans were far from satisfied. The stalemate in Korea and the loss of China led Republicans to characterize Truman and the Democrats as "soft on communism." They attacked leading Democrats as members of "Dean Acheson's Cowardly College of Communist Containment." (In 1949, Acheson had replaced George Marshall as secretary of state.)

The Second Red Scare

Just as a Red Scare had followed U.S. victory in World War I, a second Red Scare followed U.S. victory in World War II. The Truman administration's

tendency to see a Communist conspiracy behind civil wars in Europe and Asia contributed to the belief that Communist conspirators and spies had infiltrated American society, including the U.S. State Department and the U.S. military.

Security and Civil Rights

In 1947, the Truman administration—under pressure from Republican critics—set up a Loyalty Review Board to investigate the background of more than 3 million federal employees. Thousands of officials and civil service employees either resigned or lost their jobs in a probe that went on for four years (1947–1951).

Prosecutions Under the Smith Act In addition, the leaders of the American Communist party were jailed for advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government. In the case of *Dennis et al. v. United States* (1951), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act of 1940, which made it illegal to advocate or teach the overthrow of the government by force or to belong to an organization with this objective.

McCarran Internal Security Act (1950) Over Truman's veto, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, which (1) made it unlawful to advocate or support the establishment of a totalitarian government, (2) restricted the employment and travel of those joining Communist-front organizations, and (3) authorized the creation of detention camps for subversives.

Un-American Activities In the House of Representatives, the Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), originally established in 1939 to seek out Nazis, was reactivated in the postwar years to find Communists. The committee not only investigated government officials but also looked for Communist influence in such organizations as the Boy Scouts and in the Hollywood film industry. Actors, directors, and writers were called before the committee to testify. Those who refused to testify were tried for contempt of Congress. Others were blacklisted from the industry.

Cultural Impact The Second Red Scare had a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Creators of the gritty crime dramas in the film noir style, and playwrights, such as Arthur Miller (*Death of a Salesman*, 1949) came under attacks as anti-American. Rodgers and Hammerstein's musical, *South Pacific* (1949), was criticized, especially by southern politicians, as a communistic assault on racial segregation. Loyalty oaths were commonly required of writers and teachers as a condition of employment. The American Civil Liberties Union and other opponents of these security measures argued that the 1st Amendment protected the free expression of unpopular political views and membership in political groups, including the Communist party.

Espionage Cases

The fear of a Communist conspiracy bent on world conquest was supported by a series of actual cases of Communist espionage in Great Britain, Canada, and

the United States. The methods used to identify Communist spies, however, raised serious questions about whether the government was going too far and violating civil liberties in the process.

Hiss Case Whittaker Chambers, a confessed Communist, became a star witness for the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948. His testimony, along with the investigative work of a young member of Congress from California named Richard Nixon, led to the trial of Alger Hiss, a prominent official in the State Department who had assisted Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference. Hiss denied the accusations that he was a Communist and had given secret documents to Chambers. In 1950, however, he was convicted of perjury and sent to prison. Many Americans could not help wondering whether the highest levels of government were infiltrated by Communist spies.

Rosenberg Case When the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in 1949, many Americans were convinced that spies had helped them to steal the technology from the United States. Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist who had worked on the Manhattan Project, admitted giving A-bomb secrets to the Russians. An FBI investigation traced another spy ring to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in New York. After a controversial trial in 1951, the Rosenbergs were found guilty of treason and executed in 1953. Civil rights groups charged that anticommunist hysteria was responsible for the conviction and punishment of the Rosenbergs.

The Rise of Joseph McCarthy

Joseph McCarthy, a Republican senator from Wisconsin, used the growing concern over communism in his reelection campaign. In a speech in 1950, he charged that 205 Communists were still working for the State Department. This sensational accusation was widely publicized in the American press. McCarthy then rode the wave of anticommunist feelings to make himself one of the most powerful men in America. His power was based entirely on people's fear of the damage McCarthy could do if his accusing finger pointed their way.

McCarthy's Tactics Senator McCarthy used a steady stream of unsupported accusations about Communists in government to keep the media focus on himself and to discredit the Truman administration. Working-class Americans at first loved his "take the gloves off" hard-hitting remarks, which were often aimed at the wealthy and privileged in society. While many Republicans disliked McCarthy's ruthless tactics, he was primarily hurting the Democrats before the election of Eisenhower in 1952. He became so popular, however, that even President Eisenhower would not dare to defend his old friend, George Marshall, against McCarthy's untruths.

Army-McCarthy Hearings Finally, in 1954, McCarthy's "reckless cruelty" was exposed on television. A Senate committee held televised hearings on Communist infiltration in the army, and McCarthy was seen as a bully by millions of viewers. In December, Republicans joined Democrats in a Senate censure of McCarthy. The "witch hunt" for Communists (McCarthyism) had played itself out. Three years later, McCarthy died a broken man.

Truman in Retirement

The second Red Scare, the stalemate in Korea, the loss of China, and scandals surrounding several of Truman's advisers made his prospects of reelection unlikely. Truman decided to return to private life in Missouri—a move that he jokingly called his “promotion.” In the election of 1952, Republicans blamed Truman for “the mess in Washington.” In time, however, even Truman’s critics came to respect his many tough decisions and admire his direct, frank character.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHO STARTED THE COLD WAR?

Among U.S. historians, the traditional, or orthodox, view of the origins of the Cold War is that the Soviet government under Stalin started the conflict by subjugating the countries of Eastern Europe in the late 1940s. Historians who share this view criticize FDR for failing to understand the Soviets’ aggressive intentions and for the agreement at Yalta. The traditional view holds that the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and NATO finally checked Soviet expansion in Europe. The United States in the Cold War (as in both world wars) was viewed as the defender of the “free world.”

In the 1960s, during the time of public unhappiness over the Vietnam War, revisionist historians began to argue that the United States contributed to starting the Cold War. These historians praised Roosevelt for understanding Russia’s historical needs for security on its eastern borders. On the other hand, they blamed Truman for antagonizing the Soviets with his blunt challenge of their actions in Poland and the Balkans. Gar Alperovitz (*The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*, 1995) concluded that Truman had dropped atomic bombs on Japan primarily to warn Stalin to remove his troops from Eastern Europe. Other revisionists have also argued that U.S. capitalism’s need for open markets in Europe and Asia was the main reason for the U.S. government’s anti-communist policies.

In the 21st century, John L. Gaddis (*The Cold War: A New History*, 2005), recognized by some as “the dean of Cold War historians,” argued that the causes of the Cold War were rooted in the Big Three’s failure “to reconcile divergent political objectives even as they pursued a common military task” during World War II. Gaddis suggested that objective observers would not have expected a different outcome given that great power rivalries are the normal pattern in history. However, he credits both Truman and Stalin for recognizing how atomic weapons changed the context of war and making decisions that avoided a nuclear war. Gaddis concluded that the most important aspect of the Cold War is what did not happen—a nuclear holocaust.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Postwar Society (WXT, CUL) Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) (1944) early marriages baby boom suburban growth Levittown Sunbelt Harry Truman Employment Act of 1946 Council of Economic Advisers inflation and labor unions Committee on Civil Rights racial integration of military 22nd Amendment Taft-Hartley Act (1947) Election of 1948 (POL) Progressive party Henry Wallace States-Rights party (Dixiecrats) J. Strom Thurmond Thomas Dewey Fair Deal	Origins of the Cold War (WOR) Cold War Soviet Union Joseph Stalin United Nations Security Council World Bank Communist satellites Occupation zones Iron Curtain Winston Churchill historians: traditionalists vs. revisionists Containment in Europe (WOR) George Kennan Dean Acheson containment policy Truman Doctrine Marshall Plan Berlin airlift East Germany West Germany North Atlantic Treaty Organization National Security Act (1947) Nuclear arms race NSC-68	Cold War in Asia (WOR) U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty Douglas MacArthur Chinese civil war Chiang Kai-shek Taiwan Mao Zedong People's Republic of China Korean War Kim Il Sung Syngman Rhee U.N. police action 38th parallel "soft on communism" Second Red Scare (POL, CUL) Loyalty Review Board Smith Act (1940) <i>Dennis et al. v. United States</i> McCarran Internal Security Act (1950) House Un-American Activities Committee Hollywood blacklists freedom of expression in arts Alger Hiss Whittaker Chambers Rosenberg case Joseph McCarthy McCarthyism
---	--	---

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“It is clear that the main element of any United States policy towards the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. . . . It is clear that the United States cannot expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies will reflect no abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, but rather a cautious, persistent pressure towards the disruption and weakening of all rival influence and rival power.”

—Mr. X (George F. Kennan), State Department professional, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947

1. Which one of the following best reflected the policies advocated in the above excerpt?
 - (A) The proposal to militarily roll back Communism in Eastern Europe
 - (B) General MacArthur’s criticism of the concept of limited wars
 - (C) The Truman Doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey
 - (D) George Marshall’s negotiations to end the Chinese civil war
2. Which of the following actions would best implement the goals and strategy of George Kennan?
 - (A) Offering economic aid to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
 - (B) Using the U.S. Army to invade East Germany and liberate West Berlin
 - (C) Reorganizing all military services under the Department of Defense
 - (D) Using economic aid to block the appeal of Communism in Western Europe
3. To implement the policies based on this excerpt, the United States for the first time had to
 - (A) create permanent peacetime alliances with other nations
 - (B) turn over the command of U.S. troops to foreign nations
 - (C) employ spies to gather information on foreign governments
 - (D) get involved in civil wars and nation building

Questions 4–5 refer to the photo below.



Levittown, Long Island, New York, c. 1948. photos.com

4. Levittown is most closely associated with which of the following?
 - (A) The baby boom that occurred after World War II
 - (B) The mass production of affordable suburban housing
 - (C) The impact of the G.I. Bill of Rights on economic development
 - (D) The focus of women after World War II on full time homemaking
5. Which of the following best explains the dramatic increase in personal ownership of homes after World War II?
 - (A) Americans were marrying younger and having larger families
 - (B) Second incomes of married women helped to finance home purchases
 - (C) Mortgages were at low rates, government-insured, and tax deductible
 - (D) Population was shifting to the Southern and Western states

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Truman found saving the free world easier than governing America. . . .

“By the time war broke out in Korea, the Fair Deal was over, Truman had tried to accomplish too much with too little, ending up with practically nothing. Without a liberal majority in Congress there could not be much in the way of liberal legislation.

“Through the Truman years domestic politics was a thing of rags and patches, a time when problems were ignored, programs shelved, and partisanship allowed to run rampant. Yet a recent history of the period 1945–1950 is called The Best Years because that is how they were remembered.”

—William L. O’Neill, historian, *American High*, 1986

6. Which of the following actions is an example of a Fair Deal reform that would best support the passage that “problems were ignored, programs shelved”?
 - (A) Establishing a committee on civil rights
 - (B) Passing national health care insurance
 - (C) Outlawing the practice of closed shop
 - (D) Limiting individuals to two terms as president
7. Which of the following coalitions provided the strongest opposition to Truman’s domestic programs?
 - (A) Republicans and Roosevelt Democrats
 - (B) Antiwar Progressives and Republicans
 - (C) Dixiecrats and the members of the Progressive party
 - (D) Republicans and southern Democrats
8. Which of the following most advanced liberal domestic policies during the Truman administration?
 - (A) The ratification of the 22nd Amendment
 - (B) The executive order ending racial discrimination in the military
 - (C) The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act to outlaw closed shops
 - (D) The successful implementation of wage and price controls

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the excerpt below.

“The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is . . . because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this Nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has to offer—the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government.

“This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been the worst. . . . In my opinion, the State Department . . . is thoroughly infested with Communists.

“I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.”

—Joseph R. McCarthy, Speech to the Women’s Club of Wheeling,
Wheeling, West Virginia, February 1950

1. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE specific postwar event that would support the rhetoric of this excerpt.
- b) Briefly explain ONE specific tactic used by Joseph McCarthy that was condemned as a “witch hunt” or “McCarthyism.”
- c) Briefly explain ONE cause of McCarthy’s appeal to blue-collar Americans.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE significant cause of the Cold War.
- b) Briefly explain how ONE of the following either supported or hindered the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals.
 - U.N. Security Council
 - Marshall Plan
 - NATO
- c) Briefly explain the effects of ONE of the following on the Cold War.
 - Berlin Airlift
 - “Fall” of China
 - Korean War

Question 3 is based on the following excerpt from the song, “You’ve Got to Be Carefully Taught,” from the musical *South Pacific*.

You’ve got to be carefully taught.
You’ve got to be taught to be afraid
Of people whose eyes are oddly made,
And people whose skin is a different shade,
You’ve got to be carefully taught.
You’ve got to be taught before it’s too late,
Before you are six or seven or eight,
To hate all the people your relatives hate,
You’ve got to be carefully taught!

3. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE specific form of racial discrimination that African Americans faced when this musical appeared in 1949.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE way that supporters of segregation attacked works such as *South Pacific*.
 - c) Briefly explain how ONE specific policy of the Truman administration tried to deal with racial discrimination.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE cause of the expansion of higher education after World War II.
- b) Briefly explain ONE significant change in the American family from the period 1929–1945 to the period 1945–1960.
- c) Briefly explain ONE cause of the rapid growth of the Sun Belt after World War II.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: INTRODUCING AN INTERPRETATION

The first sentence of an essay should catch the reader’s attention with a surprising fact, personal connection, or dramatic comment. The first sentence should make the reader want to read more. Which TWO of the following would be the best first sentences essays about the impact of the Cold War on the culture of the United States?

1. Fighting the Cold War threatened to destroy the values it was being fought to defend.
2. The Cold War was not the deadliest war, but it was among the costliest.
3. The Cold War was between the United States and the Soviet Union.

THE EISENHOWER YEARS, 1952–1960

*We conclude that in the field of public education
the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place.
Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.*

Earl Warren, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, May 17, 1954

The 1950s have the popular image of the “happy days,” when the nation prospered and teens enjoyed the new beat of rock-and-roll music. This nostalgic view of the fifties is correct—but limited. The decade started with a war in Korea and the incriminations of McCarthyism. From the point of view of African Americans, what mattered most about the 1950s was not so much the music of Elvis Presley but the resistance of Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King Jr. to segregation in the South. While middle-class suburbanites enjoyed their chrome-trimmed cars and tuned in to *I Love Lucy* on their new television sets, the Cold War and threat of nuclear destruction loomed in the background.

Eisenhower Takes Command

Much as Franklin Roosevelt dominated the 1930s, President Dwight (“Ike”) Eisenhower personified the 1950s. The Republican campaign slogan, “I Like Ike,” expressed the genuine feelings of millions of middle-class Americans. They liked his winning smile and trusted and admired the former general who had successfully commanded Allied forces in Europe in World War II.

The Election of 1952

In 1952, the last year of Truman’s presidency, Americans were looking for relief from the Korean War and an end to political scandals commonly referred to as “the mess in Washington.” Republicans looked forward with relish to their first presidential victory in 20 years. In the Republican primaries, voters had a choice between the Old Guard’s favorite, Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, and the war hero, Eisenhower. Most of them liked “Ike,” who went on to win the Republican nomination. Conservative supporters of Taft balanced the ticket by persuading Eisenhower to choose Richard Nixon for his running mate. This young California senator had made a name for himself attacking Communists in the Alger Hiss case.

The Democrats selected popular Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, whose wit, eloquence, and courage in confronting McCarthyism appealed to liberals.

Campaign Highlights A nonpolitician, Eisenhower had a spotless reputation for integrity that was almost spoiled by reports that his running mate, Richard Nixon, had used campaign funds for his own personal use. Nixon was almost dropped from the ticket. However, he saved his political future by effectively defending himself using the new medium of television. In his so-called Checkers speech, Nixon won the support of millions of viewers by tugging at their heartstrings. With his wife and daughters around him, he emotionally vowed never to return the gift of their beloved dog, Checkers.

What really put distance between the Republicans and the Democrats was Eisenhower's pledge during the last days of the campaign to go to Korea and end the war. The Eisenhower-Nixon ticket went on to win over 55 percent of the popular vote and an electoral college landslide of 442 to Stevenson's 89.

Domestic Policies

As president, Eisenhower adopted a style of leadership that emphasized the delegation of authority. He filled his cabinet with successful corporate executives who gave his administration a businesslike tone. His secretary of defense, for example, was Charles Wilson, the former head of General Motors. Eisenhower was often criticized by the press for spending too much time golfing and fishing and perhaps entrusting important decisions to others. However, later research showed that behind the scenes Eisenhower was in charge.

Modern Republicanism Eisenhower was a fiscal conservative whose first priority was balancing the budget after years of deficit spending. Although his annual budgets were not always balanced, he came closer to curbing federal spending than any of his successors. As a moderate on domestic issues, he accepted most of the New Deal programs as a reality of modern life and even extended some of them. During Eisenhower's two terms in office, Social Security was extended to 10 million more citizens, the minimum wage was raised, and additional public housing was built. In 1953, Eisenhower consolidated welfare programs by creating the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) under Oveta Culp Hobby, the first woman in a Republican cabinet. For farmers, a soil-bank program was initiated as means of reducing farm production and thereby increasing farm income. On the other hand, Eisenhower opposed the ideas of federal health care insurance and federal aid to education.

As the first Republican president since Hoover, Eisenhower called his balanced and moderate approach "modern Republicanism." His critics called it "the bland leading the bland."

Interstate Highway System The most permanent legacy of the Eisenhower years was the passage in 1956 of the Highway Act, which authorized the construction of 42,000 miles of interstate highways linking all the nation's major cities. When completed, the U.S. highway system became a model for

the rest of the world. The justification for new taxes on fuel, tires, and vehicles was to improve national defense. At the same time, this immense public works project created jobs, promoted the trucking industry, accelerated the growth of the suburbs, and contributed to a more homogeneous national culture. The emphasis on cars, trucks, and highways, however, hurt the railroads and ultimately the environment. Little attention was paid to public transportation, on which the old and the poor depended.

Prosperity Eisenhower's domestic legislation was modest. During his years in office, however, the country enjoyed a steady growth rate, with an inflation rate averaging a negligible 1.5 percent. Although the federal budget had a small surplus only three times in eight years, the deficits fell in relation to the national wealth. For these reasons, some historians rate Eisenhower's economic policies the most successful of any modern president's. Between 1945 and 1960, the per-capita disposable income of Americans more than tripled. By the mid-1950s, the average American family had twice the real income of a comparable family during the boom years of the 1920s. The postwar economy gave Americans the highest standard of living in the world.

The Election of 1956

Toward the end of his first term, in 1955, Eisenhower suffered a heart attack and had major surgery in 1956. Democrats questioned whether his health was strong enough for election to a second term. Four years of peace and prosperity, however, made Ike more popular than ever, and the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket was enthusiastically renominated by the Republicans. The Democrats again nominated Adlai Stevenson. In this political rematch, Eisenhower won by an even greater margin than in 1952. It was a personal victory only, however, as the Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress.

Eisenhower and the Cold War

Most of Eisenhower's attention in both his first and second terms focused on foreign policy and various international crises arising from the Cold War. The experienced diplomat who helped to shape U.S. foreign policy throughout Eisenhower's presidency was Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Dulles' Diplomacy

Dulles had been critical of Truman's containment policy as too passive. He advocated a "new look" to U.S. foreign policy that took the initiative in challenging the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. He talked of "liberating captive nations" of Eastern Europe and encouraging the Nationalist government of Taiwan to assert itself against "Red" (Communist) China. Dulles pleased conservatives—and alarmed many others—by declaring that, if the United States pushed Communist powers to the brink of war, they would back down because of American nuclear superiority. His hard line became known as "brinkmanship." In the end, however, Eisenhower prevented Dulles from carrying his ideas to an extreme.

Massive Retaliation Dulles advocated placing greater reliance on nuclear weapons and air power and spending less on conventional forces of the army and navy. In theory, this would save money (“more bang for the buck”), help balance the federal budget, and increase pressure on potential enemies. In 1953, the United States developed the hydrogen bomb, which could destroy the largest cities. Within a year, however, the Soviets caught up with a hydrogen bomb of their own. To some, the policy of massive retaliation looked more like a policy for mutual extinction. Nuclear weapons indeed proved a powerful deterrent against the superpowers fighting an all-out war between themselves, but such weapons could not prevent small “brushfire” wars from breaking out in the developing nations of Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. However, Eisenhower refused to use even small nuclear weapons in these conflicts.

Unrest in the Third World

Decolonization, or the collapse of colonial empires, after World War II may have been the single most important development of the postwar era. Between 1947 and 1962, dozens of colonies in Asia and Africa gained their independence from former colonial powers such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands. In Asia, India and Pakistan became new nations in 1947, and the Dutch East Indies became the independent country of Indonesia in 1949. In Africa, Ghana threw off British colonial rule in 1957, and a host of other nations followed. These new Third World countries (in contrast to the industrialized nations of the Western bloc and the Communist bloc) often lacked stable political and economic institutions. Their need for foreign aid from either the United States or the Soviet Union often made them into pawns of the Cold War.

Covert Action Part of the new look in Eisenhower’s conduct of U.S. foreign policy was the growing use of covert action. Undercover intervention in the internal politics of other nations seemed less objectionable than employing U.S. troops and also proved less expensive. In 1953, the CIA helped overthrow a government in Iran that had tried to nationalize the holding of foreign oil companies. The overthrow of the elected government allowed for the return of Reza Pahlavi as shah (monarch) of Iran. The shah in return provided the West with favorable oil prices and made enormous purchases of American arms.

In Guatemala, in 1954, the CIA overthrew a leftist government that threatened American business interests. U.S. opposition to communism seemed to drive Washington to support corrupt and often ruthless dictators, especially in Latin America. In addition, the CIA, acting in secret and under lax control by civilian officials, planned assassinations of national leaders, such as Fidel Castro of Cuba. CIA operations fueled anti-American feelings, especially in Latin America, but the long-term damage was to U.S. relations with Iran.

Asia

During Eisenhower’s first year in office, some of the most serious Cold War challenges concerned events in East Asia and Southeast Asia.

Korean Armistice Soon after his inauguration in 1953, Eisenhower kept his election promise by going to Korea to visit U.N. forces and see what could be done to stop the war. He understood that no quick fix was possible. Even so, diplomacy, the threat of nuclear war, and the sudden death of Joseph Stalin in March 1953 finally moved China and North Korea to agree to an armistice and an exchange of prisoners in July 1953. The fighting stopped and most (but not all) U.S. troops were withdrawn. Korea would remain divided near the 38th parallel, and despite years of futile negotiations, no peace treaty was ever concluded between North Korea and South Korea.

Fall of Indochina After losing their Southeast Asian colony of Indochina to Japanese invaders in World War II, the French made the mistake of trying to retake it. Wanting independence, native Vietnamese and Cambodians resisted. French imperialism had the effect of increasing support for nationalist and Communist leader Ho Chi Minh. By 1950, the anticolonial war in Indochina became part of the Cold War rivalry between Communist and anticommunist powers. Truman's government started to give U.S. military aid to the French, while China and the Soviet Union aided the Viet Minh guerrillas led by Ho Chi Minh. In 1954, a large French army at Dien Bien Phu was trapped and forced to surrender. After this disastrous defeat, the French tried to convince Eisenhower to send in U.S. troops, but he refused. At the Geneva Conference of 1954, France agreed to give up Indochina, which was divided into the independent nations of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

Division of Vietnam By the terms of the Geneva Conference, Vietnam was to be temporarily divided at the 17th parallel until a general election could be held. The new nation remained divided, however, as two hostile governments took power on either side of the line. In North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh established a Communist dictatorship. In South Vietnam, a government emerged under Ngo Dinh Diem, whose support came largely from anticommunist, Catholic, and urban Vietnamese, many of whom had fled from Communist rule in the North. The general election to unite Vietnam was never held, largely because South Vietnam's government feared that the Communists would win.

From 1955 to 1961, the United States gave over \$1 billion in economic and military aid to South Vietnam in an effort to build a stable, anticommunist state. In justifying this aid, President Eisenhower made an analogy to a row of dominoes. According to this *domino theory* (later to become famous), if South Vietnam fell under Communist control, one nation after another in Southeast Asia would also fall, until Australia and New Zealand were in dire danger.

SEATO To prevent South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia from "falling" to communism, Dulles put together a regional defense pact called the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Agreeing to defend one another in case of an attack within the region, eight nations signed the pact in 1954: the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.

The Middle East

In the Middle East, the United States tried to balance maintaining friendly ties with the oil-rich Arab states while at the same time supporting the new state of Israel. The latter nation was created in 1948 under U.N. auspices, after a civil war in the British mandate territory of Palestine left the land divided between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Israel's neighbors, including Egypt, had fought unsuccessfully to prevent the Jewish state from being formed.

Suez Crisis Led by the Arab nationalist General Gamal Nasser, Egypt asked the United States for funds to build the ambitious Aswan Dam project on the Nile River. The United States refused, in part because Egypt threatened Israel's security. Nasser turned to the Soviet Union to help build the dam. The Soviets agreed to provide limited financing for the project. Seeking another source of funds, Nasser precipitated an international crisis in July 1956 by seizing and nationalizing the British- and French-owned Suez Canal that passed through Egyptian territory. Loss of the canal threatened Western Europe's supply line to Middle Eastern oil. In response to this threat, Britain, France, and Israel carried out a surprise attack against Egypt and retook the canal.

Eisenhower, furious that he had been kept in the dark about the attack by his old allies the British and French, sponsored a U.N. resolution condemning the invasion of Egypt. Under pressure from the United States and world public opinion, the invading forces withdrew.

Eisenhower Doctrine The United States quickly replaced Britain and France as the leading Western influence in the Middle East, but it faced a growing Soviet influence in Egypt and Syria. In a policy pronouncement later known as the *Eisenhower Doctrine*, the United States in 1957 pledged economic and military aid to any Middle Eastern country threatened by communism. Eisenhower first applied his doctrine in 1958 by sending 14,000 marines to Lebanon to prevent a civil war between Christians and Muslims.

OPEC and Oil In Eisenhower's last year in office, 1960, the Arab nations of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran joined Venezuela to form the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Oil was shaping up to be a critical foreign policy issue. The combination of Western dependence on Middle East oil, Arab nationalism, and a conflict between Israelis and Palestinian refugees would trouble American presidents in the coming decades.

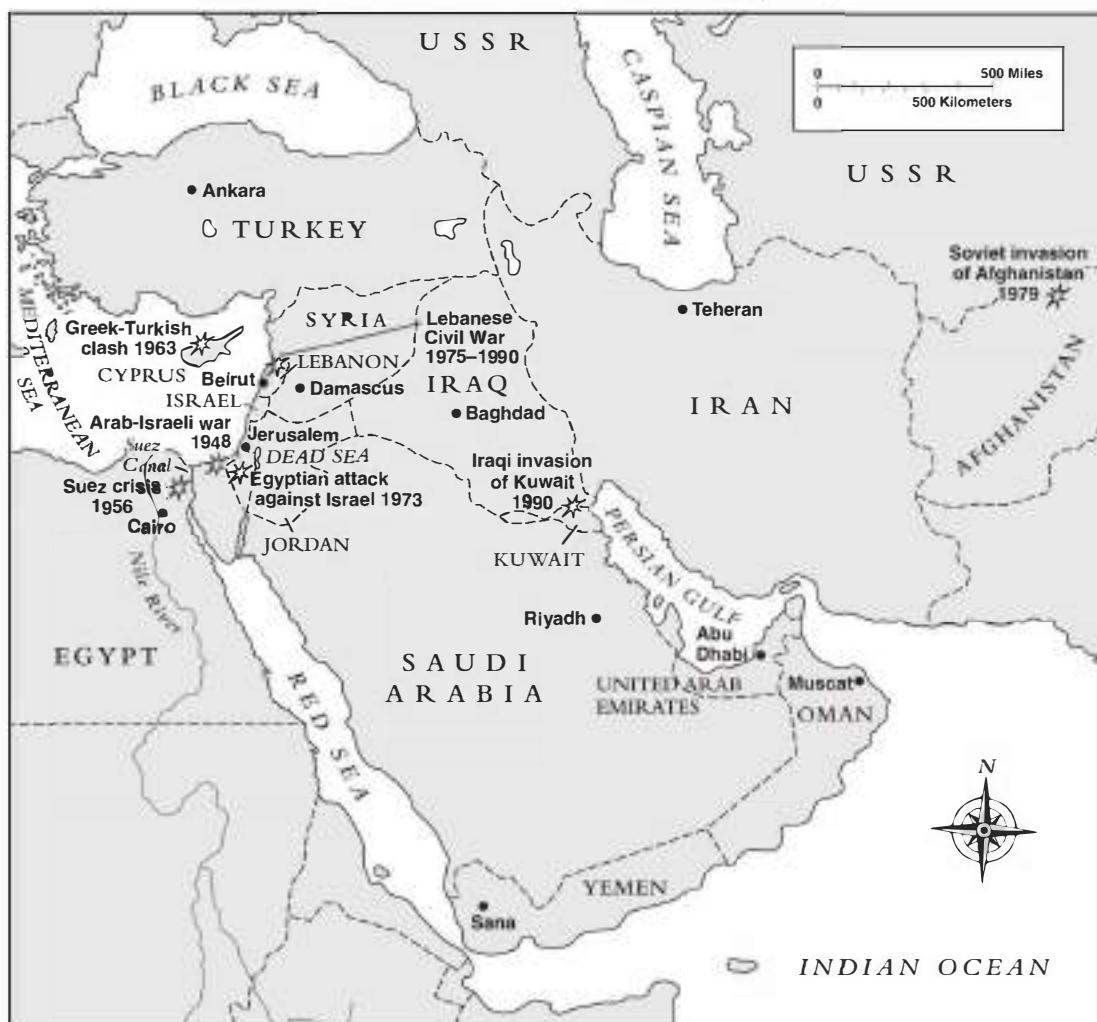
U.S.-Soviet Relations

For U.S. security, nothing was more crucial than U.S. diplomatic relations with its chief political and military rival, the Soviet Union. Throughout Eisenhower's presidency, the relations between the two superpowers fluctuated between periods of relative calm and extreme tension.

Spirit of Geneva After Stalin's death in 1953, Eisenhower called for a slowdown in the arms race and presented to the United Nations an *atoms for peace* plan. The Soviets also showed signs of wanting to reduce Cold War

tensions. They withdrew their troops from Austria (once that country had agreed to be neutral in the Cold War) and established peaceful relations with Greece and Turkey. By 1955, a desire for improved relations on both sides resulted in a summit meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, between Eisenhower and the new Soviet premier, Nikolai Bulganin. At this conference, the U.S. president proposed an “open skies” policy over each other’s territory—open to aerial photography by the opposing nation—in order to eliminate the chance of a surprise nuclear attack. The Soviets rejected the proposal. Nevertheless, the “spirit of Geneva,” as the press called it, produced the first thaw in the Cold War. Even more encouraging, from the U.S. point of view, was a speech by the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in early 1956 in which he denounced the crimes of Joseph Stalin and supported “peaceful coexistence” with the West.

MIDDLE EAST AREAS OF CONFLICT, 1948–1990



Hungarian Revolt The relaxation in the Cold War encouraged workers in East Germany and Poland to demand reforms from their Communist governments. In October 1956, a popular uprising in Hungary actually succeeded in overthrowing a government backed by Moscow. The new, more liberal leaders wanted to pull Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact, the Communist security organization. This was too much for the Kremlin, and Khrushchev sent in Soviet tanks to crush the freedom fighters and restore control over Hungary. The United States took no action in the crisis. Eisenhower feared that sending troops to aid the Hungarians would touch off a major war in Europe. In effect, by allowing Soviet tanks to roll into Hungary, the United States gave de facto recognition to the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe and ended Dulles' talk of "liberating" this region. Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolt also ended the first thaw in the Cold War.

Sputnik Shock In 1957, the Soviet Union shocked the United States by launching the first satellites, *Sputnik I* and *Sputnik II*, into orbit around the earth. Suddenly, the technological leadership of the United States was open to question. To add to American embarrassment, U.S. rockets designed to duplicate the Soviet achievement failed repeatedly.

What was responsible for this scientific debacle? American schools became the ready target for criticism of their math and science instruction and failure to produce more scientists and engineers. In 1958, Congress responded with the National Defense and Education Act (NDEA), which authorized giving hundreds of millions in federal money to the schools for math, science, and foreign language education. Congress in 1958 also created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), to direct the U.S. efforts to build missiles and explore outer space. Billions were appropriated to compete with the Russians in the space race.

Fears of nuclear war were intensified by *Sputnik*, since the missiles that launched the satellites could also deliver thermonuclear warheads anywhere in the world in minutes, and there was no defense against them.

Second Berlin Crisis "We will bury capitalism," Khrushchev boasted. With new confidence and pride based on *Sputnik*, the Soviet leader pushed the Berlin issue in 1958 by giving the West six months to pull its troops out of West Berlin before turning over the city to the East Germans. The United States refused to yield. To defuse the crisis, Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the United States in 1959. At the presidential retreat of Camp David in Maryland, the two agreed to put off the crisis and scheduled another summit conference in Paris for 1960.

U-2 Incident The friendly "spirit of Camp David" never had a chance to produce results. Two weeks before the planned meeting in Paris, the Russians shot down a high-altitude U.S. spy plane—the U-2—over the Soviet Union. The incident exposed a secret U.S. tactic for gaining information. After its

open-skies proposals had been rejected by the Soviets in 1955, the United States had decided to conduct regular spy flights over Soviet territory to find out about its enemy's missile program. Eisenhower took full responsibility for the flights—*after* they were exposed by the U-2 incident—but his honesty proved to be a diplomatic mistake. Khrushchev denounced the United States and walked out of the Paris summit to temporarily end the thaw in the Cold War.

Communism in Cuba

Perhaps more alarming than any other Cold War development during the Eisenhower years was the loss of Cuba to communism. A bearded revolutionary, Fidel Castro, overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. At first, no one knew whether Castro's politics would be better or worse than those of his ruthless predecessor. Once in power, however, Castro nationalized American-owned businesses and properties in Cuba. Eisenhower retaliated by cutting off U.S. trade with Cuba. Castro then turned to the Soviets for support. He also revealed that he was a Marxist and soon proved it by setting up a Communist totalitarian state. With communism only 90 miles off the shores of Florida, Eisenhower authorized the CIA to train anticommunist Cuban exiles to retake their island, but the decision to go ahead with the scheme was left up to the next president, Kennedy.

Eisenhower's Legacy

After leaving the White House, Eisenhower claimed credit for checking Communist aggression and keeping the peace without the loss of American lives in combat. He also started the long process of relaxing tensions with the Soviet Union. In 1958, he initiated the first arms limitations by voluntarily suspending above-ground testing of nuclear weapons.

“Military-Industrial Complex” In his farewell address as president, Eisenhower spoke out against the negative impact of the Cold War on U.S. society. He warned the nation to “guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex.” If the outgoing president was right, the arms race was taking on a momentum and logic all its own. It seemed to some Americans in the 1960s that the United States was in danger of going down the path of ancient Rome by turning into a military, or imperial, state.

The Civil Rights Movement

While Eisenhower was concentrating on Cold War issues, events with revolutionary significance to race relations were developing within the United States.

Origins of the Movement

The baseball player Jackie Robinson had broken the color line in 1947 by being hired by the Brooklyn Dodgers as the first African American to play on a major league team since the 1880s. President Truman integrated the armed forces in 1948 and introduced civil rights legislation in Congress. These were the first well-publicized indications that race relations after World War II were changing. As the 1950s began, however, African Americans in the South were still by law segregated from whites in schools and in most public facilities. They were also kept from voting by poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and intimidation. Social segregation left most of them poorly educated, while economic discrimination kept them in a state of poverty.

Changing Demographics The origins of the modern civil rights movement can be traced back to the movement of millions of African Americans from the rural South to the urban centers of the South and the North. In the North, African Americans, who joined the Democrats during the New Deal, had a growing influence in party politics in the 1950s.

Changing Attitudes in the Cold War The Cold War also played an indirect role in changing both government policies and social attitudes. The U.S. reputation for freedom and democracy was competing against Communist ideology for the hearts and minds of the peoples of Africa and Asia. Against this global background, racial segregation and discrimination stood out as glaring wrongs that needed to be corrected. President Truman took one step in this direction by desegregation the military in 1948.

Desegregating the Schools

The NAACP had been working through the courts for decades trying to overturn the Supreme Court's 1896 decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which allowed segregation in "separate but equal" facilities. In the late 1940s, the NAACP won a series of cases involving higher education.

Brown Decision One of the great landmark cases in Supreme Court history was argued in the early 1950s by a team of NAACP lawyers led by Thurgood Marshall. In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, they argued that segregation of black children in the public schools was unconstitutional because it violated the 14th Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws." In May 1954, the Supreme Court agreed with Marshall and overturned the Plessy case. Writing for a unanimous Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren ruled that (1) "separate facilities are inherently unequal" and unconstitutional, and (2) school segregation should end with "all deliberate speed."

Resistance in the South Opposition to the Brown decision erupted throughout the South. To start with, 101 members of Congress signed the "Southern Manifesto" condemning the Supreme Court for a "clear abuse of judicial power." States fought the decision several ways, including the temporary closing of the public schools and setting up private schools. The Ku Klux Klan made a comeback, and violence against blacks increased. In Arkansas in

1956, Governor Orval Faubus used the state's National Guard to prevent nine African American students from entering Little Rock Central High School, as ordered by a federal court. President Eisenhower then intervened. While the president did not actively support desegregation or the Brown decision, he understood his constitutional duty to uphold federal authority. Eisenhower ordered federal troops to stand guard in Little Rock and protect black students. Resistance remained stubborn. In 1964, ten years after the Supreme Court decision, less than 2 percent of blacks in the South attended integrated schools.



Source: Marion Post Wolcott, Memphis, 1939. Library of Congress

Montgomery Bus Boycott

In 1955, as a Montgomery, Alabama, bus took on more white passengers, the driver ordered a middle-aged black woman to give up her seat to one of them. Rosa Parks refused and her arrest for violating the segregation law sparked a massive African American protest in the form of a boycott of the city buses. The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., minister of the Baptist church where the boycott started, soon emerged as the inspirational leader of a nonviolent movement to end segregation. The protest touched off by Rosa Parks and the Montgomery boycott resulted in the Supreme Court ruling that segregation laws were unconstitutional. The boycott also sparked other civil rights protests that reshaped America over the coming decades.

Federal Laws

Signed into law by President Eisenhower, two civil rights laws of 1957 and 1960 were the first such laws to be enacted by the U.S. Congress since Reconstruction. They were modest in scope, providing for a permanent Civil Rights Commission and giving the Justice Department new powers to protect the voting rights of blacks. Despite this legislation, southern officials still used an arsenal of obstructive tactics to discourage African Americans from voting.

Nonviolent Protests

What the government would not do, the African American community did for itself. In 1957, Martin Luther King Jr. formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which organized ministers and churches in the South to get behind the civil rights struggle. In February 1960, college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, started the sit-in movement after being refused service at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter. To call attention to the injustice of segregated facilities, students would deliberately invite arrest by sitting in restricted areas. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed a few months later to keep the movement organized. In the 1960s, African Americans used the sit-in tactic to integrate restaurants, hotels, buildings, libraries, pools, and transportation throughout the South.

The results of the boycotts, sit-ins, court rulings, and government responses to pressure marked a turning point in the civil rights movement. Progress was slow, however. In the 1960s, a growing impatience among many African Americans would be manifested in violent confrontations in the streets.

Immigration Issues in the Postwar Years

Congress dropped the bans on Chinese and other Asian immigrants and eliminated “race” as a barrier to naturalization, but the quota system remained in place until 1965. Puerto Ricans, as American citizens, could enter the United States without restrictions. However, Mexicans faced a choice of working under contract in the *braceros* program, entering as a regulated legal immigrant, or crossing the border as “illegals.” In the early 1950s, U.S. officials, responding to complaints from native-born workers and from Mexico, launched Operation Wetback, which forced an estimate 3.8 million people to return to Mexico. Mexicans migrants remaining in the United States often faced discrimination and exploitation by commercial farmers.

Popular Culture in the Fifties

Among white suburbanites, the 1950s were marked by similarities in social norms. Consensus about political issues and conformity in social behavior were safe harbors for Americans troubled by the foreign ideology of communism. At the same time, consensus and conformity were the hallmarks of a consumer-driven mass economy.

Consumer Culture and Conformity

Television, advertising, and the middle-class movement to the suburbs contributed mightily to the growing homogeneity of American culture.

Television Little more than a curiosity in the late 1940s, television suddenly became a center of family life in millions of American homes. By 1961, there were 55 million TV sets, about one for every 3.3 Americans. Television programming in the fifties was dominated by three national networks, which presented viewers with a bland menu of situation comedies, westerns, quiz shows, and professional sports. FCC chairman Newton Minnow criticized television as a “vast wasteland” and worried about the impact on children of a steady dose of five or more hours of daily viewing. Yet the culture portrayed on television—especially for third and fourth generations of white ethnic Americans—provided a common content for their common language.

Advertising In all the media (television, radio, newspapers, and magazines), aggressive advertising by name brands promoted common material wants, and the introduction of suburban shopping centers and the plastic credit card in the 1950s provided a quick means of satisfying them. The phenomenal proliferation of chains of fast food restaurants on the roadside was one measure of success for the new marketing techniques and standardized products as the nation turned from “mom and pop” stores to franchise operations.

Paperbacks and Records Despite television, Americans read more than ever. Paperback books, an innovation in the 1950s, were selling almost a million copies a day by 1960. Popular music was revolutionized by the mass marketing of inexpensive, long-playing (LP) record albums and stacks of 45 rpm records. Teenagers fell in love with rock-and-roll music, a blend of African American rhythm and blues with white country music, popularized by the gyrating Elvis Presley.

Corporate America In the business world, conglomerates with diversified holdings began to dominate such industries as food processing, hotels, transportation, insurance, and banking. For the first time in history, more American workers held white-collar jobs than blue-collar jobs. To work for one of *Fortune* magazine’s top 500 companies seemed to be the road to success. Large corporations of this era promoted teamwork and conformity, including a dress code for male workers of a dark business suit, white shirt, and a conservative tie. The social scientist William Whyte documented this loss of individuality in his book *The Organization Man* (1956).

Big unions became more powerful after the merger of the AF of L and the CIO in 1955. They also became more conservative, as blue-collar workers began to enjoy middle-class incomes.

For most Americans, conformity was a small price to pay for the new affluence of a home in the suburbs, a new automobile every two or three years, good schools for the children, and maybe a vacation at the recently opened Disneyland (1955) in California.

Religion Organized religions expanded dramatically after World War II with the building of thousands of new churches and synagogues. Will Herberg's book *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1955) commented on the new religious tolerance of the times and the lack of interest in doctrine, as religious membership became a source of both individual identity and socialization.

Women's Roles

The baby boom and running a home in the suburbs made homemaking a full-time job for millions of women. The traditional view of a woman's role as caring for home and children was reaffirmed in the mass media and in the best-selling self-help book, *Baby and Child Care* (1946) by Dr. Benjamin Spock.

At the same time, evidence of dissatisfaction was growing, especially among well-educated women of the middle class. More married women, especially as they reached middle age, entered the workforce. Yet male employers in the 1950s saw female workers primarily as wives and mothers, and women's lower wages reflected this attitude.

Social Critics

Not everybody approved of the social trends of the 1950s. In *The Lonely Crowd* (1958), Harvard sociologist David Riesman criticized the replacement of "inner-directed" individuals in society with "other-directed" conformists. In *The Affluent Society* (1958), economist John Kenneth Galbraith wrote about the failure of wealthy Americans to address the need for increased social spending for the common good. (Galbraith's ideas were to influence the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the next decade.) Sociologist C. Wright Mills portrayed dehumanizing corporate worlds in *White Collar* (1951) and threats to freedom in *The Power Elite* (1956).

Novels Some of the most popular novelists of the 1950s wrote about the individual's struggle against conformity. J. D. Salinger provided a classic commentary on "phoniness" as viewed by a troubled teenager in *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951). Joseph Heller satirized the stupidity of the military and war in *Catch-22* (1961).

"Beatniks" A group of rebellious writers and intellectuals made up the Beat Generation of the 1950s. Led by Jack Kerouac (*On the Road*, 1957) and poet Allen Ginsberg ("Howl," 1956), they advocated spontaneity, use of drugs, and rebellion against societal standards. The beatniks would become models for the youth rebellion of the 1960s.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: A SILENT GENERATION?

Among intellectuals, a commonly held view of the 1950s was that Americans had become complacent in their political outlook—a “silent generation” presided over by a grandfatherly and passive President Eisenhower. Liberal academics believed that McCarthyism had stopped any serious or critical discussion of the problems in American society. Eisenhower’s policies and their general acceptance by most voters seemed a bland consensus of ideas that would bother no one. Critics contrasted the seeming calm of the 1950s with the more “interesting” social and cultural revolution of the next decade.

Over time, historians have treated the 1950s with more respect. Research into the Eisenhower papers has revealed a president who used a hidden-hand approach to leadership. Behind the scenes, he was an active and decisive administrator who was in full command of his presidency. His domestic policies achieved sustained economic growth, and his foreign policy relaxed international tensions. Such accomplishments no longer looked boring to historians writing after decades of economic dislocations and stagnant or declining incomes.

Reflecting this more generous view of Eisenhower is William O’Neill’s *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945–1960* (1987). O’Neill argues that Eisenhower led a needed and largely successful economic and social postwar “reconstruction.” He and other historians emphasize that the 1950s prepared the way for both the liberal reforms of the 1960s and the conservative politics of the 1980s. Achievements of women, African Americans, and other minorities in a later era were made possible by changes in the fifties. Furthermore, the integration of Catholics, Jews, and other white ethnics into American society during the postwar years made it possible for Kennedy to be elected the first Irish Catholic president in 1960.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p>Domestic Politics (POL)</p> <p>elections of 1952, 1956</p> <p>Dwight Eisenhower</p> <p>Adlai Stevenson</p> <p>Richard Nixon</p> <p>modern Republicanism</p> <p>Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW)</p> <p>soil-bank program</p> <p>Highway Act (1956); interstate highway system</p>	<p>US Policy in Middle East (WOR)</p> <p>State of Israel (1948)</p> <p>Arab nationalism</p> <p>Suez Canal crisis (1956)</p> <p>Eisenhower Doctrine</p> <p>Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)</p>	<p>Earl Warren</p> <p>Southern Manifesto</p> <p>Little Rock crisis</p> <p>Rosa Parks</p> <p>Montgomery bus boycott</p> <p>Martin Luther King Jr.</p> <p>Civil Rights acts of 1957, 1960</p> <p>Civil Rights Commission</p> <p>Southern Christian Leadership Conference</p> <p>nonviolent protest</p> <p>sit-in movement</p> <p>Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee</p> <p>immigration issues</p> <p>Operation Wetback</p>
<p>"New Look" Foreign Policy (WOR)</p> <p>John Foster Dulles</p> <p>"brinksmanship"</p> <p>massive retaliation</p> <p>decolonization</p> <p>India, Pakistan, Indonesia</p> <p>Third World</p> <p>CIA, covert action</p> <p>Iranian overthrow</p>	<p>US-Soviet Relations (WOR)</p> <p>atoms for peace</p> <p>"spirit of Geneva"</p> <p>open-skies</p> <p>Nikita Khrushchev</p> <p>peaceful coexistence</p> <p>Hungarian revolt</p> <p>Warsaw Pact</p> <p>Sputnik (1957)</p> <p>NDEA, NASA</p> <p>U-2 incident</p> <p>Cuba, Fidel Castro</p> <p>military-industrial complex</p>	<p>1950's Culture (CUL)</p> <p>homogeneity</p> <p>popular culture</p> <p>paperbacks</p> <p>television</p> <p>rock and roll</p> <p>consumer culture</p> <p>fast food</p> <p>credit cards</p> <p>conglomerates</p> <p>social critics</p> <p><i>The Lonely Crowd</i></p> <p><i>The Affluent Society</i></p> <p><i>The Catcher in the Rye</i></p> <p><i>Catch-22</i></p> <p>beatniks</p>
<p>US Policy in Asia (WOR)</p> <p>Korean armistice</p> <p>Indochina</p> <p>Ho Chi Minh</p> <p>Geneva Conference (1954)</p> <p>division of Vietnam</p> <p>domino theory</p> <p>Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (1954)</p>	<p>Civil Rights in 1950s (POL, NAT)</p> <p>Jackie Robinson</p> <p>causes of movement</p> <p>NAACP</p> <p>desegregation</p> <p>Thurgood Marshall</p> <p><i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i> (1954)</p>	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities? We believe that it does.

“[I]n finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this court relied in large part on ‘those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school.’

“Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . .

“We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs . . . [are] deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.”

—Supreme Court, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*,
May 17, 1954

1. The *Brown* decision was controversial for a variety of reasons, but which of the following is most evident in this selection?
 - (A) Most of the all-black schools were not physically equal
 - (B) The decision was based on tangible, or physical, factors
 - (C) The Court condemned segregated schools only in the South
 - (D) The Court used psychological evidence to support their case
2. Which of the following best describes the initial reaction to the *Brown* decision?
 - (A) Southern leaders supported the decision, but the voters did not
 - (B) President Eisenhower provided active support for the decision
 - (C) Resistance was widespread and initially few schools were integrated
 - (D) It was implemented with little opposition in larger cities

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“Why is it that in the twelve years that have passed since the end of World War II, the United States which was so far in the lead has been losing its lead to the Russians. . . .

“Our people have been led to believe in the enormous fallacy that the highest purpose of the American social order is to multiply the enjoyment of consumer goods. As a result, our public institutions, particularly those having to do with education and research, have been . . . scandalously starved.

“With prosperity acting as a narcotic . . . our public life has been increasingly doped and without purpose. With the President in a kind of partial retirement . . . we drift, with no one to state our purposes and to make policy.”

—Walter Lippmann, journalist, essay written six days
after *Sputnik*, October 1957

3. Which of the following would most likely support the recommendations of this excerpt?
 - (A) Building more suburban shopping centers
 - (B) Increasing the sales of televisions
 - (C) Creating the National Aeronautic and Space Administration
 - (D) Expanding tax breaks for American corporations
4. Which of the following took the most criticism after the shocking success of Russia’s *Sputnik*?
 - (A) American educational system
 - (B) United States Air Force
 - (C) Television programming
 - (D) United States Congress
5. Recent historians would argue that Lippmann was
 - (A) not concerned enough about the strength of the Soviet Union
 - (B) unaware of how engaged Eisenhower actually was
 - (C) right to be critical of American culture in the 1950s
 - (D) expressing a view commonly held by Republicans

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Eisenhower was the first American president to have atomic weapons and not use them. . . . He refused when his advisers begged him to use those weapons and when they urged him to develop plans for fighting smaller nuclear wars in remote areas of the world. We can only wonder how humanity’s course might have been different if Eisenhower acceded to those who believed America would have been best served by use of the weapons under his control.

“But, he was not always right. He was enamored of covert action, and he did not fully apprehend the moral imperatives of civil rights. . . . If Earl Warren and the Supreme Court sometimes baffled or annoyed him . . . when the South threatened to defy the court, Ike restored order and supremacy by force, as only he could.”

—Jim Newton, historian, *Eisenhower: The White House Years*, 2011

6. Which of the following would best support the sentiments found in this excerpt?
 - (A) Poor advisers in the White House resulted in poor policies
 - (B) Small tactical nuclear weapons could be used as battlefield weapons
 - (C) Eisenhower was baffled by many of the problems that faced him
 - (D) Eisenhower was a decisive president who avoided nuclear war
7. Which of the following would most likely support the author’s perspective that Eisenhower “was not always right”?
 - (A) Eisenhower’s leadership style emphasized the delegation of authority
 - (B) Eisenhower supported the overthrow of the elected government of Iran
 - (C) Eisenhower failed to balance five out of the eight federal budgets
 - (D) Eisenhower ignored the environmental impact of the Interstate Highway Act
8. Which of the following best supports the observation that “Ike restored order and supremacy by force”?
 - (A) Using “modern Republicanism” to defeat the Democrats
 - (B) Sending U.S. troops into Indochina
 - (C) Ordering federal troops to Little Rock Central High School
 - (D) Supporting the “brinkmanship” policies of John Foster Dulles

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain how Eisenhower handled ONE of the following issues.
 - Suez crisis
 - Hungarian revolt
 - U-2 incident
- b) Briefly explain ONE example of how a foreign policy of President Eisenhower's was either similar to or different from that of his predecessor.
- c) Briefly explain ONE effect Castro's takeover of Cuba had on U.S. policy.

Question 2 is based on the following photo.



Source:
©ClassicStock/
Alamy

2. Using the photo, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly analyze ONE effect of television on society during the 1950s.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE criticism of television during the 1950s.
 - c) Briefly explain the primary role of women during the 1950s.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE impact of “modern Republicanism” on the Republican Party.
- b) Briefly explain ONE effect of the Highway Act of 1956.
- c) Briefly explain ONE of Eisenhower’s concerns about the “military-industrial complex.”

Question 4 is based on the excerpt below.

“Except for blacks, who grew increasingly militant in fighting against racial injustice, young people who were unhappy with the status quo did not much concern themselves with larger political or social problems. Most educators in the 1950s detected a ‘silent generation,’ both in the schools and in the burgeoning universities.”

—James T. Patterson, historian, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*, 1996

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE example that would support the author’s comment about young African Americans during the 1950s.
 - b) Briefly analyze ONE factor in postwar America that likely promoted a “silent generation” in the 1950s.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE example of social or literary criticism of the conformity of the 1950s.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATING A CONCLUSION USING SYNTHESIS

Synthesizing is combining two or more bits of information to create a new idea. Often, the conclusion of an essay includes a statement that summarizes the points of the essay by combining them. Which ONE of the following statements most clearly expresses a synthesis of information?

1. The success of Jackie Robinson in integrating major league baseball demonstrates how race relations were changing in the United States.
2. *The Catcher in the Rye* is an example of the conflict between individualism and conformity.
3. In the 1940s and 1950s, relations with the Soviets, postwar policies in Germany, and the Suez Crisis show how quickly relations between countries change.
4. The domino theory about the spread of communism later proved to be incorrect.

PROMISE AND TURMOIL, THE 1960S

Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage. . . . Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.

John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961

The 1960s were in many ways both the best and the worst of times. On the one hand, the postwar economic prosperity peaked in the 1960s. At the same time, racial strife, a controversial war in Vietnam, and student radicalism started to tear the country apart. The proud superpower began to learn its limits both in the jungles of Vietnam and on the streets at home.

John F. Kennedy's New Frontier

The decade began with an election that proved symbolic of the changes that were to come.

The Election of 1960

President Eisenhower had not been able to transfer his popularity to other Republicans, and the Democrats retained control of Congress through Eisenhower's last two years in office.

Nixon At their 1960 convention, the Republicans unanimously nominated Richard Nixon for president. During his eight years as Eisenhower's vice president, Nixon had gained a reputation as a statesman in his diplomatic travels to Europe and South America. In a visit to Moscow, he stood up to Nikita Khrushchev in the so-called kitchen debate (which took place in a model of an American kitchen) over the relative merits of capitalism and communism. Still young at 47, Nixon was known to be a tough and seasoned campaigner.

Kennedy Early in 1960, several Democrats believed they had a chance at the nomination. Liberal Democrats Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois were in the contest, and southern Democrats supported

the Senate majority leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. In the primaries, however, a charismatic, wealthy, and youthful 43-year-old senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, defeated his rivals. Going into the convention, he had just enough delegates behind him to win the nomination. To balance the ticket, the New Englander chose a Texan, Lyndon B. Johnson, to be his vice presidential running mate—a choice that proved critical in carrying southern states in the November election.

Campaign The new medium of television was perhaps the most decisive factor in the close race between the two youthful campaigners, Nixon and Kennedy. In the first of four televised debates—the first such debates in campaign history—Kennedy appeared on-screen as more vigorous and comfortable than the pale and tense Nixon. On the issues, Kennedy attacked the Eisenhower administration for the recent recession and for permitting the Soviets to take the lead in the arms race. In reality, what Kennedy called a “missile gap” was actually in the U.S. favor, but his charges seemed plausible after *Sputnik*. As the first Catholic presidential candidate since Al Smith (1928), Kennedy’s religion became an issue in the minds of some voters. Religious loyalties helped Nixon in rural Protestant areas but helped Kennedy in the large cities.

Results In one of the closest elections in U.S. history, Kennedy defeated Nixon by a little more than 100,000 popular votes, and by a slightly wider margin of 303 to 219 in the electoral college. Many Republicans, including Nixon, felt the election had been stolen by Democratic political machines in states like Illinois and Texas by stuffing ballot boxes with “votes” of the deceased.

Domestic Policy

At 43, Kennedy was the youngest candidate ever to be elected president. His energy and sharp wit gave a new, personal style to the presidency. In his inaugural address, Kennedy spoke of “the torch being passed to a new generation” and promised to lead the nation into a New Frontier. The Democratic president surrounded himself with both business executives such as Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and academics such as economist John Kenneth Galbraith. For the sensitive position of attorney general, the president chose his younger brother, Robert. John Kennedy and his wife, Jacqueline (“Jackie”), brought style, glamour, and an appreciation of the arts to the White House. The press loved Kennedy’s news conferences, and some later likened his administration to the mythical kingdom of Camelot and the court of King Arthur, the subject of a then-popular Broadway musical.

New Frontier Programs The promises of the New Frontier proved difficult to keep. Kennedy called for aid to education, federal support of health care, urban renewal, and civil rights, but his domestic programs languished in Congress. While few of Kennedy’s proposals became law during his thousand-day administration, most were passed later under President Johnson.

On economic issues, Kennedy had some success. He faced down big steel executives over a price increase he charged was inflationary and achieved a price rollback. In addition, the economy was stimulated by increased spending

for defense and space exploration, as the president committed the nation to land on the moon by the end of the decade.

Foreign Affairs

With his domestic programs often blocked, Kennedy increasingly turned his attention to foreign policy issues. In 1961, he set up the Peace Corps, an organization that recruited young American volunteers to give technical aid to developing countries. Also in 1961, he organized the Alliance for Progress, which promoted land reform and economic development in Latin America. Kennedy did persuade Congress to pass the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which authorized tariff reductions with the recently formed European Economic Community (Common Market) of Western European nations.

Bay of Pigs Invasion (1961) Kennedy made a major blunder shortly after entering office. He approved a Central Intelligence Agency scheme planned under the Eisenhower administration to use Cuban exiles to overthrow Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba. In April 1961, the CIA-trained force of Cubans landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba but failed to set off a general uprising as planned. Trapped on the beach, the anti-Castro Cubans had little choice but to surrender after Kennedy rejected the idea of using U.S. forces to save them. Castro used the failed invasion to get even more aid from the Soviet Union and to strengthen his grip on power.

Berlin Wall Trying to shake off the embarrassment of the Bay of Pigs defeat, Kennedy agreed to meet Soviet premier Khrushchev in Vienna in the summer of 1961. Khrushchev seized the opportunity in Vienna to threaten the president by renewing Soviet demands that the United States pull its troops out of Berlin. Kennedy refused. In August, the East Germans, with Soviet backing, built a wall around West Berlin. Its purpose was to stop East Germans from fleeing to West Germany. As the wall was being built, Soviet and U.S. tanks faced off in Berlin. Kennedy called up the reserves, but he made no move to stop the completion of the wall. In 1963, the president traveled to West Berlin to assure its residents of continuing U.S. support. To cheering crowds, he proclaimed: "Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put up a wall to keep our people in. . . . As a free man, I take pride in the words, '*Ich bin ein Berliner*' [I am a Berliner]."

The Berlin Wall stood as a gloomy symbol of the Cold War until it was torn down by rebellious East Germans in 1989.

Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) The most dangerous challenge from the Soviets came in October 1962. U.S. reconnaissance planes discovered that the Russians were building underground sites in Cuba for the launching of offensive missiles that could reach the United States in minutes. Kennedy responded by announcing to the world that he was setting up a naval blockade of Cuba until the weapons were removed. A full-scale nuclear war between the superpowers seemed likely if Soviet ships challenged the U.S. naval blockade. After days of tension, Khrushchev finally agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba

in exchange for Kennedy's pledge not to invade the island nation and to later remove some U.S. missiles from Turkey.

The Cuban missile crisis had a sobering effect on both sides. Soon afterward, a telecommunications hotline was established between Washington and Moscow to make it possible for the leaders of the two countries to talk directly during a crisis. In 1963, the Soviet Union and the United States—along with nearly 100 other nations—signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to end the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. This first step in controlling the testing of nuclear arms was offset by a new round in the arms race for developing missile and warhead superiority.

THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA



Flexible Response A different Cold War challenge were the many “brushfire wars” in Africa and Southeast Asia, in which insurgent forces were often aided by Soviet arms and training. Such conflicts in the Congo (later renamed Zaire) in Africa and in Laos and Vietnam in Southeast Asia convinced the Kennedy administration to adopt a policy of flexible response. Moving away from Dulles’ idea of massive retaliation and reliance on nuclear weapons, Kennedy and McNamara increased spending on conventional (nonnuclear) arms and mobile military forces. While the flexible-response policy reduced the risk of using nuclear weapons, it also increased the temptation to send elite special forces, such as the Green Berets, into combat all over the globe.

Assassination in Dallas

After just two and a half years in office, President Kennedy’s “one brief, shining moment” was cut short on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas, as two

bullets from an assassin’s rifle found their mark. After the shocking news of Kennedy’s murder, millions of stunned Americans were fixed to their televisions for days and even witnessed the killing of the alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, just two days after the president’s death. The Warren Commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. For years afterward, however, unanswered questions about the events in Dallas produced dozens of conspiracy theories pointing to possible involvement by organized crime, Castro, the CIA, and the FBI. For many Americans, the tragedy in Dallas and doubts about the Warren Commission marked the beginning of a loss of credibility in government.

In Retrospect At the time, John Kennedy’s presidency inspired many idealistic young Americans to take seriously his inaugural message and to “ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” However, more recently, his belligerent Cold War rhetoric has drawn criticism from some historians. Nevertheless, the Kennedy legend has endured.

Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society

Two hours after the Kennedy assassination, Lyndon Johnson took the presidential oath of office aboard a plane at the Dallas airport. On the one hand, as a native of rural west Texas and a graduate of a little-known teacher’s college, he seemed very unsophisticated compared to the wealthy, Harvard-educated Kennedy. On the other hand, Johnson was a skilled politician who had started his career as a devoted Roosevelt Democrat during the Great Depression.

As the new president, Johnson was determined to expand the social reforms of the New Deal. During his almost 30 years in Congress, he had learned how to get things done. Shortly after taking office, Johnson persuaded Congress to pass (1) an expanded version of Kennedy’s civil rights bill, and (2) Kennedy’s proposal for an income tax cut. The latter measure sparked an increase in jobs, consumer spending, and a long period of economic expansion in the sixties.

The War on Poverty

Michael Harrington’s best-selling book on poverty, *The Other America* (1962), helped to focus national attention on the 40 million Americans still living in poverty. Johnson responded by declaring in 1964 an “unconditional war on poverty.” The Democratic Congress gave the president almost everything that he asked for by creating the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and providing this antipoverty agency with a billion-dollar budget. The OEO sponsored a wide variety of self-help programs for the poor, such as Head Start for preschoolers, the Job Corps for vocational education, literacy programs, and legal services. The controversial Community Action Program allowed the poor to run antipoverty programs in their own neighborhoods.

Like the New Deal, some of Johnson’s programs produced results, while others did not. Nevertheless, before being cut back to pay for the far more costly Vietnam War, the War on Poverty did significantly reduce the number of American families living in poverty.

The Election of 1964

Johnson and his running mate, Senator Hubert Humphrey, went into the 1964 election with a clearly liberal agenda. In contrast, the Republicans nominated a staunch conservative, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who advocated ending the welfare state, including TVA and Social Security. A TV ad by the Democrats pictured Goldwater as a dangerous extremist, who would be quick to involve the United States in nuclear war. However, the doomed Goldwater campaign did energize young conservatives and introduced new conservative voices, such as former film actor and TV host, Ronald Reagan of California.

Johnson won the election by a landslide, taking 61 percent of the popular vote—a higher figure than FDR’s landslide of 1936. In addition, Democrats now controlled both houses of Congress by better than a two-thirds margin. A Democratic president and Congress were in a position to pass the economic and social reforms originally proposed by President Truman in the 1940s.

Great Society Reforms

Johnson’s list of legislative achievements from 1963 to 1966 is long and includes new programs that would have lasting effects on U.S. society. Several of the most significant ones are listed in the table below.

Great Society Programs		
Title	Year Passed	Program
Food Stamp Act	1964	Expanded the federal program to help poor people buy food
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	1965	Provided federal funding for the arts and for creative and scholarly projects
Medicare	1965	Provided health insurance for all people 65 and older
Medicaid	1965	Provided funds to states to pay for medical care for the poor and disabled
Elementary and Secondary Education Act	1965	Provided federal funds to poor school districts; funds for special education programs; and funds to expand Head Start, an early childhood education program
Higher Education Act	1965	Provided federal scholarships for post-secondary education
Immigration Act	1965	Abolished discriminatory quotas based on national origins
Child Nutrition Act	1966	Added breakfasts to the school lunch program

In addition to the programs listed in the table, Congress increased funding for mass transit, public housing, rent subsidies for low-income people, and crime prevention, Johnson also established two new cabinet departments: the Department of Transportation (DOT), and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Congress, in response to Ralph Nader's book *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965), also passed regulations of the automobile industry that would save hundreds of thousands of lives in the following years. Clean air and water laws were enacted in part as a response to Rachel Carson's exposé of pesticides, *Silent Spring* (1962). Federal parks and wilderness areas were expanded. LBJ's wife, Lady Bird Johnson, contributed to improving the environment with her Beautify America campaign, which resulted in the Highway Beautification Act that removed billboards from federal roads.

Evaluating the Great Society Critics have attacked Johnson's Great Society for making unrealistic promises to eliminate poverty, for creating a centralized welfare state, and for being inefficient and very costly. On the other hand, defenders point out that these programs gave vitally needed assistance to millions of Americans who had previously been forgotten or ignored—the poor, the disabled, and the elderly. Johnson himself would jeopardize the Democrat's vast domestic achievements by escalating the war in Vietnam—a war that resulted in higher taxes and inflation.

Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965

Ironically, a southern president succeeded in persuading Congress to enact the most important civil rights laws since Reconstruction. Even before the 1964 election, Johnson managed to persuade both a majority of Democrats and some Republicans in Congress to pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which made segregation illegal in all public facilities, including hotels and restaurants, and gave the federal government additional powers to enforce school desegregation. This act also set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to end discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin. Also in 1964, the 24th Amendment was ratified. It abolished the practice of collecting a poll tax, one of the measures that, for decades, had discouraged poor people from voting.

The following year, after the killings and brutality in Selma, Alabama, against the voting rights marches led by Martin Luther King Jr., President Johnson persuaded Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This act ended literacy tests and provided federal registrars in areas where blacks were kept from voting. The impact was most dramatic in the Deep South, where African Americans could vote for the first time since the Reconstruction era.

Civil Rights and Conflict

The civil rights movement gained momentum during the Kennedy and Johnson presidencies. A very close election in 1960 influenced President Kennedy not to press the issue of civil rights, lest he alienate white voters. But the defiance of the governors of Alabama and Mississippi to federal court rulings on integration

forced a showdown. In 1962, James Meredith, a young African American air force veteran, attempted to enroll in the University of Mississippi. A federal court guaranteed his right to attend. Supporting Meredith and the court order, Kennedy sent in 400 federal marshals and 3,000 troops to control mob violence and protect Meredith's right to attend class.

A similar incident occurred in Alabama in 1963. Governor George Wallace tried to stop an African American student from entering the University of Alabama. Once again, President Kennedy sent troops to the scene, and the student was admitted.

The Leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Civil rights activists and freedom riders who traveled through the South registering African Americans to vote and integrating public places were met with beatings, bombings, and murder by white extremists. Recognized nationally as the leader of the civil rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. remained committed to nonviolent protests against segregation. In 1963, he and some followers were jailed in Birmingham, Alabama, for what local authorities judged to be an illegal march. The jailing of King, however, proved to be a milestone in the civil rights movement because most Americans believed King to have been jailed unjustly. From his jail cell, King wrote an essay, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," in which he argued:

[W]e need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of non-violence became an integral part of our struggle. . . .

One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. . . .

King's letter moved President Kennedy to support a tougher civil rights bill.

March on Washington (1963) In August 1963, King led one of the largest and most successful demonstrations in U.S. history. About 200,000 blacks and whites took part in the peaceful March on Washington in support of the civil rights bill. The highlight of the demonstration was King's impassioned "I Have a Dream" speech, which appealed for the end of racial prejudice and ended with everyone in the crowd singing "We Shall Overcome."

March to Montgomery (1965) A voting rights march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capitol of Montgomery was met with beatings and tear gas in what became known as "Bloody Sunday." Televised pictures of the violence

proved a turning point in the civil rights movement. The national outrage moved President Johnson to send federal troops to protect King and other marchers in another attempt to petition the state government. As a result, Congress passed the powerful Voting Rights Act of 1965. Nevertheless, young African Americans were losing patience with the slow progress toward equality and the continued violence against their people by white extremists.

Black Muslims and Malcolm X

Seeking a new cultural identity based on Africa and Islam, the Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad preached black nationalism, separatism, and self-improvement. The movement had already attracted thousands of followers by the time a young man became a convert while serving in prison. He adopted the name Malcolm X. Leaving prison in 1952, Malcolm X acquired a reputation as the movement's most controversial voice. He criticized King as "an Uncle Tom" (subservient to whites) and advocated self-defense—using black violence to counter white violence. He eventually left the Black Muslims and moved away from defending violence, but he was assassinated by black opponents in 1965. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* remains an engaging testimony to one man's development from a petty criminal into a major leader.

Race Riots and Black Power

The radicalism of Malcolm X influenced the thinking of young blacks in civil rights organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of SNCC, repudiated nonviolence and advocated "black power" (especially economic power) and racial separatism. In 1966, the Black Panthers were organized by Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and other militants as a revolutionary socialist movement advocating self-rule for American blacks.

Riots Shortly after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the arrest of a young black motorist by white police in the black neighborhood of Watts in Los Angeles sparked a six-day race riot that killed 34 people and destroyed over 700 buildings. Race riots continued to erupt each summer in black neighborhoods of major cities through 1968 with increasing casualties and destruction of property. Rioters shouting slogans—"Burn baby, burn" and "Get whitey"—made whites suspect that black extremists and revolutionaries were behind the violence. There was little evidence, however, that the small Black Power movement was responsible for the violence. A federal investigation of the many riots, the Kerner Commission, concluded in late 1968 that racism and segregation were chiefly responsible and that the United States was becoming "two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." By the mid-1960s, the issue of civil rights had spread far beyond *de jure* segregation practiced under the law in the South and now included the de facto segregation and discrimination caused by racist attitudes in the North and West.

Murder in Memphis Martin Luther King, Jr., received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, but his nonviolent approach was under increasing pressure from

all sides. His effort to use peaceful marches in urban centers of the North, such as Chicago, met with little success. King also broke with President Johnson over the Vietnam War because that war was beginning to drain money from social programs. In April 1968, the nation went into shock over the news that King, while standing on a motel balcony in Memphis, Tennessee, had been shot and killed by a white man. Massive riots erupted in 168 cities across the country, leaving at least 46 people dead. The violence did not reflect the ideals of the murdered leader, but it did reveal the anger and frustrations among African Americans in both the North and the South. The violence also fed a growing “white backlash,” especially among white blue-collar voters, to the civil rights movement, which was soon reflected in election results.

The Warren Court and Individual Rights

As chief justice of the Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969, Earl Warren had an impact on the nation comparable to that of John Marshall in the early 1800s. Warren’s decision in the desegregation case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) was by far the most important case of the 20th century involving race relations. Then in the 1960s the Warren Court made a series of decisions that profoundly affected the criminal justice system, state political systems, and the definition of individual rights. Before Warren’s tenure as chief justice, the Supreme Court had concentrated on protecting property rights. During and after his tenure, the Court focused more on protecting individual rights.

Criminal Justice

Several decisions of the Warren Court concerned a defendant’s rights. Four of the most important were the following:

- *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961) ruled that illegally seized evidence cannot be used in court against the accused.
- *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) required that state courts provide counsel (services of an attorney) for indigent (poor) defendants.
- *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964) required the police to inform an arrested person of his or her right to remain silent.
- *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) extended the ruling in *Escobedo* to include the right to a lawyer being present during questioning by the police.

Reapportionment

Before 1962, many states included at least one house of its legislature (usually the senate) that had districts that strongly favored rural areas to the disadvantage of cities. In the landmark case of *Baker v. Carr* (1962), the Warren Court declared this practice unconstitutional. In *Baker* and later cases, the Court established the principle of “one man, one vote,” meaning that election districts would have to be redrawn to provide equal representation for all citizens.

Freedom of Expression and Privacy

Other rulings by the Warren Court extended the rights mentioned in the 1st Amendment to protect the actions of protesters, to permit greater latitude under freedom of the press, to ban religious activities sponsored by public schools, and to guarantee adults' rights to use contraceptives.

- *Yates v. United States* (1957) said that the 1st Amendment protected radical and revolutionary speech, even by Communists, unless it was a “clear and present danger” to the safety of the country.
- *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) ruled that state laws requiring prayers and Bible readings in the public schools violated the 1st Amendment’s provision for separation of church and state.
- *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) ruled that, in recognition of a citizen’s right to privacy, a state could not prohibit the use of contraceptives by adults. (This privacy case provided the foundation for later cases establishing a woman’s right to an abortion.)

The Warren Court’s defense of the rights of unpopular individuals, including people accused of crimes, provoked a storm of controversy. Critics called for Warren’s impeachment. Both supporters and critics agreed that the Warren Court profoundly changed the interpretation of constitutional rights.

Social Revolutions and Cultural Movements

In the early and mid-1960s, various liberal groups began to identify with blacks’ struggle against oppressive controls and laws. The first such group to rebel against established authority were college and university students.

Student Movement and the New Left

In 1962, a newly formed radical student organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a meeting in Port Huron, Michigan. Following the leadership of Tom Hayden, the group issued a declaration of purposes known as the Port Huron Statement. It called for university decisions to be made through participatory democracy, so that students would have a voice in decisions affecting their lives. Activists and intellectuals who supported Hayden’s ideas became known as the New Left.

The first major student protest took place in 1964 on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Calling their cause the Free Speech Movement, Berkeley students demanded an end to university restrictions on student political activities. By the mid-1960s, students across the country were protesting a variety of university rules, including those against drinking and dorm visits by members of the opposite sex. They also demanded a greater voice in the government of the university. Student demonstrations grew with the escalation of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Hundreds of campuses were disrupted or closed down by antiwar protests.

The most radical fringe of the SDS, known as the Weathermen, embraced violence and vandalism in their attacks on American institutions. In the eyes of most Americans, the Weathermen's extremist acts and language discredited the early idealism of the New Left.

Counterculture

The political protests of the New Left went hand in hand with a new counterculture that was expressed by young people in rebellious styles of dress, music, drug use, and, for some, communal living. The apparent dress code of the "hippies" and "flower children" of the 1960s included long hair, beards, beads, and jeans. The folk music of Joan Baez and Bob Dylan gave voice to the younger generation's protests, while the rock music of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Jim Morrison, and Janis Joplin provided the beat and lyrics for the counterculture. In 1969, a gathering of thousands of young people at the Woodstock Music Festival in upper New York State reflected the zenith of the counterculture. However, as a result of experimenting with hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD or becoming addicted to various other drugs, some young people destroyed their lives. The counterculture's excesses and the economic uncertainties of the times led to its demise in the 1970s.

In Retrospect The generation of baby boomers that came of age in the 1960s believed fervently in the ideals of a democratic society. They hoped to slay the dragons of unresponsive authority, poverty, racism, and war. However, the impatience of some activists with change, the use of violence, and the spread of self-destructive behavior discredited their cause in the eyes of others, particularly older Americans.

Sexual Revolution

One aspect of the counterculture that continued beyond the 1960s was a change in many Americans' attitudes toward sexual expression. Traditional beliefs about sexual conduct had originally been challenged in the late 1940s and 1950s by the pioneering surveys of sexual practice conducted by Alfred Kinsey. His research indicated that premarital sex, marital infidelity, and homosexuality were more common than anyone had suspected. Medicine (antibiotics for venereal disease) and science (the introduction of the birth control pill in 1960) also contributed to changing attitudes about engaging in casual sex with a number of partners. Moreover, overtly sexual themes in advertisements, magazines, and movies made sex appear to be just one more consumer product.

How deeply the so-called sexual revolution changed the behavior of the majority of Americans is open to question. There is little doubt, however, that premarital sex, contraception, abortion, and homosexuality became practiced more openly. Later, in the 1980s, there was a general reaction against the loosened moral codes as many blamed it for an increase in illegitimate births, especially among teenagers, an increase in rape and sexual abuse, and the spread of a deadly new disease, AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome).

The Women's Movement

The increased education and employment of women in the 1950s, the civil rights movement, and the sexual revolution all contributed to a renewal of the women's movement in the 1960s. Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) gave the movement a new direction by encouraging middle-class women to seek fulfillment in professional careers in addition to filling the roles of wife, mother, and homemaker. In 1966, Friedan helped found the National Organization for Women (NOW), which adopted the activist tactics of other civil rights movements to secure equal treatment of women, especially for job opportunities. By this time, Congress had already enacted two antidiscriminatory laws: the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These measures prohibited discrimination in employment and compensation on the basis of gender, but had been poorly enforced.

Campaign for the ERA Feminists achieved a major legislative victory in 1972 when Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). This proposed constitutional amendment stated: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Although NOW and other groups campaigned hard for the ratification of the ERA, it just missed acceptance by the required 38 states. It was defeated in part because of a growing reaction against feminism by conservatives who feared the movement threatened the traditional roles of women.

Achievements Even without the ERA, the women's movement accomplished fundamental changes in attitudes and hiring practices. In increasing numbers, women moved into professions previously dominated by men: business, law, medicine, and politics. Although women still experienced the "glass ceiling" in the corporate world, American society at the beginning of the 21st century was less and less a man's world.

The Vietnam War to 1969

None of the divisive issues in the 1960s was as tragic as the war in Vietnam. Some 2.7 million Americans served in the conflict and 58,000 died in a failed effort to prevent the takeover of South Vietnam by communist North Vietnam.

Early Stages

Vietnam was hardly mentioned in the election debates of 1960 between Nixon and Kennedy. U.S. involvement was minimal at that time, but every year thereafter, it loomed larger and eventually dominated the presidency of Lyndon Johnson and the thoughts of the nation.

Buildup Under Kennedy President Kennedy adopted Eisenhower's domino theory that, if Communist forces overthrew South Vietnam's government, they would quickly overrun other countries of Southeast Asia—Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Kennedy therefore continued U.S. military aid to South Vietnam's regime and significantly increased the number of military "advisers," who trained the South Vietnamese army and

guarded weapons and facilities. By 1963, there were more than 16,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam in support, not combat, roles. They provided training and supplies for South Vietnam's armed forces and helped create "strategic hamlets" (fortified villages).

However, the U.S. ally in South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, was not popular. He and his government steadily lost the support of peasants in the countryside, while in the capital city of Saigon, Buddhist monks set themselves on fire in the streets to protest Diem's policies. Kennedy began to question whether the South Vietnamese could win "their war" against Communist insurgents. Just two weeks before Kennedy himself was assassinated in Dallas, Diem was overthrown and killed by South Vietnamese generals. Historians later learned that the generals acted with the knowledge of the Kennedy administration.

Tonkin Gulf Resolution Lyndon Johnson became president just as things began to fall apart in South Vietnam. The country had seven different governments in 1964. During the U.S. presidential campaign, Republican candidate Barry Goldwater attacked the Johnson administration for giving only weak support to South Vietnam's fight against the Vietcong (Communist guerrillas). In August 1964, President Johnson and Congress took a fateful turn in policy. Johnson made use of a naval incident in the Gulf of Tonkin off Vietnam's coast to secure congressional authorization for U.S. forces going into combat. Allegedly, North Vietnamese gunboats had fired on U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin. The president persuaded Congress that this aggressive act was sufficient reason for a military response by the United States. Congress voted its approval of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which basically gave the president, as commander in chief, a blank check to take "all necessary measures" to protect U.S. interests in Vietnam.

Critics later called the full-scale use of U.S. forces in Vietnam an illegal war, because the war was not declared by Congress, as the Constitution requires. Congress, however, did not have this concern and did not withdraw its resolution. Until 1968, most Americans supported the effort to contain communism in Southeast Asia. Johnson was caught in a political dilemma to which there was no good solution. How could he stop the defeat of a weak and unpopular government in South Vietnam without making it into an American war—a war whose cost would doom his Great Society programs? If he pulled out, he would be seen as weak and lose public support.

Escalating the War

In 1965, the U.S. military and most of the president's foreign policy advisers recommended expanding operations in Vietnam to save the Saigon government. After a Vietcong attack on the U.S. base at Pleiku in 1965, Johnson authorized Operation Rolling Thunder, a prolonged air attack using B-52 bombers against targets in North Vietnam. In April, the president decided to use U.S. combat troops for the first time to fight the Vietcong. By the end of 1965, over 184,000 U.S. troops were in Vietnam, and most were engaged in a combat role. Johnson continued a step-by-step escalation of U.S. involvement in the war. Hoping

to win a war of attrition, American generals used search-and-destroy tactics, which only further alienated the peasants. By the end of 1967, the United States had over 485,000 troops in Vietnam (the peak was 540,000 in March 1969), and 16,000 Americans had already died in the conflict. Nevertheless, General William Westmoreland, commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam, assured the American public that he could see “light at the end of the tunnel.”

Controversy

Misinformation from military and civilian leaders combined with Johnson's reluctance to speak frankly with the American people about the scope and the costs of the war created what the media called a *credibility gap*. Johnson always hoped that a little more military pressure would bring the North Vietnamese to the peace table. The most damaging knowledge gap, however, may have been within the inner circles of government. Years later, Robert McNamara in his memoirs concluded that the leaders in Washington had failed to understand both the enemy and the nature of the war.

THE VIETNAM WAR



Hawks versus Doves The supporters of the war, the “hawks,” believed that the war was an act of Soviet-backed Communist aggression against South Vietnam and that it was part of a master plan to conquer all of Southeast Asia. The opponents of the war, the “doves,” viewed the conflict as a civil war fought by Vietnamese nationalists and some Communists who wanted to unite their country by overthrowing a corrupt Saigon government.

Some Americans opposed the war because of its costs in lives and money. They believed the billions spent in Vietnam could be better spent on the problems of the cities and the poor in the United States. By far the greatest opposition came from students on college campuses who, after graduation, would become eligible to be drafted into the military and shipped off to Vietnam. In November 1967, the antiwar movement was given a political leader when scholarly Senator Eugene F. McCarthy of Minnesota became the first antiwar advocate to challenge Johnson for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination.

Tet Offensive On the occasion of their Lunar New Year (Tet) in January 1968, the Vietcong launched an all-out surprise attack on almost every provincial capital and American base in South Vietnam. Although the attack took a fearful toll in the cities, the U.S. military counterattacked, inflicted much heavier losses on the Vietcong, and recovered the lost territory. Even so, in political terms, the American military victory proved irrelevant to the way the Tet Offensive was interpreted at home. The destruction viewed by millions on the TV news appeared as a colossal setback for Johnson’s Vietnam policy. Thus, for the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, Tet was a tremendous political victory in demoralizing the American public. In the New Hampshire primary in February, the antiwar McCarthy took 42 percent of the vote against Johnson.

LBJ Ends Escalation The Joint Chiefs of Staff responded to Tet by requesting 200,000 more troops to win the war. By this time, however, the group of experienced Cold War diplomats who advised Johnson had turned against further escalation of the war. On March 31, 1968, President Johnson went on television and told the American people that he would limit the bombing of North Vietnam and negotiate peace. He then surprised everyone by announcing that he would not run again for president.

In May 1968, peace talks between North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the United States started in Paris, but they were quickly deadlocked over minor issues. The war continued, and tens of thousands more died. But the escalation of the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam had stopped, and under the next administration it would be reversed.

Coming Apart at Home, 1968

Few years in U.S. history were as troubled or violent as 1968. The Tet offensive and the withdrawal of Johnson from the presidential race were followed by the senseless murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and destructive riots in cities across the country. As the year unfolded, Americans wondered if their nation was coming apart from internal conflicts over the war issue, the race issue, and the generation gap between the baby boomers and their parents.

Second Kennedy Assassination

In 1964, Kennedy's younger brother, Robert Kennedy, had become a senator from New York. Four years later, he decided to enter the presidential race after McCarthy's strong showing in New Hampshire. Bobby Kennedy was more effective than McCarthy in mobilizing the traditional Democratic blue-collar and minority vote. On June 5, 1968, he won a major victory in California's primary, but immediately after his victory speech, he was shot and killed by a young Arab nationalist who opposed Kennedy's support for Israel.

The Election of 1968

After Robert Kennedy's death, the election of 1968 turned into a three-way race between two conservatives—George Wallace and Richard Nixon—and one liberal, Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

Democratic Convention at Chicago When the Democrats met in Chicago for their party convention, it was clear that Hubert Humphrey had enough delegates to win the nomination. As vice president, he had loyally supported Johnson's domestic and foreign policies. He controlled the convention, but the antiwar demonstrators were determined to control the streets. Chicago's mayor Richard Daley had the police out in mass, and the resulting violence went out on television across the country as a "police riot." Humphrey left the convention as the nominee of a badly divided Democratic party, and early polls showed he was a clear underdog in a nation sick of disorder and protest.

White Backlash and George Wallace The growing hostility of many whites to federal desegregation, antiwar protests, and race riots was tapped by Governor George Wallace of Alabama. Wallace was the first politician of late-20th-century America to marshal the general resentment against the Washington establishment ("pointy-head liberals," as he called them) and the two-party system. He ran for president as the self-nominated candidate of the American Independent party, hoping to win enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Return of Richard Nixon Many observers thought Richard Nixon's political career had ended in 1962 after his unsuccessful run for governor of California. In 1968, however, a new, more confident and less negative Nixon announced his candidacy and soon became the front-runner in the Republican primaries. The favorite of the party regulars, he had little trouble securing his nomination at the Republican convention. For his running mate, he selected Governor Spiro Agnew of Maryland, whose rhetoric was similar to that of George Wallace. Nixon was a "hawk" on the Vietnam War and ran on the slogans of "peace with honor" and "law and order."

Results Wallace and Nixon started strong, but the Democrats began to catch up, especially in northern urban centers, as Humphrey preached to the faithful of the old New Deal coalition. On election night, Nixon defeated Humphrey by a very close popular vote but took a substantial majority of the electoral vote (301 to 191), ending any threat that the three-candidate election would end up in the House of Representatives.

The significance of the 1968 election is clear in the combined total of Nixon's and Wallace's popular vote of almost 57 percent. Apparently, most Americans wanted a time out to heal the wounds inflicted on the national psyche by the upheavals of the 1960s. Supporters of Nixon and Wallace had had enough of protest, violence, permissiveness, the counterculture, drugs, and federal intervention in social institutions. Elections in the 1970s and 1980s would confirm that the tide was turning against New Deal liberalism in favor of the conservatives.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT ARE THE LESSONS OF VIETNAM?

The U.S. war in Vietnam had been long and deadly. Marked by failures in both political and military leadership, the war initiated a period of widespread distrust of the government. What went wrong? Critics of the war argued that the United States failed in Vietnam because neither the government nor the military understood the nature of the war. Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon viewed the conflict strictly in Cold War terms as an act of aggression by the Communist "monolith" to take over another part of the world, instead of a civil war in which a former colony was trying to gain its independence from Western colonialism. Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, in his book *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (1995), laments that members of the Johnson administration lacked Asian experts to advise them on the formulation of Vietnam policy.

In contrast, General William Westmoreland and other military leaders of the era blamed the civilian government for placing restrictions on the conduct of the war that prevented the military from winning it. In their view, the war could have been won if only the U.S. military had been permitted to take the offensive and bring the war to a swift conclusion. The generals blamed the media for turning the American people against the war. Westmoreland and others argued that the telecasts of the Tet Offensive forced a change in the conduct of the war, just at the point that the U.S. military was beginning to win it.

Many observers have attempted to extract lessons from Vietnam, hoping that the mistakes of the past can be avoided in the future. To many critics of the war, it appeared that the most important mistake was attempting to impose an unsatisfactory regime on a country and that the United States should not go into a war if no vital national interests are at stake. Many critics concluded that a president and Congress should not lead the nation into future war unless they are confident that they can rally and sustain the support of the American people behind the effort over time.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p>Kennedy: Domestic Issues (POL)</p> <p>Election of 1960 John F. Kennedy New Frontier Robert Kennedy Jacqueline Kennedy race to the moon assassination in Dallas Warren Commission</p>	<p>Lady Bird Johnson Civil Rights Act of 1964 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 24th Amendment Voting Rights Act of 1965</p>	<p><i>Engel v. Vitale</i> <i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i> privacy and contraceptives</p>
<p>Kennedy: Foreign Policy (WOR)</p> <p>Peace Corps Alliance for Progress Trade Expansion Act (1962) Bay of Pigs Berlin Wall Cuban missile crisis (1962) flexible response Nuclear Test Ban Treaty</p>	<p>Civil Rights and Black Power (NAT, POL)</p> <p>James Meredith George Wallace Martin Luther King Jr. March on Washington (1963) “I Have a Dream” speech March to Montgomery Black Muslims Malcolm X Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Congress of Racial Equality</p>	<p>New Left Weathermen counterculture Woodstock Alfred Kinsey sexual revolution women’s movement Betty Friedan, <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> National Organization for Women Equal Pay Act (1963) Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)</p>
<p>Johnson: Domestic Programs (POL, WXT)</p> <p>Lyndon Johnson Great Society War on Poverty Michael Harrington, <i>The Other America</i> Election of 1964 Barry Goldwater Medicare; Medicaid Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) Immigrant Act (1965) National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities DOT and HUD Ralph Nader, <i>Unsafe at Any Speed</i> Rachel Carson, <i>Silent Spring</i></p>	<p>Stokely Carmichael Black Panthers Watts riots, race riots de facto segregation Kerner Commission King assassination (1968)</p> <p>Rights of Americans (POL)</p> <p>Warren Court <i>Mapp v. Ohio</i> <i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i> <i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i> <i>Miranda v. Arizona</i> reapportionment <i>Baker v. Carr</i> “one man, one vote” <i>Yates v. United States</i> separation of church and state</p>	<p>Vietnam War to 1969 (WOR)</p> <p>military “advisers” fall of Diem Tonkin Gulf Resolution escalation of troops General Westmoreland credibility gap Tet Offensive hawks and doves</p> <p>1968 Election (POL)</p> <p>LBJ withdraws Eugene McCarthy Robert Kennedy RFK assassination Hubert Humphrey Chicago convention white backlash George Wallace Richard Nixon</p>

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“We will stay (in Vietnam) because a just nation cannot leave to the cruelties of its enemies a people who have staked their lives and independence on America’s solemn pledge—a pledge which had grown through the commitment of three American Presidents.

“We will stay because in Asia—and around the world—are countries whose independence rests, in large measure, on confidence in America’s word and in American protection. To yield to force in Vietnam would weaken that confidence, would undermine the independence of many lands, and would whet the appetite of aggression. We would have to fight in one land, and then we would have to fight in another—or abandon much of Asia to the domination of Communists.”

—Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union Message, January 12, 1966

1. The foreign policy position for Vietnam explained in the excerpt is most directly based on
 - (A) the practice of brinkmanship
 - (B) the process of decolonization
 - (C) the belief in the domino theory
 - (D) the principle of mutually assured destruction
2. In which way did Johnson most significantly depart from the policies of prior presidents?
 - (A) He used U.S. troops in a combat role in Vietnam
 - (B) He attempted to negotiate with North Vietnam
 - (C) He limited the number of troops sent to Vietnam
 - (D) He turned over all decision making to the generals
3. Which of the following best characterizes the position of the president’s antiwar critics?
 - (A) The war primarily enriched the military-industrial complex
 - (B) The conflict was primarily a civil war between factions in Vietnam
 - (C) The containment policy would not work in Asia
 - (D) Johnson did not want to look soft on Communism

Questions 4–5 refer to the photograph below.



Source: Selma to Montgomery march, 1965, Bruce Davidson/Magnum Photo/Library of Congress

4. Which of the following best explains the result of the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery?
 - (A) The marchers, along with Dr. King, were jailed for civil disobedience
 - (B) Under pressure, Congress passed the most effective voting rights legislation since Reconstruction
 - (C) There was white backlash against blacks for demanding too much
 - (D) Race riots were sparked in cities across the nation
5. Which of the following best reflects the loss of faith by younger African Americans in the non-violent civil rights movement after the March to Montgomery?
 - (A) The events that started the Watts Riot in Los Angeles
 - (B) The conversion of Malcolm X to the Black Muslims
 - (C) The shift in tactics of SNCC under Stokely Carmichael
 - (D) The reaction to the Kerner Commission's findings on racism

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come for a new movement toward equality for all women in America, and towards a full equal partnership of the sexes. . . .

NOW Bill of Rights:

Equal Rights Constitutional Amendment

Enforce Law Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment

Maternity Leave Rights in Employment and in Social Security Benefits

Tax Deduction for Home and Child Care Expenses for Working Parents

Child Care Centers

Equal and Unsegregated Education

Equal Job training Opportunities and Allowances for Women in Poverty

Rights of Women to Control Their Reproductive Lives”

—National Organization for Women, June 1966

6. The 1966 NOW statement, although broadened during the conference, most emphasized which of the following?
 - (A) Child care
 - (B) Empowerment of wives
 - (C) Job opportunities
 - (D) Reproduction rights
7. Which of the following goals from the NOW Bill of Rights did the feminist movement most clearly fail to achieve?
 - (A) Greater assistance with child care
 - (B) New employment opportunities
 - (C) Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment
 - (D) Increased reproductive rights
8. Which of the following most clearly reflects the main argument in Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*?
 - (A) Women should earn college degrees and avoid early marriages.
 - (B) Women should avoid the male-dominated business world by cooperating with other businesswomen.
 - (C) Women should have separate finances to protect themselves from the rising divorce rate.
 - (D) Women should seek fulfillment in professional careers in addition to their roles as wives and mothers.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE factor that would support the analysis by historians who believe that the closest the United States and the Soviet Union came to a full-scale war was during the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- b) Briefly analyze the significance of ONE of the following during the Cold War.
 - Bay of Pigs
 - Berlin Wall
 - flexible response
- c) Briefly analyze the significance of ONE of the following during the Vietnam War.
 - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
 - Vietcong
 - Tet Offensive

Question 2 is based on the excerpt below.

[I]n your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. . . .

The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents.”

—Lyndon B. Johnson, Commencement Address at the University of Michigan, May 1964

2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE way the Great Society attacked poverty.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE way the Great Society tried to improve education.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE of Johnson’s health care programs that had a lasting impact on American society.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE way the Warren Court expanded the rights of defendants in the criminal justice system.
- b) Briefly explain ONE way the Warren Court expanded the 1st Amendment.
- c) Briefly analyze the impact of the “one man, one vote” ruling on American politics.

Question 4 is based on the excerpt below.

“The young felt a special sense of deprivation at Kennedy’s death. The slain President had broken through the middle-aged complacency of the 1950s to give a feeling of hopefulness about American society and a free field to the idealism of young people. They had admired, too, the President’s gallantry and the impression he conveyed of being a valorous adventurer. . . .

“Richard Neustadt commented less than a year after the President’s murder, ‘He left a broken promise, that “the torch has been passed to a new generation,” and the youngsters who identified with him felt cheated as the promise, like the glamor, disappeared. What do their feelings matter? We shall have to wait and see.’”

—William E. Leuchtenburg, historian, *A Troubled Feast*, 1973

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain how the younger generation challenged the higher education authorities during the 1960s.
- b) Briefly explain how the younger generation challenged the government during the Vietnam War.
- c) Briefly explain how the younger generation challenged middle-class standards during the 1960s.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: WRITING WITH PRECISE WORDS

Strong essays use words that express the writer's ideas clearly with carefully chosen words rather than bland, general words. In each pair of sentences below, chose the sentence that uses the most precise words.

1. John Kennedy
 - A. The death of Kennedy was a sad day for many people.
 - B. The assassination of Kennedy shocked Americans.
2. Lyndon Johnson
 - A. Johnson had spent many years in Congress trying to pass laws.
 - B. Johnson was a veteran legislator, skilled at getting laws passed.
3. George Wallace
 - A. Lots of people liked Wallace because they opposed things that were happening.
 - B. Wallace expressed the conservative anger at integration.

LIMITS OF A SUPERPOWER, 1969–1980

If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation, the United States, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world.

Richard Nixon, Address to the Nation, April 30, 1970

In 1969, television viewers around the world witnessed the astonishing sight of two American astronauts walking on the moon's surface. This event, followed by a series of other successes for the U.S. space program, represented some of the high points of the 1970s. Offsetting these technological triumphs, however, were shocking revelations about White House participation in the Watergate crime, a stagnant economy, and the fall of South Vietnam to communism. Increased foreign economic competition, oil shortages, rising unemployment, and high inflation made Americans aware that even the world's leading superpower would have to adjust to a fast-changing, less manageable world.

Richard Nixon's Foreign Policy

In his January 1969 inaugural address, President Nixon promised to bring Americans together after the turmoil of the 1960s. However, suspicious and secretive by nature, Nixon soon began to isolate himself in the White House and create what Arthur Schlesinger Jr. called an “imperial presidency.” Nixon’s first interest was international relations, not domestic policy. Together with his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger (who became secretary of state during Nixon’s second term), Nixon fashioned a pragmatic foreign policy that reduced the tensions of the Cold War.

Vietnam

When Nixon took office, more than half a million U.S. troops were in Vietnam. His principal objective was to find a way to reduce U.S. involvement in the war while at the same time avoiding the appearance of conceding defeat. In a word, Nixon said the United States was seeking nothing less than “peace with honor.”

“Vietnamization.” Almost immediately, the new president began the process called “Vietnamization.” He announced that he would gradually withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and give the South Vietnamese the money, the weapons, and the training that they needed to take over the full conduct of the war. Under this policy, U.S. troops in South Vietnam went from over 540,000 in 1969 to under 30,000 in 1972. Extending the idea of disengagement to other parts of Asia, the president proclaimed the *Nixon Doctrine*, declaring that in the future Asian allies would receive U.S. support but without the extensive use of U.S. ground forces.

Opposition to Nixon’s War Policies Nixon’s gradual withdrawal of forces from Vietnam reduced the number of antiwar protests. However, in April 1970, the president expanded the war by using U.S. forces to invade Cambodia in an effort to destroy Vietnamese Communist bases in that country. A nationwide protest on college campuses against this action resulted in the killing of four youths by National Guard troops at Kent State in Ohio and two students at Jackson State in Mississippi. In reaction to the escalation of the war, the U.S. Senate (but not the House) voted to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Also in 1970, the American public was shocked to learn about a 1968 massacre of women and children by U.S. troops in the Vietnamese village of My Lai. Further fueling the antiwar sentiment was the publication by the *New York Times* of the Pentagon Papers, a secret government history documenting the mistakes and deceptions of government policy-makers in dealing with Vietnam. The papers had been turned over, or “leaked,” to the press by Daniel Ellsberg, a former Defense Department analyst.



Source: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Vietnam Conflict Extract Data File and other sources.

Peace Talks, Bombing Attacks, and Armistice On the diplomatic front, Nixon had Kissinger conduct secret meetings with North Vietnam's foreign minister, Le Duc Tho. Kissinger announced in the fall of 1972 that "peace is at hand," but this announcement proved premature. When the two sides could not reach a deal, Nixon ordered a massive bombing of North Vietnam (the heaviest air attacks of the long war) to force a settlement. After several weeks of B-52 bomber attacks, the North Vietnamese agreed to an armistice, in which the United States would withdraw the last of its troops and get back over 500 prisoners of war (POWs). The Paris Accords of January 1973 also promised a cease-fire and free elections. In practice, however, the armistice did not end the war between the North and the South and left tens of thousands of enemy troops in South Vietnam. Before the war ended, the death toll probably numbered more than a million.

The armistice finally allowed the United States to extricate itself from a war that had claimed over 58,000 American lives. The \$118 billion spent on the war began an inflationary cycle that racked the U.S. economy for years afterward.

Détente with China and the Soviet Union

Nixon and Kissinger strengthened the U.S. position in the world by taking advantage of the rivalry between the two Communist giants, China and the Soviet Union. Their diplomacy was praised for bringing about *détente*—a deliberate reduction of Cold War tensions. Even after Watergate ended his presidency in disgrace, Nixon's critics would admit that his conduct of foreign affairs had enhanced world peace.

Visit to China Nixon knew that only an outspoken critic of communism like himself could take the bold step of improving relations with "Red" China (Mao Zedong's Communist regime) without being condemned as "soft" on communism. After a series of secret negotiations with Chinese leaders, Nixon astonished the world in February 1972 by traveling to Beijing to meet with Mao. His visit initiated diplomatic exchanges that ultimately led to U.S. recognition of the Communist government in 1979.

Arms Control with the U.S.S.R. Nixon used his new relationship with China to put pressure on the Soviets to agree to a treaty limiting antiballistic missiles (ABMs), a new technology that would have expanded the arms race. After the first round of Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I), U.S. diplomats secured Soviet consent to a freeze on the number of ballistic missiles carrying nuclear warheads. While this agreement did not end the arms race, it was a significant step toward reducing Cold War tensions and bringing about *détente*.

Nixon's Domestic Policy

Throughout the 1970s, the Democrats continued to hold majorities in both houses of Congress. The Republican president had to live with this reality and obtain some concessions from Congress through moderation and compromise. At the same time, Nixon laid the foundation for a shift in public opinion toward conservatism and for Republican gains that would challenge and overthrow the Democratic control of Congress in the 1980s and 1990s.

The New Federalism

Nixon tried to slow down the growth of Johnson's Great Society programs by proposing the Family Assistance Plan, which would have replaced welfare by providing a guaranteed annual income for working Americans. The Democratic majority in Congress easily defeated this initiative. The Republican president did succeed, however, in shifting some of the responsibility for social programs from the federal to the state and local levels. In a program known as revenue sharing, or the New Federalism, Congress approved giving local governments \$30 billion in block grants over five years to address local needs as they saw fit (instead of specific uses of federal money being controlled by Washington). Republicans hoped revenue sharing would check the growth of the federal government and return responsibility to the states, where it had rested before the New Deal.

Nixon attempted to bypass Congress by impounding (not spending) funds appropriated for social programs. Democrats protested that such action was an abuse of executive powers. The courts agreed with the president's critics, arguing that it was a president's duty to carry out the laws of Congress, whether or not the president agreed with them.

Nixon's Economic Policies

Starting with a recession in 1970, the U.S. economy throughout the 1970s faced the unusual combination of economic slowdown and high inflation—a condition referred to as *stagflation* (*stagnation plus inflation*). To slow inflation, Nixon at first tried to cut federal spending. However, when this policy contributed to a recession and unemployment, he adopted Keynesian economics and deficit spending so as not to alienate middle-class and blue-collar Americans. In August 1971, he surprised the nation by imposing a 90-day wage and price freeze. Next, he took the dollar off the gold standard, which helped to devalue it relative to foreign currencies. This action, combined with a 10 percent surtax on all imports, improved the U.S. balance of trade with foreign competitors.

By the election year of 1972, the recession was over. Also in that year, Congress approved automatic increases for Social Security benefits based on the annual rise in the cost of living. This measure protected seniors, the poor, and the disabled from the worst effects of inflation but also contributed to budget problems in the future. In 1972, Congress also passed Title IX, a statute to end sex discrimination in schools that receive federal funding. Though far-reaching, the law is best known for its requirement that schools provide girls with equal athletic opportunities. Many believe that these new opportunities in athletics proved to be a key step in promoting women's equality.

Southern Strategy

Having received just 43 percent of the popular vote in 1968, Nixon was well aware of being a minority president. He devised a political strategy to form a Republican majority by appealing to the millions of voters who had become disaffected by antiwar protests, black militants, school busing to achieve racial balance, and the excesses of the youth counterculture. Nixon referred to these

conservative Americans as the “silent majority.” Many of them were Democrats, including southern whites, northern Catholic blue-collar workers, and recent suburbanites who disagreed with the liberal drift of their party.

To win over the South, the president asked the federal courts in that region to delay integration plans and busing orders. He also nominated two southern conservatives (Clement Haynsworth and G. Harold Carswell) to the Supreme Court. Though the courts rejected his requests and the Senate refused to confirm the two nominees, his strategy played well with southern white voters. At the same time, Nixon authorized Vice President Spiro Agnew to make verbal assaults on war protesters and to attack the press as liberal.

The Burger Court

As liberal justices of the Supreme Court retired, Nixon replaced them with more conservative members. However, like other presidents, Nixon found that his appointees did not always rule as he had hoped. In 1969, after Chief Justice Earl Warren resigned, Nixon appointed Warren E. Burger of Minnesota to replace him. The Burger Court was more conservative than the Warren Court, but several of its major decisions angered conservatives. For example, in 1971 the court ordered busing to achieve racial balance in the schools, and in 1972 it issued strict guidelines that made carrying out the death penalty more difficult. The court’s most controversial ruling was *Roe v. Wade* (1973). In this 7–2 decision, the high court struck down many state laws prohibiting abortions as a violation of a women’s right to privacy. Finally, in the last days of Nixon’s Watergate agony (described later in this chapter), the court that he tried to shape denied his claims to executive privilege and ordered him to turn over the Watergate tapes (*United States v. Nixon*, 1974).

The Election of 1972

The success of Nixon’s southern strategy became evident in the presidential election of 1972 when the Republican ticket won majorities in every southern state. Nixon’s reelection was practically assured by (1) his foreign policy successes in China and the Soviet Union, (2) the removal of George Wallace from the race by an assassin’s bullet that paralyzed the Alabama populist, and (3) the nomination by the Democrats of a very liberal, antiwar, antiestablishment candidate, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

McGovern’s campaign quickly went off track. After some indecision, he dropped his vice presidential candidate, Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, when it was discovered that he had undergone electroshock treatment for depression. On election day, Nixon overwhelmed McGovern in a landslide victory that carried every state but Massachusetts and won 61 percent of the popular vote. The Democrats still managed to keep control of both houses of Congress. Nevertheless, the voting patterns for Nixon indicated the start of a major political realignment of the Sunbelt and suburban voters, who were forming a new Republican majority. Nixon’s electoral triumph in 1972 made the Watergate revelations and scandals of 1973 all the more surprising.

Watergate

The tragedy of Watergate went well beyond the public humiliation of Richard Nixon and the conviction and jailing of 26 White House officials and aides. Watergate had a paralyzing effect on the political system in the mid-1970s, a critical time both at home and overseas, when the country needed respected, strong, and confident leadership.

White House Abuses

In June 1972, a group of men hired by Nixon's reelection committee were caught breaking into the offices of the Democratic national headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. This break-in and attempted bugging were only part of a series of illegal activities and "dirty tricks" conducted by the Nixon administration and the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP).

Earlier, Nixon had ordered wiretaps on government employees and reporters to stop news leaks such as one that had exposed the secret bombing of Cambodia. The president's aides created a group, called the "plumbers," to stop leaks as well as to discredit opponents. Before Watergate, the "plumbers" had burglarized the office of psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, the person behind the leaking of the Pentagon Papers, in order to obtain information to discredit Ellsberg. The White House had also created an "enemies list" of prominent Americans who opposed Nixon, the Vietnam War, or both. People on this list were investigated by government agencies, such as the IRS. The illegal break-in at Watergate reflected the attitude in the Nixon administration that any means could be used to promote the national security—an objective that was often confused with protecting the Nixon administration from its critics.

Watergate Investigation

No solid proof demonstrated that President Nixon ordered any of these illegal activities. However, after months of investigation, it became clear that Nixon did engage in an illegal cover-up to avoid scandal. Tough sentencing of the Watergate burglars by federal judge John Sirica led to information about the use of money and a promise of pardons by the White House staff to keep the burglars quiet. A Senate investigating committee headed by Democrat Sam Ervin of North Carolina brought the abuses to the attention of Americans through televised hearings. A highlight of these hearings was the testimony of a White House lawyer, John Dean, who linked the president to the cover-up. Nixon's top aides, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, resigned to protect him and were later indicted, as were many others, for obstructing justice.

The discovery of a taping system in the Oval Office led to a year-long struggle between Nixon, who claimed executive privilege for the tapes, and investigators, who wanted the tapes to prove the cover-up charges.

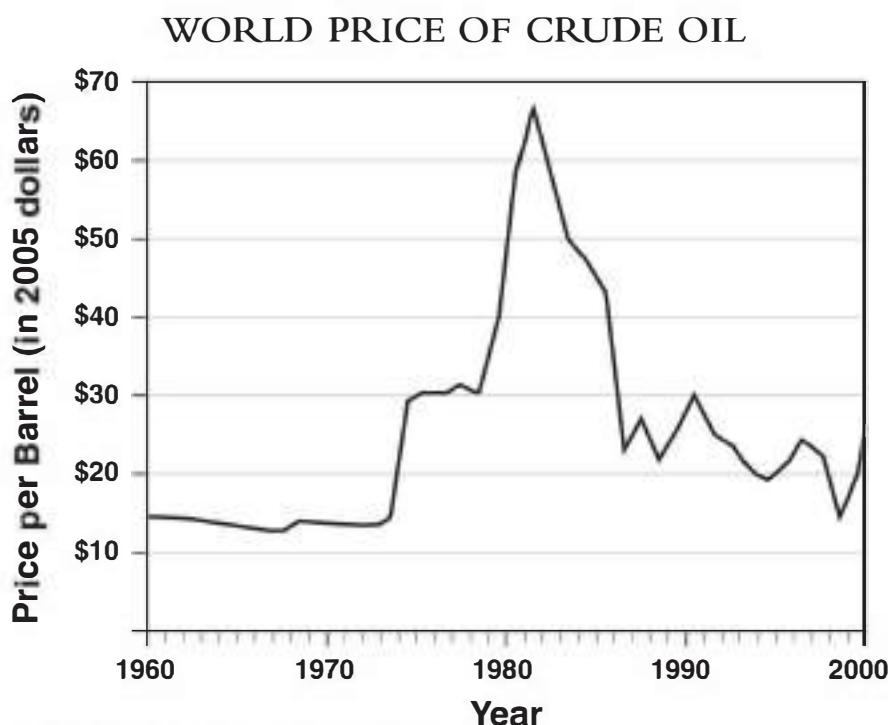
The Nixon administration received another blow in the fall of 1973, when Vice President Agnew had to resign because he had taken bribes when governor of Maryland. Replacing him was Michigan Representative Gerald Ford.

Other Developments in 1973

Although the Watergate affair absorbed most of Nixon's attention during his shortened second term, important developments occurred at home and abroad.

War Powers Act Further discrediting Nixon was the news that he had authorized 3,500 secret bombing raids in Cambodia, a neutral country. Congress used the public uproar over this information to attempt to limit the president's powers over the military. In November 1973, after a long struggle, Congress finally passed the War Powers Act over Nixon's veto. This law required Nixon and any future president to report to Congress within 48 hours after taking military action. It further provided that Congress would have to approve any military action that lasted more than 60 days.

October War and Oil Embargo In world politics, the most important event of 1973 was the outbreak of another Middle Eastern war. On October 6, on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur, the Syrians and Egyptians launched a surprise attack on Israel in an attempt to recover the lands lost in the Six-Day War of 1967. President Nixon ordered the U.S. nuclear forces on alert and airlifted almost \$2 billion in arms to Israel to stem their retreat. The tide of battle quickly shifted in favor of the Israelis, and the war was soon over.



Source: U.S. Energy Administration

The United States was made to pay a huge price for supporting Israel. The Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) placed an embargo on oil sold to Israel's supporters. The embargo caused a worldwide oil shortage and long lines at gas stations in the United States. Even worse was the impact on the U.S. economy, which now suffered from runaway

inflation, the loss of manufacturing jobs, and a lower standard of living for blue-collar workers. Consumers switched from big American-made cars to smaller, more fuel-efficient Japanese cars, which cost U.S. automobile workers over 225,000 jobs. Congress responded by enacting a 55-miles-per-hour speed limit to save gasoline and approving construction of a controversial oil pipeline to tap American oil reserves in Alaska. No government program, however, seemed to bolster the sluggish economy or stem high inflation rates, which continued to the end of the decade.

Resignation of a President

In 1974, Nixon made triumphal visits to Moscow and Cairo, but at home his reputation continued to slide. In October 1973, the president appeared to be interfering with the Watergate investigation when he fired Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor assigned to the case. In protest, the U.S. attorney general resigned. The House of Representatives began impeachment hearings, which caused Nixon to reveal transcripts of some of the Watergate tapes in April 1974. Still, it took a Supreme Court decision in July to force him to turn over the tapes to the courts and Congress. Included on one tape made just days after the Watergate burglary was an 18 ½-minute gap that had been erased. Meanwhile, the House Judiciary Committee voted three articles of impeachment: (1) obstruction of justice, (2) abuse of power, and (3) contempt of Congress.

The conversations recorded on the tapes shocked friends and foes alike. The transcript of one such White House conversation clearly implicated Nixon in the cover-up only days after the Watergate break-in. Faced with certain impeachment in the House and a trial in the Senate, Richard Nixon chose to resign on August 9, 1974. Vice President Gerald Ford then took the oath of office as the first unelected president in U.S. history.

Significance To some, the final outcome of the Watergate scandal (Nixon leaving office under pressure) proved that the U.S. constitutional system of checks and balances worked as it was intended. For others, the scandal underlined the dangerous shift of power to the presidency that began with Franklin Roosevelt and had been expanded during the Cold War. Without a doubt, Watergate contributed to a growing loss of faith in the federal government.

Gerald Ford in the White House

Before Nixon chose him to replace Vice President Agnew in 1973, Gerald Ford had served in Congress for years as a representative from Michigan and as the Republican minority leader of the House. Ford was a likeable and unpretentious man, but many questioned his ability to be president.

Pardoning of Nixon

In his first month in office, President Ford lost the goodwill of many by granting Nixon a full and unconditional pardon for any crime that he might have committed. The pardon was extended even before any formal charges or indictment had been made by a court of law. Ford was accused of making a “corrupt

bargain” with Nixon, but he explained that the purpose of the pardon was to end the “national nightmare,” instead of prolonging it for months, if not years. Critics were angered that the full truth of Nixon’s deeds never came out.

Investigating the CIA

During Ford’s presidency (1974–1977), the Democratic Congress continued to search for abuses in the executive branch, especially in the CIA. This intelligence agency was accused of engineering the assassination of foreign leaders, among them the Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende. Ford appointed former Texas Congressman George H. W. Bush to reform the agency.

Failure of U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia

President Ford was unable to get additional funds from Congress for the South Vietnamese, who in 1974 were facing strong attack from Communist forces.

Fall of Saigon In April 1975, the U.S.-supported government in Saigon fell to the enemy, and Vietnam became one country under the rule of the Communist government in Hanoi (North Vietnam’s capital). Just before the final collapse, the United States was able to evacuate about 150,000 Vietnamese who had supported the United States and now faced certain persecution. The fall of South Vietnam marked a low point of American prestige overseas and confidence at home.

Genocide in Cambodia Also in 1975, the U.S.-supported government in Vietnam’s neighbor, Cambodia, fell to the Khmer Rouge, a radical Communist faction that killed over a million of its own people in a brutal relocation program to rid the country of western influence. Together the wars in Southeast Asia created 10 million refugees, many of whom fled to the United States.

Future of Southeast Asia The fall of Cambodia seemed to fulfill Eisenhower’s domino theory, but in fact the rest of Southeast Asia did not fall to communism. Instead, nations such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia emerged as the “little tigers” of the vigorously growing Asian (Pacific Rim) economy. Some argued that U.S. support of South Vietnam was not a waste, because it bought time for other nations of East Asia and Southeast Asia to develop and better resist communism.

The Economy and Domestic Policy

On domestic matters, Ford proved less accommodating and more conservative than Nixon. His chief concern was bringing inflation under control. He urged voluntary measures on the part of businesses and consumers, including the wearing of WIN buttons (Whip Inflation Now). Not only did inflation continue, but the economy also sank deeper into recession, with the unemployment rate reaching more than 9 percent. Ford finally agreed to a Democratic package to stimulate the economy, but he vetoed 39 other Democratic bills.

Bicentennial Celebration In 1976, the United States celebrated its 200th birthday. Americans’ pride in their history helped to put Watergate and Vietnam behind them. Even the lackluster presidency of Gerald Ford served the purpose of restoring candor and humility to the White House.

The Election of 1976

Watergate still cast its gloom over the Republican party in the 1976 elections. President Ford was challenged for the party's nomination by Ronald Reagan, a former actor and ex-governor of California, who enjoyed the support of the more conservative Republicans. Ford won the nomination in a close battle, but the conflict with Reagan hurt him in the polls.

Emergence of Jimmy Carter A number of Democrats competed for their party's nomination, including a little-known former governor of Georgia, James Earl (Jimmy) Carter. With Watergate still on voters' minds, Carter had success running as an outsider against the corruption in Washington. His victories in open primaries reduced the influence of more experienced Democratic politicians. After watching his huge lead in the polls evaporate in the closing days of the campaign, Carter managed to win a close election (287 electoral votes to 241 for Ford) by carrying most of the South and getting an estimated 97 percent of the African American vote. In the aftermath of Watergate, the Democrats also won strong majorities in both houses of Congress.

Jimmy Carter's Presidency

The informal style of Jimmy Carter signaled an effort to end the imperial presidency. On his inaugural day, he walked down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House instead of riding in the presidential limousine. Public images of the president carrying his own luggage may have impressed average Americans. However, veteran members of Congress always viewed Carter as an outsider who depended too much on his politically inexperienced advisers from Georgia. Even Carter's keen intelligence and dedication to duty may have been partly a liability in causing him to pay close attention to all the details of government operations. Critics observed that, when it came to distinguishing between the forest and the trees, Carter was a "leaf man."

Foreign Policy

The hallmark of Carter's foreign policy was human rights, which he preached with Wilsonian fervor to the world's dictators.

Human Rights Diplomacy Carter appointed Andrew Young, an African American, to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Carter and Young championed the cause of human rights around the world, especially by opposing the oppression of the black majority in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) by all-white governments. In Latin America, human rights violations by the military governments of Argentina and Chile caused Carter to cut off U.S. aid to those countries.

Panama Canal The Carter administration attempted to correct inequities in the original Panama Canal Treaty of 1903 by negotiating a new treaty. In 1978, after long debate, the Senate ratified a treaty that would gradually transfer operation and control of the Panama Canal from the United States to the Panamanians, a process to be completed by the year 2000. Opponents would remember Carter's "giveaway" of the canal in the 1980 election.

Camp David Accords (1978) Perhaps Carter's single greatest achievement as president was arranging a peace settlement between Egypt and Israel. In 1977, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat took the first courageous step toward Middle East peace by visiting Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem. President Carter followed this bold initiative by inviting Sadat and Begin to meet again at the presidential retreat in Camp David, Maryland. With Carter acting as an intermediary, the two leaders negotiated the Camp David Accords (September 1978), which provided a framework for a peace settlement between their countries.

Later, as a result of a peace treaty concluded in 1979, Egypt became the first Arab nation to recognize the nation of Israel. In return, Israel withdrew its troops from the Sinai territory taken from Egypt in the Six-Day War of 1967. The treaty was opposed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and most of the Arab world, but it proved the first step in the long road to a negotiated peace in the Middle East.

Iran and the Hostage Crisis The Middle East provided Carter's greatest frustration. In Iran, anti-American sentiment had been strong since the United States had helped overthrow the country's democratically elected leader in 1953 and install a dictatorial government. In 1979, Islamic fundamentalists in Iran, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, overthrew the shah who was then leading the Iranian government. The shah had kept the oil flowing for the West during the 1970s, but his autocratic rule and policy of westernization had alienated a large part of the Iranian population.

With the ayatollah and fundamentalists in power, Iranian oil production ground to a halt, causing the second worldwide oil shortage of the decade and another round of price increases. U.S. impotence in dealing with the crisis became more evident in November 1979 when Iranian militants seized the U.S. embassy in Teheran and held more than 50 members of the American staff as prisoners and hostages. The hostage crisis dragged out through the remainder of Carter's presidency. In April 1980, Carter approved a rescue mission, but the breakdown of the helicopters over the Iranian desert forced the United States to abort the mission. For many Americans, Carter's unsuccessful attempts to free the hostages became a symbol of a failed presidency.

Cold War President Carter attempted to continue the Nixon-Ford policy of détente with China and the Soviet Union. In 1979, the United States ended its official recognition of the Nationalist Chinese government of Taiwan and completed the first exchange of ambassadors with the People's Republic of China. At first, détente also moved ahead with the Soviet Union with the signing in 1979 of a SALT II treaty, which provided for limiting the size of each superpower's nuclear delivery system. The Senate never ratified the treaty, however, as a result of a renewal of Cold War tensions over Afghanistan.

In December 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan—an aggressive action that ended a decade of improving U.S.-Soviet relations. The United States feared that the invasion might lead to a Soviet move to control the oil-rich Persian Gulf. Carter reacted by (1) placing an embargo on grain exports

and the sale of high technology to the Soviet Union, and (2) boycotting the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. After having campaigned for arms reduction, Carter now had to switch to an arms buildup.

Domestic Policy: Dealing with Inflation

At home, the biggest issue was the growing inflation rate. At first Carter tried to check inflation with measures aimed at conserving oil energy and reviving the U.S. coal industry. However, the compromises that came out of Congress failed either to reduce the consumption of oil or to check inflation. In 1979–1980, inflation seemed completely out of control and reached the unheard of rate of 13 percent.

Troubled Economy Inflation slowed economic growth as consumers and businesses could no longer afford the high interest rates that came with high prices. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Paul Volcker, hoped to break the back of inflation by pushing interest rates even higher, to 20 percent in 1980. These rates especially hurt the automobile and building industries, which laid off tens of thousands of workers. Inflation also pushed middle-class taxpayers into higher tax brackets, which led to a “taxpayers’ revolt.” Government social programs that were indexed to the inflation rate helped to push the federal deficit to nearly \$60 billion in 1980. Many Americans had to adjust to the harsh truth that, for the first time since World War II, their standard of living was on the decline.

Loss of Popularity

The Iranian hostage crisis and worsening economic crisis hurt Carter in the opinion polls. In 1979, in what the press called Carter’s “national malaise” speech, he blamed the problems of the United States on a “moral and spiritual crisis” of the American people. By that time, however, many Americans blamed the president for weak and indecisive leadership. By the election year 1980 his approval rating had fallen to only 23 percent. In seeking a second term, the unpopular president was clearly vulnerable to political challenges from both Democrats and Republicans.

American Society in Transition

Social changes in the 1970s were of potentially even greater significance than politics. By the end of the decade, for the first time, half of all Americans lived in the fastest-growing sections of the country—the South and the West. Unlike the previous decade, which was dominated by the youth revolt, Americans were conscious in the seventies that the population was aging. The fastest growing age group consisted of senior citizens over 65.

The country’s racial and ethnic composition was also changing noticeably in the late 20th century. By 1990, minority groups made up 25 percent of the population. The Census Bureau predicted that, by 2050, as much as half the population would be Hispanic American, African American, or Asian

American. Cultural pluralism was replacing the melting pot as the model for U.S. society, as diverse ethnic and cultural groups strove not only to end discrimination and improve their lives, but also to celebrate their unique traditions.

Growth of Immigration

Before the 1960s, most immigrants to the United States had come from Europe and Canada. By the 1980s, 47 percent of immigrants came from Latin America, 37 percent from Asia, and less than 13 percent from Europe and Canada. In part, this dramatic shift was caused by the arrival of refugees leaving Cuba and Vietnam after the Communist takeovers of these countries. Of far greater importance was the impact of the Immigration Act of 1965, which ended the ethnic quota acts of the 1920s favoring Europeans and thereby opened the United States to immigrants from all parts of the world.

Undocumented Immigrants How many immigrants entered the United States illegally every year could only be estimated, but by the mid-1970s, as many as 12 million foreigners were in the U.S. illegally. The rise in immigrants from countries of Latin America and Asia led to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which penalized employers for hiring immigrants who had entered the country illegally or had overstayed their visas, while also granting amnesty to undocumented immigrants arriving by 1982. Even so, many Americans concluded that the nation had lost control of its own borders, as both legal and undocumented immigrants continued to flock to the United States at an estimated million persons a year.

Demands for Minority Rights

One aspect of the protest movements of the 1960s that continued into later decades was the movement by a variety of minorities to gain both relief from discrimination and recognition for their contributions to U.S. society.

Hispanic Americans Most Hispanic Americans before World War II lived in the southwestern states, but in the postwar years new arrivals from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and South and Central America increasingly settled in the East and Midwest. Mexican workers, after suffering deportation during the Great Depression, returned to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s to take low-paying agricultural jobs. They were widely exploited before a long series of boycotts led by Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Organization finally gained collective bargaining rights for farm workers in 1975. Mexican American activists also won a federal mandate for bilingual education requiring schools to teach Hispanic children in both English and Spanish. In the 1980s, a growing number of Hispanic Americans were elected to public office, including as mayors of Miami, San Antonio, and other large cities. The Census Bureau reported that, in 2000, Hispanics, including Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latin Americans, had become the country's largest minority group.

American Indian Movement In the 1950s, the Eisenhower administration had made an unsuccessful attempt to encourage American Indians to leave reservations and assimilate into urban America. American Indian leaders resisted the loss of cultural identity that would have resulted from such a policy. To achieve self-determination and revival of tribal traditions, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in 1968. Militant actions soon followed, including AIM's takeover of the abandoned prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay in 1969. AIM members also occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, site of the infamous massacre of American Indians by the U.S. cavalry in 1890.

American Indians had a number of successes in both Congress and the courts. Congress' passage of the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 gave reservations and tribal lands greater control over internal programs, education, and law enforcement. American Indians also used the federal courts successfully to regain property or compensation for treaty violations. They attacked widespread unemployment and poverty on reservations by improving education, through the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, and by building industries and gambling casinos on reservations, under the self-determination legislation. Interest in the cultural heritage of American Indians was also overcoming old prejudices. By the 2010 census, nearly three million people identified themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native, and over two million more identified themselves as a combination of American Indian or Alaska Native and some other ethnic group.

American Indian Population of the United States, 1950 to 2010		
Year	Total	Percentage
1950	343,410	0.2
1960	508,675	0.3
1970	827,255	0.4
1980	1,420,400	0.6
1990	1,959,234	0.8
2000	2,475,956	0.9
2010	2,932,248	0.9

Figures include Alaska Natives

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Asian Americans Americans of Asian descent had become the fastest growing ethnic minority by the 1980s. The largest group of Asian Americans were of Chinese ancestry, followed by Filipinos, Japanese, Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese. A strong dedication to education resulted in Asian Americans being well represented in the best colleges and universities. However, at times, Asian Americans suffered from discrimination, envy, and Japan-bashing, while the less educated immigrants earned well below the national average.

Gay Liberation Movement In 1969, a police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City, sparked both a riot and the gay rights movement. Gay activists urged homosexuals to be open about their identity and to work to end discrimination and violent abuse. By the mid-1970s, homosexuality was no longer classified as a mental illness and the federal Civil Service dropped its ban on employment of homosexuals. In 1993, President Clinton attempted to end discrimination against gays and lesbians in the military, but settled for the compromise “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. People would not be asked or expected to describe their sexual identity, but the military could still expel people for being gay or lesbian.

The Environmental Movement

While the Progressive era conservation movement was fairly small and led by politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt, the modern environmental movement had wide spread popular support. The participation of 20 million citizens in the first Earth Day in 1970 reflected the nation’s growing concerns over air and water pollution and the destruction of the natural environment, including wildlife. Media coverage of industrial disasters increased public questioning of the benefits of industry and new technologies, in what some called a “post-modern” culture. Massive oil spills around the world, from off the coast of Santa Barbara California in 1969 to the *Exxon Valdez* oil tanker accident in Alaska in 1989, reinforced fears about the deadly combination of human error and modern technology. Public opinion also turned against building additional nuclear power plants after an accident at the Three Mile Island power plant in Pennsylvania (1979) and the deadly explosion of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in the Soviet Union (1986).

Protective Legislation The environmental movement borrowed tactics from other protest movements to secure legislation to stop pollution and destruction of nature. In 1970, Congress passed the Clean Air Act and created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and followed this legislation in 1972 with the Clean Water Act, and the Endangered Species Act of 1973. In 1980, the Superfund was created to clean up toxic dumps, such as Love Canal in Niagara Falls, New York. These laws regulated toxic substances, public drinking water systems, dumping of waste, and protected natural environments and wildlife, such as the American bald eagle. In the 1980s, the backlash from business and industry would try to reverse the impact of this legislation.

Conservative Shift

The protest movements by diverse groups in American society seemed to produce more social stress and fragmentation. Combined with a slowing economy and a declining standard of living, these forces left many Americans feeling angry and bitter. A conservative reaction to the liberal policies of the New Deal and the Great Society was gaining strength in the late 1970s and would prove a powerful force in the politics of the next decade.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: END OF THE IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY?

The Cold War, and the Vietnam War in particular, caused critics in the 1970s to fear the expansion and abuse of power by presidents. They saw parallels between the decline of the Roman Republic and the rise of the powerful emperor system of the Roman Empire during Rome's expansion, and the developments in the political system of the United States during its emergence as a superpower after World War II. The actions of Richard Nixon and the Watergate scandals confirmed many Americans' fears.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. argued in his book *The Imperial Presidency* (1973) that the United States' exercise of world leadership had gradually undermined the original intent of the Constitution and the war powers of Congress. Cold War presidents had used national security, the need for secrecy, executive privilege, and the mystique of the high office to concentrate power into the White House. The end of the Vietnam War, the resignation of Richard Nixon, and the War Powers Act of 1973 seemed to end the dangers of the imperial presidency. Presidents Ford and Carter proved comparatively weak presidents, and power had seemed to shift back to the Congress, as the Founders had intended.

Schlesinger concluded that the U.S. would continue to need a strong president, but one working within the limits of the Constitution. The issue of the proper constitutional limits on presidential powers reemerged after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. What are the constitutional limits on presidential powers to fight terrorists given invasive reach of the newest electronic and military technologies?

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Nixon Foreign Policy (WOR)

Henry Kissinger
Vietnamization
Nixon Doctrine
Kent State
My Lai
Pentagon Papers
Paris Accords of 1973
détente
China visit
antiballistic missiles
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)
Middle East War (1973)
OPEC; oil embargo

Nixon Domestic Policy (POL)

New Federalism
stagflation
southern strategy
wage and price controls
off the gold standard
cost of living indexed
Title IX
Burger Court
Roe v. Wade (1973)
election of 1972
George McGovern
Watergate cover-up
“plumbers”
“enemies list”
United States v. Nixon
War Powers Act (1973)
impeachment and resignation
“imperial presidency”

Ford Presidency (POL, WOR)

Gerald Ford
pardon of Nixon
reform of CIA
fall of Saigon
Cambodia genocide
battle over inflation
Bicentennial election of 1976

Carter Presidency (WOR, POL)

James Earl (Jimmy) Carter
human rights
Panama Canal Treaty (1978)
Camp David Accords (1978)
Iranian hostage crisis
recognition of China
Soviet Afghanistan invasion
Paul Volcker, high interest rates
“malaise” speech

American Identities (NAT, PEO)

cultural pluralism
impact of 1965 immigration law
Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986)
Hispanic Americans
Cesar Chavez
American Indian Movement
Indian Self-Determination Act (1975)
gaming casinos
Asian Americans
gay liberation movement

Environmental Movement (GEO)

Earth Day (1970)
Exxon Valdez accident
Three Mile Island
Chernobyl meltdown
Clean Air Act (1970)
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
Clean Water Act (1972)
Environmental Superfund (1980)
Endangered Species Act (1973)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Unlike some anticomunists . . . I have always believed that we can and must communicate and, when possible, negotiate with Communist nations. . . .

“There were, however, a few things in our favor. The most important and interesting was the Soviet split with China. . . .

“It was often said that the key to a Vietnam settlement lay in Moscow and Peking rather than in Hanoi. . . . Aside from wanting to keep Hanoi from going over to Peking, Moscow had little stake in the outcome of the North Vietnamese cause, especially as it increasingly worked against Moscow’s own major interests vis-à-vis the United States. While I understood that the Soviets were not entirely free agents where their support for North Vietnam was concerned, I nonetheless planned to bring maximum pressure to bear on them in this area.”

—Richard Nixon, *RN: Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, 1978

1. Which of the following best explains why Nixon’s foreign policy was a departure from the previous administrations’?
 - (A) He was the first president willing to negotiate with Communist leaders
 - (B) He was willing to use massive bombing to force an issue
 - (C) He turned over his foreign policy to his national security advisor
 - (D) He exploited that Communism was not a unified world movement
2. Nixon’s bold move to open up relations with Communist China was helped most by
 - (A) the support of the Communist leaders in the Soviet Union
 - (B) his long history of being a hard-line opponent of communism
 - (C) Mao Zedong’s belief that the Cultural Revolution had failed
 - (D) his belief that Americans trusted China more than the Soviet Union
3. Which of the following was Nixon able to negotiate as a result of his new relationship with China?
 - (A) Withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam
 - (B) Autonomy for Poland in Eastern Europe
 - (C) Freeze on the number of US and USSR ballistic missiles
 - (D) A peace treaty between South and North Korea

Questions 4–5 refer to the following cartoon.



Source: A 1974 Herblock Cartoon, © The Herb Block Foundation

4. Richard Nixon claimed that “I am not a crook,” but which of the following best explains his crime?
 - (A) Destroying evidence that was on the tapes
 - (B) Covering up illegal activities of his reelection campaign
 - (C) Firing the special prosecutors and his attorney general
 - (D) Lying to the grand jury during the investigation
5. Which best explains the role of the tapes in Nixon’s fall?
 - (A) Transcripts of the tapes were published in the newspapers
 - (B) The tapes used in *United States v. Nixon* proved that he was lying
 - (C) The tapes provided evidence that he was involved in the cover-up
 - (D) The tapes turned his closest advisers against him

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Our people are losing faith, not only in government itself but in their ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy.

“We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

“We remember when the phrase ‘sound as a dollar’ was an expression of absolute dependability, until ten years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed that our Nation’s resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.”

—Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1979

6. Which of the following would most strongly support Carter’s contention in his phrase “we were taught that our armies were always invincible”?
 - (A) The secret expansion of the Vietnam War into Cambodia by Nixon
 - (B) The killing of protesters at Kent State and Jackson State Universities
 - (C) The decision by newspapers to publish the Pentagon Papers
 - (D) The defeat of South Vietnam by North Vietnam in 1975
7. Why might Carter and historians consider 1973 a turning point in Americans’ confidence in the economy?
 - (A) Nixon devaluated the dollar by taking it off of the gold standard
 - (B) Nixon imposed a wage and price freeze to fight inflation
 - (C) The OPEC oil embargo caused runaway inflation and loss of jobs
 - (D) President Ford would not take strong measures to fight inflation
8. Which of the following best identifies the effect of the speech from which the above excerpt is taken?
 - (A) Consumers increased their efforts to conserve energy
 - (B) Americans blamed Carter for weak and ineffective leadership
 - (C) Carter increased his approval ratings with his honesty
 - (D) The Federal Reserve raised interest rates to support the President

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

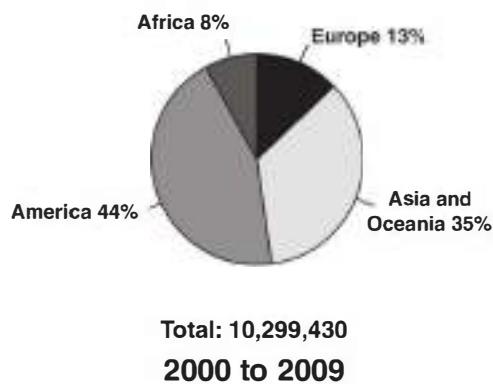
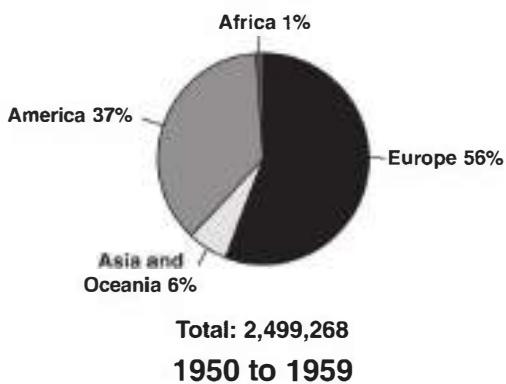
- a) Briefly explain the effects of ONE of the following on American foreign policy in the 1970s.
 - War Powers Act of 1973
 - Panama Canal Treaty
 - Camp David Accords
- b) Briefly analyze the significance of ONE of the following.
 - Vietnamization
 - détente
 - imperial presidency
- c) Briefly explain the effects of ONE of the following.
 - oil embargo
 - Iranian hostage crisis
 - Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the impact of ONE of the following on American politics in the 1970s.
 - New Federalism
 - Southern Strategy
 - Watergate scandal
- b) Briefly explain the impact of ONE of the following on women.
 - Title IX
 - *Roe v. Wade*
 - Equal Rights Amendment
- c) Briefly explain the goals of ONE of the following movements during the 1970s.
 - United Farm Workers
 - American Indian Movement
 - Gay liberation movement

Question 3 is based on the following graphs.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

3. Using the graphs, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE significant change in immigration patterns from the 1950s to the first decade of the 2000s.
 - b) Briefly analyze ONE way the Immigration Act of 1965 contributed to the changes in immigration patterns.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE additional cause of the changes in immigration patterns from the 1950s to the first decade of the 2000s.

Question 4 is based on the excerpt below.

“Nixon had little interest in environmental problems—indeed, he was bored by the issue—but he was savvy enough not to swim against the tide of reform. . . . The result in the next few years was that he accepted a spate of bills, many of them passed by large bipartisan majorities. The most important of these laws, signed in January 1970, was the National Environment Policy Act, which set up the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). . . . In February *Time* gushed that the environment “may be the gut issue that can unify a polarized nation.”

—James T. Patterson, historian, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*, 1996

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE reason why the environmental movement of the 1970s started out as a bipartisan effort.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE additional environmental act, not in the excerpt, passed in the 1970s.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE additional example of President Nixon taking a moderate or liberal position on domestic policy.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: WRITING CLEAR SENTENCES

In effective writing, each sentence is clear and understandable. Which ONE of the following sentences is most clearly written?

1. U.S. foreign policy, under Nixon, who was complex, was changed in direction.
2. A complex Nixon in foreign policy changed U.S. direction.
3. A complex man, Nixon changed the direction of U.S foreign policy.

PERIOD 8 Review: 1945–1980

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. For complete direction, see page 547.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Analyze how the Cold War altered the role of the United States in the world from 1945 to 1980.
2. Analyze the impact of the Cold War on domestic politics from 1945 to 1980.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Compare and contrast the policies of the New Deal with the Great Society.
4. Compare and contrast the policies and effects of the Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924 with the Immigration Act of 1965.

Choose EITHER Question 5 or Question 6.

5. Analyze the changes and continuity in U.S. environmental policies of the Progressive era with the period from 1945 to 1980.
6. Analyze the changes and continuity in the identity and roles of American women from 1945 to 1980.

Choose EITHER Question 7 or Question 8.

7. Analyze THREE developments in popular culture that had an impact on American society from 1945 to 1980.
8. Analyze THREE events or developments that had a significant impact on race relations in the United States in the period from 1945 to 1980.

Choose EITHER Question 9 or Question 10.

9. Analyze the changing impact on American workers of U.S. interconnection with other world economies during the period from 1945 to 1980.
10. Analyze how the role of the federal government in the American economy changed during the period from 1945 to 1980.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. Compare and contrast the roles of the federal government and the civil rights activists in achieving the goals of the civil rights movement from 1945 through 1968.

Document 1

Source: Harry S. Truman, *Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services*, July 1948

“Whereas it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country’s defense:

“1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.”

Document 2

Source: Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, civil rights organizer, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It*, 1987

“The news [of Mrs. Parks’ arrest] traveled like wildfire into every black home. Telephones jangled; people congregated on street corners and in homes and talked. But nothing was done. A numbing helplessness seemed to paralyze everyone. . . .

“Lost in thought, I was startled by the telephone’s ring. Black attorney Fred Gray. . . . had just gotten back and was returning the phone message I had left him about Mrs. Parks’ arrest.

“Fred was shocked by the news of Mrs. Parks’ arrest. I informed him that I already was thinking that the WPC [Women’s Political Council] should distribute thousands of notices calling for all bus riders to stay off the buses. . . . ‘Are you ready?’ he asked. Without hesitation, I assured him that we were. With that he hung up, and I went to work.

“I made some notes on the back of an envelope: ‘The Women’s Political Council will not wait for Mrs. Parks’ consent to call for a boycott of city buses. On Friday, December 1, 1955, the women of Montgomery will call for a boycott to take place on Monday, December 5.’”

Document 3

Source: Governor George C. Wallace, Proclamation at the University of Alabama, June 11, 1963

“I stand here today, as Governor of this sovereign State, and refuse to willingly submit to illegal usurpation of power by the Central Government. I claim today for all the people of the State of Alabama those rights reserved to them under the Constitution of the United States. Among those powers so reserved and claimed is the right of state authority in the operation of the public schools, colleges, and universities.

My action does not constitute disobedience to legislative and constitutional provisions. It is not defiance for defiance sake, but for the purpose of raising basic and fundamental constitutional questions. My action is raising a call for strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States as it was written—for a cessation of usurpation and abuses. My action seeks to avoid having state sovereignty sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.”

Document 4

Source: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963.
Library of Congress



Document 5

Source: Malcolm X's Speech in Cleveland, Ohio, April 3, 1964

"The question tonight, as I understand it, is 'The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?', or 'What Next?'" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet. . . .

"The black nationalists aren't going to wait. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Democratic Party. If he's for civil rights, let him go into the Senate next week and declare himself. Let him go in there right now and declare himself. Let him go in there and denounce the Southern branch of his party. Let him go in there right now and take a moral stand—right now, not later. Tell him, don't wait until election time. If he waits too long, brothers and sisters, he will be responsible for letting a condition develop in this country which will create a climate that will bring seeds up out of the ground with vegetation on the end of them looking like something these people never dreamed of. In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet."

Document 6

Source: Martin Luther King Jr. Acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, December 10, 1964

"I accept the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award on behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice. I am mindful that only yesterday in Birmingham, Alabama, our children, crying out for brotherhood, were answered with fire hoses, snarling dogs and even death. I am mindful that only yesterday in Philadelphia, Mississippi, young people seeking to secure the right to vote were brutalized and murdered. And only yesterday more than 40 houses of worship in the State of Mississippi alone were bombed or burned because they offered a sanctuary to those who would not accept segregation. I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

"The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Alabama, to Oslo bears witness to this truth [nonviolence]. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are travelling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new Civil Rights Bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a super highway of justice as Negro and white men in increasing numbers create alliances to overcome their common problems."

Document 7

Source: President Lyndon B. Johnson, Speech to Congress and the Nation, March 15, 1965

"At times, history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. There, long suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many of them were brutally assaulted. One good man—a man of God—was killed. . . .

"But I want to really discuss with you now briefly the main proposals of this legislation. This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—federal, state, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote. . . .

"But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement, which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome."

PERIOD 9: 1980–Present

Chapter 30 Conservative Resurgence, 1980–2000

Chapter 31 Challenges of the 21st Century, 2000–Present

T

he election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 signaled the closing of the chapter on the post-war era, and the emergence of a decidedly more conservative political era.

Overview The decline of faith in the federal government's ability to solve social and economic problems, the championing of unregulated markets by American corporations and the growth of religious fundamentalism combined to give conservatism new life. The demographic growth of the Sunbelt and the shift of Southern white conservative voters to the Republican Party also helped create an electoral majority. Conservatives achieved some of their goals, but the enduring popularity of government programs, such as Social Security and Medicare limited the amount of actual change.

The Reagan administration pursued an aggressive anti-communist foreign policy, but the end of the Cold War took away the forty-five-year focus of U.S. foreign policy. After the terrorists' attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States quickly became involved in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq with a new focus on homeland security.

The Great Recession of 2008 and demographic and cultures changes deepened the political divide in the nation, between an older white population who dominated the Tea Party movement and a younger multicultural society who represented the new emerging majority.

Alternate View Analysis of the last six presidential elections suggests that the conservative resurgence on the national level was short-lived, and if the disputed election of 2000 had gone the other way, the narrative of the period would have been considerably different.

Key Concepts

9.1: A newly ascendant conservative movement achieved several political and policy goals during the 1980s and continued to strongly influence public discourse in the following decades.

9.2: Moving into the 21st century, the nation experienced significant technological, economic, and demographic changes.

9.3: The end of the Cold War and new challenges to U.S. leadership forced the nation to redefine its foreign policy and role in the world.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

CONSERVATIVE RESURGENCE, 1980–2000

*In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem;
government is the problem.*

President Ronald Reagan, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981

The most important changes during the 1980s and 1990s included the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War. In the post-Cold War world, older ethnic and religious conflicts reemerged to threaten the peace with civil wars and terrorism. On the domestic scene, the conservative agenda of the Reagan administration (1981–1989)—for a stronger military, lower taxes, fewer social programs, and traditional cultural values—helped the Republicans to dominate much of national politics in the 1980s and 1990s.

The Rise of Conservatism

Even though Barry Goldwater was defeated in a landslide in the election of 1964, his campaign for the presidency marked the beginning of the resurgence of conservatism. The policies of presidents Nixon and Ford and the writings of the conservative political commentator William F. Buckley Jr. and the free-market economist Milton Friedman gave evidence in the 1970s of a steady shift to the right, away from the liberalism of the 1960s. By 1980, a loose coalition of economic and political conservatives, religious fundamentalists, and political action committees (PACs) had become a potent force for change. These groups opposed big government, New Deal liberalism, gun control, feminism, gay rights, welfare, affirmative action, sexual permissiveness, abortion, and drug use. They believed that these issues were undermining family and religious values, the work ethic, and national security.

Leading Issues

By 1980, various activists had taken the lead in establishing a conservative agenda for the nation, which included such diverse causes as lower taxes, changed morals, and reduced emphasis on affirmative action.

Taxpayers' Revolt In 1978, California voters led the revolt against increasing taxes by passing Proposition 13, a measure that sharply cut property

taxes. Nationally, conservatives promoted economist Arthur Laffer's belief that tax cuts would increase government revenues. Two Republican members of Congress, Jack Kemp and William Roth, proposed legislation to reduce federal taxes by 30 percent, which became the basis for the Reagan tax cuts.

Conservative Religious Revival Moral decay was a weekly theme of religious leaders on television such as Pat Robertson, Oral Roberts, and Jim Baker. By 1980, televangelists had a combined weekly audience of between 60 and 100 million viewers. Religion became an instrument of electoral politics when an evangelist from Virginia, Jerry Falwell, founded the Moral Majority, which financed campaigns to unseat liberal members of Congress. Religious fundamentalists attacked "secular humanism" as a godless creed taking over public education and also campaigned for the return of prayers and the teaching of the Biblical account of creation in public schools. The legalization of abortion in the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision sparked the right-to-life movement. This movement united Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants, who believed that human life begins at the moment of conception.

Elimination of Racial Preferences In 1965, President Johnson had committed the U.S. government to a policy of affirmative action to ensure that underprivileged minorities and women would have equal access to education, jobs, and promotions. Suffering through years of recession and stagflation in the 1970s, many whites blamed their troubles on affirmative action, calling it "reverse discrimination." In a landmark court case challenging the admissions policies of one medical school, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), the Supreme Court ruled that while race could be considered, the school had created racial quotas, which were unconstitutional. Using this decision, conservatives intensified their campaign to end all preferences based on race and ethnicity.

De-Regulation of Business Starting in the 1970s, business interests launched a very successful campaign to mobilize and influence federal and state governments to curtail regulations, lower taxes, and weaken labor unions. Business donors created "think tanks," such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, and the Cato Institute, to promote free-market ideas, while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce lobbied for pro-business legislation.

Ronald Reagan and the Election of 1980

Ronald Reagan, a well-known movie and television actor, gained fame among Republicans as an effective political speaker in the 1964 Goldwater campaign. He was soon elected the governor of California, the nation's most populous state. By 1976, Reagan was the party's leading spokesperson for conservative positions, and he almost defeated President Ford for the nomination. Handsome and vigorous in his late sixties, he proved a master of the media and was seen by millions as a likable and sensible champion of average Americans. In 1980, Reagan won the Republican nomination.

Campaign for President, 1980 Senator Edward Kennedy's challenge to President Carter for the Democratic nomination left Carter battered in the

polls. As the Republican nominee, Reagan attacked the Democrats for expanding government and for undermining U.S. prestige abroad. (Throughout the campaign, American hostages remained in the hands of Iranian radicals.) Reagan also pointed to a “misery index” of 28 (rate of inflation added to the rate of unemployment) and concluded his campaign by asking a huge television audience, “Are you better off now than you were four years ago?” The voters’ rejection of Carter’s presidency and the growing conservative mood gave Reagan 51 percent of the popular vote and almost 91 percent of the electoral vote. Carter received 41 percent of the popular vote. A third candidate, John Anderson, a moderate Republican running as an independent, received 8 percent.

Significance Reagan’s election broke up a key element of the New Deal coalition by taking more than 50 percent of the blue-collar vote. The defeat of 11 liberal Democratic senators targeted by the Moral Majority gave the Republicans control of the Senate for the first time since 1954. The Republicans also gained 33 seats in the House, which when combined with the votes of conservative southern Democrats, would give them a working majority on many key issues. The 1980 election ended a half-century of Democratic dominance of Congress.

The Reagan Revolution

On the very day that Reagan was inaugurated, the Iranians released the 52 American hostages, giving his administration a positive start. Two months later, the president survived a serious gunshot wound from an assassination attempt. Reagan handled the crisis with such humor and charm that he emerged from the ordeal as an even more popular leader. He pledged that his administration would lower taxes, reduce government spending on welfare, build up the U.S. armed forces, and create a more conservative federal court. He delivered on all four promises—but there were costs.

Supply-Side Economics (“Reaganomics”)

The Reagan administration advocated supply-side economics, arguing that tax cuts and reduced government spending would increase investment by the private sector, which would lead to increased production, jobs, and prosperity. This approach contrasted with the Keynesian economics long favored by the Democrats, which relied on government spending during economic downturns to boost consumer income and demand. Critics of the supply-side theory compared it to the “trickle-down” economics of the 1920s, in which wealthy Americans prospered, and some of their increased spending benefited the middle class and the poor.

Federal Tax Reduction The legislative activity early in Reagan’s presidency reminded some in the media of FDR’s Hundred Days. Congress passed the Economic Recovery Act of 1981, which included a 25 percent decrease in personal income taxes over three years. Cuts in the corporate income tax, capital gains tax, and gift and inheritance taxes guaranteed that a large share of the tax relief went to upper-income taxpayers. Under Reagan, the top income



Source: Len Boro/Rothco

tax rate was reduced to 28 percent. At the same time, small investors were also helped by a provision that allowed them to invest up to \$2,000 a year in Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) without paying taxes on this money.

Spending Cuts With the help of conservative southern Democrats (“boll weevils”), the Republicans cut more than \$40 billion from domestic programs, such as food stamps, student loans, and mass transportation. However, these savings were offset by a dramatic increase in military spending. Reagan pushed through no cuts in Medicare or Social Security, but he did support and sign into law a bipartisan bill to strengthen Social Security. The law increased what individuals paid into the system, raised the age at which they could get full benefits to 67, and taxed some benefits paid to upper-income recipients.

Deregulation

Following up on the promise of “getting government off the backs of the people,” the Reagan administration reduced federal regulations on business and industry—a policy of deregulation begun under Carter. Restrictions were eased on savings and loan institutions, mergers and takeovers by large corporations, and environmental protection. To help the struggling American auto industry, regulations on emissions and auto safety were also reduced. Secretary of the Interior James Watt opened federal lands for increased coal and timber production and offshore waters for oil drilling.

Labor Unions

Despite having once been the president of the Screen Actors Guild, Reagan took a tough stand against unions. He fired thousands of striking federal air traffic controllers for violating their contract and decertified their union (PATCO). Many businesses followed this action by hiring striker replacements in labor conflicts. These anti-union policies along with the loss of manufacturing jobs hastened the decline of union membership among nonfarm workers

from more than 30 percent in 1962 to only 12 percent in the late 1990s. In addition, the recession of 1982 and foreign competition had a dampening effect on workers' wages.

Recession and Recovery

In 1982, the nation suffered the worst recession since the 1930s. Banks failed and unemployment reached 11 percent. However, the recession, along with a fall in oil prices, reduced the double-digit inflation rate of the late 1970s to less than 4 percent. As the policies of Reaganomics took hold, the economy rebounded and beginning in 1983 entered a long period of recovery. However, the recovery only widened the income gap between rich and poor. While upper-income groups, including well-educated workers and "yuppies" (young urban professionals) enjoyed higher incomes from a deregulated marketplace, the standard of living of the middle class remained stagnant or declined. Not until the late 1990s did the middle class gain back some of its losses.

Social Issues

President Reagan followed through on his pledge to appoint conservative judges to the Supreme Court by nominating Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman on the Court, as well as Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy. Led by a new chief justice, William Rehnquist, the Supreme Court scaled back affirmative action in hiring and promotions, and limited *Roe v. Wade* by allowing states to impose certain restrictions on abortion, such as requiring minors to notify their parents before having an abortion.

The Election of 1984

The return of prosperity, even if not fully shared by all Americans, restored public confidence in the Reagan administration. At their convention in 1984, Republicans nominated their popular president by acclamation. Among Democrats, Jesse Jackson became the first African American politician to make a strong run for the presidency by seeking the support of all minority groups under the banner of the National Rainbow Coalition. However, Democrats nominated Walter Mondale, Carter's vice president, to be their presidential candidate. For vice president, they chose Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York, the first woman to run for vice president on a major party ticket.

President Reagan campaigned on an optimistic "It's Morning Again in America" theme. Reagan took every state except Mondale's home state of Minnesota. Two-thirds of white males voted for Reagan. Analysis of voting returns indicated that only two groups still favored the Democrats: African Americans and those earning less than \$12,500 a year.

Budget and Trade Deficits

By the mid-1980s, Reagan's tax cuts combined with large increases in military spending were creating federal deficits of more than \$200 billion a year. Over the course of Reagan's two terms as president, the national debt tripled from about \$900 billion to almost \$2.7 trillion. The tax cuts, designed to stimulate

investments, seemed only to increase consumption, especially of foreign-made luxury and consumer items. As a result, the U.S. trade deficit reached a then-staggering \$150 billion a year. The cumulative trade imbalance of \$1 trillion during the 1980s contributed to a dramatic increase in the foreign ownership of U.S. real estate and industry. In 1985, for the first time since the World War I era, the United States became a debtor nation.

In an effort to reduce the federal deficit, Congress in 1985 passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget Act, which provided for across-the-board spending cuts. Court rulings and later congressional changes kept this legislation from achieving its full purpose, but Congress was still able to reduce the deficit by \$66 billion from 1986 to 1988.

Impact of Reaganomics

President Reagan's two terms reduced restrictions on a free-market economy and put more money in the hands of investors and higher income Americans. Reagan's policies also succeeded in containing the growth of the New Deal-Great Society welfare state. Another legacy of the Reagan years were the huge federal deficits of \$200 to 300 billion a year, which changed the context of future political debates. With yearly deficits running between \$200 and \$300 billion, it no longer seemed reasonable for either Democrats or Republicans to propose new social programs, such as universal health coverage. Instead of asking what new government programs might be needed, Reaganomics changed the debate to issues of which government programs to cut and by how much.

Foreign Policy During the Reagan Years

Reagan started his presidency determined to restore the military might and superpower prestige of the United States and to intensify the Cold War competition with the Soviet Union. He called the Soviet Communists "the evil empire" and "focus of evil in the modern world." Reagan was prepared to use military force to back up his rhetoric. During his second term, however, he proved flexible enough in his foreign policy to respond to significant changes in the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe.

Renewing the Cold War

Increased spending for defense and aid to anti-communist forces in Latin America were the hallmarks of Reagan's approach to the Cold War during his first term.

Military Buildup The Reagan administration spent billions to build new weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber and the MX missile, and to expand the U.S. Navy from 450 to 600 ships. The administration also increased spending on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), an ambitious plan for building a high-tech system of lasers and particle beams to destroy enemy missiles before they could reach U.S. territory. Critics called the SDI "Star Wars" and argued that the costly program would only escalate the arms race and could be overwhelmed by the Soviets building more missiles. Although Congress made

some cuts in the Reagan proposals, the defense budget grew from \$171 billion in 1981 to more than \$300 billion in 1985.

Central America In the Americas, Reagan supported “friendly” right-wing dictators to keep out communism. In Nicaragua in 1979, a Marxist movement known as the Sandinistas had overthrown the country’s dictator. In response, the United States provided significant military aid to the “contras” in their effort to dislodge the Sandinistas. In 1985, Democrats opposed to the administration’s policies in Nicaragua passed the Boland Amendment, which prohibited further aid to the contras.

In El Salvador, meanwhile, the Reagan administration spent nearly \$5 billion to support the Salvadoran government against a coalition of leftist guerrillas. Many Americans protested the killing of more than 40,000 civilians, including American missionaries, by right-wing “death squads” with connections to the El Salvador army.

Grenada On the small Caribbean island of Grenada, a coup led to the establishment of a pro-Cuban regime. In October 1983, President Reagan ordered a small force of marines to invade the island in order to prevent the establishment of a strategic Communist military base in the Americas. The invasion quickly succeeded in re-establishing a pro-U.S. government in Grenada.

Iran-Contra Affair If Grenada was the notable military triumph of Reagan’s presidency, his efforts to aid the Nicaraguan contras involved him in a serious blunder and scandal. The so-called Iran-contra affair had its origins in U.S. troubles with Iran. Since 1980, Iran and Iraq had been engaged in a bloody war. Reagan aides came up with the plan—kept secret from the American public—of selling U.S. antitank and anti-aircraft missiles to Iran’s government for its help in freeing the Americans held hostage by a radical Arab group. In 1986, another Reagan staff member had the “great idea” to use the profits of the arms deal with Iran to fund the contras in Nicaragua.

President Reagan denied that he had knowledge of the illegal diversion of funds—illegal in that it violated both the Boland Amendment and congressional budget authority. The picture that emerged from a televised congressional investigation was of an uninformed, hands-off president who was easily manipulated by his advisers. Reagan suffered a sharp, but temporary, drop in the popularity polls.

Lebanon, Israel, and the PLO

Reagan suffered a series of setbacks in the Middle East. In 1982, Israel (with U.S. approval) invaded southern Lebanon to stop Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorists from raiding Israel. Soon the United States sent peacekeeping forces into Lebanon in an effort to contain that country’s bitter civil war. In April 1983, an Arab suicide squad bombed the U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people. A few months later, another Arab terrorist drove a bomb-filled truck into the U.S. Marines barracks, killing 241 servicemen. In 1984, Reagan pulled U.S. forces out of Lebanon, with little to show for the effort and loss of lives.

Secretary of State George Schultz pushed for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by setting up a homeland for the PLO in the West

Bank territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war. Under U.S. pressure, PLO leader Yasser Arafat agreed in 1988 to recognize Israel's right to exist.

Improved U.S.-Soviet Relations

The Cold War intensified in the early 1980s as a result of both Reagan's arms buildup and the Soviet deployment of a larger number of missiles against NATO countries. In 1985, however, a dynamic reformer, Mikhail Gorbachev, became the new Soviet leader. Gorbachev attempted to change Soviet domestic politics by introducing two major reforms: (1) *glasnost*, or openness, to end political repression and move toward greater political freedom for Soviet citizens, and (2) *perestroika*, or restructuring of the Soviet economy by introducing some free-market practices. To achieve his reforms, Gorbachev wanted to end the costly arms race and deal with a deteriorating Soviet economy. In 1987, President Reagan challenged the Soviet leader to follow through with his reforms. In front of Brandenburg Gate and the Berlin Wall, a divisive symbol of the Cold War, Reagan ended his speech with the line, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall."

Gorbachev and Reagan did agree to remove and destroy all intermediate-range missiles (the INF agreement). In 1988, Gorbachev further reduced Cold War tensions by starting the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He also cooperated with the United States in putting diplomatic pressure on Iran and Iraq to end their war. By the end of Reagan's second term, superpower relations had so improved that the end of the Cold War seemed at hand.

Assessing Reagan's Policy The Reagan administration argued that its military buildup forced the Soviet Union to concede defeat and abandon the

Cold War. Some have concluded that Gorbachev ended the Cold War in order to reform the troubled Communist economic and political system. And yet others have given credit to George Kennan's containment policies. Whatever caused the Soviets to change their policy, Reagan responded by seizing the opportunity to end the Cold War.



Source: Edmund S. Valtman / Library of Congress, 1991

By the end of Reagan's second term in 1988, "the Great Communicator's" combination of style, humor, and expressions of patriotism had won over the electorate. He would leave office as one of the most popular presidents of the 20th century. In addition, he changed the politics of the nation for at least a generation by bringing many former Democrats into the Republican party.

George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War

The Cold War had threatened the very existence of humankind. At the same time, ever since 1945, the conflict had given clear purpose and structure to U.S. foreign policy. What would be the role of the United States in the world *after* the Cold War? George H. W. Bush, a former ambassador to the United Nations and director of the CIA (and the father of President George W. Bush), became the first president to define the country's role in the new era.

The Election of 1988

The Democrats regained control of the Senate in 1986 and expected that the Iran-contra scandal and the huge deficits under Reagan would hurt the Republicans in the presidential race of 1988. Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts, won the Democratic nomination and balanced the ticket by selecting Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas as his running mate. The Republican candidates were Reagan's vice president, George H. W. Bush, and a young Indiana senator, Dan Quayle. Bush did not have Reagan's ease in front of the camera, but he quickly overtook an expressionless Dukakis by charging that the Democrat was soft on crime (for furloughing criminals) and weak on national defense. Bush also appealed to voters by promising not to raise taxes: "Read my lips—no new taxes."

The Republicans won a decisive victory in November by a margin of 7 million votes. Once again, the Democrats failed to win the confidence of most white middle-class voters. Nevertheless, the voters sent mixed signals by returning larger Democratic majorities to both the House and the Senate. Americans evidently believed in the system of checks and balances, but it often produced legislative gridlock in Washington.

The Collapse of Soviet Communism and the Soviet Union

The first years of the Bush administration were dominated by dramatic changes in the Communist world.

Tiananmen Square In China during the spring of 1989, prodemocracy students demonstrated for freedom in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Television cameras from the West broadcast the democracy movement around the world. Under the cover of night, the Chinese Communist government crushed the protest with tanks, killing hundreds and ending the brief flowering of an open political environment in China.

Eastern Europe Challenges to communism in Eastern Europe produced more positive results. Gorbachev declared that he would no longer support the various Communist governments of Eastern Europe with Soviet armed forces.

Starting in Poland in 1989 with the election of Lech Wałęsa, the leader of the once-outlawed Solidarity movement, the Communist party fell from power in one country after another—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. The Communists in East Germany were forced out of power after protesters tore down the Berlin Wall, the hated symbol of the Cold War. In October 1990, the two Germanys, divided since 1945, were finally reunited with the blessing of both NATO and the Soviet Union.

Breakup of the Soviet Union The swift march of events and the nationalist desire for self-determination soon overwhelmed Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. In 1990 the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared their independence. After a failed coup against Gorbachev by Communist hard-liners, the remaining republics dissolved the Soviet Union in December 1991, leaving Gorbachev a leader with no country. Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic, joined with nine former Soviet republics to form a loose confederation, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Yeltsin disbanded the Communist party in Russia and attempted to establish a democracy and a free-market economy.

End of the Cold War Sweeping agreements to dismantle their nuclear weapons were one piece of tangible proof that the Cold War had ended. Bush and Gorbachev signed the START I agreement in 1991, reducing the number of nuclear warheads to under 10,000 for each side. In late 1992, Bush and Yeltsin agreed to a START II treaty, which reduced the number of nuclear weapons to just over 3,000 each. The treaty also offered U.S. economic assistance to the troubled Russian economy.

EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNISM



Even as Soviet Communism collapsed, President Bush, a seasoned diplomat, remained cautious. Instead of celebrating final victory in the Cold War, Americans grew concerned about the outbreak of civil wars and violence in the former Soviet Union. In Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia started to disintegrate in 1991, and a civil war broke out in the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. At home, the end of the Cold War raised questions about whether the United States still needed such heavy defense spending and as many U.S. military bases around the world.

Invasion of Panama

Since the outbreak of the Cold War in the 1940s, U.S. intervention in foreign conflicts had been consistently tied to the containment of communism. In December 1989, U.S. troops were used for a different purpose, as Bush ordered the invasion of Panama to remove the autocratic General Manuel Noriega. The alleged purpose of the invasion was to stop Noriega from using his country as a drug pipeline to the United States. U.S. troops remained until elections established a more credible government.

Persian Gulf War

President Bush's hopes for a "new world order" of peace and democracy were challenged in August 1990 when Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, invaded oil-rich but weak Kuwait. This move threatened Western oil sources in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. President Bush successfully built a coalition of United Nations members to pressure Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. However, a U.N. embargo against Iraq had little effect. Bush won congressional approval for a military campaign to roll back Iraq's aggression. In January 1991, in a massive operation called Desert Storm, more than 500,000 Americans were joined by military units from 28 other nations. Five weeks of relentless air strikes were followed by a brilliant invasion led by U.S. General Norman Schwarzkopf. After only 100 hours of fighting on the ground, Iraq conceded defeat.

Some Americans were disappointed that the United States stopped short of driving Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. Nevertheless, after the victory, Bush enjoyed a boost in his approval rating to nearly 90 percent.

Domestic Problems

President Bush's political future seemed secure based on his foreign policy successes, but a host of domestic problems dogged his administration.

Nomination of Clarence Thomas The president's nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court to replace the retiring Thurgood Marshall proved extremely controversial. Thomas's conservative views on judicial issues and charges of sexual harassment against him particularly angered African Americans and women. Nevertheless, the Senate confirmed him.

Taxes and the Economy Americans were shocked to learn that the government's intervention to save weak savings and loan institutions (S&Ls) and to pay insured depositors for funds lost in failed S&Ls would cost the taxpayers

more than \$250 billion. Also disturbing were the federal budget deficits of more than \$250 billion a year. Many Republicans felt betrayed when, in 1990, Bush violated his campaign pledge of “no new taxes” by agreeing to accept the Democratic Congress’ proposed \$133 billion in new taxes. The unpopular tax law increased the top income tax rate to 31 percent and raised federal excise taxes on beer, wine, cigarettes, gasoline, luxury cars, and yachts. Most damaging of all for Bush’s re-election prospects was a recession starting in 1990 that ended the Reagan era of prosperity, increased unemployment, and decreased average family income.

Political Inertia President Bush began his administration calling for “a kinder, gentler America” and declaring himself the “education president.” He did sign into law the Americans With Disabilities Act (1990), which prohibited discrimination against citizens with physical and mental disabilities in hiring, transportation, and public accommodation. Outside of this accomplishment, the president offered little in the way of domestic policy. In the midst of recession, he emphasized cuts in federal programs. This seemed to offer little hope to growing numbers of Americans left behind by the “Reagan revolution.”

The Clinton Years: Prosperity and Partisanship

During the last years of the 20th century, the United States enjoyed a period of unrivaled economic growth and technological innovation. The end of the Cold War allowed Americans to focus more on economic and domestic issues. But, during this period, American politics became more divided and bitter.

Anti-Incumbent Mood

A stagnant economy, huge budget deficits, and political deadlock fueled a growing disillusionment with government, especially as practiced in the nation’s capital. The movement to impose term limits on elected officials gained popularity on the state level, but the Supreme Court ruled in *U.S. Term Limits Inc. v. Thornton* (1995) that the states could not limit the tenure of federal lawmakers without a constitutional amendment.

Another reflection of Americans’ disillusionment with Washington politics was the ratification in 1992 of the 27th Amendment. First proposed by James Madison in 1789, this amendment prohibited members of Congress from raising their own salaries. Future raises could not go into effect until the next session of Congress.

The Election of 1992

As expected, George H. Bush was nominated by the Republicans for a second term. After a long career in public service, the president seemed tired and out of touch with average Americans, who were more concerned about their paychecks than with Bush’s foreign policy successes.

William Jefferson Clinton Among Democrats, Bill Clinton, the youthful governor of Arkansas, emerged from the primaries as his party’s choice for president. The first member of the baby-boom generation to be nominated for

president, Clinton proved an articulate and energetic campaigner. He presented himself as a moderate “New Democrat,” who focused on economic issues such as jobs, education, and health care, which were important to the “vital center” of the electorate. The strategy was known among his political advisers as: “It’s the economy, stupid!”

H. Ross Perot Ross Perot, a Texas billionaire, entered the 1992 race for president as an independent. Able to use his own resources to finance a series of TV commercials, Perot appealed to millions with his anti-Washington, anti-deficit views. On election day, Perot captured nearly 20 percent of the popular vote for the best third-party showing since Theodore Roosevelt and the Bull Moose campaign of 1912.

Results Despite the serious challenge from Perot, the front-runners still divided up all the electoral votes: 370 for Clinton (and 43 percent of the popular vote), 168 for Bush (37 percent of the popular vote). Clinton and his running mate, Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, did well in the South and recaptured the majority of the elderly and blue-collar workers from the Republicans. In addition, the Democrats again won control of both houses of Congress. The new Congress better reflected the diversity of the U.S. population. Among its 66 minority members and 48 women was Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois, the first African American woman to be elected to the Senate.

Clinton's First Term (1993–1997)

During the first two years of the Clinton administration, Senate Republicans used filibusters to kill the president’s economic stimulus package, campaign-finance reform, environmental bills, and health care reform. The president assigned his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to head a task force to propose a plan for universal health coverage, which had been a goal of the Democrats since the Truman presidency. The complicated health care proposal ran into determined opposition from the insurance industry, small business organizations, and the Republicans, and it failed to pass again. Clinton also failed to end discrimination against gays in the military and settled for the rule, “Don’t ask, don’t tell.” Under this policy, members of the military could still be expelled for being gay or lesbian, but they would not routinely be asked or expected to volunteer information about their sexual orientation.

Early Accomplishments The Democratic Congress was able to pass the Family and Medical Leave Act and the “motor-voter” law that enabled citizens to register to vote as they received their driver’s licenses. The Brady Handgun bill, which mandated a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns, was enacted. In 1994, Congress enacted Clinton’s Anti-Crime Bill, which provided \$30 billion in funding for more police protection and crime-prevention programs. The legislation also banned the sale of most assault rifles, which angered the gun lobby led by the National Rifle Association (NRA). After protracted negotiation and compromise, Congress passed a deficit-reduction budget that included \$255 billion in spending cuts and \$241 billion in tax increases. Incorporated in this budget were the president’s requests

for increased appropriations for education and job training. Clinton also won a notable victory by signing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which created a free-trade zone with Canada and Mexico. Despite these accomplishments, Clinton's apparent waffling on policies and his eagerness to compromise confirmed his image among his critics, who nicknamed him "Slick Willie."

Republicans Take Over Congress

In the midterm elections of November 1994, the Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1954. They benefited from a well-organized effort to promote a short list of policy priorities they called the "Contract with America." In addition, the Democratic Congress was unpopular because it had raised taxes and limited gun ownership. President Clinton adjusted to his party's defeat by declaring in his 1995 State of the Union address, "The era of big government is over."

Zealous Reformers Newt Gingrich, the newly elected Speaker of the House, led the Republicans in an attack on federal programs and spending outlined in their campaign manifesto, "Contract with America." While the president and moderates agreed with the goal of a balanced budget, Clinton proposed a "leaner, not meaner" budget. This confrontation resulted in two shutdowns of the federal government in late 1995, which many Americans blamed on overzealous Republicans in Congress. Antigovernment reformers were not helped by the mood after the bombing in 1995 of a federal building in Oklahoma City by militia-movement extremists. The bombing took 169 lives, the worst act of domestic terrorism in the nation's history until the attacks on September 11, 2001.

Balanced Budget Finally, in the 1996 election year, Congress and the president compromised on a budget that left Medicare and Social Security benefits intact, limited welfare benefits to five years under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, set some curbs on immigrants, increased the minimum wage, and balanced the budget. The spending cuts and tax increases made during Clinton's first term, along with record growth in the economy, helped to eliminate the deficit in federal spending in 1998 and produced the first federal surplus since 1969. In his battle with the Republican Congress, President Clinton captured the middle ground by successfully characterizing the Republicans as extremists, and by taking over their more popular positions, such as balancing the budget and reforming welfare. He was also aided in the 1996 election by a fast-growing economy that had produced more than 10 million new jobs.

The Election of 1996

Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the majority leader of the Senate, became Clinton's Republican opponent. His campaign, which proposed a 15 percent tax cut, never captured voters' imagination. Character attacks and massive campaign

spending by both sides did little to bring more people to the polls, and the turnout dropped below 50 percent of eligible voters.

The Clinton-Gore ticket won with 379 electoral votes (49.2 percent of the popular vote), while Dole and his running mate, Jack Kemp, captured 159 electoral votes (40.8 percent of the popular vote). Ross Perot ran again, but had little impact on the election. Clinton became the first Democrat since Franklin Roosevelt to be re-elected president. The Republicans could celebrate retaining control of both houses of Congress, which they had not done since the 1920s.

The Technology Boom

During President Clinton's two terms the United States enjoyed the longest peacetime economic expansion in its history, with annual growth rates of more than 4 percent. Technological innovations in personal computers, software, the Internet, cable, and wireless communications fueled increased national productivity (a gain of more than 5 percent in 1999) and made "e- (or electronic) commerce" part of American life. High-tech companies, such as Apple, Intel, and Microsoft, were joined during the "dot-com" boom by the likes of Amazon, AOL, Yahoo, and Google.

After years of heavy competition with Europe and Asia, American businesses had become proficient in cutting costs, which both increased their profitability and held down the U.S. inflation rate to below 3 percent a year. Investors were rewarded with record gains of more than 22 percent in the stock market. The number of households worth \$1 million or more quadrupled in the 1990s, to more than 8 million, or one in 14 households. The unemployment rate fell from 7.5 percent in 1992 to a 30-year low of 3.9 percent in 2000. The unemployment of African Americans and Hispanics was the lowest on record. During the peak of prosperity from 1997 to 1999, average and lower-income Americans experienced the first gains in real income since 1973. However, the economic boom was over by 2001, and both investors and wage earners faced another recession.

Clinton's Second Term: Politics of Impeachment

The prosperity of the late 1990s shifted the debate in Washington to what to do with the federal government's surplus revenues, projected to be \$4.6 trillion over the first ten years of the 21st century. In 1997, Congress and the president did compromise on legislation that cut taxes on estates and capital gains, and gave tax credits for families with children and for higher education expenses. As Clinton's second term progressed, the struggle between the Democratic president and the Republican Congress intensified. The Republicans pressed for more tax revenue cuts, such as the elimination of the estate tax (the "death tax") and taxes on two-income families (the "marriage penalty"), while the president held out for using the projected surplus to support Social Security, expand Medicare, and reduce the national debt.

Investigations and Impeachment From the early days of the Clinton presidency, President Clinton, his wife, Hillary, cabinet members, and other associates had been under investigation by Congress and by congressionally

appointed independent prosecutors (a legacy of the independent prosecutor law of the Watergate era). Some Democrats viewed these investigations as a “right-wing conspiracy” to overturn the elections of 1992 and 1996. After long and expensive investigations, the Clintons were not charged with any illegalities in the Whitewater real estate deal, the firings of White House staff (“Travelgate”), or the political use of FBI files (“Filegate”). However, independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr charged that President Clinton, during his deposition in a civil suit about alleged sexual harassment while governor of Arkansas, had lied about his relations with a young woman who was a White House intern.

Impeachment In December 1998, the House voted to impeach the president on two counts, perjury and obstruction of justice. Members of both parties and the public condemned Clinton’s reckless personal behavior, but popular opinion did not support the Republican impeachment of Clinton for lying about his personal life. In the fall elections, Democrats gained House seats and Newt Gingrich resigned as speaker. In February 1999, after a formal trial in the Senate, neither impeachment charge was upheld even by a Senate majority, much less the two-thirds vote needed to remove a president from office. However, the Republicans damaged Clinton’s reputation by making him the first president to be impeached since 1868. A weary Congress in 2000 allowed the controversial law establishing the independent prosecutor’s office to lapse.

Foreign Policy in the Clinton Administration

The end of the Cold War, while taking away the Soviet threat, exposed dozens of long-standing ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts around the world. During Clinton’s first term, Secretary of State Warren Christopher conducted a low-key foreign policy, which critics thought lacked coherent purpose. In 1997 Madeleine K. Albright became the first woman to serve as secretary of state. She proved more assertive in the use of American power, but questions still remained about the role of the United States, especially the use of its armed forces for peacekeeping in foreign nations’ internal conflicts.

Peacekeeping The first deaths of U.S. soldiers in humanitarian missions during the Clinton administration came in the civil war in Somalia in 1993. In 1994, after some reluctance, the president sent 20,000 troops into Haiti to restore its elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, after a military coup and deteriorating economic conditions had caused an exodus of Haitians to Florida. The United States also played a key diplomatic role in negotiating an end to British rule and the armed conflict in Northern Ireland in 1998.

Europe The European Union (EU) became a unified market of 15 nations, 12 of which adopted a single currency, the euro, in 2002. The EU grew to include 27 European nations by 2007, including ten former satellites of the USSR, such as Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania.

Under President Boris Yeltsin, Russia struggled to reform its economy and to fight rampant corruption. In 2000 Yeltsin’s elected successor, Vladimir Putin, took office. Relations with the United States were strained by Russia’s

brutal repression of the civil war in Chechnya, by NATO's admittance in 1999 of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, and by Russia's support of Serbia in the Balkan wars of the 1990s.

The Serbian dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, carried out a series of armed conflicts to suppress independence movements in the former Yugoslav provinces of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo. Hundreds of thousands of members of ethnic and religious minorities, including many Muslims, were killed in the brutal "ethnic cleansing." A combination of diplomacy, bombing, and troops from NATO countries, including the United States, stopped the bloodshed first in Bosnia in 1995 and again in Kosovo in 1999. These Balkan wars proved to be the worst conflict Europe had seen since World War II, and were a troubling reminder of how World War I had started.

Asia Nuclear proliferation became a growing concern in the 1990s, when North Korea stepped up its nuclear reactor and missile programs, and India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons for the first time in 1998. North Korea agreed to halt the development of nuclear weapons after direct negotiations with the Clinton administration, but later secretly restarted the program. In 1995, 20 years after the fall of Saigon to the Communists, the United States established diplomatic relations with Vietnam. The Clinton administration continued to sign trade agreements with China through his second term, hoping to improve diplomatic relations and encourage reform within China, despite protests from human rights activists and labor unions at home, and Chinese threats to the still-independent island nation of Taiwan.

Middle East Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's continued defiance of U.N. weapons inspectors led to the suspension of all inspections in 1998. President Clinton responded with a series of air strikes against Iraq, but Hussein remained in power, as support for U.S. economic sanctions declined in Europe and the Middle East. The United States had some success in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Israel granted home rule to the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank territories, and signed a peace treaty with Jordan in 1994. The peace process slowed after the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin in 1995, and it broke down late in 2000 over issues of Israeli security and control of Jerusalem. Renewed violence in Israel also provoked a new round of anti-American sentiment in the Islamic world.

Globalization The surging increases in trade, communications, and the movement of capital around the world during this era were key parts of the process of globalization. Globalization promoted the development of global and regional economic organizations. The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1994 to oversee trade agreements, enforce trade rules, and settle disputes. The powerful International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank made loans to and supervised the economic policies of poorer nations with debt troubles.

The Group of Eight (G-8), the world's largest industrial powers (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United

States), which controlled two-thirds of the world's wealth, remained the leading economic powers. However, China, India, and Brazil would soon surpass many of the older industrial powers in the 21st century. The growing gap between the rich and poor nations of the world caused tensions, especially over the debts the poor nations owed to powerful banks and the richest nations. Workers and unions in the richest nations often resented globalization, because they lost their jobs to cheaper labor markets in the developing world.

American Society in 2000

According to the 2000 census, the resident population of the United States was 281.4 million, making it the third most populous nation in the world. The fastest growing regions of the United States in the 1990s continued to be in the West and in the South. With the growth in population came greater political power as a result of the shift of congressional representatives and electoral votes to these regions. The 2000 census reported that 50 percent of U.S. residents lived in suburbs, 30 percent in central cities, and only 20 percent in rural regions.

Immigration The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 attempted to create a fair entry process for immigrants, but failed to stop the problem of illegal entry into the United States from Mexico. The law was also criticized for granting amnesty to some undocumented immigrants from Mexico and the Americas. In 2000, the Hispanic population was the fastest growing segment of the population and emerged as the largest minority group in the nation. Asian Americans also represented another fast-growing part of society, with a population of more than 10 million.

By 2000, 10.4 percent of the population was foreign-born, a high percentage but well below the levels of the 1870s through the 1920s. Immigration accounted for 27.8 percent of the population increase in the 1990s, and was a key stimulus to the economic growth during the decade. Without immigration, the United States was on a path to experience a negative population growth by 2030.

Aging and the Family As the United States became more ethnically diverse, the population was also "graying," with a steady increase in life expectancy. By 2000, 35 million people were over 65, but the fastest growing segment of the population was those 85 and over. As the baby-boom generation aged, concern about health care, prescription drugs, senior housing, and Social Security increased. It is estimated that in 2030 that there will be only about two workers for every person receiving Social Security.

The decline of the traditional family and the growing number of single-parent families was another national concern. The number of families headed by a female with no husband soared from 5.5 million in 1970 to 12.8 million in 2000. Single women headed 47.2 percent of black families in 2000, but the same trend was also evident in white and Hispanic households with children under 18. Children in these families often grew up in poverty and without adequate support.

Income and Wealth In many ways, Americans were achieving the American dream. Homeownership continued to climb during the prosperity of the 1990s to 67.4 percent of all households. The economy was continuing to generate more and more wealth. Per-capita money income in constant (inflation-adjusted) dollars rose dramatically, from \$12,275 in 1970 to \$22,199 in 2000. However, in 1999 the top fifth of American households received more than half of all income. The average after-tax income for the lowest three-fifths of households actually declined between 1977 and 1997. In addition, the distribution of income varied widely by race, gender, and education. For example, the median income in 2000 was \$53,256 for white families, \$35,054 for Hispanic families, and \$34,192 for black families. High school graduates earned only half the income of college graduates. The United States was the richest country in the world, but among industrialized nations, it had the largest gap between lowest and highest paid workers and the greatest concentration of wealth among the top-earning households. This concentration reminded some of the Gilded Age.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT DOES FREEDOM MEAN?

Freedom is a main theme of American history, but people disagree on what “freedom” means. Eric Foner in *The Story of American Freedom* (1999) traced America’s thoughts about freedom from the struggle for independence through the Reagan era. In the Civil War, both sides fought in the name of freedom, but for Confederates the right to enslave others was a “freedom.” The Reconstruction, Progressive, New Deal, and Civil Rights eras enlarged the meaning of freedom to include equal rights for all and increased political and economic protections, largely guaranteed by the federal government. During the Reagan Revolution, freedom was frequently defined as the liberation from “big government” and federal regulations. Foner attributed this change to reactions to forced desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s and federal court rulings promoting equality, privacy, abortion rights, and other issues. The Cold War also encouraged some to equate American freedom with unregulated capitalism.

While Foner saw freedom “as an essentially contested concept,” David Hackett Fischer in *Liberty and Freedom* (2005) pursued its meaning through American visual expressions, customs, and what Tocqueville called “habits of the heart.” Fischer’s analysis of the images and symbols from the Liberty Trees of the American Revolution through the protest posters of the late 20th century revealed the rich diversity of traditions about freedom that eluded abstract definitions. Hackett concluded that the United States remains free because of its diversity of traditions about freedom. He believes that the gravest threat to freedom comes from those incapable of imagining any vision of freedom except their own.

KEY NAMES, EVENTS, AND TERMS

Conservative Movement, (POL, CUL) Milton Friedman political action committees (PACs) Proposition 13 Arthur Laffer religious fundamentalism televangelists Moral Majority abortion rights; <i>Roe v. Wade</i> reverse discrimination <i>Regents of University of California v. Bakke</i>	Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Yasser Arafat “evil empire” Mikhail Gorbachev; <i>glasnost, perestroika</i> “tear down this wall” INF agreement	Anti-Crime Bill Election of 1994 Newt Gingrich Contract with America government shutdowns Oklahoma City bombing welfare reform balanced budgets election of 1996 Clinton impeachment
Reagan Revolution (POL, WXT) election of 1980 Ronald Reagan supply-side economics (Reaganomics) “trickle down” economics Economic Recovery Tax Act (1981) business deregulation PACTO strike Sandra Day O’Connor William Rehnquist growth of upper incomes budget and trade deficits election of 1984	Tiananmen Square (1989) Soviet satellites Poland, Lech Walesa Berlin Wall falls (1989) Soviet Union breakup Russia Republic, CIS Boris Yeltsin START I and II Yugoslavia civil war	End of Cold War (WOR) Tiananmen Square (1989) Soviet satellites Poland, Lech Walesa Berlin Wall falls (1989) Soviet Union breakup Russia Republic, CIS Boris Yeltsin START I and II Yugoslavia civil war
George H. W. Bush Policies (POL, WOR) election of 1988 George H. W. Bush Panama invasion (1989) Saddam Hussein Persian Gulf War (1991) Operation Desert Storm Clarence Thomas “no new taxes” Americans With Disabilities Act (1990)	George H. W. Bush Policies (POL, WOR) election of 1988 George H. W. Bush Panama invasion (1989) Saddam Hussein Persian Gulf War (1991) Operation Desert Storm Clarence Thomas “no new taxes” Americans With Disabilities Act (1990)	Post-Cold War Policies, (WOR) Madeleine K. Albright humanitarian missions Northern Ireland accords Yugoslavia breakup Balkan Wars: Bosnia, Kosovo “ethnic cleansing” nuclear proliferation West Bank, Gaza Strip
Globalization (WOR) European Union (EU); euro World Trade Organization World Bank, G-8 China, India, Brazil effects on jobs		Globalization (WOR) European Union (EU); euro World Trade Organization World Bank, G-8 China, India, Brazil effects on jobs
2000 American Society (WXT, NAT) prosperity of 1990s technology boom Internet, e-commerce rise of South and West Immigration Act of 1986 growth of Hispanics “graying” America single-parent families distribution of income concentration of wealth debate over freedom	Clinton Era Politics (POL, WXT) election of 1992 William (Bill) Clinton H. Ross Perot failure of health reform “don’t ask, don’t tell” NAFTA Brady Bill National Rifle Association (NRA) deficit reduction budget	2000 American Society (WXT, NAT) prosperity of 1990s technology boom Internet, e-commerce rise of South and West Immigration Act of 1986 growth of Hispanics “graying” America single-parent families distribution of income concentration of wealth debate over freedom

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we’ve been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. . . .

“It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the States or to the people. . . .

“In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. . . . It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.”

—President Ronald Reagan, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981

1. Which of the following was an accomplishment by Reagan that fulfilled the pledges made in this excerpt?
 - (A) Balancing the federal budget
 - (B) Cutting military spending through greater efficiency
 - (C) Strengthening environmental protections of federal lands
 - (D) Reducing taxes for businesses and upper-income individuals
2. Which of the following points of view most closely resembles the one expressed in this excerpt?
 - (A) Government spending is a useful tool to boost the economy and consumer demand.
 - (B) The federal government is in a better position to manage the economy than the states.
 - (C) Federal taxes should be used to reduce the income inequality among Americans.
 - (D) Privately owned businesses are the key to economic growth
3. Which of the following would best support President Reagan’s views on “removing roadblocks that have slowed our economy?”
 - (A) Cutting restrictions on financial institutions
 - (B) Improving mass transportation for workers
 - (C) Promoting college education with student loans
 - (D) Requiring older Americans to work longer

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war. . . . Tonight, 28 nations—countries from five continents, Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League—have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. . . .

“This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. . . . [W]e have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.’s founders.”

—President George H. W. Bush, Address to the Nation,
January 16, 1991

4. Which of the following best explains the purpose of this speech?
 - (A) Aid Iran and Saudi Arabia in their conflict with Iraq
 - (B) Force the Iraqi military forces out of Kuwait
 - (C) Promote democracy in the Middle East
 - (D) Remove weapons of mass destruction from Hussein’s Iraq
5. In this speech, Bush is most clearly expressing the concept in foreign policy called
 - (A) collective security
 - (B) containment
 - (C) isolationism
 - (D) mutual assured destruction
6. Which of the following best explains the result of the foreign policy effort described in this excerpt?
 - (A) Saddam Hussein, the dictator of Iraq, was removed from power
 - (B) The Soviet Union joined in support of the operation
 - (C) United States and its allies became bogged down in a lengthy war
 - (D) President Bush’s approval rating increased to 90 percent

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Clinton was widely hailed, even by some of his detractors, as the most gifted politician of his generation—but the political task presented to him required continual bobbing and weaving, compromising and negotiation, retreating so as to advance. . . . Clinton was forced to establish a position independent of both the hostile Republican majority and the impotent Democratic minority. The ensuing confrontations that led to a federal government shutdown, Clinton’s recovery in the election of 1996, and the impeachment proceeding two years later all stemmed from the political realities surrounding the Clinton White House. . . .

Clinton and his advisors figured out a great deal on the run. . . . Clinton was also hunted and accused of wrongdoing as few previous presidents had been. . . . Under siege, though, Clinton survived to become, by the end of his second term, a singularly admired if controversial leader.”

—Sean Wilentz, historian, *The Age of Reagan: A History 1974–2008*, 2008

7. Passage of which of the following is an example of Clinton’s success in “compromising and negotiation, retreating so as to advance?”
 - (A) Bill ending discrimination against gays in the military
 - (B) Brady Bill and ban on assault rifles
 - (C) Health Care Reform Act
 - (D) Welfare and budget reform
8. Which of the following best explains the general popularity of the Clinton presidency?
 - (A) Clinton survived an unpopular impeachment effort led by his political opponents
 - (B) Clinton presided over eight years of prosperity and improved middle-class incomes
 - (C) Clinton organized successful peace-keeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia
 - (D) Clinton negotiated a plan to stabilize Social Security and Medicare for seniors

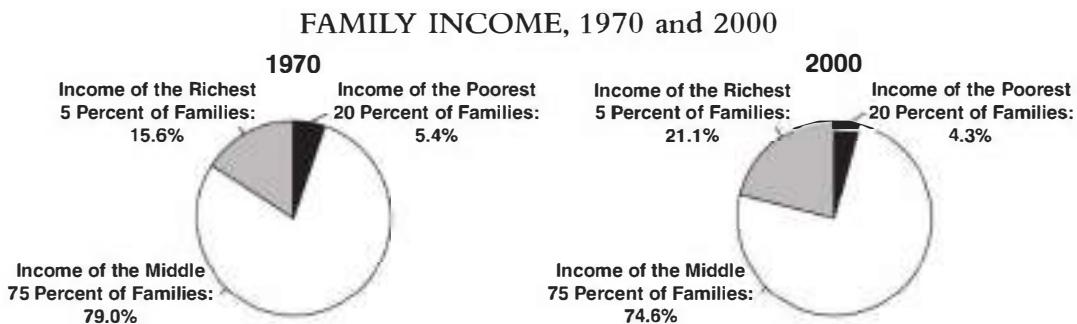
SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the role of ONE of the following in the conservative resurgence.
 - Proposition 13
 - religious fundamentalists
 - affirmative action
- b) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following in the Reagan administration.
 - supply-side economics
 - PACTO strike
 - Iran-Contra affair
- c) Briefly explain ONE specific event that supports the position that President Reagan helped to end the Cold War.

Question 2 is based on the following graphs.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

2. Using the graph, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE significant cause of the change in the distribution of family incomes shown in the graphs above.
- b) Briefly explain which ONE of the following administrations best represents change in economic policies.
 - Ronald Reagan
 - George H. W. Bush
 - Bill Clinton
- c) Provide at least ONE piece of evidence from that administration to support your explanation.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the foreign policy impact of ONE of the following.
 - Tiananmen Square
 - Fall of Berlin Wall
 - Operation Desert Storm
- b) Briefly analyze the political significance of ONE of the following.
 - H. Ross Perot
 - National Rifle Association
 - Contract with America
- c) Briefly explain ONE reason why the impeachment of Bill Clinton proved unpopular with many voters.

Question 4 is based on the excerpt below.

“At the end of the 20th century, Americans lived on a scale of consumption . . . unprecedented in human history. . . . As houses and vehicles and shopping centers and credit card bills, became larger and larger, so did bodies of Americans. . . . Americans had become, with the exception of some South Sea islanders, the fattest people in the world. . . . [T]he unevenly distributed economic bounty of the 1980s and 1990s allowed a large upper stratum of society to have a sense of limitlessness in its lifestyle and consumption. Others like to live large too, even if it only took the form of consuming a very large serving of fast food washed down by a very large cup of soda.

—Joshua Freeman, historian, *American Empire*, 2012

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain what this author meant by the phrase “living large.”
 - b) Briefly explain ONE additional development from 1980 to 2000 that would support the author’s point of view.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE difference or similarity in consumer consumption between the periods 1980–2000 and 1945–1960.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: WRITING EFFECTIVE PARAGRAPHS

Effective paragraphs include a topic sentence that states a main idea that other sentences support with facts, examples, or reasons. Which TWO of the following statements best support this topic sentence? “Popular presidents often mix liberal and conservative policies.”

1. Ronald Reagan negotiated an arms control deal with the Soviets.
2. George H. W. Bush tried to cut social programs during a recession.
3. Bill Clinton reduced government spending on welfare.

CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY, 2000–PRESENT

There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America—there's the United States of America.

Barack Obama, Democratic Convention Keynote Address, 2004

T

he United States entered the 21st century with unrivaled economic and military dominance in the world. However, international terrorism, economic problems, and partisan politics exposed the nation's vulnerability.

Political Polarization

The early 21st century elections revealed a nation closely divided between a conservative South, Great Plains, and Mountain states, and a more moderate to liberal northeast, Midwest and west coast. As a result of this division, a few swing states determined federal elections. The more traditional, religious, and limited or anti-government rural and many suburban areas went Republican, while the more diverse large urban centers and internationally minded coasts voted Democrat.

The shift of Southern white conservatives after the 1960s from the Democratic to the Republican party transformed American politics. In the 1990s, Southern conservatives such as Newt Gingrich of Georgia, Tom DeLay of Texas, and Trent Lott of Mississippi took over the leadership of the Republican party, making it more conservative and partisan. As the party of Lincoln became the party of Ronald Reagan, moderate Republicans lost influence and primary contests to conservatives. In the state legislatures, both parties gerrymandered congressional districts to create “safe seats,” which rewarded partisanship and discouraged compromise in Congress.

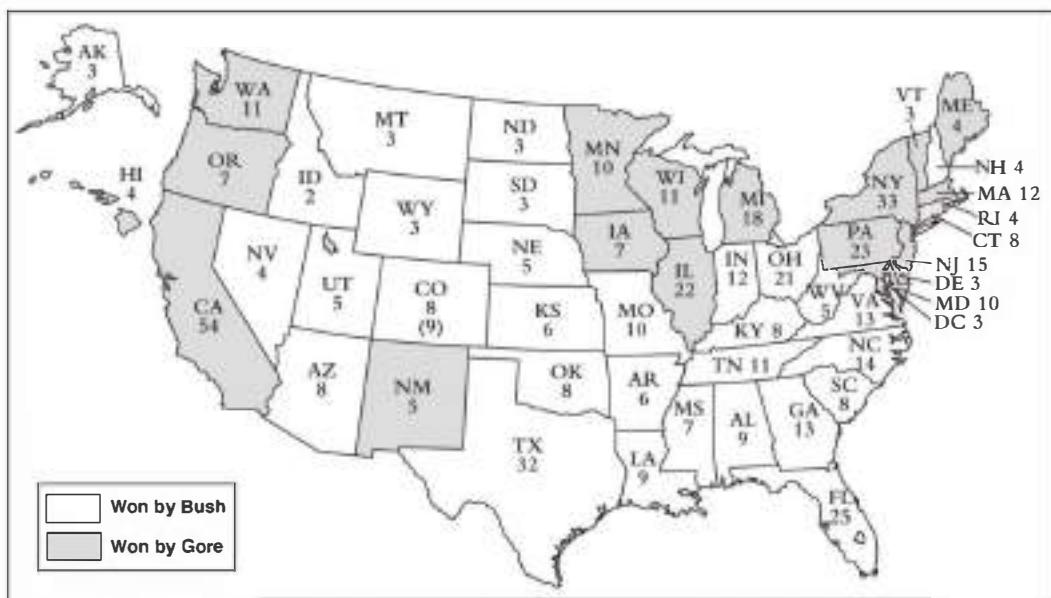
Disputed Election of 2000

The presidential election of 2000 was the closest since 1876, and the first ever to be settled by the Supreme Court. President Clinton's vice president, Al Gore, easily gained the nomination of the Democratic party, selecting Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut as his running mate. Governor George W. Bush of Texas,

eldest son of former President George H. W. Bush, won the nomination of the Republican party, and selected Dick Cheney, a veteran of the Reagan and elder Bush administrations, as his running mate. Both candidates fought over the moderate and independent vote, Gore as a champion of “working families” and Bush running as “a compassionate conservative.” Ralph Nader, the candidate for the Green party, ran a distant third, but he probably took enough votes from Gore to make a difference in Florida and other states.

Gore received more than 500,000 more popular votes nationwide than Bush, but victory hinged on who won Florida’s 25 electoral votes. Bush led by only 537 popular votes in Florida after a partial recount. Then the Democrats asked for manual recounts of the error-prone punch cards. The Supreme Court of Florida ordered recounts of all the votes, but the U.S. Supreme Court overruled them in a split 5-4 decision that matched the party loyalty of the justices. In *Bush v. Gore*, the majority ruled that the varying standards used in Florida’s recount violated the Equal-Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. Al Gore ended the election crisis by accepting the ruling. Governor Bush won with 271 electoral votes against Gore’s 266. (One elector abstained.)

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2000, ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATE



Domestic Policies of the George W. Bush Administration

President George W. Bush aggressively pushed his conservative agenda: tax cuts, deregulation, federal aid to faith-based organizations, pro-life legislation, school choice, privatization of Social Security and Medicare, drilling for oil and gas in the Alaska wildlife refuge, and voluntary environmental standards for industry.

Republican Tax Cuts In 2001, Congress, enjoying rare budget surpluses, passed a \$1.35 trillion dollar tax cut spread over ten years. The bill lowered the top tax bracket, gradually eliminated estate taxes, increased the child tax credit

and limits for IRA and 401(k) contributions, and gave all taxpayers an immediate tax rebate. In 2003, President Bush pushed through another round of tax cuts for stock dividends, capital gains, and married couples. Democrats criticized the tax cuts for giving most of the benefits to the richest 5 percent of the population, and for contributing to the doubling of the national debt during the Bush presidency from about \$5 trillion to \$10 trillion.

Educational and Health Reform President Bush championed the bipartisan No Child Left Behind Act. It aimed to improve student performance and close the gap between well-to-do and poor students in the public schools through testing of all students nationwide, granting students the right to transfer to better schools, funding stronger reading programs, and training high-quality teachers. Republicans also passed laws to give seniors in Medicare the option to enroll in private insurance companies. Congress also fulfilled a campaign promise by President Bush to provide prescription drug coverage for seniors. Democrats criticized the legislation as primarily designed to profit insurance and drug companies.

Economic Bubbles and Corruption The technology boom of the 1990s peaked in 2000, and was over by 2002. The stock market crashed; the Dow Jones Average fell by 38 percent. The unemployment rate climbed to 6 percent, and the number of people living in poverty increased for the first time in eight years. Fraud and dishonesty committed by business leaders also hurt the stock market and consumer confidence in the economy. For example, the large corporations Enron and World Com had “cooked their books” (falsified stated earnings and profits) with the help of accounting companies. The Federal Reserve fought the recession by cutting interest rates to 1.25 percent, the lowest in 50 years. The end of the technology boom-bust cycle (1995–2002) encouraged many investors to move their money into real estate, which created another speculative “bubble” (2002–2007) that would burst with even more tragic consequences in Bush’s second term.

The War on Terrorism

Terrorism dominated U.S. foreign policy after September 11, 2001. George W. Bush entered the White House with no foreign policy experience, but surrounded himself with veterans of prior Republican administrations, such as his Vice President Dick Cheney, who served as Secretary of Defense under his father. General Colin Powell became his Secretary of State, the first African American to hold the job. President Bush’s confident and aggressive approach against terrorism won over many Americans, but his administration often alienated other nations.

Roots of Terrorism The United States was faulted by many in the Arab world for siding with Israel in the deadly cycle of Palestinian terror-bombing and Israeli reprisals. However, the causes of anti-Americanism often went deeper. After World War I, the Ottoman Empire, the last of the Islamic empires, was replaced in the Middle East by Western-style, secular nation-states. Religious fundamentalists decried modernization and the corruption of the “House of Islam,” an ancient Islamic ideal of a realm governed by the precepts of the Koran

and Sharia law. The stationing of U.S. troops in the Middle East after the Gulf War was seen as another violation of their lands. Islamic extremists, such as Osama bin Laden and the supporters of Al-Qaeda (“The Base”), preached jihad, which they defined as a holy war against the “Jews and Crusaders” to restore a Islamic caliphate or realm from Africa and the Middle East through East Asia. The restrictive economic and political conditions in the Middle East also provided a fertile breeding ground for recruiting extremists.

Early Terrorist Attacks A truck bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in 1993 that killed six people brought home for the first time the threat posed by Islamic extremists. In 1998, the United States responded to the terrorist bombing of two U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by bombing Al-

Qaeda camps in Afghanistan and the Sudan. Their leader, Osama bin Laden, had fled to Afghanistan and allied himself with the Taliban, the Islamic fundamentalists who had taken over Afghanistan. In 2000, U.S. armed forces also learned the nature of “asymmetric” warfare conducted by terrorists, when two suicide bombers in a small rubber boat nearly sank a billion dollar warship, the USS *Cole*, docked in Yemen.

September 11, 2001 The coordinated attacks by Al-Qaeda terrorists in commercial airliners on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., and a fourth plane that crashed in Pennsylvania claimed nearly 3,000 lives. The attacks galvanized public opinion as nothing since the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, and they empowered the Bush administration to take action.



Source: World Trade Center, September 11, 2001. Wikimedia Commons/Michael Foran

War in Afghanistan President Bush declared that he wanted Osama bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda leaders “dead or alive.” After the Taliban refused to turn over bin Laden and his associates, their government was quickly overthrown in the fall of 2001 by a combination of U.S. bombing, U.S. Special Forces, and Afghan troops in the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance. American and Afghan forces continued to pursue the remnants of Al-Qaeda in the mountains bordering Pakistan, but they failed to capture bin Laden. Hamid Karzai, with support from the United States, became head of the government in Kabul, but Afghanistan remained unstable and divided by the Taliban insurgency and tribal conflicts.

Homeland Security After the 9/11 attacks, most Americans were willing to accept background checks and airport searches. The Patriot Acts of 2001 and 2003 gave unparalleled powers to the U.S. government to obtain information and expand surveillance and arrest powers. However, many Americans were troubled by unlimited wiretaps, the collection of records about cell phone calls and emails, the use of military tribunals to try suspects accused of terrorism, and the imprisonment of suspects indefinitely at a U.S. prison in Guantánamo, Cuba.

To enhance security, the Bush administration created a new Homeland Security Department by combining more than 20 federal agencies with 170,000 employees, including the Secret Service, the Coast Guard, and ones dealing with customs and immigration. This was the largest reorganization of government since the creation of the Department of Defense after World War II. Many in Congress questioned why the FBI and CIA were left out of the new department. In 2004, a bipartisan commission on terrorism criticized the FBI and the CIA, as well as the Defense Department, for failing to work together to “connect the dots” that may have uncovered the 9/11 plot. Congress followed up on their recommendations, creating a Director of National Intelligence with the difficult job of coordinating the intelligence activities of all agencies.

George W. Bush Foreign Policy President Bush worked with European nations to expand the European Union and NATO, supported admission of China to the World Trade Organization, and brokered conflicts between India and Pakistan. However, the Bush administration refused to join the Kyoto Accord to prevent global warming, walked out of a U.N. conference on racism, abandoned the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia, and for years would not negotiate with North Korea or Iran. Critics questioned whether the administration valued cooperation with the nations of the world or instead followed a unilateralist approach. The president argued, in what became known as the “Bush Doctrine,” that the old policies of containment and deterrence were no longer effective in a world of stateless terrorism. To protect America, the president claimed that the United States would be justified in using pre-emptive attacks to stop the acquisition and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) by terrorists and by nations that support terrorism.

Iraq War President Bush, in his 2002 State of the Union Address, singled out Iraq, North Korea, and Iran as the “axis of evil.” While U.S. intelligence agencies were finding no link between Iraq’s Saddam Hussein and the September 11, 2001, attacks, the Bush administration pursued a pre-emptive attack on Iraq before Saddam Hussein could build and distribute WMDs (nuclear and biological) to terrorists. Late in 2002, Secretary of State Powell negotiated an inspection plan with the U.N. Security Council, which Iraq accepted. In the following months, the U.N. inspectors failed to find WMDs in Iraq. Nevertheless, the Bush administration continued to present claims of their existence based on intelligence information that proved false.

Operation Iraqi Freedom In early 2003, President Bush declared that Iraq had not complied with numerous U.N. resolutions, and that “the game was over.” Without support of the U.N. Security Council, the United States launched

air attacks on Iraq on March 19. In less than four weeks, U.S. armed forces, with the support of the British and other allies, overran Iraqi forces, captured the capital city, Baghdad, and ended Hussein's dictatorship. When U.S. forces could not find WMDs in Iraq, criticism of the "war of choice" and the "regime change" mounted both at home and overseas.

The defeat of the Iraq army and the capture of Saddam Hussein in late 2003 did not end the violence in Iraq. Diverse groups of insurgents (Sunni followers of the former dictator, Shiite militias, and foreign fighters, including Al-Qaeda) continued to attack U.S. and allied troops and one another. Millions of Iraqis fled the country or were displaced by the sectarian attacks. The Bush administration was widely criticized for going into Iraq without sufficient troops to control the country and for disbanding the Iraqi army. Pictures of the barbaric treatment of prisoners by U.S. troops at Abu Ghraib further diminished America's reputation in Iraq and around the world.

Elections of 2004 and a Bush Second Term

The Democrats approached the elections of 2004 optimistic that they could unseat the incumbent president burdened by an increasingly unpopular war and limited economic recovery. Democratic voters selected Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts as their presidential candidate. The Republicans successfully energized their conservative base on issues such as the war against terrorism, more tax cuts, and opposition to gay marriage and abortion.

President Bush received 51 percent of the popular vote and captured 286 electoral votes to Kerry's 252. The Republicans also expanded their majorities in the Senate and House, and continued to gain on the state level, especially in the South. This left the party in its strongest position since the 1920s.

Four More Years at War The reconstruction of Iraq had made some headway by 2005 when the Iraqis held their first election, created a national assembly, and selected a prime minister and cabinet ministries, but the violence continued. The Sunni minority that had ruled Iraq under Hussein began to work with the Shiite majority and the Kurds in the new government. At first, these steps did little to reduce violence, which killed on the average 100 Americans and 3,000 Iraqis a month. In the United States, the bipartisan Iraqi Study Group recommended steps to have the Iraqis take greater responsibility for their country and set a timeline for U.S. withdrawal. President Bush rejected a timetable, and in early 2007 sent an additional 30,000 troops in a "surge" to establish order. By late 2008, militia violence and American deaths were down in Iraq, and the United States had started to turn over control of the provinces to the Iraqi government.

In Afghanistan, the Taliban stepped up their attacks. For the first time, the number of Americans killed there outnumbered those killed in Iraq. President Bush turned over to the next president two unresolved wars and incomplete efforts to deal with nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea. The Bush administration, though, did have the satisfaction of knowing that there had not been another major terrorist attack in the United States since September 11, 2001.

Washington Politics After his re-election victory in 2004, President Bush pushed Congress to privatize Social Security by encouraging Americans to invest part of their Social Security payroll deductions in various market investments. His administration also argued for immigration reform, which was blocked by conservatives who criticized it as “amnesty” for undocumented immigrants. When Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast hard and flooded New Orleans in August 2005, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) failed both to anticipate and respond to the crisis. More than 1,000 people died, and tens of thousands of others (mostly poor people) were left in desperate conditions. A variety of scandals tarnished many Republicans. Some of these scandals involved taking bribes from lobbyists, committing perjury and obstruction of justice, and having improper relations with congressional pages. The Republican majority leader of the House, Tom DeLay, was forced to resign over his gerrymandering scheme in Texas.

These failures, along with dissatisfaction with the Iraq War, helped the Democrats win control of both houses of Congress in 2006. President Bush, however, did leave a lasting impact on the federal courts by appointing two conservatives to the Supreme Court—John Roberts (as Chief Justice) and Samuel Alito—and increasing conservative majorities in the federal appellate courts.

The Great Recession The housing boom of 2002–2007 was fueled by risky subprime mortgages and speculators who borrowed to “flip” properties for a quick profit. Wall Street firms packaged these high-risk loans into a variety of complex investments (“securitization”), and sold them to unsuspecting investors around the world. However, as soon as housing prices started to dip, the bubble burst. Prices collapsed, foreclosures climbed, and investments worth trillions of dollars lost value. Investors panicked, which caused many banks and financial institutions at home and overseas to face failure. This resulted in a credit or “liquidity” crisis, because banks either lacked funds or were afraid to make the loans to businesses and consumers necessary for the day-to-day functioning of the economy.

As the crisis deepened within credit markets, Americans were also hit with soaring gas prices (well over \$4 a gallon), stock market declines of more than 40 percent, and rising unemployment. In early 2008, the federal government tried a \$170 billion stimulus package and took over a few critical financial institutions, such as quasi-governmental mortgage institutions, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

However, the crisis was not over. In September, the bankruptcy of the large Wall Street investment bank Lehman Brothers led to panic in the financial industry. This forced the Bush administration to ask Congress for additional funds to help U.S. banks and restore the credit markets. The controversial Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 was passed, creating a \$700 billion Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) to purchase failing assets that included mortgages and mortgage-related securities from financial institutions. Conservatives attacked TARP as “socialism” while liberals attacked it as a bailout of the Wall Street executives who had caused the problems.

As with the Great Depression of 1929, the causes of this crash will be debated for years. Some blamed the Federal Reserve for keeping interest rates too low.

Others criticized excessive deregulation of the financial industry. And others saw the cause in government efforts to promote home ownership. Moreover, real estate bank fraud and Ponzi schemes, such as the estimated 18 billion dollars lost by investors in a fraud committed by Bernie Madoff, also helped to destroy investor confidence. Whatever its cause, the crisis significantly affected the 2008 election.

Election of 2008

For the Democrats, Senator Hillary Clinton of New York, wife of former President Bill Clinton, was the early favorite to become the first woman to head a national ticket. However, the big surprise of this election came after a long primary battle. A 47-year-old, charismatic, African-American, junior senator from Illinois, Barack Obama, captured the Democratic nomination for president. Obama chose as his running mate Joseph Biden of Delaware, an experienced member of the Senate. In the shadow of the unpopular Bush administration, the Republicans nominated Senator John McCain of Arizona, a Vietnam War hero and a political “maverick” who hoped to appeal to undecided voters. McCain selected Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska, a 44-year-old, relatively unknown politician. She became only the second woman to run for the vice presidency on a major political party ticket.

The McCain-Palin ticket briefly led in the polls, but the economic crisis, Obama’s message for change, and his well-funded grassroots campaign helped the Democrats win in November. The Obama-Biden ticket gained 7,000,000 more votes than McCain-Palin. Obama won with a decisive 364 electoral votes to McCain’s 174 by taking eight states (including Florida, Ohio, Virginia, and North Carolina) that had been won by Bush in 2004. The Democrats also increased their majorities in the House and Senate well beyond their victories in 2006.

An estimated 1.5 million people, the largest crowd ever to attend a presidential inauguration, gathered around the U.S. Capitol to witness the historic oath-taking of the nation’s 44th American president. The election of the first African American as president of the United States was historic, but Barack Obama and the Democrats now faced the country’s worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, two unfinished U.S. wars, and a world increasingly skeptical of U.S. power and leadership.

The First Obama Administration, 2009–2013

President Obama appointed his Democratic primary foe, Hillary Clinton, as Secretary of State and Eric Holder as the first African-American Attorney General. Obama re-appointed a Republican, Robert Gates, as Secretary of Defense to provide operational continuity in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

The Transition The rapidly growing economic crisis dominated the transition between President Bush and President Obama. Congress approved the use of the second half of the controversial TARP funding—\$350 billion. At Obama’s request, Bush used more than \$10 billion of TARP funds to support the failing automakers, General Motors (GM) and the Chrysler Corporation.

Presidential Initiatives President Obama signed a number of executive orders to overturn actions of the Bush administration. He placed a formal ban on

torture by requiring that Army field manuals be used as the guide for interrogating terrorist suspects. The new president expanded stem-cell research and ended restrictions on federal funding of overseas health organizations. One of the first bills passed by Congress that Obama signed was the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act that strengthened protection of equal pay for female employees. Obama failed to carry out all of his campaign pledges. He had vowed to close the U.S. prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, but failed to win needed Congressional support.

Economic Stimulus The “Great” or “Long” Recession started in late 2007 in the United States, and while financial sectors such as the stock market had recovered by 2013, unemployment peaked at more than 10 percent in 2009 and persisted at levels above 7 percent through 2013. Based on Keynesian economic ideas to avoid a greater depression, Obama and the Democrats enacted a number of programs to promote recovery and financial reform.

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 provided a \$787 billion economic stimulus package designed to create or save 3.5 million jobs. Included was \$288 billion for tax cuts to stimulate spending, and \$144 billion to help state and local governments maintain jobs and services. The balance of the package was for construction projects, health care, education, and renewable energy.

With General Motors and Chrysler Corporation near collapse, the Obama administration became deeply involved in the recovery of the domestic auto industry. The government temporarily took over General Motors (“Government Motors”) while it went through bankruptcy, and guided the sale of Chrysler to Fiat, an Italian automaker. The popular “Cash for Clunkers” program provided \$3 billion in incentives to U.S. residents to scrap old cars in order to promote sales and to purchase new, more fuel-efficient vehicles.

The Great Recession revealed serious flaws in the federal oversight of financial institutions. The comprehensive Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (2010) was designed to improve regulations of banking and investment firms, and to protect taxpayers from future bailouts of “too big to fail” businesses. The act also set up a new Bureau of Consumer Protection to regulate consumer products, such as mortgages and credit cards. Some criticized the act for not breaking up the big banks that contributed to the meltdown of the economy and needed the bailouts.

Health Care The U.S. “fee for service” medical system was the most expensive in the world, but produced mixed results. It promoted innovation, but left more than 45 million people outside the system to seek medical care in emergency rooms. The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (“Obamacare”) aimed to extend affordable health care insurance to an additional 25 to 30 million Americans through combinations of subsidies, mandates, and insurance exchanges while introducing medical and insurance reforms to control health care costs. The act required insurance companies to accept patients regardless of pre-existing conditions and to spend at least 80 percent of every premium dollar on medical care, or rebate their customers. Republicans opposed the law for its regulations and costs. Many Americans were confused by its complexity.

Budget Deficits The recession both lowered the federal tax income collected and increased government spending on recovery programs. The combination tripled the annual deficit to \$1.75 trillion in 2009 (the largest in history), and increased the national debt from \$9 trillion in 2007 to \$16 trillion by 2012. Economists were not as worried about the short-term deficits as much as the long-term growth of the national debt. As the baby boom generation reached retirement age, rising Medicare and Social Security costs would also add to future deficits.

In 2010 Obama created a presidential commission to make recommendations “to achieve fiscal responsibility over the long run.” The commission produced the “Bowles-Simpson Plan,” which would have eliminated the deficit by 2035 through \$2 of spending cuts for every \$1 increase in revenues. The compromise was widely praised, but rejected by Democrats for its cut to social services and by Republicans for its tax increases. “Compromise” had become a dirty word in Washington.

The Tea Party and 2010 Mid-Term Elections The president’s initial efforts at bipartisanship were largely rejected by the Republicans, but the Democrats controlled Congress during part of Obama’s first two years, which enabled them to pass landmark legislation with little or no Republican support.

The opposition to the deficits, the growing national debt and “Obamacare” coalesced in a loosely united conservative and libertarian movement known as the Tea Party. Many in the movement focused on economic issues and limited government, but others campaigned on gun rights, prayers in schools, outlawing abortions, and preventing undocumented immigration. In the fall of 2010, the Republicans took over the House with a 242 to 193 majority, and reduced the Democrats majority in the Senate to 53 votes, which included two independents.

Congress in Gridlock In a very partisan political climate, divided government produced budget stalemates, threats of government shutdown, and a danger of default on the national debt. The rival parties produced competing plans to reduce the deficit by more than \$4 trillion, but could not agree on taxes or spending cuts. In August 2011, as the deadline to raise the debt ceiling closed in, the two sides agreed to cut \$900 billion in spending and an additional \$1.4 trillion cuts to be worked out by a bipartisan super-committee. The uncertainty and gridlock in Washington led Standard & Poor’s to downgrade the U.S. AAA credit rating.

A presidential election year is usually not very productive, but 2012 proved the least productive year in Congressional history since 1947, passing only 61 bills out of 3,914 bills. Even the infamous “do-nothing Congress” of 1948 passed more legislation. The super-committee also failed, and the threat of “sequester” across-the-board spending cuts seemed likely in 2013.

Obama’s Foreign Policy President Obama was elected in part because of his opposition to the Iraq War and his promise to end the unilateral approach overseas that had damaged the reputation of the United States during the Bush presidency.

Iraq In early 2009, the President developed a plan to wind down U.S. ground combat operations in Iraq. U.S. military support and air power continued to help the Iraqi forces battle insurgents through the end of 2011, when the last of U.S.

forces were withdrawn. Nearly 4,500 U.S. soldiers had died in Iraq and about 32,000 had been wounded in action during this controversial war. Iraqi deaths in the war were well above 100,000. After the U.S. left, Sunni and Al-Qaeda insurgents continued to terrorize the majority Shiite government.

Afghanistan The Obama campaign charged that the Bush administration had ignored Afghanistan by invading Iraq. As president, Obama made fighting Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan a priority. He approved adding 17,000 troops to the U.S. forces in Afghanistan in 2009 and then 30,000 more in 2010. The counterterrorism surge proved effective in Afghanistan, but the increased use of pilotless drone attacks on terrorists in Pakistan intensified anger against the United States.

Death of Osama bin Laden In May 2011, Osama bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaida, was killed in Pakistan in a clandestine operation of the CIA and Navy SEALS. The death of bin Laden and other top leaders of Al-Qaeda raised the question of whether the U.S. role in the area was completed. In 2012, President Obama and President Karzai of Afghanistan signed a long-term partnership agreement. The new focus for U.S. forces was to train and support the Afghanistan military and to end the U.S. combat mission by the close of 2014.

Arab Spring In June of 2009, President Obama traveled to Egypt and gave a speech at the University of Cairo calling for a “new beginning” in relations between the Islamic world and the United States. The president was soon tested through his response to a wave of protests across the Middle East and North Africa in 2010 known as the “Arab Spring.” Civil unrest and armed rebellion toppled governments in Tunisia, Libya (the leader, Muammar Gaddafi, was killed), Egypt (the leader, Hosni Mubarak, was imprisoned) and Yemen, and produced an ongoing civil war in Syria. Governments in Morocco, Algeria, Jordan, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia made a variety of concessions to protesters to maintain peace. Obama’s sympathy for pro-democracy protesters upset U.S. allies in the conservative oil-rich Persian Gulf states. At home, Obama was criticized for not intervening more forcefully in failed states such as Libya and Syria.

Asia and Europe Events in the Middle East limited the president’s planned “pivot” to Asia. The administration understood that America’s economic and strategic future would be closely tied to the Pacific Rim. Economists predicted that by 2030, the economies of Asia would be as large as the combined economies of North America and Europe, ending two centuries of Western dominance. U.S. preoccupation with the Middle East, terrorism, and budget gridlock provided China with more opportunities to project its growing power around the world.

At first, President Obama was praised in Europe primarily for not being George W. Bush. The European Union continued to struggle through the debt crisis in member countries such as Greece, Spain, and Ireland. It took German leadership to save the euro as a common currency. One commentator summed up the Atlantic partnership, “Europe does not want to be pushed around by the U.S., but it wants the U.S. to push others around on its behalf.”

Election of 2012 and 2014

The presidential election of 2012 was dominated by issues related to the Great Recession, the Affordable Care Act, illegal immigration, and the long-term fiscal health of the United States. Republicans conducted a long, hard-fought battle for their party's nomination before selecting Mitt Romney, former governor of Massachusetts. President Obama defeated Romney with 332 to 206 electoral votes and a five-million-vote advantage in the popular vote. The president ran very strongly among Hispanic voters, winning 71 percent of their votes. Political analysts predicted that unless Republicans gained more Hispanic support, they would become uncompetitive in future nationwide elections.

In Congress, Republicans could celebrate after the election of 2012 by keeping their strong majority in the House of Representatives, while the Democrats retained control of the Senate. However, the election of 2014 again proved the strength of the Republican turnout in non-presidential elections as the Republicans took control of both House and Senate.

Second Obama Administration

The division between the Democratic president and the Republican-controlled Congress continued in Obama's second term. Compromise was difficult and rare.

Partisan Budget Conflicts In early 2013, Congress passed a compromise tax bill that preserved the Bush tax cuts for incomes of \$400,000 and less and allowed the top tax rate to rise to 39.6 percent for higher incomes. However, Congress was unable to compromise on the annual budget, so "sequestrations," automatic cuts across both domestic and defense spending, went into effect. House Republicans tried more than fifty efforts to overturn or defund the Affordable Care Act, including a shutdown of the government for 16 days and threatened default on the national debt. Budget compromises between Democrats and Republicans remained illusive through the spring of 2015.

Gun Violence The mass shootings of 26 children and teachers in Connecticut, 9 African-Americans in a South Carolina church, and others sparked more debates over guns. President Obama's proposals to tighten gun laws and background checks to keep guns out of the hands of people with mental health problems went nowhere in Congress because of opposition from the gun lobby.

A different type of gun violence came to public attention because of a series of shootings of unarmed black youths by police. Across the country, people demanded reforms in police procedures.

Terrorism The fear of home-grown terrorism proved real when two self-radicalized brothers set off two bombs at the finish line of the Boston Marathon, killing 3 people and injuring more than 250 others. Both brothers were motivated by extremist Islamic beliefs. Intelligence and police efforts continued to stop dozens of possible attacks in the United States, but the Boston bombing and further attacks on police and military personnel proved how difficult it was to prevent such attacks by isolated individuals. Efforts to prevent terrorism sometimes clashed with civil liberties and human rights.

Foreign Policy Though the United States remained the world's leading superpower, it faced many challenges. The sectarian division between Sunni and Shiite Muslims worsened. In "failed states," such as Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen, radical terrorist found safe havens. In Iraq and Syria, one of these groups, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) or ISIL, vowed to reestablish a worldwide caliphate under strict Islamic law. The well-financed movement used social media to recruit from around the world. Former members of the Iraqi military, driven from power in the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, also joined ISIS. President Obama, while reluctant to return American soldiers to the battlefields in Iraq and Syria, did commit American air power and trainers to help Iraqi soldiers to stop ISIS.

In Iran, the election of a new leader provided an opportunity to start negotiations over that country's nuclear energy program. In 2015, the United States and other world powers negotiated to prevent the development of nuclear bombs by Iran, at least in the near future.

In Europe, tensions between Russia and the NATO countries centered on Ukraine. Though an independent country today, the region had been ruled from Moscow for most of the past two centuries. When Ukraine's pro-Russian government was overthrown by a popular movement, Russia responded by annexing a southern province of Ukraine -- Crimea -- and supporting a revolt in the eastern part of the country. The United States and European nations protested by placing economic sanctions on Russia. Relations between NATO countries and Russia were at the lowest point since the end of the Cold War.

China's move to create new territories in the South China Seas threatened Southeast Asian nations and free passage through international waters long protected by the U.S. Navy. Cyber warfare also emerged as a serious threat in the 21st century as China, Russia, and other nations, as well as criminal groups, used the Internet to steal private and government data.

Close to home, President Obama started a step-by-step normalization of relations with Cuba. In 2015, the two countries agreed to open embassies in Havana and Washington for the first time since the Eisenhower administration.

Contemporary Issues and the Roberts Court

The observation that Americans try to settle their most vexing problems in the courts still held true in the early 21st century. President George W. Bush appointed to the Supreme Court the conservative Samuel Alito and, as Chief Justice, John Roberts. President Obama appointed the more liberal Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan, which did not change the balance on the court. Justice Anthony Kennedy proved the key, deciding vote in many 5-4 decisions.

Affirmative Action and Voting Rights Since the 1970s, conservatives had attacked federal and local government efforts to address the legacy of racial discrimination through affirmative action. In 2007, the Roberts Court ruled in a 5-4 decision that local school districts could not use race to assign students to achieve diversity.

While the Court overturned the actions of local school districts, it deferred to states on voting rights. For example, it upheld an Indiana law requiring citizens to have a photo identification card to vote. More broadly, in 2013, the Court's

decision in *Shelby County v. Holder* struck down an important provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (renewed in 2006). This provision required that certain states with a history of voter discrimination obtain prior federal approval of any changes in voting laws. Roberts argued that voting patterns had changed and minority voters no longer needed the same protections.

Elections and Money After decades of Congressional efforts to limit the influence of big money in elections, the Supreme Court ruled in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010) that corporations were “legal persons” and had the same rights as individuals to buy ads to influence political elections. This ruling opened a flood of new money from wealthy donors, who began to replace the role of traditional parties in local and national elections.

Environment The Obama administration used the stimulus bill to promote reduced reliance on oil and more development of alternative energy sources, such as solar and wind. However, many in Congress disagreed with the science behind global warming and opposed tighter controls of greenhouse gases. With Justice Kennedy joining the more liberal justices, the court ruled 5–4 in *Massachusetts v. EPA* (2007) that the EPA had the authority under the Clean Air Act to regulate carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. In 2015, the Supreme Court ruled in a 6–2 decision that under the Clean Air Act, the EPA had the authority to regulate air pollution emitted from coal plants that cross state lines.

Gay Rights The gay rights movement achieved significant gains in the 21st century. In 2010, Congress repealed the Clinton era “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” to end discrimination of gays in the military. In 2013, the Supreme Court, in a 5–4 ruling, declared the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutional and let stand a California court’s overturning of a state law banning same-sex marriage. By 2015, over thirty states allowed same-sex marriage by law or court order. In a 5–4 decision written by Justice Kennedy, the Supreme Court ruled in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that same-sex couples have the fundamental right to marry under the 14th Amendment, which denies states the power to “deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” The quick turnaround in same-sex marriage issue surprised most Americans and angered states’ rights advocates.

Gun Rights In 2008, in another 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in *District of Columbia v. Heller* that the 2nd Amendment protects an individual’s right to possess a firearm unconnected with service in a militia. Justice Scalia used the original intent argument to support the majority opinion.

Immigration The question of the futures of an estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants and of how to provide border security also divided the nation and the courts. Unhappy with federal policies, Arizona took on the issues. In *Chamber of Commerce v. Whiting* (2011), the Roberts Court ruled that a state had the right to require employers to check the immigration status of potential employees. However, in *Arizona v. United States* (2012), Justice Kennedy again voted with the four more liberal justices, and the Court ruled that federal immigration law pre-empts most of the state’s anti-immigration law.

Health Care The Affordable Care Act was under continuous attack in court cases. The legal challenge centered on whether the federal government had the authority to mandate Americans to buy health insurance or pay a penalty. The fate of health care law did not look promising when Justice Scalia asked whether the federal government could next require Americans to buy broccoli. However, in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius* (2012), Chief Justice Roberts and the four more liberal justices ruled that the requirement that individuals must purchase health insurance or pay a penalty was a constitutional exercise of Congress's authority to levy taxes. In the 2015 decision of *King v. Burwell*, a 6–3 majority, led by Chief Justice Roberts, again upheld a key provision of the Affordable Care Act, allowing subsidies to lower-income Americans in federal health insurance exchanges as well as state exchanges.

Some observers noted that, with a Congress too divided to address the complex issues of the times, more decisions were falling to the courts to settle, from elections to health care. If it continues, the Roberts Court may become one of the most influential courts in American history.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSES BOOMS AND BUSTS?

The Great Recession renewed the debate over the causes of depressions and the role of government in the economy. Economic collapses caused by financial crises, such as the Panic of 1837, have been far more severe and long-lasting than those caused by industrial overproduction. Kevin Phillips in *Bad Money* (2008) argued that the danger to the U.S. economy increased after the 1970s because financial services, especially those profiting from creation and leveraging of debt, became more profitable than manufacturing. He viewed this “financialization” of the economy as dangerous because it will lead to national decline as it did for the Spanish, the Dutch, and the British in the past.

At the heart of many debates among economists is their confidence in markets. Has history shown that markets are free and rational or that they are often inefficient and easily manipulated? The conservative view, drawing upon the ideas of economists such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, is that markets have worked so well that government should stay out of the way. On the other side, Joseph Stiglitz argues that markets have often failed because of imperfect or false information, such as the fraudulent sale of repackaged subprime mortgage debt around the world. From his viewpoint, markets need government supervision to avoid more economic calamities, which are harder on ordinary working people than on Wall Street and the banks. In reflecting on the Great Recession, former Federal Reserve Chair Alan Greenspan, who had sided with the free-market conservatives, admitted that he had been wrong and that “curative” regulation of the banking industry was needed to counter the “animal spirits” of euphoria, greed, and fear in the financial markets.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Politics in the 2000s (POL)	"connect the dots" political polarization Southern white conservatives gerrymandered "safe seats" election of 2000 George W. Bush Al Gore <i>Bush v. Gore</i> Bush tax cuts No Child Left Behind Act Enron, corporate corruption campaign finance reform housing bubble election of 2004 John Kerry privatization of Social Security Hurricane Katrina corruption in Congress John Roberts Samuel Alito border security	super-committee U.S. credit rating election of 2012 Mitt Romney Latino voters sequester cuts 2013 shutdown of government gun violence Boston Marathon bombing
War on Terrorism (WOR)	Great Recession (WXT)	Obama Foreign Policy (WOR)
Colin Powell Islamic roots of anti-Americanism Al-Qaeda Osama bin Laden asymmetric warfare bombing of U.S. embassies <i>U.S.S. Cole</i> World Trade Center September 11, 2001 Afghanistan, Taliban Hamid Karzai Homeland Security Department	securitization liquidity crisis Fannie May, Freddie Mac Lehman Brothers Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) poor regulation of financial institutions	ban on torture withdrawal from Iraq Afghanistan surge death of bin Laden drawdown in Afghanistan Arab Spring fall of dictatorships civil war in Syria "pivot" to Asia euro crisis
Obama Presidency (POL)	Roberts Court (POL, CUL)	
election of 2008 Hillary Clinton Barack Obama John McCain Sarah Palin effects of Great Recession 2009 stimulus bill Dodd-Frank Act aid to auto industry Affordable Care Act budget deficits Bowles-Simpson plan Tea Party debt ceiling	Sonia Sotomayor Elena Kagan <i>Shelby County v. Holder</i> (2013) repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" same-sex marriage 2nd Amendment and <i>Heller</i> case campaign financing <i>Citizens United</i> (2010) <i>NFI v. Sibelius</i> (2012)	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“These militants are not just the enemies of America or the enemies of Iraq. They are the enemies of Islam, and they’re the enemies of humanity.

[I]t is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs, and cuts the throat of a bound captive, and targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is courage that liberated more than 50 million people from tyranny. And it is courage in the cause of freedom that will once again destroy the enemies of freedom!

Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom, by distrusting human creativity, and punishing change, and limiting the contributions of half a population, this ideology undermines the very qualities that make human progress possible and human societies successful. The only thing modern about the militants’ vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past, a declaration of war on the idea of progress itself.”

—George W. Bush, Veterans Day Speech, November 11, 2005

1. Which of the following best explains the context for this speech by President Bush?
 - (A) The attack on the Twin Towers in New York
 - (B) The resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan
 - (C) The challenge to control the violence in Iraq
 - (D) The breakdown of relations with Iran
2. Which of the following best supports President Bush’s comparison of Islamic radicalism to communism?
 - (A) Neither saw universal education as a path to progress
 - (B) Neither valued freedom of the individual
 - (C) Both opposed cultural change
 - (D) Both opposed advances in personal communications

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“The fact is our economy did not fall into decline overnight. Nor did all of our problems begin when the housing market collapsed or the stock market sank. We have known for decades that our survival depends on finding new sources of energy. . . . The cost of health care eats up more and more of our savings each year, yet we keep delaying reform. Our children will compete for jobs in a global economy that too many of our schools do not prepare them for. . . .

A surplus became an excuse to transfer wealth to the wealthy instead of an opportunity to invest in our future. Regulations were gutted for the sake of a quick profit at the expense of a healthy market. People bought homes they knew they couldn’t afford from banks and lenders who pushed those bad loans anyway. . . .

Well that day of reckoning has arrived, and the time to take charge of our future is here.”

—Barack Obama, Speech to Congress, February 24, 2009

3. Which of the following would best support the text, “A surplus became an excuse to transfer wealth to the wealthy?”
 - (A) The tax cuts in 2001 and 2003 under George W. Bush
 - (B) The 1996 budget compromise under Clinton
 - (C) The bailout of the savings and loans under George H. W. Bush
 - (D) The 25 percent tax cuts passed under Ronald Reagan
4. Among the issues identified in the speech, which of the following became the signature accomplishment of the Obama administration in the first term?
 - (A) Legislation providing for energy independence in ten years
 - (B) Breakup of the banks that contributed to the recession
 - (C) Takeover of home mortgages to keep people in their homes
 - (D) Health insurance reform and expansion of the Americans insured
5. Which of the following became law to achieve the “healthy market” goal in the excerpt?
 - (A) The federal stimulus package to create 3.5 million jobs and tax cuts to stimulate spending
 - (B) The reform of banking and financial institutions and the creation of the Bureau of Consumer Protection
 - (C) Federal rebates for consumers to promote sales of new and more energy efficient automobiles
 - (D) A bipartisan budget that increased taxes, cut federal spending, and secured the future of Social Security and Medicare

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Obama’s foreign policy has, above all, been characterized by strategic restraint. . . . He has been wary of grand declaration and military interventions.

“Obama came to office believing that the U.S. had overextended itself militarily. He believed that the cost of extravagant involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan had been the erosion of ties with allies and the worsening of relations with adversaries. . . .

“Such restraint is much harder to execute than it may appear. In a world without a serious military rival, the U.S. becomes the world’s emergency call center. . . .

“The president whom Obama resembles most in this respect is an unlikely one: Dwight Eisenhower. . . . Eisenhower refused to support America’s closest allies, the British and French, when they—with Israel—invaded Egypt. . . . He declined to send forces to help the French in Vietnam. . . . Eisenhower—the greatest military hero of World War II—could stay sane and resist calls for action.”

—Fareed Zakaria, commentator and journalist, “Why Barack Is Like Ike,” *Time*, December 31, 2012

6. Which of the following best explains the context for “Obama came to office believing that the U.S. had overextended itself militarily”?
 - (A) President Reagan’s expansion of the U.S. military spending
 - (B) The failures of presidents Clinton and Bush to capture Osama bin Laden
 - (C) President Bush’s decision to go to war in Iraq
 - (D) The application of the containment policy in the war on terrorism
7. The restraint shown by President Obama in foreign affairs was most evident in his policies regarding
 - (A) the imprisonment of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt
 - (B) the death of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya
 - (C) the crackdown on protesters in Saudi Arabia
 - (D) the civil war in Syria
8. President Obama best resembled President Eisenhower in his preference for
 - (A) using nuclear brinkmanship to force opponents to yield
 - (B) relying on relatively small secret operations to carry out policies
 - (C) challenging the military-industrial complex over spending
 - (D) giving the impression that he was not in charge by playing golf

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the effect of ONE of the following on national politics.
 - Southern white conservatives
 - “safe seats”
 - *Bush v. Gore*
- b) Briefly explain the effect of ONE of the following on domestic affairs.
 - Hurricane Katrina
 - housing bubble
 - liquidity crisis
- c) Briefly explain the impact of the Roberts Court on ONE of these issues.
 - elections
 - gun control
 - health care

Question 2 is based on the following chart.

Changes in the American Economy, 2008 to 2013		
Category	2008/2009	2013/2014
Stock prices (Dow Jones Industrial Average)	9,035 (January 2, 2009)	16,441 (January 2, 2014)
Unemployment rate	7.8% (January 2009)	6.6% (January 2014)
People receiving SNAP (food stamps)	32 million (January 2009)	47 million (November 2013)
Corporate profits after taxes	\$4.3 trillion (2008)	\$7.3 trillion (estimate for 2013)

Source: Congressional Budget Office and other sources

2. Using the chart, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the statistics measuring the American economy used in the above chart.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE piece of evidence to support or challenge the view that “Wall Street recovered faster than Main Street.”
 - c) Briefly explain ONE specific way the Great Recession of 2007 was either similar to or different from the Great Depression of 1929.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the impact of ONE of the following on the growth of terrorism.
 - Al-Qaeda
 - asymmetric warfare
 - Sunni vs. Shiite
- b) Briefly explain the purpose of ONE of the following in the war on terrorism.
 - Bush Doctrine
 - Patriot Act
 - Homeland Security Department
- c) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following foreign policy issues in the years following 2000.
 - Arab Spring
 - China
 - Iraq

Question 4 is based on the following excerpt.

“[A survey] concluded a ‘substantial percentage of Latinos perceive discrimination and one response to this perception . . . is a strengthening of ethnic attachment. . . .’ Latinos are anything but latent supporters of the GOP. There are two things that Republicans look at to make that conclusion. They look at entrepreneurial behavior in Latinos, which is very high. . . . The second is that this is a very churchgoing, family-orientated subculture. . . .

“Supermajorities of Hispanics articulate a position in favor of a more progressive government involved to solve social and economic problems When we asked, ‘Is government really about economic issues, gas prices, taxes, jobs? Or is government about family values, same-sex marriage, abortion?’—three quarters of Hispanics believe it is about bread and butter issues; it’s not about morality. . . . So they are a religious community. But religion is religion and politics is politics, and they are not dragging one into the other.”

—Ray Suarez, news correspondent, *Latino Americans*, 2013

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain what the survey said about Latinos.
- b) Briefly explain why politicians and political analysis in the early 21st century became more interested in the Latino populations.
- c) Briefly explain how similar or different the immigrant experience of Latinos has been compared to prior immigrant groups.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: WRITING A COHERENT ESSAY

Connecting words such as “in addition” and “however” help readers follow a train of thought. Which THREE of the following sentences best starts a paragraph that would support the argument emphasizing differences between presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama?

1. In contrast, Obama emphasized international action in foreign policy.
2. Similarly, Obama attended Harvard after graduating from a prestigious undergraduate school.
3. Unlike Bush, the new president entered office while the nation was in the midst of an economic crisis.
4. Many of Obama’s supporters were disappointed that he continued or extended several of Bush’s policies on national security.
5. Reporters who covered the both men’s presidential campaigns noted the contrasts in how each one treated the press.

PERIOD 9 Review: 1980–Present

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Analyze to what extent the conservative resurgence changed the economic and social policies of the United States government from 1980 to 2008.
2. Analyze to what extent the end of the Cold War changed United States foreign policies from 1991 to 2012.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Compare and contrast the leadership and economic policies of presidents Ronald Reagan and Franklin Roosevelt.
4. Compare and contrast the chief successes and failures of TWO of the following presidential administrations.
 - George H. W. Bush
 - Bill Clinton
 - George W. Bush
 - Barack Obama

U.S. History Practice Examination

Section 1

Part A: Multiple Choice—55 minutes, 55 questions

Directions: Two to four questions are in sets that focus on a primary source, secondary source, or other historical issue. Each question has four answers or completions. Select the best one for each question or statement.

Questions 1–4 on this page and the next refer to the excerpt below.

“Part of the myth about the first Americans is that all of them . . . had one culture . . . the white man turned everything upside down. Three elements were important in the early influence: the dislodgement of eastern tribes, the introduction of the horse, and metal tools and firearms.

“The British invaders of the New World, and to lesser degree the French, came to colonize. They came in thousands to occupy the land. They were, therefore, in direct competition with the Indians and acted accordingly, despite their verbal adherence to fine principles of justice and fair dealing. The Spanish came quite frankly to conquer, to Christianize. . . . They came in small numbers. . . . and the Indian labor force was essential to their aims. Therefore they did not dislodge or exterminate the Indians. . . .

“The Spanish, then did not set populations in motion. That was done chiefly from the east. The great Spanish contribution was the horse.”

—Oliver LaFarge, anthropologist, “Myths That Hide the American Indian,” *The American Indian: Past and Present*, 1971

1. During the early years of colonization, the French policy in North America was based primarily on
 - (A) settling on lands controlled by American Indians
 - (B) controlling the fur trade
 - (C) farming in the Mississippi River Valley
 - (D) establishing a series of Catholic missions

2. United States policy toward the American Indians in the 19th century was most similar to the colonial Indian policy of the
- (A) British
 - (B) Dutch
 - (C) French
 - (D) Spanish
3. Which of the following best describes something Europeans introduced in the Americas that helped American Indians survive colonization?
- (A) European introduced new farming methods, which enabled American Indians to maintain their agricultural heritage
 - (B) Europeans introduced metal tools, which led to increased trade and better relationships with Europeans
 - (C) Europeans introduced horses, which transformed the cultures of American Indians on the Great Plains
 - (D) Europeans introduced Christianity, which brought unity among American Indians
4. Which of the following generalizations best describes a similarity among Europeans who colonized North America?
- (A) All wanted to convert American Indians to Catholicism
 - (B) All emphasized developing extensive trade with American Indians
 - (C) All attempted to dominate American Indians in some way
 - (D) All intended to exterminate or remove American Indians

Questions 5–7 refer to the excerpt below.

“We want peace and good order at the South; but it can only come by the fullest recognition of the rights of all classes. . . .

“We simply demand the practical recognition of the rights given us in the Constitution and laws. . . .

“The vicious and exceptional political action had by the White League in Mississippi has been repeated in other contests and in other states of the South, and the colored voters have been subjected therein to outrages upon their rights similar to those perpetrated in my own state at the recent election . . . and we ask such action as will not only protect us in the enjoyment of our constitutional rights but will preserve the integrity of our republican institutions.”

—Senator Blanche K. Bruce, African American U.S. Senator from Mississippi, speech to the Senate, 1876

5. Examples of actions that responded to Senator Bruce’s plea in the excerpt included the
 - (A) formation of the NAACP in 1909
 - (B) civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965
 - (C) *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954
 - (D) March on Washington in 1963
6. An accepted response to Bruce’s call for action in the excerpt was Booker T. Washington’s program based on which of the following?
 - (A) Active participation in the Republican Party
 - (B) Migration back to Africa
 - (C) Economic self-help
 - (D) An agricultural based society
7. The end of Senator Bruce’s senate career and African American political power in the South was ensured by which of the following?
 - (A) Removal of federal troops from the South
 - (B) A divided Republican party
 - (C) Election of a Democrat as president
 - (D) Rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan

Questions 8–10 refer to the excerpt below.

“Instructions to you, Vicente de Zaldivar. . . . of the expedition to New Mexico. . . . for the punishment of the pueblo of Acoma for having killed . . . soldiers. . . .

“Since the good success of the undertaking depends on the pleasure of God our Lord in directing you to appropriate and effective methods, it is right that you should seek to prevent public or private offenses to Him in the expedition. . . . You will proceed over the shortest route. . . . At the places and pueblos that you pass through on the way you will treat the natives well and not allow harm to be done them. . . .

“If God shall be so merciful as to grant us victory, you will arrest all of the people, young and old, without sparing anyone. Inasmuch as we have declared war on them without quarter, you will punish all those of fighting age as you deem best, as a warning to everyone in this kingdom.”

—Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1599

8. The first Spanish explorers in the Americas provided a strong motivation for colonization by other Europeans, who saw that the Spanish
 - (A) found abundant fertile land
 - (B) established political freedom
 - (C) won many religious conversions
 - (D) found large amounts of gold and silver
9. Which of the following best explains why the natives of America became so important to the Spanish empire?
 - (A) Natives could be enslaved by the Spanish settlers
 - (B) Natives provided most of the labor on Spanish land
 - (C) Natives often joined the Spanish military
 - (D) Natives were primarily trading partners of the Spanish
10. The authority of the leaders in the Spanish colonies to order the actions described in this excerpt came from which of the following?
 - (A) Elected governors
 - (B) Pope
 - (C) King
 - (D) Church

Questions 11–13 refer to the excerpt below.

“Now we all found the loss of Captain Smith; yea, his greatest maligners could now curse his loss. As for corn provision and contribution from the savages, we had nothing but mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows. . . .

“Nay, so great was our famine that a savage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and ate him; and so did diverse one another boiled and stewed with roots and herbs. . . .

“This was that time, which still to this day, we called the starving time. It were too vile to say, and scarce to be believed, what we endured; but the occasion was our own for want of providence, industry, and government, and not the barrenness and defect of the country. . . . For till then in three years, for the numbers were landed us, we have never from England provision sufficient for six months.”

—John Smith, description of “starving time” in Virginia, 1607–1614

11. When the Virginia colony was first formed, control over it rested with
 - (A) an elected assembly
 - (B) the king
 - (C) Captain John Smith
 - (D) shareholders of the joint-stock company
12. During the “starving time,” the Jamestown colony depended on which of the following form of charter for its support?
 - (A) Joint-stock company
 - (B) Proprietary colony
 - (C) Royal colony
 - (D) Church-based company
13. Both the Virginia and Plymouth colonists shared a commitment to
 - (A) equal rights for all
 - (B) religious freedom
 - (C) good relations with the American Indians
 - (D) representative government

Questions 14–16 refer to the photograph below.



Source: Madison, Wisconsin, 1967. AP Photo/Neal Ulevich

- 14.** Which group provided the most active opposition to the Vietnam War?
 - (A) Religious groups
 - (B) Democratic Party
 - (C) Supporters of funding for the Great Society
 - (D) Students opposed to the draft
- 15.** The most important mistake the U.S. government made in the Vietnam War, according to many historians, was
 - (A) the failure to maintain public support for the war
 - (B) the lack of Asian experts to advise the government
 - (C) the restrictions it placed on the military
 - (D) the weak presidential leadership by Johnson and Nixon
- 16.** How did the Vietnam War protest movement compare with other protest movements in American history?
 - (A) Like the American Indians Movement, it had roots deep in history
 - (B) Like the union movements, many protesters were killed
 - (C) Like the civil rights movement, it used mass marches
 - (D) Like the Populist movement, it tried to form an independent party

Questions 17–19 refer to the excerpt below.

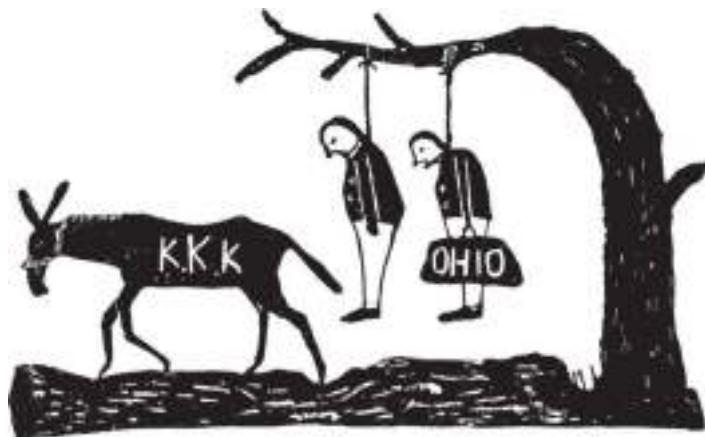
“Besides being political to the core, Clinton is notable for his intelligence, energy, and exceptional articulateness. He is also marked by a severe lack of self-discipline that leads to difficulties, and a resiliency and coolness under pressure. . . . The most damaging blow of the year for Clinton was the failure of his most ambitious policy initiative, a bill guaranteeing health care to all Americans. . . .

“Clinton’s first two years in the White House were marked by such legislative successes as NAFTA, the creation of a youth volunteer corps, a major deficit-reduction measure, and a law permitting family members to take unpaid leave to attend to children and sick relatives. . . . Clinton seems certain to be recognized for moving the Democratic party to the center of the political spectrum and for many incremental policy departures.”

—Fred I. Greenstein, political scientist, *The Presidential Difference*,
2000

17. According to most historians, which of the following legislative efforts from Clinton’s first term had the greatest lasting impact?
 - (A) Ratification of NAFTA
 - (B) Creation of a youth volunteer corps
 - (C) Passage of a “motor-voter” law
 - (D) Reform of Social Security
18. Which is the most important reason why many Americans viewed Clinton’s presidency as a success?
 - (A) Clinton’s personal popularity
 - (B) Clinton’s peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts
 - (C) economic expansion
 - (D) democratic control of Congress
19. Based on Clinton’s actions as president, which of the following most accurately describes his political philosophy?
 - (A) radical
 - (B) pragmatic
 - (C) conservative
 - (D) progressive

Questions 20–22 refer to the cartoon below.



Source: Walter L. Fleming, “A Prospective Scene in the City of Oaks, 4th of March, 1869,” *Independent Monitor*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1868. ClipArtETC

- 20.** Which of the major targets of the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War is portrayed in the above cartoon?
- (A) Carpetbaggers
 - (B) Abolitionists
 - (C) Former slaves
 - (D) Union officers
- 21.** Which of the following best describes how the Compromise of 1877 affected the issues addressed in this cartoon?
- (A) By resolving the 1876 election peacefully, it encouraged people to negotiate
 - (B) By making Rutherford Hayes president, the KKK became superfluous
 - (C) By withdrawing federal troops from the South, it reduced lynchings
 - (D) By ending Reconstruction, it improved race relations in the South
- 22.** Who of the following would have been most likely to support the message of this cartoon?
- (A) People who criticized the Ku Klux Klan
 - (B) Republicans who opposed Redeemer governments
 - (C) Northerners who advocated Radical Reconstruction
 - (D) Southerners who supported the end of Reconstruction

Questions 23–25 refer to the excerpt below.

“That evening there was a general discussion in regard to the main subject in hunters’ minds. Colorado had passed stringent laws that were practically prohibitory against buffalo-hunting; the Legislature of Kansas did the same. . . .

“General Phil. Sheridan was then in command of the military department of the Southwest. . . . when he heard of the nature of the Texas bill for the protection of the buffaloes. . . . He told them that instead of stopping the hunters they ought to give them a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks. . . . ‘These men . . . will do more in the next year, to settle the vexed Indian question . . . they are destroying the Indians’ commissary. . . .’

“But there are two sides to the question. It is simply a case of the survival of the fittest. Too late to stop and moralize now. And sentiment must have no part in our thoughts from this time on.”

—John R. Cook, soldier, hunter, and author,
On Buffaloes and Indians, 1877

23. In the 1870s, after wars with American Indians and shifts in public opinion, the government began basing its Indian policies on
 - (A) establishing tribal reservations
 - (B) supporting tribal culture
 - (C) removing Indians to lands farther west
 - (D) assimilating Indians into white culture
24. John Cook’s philosophy toward buffalo hunting and the future of American Indians shows the influence of the idea of
 - (A) gospel of wealth
 - (B) laissez faire
 - (C) Social Darwinism
 - (D) protectionism
25. The efforts to protect the buffalo herds in the 1870s were directed by which of the following movements that was developing in that decade?
 - (A) Grange
 - (B) Conservationists
 - (C) Assimilationists
 - (D) National Labor Union

Questions 26–28 refer to the excerpt below.

“They were begging for workers. They didn’t care whether you were black, white, young, old. . . . I got caught up in that patriotic “win the war,” “help the boys.” The patriotism that was so strong in everyone then. . . .

“The first paycheck I got in aircraft was more money than I’d ever seen in my life. I didn’t even know what to do with it. I didn’t have a bank account. You couldn’t buy anything much. . . .

“Soap was rationed, butter, Kleenex, toilet paper, toothpaste, cigarettes, clothing, shoes. And you saw people making a lot of money and not doing anything for the war effort. . . .

“By 1944 a lot of people were questioning the war. . . . I think when we actually began to see boys come home in late 1943, 1944 —those that had been injured. . . .—then the rumbles grew into roars, and the young people thought maybe they were being led into this.”

—Juanita Loveless, African American worker in a war plant,
Rosie the Riveter Revisited, 1988

- 26.** One group of people whose lives improved during World War II were
 - (A) Women working in factories who received equal pay with men
 - (B) Mexican American farmworkers who won citizenship
 - (C) American Indians who made life on reservations better
 - (D) African Americans who moved to jobs in the North and West
- 27.** How did the outbreak of the war change the country’s economy?
 - (A) Factory jobs paid higher wages but rationing limited spending
 - (B) Taxes increased so much that people could not afford to buy much
 - (C) The sale of war bonds got money circulating again
 - (D) Union demands for higher wages caused prices to increase dramatically
- 28.** During World War II, unlike in earlier wars, the U.S. government took action to
 - (A) tax incomes
 - (B) sell war bonds
 - (C) provide equal pay for women
 - (D) freeze wages and prices

Questions 29–31 refer to the excerpt below.

“We. . . declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage, as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being. . . .

“We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited, except for crime; that marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership, and so recognized by law; that until it is so recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws, by every means in their power.

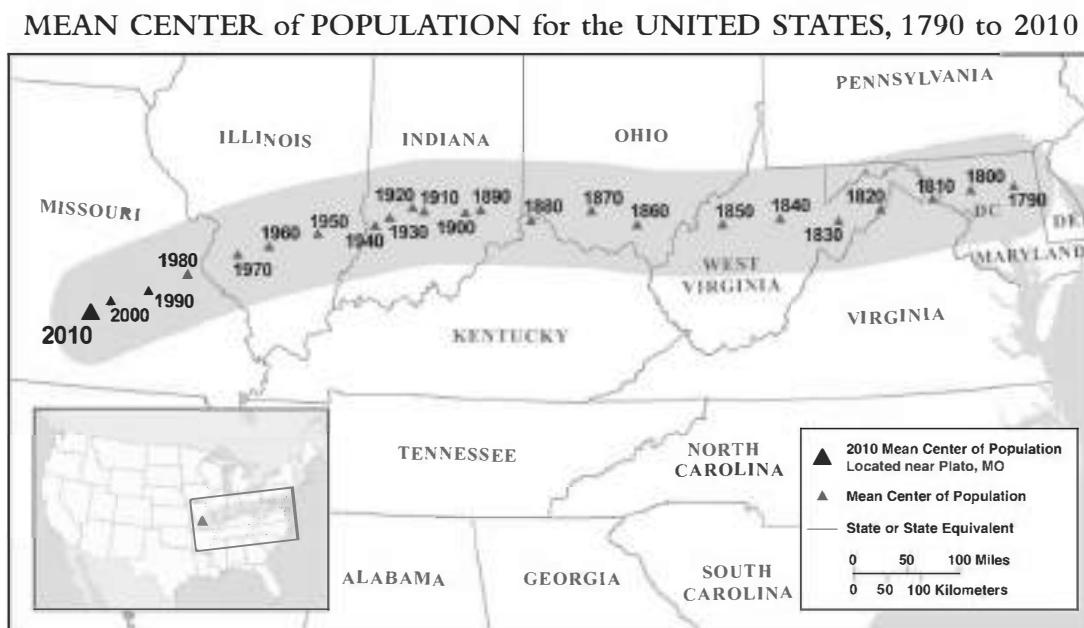
“We believe that where domestic difficulties arise, no appeal should be made to legal tribunals under existing laws, but that all difficulties should be submitted to the equitable adjustment of arbitrators mutually chosen.

“Thus reverencing law, we enter our protest against rules and customs which are unworthy of the name, since they violate justice, the essence of law.”

—Lucy Stone, abolitionist and feminist, speech at her marriage, 1855

- 29.** Who of the following would be most likely to support the views expressed by Stone in this excerpt?
- (A) Participants in the Second Great Awakening
 - (B) Members of the American party
 - (C) Supporters of the Liberty party
 - (D) Individuals who attended the Seneca Falls Convention
- 30.** Women’s rights advocates in the mid-19th century such as Lucy Stone were also most active in which of the following reform movements?
- (A) Public asylums
 - (B) Antislavery societies
 - (C) Communal experiments
 - (D) Free common schools
- 31.** At the time this statement was made, most people accepted that women could
- (A) work in factories
 - (B) vote in most states
 - (C) hold political office
 - (D) serve on juries

Questions 32–34 refer to the map below.



32. Which of the following contributed most to the northward movement shown between 1860 and 1880?
- (A) Start of the California gold rush
 - (B) Completion of the Erie Canal
 - (C) End of the Civil War
 - (D) Purchase of Alaska
33. Which of the following best explains why the westward movement of the center of population slowed in the first decades of the 20th century?
- (A) The end of World War I caused people to return to rural areas
 - (B) Many people were settling in the Midwest
 - (C) Former slaves moved away from the South
 - (D) Eastern cities grew rapidly through immigration during these decades
34. Which of the following changes in the United States during and after World War II contributed to the shift shown in the map?
- (A) Conflicts between younger and older generations caused people to move
 - (B) Increasing prosperity allowed people to move to lower-wage regions
 - (C) The expansion of the defense industry created jobs in certain regions
 - (D) Changes in climate made some regions more liveable than they had been

Questions 35–37 refer to the excerpt below.

“New Economy The second half of the 1990s marked the longest sustained stretch of economic growth in U.S. history. Unlike other periods of long-term economic expansion reversed by rising inflation, growth continued and even accelerated as inflation declined. The combination of rapid technological change, rise of the services sector, and emergence of the global marketplace had experts convinced that the United States was in the midst of ‘a second industrial revolution.’ . . .

“Economists attributed these developments to a restructuring of companies and an economy abetted by such government policies as the North American Free Trade Agreement. . . . Many economists pointed to the breakup of AT&T (1995) and the deregulation of the telecommunications industry as enhancing opportunities for competition, innovation, and growth. . . . A decline in the influence of organized labor, for better or worse, enable firms to exercise greater flexibility.”

—“The American Economy,” *American Decades, 1900–1999*, 2001

- 35.** The causes of economic prosperity in the 1990s were most like those of
- (A) the prosperity of the 1950s
 - (B) the expansion in the mid-19th century
 - (C) the rapid industrialization after the Civil War
 - (D) the boom in the 1920s
- 36.** The changes described in this excerpt affected politics in the 1990s by
- (A) increasing the popularity of Bill Clinton
 - (B) causing many voters to vote for Republicans in 2000
 - (C) expanding the political influence of conservative Christians
 - (D) decreasing support for additional deregulation
- 37.** Which of the following did not share in the economic growth of the 1990s as much as other groups did?
- (A) Large corporations
 - (B) College graduates
 - (C) Southern states
 - (D) Labor unions

Questions 38–40 refer to the excerpt below.

“There is not among these three hundred bands of Indians one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands of either the Government or of white settlers. . . .

“It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians. . . . every page and every year has its dark stain. . . . but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795. . . .

“President after president has appointed commission after commission to inquire into and report upon Indian affairs. . . . These reports are bound up . . . and that is the end of them. . . .

“All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit. . . .

“Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done.”

—Helen Hunt Jackson, writer and activist for American Indians,
A Century of Dishonor, 1881

- 38.** The actions referred to in Georgia in 1830 are strongly associated with the policies of which of the following individuals?

- (A) Henry Clay
- (B) William Henry Harrison
- (C) John Marshall
- (D) Andrew Jackson

- 39.** The legal status of American Indians in the 1880s could most closely be compared to that of

- (A) Eastern European immigrants in the late 19th century
- (B) Japanese Americans during World War II
- (C) African American slaves
- (D) American Tories after the Revolution

- 40.** Partially in response to Jackson’s *A Century of Dishonor*, a new federal government policy for American Indians was enacted in which of the following laws?

- (A) Dawes Act
- (B) Civil Rights Act of 1875
- (C) Assimilationist Act
- (D) Reservation Control Act

Questions 41–43 refer to the graph below.



- 41.** The graph above provides evidence of a population change following World War II, which is popularly referred to as the
- (A) greatest generation
 - (B) population bomb
 - (C) baby boom
 - (D) generation gap
- 42.** Which generalization about the birth rate between 1949 and 2009 is best supported by this graph?
- (A) It generally increased as immigration increased
 - (B) It generally increased during the civil rights movement
 - (C) It generally decreased whenever the economy got worse
 - (D) It generally decreased when more women entered the workforce
- 43.** The post-World War II population changes in the birth rate can be partially explained by government policies that
- (A) contained communism around the world
 - (B) reduced the power of labor unions
 - (C) encouraged steps toward racial equality
 - (D) helped GIs attend college and buy homes

Questions 44–46 refer to the excerpt below.

“I like much the general idea of framing a government into Legislative, Judiciay and Executive. . . . I will now add what I do not like. First the omission of a bill of rights

“The second feature I dislike, and greatly dislike, is the abandonment in every instance of the necessity of rotation in office and most particularly in the case of President. . . .

“I own that I am not a friend to very energetic government. . . .

“I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. . . .

“Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.”

—Thomas Jefferson, Letter to James Madison, December 1787

- 44.** Jefferson’s feelings about “rotation in office” were at least partially resolved by
- (A) George Washington’s establishment of a two-term tradition
 - (B) the Tenure of Office Act passed in 1867
 - (C) the decision by FDR to seek a third term and a fourth term
 - (D) a series of Supreme Court rulings written by John Marshall
- 45.** Which action by Thomas Jefferson most clearly supported his belief that a government based on an agricultural society would be long-lasting?
- (A) agreeing to the Louisiana Purchase
 - (B) passing the Embargo Act
 - (C) funding internal improvements
 - (D) establishing a national bank
- 46.** Based on this excerpt, which of the following would Jefferson most likely have supported?
- (A) Expansion of voting rights to women, blacks, and 18-year-olds
 - (B) Establishment of land-grant universities starting in 1862
 - (C) Creation of an income tax
 - (D) Prohibition of the sale of alcohol

Questions 47–49 refer to the excerpt below.

“Monday, January 3, 1983

“A tough budget meeting & how to announce the deficits we’ll have—they are horrendous & yet the Dems. in Cong. are saying there is no room for budget cuts. . . . Newt Gingrich has a proposal for freezing the budget at the 1983 level. It’s a tempting idea except that it would cripple our defense program. . . .

“Monday, October 24, 1983

“Opened with NSC brf. on Lebanon & Grenada. Lebanon gets worse as the death toll climb. . . . Ambas. Hartman (Russia) came by. He confirms what I believe: the Soviets won’t really negotiate on arms reductions until we deploy the Pershing II’s & go forward with MX. . . .

“Then at 8 P.M., Tip, Jim Wright, Bob Bryd, Howard Baker, Bob Michel & our gang met upstairs in the W.H. & told them of the Grenada operation that would take place in the next several hours.”

—Ronald Reagan, *The Reagan Diaries*, 2007

- 47.** At the end of his presidency, on which of the following topics would Ronald Reagan have said that he had the most success?
- (A) “freezing the budget”
 - (B) “Lebanon”
 - (C) “the deficits”
 - (D) “arms reduction”
- 48.** The increase in the federal budget deficits during the Reagan administration can be attributed largely to which of the following?
- (A) Agricultural and food stamp payments
 - (B) Mandatory increases in Social Security
 - (C) Expansion of welfare benefits
 - (D) Military buildup in all services
- 49.** Eventually as Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich would be successful in reducing budget deficits with which of the following presidents?
- (A) Bill Clinton
 - (B) Ronald Reagan
 - (C) George H. W. Bush
 - (D) George W. Bush

Questions 50–52 refer to the excerpt below.

“I have now to perform the most pleasing task of exhibiting. . . . the existing state of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. . . .

“The greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824.

“This transformation of the condition of the country from gloom and distress to brightness and prosperity, has been mainly the work of American legislation, fostering American industry. . . .

“When gentlemen have succeeded in their design of an immediate or gradual destruction of the American system, what is their substitute? . . . Free trade!

“Gentlemen are greatly deceived as to the hold which this system has. . . . They represent that it is the policy of New England. . . . and most determined in its support is Pennsylvania. . . . Maryland was against it; now the majority is for it. . . . The march of public sentiment is to the South.”

—Henry Clay, “Defense of the American System,” 1832

50. The most difficult part of Henry Clay’s American System to implement

- (A) was the protective tariff
- (B) were the internal improvements
- (C) were the agricultural subsidies
- (D) was the national bank

51. Which of the following groups disagreed most strongly with Clay’s ideas about tariffs and trade?

- (A) Owners of manufacturing companies during the Civil War
- (B) Most Republicans in the late 1800s
- (C) Populists and many Progressives
- (D) Supporters of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff

52. The most persistent opposition to Clay’s American System came from which of the following groups?

- (A) Voters opposed to government debt
- (B) Politicians involved in sectional rivalries
- (C) Strong advocates of states’ rights
- (D) Believers in a strict interpretation of the Constitution

Questions 53–55 refer to the excerpt below.

“I, Francis Daniel Pastorius, . . . laid out and planned a new town. . . . we called Germantown. . . . in a very fine and fertile district, with plenty of springs of fresh water, being supplied with oak, walnut, and chestnut trees, and having besides excellent and abundant pasturage for the cattle. . . .

“The air is pure and serene. . . . and we are cultivating many kinds of fruits and vegetables, and our labors meet with rich reward.

“Our surplus of grain and cattle we trade to Barbados for rum, syrup, sugar, and salt. The furs, however, we export to England for other manufactured goods. We are also endeavoring to introduce the cultivation of the vine, and also the manufacture of woolen cloths and linen, so as to keep our money as much as possible in the country. . . .

“William Penn is one of the sect of Friends. . . . Still he will compel no man to belong to his particular society.”

—Francis D. Pastorius, German colonist, *A Particular Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered Province of Pennsylvania*, 1700

- 53.** By the mid-18th century the largest group of non-English people to come to America were
- (A) Germans
 - (B) Scotch-Irish
 - (C) African Americans
 - (D) Irish
- 54.** The development of various industries by the German settlers suggests that the English who controlled the colony rejected the commonly accepted ideas about
- (A) the structure of a joint-stock company
 - (B) the role of a colony under mercantilism
 - (C) how to recruit new German immigrants
 - (D) how to use American Indian labor
- 55.** Which of the following phrases from the excerpt indicates the feature of Pennsylvania that was most attractive to settlers?
- (A) “being supplied with oak, walnut, and chestnut trees”
 - (B) “we trade to Barbados for rum, syrup, sugar, and salt”
 - (C) “endeavoring to introduce the cultivation of the vine”
 - (D) “he will compel no man to belong to his particular society”

Section 1

Part B: Short Answer—50 minutes, 4 questions

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following painting.



Source: Benjamin West, *American Commissioners of the Preliminary Peace Negotiations with Great Britain*, London, England, 1783.
Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont, 1957.856

1. Using the painting above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - a) Briefly explain the implications of the peace negotiations in 1783 for American policies toward Great Britain.
 - b) Briefly explain the implications of the peace negotiations in 1783 for British policies toward the United States.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE specific policy of the American government from the period 1783–1812 that developed in response to the British view expressed by the painting.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpts.

“By the fall of 1963 the Kennedy administration, though still worried about its ability to push legislation through a recalcitrant Congress, was preparing initiatives on civil rights and economic opportunity. . . .

“John F. Kennedy cautiously eased tensions with the Soviet Union, especially after Kennedy found himself on the brink of nuclear war over the presence of Soviet weapons in Cuba in 1962.

“Although Kennedy did not rush to deal with domestic issues—in large part because he believed that foreign policy needed precedence—the press of events gradually forced his administration to use government power to confront racial discrimination and advance the cause of equality at home.”

John M. Murrin, et al., historians, *Liberty, Equality and Power*, 1996

“Chopped down in his prime after only slightly more than a thousand days in the White House, Kennedy was acclaimed more for the ideals he enunciated and the spirit he had kindled than for the concrete goals he had achieved. He had laid one myth to rest forever—that a Catholic could not be trusted with the presidency of the United States.

“In later years revelation about Kennedy’s womanizing and allegations about his involvement with organized crime figures tarnished his reputation. But despite those accusations, his apparent vigor, charisma, and idealism made him an inspirational figure for the generation of Americans who came of age in the 1960s.”

—David M. Kennedy, et al., historians, *The American Pageant*, 2006

2. Using the excerpts above, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Murrin and Kennedy’s historical views of President John F. Kennedy.
 - b) Briefly explain how ONE development from the period 1960 to 1963 not directly mentioned in the excerpts supports Murrin’s view.
 - c) Briefly explain how ONE development from the period 1960 to 1963 not directly mentioned in the excerpts supports Kennedy’s view.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE important political response during the period 1800 to 1900 to Washington's warning in his Farewell Address of 1796 to "steer clear of permanent alliances."
- b) Briefly explain ONE important political response to Washington's warning during the period from 1900 to 1950.
- c) Briefly explain ONE important reason for the change or continuity in the response described in a or b above.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Select ONE of the choices below, and explain why your choice best demonstrates the often-hostile attitude toward immigration seen throughout United States history.
frontier theory
immigration quotas
Industrial Revolution
nativism
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Provide ONE piece of evidence involving one of the choices provided that either supports or contradicts the above statement.

Section 2

Part A: Document-Based Question—55 minutes, 1 question

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. To what extent were the reform efforts of the Progressive Era aimed at maintaining the existing society and to what extent did they bring about radical changes?

Document 1

Source: Progressive Party Platform, August 5, 1912

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's sense of justice. We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain the government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid. . . .

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. . . . Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people.

To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of statesmanship of the day.

Document 2

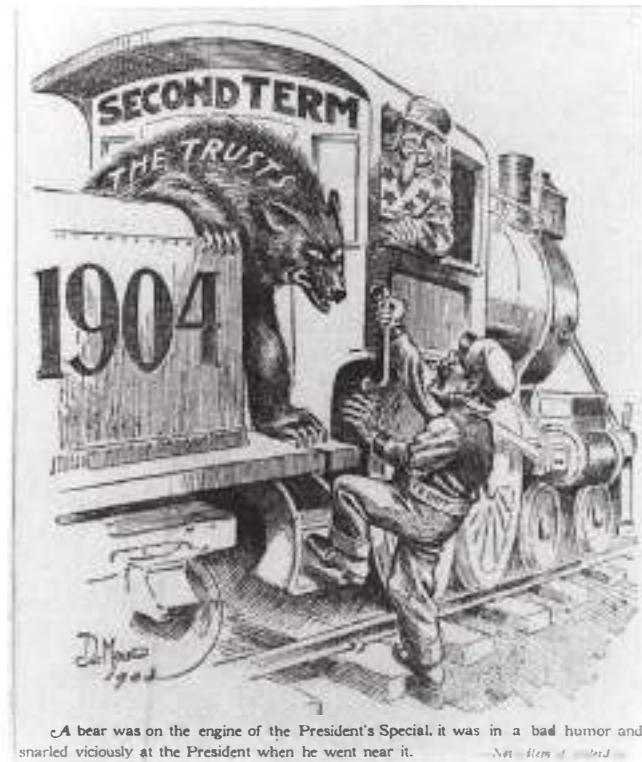
Source: President Woodrow Wilson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1913

No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things. . . . as we have latterly looked critically upon them. . . . have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them. . . . have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions.

We have itemized. . . . the things that ought to be altered. . . . A tariff which makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which restricts labor, and exploits natural resources; a body of agriculture never served through science or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs.

Document 3

Source: J.L. De Mar, 1903. Library of Congress



The caption says: "A bear was on the engine of the President's Special, it was in a bad humor and snarled viciously at the President when he went near it."

Document 4

Source: Senator Elihu Root, former secretary of state and secretary of war, “Experiments in Government,” lecture at Princeton University, April 1913

The recognition of shortcomings or inconveniences in government is not by itself sufficient to warrant a change of system. There should be also an effort to estimate and compare the shortcomings and inconveniences of the system to be substituted, for although they may be different they will certainly exist.

Document 5

Source: W. E. B. Du Bois, sociologist and civil rights activist, An Open Letter to Woodrow Wilson, September 1913

Sir, you have now been President of the United States for six months and what is the result? It is no exaggeration to say that every enemy of the Negro race is greatly encouraged; that every man who dreams of making the Negro race a group of menials and pariahs is alert and hopeful.

A dozen worthy Negro officials have been removed from office, and you have nominated but one black man for office, and he, such a contemptible cur, that his very nomination was an insult to every Negro. . . .

To this negative appearance of indifference has been added positive action on the part of your advisers, with or without your knowledge, which constitutes the gravest attack on the liberties of our people since emancipation. Public segregation of civil servants in government employ. . . . has for the first time in history been made the policy of the United States government.

Document 6

Source: Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, labor and community organizer, *Miners’ Magazine*, April 1915

When one starts to investigate conditions the result is appalling. . . . For instance, it is a fact that although this country is in its infancy, and has gained in wealth more in fifty years than any other country has in 700 years still we have more poverty in comparison with any of those old countries.

I have always felt that no true state of civilization can ever be realized as long as we continue to have two classes of society. But that is a tremendous problem. . . . I think myself that we are bound to have a revolution here before these questions are straightened out. We were on the verge of it in the Colorado strike and the reason we did not have it then was not due to the good judgement of public officials, but to that of labor officials, who worked unceasingly to prevent it.

Document 7

Source: George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress



Section 2

Part B: Long-Essay Question—35 minutes, 1 question

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of the pair of question. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Compare and contrast the prevailing attitudes of the American people in the periods leading up to the War of 1812 and the Spanish American War.
2. Compare and contrast the prevailing attitudes of the American people in the periods following World War I and World War II.

INDEX

A

ABC (Argentina, Brazil, Chile) powers, 423
Abilene, Kansas, 342
Abolitionist movement, 214–215
Abortion, 629, 655, 658
Abu Ghraib scandal, 684
Acheson, Dean, 563
Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), 611
Act of Toleration, 27, 28
Adams, Charles Francis, 274
Adams, James Truslow, 38
Adams, John, 51, 52, 105, 151; Boston Massacre and, 74; as delegate to First Continental Congress, 85; presidency of, 115–117; quote from, 69; XYZ Affair and, 116
Adams, John Quincy: *Diary*, 227; election of 1824 and, 193–194; Monroe Doctrine and, 165, 409; presidency of, 194; as secretary of state, 157, 158, 159, 409
Adams, Samuel, 74, 105; as delegate to First Continental Congress, 85
Adams-Onís Treaty, 158, 232
Addams, Jane, 364, 437, 458, 487
Adding machine, 325
Adena-Hopewell culture, 4
Administration of Justice Act (1774), 75
The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (Twain), 369
Advertising, 326, 478, 486, 591
Affirmative action, 655, 658, 691
The Affluent Society (Galbraith), 592
Afghanistan: Obama and, 682; Soviet invasion of, 635–636; war in, 684, 689
AFL-CIO, 591
Africa, Moors in, 5; and slave trade, 1, 6, 13, 37–38; and Marcus Garvey, 483; before World War II, 562; in World War II, 535, 536; and American foreign policy, 582, 588, 603, 634, 682, 689; influence on Malcolm X, 608,
African Americans. *See also* Slavery:
abolitionists, 215; in American Revolution, 89; Black Codes and, 294, 295; civil rights movement and, 587–590, 606–609; in Civil War, 270, 276; colleges for, 299; in colonies, 46;

Colored Farmers' National Alliance and, 348; culture of, 183; disenfranchisement of, 349, 387; education of, 293, 299; free, in South, 179; during Great Depression, 512–513; Harlem Renaissance and, 482–483; Jim Crow laws and, 349, 350, 372, 432; Ku Klux Klan and, 302, 486, 589; legislators, 298; migration by, 300, 362, 444; in North, 175; population of, 160, 165, 462; in Progressive era, 443–444; during Reconstruction, 299–300; segregation and, 348–350, 443; violence against, 302, 349, 443, 486; voting rights for, 297, 386; during World War I, 462; during World War II, 533–534

African Methodist Episcopal churches, 299

Aging, 671

Agnew, Spiro, 616, 629, 631

Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), 505

Agriculture, 155. *See also* Farmers; in 1920s, 479; changes in, 350–351; in colonies, 25, 33, 48; Columbian Exchange and, 8; commercial, 163; cotton, 163, 177–178, 348, 351; on frontier, 237–238; on Great Plains, 342; inventions in, 175; of Native Americans, 2, 3, 5; in Northwest, 175; prices, 351; railroads and, 238; sharecropping, 300, 348, 512; in South, 177–178, 348; in West, 163

Aguinaldo, Emilio, 415

Airplanes, 480

Air traffic controllers strike, 657

Alabama (ship), 274

Alabama, secession by, 259

Alamo, 231

Alaska, 11, 440; land bridge, 2; oil reserves in, 632; purchase of, 410; Russians in, 158, 165

Albany Plan of Union, 66, 70, 86

Albright, Madeleine K., 669

Alcohol consumption, 212, 371, 436–437

Alger, Horatio, 326–327

Algonquian language, 4

Algonquin, 70

Alien Acts (1798), 117, 135

Alienation, 481–482

Alito, Samuel, 685, 691

Allen, Frederick Lewis, 489

- Allende, Salvador, 633
Allied Powers, in World War I, 455, 456
Alperovitz, Gar, 572
Amana colonies, 210
Amateur sports, 372
Amendments, *See* by individual number
America First Committee, 526
American Antislavery Society, 215
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 484
American colonies. *See* Colonies
American Colonization Society, 215
American Enterprise Institute, 655
American Expeditionary Force (AEF), 463
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 330, 510
American Indian Movement (AIM), 637–638
American Indians: acquisition of lands of, 155; agriculture of, 2, 3, 5; in American Revolution, 89; assimilationists, 345; of Central and South America, 2; Dawes Act and, 345–346; European treatment of, 11–12; frontier settlement and, 138–139; Ghost Dance of, 345; during Great Depression, 513; of Great Plains, 181, 344–346; Indian Removal Act and, 195–196; languages of, 4; of North America, 3–5; Pontiac’s Rebellion and, 72; population of, 2, 3, 160, 346; reaction to Europeans by, 12; reservation policy, 343–344; rights for, 637–638; slavery and, 11; trade with, 12; wars with, 31, 113, 344–345; in West, 181, 343–346; during World War II, 534
American Liberty League, 508
American party, 176, 254
American Peace Society, 216
American Plan, 191
American Protective Association, 362
American Protective League, 461
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (2009), 687
American Revolution (1775–1783): African American soldiers in, 89; alliance with France, Spain, and Holland during, 90; arguments for, 87–88; battles of, 86–87, 90; debts from, 93, 110; events leading to, 72–76; historical perspective on, 77, 95; losses and hardships of, 89–90; loyalists in, 89; Patriots in, 88–89; philosophical foundations of, 76–77; social changes due to, 93–94; Treaty of Paris and, 90–91; victory in, 90–91; women in, 94
American Socialist party, 330
Americans with Disabilities Act (1990), 665
American Temperance Society, 212
Amnesty Act (1872), 302
Amusements, 371–372
Anasazi, 4
Anderson, John, 656
Anderson, Marian, 513
Andros, Sir Edmund, 36–37
Anglican Church, 25–26, 49, 94
Anglo-Saxon Protestants, 381
Annapolis Convention, 104
Antebellum period, 207–217
Anthony, Susan B., 214, 366–367, 445
Anti-American sentiment, 582–583, 670
Antiballistic missiles (ABMs), 627
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, 683
Anti-Crime Bill (1994), 666
Antietam, Battle of, 272–273, 275
Anti-Federalists, 106–108, 110, 114, 142
Anti-immigrant sentiment, 254, 362, 485–486
Anti-Imperialist League, 415–416
Anti-Masonic party, 192
Antinomianism, 29
Anti-Semitism, 524–525
Antislavery movement, 214–215
Antitrust actions, 324, 438, 439, 442
Apaches, 4, 343
Appeasement policy, 526
Appomattox, surrender at, 278
Arabic (ship), 455
Arab nationalism, 584
Arab Spring, 689
Arafat, Yasser, 661
Arbor Day, 347
Architecture: of 1920s, 482; of antebellum period, 211; colonial, 50–51; of Gilded Age, 370–371; skyscrapers, 363
Argentina, 634
Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 669
Aristocracy: abolition of, 94; in South, 180
Arizona, 236, 340
Arizona v. United States, 692
Arkansas, secession by, 269
Arms control, 627
Arms race, 566, 585
Armstrong, Louis, 483
Army of Freedom, 276
Arnold, Benedict, 87, 90
Aroostook War, 231–232
Arrangement in Grey and Black (Whistler), 370
Arsenal of democracy, 529
Art Deco, 482
Arthur, Chester A., 382, 383

- Articles of Confederation, 91–93, 103
 Arts: of 1920s, 482; of antebellum period, 211; colonial achievements in, 50–51; in Era of Good Feelings, 151; of Gilded Age, 368–371
 Ashburton, Lord Alexander, 232
 Ashcan School, 370
 Asia. *See also* specific countries: Cold War in, 566–569, 583–584; nuclear proliferation in, 670; U.S. policy toward, 670, 689
 Asian Americans, 639, 671
 Asiento system, 8
 Assembly line, 478, 510, 532
 Astor, John Jacob, 232
 Asylums, 212–213
 Athabaskan language, 4
 Atlanta, 180
Atlanta Constitution, 347
 Atlantic Charter, 530
 Atlantic Seaboard, Native Americans of, 5
 Atlantic world, xviii. 35–38
 Atomic bombs, 537, 566
 Atoms for peace plan, 585
 Attlee, Clement, 538
 Attucks, Crispus, 74
 Auburn system, 213
 Audubon Society, 347
 Austin, Moses, 230–231
 Austin, Stephen, 231
 Australian ballots, 435
 Austria, 158
 Automobile industry, 510, 606, 632, 657, 686, 687
 Automobiles, 478, 479
 Axis of evil, 683
 Azores, 6
 Aztecs, 2, 8, 11
- B**
- B-52 bombers, 569
 Baby boom, 558, 592
 Baby boomers, 611, 671
 Bachelor subculture, 372
 Back-to-Africa movement, 483
 Bacon, Nathaniel, 29
 Bacon's Rebellion, 29, 37
 Baez, Joan, 611
 Bailyn, Bernard, 77
 Baja California, 236
 Baker, Jim, 655
 Baker, Newton D., 462
Baker v. Carr, 609–610
 Balanced budget, 667
 Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 8
 Balkan wars, 669–670
 Ballinger, Richard, 440
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 320, 329
 Bank of the United States, 111; rechartering of, 197, 280; Second, 152, 153
 Banks: closing of, 496; holiday, 503; reform of, 442
 Baptists, 50, 181, 208, 299
 Barbados, 33
 Barbary pirates, 136, 157
 Barnes, Harry Elmer, 468
 Barnum and Bailey Circus, 371
 Bartholdi, Frédéric-Auguste, 362
 Bartram, John, 51
 Baruch, Bernard, 460
 Baseball, 372, 588
 Basketball, 372
 Batista, Fulgencio, 587
 Battle of the Atlantic, 536
 Bay of Pigs, 602
 Beard, Charles, 119, 143, 260, 332, 540
 Bear Flag Republic, 234
 Beatles, 611
 Beatniks, 592
 Beckwourth, James, 237
 Beer-Wine Revenue Act (1933), 503
 Begin, Menachem, 635
 Beliefs, *see* Religion, Moral Majority
 Bell, Alexander Graham, 325
 Bell, John, 258
 Bellamy, Edward, 364
 Bellows, George, 369
 Benton, Thomas Hart, 482
 Bentsen, Lloyd, 662
 Berkeley, Lord John, 33
 Berkeley, Sir William, 29
 Berlin airlift, 564–565
 Berlin crisis, 586–587
 Berlin Wall, 602, 663
 Bessemer, Henry, 323
 Bethune, Mary McLeod, 513
 Beveridge, Albert, 409
 Bicentennial celebration, 633
 Bicycling, 372
 Biddle, Nicholas, 197
 Biden, Joseph, 686
 Big-stick policy, of Teddy Roosevelt, 417–420
 Billion-dollar Congress, 386
 Bill of Rights, 108–109
 Bingham, George Caleb, 211
 Bin Laden, Osama, 682, 689
 Birmingham, Alabama, 347
 Birney, James, 215
 Birth control, 445, 481, 611
The Birth of a Nation (1915), 303, 486
 Birthrates, 365

- Black abolitionists, 215
Black Codes, 294, 295
Black colleges, 299
Black communities, 299–300
Blackfoot, 343
Blacklists, 328
Black Muslims, 608
Black nationalism, 483
Black Power movement, 608–609
Black Star Steamship, 483
Black Thursday, 497
Black Tuesday, 497
Blaine, James, 300, 381, 411–412
Blaine, James G., 383
Bland-Allison Act (1878), 385
“Bleeding Kansas,” 253–254
Blind, schools for the, 213
Blitzkrieg, 528
Bloody Sunday, 607–608
Bloomer, Amelia, 216
Blue-collar jobs, 591
Blues music, 371
Boland Amendment (1985), 660
Bolden, Buddy, 371
Bolshevik Revolution, 562
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 132, 138, 141, 158, 410
Bonus March, 501
Book of Mormon, 208
Books. *See* Literature
Boom-bust cycles, 693
Boomtowns, 341
Booth, John Wilkes, 278
Bootleggers, 485
Bosnia, 664
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 670
Boston: economy of colonial, 55; founding of, 26; immigration to, 175
Boston Marathon bombing, 690
Boston Massacre, 74
Boston Tea Party, 75
Boundary disputes, 231–232
Bowles-Simpson Plan, 688
Boxer Rebellion (1900), 417
Boxing, 372, 480
Boycotts, of British goods, 73
Braceros, 534, 590
Braddock, Edward, 70
Bradford, William, 26
Brady Handgun bill, 666
Brazil, 8
Breckinridge, John C., 258–259
Breed’s Hill, 87
Brian, Aristide, 487
Bridger, Jim, 237
Brinkley, Alan, 489
Brinton, Crane, 95
British Empire, reorganization of, 71–72
Brook Farm, 209–210
Brooklyn Bridge, 363
Brooks, Preston, 254
Brown, John, 253, 257, 261
Brown University, 52
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 579, 588, 609
Bruce, Blanche K., 298
Bryan, William Jennings, 388–389, 390, 409; Anti-Imperialist League and, 415–416; election of 1900 and, 416; election of 1908 and, 439; opposition to World War I, 458; Scopes trial and, 484; as secretary of state, 421, 423, 455
Bryce, James, 404
Bryn Mawr College, 368
Buchanan, James, 255, 260, 294
Buckley, William F., Jr., 654
Budget deficits, 658–659, 666, 688
Buena Vista, Battle of, 234
Buffalo, 339–340, 343
Buffalo, New York, 175
Bulgaria, 663
Bulge, Battle of the, 536
Bull Moose party, 441
Bull Run: First Battle of, 271; Second Battle of, 272
Bunker Hill, battle of, 87
Bureau of the Budget, 476
Bureau of Consumer Protection, 687
Bureau of Indian Affairs, 513
Bureau of Mines, 439
Burger, Warren E., 629
Burgoyne, John, 90
Burner, David, 657
Burnham, Daniel H., 370
Burnside, Ambrose, 273
Burr, Aaron, 118, 135
Bush, George H. W.: at CIA, 633; domestic policies of, 664–665; election of 1988 and, 662; election of 1992 and, 665–666; Persian Gulf War and, 664; presidency of, 662–665
Bush, George W.: domestic policies of, 680–681; election of 2000 and, 679–680; election of 2004 and, 684; foreign policy of, 683–684; Iraq War and, 683–684; presidency of, 680–686; War on Terrorism, 681–684
Bush Doctrine, 683
Bush v. Gore, 680

Business. *See also* Corporations: in 1920s, 477–479; corruption, 300–301; deregulation of, 655, 657; regulation of, 442; Republican party and, 475; during World War II, 532

Business cycle, 496, 693

Butler, Andrew, 254

Butler, Benjamin, 275

Byrnes, James, 563

C

Cabinets, 110

Cabot, John, 9, 13

Cahokia, 4

Calculating machine, 325

Calhoun, John C., 139, 153, 195, 196–197, 232, 249

California: annexation of, 234; Baja, 236; Bear Flag Republic, 234; as free state, 248, 249; gold rush in, 237, 248, 340–341; Hollywood, 480; Mexican, 232, 234; Proposition 13, 654–655; settlement of, 236–238, 248; Spanish settlement of, 11

The Call of the Wild (London), 369

Calvert, Cecil (Lord Baltimore), 27

Calvert, George (Lord Baltimore), 27

Calvin, John, 26

Calvinism, 207

Cambodia, 583, 626, 633

Camelot, 601

Cameras, 325

Campaign contributions, 691–692

Campaign strategy, 381

Camp David Accords, 635

Canada: border with, 157, 231–232, 233; Rush-Bagot Agreement and, 157; War of 1812 and, 140

Canal building, 152, 155, 161, 175, 236

Canning, George, 159, 166

Cannon, Joe, 440

Cape of Good Hope, 6

Capital, 162

Capitalism, laissez-faire, 324–325, 380

Capitol, burning of, in War of 1812, 141

Capone, Al, 485

Cárdenas, Lázaro, 523–524

Caribbean, U.S. intervention in, 422

Carlisle School, 345

Carnegie, Andrew, 323, 325, 326, 350, 401

Caro, Robert A., 657

Carolinas. *See also* North Carolina; South Carolina: founding of, 32–33

Carpetbaggers, 298

Carranza, Venustiano, 423

Carson, Kit, 237

Carson, Rachel, 606

Carswell, G. Harold, 629

Carter, James Earl, Jr. (Jimmy): domestic policies of, 636; election of 1976 and, 634; election of 1980 and, 655–656; presidency of, 634–636

Carteret, Sir George, 33

Cartier, Jacques, 10

Cartoons, 52

Cartwright, Peter, 208

Carver, George Washington, 348

Casablanca Conference, 538

“Cash and carry” program, 528

Cash crops, 350

Cash for Clunkers program, 687

Cash register, 325

Cass, Lewis, 248

Cassatt, Mary, 370

Castro, Fidel, 582, 587

Catch-22 (Heller), 592

The Catcher in the Rye (Salinger), 592

Cato Institute, 655

Catt, Carrie Chapman, 445

Cattle frontier, 341–342

Cayuga, 5

Central America, 236; native cultures of, 2; U.S. policy toward, 660

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 566, 582–583, 602, 633

Central Park, 364, 371

Central Powers, in World War I, 455

A Century of Dishonor (Jackson), 345

Chain stores, 326, 478–479

Chamberlain, Neville, 526

Chamber of Commerce v. Whiting, 692

Chambers, Whittaker, 570–571

Champlain, Samuel de, 10

Channing, William Ellery, 312

Charles I (King of England), 26, 27

Charles II (King of England), 31, 32, 33

Charleston, 180

Charter of Liberties (1701), 34

Chase, Samuel, 135

Chattanooga, 180

Chavez, Cesar, 637

Chechnya, 669

Checkers speech (Nixon), 580

Cheney, Dick, 680, 681

Chernobyl nuclear accident, 639

Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 195–196

Cherokees, 195–196

Chesapeake colonies: economic problems in, 28; labor shortages in, 28–29; settlement of, 27–29

Chesapeake-Leopard affair, 136

- Chesapeake Revolution, 29
 Cheyenne, 181, 343
 Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jie-shi), 567
 Chicago: growth of, 175, 353; Haymarket bombing, 329–330; stockyards in, 342; World's Columbian Exposition in, 360
 Chicago School of architecture, 370
 Chief Joseph, 345
 Child labor, 163, 329, 437, 443, 511
 Child Labor Act (1916), 443
 Child Nutrition Act, 605
 Children, in urban society, 365
 Chile, 634
 China: Boxer Rebellion, 417; Cold War and, 567–568; détente with, 627; Japanese aggression against, 521–523, 526; Nixon's visit to, 627; Open Door policy, 416–417, 419, 420, 421, 487, 531; railroads in, 420; Tiananmen Square, 662; in WTO, 683
 Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 341, 362
 Chinese immigrants, 321, 362
 Chinook, 343
 Chivalry, code of, 180
 Cholera, 363
 Christianity, spread of, 7, 411
 Christian Science, 365
 Christopher, Warren, 669
 Chrysler building, 482
 Chrysler Corporation, 686, 687
 Church, Frederick, 211
 Church and state, separation of, 94
 Churches: African American, 299; established, 49
 Churchill, Winston, 528, 538, 563
 Church of England, 25–26, 49, 94, 530
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 208
 Circumnavigation of world, 8
 Circuses, 371
 Cities: changes in, 363–364; ethnic neighborhoods in, 363; frontier, 238, 353; growth of, 174, 175, 238, 362–364; machine politics, 364; in New South, 347; private vs. public, 364; race riots in, 467; in South, 180; transportation in, 363
 "Citizen" Genêt, 111
Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, 691–692
 "City Beautiful" movement, 364
 City managers, 436
 Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 504
 Civil liberties: Civil War and, 279; during World War I, 461
 Civil rights, in postwar era, 559
 Civil Rights Act (1866), 295
 Civil Rights Act (1875), 297
 Civil Rights Act (1964), 606
 Civil Rights Cases (1883), 349
 Civil Rights Commission, 590
 Civil rights movement, 183, 587–590; in 1960s, 606–609; desegregation, 588–589; King and, 607–608; Montgomery Bus Boycott, 589; nonviolent protests, 590; origins of, 588
 Civil rights organizations, 444
 Civil Service Commission, 384
 Civil service reform, 384
 Civil War (1861–1865), 118, 268–283; African Americans in, 270, 276; battles of, 271–274, 277; beginning of, 268–271; border states during, 269–270; causes of, 260–261; effects of, on civilian life, 279–282; end of, 278–279; events leading to, 247–261; financing of, 280; first years of, 271–274; foreign affairs and diplomacy, 274–275; historical perspective on causes of, 260–261; historical perspective on winning of, in North, 283; impact of, 268; Peninsula campaign, 271–272; secession and, 269; Sherman's march, 277–278; as total war, 277–278; Union strategy in, 271; Union triumphs, 277–278; veterans, 386; wartime advantages, 270
 Civil Works Administration (CWA), 505
 Clark, George Rogers, 90
 Clark, William, 134, 181, 232
 Class system, 47
 Clay, Henry, 139; American System of, 152; Bank of the United States and, 197; Compromise of 1850 and, 249; election of 1824 and, 193–194; election of 1844 and, 233; Missouri Compromise and, 157; speech to Congress, 227
 Clayton Antitrust Act (1914), 442, 467
 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850), 236
 Clean Air Act (1970), 639
 Clean Water Act (1972), 639
 Clemenceau, Georges, 465
 Clemens, Samuel L. *See* Twain, Mark
 Clerical workers, 327
Clermont (steamboat), 161
 Cleveland, Grover, 347; annexation of Hawaii and, 414; election of 1884 and, 383; election of 1888 and, 385–386; election of 1892 and, 387; Monroe Doctrine and, 412; presidency of, 383–384, 385, 387–388; Pullman Strike and, 330, 388
 Cleveland, Ohio, 175
Cliff Dwellers (Bellows), 369

- Climate change, 692
- Clinton, De Witt, 140
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham: election of 2008 and, 686; as first lady, 666, 668; as secretary of state, 686
- Clinton, William Jefferson (Bill): “Don’t ask, don’t tell” policy, 639; election of 1992 and, 665–666; election of 1996 and, 667–668; first term of, 666–667; foreign policy of, 669–671; impeachment of, 297, 668–669; presidency of, 665–671; second term of, 668–669
- Clipper ships, 239
- Closed shops, 560
- Coal, 438
- Coal miners’ strike, 438
- Cody, William F. (Buffalo Bill), 372
- Coercive Acts (1774), 75
- Cohan, George M., 463
- Cohens v. Virginia*, 154
- Cold War: in Asia, 566–569, 583–584; Berlin Wall, 602; Carter and, 635–636; containment in Europe, 563–566; Eisenhower and, 581–587; end of, 663–664; historical perspective on, 572; Kennedy and, 602–603; in Middle East, 584–585; Nixon and, 627; origins of, 561–563; Reagan and, 659–662; Second Red Scare, 569–571
- Cole, Thomas, 211
- Collective bargaining, 510. *See also* Unions
- Colleges, 51–52, 213, 367–368; black, 299
- Collier, John, 513
- Colonies. *See also* specific colonies: agriculture of, 33, 48; corporate, 24; cultural life in, 50–53; early hardships in, 25, 26; economy of, 48; education in, 51–52; European immigrants to, 45–46; families in, 47; French and Indian War and, 70–71; government of, 54–55; growth of, 45–46; historical perspective on, 55; mercantilism and, 35–37; monetary system of, 48; political institutions in, 27; politics in, 54–55; press in, 52–53; professions in, 52; proprietary, 24, 54; relations between Great Britain and, 72–76; relations between Native Americans and, 12; religion in, 27–30, 47, 49–50; Restoration, 31–35; royal, 24, 54; slavery in, 11, 28, 33, 37–38, 46; structure of society in, 47; taxation of, 71, 72–74
- Colored Farmers’ National Alliance, 348
- Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), 480
- Columbian Exchange, 7–8
- Columbia River, 232
- Columbia University, 52
- Columbus, Christopher, 2; early exploration by, 5, 7–8; financing of, 5–6, 7; historical perspective on, 13; legacy of, 7
- Comanche, 343, 345
- Commager, Henry S., 283
- Commercial agriculture, 163
- Commercial Compromise, 105
- Commissions, 436
- Committee of States, 92
- Committees of Correspondence, 74
- Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP), 630
- Common man, 195
- Common Sense* (Paine), 85, 87–88, 129
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 663
- Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 174
- Communal experiments, 210
- Communism. *See also* Cold War: in Cuba, 587; fear of, 569–571; Red Scare, 467; Soviet Union and, 561–563
- Compass, 5
- Compromise of 1820. *See* Missouri Compromise
- Compromise of 1850, 248–249
- Compromise of 1877, 303, 380
- Comstock Lode, 340–341
- Conciliation treaties, 422
- Concord, battle of, 86
- Confederate army, 270
- Confederate raiders, 274
- Confederate States of America, 259, 269, 270–271. *See also* Civil War
- Confiscation Acts, 275
- Conformity, 591–592
- Congo, 603
- Congregational Church, 94
- Congregationalists, 49, 50
- Congress, U.S. *See also* House of Representatives; Senate, U.S.: under Articles of Confederation, 91–93; Billion-dollar, 386; Clinton and, 667; Eightieth, 559–560; gridlock in, 688; leaders, in Gilded Age, 383; Obama and, 690; political party affiliations (1881–1901), 382; structure of, 105; Sumner caning incident in, 254
- Congressional Reconstruction, 295–297
- Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), 510
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 534

- Conkling, Roscoe, 300, 381
- Connecticut: colonial government in, 54; founding of, 30
- Connecticut Plan, 105
- Conquistadores, 8
- Congression Act (1863), 279–280
- Conservation movement, 346–347, 439
- Conservatism, rise of, 654–656
- Constantinople, 6
- Constitution, U.S.: amendments to, 108–109; drafting of, 104–106; historical perspective on, 118–119; ratification of, 106–107; signing of, 103
- Constitutional Convention (1787): delegates to, 103, 104–105; key issues at, 105–106
- Constitutional Union party, 258
- Constitutions: Confederate States of America, 270; state, 91
- Consumer appliances, 478, 481
- Consumer credit, 498
- Consumer culture, 591–592
- Consumer economy, 478–479
- Consumer goods, 326, 498
- Consumer protection, 438
- Containment policy, 563–566
- Continental Association, 86
- Continental Congress: First, 85–86; prohibition of slave trade by, 94; Second, 87–88, 128
- Contraceptives, 445, 481, 610, 611
- Contract Labor Law (1885), 362
- Contract with America, 667
- Conwell, Russell, 325
- Coolidge, Calvin, 467; presidency of, 476–477
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 211
- Cooperatives, 351
- Copley, John, 51
- Copperheads, 279
- Corn, 2, 3, 48, 175, 351
- Cornwallis, Charles, 90
- Corporate colonies, 24
- Corporations. *See also* Business: capital raised by, 162; corruption by, 681; growth of, 591–592
- “Corrupt bargain,” 194
- Corruption, 300–301, 320–321, 681
- Cortés, Hernan, 8
- Corwin, Thomas, 313
- Cotton, 163, 177–178, 348, 351
- Cotton diplomacy, 274–275
- Cotton gin, 163, 178
- Coughlin, Charles E., 508–509
- Council of Economic Advisors, 559
- Counterculture, 611, 629
- Court-packing plan, 509–510
- Courts. *See also* Supreme Court, U.S.: federal system of, 110
- Covert action, 582–583
- Cowboys, 341, 342
- Cox, Archibald, 632
- Cox, James, 475, 502
- Coxey, Jacob A., 388
- Coxey’s Army, 388
- Crane, Stephen, 369
- Crawford, William, 193
- Crazy Horse, 345
- Credibility gap, 614
- Credit, 498
- Crédit Mobilier affair, 300, 321
- Creek, 141
- Creel, George, 461
- Crévecoeur, J. Hector St. John, 373
- Criminal justice, 609
- Crittenden, John, 260
- Crittenden compromise, 260
- Croatia, 670
- Crocker, Charles, 321
- Cromwell, Oliver, 31
- Cronon, William, 353
- Croquet, 372
- “Cross of Gold” speech (Bryan), 388–389
- Crow, 343
- Cuba: acquisition of, 235–236; Bay of Pigs, 602; CIA operations in, 582; communism in, 587; invasion of, 414; Platt Amendment, 416, 523; Spanish-American War and, 412–414, 415
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), 602–603
- Cuban Revolt, 413
- Cullen, Countee, 483
- Cult of domesticity, 214
- Cultural diversity, 373, 636–637
- Cultural movements, 367–372
- Cultural nationalism, 151
- Cultural pluralism, 637
- Culture: of 1920s, 479–483; American, 209, 343; in antebellum period, 208–211; consumer, 591–592; Hispanic, 346; popular, 371–372, 590–592
- Cumberland Road, 161, 273
- Currency: colonial, 48; greenbacks, 280, 302, 384–385; national, 110, 111; paper, 111, 384, 385
- Custer, George, 345
- Czechoslovakia, 663
- D**
- Daladier, Édouard, 526
- Daley, Richard, 616
- Dark horse candidate, 232, 233

- Darrow, Clarence, 368, 484
- Dartmouth College, 52
- Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 154
- Darwin, Charles, 324, 433
- Darwinism: international, 410–411; social, 324, 332, 362, 380
- Daugherty, Harry M., 476
- Davenport, John, 30
- Davis, Jefferson, 259, 270, 278, 283
- Davis, John W., 477, 508
- Dawes, Charles, 488
- Dawes, William, 86
- Dawes Plan, 488, 500
- Dawes Severalty Act (1887), 345–346, 384
- D-Day, 536
- Deaf, schools for the, 213
- Dean, John, 630
- Debs, Eugene V., 330, 440, 441, 461, 476
- Decatur, Stephen, 157, 226
- Declaration of Independence (1776), 88
- Declaration of Rights and Grievances, 86
- “Declaration of Sentiments,” 214
- Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms, 87, 128
- Declaratory Act (1766), 73
- Decolonization, 582
- Deep South. *See also* South: secession by, 259–260, 268; slavery in, 178
- Deere, John, 175
- De facto segregation, 608
- Defense of Marriage Act (1996), 692
- Deficit financing, 508, 511, 532
- Deflation, 506
- Degler, Carl N., 373, 514
- De jure segregation, 608
- Delaware: during Civil War, 269; founding of, 34; as proprietary colony, 54; ratification of Constitution by, 106
- Delaware Indians, 113
- DeLay, Tom, 679, 685
- De Lôme, Dupy, 413
- Demobilization, after World War I, 466–467
- Democracy: colonial, 27, 55; in colonies, 54; definition of, 54; Jacksonian, 191–193, 199–200; spread of, 192–193
- Democratic Convention (1968), 616
- Democratic party: breakup of, 258; divisions within, 254; election of 1848 and, 248; election of 1852 and, 252; election of 1896 and, 388–389; in Gilded Age, 381; immigrant support for, 176; under Jackson, 197–198; New Democrats, 665–666
- Democratic-Republican party, 142; beliefs of, 114–115; changes in, 153; comparison of Federalists and, 116; in Era of Good Feelings, 150; war hawks in, 139, 140
- Demographics, 588, 636–637
- Dempsey, Jack, 480
- Denmark, 528
- Dennis et al. v. United States*, 570
- Denver, Colorado, 238
- Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 580
- Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 606
- Department of Transportation (DOT), 606
- Department stores, 326
- Depression, of 1893, 387–388
- Deregulation, 655, 657
- Desegregation, 588–589
- Desert Storm, 664
- Destroyers-for-bases deal, 529
- Détente, 627
- Detroit, Michigan, 175
- Dewey, George, 414
- Dewey, John, 433
- Dewey, Thomas, 535
- Dewey, Thomas E., 560
- Dickinson, John, 51, 74, 85, 91–92, 105
- Dietary reforms, 216
- Dingley Tariff, 390
- Diphtheria, 52
- Direct primaries, 435
- Disarmament, 486–487
- Discrimination: against immigrants, 362, 419; Supreme Court and, 349
- Disenfranchisement, of black voters, 349, 387
- Disneyland, 592
- District of Columbia v. Heller*, 692
- Divorce, 47, 365, 481
- Dix, Dorothea, 212, 217
- Dixiecrats, 560
- Document-Based Questions, xxxiii–xxxv, 64–67, 127–129, 226–228, 312–314, 315–317, 400–403, 404–407, 549–551, 552–555, 649–652, 724–727
- Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (2010), 687
- Dodge City, 342
- Dole, Bob, 667–668
- Dollar diplomacy, 420, 523
- Domestic spending cuts, 657
- Dominican Republic, 418–419, 422, 487
- Dominion of New England, 36–37
- Domino theory, 583–584
- “Don’t ask, don’t tell” policy, 639, 692
- “Double V” slogan, 534

- Douglas, Stephen A., 255, 256, 317; Compromise of 1850 and, 249; election of 1860 and, 258–259; Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 252, 253; Lincoln-Douglas debates, 256–257
- Douglass, Frederick, 215, 250, 291, 317
- Doves, 615
- Draft: during Civil War, 279–280; during World War I, 461–462; during World War II, 528–529
- Drake, Edwin, 323
- Drake, Joseph Rodman, 226
- Drake, Sir Francis, 9
- Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 255–256
- Dreiser, Theodore, 369, 434
- Dress reform, 216
- Du Bois, W. E. B., 304, 350, 368, 443–444, 462, 483
- Due process clause, 295–296
- Dukakis, Michael, 662
- Duke of York, 33
- Dulaney, Daniel, 128
- Dulles, John Foster, 581–582, 603
- Dust Bowl farmers, 512
- Dutch colonies, 33
- Dutch East Indies, 582
- Dutch exploration, 10
- Dutch West India Company, 10
- Dwight, Timothy, 207
- Dylan, Bob, 611
- E**
- Eagleton, Thomas, 629
- Eakins, Thomas, 369
- Earth Day, 639
- East Asia, 419, 420
- Eastern Europe, 562–563, 662–663, 664
- East Germany, 563, 602, 663
- East India Company, 75
- Eastman, George, 325
- Eaton, Peggy, 195
- Economic bubbles, 681
- An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (Beard), 119
- Economic mobility, 164
- Economic nationalism, 151–153
- Economic Recovery Act (1981), 656
- Economics: after Civil War, 280–281; imperialism and, 424; Keynesian, 511, 656; laissez-faire, 324–325, 380; of slavery, 178; supply-side, 656–657, 659
- Economic Stabilization Act (2008), 685
- Economic stimulus program, 666
- Economic theories, 324
- Economy: of 1800s, 159–164; in 1800s, 238–239; of 1920s, 477–479; of 1970s, 633, 636; of 1980s, 658; after American Revolution, 104; under Bush, George H. W., 664–665; under Clinton, 668; colonial, 48; consumer, 478–479; growth of, 319; money supply and, 384, 387; under Nixon, 628; of North, 270, 280–281
- Eddy, Mary Baker, 365
- Edison, Thomas, 325–326, 401
- Education. *See also Schools*: in 1920s, 481; for African Americans, 293, 299; colonial, 51–52; elementary, 51, 367; higher, 51–52, 213, 367–368; moral, 213; reforms, 213, 367–368, 681; in South, 180; Sputnik and, 586
- Edwards, Jonathan, 49–50, 51
- Egypt: Arab Spring, 689; Camp David Accords, 635
- Ehrlichman, John, 630
- Eighteenth Amendment, 212, 484–485
- Eighth Amendment, 109
- Eight-hour day, 387, 440, 460, 461
- Eightieth Congress, 559–560
- Eisenhower, Dwight D.: civil rights movement and, 589–590; Cold War and, 581–587; domestic policies of, 580–581; election of 1952 and, 579–580; election of 1956 and, 581; historical perspective on, 593; legacy of, 587; NATO and, 565; presidency of, 579–587; in World War II, 536
- Eisenhower Doctrine, 584
- Elected offices, 193
- Election campaigns, 381
- Election(s): of 1796, 115; of 1800, 117–118, 131; of 1804, 135; of 1808, 137; of 1812, 140; of 1816, 150, 153; of 1820, 153; of 1824, 153, 193–194; of 1828, 194; of 1836, 198; of 1840, 199; of 1844, 232–233; of 1848, 248; of 1852, 236, 252; of 1856, 255; of 1858, 257; of 1860, 258–259; of 1864, 278; of 1866, 296; of 1868, 297; of 1872, 301; of 1876, 302–303, 381, 382; of 1878, 385; of 1880, 381, 382; of 1884, 381, 383; of 1888, 381, 385–386; of 1890, 353, 386; of 1892, 381, 387; of 1896, 388–389, 390; of 1900, 416; of 1908, 439; of 1910, 440; of 1912, 441; of 1916, 458; of 1920, 475; of 1924, 477; of 1928, 477; of 1932, 501–502; of 1936, 507–508; of 1938, 512; of 1940, 529; of 1944, 535, 558; of 1948, 560–561; of 1952, 572, 579–580; of 1956, 581; of 1960, 600–601; of 1964,

- 605; of 1968, 615, 616–617; of 1972, 629–630; of 1976, 634; of 1980, 636, 655–656; of 1984, 658; of 1988, 662; of 1992, 665–666; of 1994, 667; of 1996, 667–668; of 2000, 679–680; of 2004, 684; of 2008, 686; of 2010, 688; of 2012, 690; of president, 106
 Electoral college, 106
 Electricity, 477, 478, 505, 507
 Electric power, 326
 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 605
 Elementary education, 367; colonial, 51
 Eliot, Charles W., 368
 Eliot, T. S., 481
 Elizabeth I (Queen of England), 9
 Elkins Act (1903), 438
 Ellington, Duke, 483
 Ellis Island, 362
 Ellsberg, Daniel, 626–627, 630
 Ely, Richard T., 368
 Emancipation Proclamation, 275–276, 280
 Embargo Act (1807), 136, 140
 Emergency Banking Relief Act (1933), 504
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 209, 213
 Empire State building, 482
 Employment Act (1946), 559
Encomienda system, 8, 11
Engel v. Vitale, 610
 England. *See also* Great Britain: conflicts between Spain and, 9; early settlements by, 25–26; exploration of North American by, 9; Glorious Revolution in, 37; policy toward Native Americans of, 12; Restoration in, 31
 English colonies. *See* Colonies
 English immigrants, 46
 Enlightenment, 53, 76–77, 207
 Enron, 681
 Entertainment, in 1920s, 480
 Environment, *See also* Conservation movement: 2, 53, 182, 239, 340, 341, 342, 360, 512, 581, 606, 639, 657, 662, 666, 680, 692.
 Environment Protection Agency (EPA), 639
 Episcopalians, 181
 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 606
 Equality, of opportunity, 191–192
 Equal Pay Act (1963), 612
 Equal protection clause, 295–296, 349
 Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 612
 Era of Good Feelings, 150–153, 193
 Erie Canal, 161
 Ervin, Sam, 630
Escobedo v. Illinois, 609
 Espionage Act (1917), 461, 476
 Espionage cases, 570–571
 Established churches, 49
 Estonia, 663
 Ethiopia, 526
 Ethnic neighborhoods, 363
 Europe. *See also specific countries:*
 Napoleonic wars in, 136; U.S. policy toward, 690
 European exploration, 5–6
 European Union (EU), 669, 690
 Evangelists, 655
 Evolution, 368, 433, 483, 484
 Ewen, Stuart, 489
 Exchange, *See* Trade, Tariffs, Transportation
 Excise taxes, 113
 Executive branch, 109, 110
 Executive power, use of during Civil War, 269
Ex Parte Milligan, 279
 Exploration: Dutch, 10; early, 7–8; economic motives for, 6–7; English, 9; European interest in, 5–6; French, 10
 Exports, 238–239
Exxon Valdez, 639
- ## F
- Factories, 174
 Factory system, 162–163, 164, 238
 Factory workers, 163, 164, 174, 281–282, 327–328, 437, 467
 Fair Deal, 561
 Fair Employment Practices Commission, 559
 Fair Employment Practices Committee, 513
 Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), 511
 Fall, Albert B., 476
 Fallen Timbers, Battle of, 113
 Falwell, Jerry, 655
 Families: changes in, 214; colonial, 47; decline of traditional, 671; during Great Depression, 512; impact of industrialization on, 164; pioneer, 342; single-parent, 671; slave, 178; in urban society, 365
 Family and Medical Leave Act (1994), 666
 Family Assistance Plan, 628
 Fannie Mae, 685
 Farewell Address (Washington), 115
 Farm Credit Administration, 504
 Farmers. *See also* Agriculture: colonial, 53; Dust Bowl, 512; frontier, 237–238; as minority, 350; problems facing, 350–353, 479, 498; programs for, 500–501, 505, 506; in South, 180
 Farmers' alliances, 352–353, 386–387
 Farmers' Southern Alliance, 348

- Farm Holiday Association, 501
Farming frontier, 342
Fascism, 524–525
Faubus, Orval, 589
Federal Council on Negro Affairs, 513
Federal court system, 110
Federal deficits, 658–659, 666, 688
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 504
Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 685
Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), 504
Federal Farm Board, 500–501
Federal Farm Loan Act (1916), 443
Federal government: organization of, 109–110; powers of the, 154–155
Federal Housing Administration (FHA), 505
The Federalist Papers, 106
Federalists, 106–108, 116, 142; beliefs of, 114–115; comparison of Democratic-Republicans and, 115–116; conspiracy by, 135; decline of, 150, 153; election of 1800 and, 118; Louisiana Purchase and, 133; War of 1812 and, 141
Federal jobs, 193, 281, 384
Federal Reserve, 478, 681, 686
Federal Reserve Act (1914), 442
Federal Reserve Board, 442
Federal taxes, 507
Federal Trade Commission (FTC), 442
The Feminine Mystique (Freidan), 612
Feminism, 612
Ferdinand (King of Aragon), 5–6, 7
Ferdinand, Archduke Francis, 454
Ferraro, Geraldine, 658
Fetterman, William, 344
Field, Cyrus F., 325
Field, Marshall, 326
Fifteenth Amendment, 297
Fifth Amendment, 109
Fifties: culture of, 590–592; historical perspective on, 593
Filegate, 669
Fillmore, Millard, 249, 255
Film industry, 480
Financial panics. *See* Panics
Finland, 488
Finney, Charles G., 208
Fireside chats, 504
First Amendment, 108, 117, 610
First Battle of Bull Run, 271
First Continental Congress, 85–86
Fischer, David Hackett, 672
Fisk, James, 300
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 481
Fitzhugh, George, 251
Five-Power Treaty, 487
Flappers, 481
Fletcher v. Peck, 154
Flexible-response policy, 603
Florida: acquisition of, 151; boundary line of, 112; Jackson's military campaign in, 158; purchase of, 158; secession by, 259; Spanish settlement of, 10
Fogel, Robert, 332
Foner, Eric, 304, 672
Food Stamp Act, 605
Football, 372
Ford, Gerald: appointment as vice president, 631; pardoning of Nixon by, 632–633; presidency of, 632–634
Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act (1922), 476, 488
Foreign policy: in 1920s, 486–488; after American Revolution, 103; of Bush, George W., 683–684; of Carter, 634–635; during Civil War, 274–275; of Clinton, 669–671; of Eisenhower, 581–587; of Hoover, 521–523; of Jefferson, 136; of Adams, John, 116; of Kennedy, 602–603; of Madison, 157–159; of McKinley, 416–417; of Nixon, 625–627; of Obama, 688–690, 691; of Reagan, 659–662; of Roosevelt, Franklin, 523–527; of Roosevelt, Theodore, 417–420; of Taft, 420; of Washington, 111–112; of Wilson, 421–423
Foreign trade, 137, 238–239
Forest Management Act (1897), 347
Forest Reserve Act (1891), 347, 439
Forest reserves, 346, 439
Forrest, Nathaniel Bedford, 302
Fort Atkinson, 344
Fort Donelson, 273
Fort Duquesne, 70
Fort Henry, 273
Fort Laramie, 344
Fort McHenry, 141
Fort Sumter, 269
Fountain pen, 325
Four Freedoms, 530, 554
Fourier, Charles, 210
Fourier Phalanxes, 210
Four-Power Treaty, 487
Fourteen Points, 464
Fourteenth Amendment, 295–296, 349, 680
Fourth Amendment, 108
Framers, 106
France: American Revolution and, 90;

- “Citizen” Genêt and, 111; early settlements by, 10; imperial wars and, 69–70; Indochina and, 583; in Mexico, 410; Napoleonic wars and, 136; policy toward Native Americans of, 12; restored monarchy in, 158; Seven Years’ War and, 70–71; World War I and, 454, 456; in World War II, 528; *XYZ Affair* and, 116
- Franco, Francisco, 525–526
- Franklin, Benjamin, 52, 67; Albany Plan of Union and, 70; in American Revolution, 89; at Constitutional Convention, 103, 104; inventions by, 51; *Poor Richard’s Almanack*, 51
- Franklin, John Hope, 304
- Franklin, William, 89
- Freddie Mac, 685
- Fredericksburg, Battle of, 273
- Free blacks, 179, 250, 276
- Freedmen’s Bureau, 292–293, 294
- Freedom, historical perspective on, 672
- Freedom of expression, 610
- Freeport Doctrine, 257
- Free silver, 389, 390, 416
- Free-Soil movement, 247–248, 253, 279
- Free Speech Movement, 610–611
- Free trade agreements, 666–667, 670
- Freidan, Betty, 612
- Frémont, John C., 234, 255
- French and Indian War, 70–71
- French Revolution (1789–1794), 95, 111, 114, 116
- Freud, Sigmund, 481
- Frick, Henry Clay, 330
- Friedman, Milton, 654, 693
- Frontier: cattle, 341–342; cities, 238, 353; closing of, 343; concept of, 181; environmental damage to, 182; farming, 237–238, 342; historical perspective on development of, 353; mining, 237, 340–341; mountain men of, 181–182, 237; Old Northwest, 175; overland trails, 237; settlement of, 138–139, 236–238, 339–346; Turner’s thesis of, 343, 353; white settlers on, 182; women, 182
- Fuel Administration, 460
- Fugitive Slave Law, 249–250, 251, 254, 258
- Fugitive slaves, 215
- Fuller, Margaret, 207, 210
- Fulton, Robert, 161
- Fundamentalism, 484, 681–682
- Fundamental Orders of Connecticut* (1639), 30, 64
- Fur trade, 12, 33, 232, 237
- Gaddis, John L., 572
- Gadsden Purchase, 236
- Gage, Thomas, 86
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 592
- Gallaudet, Thomas, 213
- Galloway, Joseph, 85, 86
- Garbo, Greta, 480
- Garfield, Harry, 460
- Garfield, James, 382–383
- Garner, John Nance, 501
- Garnet, Henry Highland, 215
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 215
- Garvey, Marcus, 483
- Gaspee*, 75
- Gates, Horatio, 90
- Gates, Robert, 686
- Gay liberation movement, 639
- Gay rights, 692
- Gaza Strip, 670
- Gender roles, in 1800s, 214; in 1920s, 480–481; in 1950s 612; Title IX, 628
- General Assembly (UN), 562
- General Motors, 510, 686, 687
- Genêt, Edmond, 111
- Geneva Conference (1954), 583
- Genovese, Eugene, 183
- “Gentlemen’s agreement,” 419
- George, David Lloyd, 465
- George, Henry, 364
- George II (King of England), 69
- George III (King of England), 71, 87
- Georgia: founding of, 24, 34–35; immigration in, 46; industry in, 347; as royal colony, 35, 54; secession by, 259; slaves in, 46
- Georgian architecture, 50–51
- German Americans, 461
- German immigrants, 46, 176, 212
- Germany: Nazi, 521, 524–525, 536; occupation zones in, 563; submarine warfare, 455–456, 459, 463; surrender of, 536; Treaty of Versailles and, 465; World War I and, 454, 455–456, 459, 463–464; World War II and, 527–530, 535–536
- Gershwin, George, 482
- Gettysburg, Battle of, 277
- Gettysburg Address, 280
- Ghent, Treaty of, 141
- Ghettos, 363
- Ghost Dance, 345
- Gibbons, James, 365
- Gibbons v. Ogden*, 154
- GI Bill (1944), 557–558
- Gideon v. Wainwright*, 609

- Gilded Age: intellectual and cultural movements of, 367–372; politics of, 380–391; reform movements of, 365–367; urbanization in, 362–364
- Gillette, King, 325
- Gingrich, Newt, 667, 669, 679
- Ginsberg, Allen, 592
- Glaab, Charles, 353
- Glasnost*, 661
- Glass-Steagall Act (1933), 504
- Glidden, Joseph, 342
- Globalization, 670–671
- Global warming, 692
- Glorious Revolution (1688), 37
- Godey's Lady's Book*, 191
- Goethals, George, 418
- Gold, from Americas, 8
- “Gold Bug” Democrats, 388–389
- Goldman, Emma, 467
- Gold reserve, 387–388
- Gold rushes, 237, 248, 340–341
- Gold standard, 384, 388–389, 416, 506, 628
- Goldwater, Barry, 605, 654
- Golf, 372
- Gompers, Samuel, 330
- Good-neighbor policy, 523–524
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 661, 663
- Gore, Albert: election of 2000 and, 679–680; as vice president, 666
- Gorgas, William, 418
- Gorney, Jay, 496
- Gould, Jay, 300, 321
- Government: under Articles of Confederation, 91–93, 103; colonial, 54–55; corruption, 300–301, 320–321; federal, 109–110, 154–155; limited, 380; local, 54, 301; municipal, 436; Reconstruction, 298; state, 91, 436–437
- Grady, Henry, 347
- Graham, Sylvester, 216
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget Act (1985), 659
- Granada, 5, 6
- Grandfather clauses, 349
- Granger laws, 322
- Grangers, 351–352
- Grant, Ulysses S., 476; in Civil War, 273–274, 277–278; election of 1868 and, 297; election of 1872 and, 301; presidency of, 300–301, 302; reforms by, 297; vetoes by, 294; World War I and, 456
- The Grapes of Wrath* (Steinbeck), 512
- Gray, Robert, 232
- Great American Desert, 236
- Great Awakening, 49–50; Second, 207–208
- Great Britain. *See also* England: American Revolution and, 86–91; Embargo Act and, 136; Guiana and, 412; imperial wars and, 69–71; impressment by, 111–112; mercantilism and, 35–37; Napoleonic wars and, 136; Native Americans and, 113; Oregon boundary dispute with, 232, 233; relations between colonists and, 72–76; Seven Years’ War and, 70–71; U.S. Civil War and, 274–275; War of 1812 and, 138–142; World War I and, 454, 457; World War II and, 528–529, 530
- Great Compromise, 105
- Great Depression: African Americans during, 512–513; causes and effects of, 496–499; Hoover’s policies and, 500–502; life during, 512–513; Mexican Americans during, 513; Native Americans during, 513; women in, 512
- Great Migration, 26
- Great Plains: farming on, 342, 512; Native Americans of, 4, 181, 344–346; settlement of, 339–340
- Great Railroad Strike (1877), 329
- Great Recession, 685–686, 687, 693
- Great Society, 605–606, 628
- Great white fleet, 419
- Greece, 585, 690
- Greeley, Horace, 301
- Greenback party, 384–385
- Greenbacks, 280, 302, 384–385
- Green Berets, 603
- Greenhouse gases, 692
- Greenland, 5
- Green party, 680
- Greenspan, Alan, 693
- Greenville, Treaty of (1795), 113
- Grenada, 660
- Grenville, Lord George, 72, 73
- Griffith, D. W., 303
- Grimké, Angelina, 214
- Grimké, Sarah, 214
- Griswold v. Connecticut*, 610
- Group of Eight (G-8), 670
- Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848), 234, 240
- Guam, 415
- Guantanamo Bay, 523
- Guatemala, 582
- Guiana, 412
- Gun control, 666
- Gunpowder, 5
- Gun rights, 692
- Gun violence, 690

H

- Habeas corpus, 269, 279, 280
Haiti, 422, 523, 669
Haldeman, H. R., 630
Halfbreeds, 381, 383
Halfway covenant, 31
Hallucinogenic drugs, 611
Hamilton, Alexander: at Annapolis Convention, 104; at Constitutional Convention, 104; duel with Burr, 135; *Federalist Papers* and, 106; Federalists and, 114, 116; Jefferson and, 110–111, 118; as secretary of the treasury, 110–111; Whiskey Rebellion and, 113
Hamilton, Andrew, 52–53
Hammer v. Dagenhart, 443
Hancock, John, 105
Hancock, Winfield S., 382
Handlin, Oscar, 373
Hanna, Marcus, 389, 390
Harburg, E. Y., 496
Harding, Warren G.: election of 1920 and, 475; presidency of, 476
Harlem Renaissance, 482–483
Harpers Ferry, 257
Harrison, Benjamin, 346, 385–386, 387
Harrison, William Henry, 381; at Battle of Tippecanoe, 138–139, 155; election of 1840 and, 199; in War of 1812, 140, 142
Harte, Bret, 369
Hartford, settlement of, 30
Hartford Convention, 141
Harvard University, 51, 368
Harvey, William H., 388
Hawaii, annexation of, 414–415
Hawley-Smoot Tariff, 500
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 210, 211
Hay, John, 416–417
Hay, Samuel P., 447
Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903), 418
Hayden, Tom, 610
Hayek, Friedrich, 693
Hayes, Lucy, 382
Hayes, Rutherford B., 380, 382; election of 1876 and, 302–303; Great Railroad Strike and, 329; vetoes by, 294
Haymarket bombing, 329–330
Hayne, Robert, 196
Haynsworth, Clement, 629
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), 236, 418
Headright system, 28
Health care reform, 666, 681, 687–688, 692–693
Hearst, William Randolph, 371, 413
Heller, Joseph, 592
Hell's Kitchen, 364
Helper, Hinton R., 250–251
Hemingway, Ernest, 481
Henry, Patrick, 52, 73, 105, 107; as delegate to First Continental Congress, 85
Henry the Navigator (Prince of Portugal), 6, 7
Henry VII (King of England), 9
Hepburn Act (1906), 438
Herberg, Will, 592
Heritage Foundation, 655
Heroes, of 1920s, 480
Herzegovina, 664
Higher education, 51–52, 213, 367–368
Higher Education Act, 605
High schools, 367, 481
Highway Act (1956), 580–581
Highway Beautification Act, 606
Highways, 161
Hill, James, 321
“Hillbillies,” 180
Hippies, 611
Hirohito (Emperor of Japan), 567
Hiroshima, 537
Hispanic Americans, 643, 690
Hispanic culture, 346
Hiss, Alger, 570–571, 580
Historical Thinking Skills. *See also* Thinking As a Historian; Periodization. xv–xvii
Hitler, Adolf, 521, 524–525, 526, 527–528, 536
Hobby, Oveta Culp, 580
Ho Chi Minh, 583
Hofstadter, Richard, 143, 391, 424, 489
Hokokam, 4
Holder, Eric, 686
Holland, 90
Hollywood, 480
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 368, 461
Holocaust, 536
Holy Roman Empire, 6, 7
Home Insurance Company Building, 363
Homeland security, 683
Homeland Security Department, 683
Homeless, 499
Homeownership, 671
Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), 504
Homer, Winslow, 369
Homestead Act (1862), 281, 320, 342
Homesteaders, 342
Homestead Strike, 330
Homosexuals, 639
Hooker, Thomas, 30

- Hoover, Herbert: election of 1928 and, 477; election of 1932 and, 501–502; foreign policy of, 521–523; as lame duck president, 502; policies of, 500–502; in World War I, 460
- Hoover, J. Edgar, 467
- Hoovervilles, 499
- Hopi, 343
- Hopkins, Harry, 365, 504, 506
- Hopper, Edward, 482
- Horatio Alger myth, 326–327
- Horses, 4, 181, 343
- Horseshoe Bend, Battle of, 141
- House of Burgesses, 27, 28, 54, 73, 74, 127
- House of Representatives. *See also* Congress, U.S.: African Americans in, 298; balance in, 155; election of 1824 and, 194
- House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), 570–571
- Housewives, 480–481, 558, 592
- Housing boom, 685
- Houston, Sam, 231
- Howard, Oliver O., 293
- Howe, Elias, 238
- Howe, Louis, 503
- Howe, Samuel Gridley, 213
- How the Other Half Lives* (Riis), 434
- Hudson, Henry, 10
- Hudson Fur Company, 232
- Hudson River school, 211
- Huerta, Victoriano, 423
- Hughes, Charles Evans, 436, 458, 476, 486
- Hughes, Langston, 483
- Huguenots, 10, 46
- Hull, Cordell, 524
- Hull House, 364
- Human rights diplomacy, 634
- Humphrey, Hubert, 600, 605, 616
- Hungarian Revolt, 586
- Hungary, 663
- Hurricane Katrina, 685
- Hussein, Saddam, 664, 670, 683–684
- Hutchinson, Anne, 29–30
- Hydrogen bomb, 566, 582
- I
- Ickes, Harold, 504, 513
- Idaho, 341
- Ideas. *See also* Religion: Enlightenment, 53, 77; Transcendentalism, 209; slavery, 250–251; Progressivism, pragmatism, and scientific management; 433; New Deal, 503; the 1950s, 592.
- Identify. *See* Immigrants; Religion
- Illinois, 175, 192
- Illinois Central Railroad, 238
- Immigrants: Chinese, 321, 362; discrimination against, 362, 419; European, to colonies, 45–46; German, 46, 176, 212; hostility toward, 254; Irish, 176, 212; Mexican, 346, 462, 590, 671; new, 361; “old,” 361; Roman Catholic, 365; undocumented, 637, 671, 685; westward expansion and, 155
- Immigration: in 2000, 671; Chinese Exclusion Act, 341; growth of, 361, 637; historical perspective on, 373; in Northeast, 175–176; in postwar era, 590; restrictions on, 362, 485; Supreme Court rulings on, 692
- Immigration Act, 605
- Immigration Act (1965), 637
- Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986), 637, 671
- Impending Crisis of the South* (Helper), 250–251
- Imperialism: historical perspective on, 424; in Latin America, 411–412; new, 410–412; Spanish-American War and, 415–416
- Imperial presidency, 625, 640
- Imperial wars, 69–71
- Implied powers, 154
- Imports, 238–239
- Impressment, 111–112
- Incandescent lamp, 326
- Incas, 2, 8, 11
- Income inequality, 497, 672
- Income tax, 271, 280, 387, 388, 439
- Indentured servants, 28, 48
- Indiana, 175, 192
- Indian Appropriation Act (1871), 345
- Indiana Territory, 155
- Indian Removal Act (1830), 195–196
- Indian Reorganization Act (1934), 346, 513
- Indian Self-Determination Act (1975), 638
- Indian wars, 344–345
- Individualism, 343
- Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs), 657
- Individual rights, 609–610
- Indochina, 583
- Industrial empires, 322–324
- Industrialization, 161–164, 214, 238, 280–281; historical perspective on, 332; impact of, 326–328; regional differences in, 331; urbanization and, 362; workers and, 327–328
- Industrial Revolution, 174, 433
- Industrial Revolution, second, 322

- Industry: growth of, 319; in North, 280–281; oil, 323; in South, 347–348; steel, 323; during World War I, 460; during World War II, 532
- Infant industries, 110
- Infectious diseases, 8, 11, 363
- Inflation, 384, 559, 628, 636
- Initiatives, 387, 435
- In re Debs*, 330
- Insular cases, 416
- Intellectual movements, 367–372
- Intercolonial committees, 74
- Interest rates, 681
- Intermediate-range missiles, 661
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 562
- International Darwinism, 410–411
- International Migration Society, 350
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 670
- Internment, of Japanese Americans, 534
- Interstate Commerce Act, 322, 352, 384, 405
- Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), 322, 352, 438, 439
- Interstate highway system, 580–581
- Interstate roads, 161
- Intolerable Acts (1774), 75–76, 85
- Inventions, 161–162, 163, 175, 238, 325–326
- Iran, 683, 684; overthrow of government in, 582
- Iran-contra scandal, 660, 662
- Iran hostage crisis, 635
- Iranian revolution, 635
- Iraq, 670; Persian Gulf War, 664
- Iraq War, 683–684, 689
- Ireland, 690
- Irish immigrants, 176, 212
- Iron Curtain, 563
- Iroquois Confederation, 5, 113
- Irving, Washington, 211
- Isabella (Queen of Castile), 5–6, 7
- Islam, 5
- Islamic fundamentalism, 681–682
- Isolationism, 525, 528
- Israel: Camp David Accords, 635; Palestinians and, 660–661, 670; Six-Day War, 631, 635; U.S. policy toward, 660–661
- Isthmus of Panama, 8
- Italy, under Mussolini, 524
- J**
- Jackson, Andrew, 155; election of 1824 and, 193–194; election of 1828 and, 194; Florida military campaign of, 158; Indian policy of, 195–196, 343–344; nullification crisis and, 196–197; presidency of, 191, 195–199; spoils system and, 193, 199; in War of 1812, 141, 142
- Jackson, Helen Hunt, 345
- Jackson, Jesse, 658
- Jackson, Thomas (Stonewall), 271
- Jacksonian democracy, 191–193; historical perspective on, 199–200
- James, William, 433
- James I (King of England), 25, 26
- James II (King of England), 33, 36, 37
- Jamestown: early problems in, 25; founding of, 24, 25; political institutions in, 27
- Japan: aggression into Manchuria, 521–523; China and, 521–523, 526; Cold War and, 566–567; “Gentlemen’s Agreement,” 419; militarism in, 525; opening of, 239; Pearl Harbor, 531, 537, 540; reconstruction of, 567; relations with, 419; Russo-Japanese War, 419; World War II and, 530–531, 536–537
- Japanese Americans, during World War II, 534
- Jay, John, 105; as delegate to First Continental Congress, 85; *Federalist Papers* and, 106; Jay Treaty and, 111–112
- Jay Treaty (1794), 111–112
- Jazz, 371
- Jazz age, 479–480, 483
- Jefferson, Thomas, 51, 105; Democratic-Republican party and, 114; election of 1800 and, 118, 131; election of 1804 and, 135; foreign policy of, 136; Hamilton and, 110–111, 118; Letter to Congressman John Holmes of Massachusetts, 228; Louisiana Purchase and, 132–134; Monroe Doctrine and, 165; presidency of, 131–136; as secretary of state, 110; as vice-president, 115; Virginia Resolution and, 117; writing of Declaration of Independence by, 88
- Jenny, William Le Baron, 363
- Jews, 49; Holocaust and, 536
- Jim Crow laws, 349, 350, 372, 432
- Jingoism, 412
- Johns Hopkins University, 368
- Johnson, Andrew, 278; election of 1866 and, 296; impeachment of, 297; Reconstruction under, 293–294; vetoes by, 294
- Johnson, Hiram, 436
- Johnson, James Weldon, 483
- Johnson, Lady Bird, 606

Johnson, Lyndon B.: election of 1960 and, 601; election of 1964 and, 605; Great Society of, 605–606; presidency of, 604–606; Vietnam War and, 613–615; War on Poverty of, 604–605
Johnson, Tom L., 436
Johnston, Albert, 274
Joliet, Louis, 10
Jones, Bobby, 480
Jones, Samuel M., 436
Jones Act (1916), 422
Joplin, Janis, 611
Joplin, Scott, 371
Josephson, Matthew, 332
Judicial branch, 109
Judicial impeachments, 135
Judicial review, 117, 134
Judiciary Act (1789), 110
The Jungle (Sinclair), 438

K

Kamikaze pilots, 537
Kansas, “Bleeding Kansas,” 253–254
Kanagawa Treaty, 239
Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), 249, 252–254
Karzai, Jamid, 682
Kazin, Michael, 391
Kearney, Stephen, 234
Kelley, Florence, 437
Kelley, Oliver H., 351
Kellogg, Frank, 487
Kellogg-Briand Pact, 487
Kelly, William, 323
Kemp, Jack, 655, 668
Kennan, George F., 468, 563
Kennedy, Anthony, 658
Kennedy, Edward, 655–656
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 601
Kennedy, John F.: assassination of, 603–604; civil rights and, 606–607; domestic policies of, 601–602; election of 1960 and, 600–601; foreign policy of, 602–603; inaugural address of, 600; presidency of, 600–604; Vietnam War and, 612–613
Kennedy, Robert, 616
Kent State, 626
Kentucky, 113; during Civil War, 269
Kentucky Resolution, 117
Kerouac, Jack, 592
Kerry, John, 684
Key, Francis Scott, 141
Keynes, John Maynard, 511
Keynesian economics, 511, 656
Khmer Rouge, 633

Khomeini, Ayatollah, 635
Khrushchev, Nikita, 586–587, 600, 602
Kindergarten, 367
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 589, 590, 606; assassination of, 608–609; leadership of, 607–608
King Cotton, 177–178, 274–275
King George’s War, 69–70
King Philip’s War, 31
King William’s War, 69
Kinsey, Alfred, 611
Kissinger, Henry, 625, 627
Kitchen cabinet, of Jackson, 195
Kitchen debate, 600
Knights of Labor, 329–330, 365
Know-Nothing party, 176, 254, 255
Knox, Henry, 110
Kodak, 325
Kolko, Gabriel, 447
Korean armistice, 583
Korean War, 568–569, 579
Korematsu v. U.S., 534
Kosovo, 670
Ku Klux Klan, 302, 486, 589
Kuwait, 664
Kyoto Accord, 683

L

Labor: in 1920s, 479; child, 163, 329, 437, 443, 511; conflicts, 467; discontent, 328; factory, 163; laws, 437; organized, 174, 328–331; “Square Deal” for, 438; Taft-Hartley Act and, 560; during World War I, 460
Labor force: 1800–1860, 179; women in, 164, 281–282, 327
Ladies’ Home Journal, 371
La Feber, Walter, 424
Laffer, Arthur, 655
La Follette, Robert, 435, 436, 477
Laissez-faire capitalism, 324–325, 380
Lakota Sioux, 4
Land, western, 163
Land-grant colleges, 367
Land grants, to railroads, 238, 320–321
Landon, Alf, 507
Land Ordinance (1785), 93
Laos, 583
La Salle, Robert de, 10
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 11
Latin America: anti-American sentiment in, 582–583; dollar diplomacy in, 420; good-neighbor policy, 523–524; human rights violations in, 634; U.S. policy toward, 411–412, 418–419, 487–488, 523

- Latinos, 346
 Latvia, 663
 Lawyers, colonial, 52
 League of Nations, 465, 466, 468, 475, 486, 523, 539
 League of Women Voters, 445
Leatherstocking Tales (Cooper), 211
 Lebanon, 660
 Lecompton constitution, 255
 Le Duc Tho, 627
 Lee, Richard Henry, 88
 Lee, Robert E.: in Civil War, 272–273, 277, 278, 283; at Harpers Ferry, 257
 Legislative branch, 109. *See also* Congress, U.S.
 Legislatures, state, 91
 Leisure activities, 371–372, 480
 Lend-Lease Act (1941), 530
 “Letter from Birmingham Jail” (King), 607
Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania (Dickinson), 74
 Leuchtenburg, William, 489, 514
 Levin, Gordon, 468
 Lewis, John L., 479, 510
 Lewis, Meriwether, 134, 181, 232
 Lewis, Sinclair, 481, 489
 Lewis and Clark Expedition, 134, 232
 Lexington, battle of, 86
 Leyte Gulf, Battle of, 537
 Libel, 52–53
 Liberal, 34, 91, 295, 508, 610, 692
 Liberal Republicans, 301
The Liberator, 215
 Liberia, 215
 Liberty Bonds, 461
 Liberty Party, 215, 233
 Libya, 689
 Lieberman, Joseph, 679–680
 Liliuokalani (Queen of Hawaii), 414
 Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (2009), 687
 Limited government, 380
 Lincoln, Abraham, 250, 316; assassination of, 278–279; Civil War and, 268–270, 271, 273, 277; election of 1860 and, 258–259; election of 1864 and, 278; Emancipation Proclamation, 275–276; Gettysburg Address, 280; inaugural address of, 268; last speech by, 293; Mexican-American War and, 234; Reconstruction plans of, 292–293; on slavery, 256–257, 275; on slavery issue, 247; use of executive power by, 269; vetoes by, 294
 Lincoln-Douglas debates, 256–257
 Lindbergh, Charles, 480, 555
 Lindsay, Vachel, 454
 Line of demarcation, 8
 Link, Arthur S., 468
 Lippmann, Walter, 564
 Literacy tests, 349
 Literature: of 1920s, 481–482; of 1950s, 592; of antebellum period, 211; colonial, 51; of Gilded Age, 368–369; muckraking, 434; on slavery, 251; social criticism, 364
 Lithuania, 663
 Little Big Horn, 345
 Little Rock Central High School, 589
 Little Turtle, 113
 Lloyd, Henry Demarest, 404, 434
 Local government, 301; colonial, 54
Lochner v. New York, 437
 Locke, John, 53, 76–77
 Lockouts, 328
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 411, 420–421, 466
 Lodge Corollary, 420–421
 London, Jack, 369
The Lonely Crowd (Riesman), 592
 Lone Star Republic, 231
 Long, Huey, 509
Looking Backward (Bellamy), 365
 Lost generation, 481–482
 Lott, Trent, 679
 Louisbourg, 70, 71
 Louisiana, 10, 71; secession by, 259
 Louisiana Purchase, 132–134, 156
 Louis XIV (King of France), 10
 Louis XVI (King of France), 90
 L’Ouverture, Toussaint, 132
 Love Canal, 639
 Lowell, Massachusetts, 163, 164
 Loyalists, 89, 94, 103
 Loyalty oaths, 570
 Loyalty Review Board, 570
 LSD, 611
Lusitania, 455, 457
 Lyceum lecture societies, 213
 Lynchings, 349, 350, 443, 467, 513
 Lyon, Mary, 213
- ## M
- MacArthur, Douglas, 501; Japan and, 566–567; Korean War and, 568; in World War II, 537
 Macdonough, Thomas, 140
 Machine politics, 364, 435
 Macon’s Bill No. 2 (1810), 138
 Macy, R. H., 326
 Madeira, 6
 Madison, James: at Annapolis Convention, 104; Bill of Rights and, 108; at Constitutional Convention, 105; drafting

- of Constitution by, 104; election of 1808 and, 137; as Federalist, 107; *Federalist Papers* and, 106; foreign affairs under, 157–159; Virginia Resolution and, 117; presidency of, 137–138; reelection of, 140; as secretary of state, 134; War of 1812 and, 140, 141, 142
- Magazines*, 371, 434
- Magellan, Ferdinand, 8
- Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (Crane), 369
- Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 411
- Mail order, 326, 350
- Maine* (battleship), 413
- Maine, boundary dispute in, 231–232
- Malcolm X, 608
- Manchuria, 420, 521–523
- Manhattan Project, 533
- Manifest destiny, 230, 232, 235–236; historical perspective on, 239–240
- Mann, Horace, 213
- Mann-Elkins Act (1910), 439
- Manufacturing, 161–163, 174, 238, 478
- Mao Zedong, 567, 627
- “Maple Leaf Rag” (Joplin), 371
- Mapmaking, 5
- Mapp v. Ohio*, 609
- Marbury v. Madison*, 134, 154
- Marchand, Roland, 489
- March on Washington, 607, 650
- Marines, 422
- Maritime industry, 163
- Marketing, 326, 591
- Market revolution, 164
- Marquette, Jacques, 10
- Marshall, George, 563, 564, 567, 571
- Marshall, John, 609; as chief justice of Supreme Court, 117, 134–135, 153–154; as Federalist, 107
- Marshall, Thurgood, 664
- Marshall Plan, 564
- Martin v. Hunter’s Lease*, 154
- Mary (Queen of England), 37
- Maryland: during Civil War, 269; founding of, 27; labor shortages in, 28–29; as proprietary colony, 27, 54; religious issues in, 27–28; slaves laws in, 37
- Mason, George, 107
- Mason, James, 274
- Massachusetts: legislature of, 54–55; as royal colony, 54
- Massachusetts Bay Colony: Congregational Church in, 49; representative government in, 27; revocation of charter of, 36; schools in, 51; settlement of, 25–26; slavery in, 37
- Massachusetts Bay Company, 26
- Massachusetts Government Act (1774), 75
- Massachusetts v. EPA*, 692
- Massive retaliation strategy, 582, 603
- Mass production, 162
- Mass transportation, 363
- Mather, Cotton, 51
- Mayas, 2
- Mayer, Arno J., 468
- Mayflower*, 26, 27
- Mayflower Compact, 27, 64
- Maysville Road, 195
- McAdoo, William, 460
- McCain, John, 686
- McCarran Internal Security Act (1950), 570
- McCarthy, Eugene F., 615, 616
- McCarthy, Joseph, 571
- McCarthyism, 571, 580, 593
- McCauley, Mary (Molly Pitcher), 94
- McClellan, George B., 271–273, 278
- McClure, Samuel Sidney, 434
- McClure’s Magazine*, 434
- McCormick, Cyrus, 175
- McCormick Harvester, 329
- McCoy, Joseph G., 342
- McCulloch v. Maryland*, 154
- McGovern, George, 629
- McGuffey, William Holmes, 213
- McGuffey’s readers, 367
- McKay, Claude, 483
- McKinley, William: annexation of Hawaii and, 415; assassination of, 417; election of 1896 and, 389; election of 1900 and, 416; presidency of, 389–390, 416–417; Spanish-American War and, 413
- McKinley Tariff, 386, 387
- McNamara, Robert, 601, 614, 617
- McNary-Haugen Bill (1928), 477
- McPherson, Aimee Semple, 484
- Measles, 8
- Meat Inspection Act, 438
- Meatpacking industry, 438
- Mechanical inventions, 161–162, 163, 175, 238
- Mechanical reaper, 175
- Medicaid, 605, 693
- Medicare, 605, 657, 667, 681, 688
- Melting pot, 373
- Melville, Herman, 211
- Memphis, Tennessee, 347
- Memphis Free Speech*, 350
- Men: colonial, 47; mountain, 181–182, 237
- Mencken, H. L., 489
- Menlo Park, 325–326
- Mental hospitals, 212, 217

- Mercantilism, 35–37
 Meredith, James, 607
Merrimac, 273
 Metacom, 31
 Methodists, 50, 181, 208
 Mexican Americans, 346, 637; during Great Depression, 513; during World War II, 534
 Mexican Cession, 234, 247, 249
 Mexican immigrants, 346, 462, 590, 671
 Mexican War: causes of, 233–234; consequences of, 234–235; issue of slavery in territory gained from, 234, 247, 248–249; military campaigns of, 234
 Mexico: conflict over Texas with, 230–231; French occupation of, 410; Spanish conquest of, 8; U.S. intervention in, 423; U.S. policy toward, 487, 523–524
 Miami Indians, 113
 Michigan, 175
 Middle class, 195; expansion of, 327; reform movements and, 365; urban, 432
 Middle colonies, 48
 Middle East: Arab Spring in, 689; Cold War in, 584–585; oil in, 584; Persian Gulf War, 664; Reagan's policies in, 660–661; Six-Day War in, 631; Suez Crisis, 584; U.S. policy toward, 488, 670
 Middlemen, 351
 Middle Passage, 37–38
 Midway Island, 409, 537
 Midwest, Native Americans of, 4
 Migration, American Indians of, 4; Great Migration, 26; Texas into 231; the West, 236, 237; by African Americans, 350, 444, 462, 482, 533; Mexican Americans, 462; Sunbelt, to, 533 558
 Military, U.S.: in Civil War, 270; gays in, 639, 692; integration of, 559, 588; in World War I, 461–462, 463
 Military-industrial complex, 587
 Military spending, 657, 658, 659–660
 Millennialism, 208
 Miller, Arthur, 570
 Miller, William, 208
 Mills, C. Wright, 592
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 669–670
 Miner's Tax, 341
 Minimum wage, 511, 561
 Mining frontier, 340–341
 Mining towns, 237, 341
 Ministry, 52
 Minnesota, 175
 Minnow, Newton, 591
 Minority rights, 637–639
Miranda v. Arizona, 609
 Misery index, 656
 Missionaries, 411
 Missions, Spanish, 11
 Mississippi, secession by, 259
 Mississippi River, 91, 132, 175
 Missouri, 192; during Civil War, 269
 Missouri Compromise, 247
 Missouri Compromise (1820), 151, 155–157, 164, 248, 252
Moby-Dick (Melville), 211
 Modernism, 483
 Mohawk, 5
 Monarchs, European, 7
 Mondale, Walter, 658
 Monetary system, colonial, 48
 Money supply, 384, 387, 442
Monitor, 273
 Monmouth, Battle of, 94
 Monopolies, 321, 442
 Monroe, James, 193; career of, 151; election of 1816 and, 150; Era of Good Feelings and, 150–153
 Monroe Doctrine, 151, 158–159, 409, 410, 411, 412; historical perspective on, 165–166; impact of, 159, 166; Lodge Corollary to, 420–421; Roosevelt Corollary to, 418–419
 Montana, 341
 Montgomery, Alabama, 607–608
 Montgomery Bus Boycott, 589, 655
 Montgomery Ward, 326, 350
 Moody, Dwight, 365
 Moody Bible Institute, 365
 Moors, 5–6
 Moral diplomacy, 421–423
 Moral education, 213
 Moral Majority, 655, 656
 Morgan, J. Pierpont, 321, 323, 388, 456
 Mormons, 208, 210
 Morrill Land Grant Act (1862), 281, 367
 Morrill Tariff, 280, 281
 Morris, Gouverneur, 104–105
 Morrison, Jim, 611
 Morrow, Dwight, 487
 Morse, Samuel F. B., 238, 325
 Morton, Jelly Roll, 371
 Motor-voter law, 666
 Mott, Lucretia, 214
 Mount, William S., 211
 Mountain men, 181–182, 237
 Mountain people, 180
 Mount Holyoke College, 213, 368
 Movie industry, 480
 Movie stars, 480

- Mowry, George, 447
 Mt. Vernon, 104
 Mubarak, Hosni, 689
 Muckrakers, 434, 438
 Mugwumps, 382
 Muhammad, Elijah, 608
 Muir, John, 347
Muller v. Oregon, 437
 Municipal reform, 436
Munn v. Illinois, 352
 Music, 371, 480, 483, 591, 611
 Musical theatre, 482
 Mussolini, Benito, 524, 526
 My Lai massacre, 626
- N**
- Nader, Ralph, 606, 680
 Nagasaki, 537
 Napoleonic wars, 136
 Napoleon III, 410
 Nasser, Gamal, 584
 Nast, Thomas, 301
 Nation, Carry A., 367
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 586
 National Alliance, 352–353
 National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), 366–367, 445
 National anthem, 141
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 444, 534
 National bank, 280; creation of, 110, 111
 National Broadcasting Company (NBC), 480
 National character, emergence of, 53
 National Child Labor Committee, 437
 National Conservation Commission, 439
 National Consumers' League, 437
 National Defense Act (1916), 458
 National Defense and Education Act (NDEA), 586
 National Democratic party, 389
 National Farmers' Alliance, 391
National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius, 692–693
 National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, 605
 National Grange Movement, 351–352
 National Industrial Recovery Act (1933), 510
 Nationalism, 211; Arab, 584; black, 483; cultural, 151; economic, 151–153
 National Labor Relations Act (1935), 507, 508, 510
 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 507
 National Labor Union, 329
 National Negro Business League, 350
 National Organization for Women (NOW), 612
 National parks, 346
 National Rainbow Coalition, 658
 National Recovery Administration (NRA), 505
 National Rifle Association (NRA), 666
 National Road, 161
 National Security Act (1947), 566
 National Union for Social Justice, 508–509
 National Urban League, 444
 National War Labor Board, 460
 National Woman's party, 445
 National Youth Administration (NYA), 506
 Nation-states, development of, 6–7
 Native Americans *See* American Indians
 Nativism, 176, 362, 485–486
 Naturalism, 369
 Naturalization Act (1798), 117
 Natural laws, 53
 Navajo, 343
 Naval battles, in War of 1812, 140
 Naval power, 411, 419, 463
 Navigation Acts, 35–36, 72
 Nazis, 521, 524–525, 536
 Netherlands, early settlements by, 10
 Neutrality Act (1935), 525
 Neutrality Act (1936), 525
 Neutrality Act (1937), 525
 Nevada, 341, 435
 Nevins, Allan, 332
 New Amsterdam, 10, 33
 New Brunswick, 231
 New Deal, 391, 502–512; first hundred days of, 503–505; historical perspective on, 514; last phase of, 511–512; opponents of, 508–510; philosophy of, 503; programs of, 503–506; second, 506–508; unions and, 510–511
 New Democrats, 666
 New England: development of, 29–31; Dominion of, 36–37; economy of, 48; local government in, 54; manufacturing in, 163; representative government in, 27; War of 1812 and, 139
 New England Confederation, 31, 65
 New England Emigrant Aid Company, 253
 New Federalism, 628
 Newfoundland, 9
 New Freedom, 421, 441, 442
 New Frontier, 601–602
 New Hampshire: founding of, 31; ratification of Constitution by, 106; as royal colony, 54
 New Harmony, 210
 New Haven, founding of, 30

- New imperialism, 410–412
 New Jersey: founding of, 33; ratification of Constitution by, 106; as royal colony, 54; War of 1812 and, 139
 New Jersey Plan, 105
 Newlands Reclamation Act (1902), 439
 New Laws (1542), 11
 New Left, 610–611
 New Lights, 50
 New Mexico, 340; annexation of, 234; as free state, 248; Gadsden Purchase and, 236; Hispanic culture in, 346; Spanish settlement of, 10
 New Nationalism, 441
 New Orleans, 112, 132, 180, 371
 New Orleans, Battle of, 141
 New South, 347–350
 Newspapers: colonial, 52; mass-circulation, 371
 Newton, Huey, 608
 New York, 10; Auburn system in, 213; founding of, 33; ratification of Constitution by, 107; as royal colony, 54; War of 1812 and, 139
 New York Central Railroad, 320
 New York City: Brooklyn Bridge, 363; Central Park, 364, 371; draft riots, 280; Harlem Renaissance, 482–483; Hell's Kitchen, 364; housing laws, 363; immigration to, 175; Tammany Hall, 364
New York World, 371, 413
 Nez Percé, 345
 Ngo Dinh Diem, 613
 Niagara Movement, 444
 Nicaragua, 236, 420, 422, 487, 523, 660
 Niles, Hezekiah, 150
 Nine-Power Treaty, 487, 523
 Nineteenth Amendment, 445, 480
 1920s, 475–489; art and architecture, 482; conflicts in, 483–486; culture of, 479–483; economic development in, 477–479; foreign policy of, 486–488; historical perspective on, 489; literature of, 481–482; politics in, 475–477
 1960s, 600–617; 1968, 615–617; civil rights movement, 606–609; Johnson administration, 604–606; Kennedy administration, 600–604; social and cultural movements, 610–612; Vietnam War, 612–615; Warren Court, 609–610
 Ninth Amendment, 109
 Nixon, Richard, 391, 571, 625; Checkers speech, 580; domestic policies of, 627–629; election of 1960 and, 600–601; election of 1968 and, 616–617; election of 1972 and, 629–630; foreign policy of, 625–627; pardoning of, 632–633; presidency of, 625–632; resignation of, 632; Southern strategy of, 628–629; as vice president, 579–580; Watergate and, 630–631
 Nixon Doctrine, 626
 No Child Left Behind Act, 681
 Nominating conventions, 192
 Nonintercourse Act (1809), 137
 Noriega, Manuel, 664
 Norris, Frank, 434
 Norris, George W., 550
 North: advantages of, in Civil War, 270; economy of, 280–281; free blacks in, 250; migration of African Americans to, 444; political dominance of, 280; population of, 182; pre-Civil War, 173–176; during Reconstruction, 300–302; tensions between South and, 235
 North, Lord Frederick, 74, 90
 North Africa, World War II and, 536
 North America: early exploration of, 5, 7–8, 9–10; first people to settle, 2; native cultures of, 3–5; Spanish settlements in, 10–11
 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 666–667
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 565, 566, 669
 North Carolina: founding of, 32–33; industry in, 347; ratification of Constitution by, 107; Roanoke settlement, 9; as royal colony, 54; secession by, 269
 Northeast, 173; African Americans in, 175; immigration to, 175–176; industry in, 174–175, 238; Native Americans of, 4–5; population of, 182
 Northern Ireland, 669
 Northern manufacturing, 163
 Northern Securities Company, 438
 North Korea, 583, 670, 683, 684
The North Star, 215
 North Vietnam, 583, 613–615, 627
 Northwest, Native Americans of, 4
 Northwest Confederacy, 113
 Northwest Ordinance (1787), 93, 175
 Norway, 528
 Nova Scotia, 69
 Novels, 592
 Noyes, John Humphrey, 210
 NSC-68, 566
 Nuclear proliferation, 670
 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 603
 Nuclear weapons, 582

Nugent, Walter, 391
Nullification crisis, 196–197
Nursing, 282
Nye, Gerald, 525

O

Oakley, Annie, 372
Obama, Barack: election of 2008 and, 686; election of 2012 and, 690; first term of, 686–690; foreign policy of, 688–690, 691; keynote address by, 679; presidency of, 686–693; second term of, 690–693
Obamacare, 687–688, 692–693
Oberlin College, 213
Ocala platform, 352–353
O'Connor, Sandra Day, 658
Officeholders, rotation of, 193
Office of Equal Opportunity (OEO), 604
Office of Price Administration (OPA), 532
Office of Research and Development, 532–533
Office of War Information, 533
Office of War Mobilization (OWM), 532
Oglethorpe, James, 35, 69–70
Ohio, 175
Ohio Territory, 113
Oil embargo, 631–632
Oil industry, 323, 478, 488, 584
Okies, 512
Okinawa, Battle of, 537
Oklahoma, 340
Oklahoma City bombing, 667
Oklahoma Territory, 343
Old Lights, 50
Old Northwest, 173; agriculture in, 175; immigration to, 176
Olive Branch Petition, 87
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 364, 371
Olney, Richard, 412
Olympics (1980), 636
Omaha platform, 386–387, 391
“On Civil Disobedience” (Thoreau), 209
Oneida, 5
Oneida community, 210
O’Neill, Eugene, 481
O’Neill, William, 593
Onondaga, 5
Open Door policy, 416–417, 419, 420, 421, 487, 531
Open shops, 479
Operation Iraqi Freedom, 683–684
Operation Rolling Thunder, 613
Operation Torch, 536
Operation Wetback, 590
Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 537

Oregon: boundary dispute in, 232, 233; settlement of, 236–238
Oregon Territory, 157
Oregon Trail, 343–344
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 584, 631–632
Organized crime, 485
Organized labor: in Northeast, 174; struggles of, 328–331

Original sin, 207
Origin of Species (Darwin), 433
Orlando, Vittorio, 465
Ostend manifesto, 235–236
O’Sullivan, John L., 230, 313
Oswald, Lee Harvey, 604
Otis, James, 51, 52, 73, 74
Ottoman Empire, 681
Ottoman Turks, 5
Overland trails, 237
Overtime, 511
Owen, Robert, 210

P

Pacific Railway Act (1862), 281
Packaged foods, 326
Paine, Thomas, 51, 85, 87–88, 105, 129
Painting, 151; of 1920s, 482; of antebellum period, 211; colonial, 51; of Gilded Age, 369–370
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), 635, 660–661
Palin, Sarah, 686
Palmer, A. Mitchell, 467
Palmer raids, 467
Panama: invasion of, 664; revolution in, 418
Panama Canal, 418, 422, 634
Pan-American conferences, 412, 523
Panics, 496; of 1819, 150, 153; of 1837, 198, 199, 693; of 1857, 239; of 1873, 302, 384; of 1893, 321, 387
Paperbacks, 591
Paper currency, 111, 384, 385
Paris, Treaty of (1783), 90–91, 103
Paris, Treaty of (1898), 415
Paris Accords (1973), 627
Parker, Theodore, 210
Parks, Rosa, 589
Party bosses, 364
Patent laws, 161
Patriotism, of slavery, 183
Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (2010), 687–688, 692–693
Patriot Act, 683
Patriotism, 151; during World War I, 461

- Patriots, 88–89
 Patronage, 300, 381–382, 384
 Patterson, James T., 658
 Paul, Alice, 445
 Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 440
 Peace Democrats, 279
 Peacekeeping missions, 669
 Peace of Paris (1763), 71
 Peale, Charles Wilson, 151
 Pearl Harbor, 531, 537; historical perspective on, 540
 Pendleton Act (1881), 384
 Penn, William, 34, 65
 Pennsylvania: founding of, 34; Plan of Union, 65; prison reform in, 213; as proprietary colony, 54; ratification of Constitution by, 106; War of 1812 and, 139
Pennsylvania Gazette, 52, 66
 Pennsylvania Railroad, 320
 Pensions, for Civil War veterans, 386
 Pentagon Papers, 626–627, 630
 People's party, 386–387
 Peopling, *See* Immigration, Migration, Population
 Perestroika, 661
 Periodization, xv, xix, 1, 23, 68, 130, 229, 318, 408, 556, 653
 Perkins, Frances, 364, 503
 Perot, H. Ross, 666, 668
 Perry, Matthew C., 239
 Perry, Oliver Hazard, 140
 Pershing, John J., 423
 Persian Gulf War, 664
 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (1996), 667
 Peru, Spanish conquest of, 8
 Pet banks, 198
 Philadelphia, 175
 Philanthropy, 325
 Philippines: independence for, 524, 567; Jones Act and, 422; Spanish-American War and, 414, 415
 Phillips, Kevin, 693
 Phillips, Ulrich, 183
 Philosophy, *See* Ideas
 Phonograph, 326
 Phrenology, 216
 Physicians, colonial, 52
 Pickett, George, 277
 Pierce, Franklin, 236, 252, 254, 294
 Pike's Peak, 340
 Pilgrims, 26, 27
 Pinchot, Gifford, 439, 440
 Pinchot-Ballinger controversy, 440
 Pinckney, Charles, 137
 Pinckney, Thomas, 112
 Pinckney Treaty (1795), 112, 132
 Pioneers, 236–238, 342
 Pitcher, Molly, 94
 Pitt, William, 71
 Pizzaro, Francisco, 8
 Placer mining, 341
 Plantations: colonial, 48; in South, 178–179
 Planter aristocracy, 180
 Platt Amendment, 416, 523
Plessy v. Ferguson, 349, 443, 588
 "Plumbers," 630
 Plymouth Colony: early hardships in, 26; settlement of, 25–26
 Pocahontas, 25
 Poland, 662–663; invasion of, 528
 Political action committees (PACs), 654
 Political bosses, 301
 Political campaigns, 193, 691–692
 Political factions, 153
 Political machines, 364, 381, 432, 435
 Political parties, 113–115; historical perspective on, 142–143; nominating conventions, 192; origins of, 114; patronage, 300, 381–382, 384; third parties, 192; two-party system, 113, 192, 197–198
 Political polarization, 679–686
 Political reforms, in Progressive era, 435–439
 Politics: of Civil War, 270, 279; colonial, 54–55; democratic, 192–193; in Gilded Age, 380–391; machine, 364; postwar, 558–561; presidential, 382–383; Washington, 685
 Polk, James K., 159; election of 1844 and, 232–233; inaugural address of, 314; Mexican-American War and, 233–235
 Poll taxes, 349
 Polo, 372
 Pontiac's Rebellion, 72
Poor Richard's Almanack, 51
 Pope, John, 272
 Pope, line of demarcation by, 8
 Popular culture, 371–372, 590–592
 Popular press, 371, 411
 Popular sovereignty, 248, 249, 256, 257
 Population growth, 160, 174, 182, 319
 Populist party, 386–390; historical perspective on, 391; platform of, 407
 Port Act (1775), 75
 Port Huron Statement, 610
 Portsmouth, founding of, 29
 Portuguese explorers, 6, 8
 Postal system, 48
 Postwar era, 557–558

- Postwar politics, 558–561
 Potsdam Conference, 538–539
 Pound, Ezra, 481
 Poverty, in South, 347–348
 Powderly, Terence V., 329
 Powell, Colin, 681, 683
 Powers, separation of, 91
 Pragmatism, 433
 Prange, Gordon W., 540
 Predestination doctrine, 26, 207
 Preemption Acts, 237
 Premarital sex, 481
 Presbyterians, 49, 50
 Presidency, 106
 President: popular election of, 192; powers of the, 110, 195; term limit for, 560; two-term tradition for, 115
 Presidential politics, 382–383
 Presley, Elvis, 591
 Press: colonial, 52–53; freedom of, 53; popular, 371, 411; yellow, 413
 Primaries, direct, 435
 Princeton University, 52
 Printing press, 5
 Prisoners of war (POWs), 627
 Prison reform, 213
 Privacy rights, 610
 Private colleges, 213
 Proclamation of 1763, 72
 Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (1863), 292
 Proclamation of Neutrality (1793), 111
 Productivity, 478
 Professional class, 432
 Professions, 368
Progress and Poverty (George), 364
 Progressive era, 390, 391, 431–447
 Progressive party, 441, 458
 Progressivism: African Americans and, 443–444; attitudes and motives, 432–433; goals of, 431; historical perspective on, 446–447; muckrakers, 434; origins of, 431–435; philosophy of, 433; political reforms, 435–439; Roosevelt and, 437–439; Socialist party and, 440; Taft and, 439–440; Wilson and, 442–443; women and, 445
 Prohibition, 212, 436–437, 484–485; repeal of, 503
 Prohibitory Act (1775), 87
 Promontory Point, Utah, 321
 Property rights, 154
 Prophet, 138
 Proposition 13, 654–655
 Proprietary colonies, 24, 54
 Prosperity: of 1920s, 477–478; of 1950s, 581; in 2000, 671–672; under Clinton, 668
 Protestant Reformation, 6
 Protestants, 49; denominations of, 49, 50; English, 25–26; fundamentalists, 484; Huguenots, 10; progressivism and, 432; revolt by, in Maryland, 28
 Protestant work ethic, 325
 Providence, settlement of, 29
 Prussia, 158
 Public Land Act (1796), 113
 Public schools, 213, 367; expansion of, 151
 Public utilities, 436
 Public Works Administration (PWA), 504
 Pueblos, 4, 10, 343
 Puerto Ricans, 590
 Puerto Rico, 415, 418, 422
 Pulitzer, John, 371, 413
 Pullman, George, 330
 Pullman Strike, 330, 388, 403
 Pure Food and Drug Act, 438
 Puritans, 26, 29, 51; historical perspective on, 38
 Putin, Vladimir, 669
- ## Q
- Al-Qaeda, 682, 689
 - Quakers, 29, 33, 34, 49
 - Quartering Act (1765), 72, 75
 - Quayle, Dan, 662
 - Quebec, 10
 - Quebec Act (1774), 75–76
 - Queen Anne's War, 69
 - Quota Acts, 362, 485
- ## R
- Rabin, Yitzak, 670
 - Race riots, 467, 608, 615
 - Race theories, 324
 - Radical Republicans, 293, 295–296, 303
 - Radio, 480, 484
 - Ragtime music, 371
 - Railroad Porters Union, 513
 - Railroads, 161, 238, 252, 281, 320–322; agriculture and, 351, 352; cattle industry and, 342; in China, 420; competition and consolidation, 321–322; eastern trunk lines, 320; public ownership of, 387; refrigerated cars, 326; regulation of, 352, 438; in South, 347; strikes, 329, 330, 559; transcontinental, 252, 281, 321, 322, 344; western, 320–321
 - Raleigh, Sir Walter, 9
 - Ranching, 341–342
 - Randall, James G., 261

- Randolph, A. Philip, 513
 Randolph, Edmund, 110
 Randolph, John, 153
 Rankin, Jeannette, 458, 460
 Rationalism, 207
 Rauschenbusch, Walter, 364, 432
 Reagan, Ronald, 605; assessment of, 661–662; election of 1980 and, 655–656; election of 1984 and, 658; inaugural address of, 654; presidency of, 656–662
 Reaganomics, 656–657, 659
 Reagan Revolution, 656–658
 Real estate bubble, 681, 685
 Realism, 369
 Reapportionment, 609–610
 Recalls, 435
 Recession: of 1937–1938, 511; of 1982, 658; Great Recession, 685–686, 687, 693
 Reciprocal trade agreements, 524
 Reconstruction (1863–1877), 291–304; congressional, 295–297; end of, 302–303; historical perspective on, 303–304; under Johnson, 293–294; Lincoln’s plan for, 292–293; North during, 300–302; in South, 298–300
 Reconstruction Acts (1867), 296
 Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), 501
 Records, 591
Red Badge of Courage (Crane), 369
 Red River War, 345
 Red Scare, 467, 562; Second, 569–571
 Reed, Thomas, 383
 Referendums, 387, 435
 Reformed Church, 49
 Reform movements: abolitionism, 214–215; Great Society, 605–606; historical perspective on, 216–217; political reforms, 435–439; in Progressive era, 432–439; public asylums, 212–213; public education, 213; religion and, 365; settlement houses, 364, 437; Social Gospel movement, 364; southern reaction to, 216; temperance, 212, 216, 367, 436–437; urban, 367; women’s rights, 366–367
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, 655
 Rehnquist, William, 658
 Religion: in 1920s, 483–484; in 1950s, 592; colonial, 49–50; progressivism and, 432; Second Great Awakening, 207–208; society and, 365; in South, 181
 Religious conflict, in Europe, 5–6
 Religious dissent, founding of English colonies and, 26
 Religious fundamentalism, 484, 655, 681–682
 Religious revivals, 484
 Religious Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
 Religious toleration, in colonies, 47
 Renaissance, 5
 Republican party: in 1920s, 475–477; birth of, 254–255; after Civil War, 281; conservative, 679; election of 1896 and, 389, 390; in Gilded Age, 381; modern, 580; in postwar era, 559–560; Radical Republicans, 293, 295–296, 303; in South, 298–299; splits in, 439–440
 Republic of Texas, 231, 232
 Research and development, during World War I, 532–533
 Reservation policy, 343–344
 Resettlement Administration (RA), 506
 Restoration, 31
 Revels, Hiram, 298
 Revenue Act (1764), 72
 Revere, Paul, 86
 Revivalists, 484
 Revolutionary War. *See* American Revolution (1775–1783)
 Revolution of 1800, 118, 142
 Rhineland, 526
 Rhode Island: colonial government in, 54; founding of, 29–30; ratification of Constitution by, 107
 Ricardo, David, 327
 Richardson, Henry Hobson, 370
 Richmond, 180
 Riesman, David, 592
 Right of deposit, 132
 Right to work laws, 560
 Riis, Jacob, 434
 Ringling Brothers Circus, 371
 Rio Grande, 234
 Ripley, George, 209
 Road building, 152, 155, 161, 175
 Roanoke settlement, 9
 Robber Barons, 332
 Roberts, John, 685, 691
 Roberts, Oral, 655
 Roberts Court, 691–693
 Robertson, Pat, 655
 Robeson, Paul, 483
 Robie House, 370
 Robinson, Jackie, 588
 Robinson, Jo Ann Gibson, 655
 Rockefeller, John D., 323, 325, 332, 368, 403
 Rock music, 591, 611
 Rockwell, Norman, 533
 Rocky Mountains, 181–182, 237, 339
Roe v. Wade, 629, 655, 658
 Rolfe, John, 25

- Rolling Stones, 611
 Roman Catholics: in colonies, 49; conflict between Protestants and, 6, 10, 25–26; discrimination against, 176; election of 1960 and, 601; England's break with, 9; immigrants, 365; Ottoman Turks threat to, 5; papal line of demarcation and, 8; prejudice against, 362; in Quebec, 75–76; slavery and, 181; victory over Moors, 5–6
 Romania, 663
 Romney, Mitt, 690
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 502, 512, 513
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 200, 521; background of, 502; death of, 535, 538; election of 1932 and, 501–502; election of 1936 and, 507–508; election of 1940 and, 529; election of 1944 and, 535; fireside chats of, 504; first hundred days, 503–505; foreign policy of, 523–527; Four Freedoms of, 530, 554; Native Americans and, 346; New Deal of, 502–512; quarantine speech, 526–527; reforms by, 367; Supreme Court and, 509–510; World War II and, 528–533
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 350; conservation and, 439; death of, 475; election of 1912 and, 441; election of 1916 and, 458; foreign policy of, 417–420; imperialism and, 411; on muckrakers, 434; Nobel Peace Prize of, 420; Panama Canal and, 418; pledge of loyalty, 551; presidency of, 437–439; progressivism and, 431; in Spanish-American War, 414; Square Deal of, 437–439; trust-busting by, 438; as vice president, 416; on World War I, 457
 Roosevelt Corollary, 418–419
 Root, Elihu, 419
 Root-Takahira Agreement (1908), 419
 Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, 571
 Rosie the Riveter, 534
 Roth, William, 655
 Rough Riders, 414
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 77
 Royal African Company, 37
 Royal colonies, 24, 54
 Ruggles, David, 215
 Rural Electrification Administration (REA), 507
 Rush, Richard, 159
 Rush-Bagot Agreement (1817), 157
 Russia: in Alaska, 158, 165; exploration by, 11; World War I and, 454
 Russian Republic, 663, 669–670
 Russian Revolution (1917–1922), 95, 459, 463, 562
 Russo-Japanese War, 419, 420
 Rutgers University, 52
 Ruth, Babe, 480
- ## S
- Sacco, Nicola, 485–486
 Sadat, Anwar, 635
 Saigon, fall of, 633
 Salem, Peter, 89
 Salinger, J. D., 592
 SALT II treaty, 635, 663
 Salt Lake City, Utah, 208, 238
 Salvation Army, 365
 Same-sex marriage, 692
 Samoa, 411
 Sampson, Deborah, 94
 San Diego, California, 11
 Sandinistas, 660
 San Francisco, California, 11, 238
 Sanger, Margaret, 445, 481
 San Jacinto River, Battle of, 231
 San Juan Hill, 414
 Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 231
 Saratoga, Battle of, 90
 Savings and loans (S&Ls), 664–665
 Scalawags, 298
 Scalia, Antonin, 658, 692–693
The Scarlet Letter (Hawthorne), 211
Schechter v. U.S., 505
Schenck v. United States, 461
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., 13, 200, 261, 446–447, 489, 514, 625, 640
 School prayer, 655
 Schools. *See also* Education: for African Americans, 299; for blind and deaf persons, 213; desegregation of, 588–589; elementary, 367; high schools, 367, 481; Indian, 345; public, 151, 213, 367
 Schultz, George, 660–661
 Schurz, Carl, 347
 Schwarzkopf, Norman, 664
 Science, colonial achievements in, 51
 Scientific management, 433
 Scientific theory, 368
 Scopes trial, 484
 Scotch-Irish immigrants, 46
 Scott, Winfield, 234, 252, 271
 Seale, Bobby, 608
 Sears, Roebuck, 326, 350
 Secession: of Deep South, 259–260, 268; lead up to, 257–259
 Second Amendment, 108, 692
 Secondary boycotts, 560
 Second Bank of the United States, 152, 153
 Second Battle of Bull Run, 272

- Second Continental Congress, 87–88, 128
 Second Great Awakening, 207–208
 Second International Peace Conference, 420
 Second Red Scare, 569–571
 Secret ballots, 435
 Sectionalism, 173–183
 Secular humanism, 655
 Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), 505
 Securitization, 685
 Security Council (UN), 562
 Sedition Act (1798), 117, 135
 Sedition Act (1918), 461
 Segregation, 348–350, 443, 559, 608
 Selective Service Act (1917), 461–462
 Selective Service Act (1940), 528–529
 Self-government, in colonies, 27, 47, 54–55
 Self-made man, 192, 326–327
 Seminoles, 158
 Senate, U.S.. *See also* Congress, U.S.: African Americans in, 298; popular election to, 387, 435
 Seneca, 5
 Seneca Falls Convention, 214, 366
 Separate but equal doctrine, 349, 443, 588
 Separation of church and state, 94
 Separatists, 26
 September 11, 2001, 682
 Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 11
 Serbia, 669–670
 Serra, Junípero, 11
 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944), 557–558
 Settlement houses, 364, 437
 Seventeenth Amendment, 435
 Seventh Amendment, 109
 Seventh-Day Adventists, 208
 Seventh Pan-American Conference, 523
 Seven Years' War, 70–71
 Seward, William H., 249, 258, 260, 278, 409–410
 Seward's Folly, 410
 Sewing machine, 238
 Sex discrimination, 628
 Sexual revolution, 611–612
 Sexual taboos, 481
 Shah of Iran, 582, 635
 Shakers, 210
The Shame of the Cities (Steffens), 434
 Sharecropping, 300, 348, 512
 Shasta, 343
 Shawnee, 113, 138–139
 Shays, Daniel, 93
 Shays's Rebellion, 93
 Sherman, John, 383
 Sherman, Roger, 105
 Sherman, William Tecumseh, 277–278
 Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), 324, 383, 386, 438
 Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890), 386, 388
 Shiloh, Battle of, 274
 Shipbuilding, 5, 411
 Shipping, 157, 239
 Shoot-on-sight policy, 530
 Siberia, 2
 Sierra Club, 347
 Silent generation, 593
 Silent majority, 629
Silent Spring (Carson), 606
 Silver coinage, 384, 385, 387, 389
 Silver rushes, 237, 340–341
 Sinclair, Upton, 438
 Single-parent families, 671
 Sino-Soviet Pact, 568
 Sioux language, 4
 Sioux, 181, 343
 Sioux War, 344, 345
 Sirica, John, 630
Sister Carrie (Dreiser), 369
 Sit-ins, 590
 Sitting Bull, 345, 372
 Six-Day War, 631, 635
 Sixteenth Amendment, 439
 Sixth Amendment, 109
 Skyscrapers, 363, 482
 Slater, Samuel, 162
 Slavery, 257; agitation over, 249–251, 252–255; American Revolution and, 94; books on, 250–251; as cause of Civil War, 260–261; in colonies, 11, 28, 33, 37–38, 46; conditions of, 178; cotton industry and, 164; defenders of, 251; *Dred Scott* decision and, 255–256; economics of, 178; end of, 275–276, 282, 294; historical perspective on, 183; institution of, 37–38; laws on, 37; Middle Passage, 37–38; Missouri Compromise and, 155–157; of Native Americans, 11; opposition to, 214–215, 247–248; in South, 178–179; by Spanish, 8; in Texas, 231, 232; Three-Fifths Compromise on, 105; western states and, 155; Wilmot Proviso on, 234
 Slaves: demand for, 37; emancipation of, 270; fugitive, 215, 249–250, 251; population of, 165, 178; resistance by, 179; revolts by, 215, 257
 Slave trade, 6, 37–38, 94
 Slidell, John, 233, 274
 Slovenia, 670
 Slums, 174, 363

- Smallpox, 8, 52
Smith, Adam, 324
Smith, Alfred E., 477, 508, 601
Smith, Bessie, 483
Smith, Jedediah, 237
Smith, John, 25
Smith, Joseph, 208
Smith Act (1940), 570
Smith College, 368
Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act (1943), 533
Smith v. Allwright, 533
Social classes, 191
Social criticism, 364, 592
Social Darwinism, 324, 332, 362, 380
Social Gospel movement, 364, 432, 483
Socialism, 330
Socialist party, 440
Social mobility, 47, 164, 326–327
Social sciences, 368
Social Security, 628, 657, 667, 671, 685, 688
Social Security Act (1935), 507
Social welfare, 437
Society: in 2000, 671–672; after American Revolution, 93–94; changes in, during antebellum period, 212–216; post-Civil War, 281–282
Society of Harmonious Fists, 417
Soil Conservation Service, 512
Solidarity movement, 663
Songster, Alliance, 380
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, 73
Sons of Liberty, 74, 95
The Souls of Black Folk (Du Bois), 444
Sousa, John Philip, 371
South: agriculture in, 48, 177–178, 348; antebellum period, 207–217; Black Codes in, 292, 295; cities in, 180; Cotton diplomacy, 274–275; cotton in, 163; culture of, 180–181; economic progress in, 347; free blacks in, 179; manifest destiny and the, 235–236; migration to, 558; New, 347–350; population of, 182; poverty in, 347–348; pre-Civil War, 177–181; reaction to reform movements in, 216; Reconstruction in, 298–300; resistance to desegregation in, 588–589; secession by, 259–260, 268, 269; segregation in, 348–350, 443; slavery in, 178–179; tensions between North and, 235; white society in, 180
South America: Monroe Doctrine in, 159; native cultures of, 2
South Carolina: Fort Sumter, 269; founding of, 32–33; industry in, 347; nullification crisis and, 196–197; as royal colony, 54; secession by, 259, 268, 317; slaves in, 46
South Dakota, 435
Southeast Asia, 633
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 584
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 590
Southern Manifesto, 588–589
Southern Pacific Railroad, 436
Southern strategy, 628–629
South Korea, 568, 583
South Pacific (1949), 570
South Vietnam, 583–584, 627, 633
Southwest: Latino, 346; Native Americans of, 4
Soviet Union, 486; arms race with, 566; Berlin airlift and, 564–565; collapse of, 663; Cuban Missile Crisis and, 602–603; détente with, 627; Eastern Europe and, 562–563; invasion of, 531; invasion of Afghanistan by, 635–636; recognition of, 524; relations with, 561–563, 585–587, 635–636, 659, 661; Sputnik, 586; World War II and, 535, 538, 562
Spain, 690; American Revolution and, 90; Catholic victory in, 5–6; conflicts between England and, 9; Cuba and, 235–236; exploration and conquest by, 8; imperial wars and, 69–70; Pinckney Treaty and, 112; purchase of Florida from, 158; settlements by, 10–11; treatment of Native Americans by, 11; unification of, 6
Spanish-American War, 412–416; causes of, 412–414; fighting of, 414; historical perspective on, 424; results of, 415–416; treaty of peace, 415
Spanish Civil War, 525–526
Speakeasies, 484–485
Specie Resumption Act, 385
Species Circular, 198
Spectator sports, 372
Speculation, 321, 497
Spencer, Herbert, 324
Spheres of influence, 417
Spirit of Geneva, 585–586
Spock, Benjamin, 592
Spoils system, 193, 199, 300
Sports, 372, 480
Sputnik, 586
Square Deal, 437–439
Stagflation, 628
Stalin, Joseph, 531, 538, 562, 583

- Stalwarts, 381, 383
 Stamp Act (1765), 72–73
 Stamp Act Congress, 73, 127
 Stampp, Kenneth, 183, 304
 Standard Oil, 323, 434, 438
 Standish, Miles, 26
 Stanton, Edward, 297
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 214, 366–367, 445
 Starr, Kenneth, 669
 “The Star-Spangled Banner,” 141
 State constitutions, 91
 State government: after American Revolution, 91; reforms, 436–437
 States, admittance of new, 113, 114
 States’ rights, 115, 153, 196, 270, 271
 States’ Rights party, 560
 Statue of Liberty, 362
 St. Augustine, 10
 Steamboats, 161
 Steamships, 239
 Steel industry, 323, 510
 Steel plow, 175
 Steffens, Lincoln, 434
 Stein, Gertrude, 481
 Steinbeck, John, 512
 Stem-cell research, 687
 Stephens, Alexander, 259, 270–271, 294
 Stephenson, David, 486
 Stevens, Thaddeus, 295, 300
 Stevenson, Adlai, 580, 581, 600
 Stiglitz, Joseph, 693
 Still, William, 215
 Stimson, Henry, 522–523
 Stimson doctrine, 522–523
 St. Lawrence River, 70
 Stock market crash, 477, 497
 Stock market speculation, 497
 Stow, Timothy D., 406
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 250, 315
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I), 627, 663
 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 659–660
 Streetcars, 363, 372
 Strikebreakers, 175, 328, 330–331
 Strikes, 328; of 1919, 467; air traffic controllers, 657; coal miners, 438; during Great Depression, 510; Great Railroad Strike, 329; Homestead Strike, 330; postwar era, 559; Pullman Strike, 330
 Strong, Josiah, 411
 Stuart, Gilbert, 151
 Student movement, 610–611
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 590, 608, 656
 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 610
 Stuyvesant, Peter, 33
 St. Vincent Millay, Edna, 475
 Submarine warfare, 455–456, 459, 463
 Suburbs, 363, 364; growth of, 558
 Subways, 363
 Sudetenland, 526
 Suez Crisis, 584
 Suffolk Resolves, 86
 Suffrage laws, 192
 Suffragist movement, 282, 366–367, 445
 Sugar Act (1764), 72
 Sullivan, John L., 372
 Sullivan, Louis, 370
 Sumner, Charles, 254, 295, 300, 314
 Sumner, William Graham, 324
 Sunbelt, 558
 Sunday, Billy, 484
 Superfund, 639
 Supply-side economics, 656–657, 659
 Supreme Court, U.S., 109, 110; Burger Court, 629; Bush, George W., appointments to, 685; discrimination and, 349; *Dred Scott* decision by, 255–256; FDR and, 509–510; insular cases, 416; judicial review by, 134; Marshall Court, 117, 134–135, 153–154; Reagan’s appointment to, 658; Roberts Court, 691–693; Warren Court, 609–610
 Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, 176
 Suspension bridges, 363
 Sussex, 456
 Swift, Gustavus, 326
 Syphilis, 8
 Syria, 689
- T**
- Taft, Robert, 579
 Taft, William Howard, 372; dollar diplomacy of, 420; election of 1912 and, 441; at National War Labor Board, 460; presidency of, 439–441; progressivism and, 431
 Taft-Hartley Act (1947), 560
 Taiwan, 567–568, 635, 670
 Taliban, 682, 684
 Tallmadge, James, 156
 Tallmadge Amendment, 156
 Tammany Hall, 364
 Tampico incident, 423
 Taney, Roger, 198, 256
 Tarbell, Ida, 434
 Tariffs, 153; of 1816, 151–152; in 1890s, 385; in 1920s, 498; of Abominations, 194, 196–197; Dingley, 390;

- Fordney-McCumber, 476, 488; Hawley-Smoot, 500; McKinley, 386, 387; Morrill, 280, 281; Payne-Aldrich, 440; protective, 110, 151–152, 385; reduction in, 442; state, 104; Underwood, 442; Wilson-Gorman, 388
- Taverns, 48
- Taxation without representation, 33, 74, 129
- Tax cuts, 668; in 1920s, 478; by Bush, George W., 681; by Reagan, 655, 656–657, 658–659
- Taxes: under Bush, George H. W., 664–665; on colonies, 71, 72–74; excise, 113; on farmers, 351; federal, 507; income, 280, 387, 388, 439
- Taxpayers' revolt, 654–655
- Taylor, Frederick W., 433, 478
- Taylor, Zachary, 442; death of, 249; election of 1848 and, 248; in Mexican-American War, 233–234
- Tea Act (1773), 75
- Tea Party, 391, 688
- Teapot Dome scandal, 476, 477
- Technology: advances in, 5; boom, of 1990s, 668, 681; industrial, 238
- Tecumseh, 138–139
- Teheran Conference, 538
- Telegraph, 238, 325, 387
- Telephone, 325, 387
- Televangelists, 655
- Television, 591; election of 1960 and, 601
- Teller Amendment, 414
- Temperance movement, 212, 216, 367, 436–437
- Tenements, 363
- Ten-hour workday, 163, 437
- Tennessee, 113; secession by, 269
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 505
- Tennis, 372
- Tenochtitlán, 2
- Tenth Amendment, 109
- Tenure of Office Act (1867), 297
- Term limits, 665
- Territorial disputes, 247–248
- Terrorism: in Boston, 691; domestic, 667; in Lebanon, 660; roots of, 681–682; September 11, 2001, 682; War on, 681–684
- Tet offensive, 615
- Texas: annexation of, 231, 232–233; cattle ranching in, 341–342; conflict over, 230–231; Republic of, 231; secession by, 259; Spanish settlement of, 10
- Textile mills, 163, 174, 178, 238, 347, 479
- Thames River, Battle of, 140
- Thanksgiving, 26
- Theaters, 371, 482
- Think As a Historian, 20, 44, 62, 84, 102, 125, 149, 172, 190, 206, 223, 246, 267, 290, 310, 338, 359, 379, 397, 430, 453, 474, 495, 520, 546, 578, 599, 624, 647, 678, 700
- Think tanks, 655
- Third Amendment, 108
- Third parties, 192
- Third World, unrest in, 582–583
- Thirteenth Amendment, 276, 282, 294
- Thomas, Clarence, 664
- Thomas, Norman, 551
- Thoreau, Henry David, 209
- Thorpe, Jim, 480
- Three-Fifths Compromise, 105
- Three Mile Island, 639
- Thurmond, J. Strom, 560
- Tiananmen Square, 662
- Tilden, Samuel J., 302–303
- Time zones, 320
- Tippecanoe, Battle of, 138–139
- Title IX, 628
- Tobacco, 25, 28, 33
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 191
- Tojo, Hideki, 567
- Toland, John, 540
- Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 613
- Tordesillas, Treaty of (1494), 8
- Tories, 89
- Torture, 687
- Total war, 277–278
- Town meetings, 55
- Townsend, Francis E., 509
- Townshend, Charles, 73
- Townshend Acts (1767), 73–74
- Trade: Columbian Exchange, 7–8; expansion of, 6–7; foreign, 1805–1817, 137; fur, 12, 33, 232, 237; international, 238–239; mercantilism and, 35–37; regulation of, 105; routes, 6; sea, 138; slave, 6, 37–38, 94; with West Indies, 33
- Trade agreements, 524, 666–667, 670
- Trade deficits, 658–659
- Trail of Tears, 196
- Transatlantic cable, 325
- Transcendentalists, 209
- Transcontinental railroad, 252, 281, 321, 322, 344
- Transportation. *See also* Railroads: colonial, 48; improvements in, 155, 161; railroads, 252, 281, 320–322; urban, 363
- Travelgate, 669
- Treaty of 1818, 157
- Trent affair, 274
- Triangle Shirtwaist fire, 437
- Triangular trade, 37–38

- Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act (1978), 638
- Trickle-down economics, 656–657
- Tripoli, 136
- Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP), 685, 686
- Truman, Harry S., 655; atomic bomb and, 537; Cold War and, 561–571; election of 1948 and, 560–561; Fair Deal of, 561; inaugural address of, 557; Korean War and, 568–569; presidency of, 538, 557–571; retirement of, 571–572; as vice president, 535; World War II and, 538–539
- Truman Doctrine, 564
- Trumbull, John, 151
- Trusts, 323–334, 438, 442
- Truth, Sojourner, 215, 250
- Tuberculosis, 363
- Tubman, Harriet, 215, 250
- Tugwell, Rexford, 506
- Turkey, 585
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, 339, 343, 353, 368
- Turner, Henry, 350
- Turner, Nat, 215
- Tuskegee Institute, 443
- Twain, Mark, 341, 369, 380
- Tweed, William, 301, 364
- Twelfth Amendment, 115
- Twenties, 475–489
- Twentieth Amendment, 502
- Twenty-first Amendment, 485, 503
- Twenty-fourth Amendment, 606
- Twenty-second Amendment, 560
- Twenty-seventh Amendment, 665
- Two-party system, 113, 192, 197–198
- Two Treatises of Government* (Locke), 53
- Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934), 524
- Tyler, Alice, 216
- Tyler, John, 199; annexation of Texas and, 231, 233
- Typewriter, 325
- Typhoid, 363
- U**
- U-2 incident, 587
- Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Stowe), 250, 315
- Underground Railroad, 250
- Underwood Tariff, 442
- Undocumented immigrants, 637, 671, 685
- Unemployment: in 2000s, 681; during Great Depression, 501, 504; during World War II, 532
- Union army, 270
- Unionist party, 278
- Union Pacific, 321
- Unions, 163, 174. *See also specific unions*; attempts to organize, 329–330; immigration restrictions and, 362; membership in, 331, 479, 510, 657; mergers, 591; Reagan and, 657–658; rise of, 510–511; tactics to defeat, 328; after World War I, 467; during World War II, 533
- Unitarians, 181, 207
- United Auto Workers (UAW), 510
- United Farm Workers Organization, 637
- United Mine Workers, 479
- United Nations: creation of, 539; founding of, 562
- United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 483
- United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*, 324
- United States v. Nixon*, 629
- Universal health insurance, 666, 687–688
- Universal male suffrage, 192, 298
- Universities, 367–368
- University of California, Berkeley, 610–611
- University of Chicago, 368
- University of Pennsylvania, 52
- Unsafe at Any Speed* (Nader), 606
- The Uprooted* (Handlin), 373
- Urbanization, 174, 238, 362–364; families and, 365
- Urban middle class, 432
- Urban reforms, 367
- Urban transportation, 363
- U.S.-British relations, 412
- U.S.-Canada border, 157, 231–232, 233
- USS *Cole*, 682
- USS *Constitution*, 140
- U.S. Steel Corporation, 323, 439, 467, 510
- U.S. Term Limits Inc. v. Thornton*, 665
- U.S. v. Darby Lumber Co.*, 511
- Utility companies, 436
- V**
- Valentino, Rudolf, 480
- Valladolid debate, 11
- Vallandigham, Clement L., 279
- Valley Forge, 89
- Van Buren, Martin, 195; election of 1836 and, 198; election of 1844 and, 232; election of 1848 and, 248; presidency of, 199
- Vancouver Island, 233
- Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 320
- Vanderbilt, William H., 400
- Vanderbilts, 326
- Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 485–486
- Vasco da Gama, 6
- Vaudeville, 371

- Venezuela, 412
 Venice, 6
 Vermont, 113; War of 1812 and, 139
 Verrazano, Giovanni da, 10
 Versailles, Treaty of (1919), 464–466, 521
 Vesey, Denmark, 179
 Vespucci, Amerigo, 7, 13
 Veterans: of World War I, 477, 501; of World War II, 557–558
 Vice-president, 115
 Vicksburg, Battle of, 277
 Vietnam, 583; division of, 583–584
 Vietnamization, 626
 Vietnam War, 609; controversy over, 614–615; early stages of, 612–613; escalation of, 613–614; historical perspective on, 617; Nixon and, 625–627; peace negotiations, 615, 627; Tet offensive, 615; Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 613
 Vikings, 5
 Villa, Pancho, 423
 Villard, Oswald Garrison, 549
 Violence, against African Americans, 302, 349, 443, 486
 Virginia: House of Burgesses, 27, 28, 54, 73, 74; Jamestown, 24, 25, 27; labor shortages in, 28–29; ratification of Constitution by, 107; as royal colony, 54; secession by, 269; slaves laws in, 37
 Virginia City, Nevada, 341
 Virginia Company, 25, 26, 27, 28
 Virginia Plan, 105
 Virginia Resolution, 117
 Volcker, Paul, 636
 Volstead Act (1919), 484–485
 Voter participation, 435
 Voting: after American Revolution, 91; in colonies, 54–55
 Voting rights: for African Americans, 297; Supreme Court rulings on, 691; for women, 366–367, 445
 Voting Rights Act (1965), 606, 608, 691
- W**
- Wabash v. Illinois*, 352
 Wade, Benjamin, 295, 300
 Wade, Richard C., 373
 Wade-Davis Bill (1864), 292
 Wage earners, 327
 Wages, 164; minimum, 511, 561
 Wage slaves, 251
 Wagner Act (1935), 507, 508, 510
Walden (Thoreau), 209
 Walesa, Lech, 662–663
 Walker, David, 215
 Walker, William, 236
 Walker expedition, 236
 Wallace, George, 391, 607, 616–617, 629
 Wallace, Henry, 535, 560
 Wall Street, crash of 1929, 497
 Wampanoags, 31
 War bonds, 461, 533
 Ward, Lester F., 368
 War debts: from American Revolution, 104, 110; from World War I, 488, 500
 War Democrats, 278
 War hawks, 139, 140, 615
 War of 1812: causes of, 138–139; division over, 139–140; Hartford Convention and, 141; legacy of, 142; military defeats and naval victories in, 140–141; opposition to, 140; Treaty of Ghent, 141
 War on Poverty, 604–605
 War on Terrorism, 681–684
 War Powers Act (1973), 631
 War Production Board (WPB), 531
 War profiteers, 280–281
 War propaganda: in World War I, 457, 461; in World War II, 533
 Warren, Earl, 579, 588, 604, 609–610
 Warren, Joseph, 128
 Warren Commission, 604
 War reparations, from World War I, 488
 Warsaw Pact, 565, 586
 Washington, Booker T., 350, 443
 Washington, D.C.: burning of, in War of 1812, 141; establishment of, 110
 Washington, George, 104; in American Revolution, 88–89, 90; biography of, 151; at Constitutional Convention, 103, 104; as delegate to First Continental Congress, 85; domestic concerns of, 112–113; Farewell Address of, 115; as Federalist, 107; foreign affairs under, 111–112; in French and Indian War, 70; presidency of, 109–113; Whiskey Rebellion and, 113
 Washington Conference (1921), 487
 Washington politics, 685
 Watergate, 630–631
 Waterman, Lewis E., 325
 Watson, Thomas, 387, 390
 Watt, James, 657
 Wayne, Anthony, 113
 Wealth, concentration of, 326–327
The Wealth of Nations (Smith), 324
 Weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), 683
 Weathermen, 611

- Weaver, James B., 385, 387, 402
- Webster, Daniel, 153, 173, 196, 231–232, 249, 315
- Webster, Noah, 151
- Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), 232
- Weems, Parson Mason, 151
- Welfare reform, 667
- Wells, Ida B., 350
- West. *See also* Frontier; Civil War in, 273–274; expansion of, 181, 230; migration to, 558; Native Americans in, 181, 343–346; population growth in, 160; population of, 182; settlement of, 72, 113, 154–157, 236–238, 248, 339–346
- West, Benjamin, 51
- West Africa, slave trade in, 6, 37–38
- West bank, 670
- Western land, 163
- Western railroads, 320–321
- West Germany, 563, 602
- West Indies: slave trade and, 38; trade with, 33
- Westinghouse, George, 326
- Westmoreland, William, 614, 617
- West Virginia, 269
- Westward expansion, 113
- Weyler, Valeriano, 413
- Whaling industry, 239
- Wheat, 175, 342, 351
- Wheatley, Phillis, 51
- Wheeler-Howard Act (1934), 513
- Whig party: break down of, 254; election of 1848 and, 248; election of 1852 and, 252
- Whigs, 197–198, 199
- Whiskey Rebellion (1794), 113
- Whiskey Ring, 300–301
- Whistler, James McNeill, 370
- White, William Allen, 446
- White-collar jobs, 591
- Whitefield, George, 50
- White House, burning of, in War of 1812, 141
- Whites: on frontier, 182, 236–238; southern, 180
- White supremacy, 302, 349
- Whitewater scandal, 669
- Whitney, Eli, 161–162, 163, 178, 233
- Whyte, William, 591
- Wild West show, 371–372
- Willard, Emma Hart, 226
- Willard, Frances E., 367
- William (King of England), 37
- William and Mary University, 51
- Williams, Roger, 29, 30
- Williams, William Appelman, 424
- Willkie, Wendell, 529, 553
- Wilmette, David, 234, 235
- Wilmette Proviso, 234, 247
- Wilson, Charles, 580
- Wilson, Woodrow, 368, 521; declaration of war by, 460; election of 1912 and, 441; election of 1916 and, 458; Fourteen Points of, 464; historical perspective on, 468; League of Nations and, 465–466; moral diplomacy of, 421–423; progressive program of, 442–443; progressivism and, 431; suffrage movement and, 445; World War I and, 455–468, 550
- Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 388
- Winthrop, John, 26, 38
- Wisconsin, 175
- Wisconsin Idea, 436
- Wolfe, James, 71
- Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 367
- Women: in 1920s, 480–481; in 1950s, 592; in American Revolution, 94; changing roles for, 214; colleges for, 368; colonial, 47; dress reform, 216; as factory laborers, 163, 281–282; frontier, 182; during Great Depression, 512; housewives, 480–481, 558, 592; labor laws protecting, 437; progressivism and, 445; slave, 178; voting rights for, 366–367; in workforce, 164, 281–282, 327, 462, 481, 534, 592; during World War I, 462; during World War II, 534
- Women's Christian Temperance Union, 212
- Women's movement, 612
- Women's rights, 214, 282, 366–367, 445
- Wood, Grant, 482
- Woodland Indians, 4
- Woodstock Music Festival, 611
- Woolworth, Frank, 326
- Worcester v. Georgia*, 196
- Workday, 163, 387, 437
- Workers: factory, 163, 164, 174, 282, 327–328, 437, 467; during World War II, 533
- Working class, 195, 327
- Workingmen's party, 192
- Workweek, 511
- Working women, 164, 281–282, 327, 462, 481, 534, 592
- Works Progress Administration (WPA), 506, 508
- World Bank, 562, 670
- World Com, 681
- World's Columbian Exposition, 360, 370
- World Trade Center bombing (1993), 682

World Trade Organization (WTO), 670, 683
World War I, 431, 454–468; African Americans in, 462; armed forces in, 461–462; casualties, 464; debate over, 457–459; effects on American society, 462; events leading to, 454–455; fighting of, 463–464; financing of, 461; lessons from, 525; mobilization for, 460–462; neutrality in, 455–457; opposition to, 458; outbreak of, 527–528; peace negotiations, 458–459, 464–465; postwar problems, 466–467; preparedness for, 458; public opinion on, 456–457, 461; reparations, 488; submarine warfare in, 455–456, 459, 463; Treaty of Versailles and, 464–466, 521; U.S. entrance into, 459–460; veterans, 477, 501
World War II: battlefronts in, 535–537; costs of, 539; end of, 536, 537, 538–539; financing of, 533; home front in, 532–535; impact on society, 533–535; legacy of, 539; mobilization for, 532–533; Pearl Harbor, 531, 537, 540; prelude to, 526–527; preparedness for, 527; solidarity during, 535; U.S. entrance into, 531; veterans of, 557–558; wartime conferences, 538–539
Wounded Knee massacre, 345
Wright, Frank Lloyd, 370
Writ of assistance, 73
Wyoming, suffrage for women granted by, 367

X

Xenophobia, 417, 467
XYZ Affair, 116

Y

Yachting, 372
Yale University, 51, 207
Yalta Conference, 538
Yates v. United States, 610
Yellow-dog contracts, 328
Yellow press, 413
Yellowstone National Park, 346–347
Yeltsin, Boris, 663, 669
Yemen, 682
Yorktown, battle of, 90
Yosemite National Park, 346
Young, Andrew, 634
Young, Brigham, 208
Yucatán Peninsula, 2
Yugoslavia, 664

Z

Zaire, 603
Zangwill, Israel, 373
Zenger, John Peter, 52–53
Zenger case, 52–53
Zimmerman telegram, 459
Zoot suit riots, 534
Zuni, 343

UNITED STATES HISTORY

PREPARING FOR THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT® EXAMINATION

REVISED FOR THE 2016 AP® U.S. HISTORY EXAM

- ★ **NARRATIVE** THAT IS CONCISE, ACCESSIBLE, AND DIVIDED INTO 9 CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS
- ★ **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES** ESSAY IN EACH CHAPTER
- ★ **HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS** PRACTICED IN EACH CHAPTER
- ★ **8 SOURCE-BASED MULTIPLE-CHOICE** ITEMS IN EACH CHAPTER
- ★ **4 SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS** IN EACH CHAPTER
- ★ **10 DBQs** INCLUDED IN THE PERIOD REVIEWS
- ★ **LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS** IN EACH PERIOD REVIEW
- ★ **A COMPLETE PRACTICE EXAM**

AN AMSCO® PUBLICATION

A DIVISION OF Perfection Learning®

www.perfectionlearning.com

1533301

978-1-68240-455-3



90000>

9 781682 404553

Printed in the United States of America