

MAP 17.1

The New South, 1900

The economy of the Old South focused on raising staple crops, especially cotton and tobacco. In the New South, staple agriculture continued to dominate, but there was marked industrial development as well. Industrial regions evolved, producing textiles, coal, and iron. By 1900, the South's industrial pattern was well defined, though the region still served—like the West—as a major producer of raw materials for the industrial region that stretched from New England to Chicago.

European descent but also Southern and Eastern Europeans, Mexicans, and Asians. In 1900, census takers found that more than 75 percent of San Francisco and New York City residents had at least one parent who was foreign-born.

In the new industrial order, immigrants made an ideal labor supply. They took the worst jobs at low pay, and during economic downturns tens of thousands returned to their home countries, reducing the shock of unemployment in the United States. But many native-born Americans viewed immigrants with hostility, through the lens of racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices. They also feared that immigrants would take more coveted jobs and erode white men's wages.

For immigrants themselves, America could be disorienting, liberating, and disappointing.

Newcomers from Europe

Mass migration from Western Europe had started in the 1840s, when more than one million Irish fled a terrible famine. In the following decades, as Europe's population grew rapidly and agriculture became commercialized, peasant economies suffered, first in Germany and Scandinavia, then across Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, and the Balkans. This upheaval displaced millions of rural people. Some went to Europe's mines and factories; others headed for South America and



German Beer, Mexican Workers, c. 1900

Immigrants from Germany owned and managed most of the breweries in the United States. But workers at the Maier and Zoblein Brewery in Los Angeles came from many nations, including Mexico. At that time, about 4,000 Mexicans lived in Los Angeles County (about 4 percent of the population); by 1930, 150,000 Mexican-born immigrants lived in Los Angeles, making up about 7 percent of the city's rapidly growing population. Los Angeles Public Library.

the United States (Map 17.2; *America Compared*, p. 560).

“America was known to foreigners,” remembered one Jewish woman from Lithuania, “as the land where you’d get rich.” But the reality was much harsher. Even in the age of steam, a transatlantic voyage was grueling. For ten to twenty days, passengers in steerage class

crowded belowdecks, eating terrible food and struggling with seasickness. An investigator who traveled with immigrants from Naples asked, “How can a steerage passenger remember that he is a human being when he must first

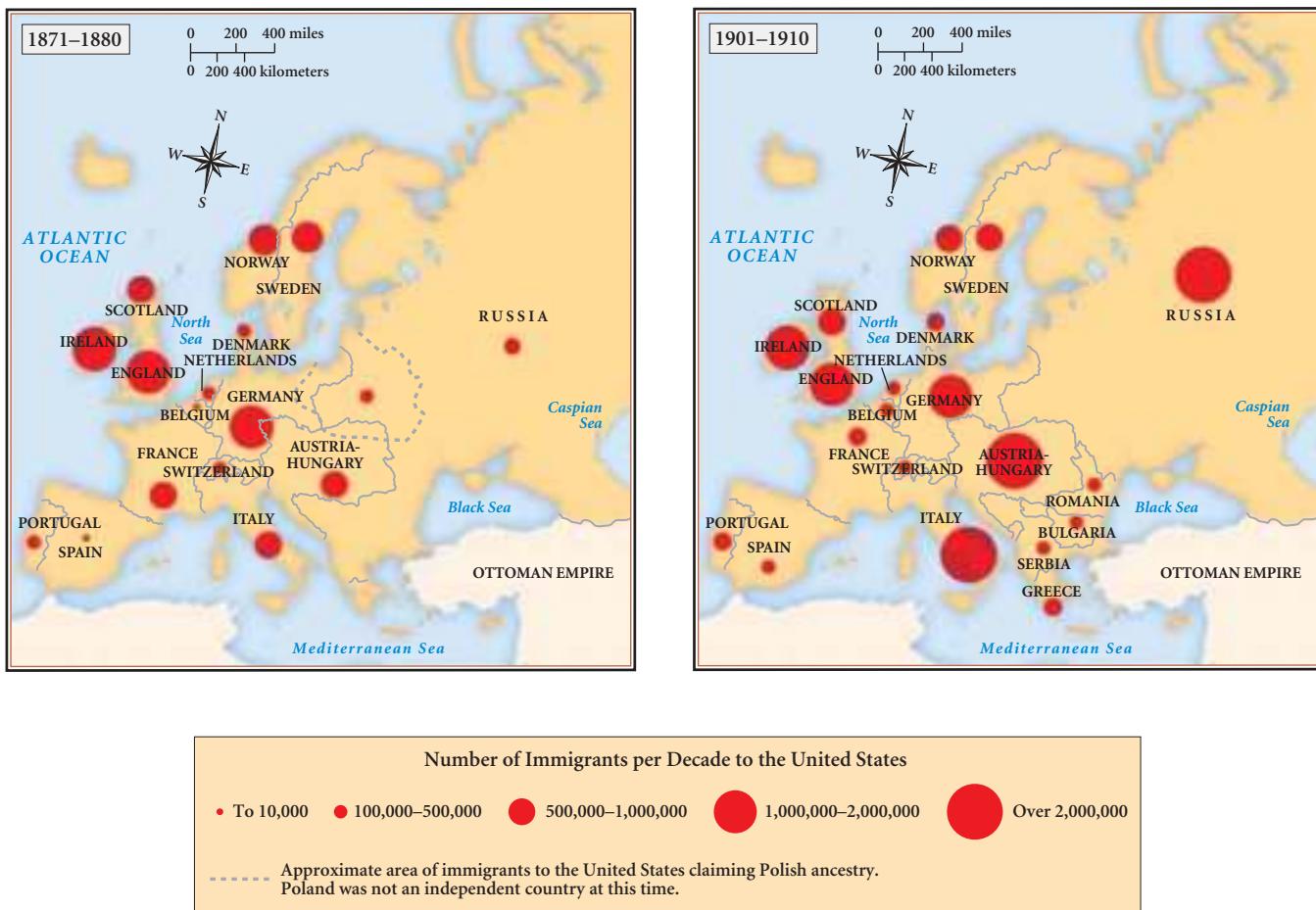
pick the worms from his food?” After 1892, European immigrants were routed through the enormous receiving station at New York’s Ellis Island.

Some immigrants brought skills. Many Welshmen, for example, arrived in the United States as experienced tin-plate makers; Germans came as machinists and carpenters, Scandinavians as sailors. But industrialization required, most of all, increasing quantities of unskilled labor. As poor farmers from Italy, Greece, and Eastern Europe arrived in the United States, heavy, low-paid labor became their domain.

In an era of cheap railroad and steamship travel, many immigrants expected to work and save for a few years and then head home. More than 800,000 French

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

What factors accounted for the different expectations and experiences of immigrants in this era?



MAP 17.2

Sources of European Immigration to the United States, 1871–1910

Around 1900, Americans began to speak of the “new” immigration. They meant the large numbers of immigrants arriving from Eastern and Southern Europe—Poles, Slovaks and other Slavic peoples, Yiddish-speaking Jews, Italians—who overwhelmed the still substantial number of immigrants from the British Isles and Northern Europe.

Canadians moved to New England in search of textile jobs, many families with hopes of scraping together enough savings to return to Quebec and buy a farm. Thousands of men came alone, especially from Ireland, Italy, and Greece. Many single Irishwomen also immigrated. But some would-be sojourners ended up staying a lifetime, while immigrants who had expected to settle permanently found themselves forced to leave by an accident or sudden economic depression. One historian has estimated that a third of immigrants to the United States in this era returned to their home countries.

Along with Italians and Greeks, Eastern European Jews were among the most numerous arrivals. The first American Jews, who numbered around 50,000 in 1880, had been mostly of German-Jewish descent. In the next four decades, more than 3 million poverty-stricken

Jews arrived from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and other parts of Eastern Europe, transforming the Jewish presence in the United States. Like other immigrants, they sought economic opportunity, but they also came to escape religious repression (American Voices, p. 562).

Wherever they came from, immigrants took a considerable gamble in traveling to the United States. Some prospered quickly, especially if they came with education, money, or well-placed business contacts. Others, by toiling many years in harsh conditions, succeeded in securing a better life for their children or grandchildren. Still others met with catastrophe or early death. One Polish man who came with his parents in 1908 summed up his life over the next thirty years as “a mere struggle for bread.” He added: “Sometimes I think life isn’t worth a damn for a man

Emigrants and Destinations, 1881–1915

The United States received more new residents than any other nation during the era of industrialization, but it was not the only place where emigrants (those departing) became immigrants (those arriving). The graph below shows six major destinations for emigrants from four European countries.

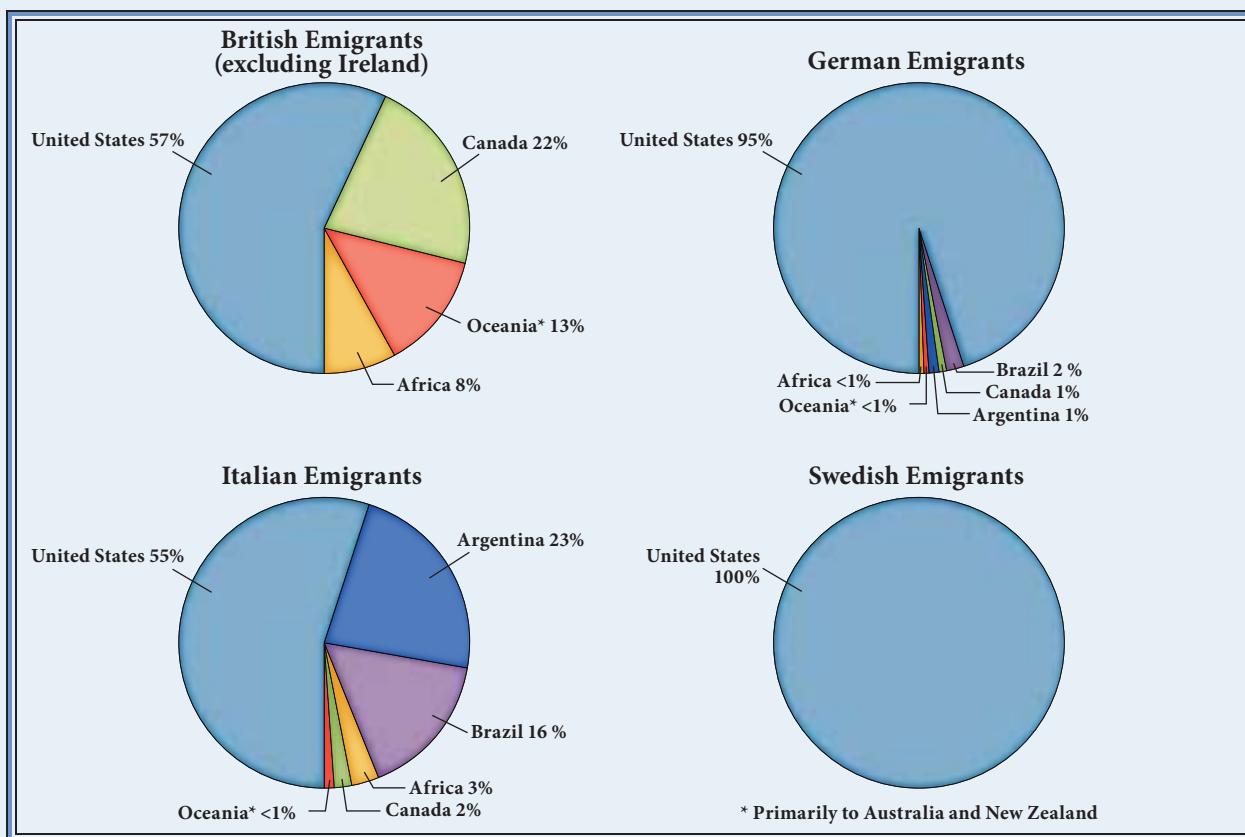


FIGURE 17.2
Major Destinations for Emigrants, 1881–1915

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- What might account for the different emigration patterns shown here?
- What choices and limitations might each group of emigrants have faced in choosing the country to which they

emigrated? Do these figures suggest anything about the conditions various groups may have encountered in different countries, upon arrival?

like me. . . . Look at my wife and kids—undernourished, seldom have a square meal.” But an Orthodox Russian Jewish woman told an interviewer that she “thanked God for America,” where she had married, raised three children, and made a good life. She “liked everything about this country, especially its leniency toward the Jews.”

Asian Americans and Exclusion

Compared with Europeans, newcomers from Asia faced even harsher treatment. The first Chinese immigrants had arrived in the late 1840s during the California gold rush. After the Civil War, the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China opened

the way for increasing numbers to emigrate. Fleeing poverty and upheaval in southern China, they, like European immigrants, filled low-wage jobs in the American economy. The Chinese confronted threats and violence. “We kept indoors after dark for fear of being shot in the back,” remembered one Chinese immigrant to California. During the depression of the 1870s, a rising tide of racism was especially extreme in the Pacific coast states, where the majority of Chinese immigrants lived. “The Chinese must go!” railed Dennis Kearney, leader of the California Workingmen’s Party, who referred to Asians as “almond-eyed lepers.” Incited by Kearney in July 1877, a mob burned San Francisco’s Chinatown and beat up residents. In the 1885 Rock Springs massacre in Wyoming, white men burned the local Chinatown and murdered at least twenty-eight Chinese miners.

Despite such atrocities, some Chinese managed to build profitable businesses and farms. Many did so by filling the only niches native-born Americans left open to them: running restaurants and laundries. Facing intense political pressure, Congress in 1882 passed the **Chinese Exclusion Act**, specifically barring Chinese

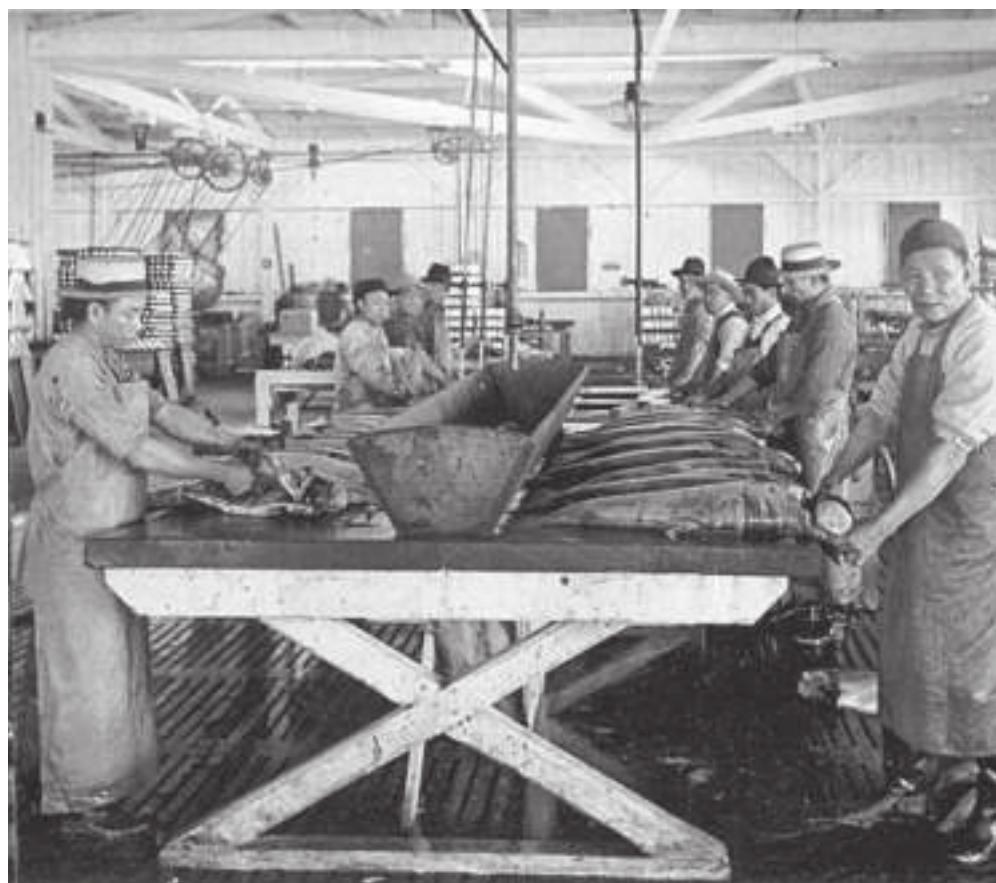
laborers from entering the United States. Each decade thereafter, Congress renewed the law and tightened its provisions; it was not repealed until 1943. Exclusion barred almost all Chinese women, forcing husbands and wives to spend many years apart when men took jobs in the United States.

Asian immigrants made vigorous use of the courts to try to protect their rights. In a series of cases brought by Chinese and later Japanese immigrants, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that all persons born in the United States had citizenship rights that could not be revoked, even if their parents had been born abroad. Nonetheless, well into the twentieth century, Chinese immigrants (as opposed to native-born Chinese Americans) could not apply for citizenship. Meanwhile, Japanese and a few Korean immigrants also began to arrive; by 1909, there were 40,000 Japanese immigrants working in agriculture, 10,000 on railroads, and 4,000 in canneries. In 1906, the U.S. attorney general ruled that Japanese and Koreans, like Chinese immigrants, were barred from citizenship.

The Chinese Exclusion Act created the legal foundations on which far-reaching exclusionary policies

Chinese Workers in a Salmon Cannery, c. 1900

Shut out of many fields of employment by racial discrimination, many Chinese immigrants founded their own restaurants, laundries, and other small businesses. Others, like these cannery workers in Astoria, Oregon, took on some of the most grueling and lowest-paid work in the American economy. Job segregation reinforced, in turn, racial prejudice. Visiting British author Rudyard Kipling, touring canneries along the Columbia River, described Chinese workers in the plants as “blood-besmeared yellow devils.” These workers, refuting Kipling’s slur, appear clean and respectable. Notice the man in an apron, on the left, who wears his traditional queue, or braided pigtail, tucked into his straw hat. Oregon Historical Society.





Jewish Immigrants in the Industrial Economy

Following anti-Semitic violence in Russia during the 1880s, thousands of Jews fled to the United States. Almost a quarter million came between 1881 and 1890, the majority settling in New York City. These poverty-stricken newcomers posed problems for New York's assimilated Jews, most of whom were German- or American-born. Community support networks were quickly overwhelmed; New York's United Hebrew Charities almost went bankrupt. Jewish leaders watched with dismay the expansion of tenement wards. They worried that the presence of so many Eastern European "beggars," as one Reform rabbi put it, would heighten American anti-Semitism.

In 1901, New York's Jewish leaders founded an Industrial Removal Office (IRO) to help disperse Jewish newcomers. By 1922 the office sent over 79,000 Eastern European Jews to locations across the country. IRO correspondence provides a window on how newcomers sought to negotiate places in America's industrial economy. Note that most of the letters are translated from Yiddish. As one immigrant noted, inability to speak English could limit employment opportunities and cause "great distress."

Alex Grubman

Letter from Portland, Oregon, 1905

I write you how fortunate I am in being placed in one of the largest dry goods houses in Oregon by Hon. Sig Sichel. . . . He went personally with me until he procured the present position for me as inside salesman and to start at \$60 a month. . . . [Many people here] wish me to thank the I.R.O. for helping them to success. . . . Mr. Lvov or Lvovsky, a tinsmith sent out direct 2 years ago has a stove and hardware store. M. Kaplan a tailor is earning \$20–25.00 a week. Mr. Nathan Siegel who arrived only a few days ago is already employed as a clerk earning \$10.00 for a start.

Barnet Marlin

Letter from Atlanta, Georgia, 1906

Dr. Wildauer secured a place for me to work, at wooden trunks. . . . I could not earn more than 60 cents a day and was working harder than a horse. . . . Atlanta does not pay to work, especially for a foreigner. . . . Several weeks passed by and at the end I was in debt. . . .

During that time I became acquainted with a Jewish policeman and he was the only one who took pity on me. . . . I told my friend the policeman that I had \$15.00 (sent to me by my brother) and he advised me to go out peddling. He took me to a store and told the storekeeper to furnish me for over \$30.00 worth of goods. He also

acted as my reference and prepared me with everything. I went out peddling and gradually I earned enough money to pay all my debts; and so I kept on peddling. I earned enough money and bought a horse and wagon. I now convey goods from the city to the country and sell them there. I thank you very much for sending me to Atlanta.

Raphael Gershoni

Letter from Atlanta, Georgia, 1905

Why do you sent people to Atlanta? You give them eight days worth of food and then you let them starve in the street among Negroes. . . . I was given a job to work in a restaurant kitchen, to wait on Negroes, and to clean the Negroes' closets, for three dollars a week. . . . I was then given ten dollars for goods so that I might go around and peddle in Atlanta. But out of this ten dollars, I have to pay four dollars for lodging and three dollars a month for a place just to lay my head. . . . It is hopeless to work in Atlanta. The highest wage is 75 cents a day. And for what kind of work? . . . The competition is difficult here. Why should anyone hire a white greenhorn when they can get a black Negro, who is strong as iron. . . . Everyone says that the only choice here is to go out into the countryside and peddle. But one needs 40–50 dollars worth of goods. How do I get the money? . . . I would like to ask you to help me out. Help me crawl out of black Atlanta and go to Chicago. There I have friends and can make out better.

Charles Zwirn**Letter from La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1913**

[Mr. Goldfish] took me into his house and gave me a very nice welcome. He then led me to the synagogue and introduced me to all the members. Mr. Goldfish is a Jew with a real Jewish heart. He is religiously inclined and the biggest businessman in the city. If any controversy arises, it is always settled by Mr. Goldfish. . . . [He] took me to a shop and they paid me \$6 more than I earned in New York. When I wanted to thank him, he said that the only thing he expects of me is that I conduct myself properly and go on the right path so I can eventually succeed. This, he said, was the best reward I can give him. I did as he told me and saved a few hundred dollars. . . .

Another man sent here had been in the country two months. . . . He was sent to Mr. Goldfish, who found him a job sorting corks for \$2 a day. . . . He then left. By the way, . . . would you be so kind as to send to me a boy to drive a milk wagon on Mr. Jacob's farm and an older man to work at junk? They must be honest and respectable people.

Mary Rubin**Letter from New Orleans, Louisiana, 1905**

You have sent us out here to starve for hunger and live in the streets. . . . We have arrived in New Orleans about 12 o'clock in the night, and there was nobody to await us there, and we had to go around alnight and look for the address which you had given. . . . They put the nine of us all in one room, with out a bed or a pillow to sleep on. . . . Then they took Mr. Rubin and his wife up to the cigar factory and gave them both a job. Mrs. Rubin is getting about four (\$4) a week and Mr. Rubin five (\$5). Now we will ask you if a family man can make a living with that. And Mr. Rosenthal they told if he wants work he will have to look for it himself. . . . When he found work, they told him to bring his tools and come to work. He went to the office and asked for the tools; they told him that he can't have them.

. . . [The local Committee] sent mama to be a cook for \$4 a month, which she had never done before, and if she wanted to be a cook in N.Y. she could have gotten 3 times that much or more, but it did not suit us to let our mother be a cook, and now we should have to do.

Nathan Toplitzky**Letter from Detroit, Michigan, 1908**

I, Nathan Toplitzky, sent to the above city 5 months ago, wish to inform you that a great misfortune has happened to me. Your committee has placed me to work in a machine factory where I have earned \$.75 a day, and being unskilled I have had 4 of my fingers torn from my right hand. I now remain a cripple throughout my life. For six weeks my sufferings were indescribable.

When the condition of my health improved a little, I called on the Committee and they advised me to go back to the old employer. I went back to him and he placed me to work at the same machine where the accident occurred. Having lost my fingers I was unable to operate the machine. . . . Kindly write to your Committee to find a position for me.

S. Klein**Letter from Cleveland, Ohio, 1905**

In the past week something terrible has happened here. Two men sent here by the Removal Office committed suicide out of despair. One took poison and the other hanged himself. . . . That shows the deplorable condition of those who are sent here by the Removal Office. The Cleveland Removal Office is managed by an inexperienced young man who maintains his position merely through favoritism. . . . It was told to me that the one who hanged himself came to this agent and implored him with tears in his eyes to provide some kind of employment.

Source: Letters from the Records of the Industrial Removal Office; 1-91; AJHS, NY, NY and Boston, MA as follows: Alex Grubman, Box 116, Folder 14; Barnet Marlin, Box 95, Folder 4; Raphael Gershoni, Box 95, Folder 4; Charles Zwirn, Box 120, Folder 9; Mary Rubin, Box 99, Folder 17; Nathan Toplitzky, Box 101, Folder 7; S. Klein, Box 114, Folder 5.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Based on the accounts above, what factors contributed to an immigrant's economic success or failure in a new location?
2. In at least ten places, the immigrants above report on wages—daily, weekly, or monthly. For comparison, make a rough conversion of all of these to weekly wages and list them. What do you conclude about compensation for professional, skilled, and unskilled work?
3. Using information from this chapter, as well as the documents above, explain why immigrants sent to the South might have faced more difficulties, on average, than those sent to other parts of the country.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What were the long-term consequences of the Chinese Exclusion Act for U.S. immigration policy?

would be built in the 1920s and after (Chapter 22). To enforce the law, Congress and the courts gave sweeping new powers to immigration officials, transforming the Chinese into America's first illegal immigrants. Drawn, like others,

by the promise of jobs in America's expanding economy, Chinese men stowed away on ships or walked across the borders. Disguising themselves as Mexicans—who at that time could freely enter the United States—some perished in the desert as they tried to reach California.

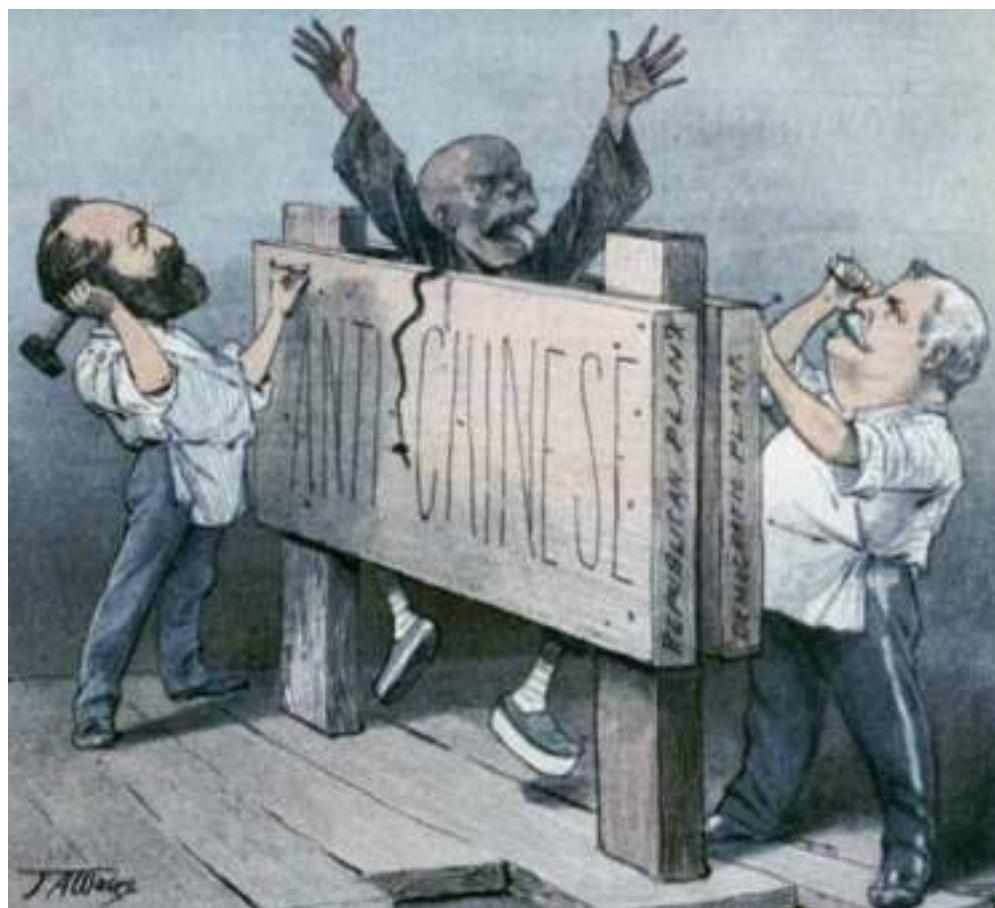
Some would-be immigrants, known as paper sons, relied on Chinese residents in the United States, who generated documents falsely claiming the newcomers as American-born children. Paper sons memorized pages of information about their supposed relatives and hometowns. The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 helped their cause by destroying all the port's records. "That was a big chance for a lot of Chinese," remembered one immigrant. "They forged themselves certificates saying they could go back to China and bring back four or five sons, just like that!" Such persistence

ensured that, despite the harsh policies of Chinese exclusion, the flow of Asian immigrants never fully ceased.

Labor Gets Organized

In the American political system, labor has typically been weak. Industrial workers cluster in cities, near factories and jobs; compared with small towns and rural areas, urban areas have been underrepresented in bodies such as the U.S. Senate and the presidential electoral college, in which representation is calculated by state, rather than (or in addition to) individuals. This problem became acute in the era of industrialization, and it has lingered. Even today, the twenty-two U.S. senators elected from Alaska, Idaho, Iowa, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming represent a smaller number of people, *combined*, than the two U.S. senators who represent heavily urban California.

Faced with this obstacle, labor advocates could adopt one of two strategies. First, they could try to make political alliances with sympathetic rural voters



Anti-Chinese Racism

This cartoon from the magazine *Puck*, drawn by James A. Wales during the 1880 presidential campaign, offers vivid evidence of the widespread and virulent American prejudice against Chinese immigrants. Republican candidate James Garfield, on the left, and Democratic candidate Winfield Scott Hancock, on the right, both nail up their party's "planks" in favor of restricting Chinese immigration. Asian immigrants were not permitted to apply for naturalization as U.S. citizens; they thus had no vote and no power in politics. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, with bipartisan support, soon after Garfield's victory. Library of Congress.

who shared their problems. Second, they could reject politics and create narrowly focused trade unions to negotiate directly with employers. In general, labor advocates emphasized the first strategy between the 1870s and the early 1890s, and the latter in the early twentieth century. Across this era, while industrialization made America increasingly rich and powerful, it also brought large-scale conflict between labor and capital.

The Emergence of a Labor Movement

The problem of industrial labor entered Americans' consciousness dramatically with the **Great Railroad Strike of 1877**. Protesting steep wage cuts amid the depression that had begun in 1873, thousands of railroad workers walked off the job. Broader issues were at stake. "The officers of the road," reported strike leader Barney Donahue in upstate New York, "were bound to break the spirit of the men, and any or all organizations they belonged to." He believed railroad companies wanted to block workers from "all fellowship for mutual aid." The strike brought rail travel and commerce to a halt. Thousands of people poured into the streets of Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Chicago to protest the economic injustice wrought by railroads—as well as fires caused by stray sparks from locomotives and injuries and deaths on train tracks in urban neighborhoods. When Pennsylvania's governor sent state militia to break the strike, Pittsburgh crowds reacted by burning railroad property and overturning locomotives. Similar clashes between police and protesters occurred in other cities across the country, from Galveston, Texas, to San Francisco.

The 1877 strike left more than fifty people dead and caused \$40 million worth of damage, primarily to railroad property. "It seemed as if the whole social and political structure was on the very brink of ruin," wrote one journalist. For their role in the strike, many railroad workers were fired and blacklisted: railroad companies circulated their names on a "do not hire" list to prevent them from getting any work in the industry. In the aftermath of the strike, the U.S. government created the National Guard, intended not to protect Americans against foreign invasion but to enforce order at home.

Watching the upheavals of industrialization, some radical thinkers pointed out its impact on workers. Among the most influential was Henry George, whose book *Progress and Poverty* (1879) was a best-seller for decades after publication. George warned that Americans had been too optimistic about the impact of

railroads and manufacturing, which they hoped would—after an initial period of turmoil—bring prosperity to all. George believed the emerging industrial order meant permanent poverty. Industrialization, he wrote, was driving a wedge through society, lifting the fortunes of professionals and the middle class but pushing the working class down by forcing them into deskilled, dangerous, and low-paid labor. George's proposed solution, a federal "single tax" on landholdings, did not win widespread support, but his insightful diagnosis of the problem helped encourage radical movements for economic reform.

Many rural people believed they faced the same problems as industrial workers. In the new economy, they found themselves at the mercy of large corporations, from equipment dealers who sold them harvesters and plows to railroads and grain elevators that shipped and stored their products. Though farmers appeared to have more independence than corporate employees, many felt trapped in a web of middlemen who chipped away at their profits while international forces robbed them of decision-making power.

Farmers denounced not only corporations but also the previous two decades of government efforts to foster economic development—policies that now seemed wrongheaded. Farmers' advocates argued that high tariffs forced rural families to pay too much for basic necessities while failing to protect America's great export crops, cotton and wheat. At the same time, they charged, Republican financial policies benefitted banks, not borrowers. Farmers blamed railroad companies for taking government grants and subsidies to build but then charging unequal rates that privileged big manufacturers. From the farmers' point of view, public money had been used to build giant railroad companies that turned around and exploited ordinary people.

The most prominent rural protest group of the early postwar decades was the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867. Like industrial workers, Grange farmers sought to counter the rising power of corporate middlemen through cooperation and mutual aid. Local Grange halls brought farm families together for recreation and conversation. The Grange set up its own banks, insurance companies, and grain elevators, and, in Iowa, even a farm implement factory. Many Grange members also advocated political action, building independent local parties that ran on anticorporate platforms.

During the 1870s depression, Grangers, labor advocates, and local workingmen's parties forged a national political movement, the **Greenback-Labor**



Houston's Cotton Depot, c. 1909

After the Civil War, cotton agriculture blossomed on the rich lands of east Texas, and Houston simultaneously blossomed as the region's commercial center. This tinted photograph from the 1890s reveals the tremendous volume of traffic that came through Houston, where Texas cotton was compacted in steam-powered cotton presses, loaded onto railcars, and shipped to cotton mills in the Southeast and Britain to be made into cloth.

University of Houston Libraries, Special Collections, George Fuerman Collection.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did the methods used by railroad workers to protest their working conditions compare with the tactics employed by the Greenbackers, who also sought reform?

Party. In the South, Greenbackers protested the collapse of Reconstruction and urged that every man's vote be protected. Across the country, Greenbackers advocated laws to regulate corporations and enforce an eight-hour workday to reduce long, grueling work hours. They called for the federal government to print more

greenback dollars and increase the amount of money in circulation; this, they argued, would stimulate the economy, create jobs, and help borrowers by allowing them to pay off debts in dollars that, over time, slowly decreased in value. Greenbackers, like many industrial labor leaders, subscribed to the ideal of **producerism**: they dismissed middlemen, bankers, lawyers, and investors as idlers who lived off the sweat of people who worked with their hands. As a Pittsburgh worker put it in an 1878 poem, it was not the money-handlers

or executives at the top but the “noble sons of Labor . . . / Who with bone, and brain, and fiber / Make the nation’s wealth.”

The Greenback movement radicalized thousands of farmers, miners, and industrial workers. In Alabama’s coal-mining regions, black and white miners cooperated in the party. Texas boasted seventy African American Greenback clubs. In 1878, Greenback-Labor candidates won more than a million votes, and the party elected fifteen congressmen nationwide. In the Midwest, Greenback pressure helped trigger a wave of economic regulatory actions known as **Granger laws**. By the early 1880s, twenty-nine states had created railroad commissions to supervise railroad rates and policies; others appointed commissions to regulate insurance and utility companies. Such early regulatory efforts were not always effective, but they were crucial starting points for reform. While short-lived, the Greenback movement created the foundation for more sustained efforts to regulate big business.

The Knights of Labor

The most important union of the late nineteenth century, the **Knights of Labor**, was founded in 1869 as a secret society of garment workers in Philadelphia. In 1878, as the Greenback movement reached its height, some Knights served as delegates to Greenback-Labor conventions. Like Grangers, Knights believed that ordinary people needed control over the enterprises in which they worked. They proposed to set up shops owned by employees, transforming America into what they called a cooperative commonwealth. In keeping with this broad-based vision, the order practiced open membership, irrespective of race, gender, or field of employment—though, like other labor groups, the Knights excluded Chinese immigrants.

The Knights had a strong political bent. They believed that only electoral action could bring about many of their goals, such as government regulation of corporations and laws that required employers to negotiate during strikes. Their 1878 platform denounced the “aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations.” “If we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life,” the Knights warned, “a check [must] be placed upon unjust accumulation, and the power for evil of aggregated wealth.” Among their demands were workplace safety laws, prohibition of child labor, a federal tax on the nation’s highest incomes, public ownership of telegraphs and railroads, and government recognition of workers’ right to organize. The Knights also advocated personal responsibility and self-discipline. Their leader, Terence Powderly, warned that the abuse of liquor robbed as many workers of their wages as did ruthless employers.

Growing rapidly in the 1880s, the Knights union was sprawling and decentralized. It included not only skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, ironworkers, and beer brewers but also textile workers in Rhode Island, domestic workers in Georgia, and tenant farmers in Arkansas. Knights organized workingmen’s parties to advocate a host of reforms, ranging from an eight-hour workday to cheaper streetcar fares and better garbage collection in urban areas. One of their key innovations was hiring a full-time women’s organizer, Leonora Barry. An Irish American widow who was forced into factory work after her husband’s death, Barry became a labor advocate out of horror at the conditions she experienced on the job. To the discomfort of some male Knights, she investigated and exposed widespread evidence of sexual harassment on the job.

The Knights’ growth in the 1880s showed the grassroots basis of labor activism. Powderly tried to avoid



The Knights of Labor

The caption on this union card—“By Industry we Thrive”—expresses the core principle of the Knights of Labor that everything of value is the product of honest labor. The two figures are ideal representations of that “producerist” belief—handsome workers, respectably attired, doing productive labor. A picture of the Grand Master Workman, Terence V. Powderly, hangs on the wall, benignly watching them. Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

strikes, which he saw as costly and risky. But the organization’s greatest growth resulted from spontaneous, grassroots striking. In 1885, thousands of workers on the Southwest Railroad walked off the job to protest wage cuts; afterward, they telegraphed the Knights and asked to be admitted as members. The strike enhanced the Knights’ reputation among workers and built membership to 750,000. By the following year, local assemblies had sprung up in every state and almost every county in the United States.

Just as the Knights reached this pinnacle of influence, an episode of violence brought them down. In 1886, a protest at the McCormick reaper works in

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What factors contributed to the rapid rise of the Knights of Labor? To its decline?



Industrial Violence: A Dynamited Mine, 1894

Strikes in the western mining regions pitted ruthless owners, bent on control of their property and workforce, against fiercely independent miners who knew how to use dynamite. Some of the bloodiest conflicts occurred in Colorado mining towns, where the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) had strong support and a series of Republican governors sent state militia to back the mine owners. Violence broke out repeatedly between the early 1890s and the 1910s. At Victor, Colorado, in May 1894, as dozens of armed sheriffs' deputies closed in on angry WFM members occupying the Strong Mine in protest, the miners blew up the mine's shaft house and boiler. Showered with debris, the deputies boarded the next train out of town. Because Colorado then had a Populist governor, Davis Waite, who sympathized with the miners and ordered the deputies to disband, this strike was one of the few in which owners and miners reached a peaceful settlement—a temporary victory for the union. Library of Congress.

Chicago led to a clash with police that left four strikers dead. (Three unions, including a Knights of Labor assembly, had struck, but the Knights had reached an agreement and returned to work. Only the machinists' union remained on strike when the incident occurred.) Chicago was a hotbed of **anarchism**, the revolutionary advocacy of a stateless society. Local anarchists, many of them German immigrants, called a protest meeting the next day, May 4, 1886, at **Haymarket Square**. When police tried to disperse the crowd, someone threw a bomb that killed several policemen. Officers responded with gunfire. In the trial that followed, eight anarchists were found guilty of murder and criminal conspiracy. All were convicted, not on any definitive evidence that one of them threw the bomb (the bomber's identity still remains unknown) but on the basis of their antigovernment speeches. Four of the eight were executed by hanging, one committed suicide in prison, and the others received long sentences.

The Haymarket violence profoundly damaged the American labor movement. Seizing on resulting anti-union hysteria, employers took the offensive. They broke strikes with mass arrests, tied up the Knights in expensive court proceedings, and forced workers to sign contracts pledging not to join labor organizations. The Knights of Labor never recovered. In the view of the press and many prosperous Americans, they were tainted by their alleged links with anarchism. Struggles between industrialists and workers had created bitter divides.

Farmers and Workers: The Cooperative Alliance

In the aftermath of Haymarket, the Knights' cooperative vision did not entirely fade. A new rural movement, the **Farmers' Alliance**, arose to take up many of the issues that Grangers and Greenbackers had earlier

sought to address. Founded in Texas during the depression of the 1870s, the Farmers' Alliance spread across the plains states and the South, becoming by the late 1880s the largest farmer-based movement in American history. A separate Colored Farmers' Alliance arose to represent rural African Americans. The harsh conditions farmers were enduring—including drought in the West and plunging global prices for corn, cotton, and wheat—intensified the movement's appeal. Traveling Alliance lecturers exhorted farmers to “stand as a great conservative body against . . . the growing corruption of wealth and power.”

Like earlier movements, Alliance leaders pinned their initial hopes on cooperative stores and exchanges that would circumvent middlemen. Cooperatives gathered farmers' orders and bought in bulk at wholesale prices, passing the savings along. Alliance cooperatives achieved notable victories in the late 1880s. The Dakota Alliance, for example, offered members cheap hail insurance and low prices on machinery and farm supplies. The Texas Alliance established a huge cooperative enterprise to market cotton and provide farmers with cheap loans. When cotton prices fell further in 1891, however, the Texas exchange failed. Other cooperatives also suffered from chronic underfunding and lack of credit, and they faced hostility from merchants and lenders they tried to circumvent.

The Texas Farmers' Alliance thus proposed a federal price-support system for farm products, modeled on the national banks. Under this plan, the federal government would hold crops in public warehouses and issue loans on their value until they could be profitably sold. When Democrats—still wary of big-government schemes—declared the idea too radical, Alliances in Texas, Kansas, South Dakota, and elsewhere decided to create a new political party, the Populists (see Chapter 20). In this venture, the Alliance cooperated with the weakened Knights of Labor, seeking to use rural voters' substantial clout on behalf of urban workers who shared their vision.

By this time, farmer-labor coalitions had made a considerable impact on state politics. But state laws and commissions were proving ineffective against corporations of national and even global scope. It was difficult for Wisconsin, for instance, to enforce new laws against a railroad company whose lines might stretch from Chicago to Seattle and whose corporate headquarters might be in Minnesota. Militant farmers and labor advocates demanded federal action.

In 1887, responding to this pressure, Congress and President Grover Cleveland passed two landmark laws. The Hatch Act provided federal funding for agricultural

research and education, meeting farmers' demands for government aid to agriculture. The **Interstate Commerce Act** counteracted a Supreme Court decision of the previous year, *Wabash v. Illinois* (1886), that had struck down states' authority to regulate railroads.

The act created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), charged with investigating interstate shipping, forcing railroads to make their rates public, and suing in court when necessary to make companies reduce “unjust or unreasonable” rates.

Though creation of the ICC was a direct response to farmer-labor demands, its final form represented a compromise. Radical leaders wanted Congress to establish a direct set of rules under which railroads must operate. If a railroad did not comply, any citizen could take the company to court; if the new rules triggered bankruptcy, the railroad could convert to public ownership. But getting such a plan through Congress proved impossible. Lawmakers more sympathetic to business called instead for an expert commission to oversee the railroad industry. In a pattern that repeated frequently over the next few decades, the commission model proved more acceptable to the majority of congressmen.

The ICC faced formidable challenges. Though the new law forbade railroads from reaching secret rate-setting agreements, evidence was difficult to gather and secret “pooling” continued. A hostile Supreme Court also undermined the commission’s powers. In a series of sixteen decisions over the two decades after the ICC was created, the Court sided with railroads fifteen times. The justices delivered a particularly hard blow in 1897 when they ruled that the ICC had no power to interfere with shipping rates. Nonetheless, the ICC’s existence was a major achievement. In the early twentieth century, Congress would strengthen the commission’s powers, and the ICC would become one of the most powerful federal agencies charged with overseeing private business.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

Why did farmers and industrial workers cooperate, and what political objectives did they achieve?

Another Path: The American Federation of Labor

While the Knights of Labor exerted political pressure, other workers pursued a different strategy. In the 1870s, printers, ironworkers, bricklayers, and other skilled workers organized nationwide trade unions. These “brotherhoods” focused on the everyday needs of workers in skilled occupations. Trade unions sought



Samuel Gompers, c. 1890s

Samuel Gompers (1850–1924) was one of the founders of the American Federation of Labor, and its president for nearly forty years. A company detective took this photograph when the labor leader was visiting striking miners in West Virginia, an area where mine operators resisted unions with special fierceness. George Meany Memorial Archives.

a **closed shop**—with all jobs reserved for union members—that kept out lower-wage workers. Union rules specified terms of work, sometimes in minute detail. Many unions emphasized mutual aid. Because working on the railroads was a high-risk occupation, for example, brotherhoods of engineers, brakemen, and firemen pooled contributions into funds that provided accident and death benefits. Above all, trade unionism asserted craft workers' rights as active decision-makers in the workplace, not just cogs in a management-run machine.

In the early 1880s, many trade unionists joined the Knights of Labor coalition. But the aftermath of the Haymarket violence persuaded them to leave and create

the separate **American Federation of Labor** (AFL). The man who led them was Samuel Gompers, a Dutch-Jewish cigar maker whose family had emigrated to New York in 1863. Gompers headed the AFL for the next thirty years. He believed the Knights relied too much on electoral politics, where victories were likely to be limited, and he did not share their sweeping critique of capitalism. The AFL, made up of relatively skilled and well-paid workers, was less interested in challenging the corporate order than in winning a larger share of its rewards.

Having gone to work at age ten, Gompers always contended that what he missed at school he more than made up for in the shop, where cigar makers paid one of their members to read to them while they worked. As a young worker-intellectual, Gompers gravitated to New York's radical circles, where he participated in lively debates about which strategies workingmen should pursue. Partly out of these debates, and partly from his own experience in the Cigar Makers Union, Gompers hammered out a doctrine that he called pure-and-simple unionism. *Pure* referred to membership: strictly limited to workers, organized by craft and occupation, with no reliance on outside advisors or allies. *Simple* referred to goals: only those that immediately benefitted workers—better wages, hours, and working conditions. Pure-and-simple unionists distrusted politics. Their aim was collective bargaining with employers.

On one level, pure-and-simple unionism worked. The AFL was small at first, but by 1904 its membership rose to more than two million. In the early twentieth century, it became the nation's leading voice for workers, lasting far longer than movements like the Knights of Labor. The AFL's strategy—personified by Gompers—was well suited to an era when Congress and the courts were hostile to labor. By the 1910s, the political climate would become more responsive; at that later moment, Gompers would soften his antipolitical stance and join the battle for new labor laws (Chapter 20).

What Gompers gave up most crucially, in the meantime, was the inclusiveness of the Knights. By comparison, the AFL was far less welcoming to women and blacks; it included mostly skilled craftsmen. There was little room in the AFL for department-store clerks and other service workers, much less the farm tenants and domestic servants whom the Knights had organized. Despite the AFL's success among skilled craftsmen, the narrowness of its base was a problem that would come back to haunt the labor movement later on. Gompers, however, saw that corporate titans and their political allies held tremendous power, and he

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the key institutions and goals of the labor movement change, and what gains and losses resulted from this shift?

advocated what he saw as the most practical defensive plan. In the meantime, the upheaval wrought by industrialization spread far beyond the workplace, transforming every aspect of American life.

SUMMARY

The end of the Civil War ushered in the era of American big business. Exploiting the continent's vast resources, vertically integrated corporations emerged as the dominant business form, and giant companies built near monopolies in some sectors of the economy. Corporations devised new modes of production, distribution, and marketing, extending their reach through the department store, the mail-order catalog, and the new advertising industry. These developments laid the groundwork for mass consumer culture. They also offered emerging jobs in management, sales, and office work.

Rapid industrialization drew immigrants from around the world. Until the 1920s, most European and Latin American immigrants were welcome to enter

the United States, though they often endured harsh conditions after they arrived. Asian immigrants, by contrast, faced severe discrimination. The Chinese Exclusion Act blocked all Chinese laborers from coming to the United States; it was later extended to other Asians, and it built the legal framework for broader forms of exclusion.

Nationwide movements for workers' rights arose in response to industrialization. During the 1870s and 1880s, coalitions of workers and farmers, notably the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance, sought political solutions to what they saw as large corporations' exploitation of working people. Pressure from such movements led to the first major attempts to regulate corporations, such as the federal Interstate Commerce Act. Radical protest movements were weakened, however, after public condemnation of anarchist violence in 1886 at Chicago's Haymarket Square. Meanwhile, trade unions such as the American Federation of Labor organized skilled workers and negotiated directly with employers, becoming the most popular form of labor organization in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to [LearningCurve](#) to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Homestead lockout (p. 544)
- management revolution (p. 546)
- vertical integration (p. 547)
- horizontal integration (p. 548)
- trust (p. 548)
- deskilling (p. 551)
- mass production (p. 551)
- scientific management (p. 552)
- Chinese Exclusion Act (p. 561)
- Great Railroad Strike of 1877 (p. 565)
- Greenback-Labor Party (p. 565)
- producerism (p. 566)
- Granger laws (p. 566)
- Knights of Labor (p. 567)
- anarchism (p. 568)
- Haymarket Square (p. 568)
- Farmers' Alliance (p. 568)
- Interstate Commerce Act (p. 569)
- closed shop (p. 570)
- American Federation of Labor (p. 570)

Key People

- Andrew Carnegie (p. 544)
- Gustavus Swift (p. 547)
- John D. Rockefeller (p. 547)
- Henry George (p. 565)
- Terence Powderly (p. 567)
- Leonora Barry (p. 567)
- Samuel Gompers (p. 570)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- How did the rise of big business in the United States transform the economy and affect the lives of working people?
- How did patterns of immigration to the United States change between the 1840s and the 1910s? What roles did newly arrived immigrants play in the economy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
- Compare the accomplishments and limitations of American farmer-labor movements of the 1870s and 1880s, such as the Greenback-Labor Party and the Knights of Labor, with those of the American Federation of Labor. Why did the latter choose a different strategy?
- This chapter explores the impact of industrialization from many points of view. Based on this information, do you think the term *industrial statesmen* or *robber barons* is more accurate as a description for Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and other early titans? Or would you prefer a different term? Explain why.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Imagine a conversation in the 1890s between a young brother and sister in Chicago, who are working, respectively, in a meat-packing plant and as a telephone operator, and their grandmother, who as a young girl worked in a Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mill in the 1840s (Chapter 9) before the family moved west to take advantage of new opportunities. What similarities and differences might they see in their various experiences of work? What does this tell us about changes in workers' lives over these decades?
- VISUAL EVIDENCE** Return to the chapter-opening photograph (p. 545), taken in the aftermath

of a terrible mining accident in Pennsylvania. Imagine, first, that the young man in the middle of the picture, facing the camera, is the nephew of an Irish immigrant miner who was killed in the explosion. In the voice of this young man, write a letter to the editor of the local paper explaining what lessons Americans should take from the disaster.

Now imagine instead that the young man has enrolled in business school to become a manager; he is the son of a Scottish-born executive in the mining company, and Andrew Carnegie is his hero. In the voice of this young man, write a letter to the editor explaining what lessons Americans should take from the disaster.

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Roger Daniels, *Coming to America* (2002). A sweeping overview of immigration to the United States from colonial times to the 1980s.

Walter Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman* (2004). A lively treatment of the rise of salesmanship.

Erika Lee, *At America's Gates* (2003). One of several superb recent treatments of Chinese immigration and exclusion.

Harold Livesay, *Samuel Gompers and Organized Labor in America* (1978). A classic biography of the AFL's founder.

David Montgomery, *Citizen Worker* (1993). A brief exploration of workers' experiences with government, electoral politics, and the marketplace in the late nineteenth century.

Richard White, *Railroaded* (2011). A recent reassessment of big business and its impact, focusing on the railroad industry.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1863	• Cleveland, Ohio, becomes nation's petroleum refining center
1865	• Chicago's Union Stock Yard opens
1867	• National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry founded
1869	• Knights of Labor founded
1875	• John Wanamaker opens nation's first department store in Philadelphia
1876	• Alexander Graham Bell invents the telephone
1877	• San Francisco mob attacks Chinatown • Great Railroad Strike
1878	• Greenback-Labor Party elects 15 Congressmen.
1879	• Henry George publishes <i>Progress and Poverty</i>
1882	• John D. Rockefeller creates Standard Oil Trust • Congress passes Chinese Exclusion Act
1884	• Knights of Labor at peak of membership
1885	• Rock Springs massacre of Chinese miners
1886	• Haymarket Square violence • American Federation of Labor (AFL) founded
1887	• Hatch Act • Interstate Commerce Act
1889	• New Jersey passes law enabling trusts to operate in the state
1892	• Homestead lockout
1893	• Severe depression hits; causes mass unemployment and wave of corporate mergers
1900	• America's one hundred largest companies control one-third of national productive capacity
1901	• J. P. Morgan creates U.S. Steel, America's first billion-dollar corporation
1907	• Marianna, Pennsylvania, mine disaster
1908	• Walter Dill publishes <i>The Psychology of Advertising</i>

KEY TURNING POINTS: In the era of industrialization, what events prompted the rise of labor unions and other reform groups that called for stronger government responses to corporate power? Before 1900, what key events or turning points marked reformers' successes and failures?

The Victorians Make the Modern

1880–1917

COMMERCE AND CULTURE

- Consumer Spaces
- Masculinity and the Rise of Sports
- The Great Outdoors

WOMEN, MEN, AND THE SOLITUDE OF SELF

- Changes in Family Life
- Education
- From Domesticity to Women's Rights

SCIENCE AND FAITH

- Darwinism and Its Critics
- Realism in the Arts
- Religion: Diversity and Innovation

When Philadelphia hosted the 1876 Centennial Exposition, Americans weren't sure what to expect from their first world's fair—including what foods exhibitors would offer. One cartoonist humorously proposed that Russians would serve castor oil, Arabs would bring camel's milk punch, and Germans would offer beer. Reflecting widespread racial prejudices, the cartoon showed Chinese men selling "hashed cat" and "rat pie." In reality, though, the 1876 Exposition offered only plain lunchrooms and, for the wealthiest visitors, expensive French fare.

By the early twentieth century, American food had undergone a revolution. Visitors to the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 could try food from Scandinavia, India, and the Philippines. Across the United States, Chinese American restaurants flourished as a *chop suey* craze swept the nation. New Yorkers could sample Hungarian and Syrian cuisine; a San Francisco journalist enthusiastically reviewed local Mexican and Japanese restaurants. Even small-town diners could often find an Italian or German meal.

What had happened? Americans had certainly not lost all their prejudices: while plates of *chop suey* were being gobbled up, laws excluding Chinese immigrants remained firmly in place. Industrialization reshaped class identities, however, and promoted a creative consumer culture. In the great cities, amusement parks and vaudeville theaters catered to industrial workers (Chapter 19). Other institutions served middle-class customers who wanted novelty and variety at a reasonable price. A Victorian ethos of self-restraint and moral uplift gave way to expectations of leisure and fun. As African Americans and women claimed a right to public spaces—to shop, dine, and travel freely—they built powerful reform movements. At the same time, the new pressures faced by professional men led to aggressive calls for masculine fitness, exemplified by the rise of sports.

Stunning scientific discoveries—from dinosaur fossils to distant galaxies—also challenged long-held beliefs. Faced with electricity, medical vaccines, and other wonders, Americans celebrated technological solutions to human problems. But while science gained popularity, religion hardly faded. In fact, religious diversity grew, as immigrants brought new faiths and Protestants responded with innovations of their own. Americans found themselves living in a modern world—one in which their grandparents' beliefs and ways of life no longer seemed to apply. In a market-driven society that claimed to champion individual freedom, Americans took advantage of new ideas while expressing anxiety over the accompanying upheavals and risks.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

How did the changes wrought by industrialization shape Americans' identities, beliefs, and culture?

SIXTY-FIVE
COMPLETE DEPARTMENTS

A DAY IN THE BIG STORE

SIXTY-FIVE
COMPLETE DEPARTMENTS

I'll meet you at
the Fountain"



SIEGEL-COOPER
& CO. STATE.
VAN BUREN & CONGRESS

SIEGEL-COOPER
& CO. STATE.
VAN BUREN & CONGRESS



Chicago Department Store Advertisement, 1893 In the same year that the Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition offered an array of dazzling experiences for visitors, the city's Siegel-Cooper Department Store did the same for consumers who could afford to shop in its halls. Note the many types of goods and services offered in its "Sixty-Five Complete Departments," from meat and groceries to medical and legal advice. What evidence, here, shows the types of customers the store sought to attract, inviting them to say, "I'll meet you at the Fountain"? How did the store encourage shoppers to linger?

Chicago History Museum.

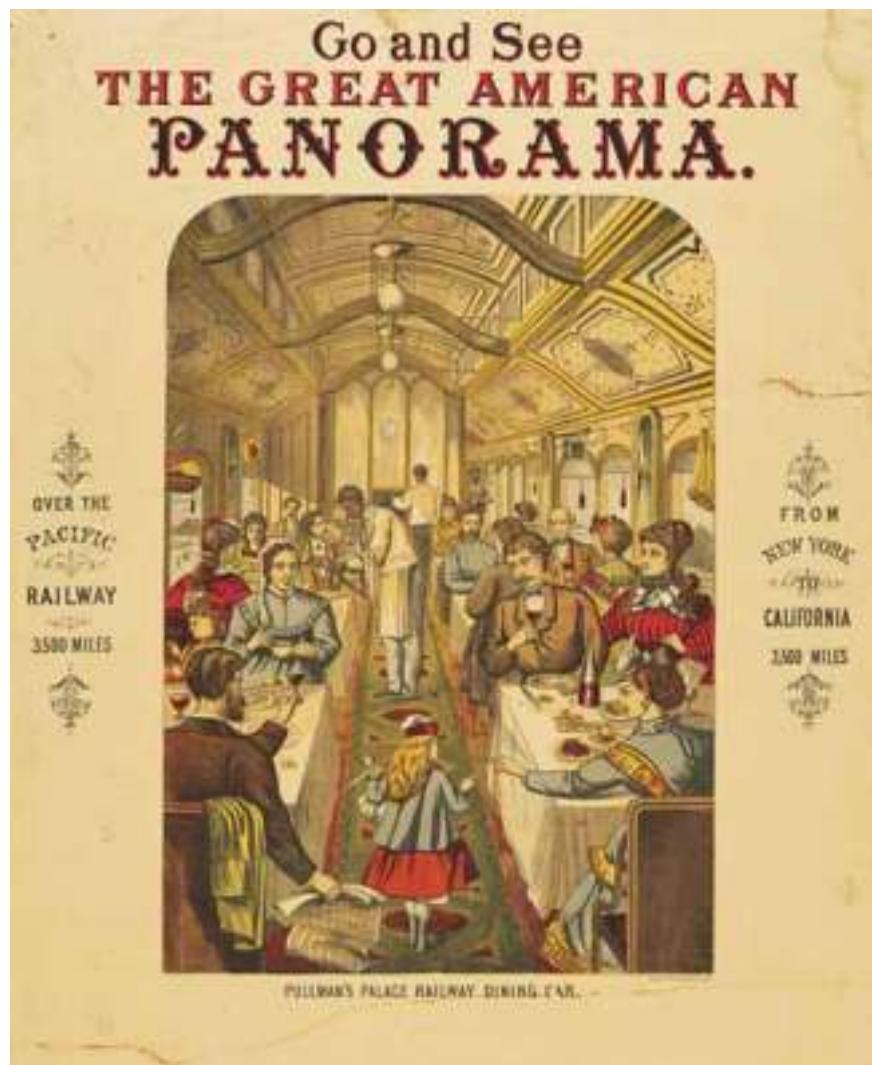
Commerce and Culture

As the United States industrialized, the terms *middle class* and *working class* came widely into use. Americans adopted these broad identities not only in the workplace but also in their leisure time. Professionals and corporate managers prospered; they and their families enjoyed rising income and an array of tempting ways to spend their dollars. Celebrating these new technological wonders, Americans hailed inventors as heroes. The most famous, Thomas Edison, operated an independent laboratory rather than working for a corporation. Edison, like many of the era's businessmen, was a shrewd entrepreneur who focused on commercial success. He and his colleagues helped introduce such lucrative products as the incandescent lightbulb and the phonograph, which came widely into use in American homes.

Even working-class Americans enjoyed cheaper products delivered by global trade and mass production, from bananas and cigarettes to colorful dime novels and magazines. Edison's moving pictures, for example, first found popularity among the urban working class (Chapter 19). Consumer culture *appeared*, at least, to be democratic: anyone should be able to eat at a restaurant or buy a rail ticket for the "ladies' car"—as long as she or he could pay. In practice, though, this was not the case, and consumer venues became sites of struggle over class inequality, race privilege, and proper male and female behavior.

Consumer Spaces

America's public spaces—from election polls to saloons and circus shows—had long been boisterous and male-centered. A woman who ventured there



Pacific Railway Poster, c. 1900

This color lithograph emphasized the family atmosphere of the railroad's Pullman Palace Dining Cars. Pullman, a Chicago-based manufacturer, became a household name by providing high-class sleeping and dining cars to the nation's railroads. Such advertisements invited prosperous Americans to make themselves "at home" in public, commercial spaces that were safe and comfortable for respectable women and children. Note that all the passengers are white, and the waiters black. Work as a railroad waiter or porter was one of the better-paid, more prestigious jobs available to African American men. Demands for segregated rail cars often focused on the alleged threat that black men might pose to white women—while, at the same time, such men and women regularly came in contact as railroad employees and passengers. Wisconsin Historical Society.

without a male chaperone risked damaging her reputation. But the rise of new businesses encouraged change. To attract an eager public, purveyors of consumer culture invited women and families, especially those of the middle class, to linger in department stores and enjoy new amusements.

No one promoted commercial domesticity more successfully than showman P. T. Barnum (1810–1891), who used the country's expanding rail network to develop his famous traveling circus. Barnum condemned earlier circus managers who had opened their tents to "the rowdy element." Proclaiming children as his key audience, he created family entertainment for diverse audiences (though in the South, black audiences sat in segregated seats or attended separate shows). He promised middle-class parents that his circus would teach children courage and promote the benefits of exercise. To encourage women's attendance, Barnum emphasized the respectability and refinement of his female performers.

Department stores also lured middle-class women by offering tearooms, children's play areas, umbrellas, and clerks to wrap and carry every purchase. Store credit plans enabled well-to-do women to shop without handling money in public. Such tactics succeeded so well that New York's department store district became known as Ladies' Mile. Boston department store magnate William Filene called the department store an "Adamless Eden."

These Edens were for the elite and middle class. Though bargain basements and neighborhood stores served working-class families, big department stores enlisted vagrancy laws and police to discourage the "wrong kind" from entering. Working-class women gained access primarily as clerks, cashiers, and cash girls, who at age twelve or younger served as internal store messengers, carrying orders and change for \$1.50 a week. The department store was no Eden for these women, who worked long hours on their feet, often dealing with difficult customers. Nevertheless, many clerks claimed their own privileges as shoppers, making enthusiastic use of employee discounts and battling employers for the right to wear their fashionable purchases while they worked in the store.

In similar ways, class status was marked by the ways technology entered American homes. The rise of electricity, in particular, marked the gap between affluent urban consumers and rural and working-class families. In elite houses, domestic servants began to use—or find themselves replaced by—an array of new devices, from washing machines to vacuum cleaners. When Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in

1876, entrepreneurs introduced the device for business use, but it soon found eager residential customers. Telephones changed etiquette and social relations for middle-class suburban women—while providing their working-class counterparts with new employment options (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 578).

Railroads also reflected the emerging privileges of professional families. Finding prosperous Americans eager for excursions, railroad companies, like department stores, made things comfortable for middle-class women and children. Boston's South Terminal Station boasted of its modern amenities, including "everything that the traveler needs down to cradles in which the baby may be soothed." An 1882 tourist guide promised readers that they could live on the Pacific Railroad "with as much true enjoyment as the home drawing room." Rail cars manufactured by the famous Pullman Company of Chicago set a national standard for taste and elegance. Fitted with rich carpets, upholstery, and woodwork, Pullman cars embodied the growing prosperity of America's elite, influencing trends in home decor. Part of their appeal was the chance for people of modest means to emulate the rich. An experienced train conductor observed that the wives of grocers, not millionaires, were the ones most likely to "sweep . . . into a parlor car as if the very carpet ought to feel highly honored by their tread."

First-class "ladies' cars" soon became sites of struggle for racial equality. For three decades after the end of the Civil War, state laws and railroad regulations varied, and African Americans often succeeded in securing seats. One reformer noted, however, "There are few ordeals more nerve-wracking than the one which confronts a colored woman when she tries to secure a Pullman reservation in the South and even in some parts of the North." When they claimed first-class seats, black women often faced confrontations with conductors, resulting in numerous lawsuits in the 1870s and 1880s. Riding the Chesapeake & Ohio line in 1884, young African American journalist Ida B. Wells was told to leave. "I refused," she wrote later, "saying that the [nearest alternative] car was a smoker, and as I was in the ladies' car, I proposed to stay." Wells resisted, but the conductor and a baggage handler threw her bodily off the train. Returning home to Memphis, Wells sued and won in local courts, but Tennessee's supreme court reversed the ruling.

In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court settled such issues decisively—but not justly. The case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*,

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

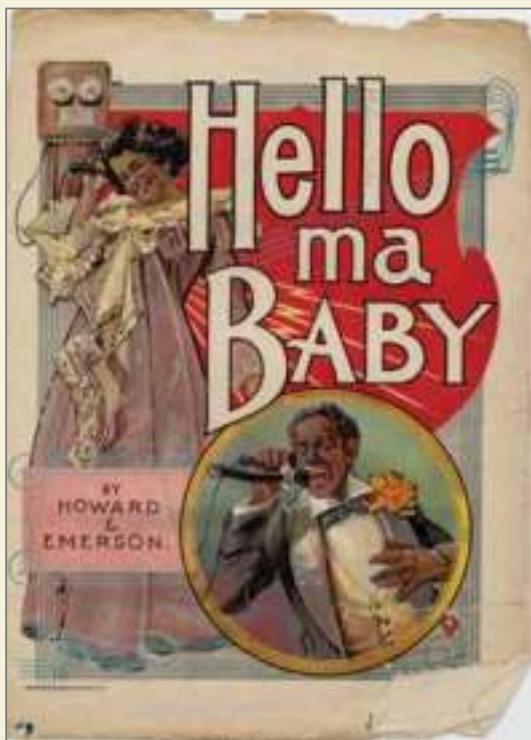
How did new consumer practices, arising from industrialization, reshape Americans' gender, class, and race relationships?



America Picks Up the Telephone

New consumer technologies often had different impacts on working-class and rural Americans than they did on the prosperous elite and the middle class. The documents below also suggest some of the ways that telephone use reflected new expectations about women's roles in the home, workplace, and society.

- "Hello Ma Baby" sheet music cover and lyrics, 1899.** This popular music hit, this song was written in the voice of an African American man to his girl. The man's tuxedo is a bit disheveled; in 1899, most white Americans would have assumed he wore it for waiting tables or other service work. The woman wears a dressing gown—not how a respectable lady would want to appear. Nonetheless, the racial depiction here is more modern than those of old-fashioned minstrel shows. The song's chorus appears below. What changing expectations does it convey about courtship and dating?



Courtesy of the E. Azalia Hackley Collection of Negro Music, Dance and Drama, Detroit Public Library.

Hello! ma Baby, Hello! ma honey, Hello! ma ragtime gal,
Send me a kiss by wire, Baby, my heart's on fire!
If you refuse me, honey, you'll lose me, then you'll be
left alone;
Oh baby, telephone, and tell me I'm your own.

- "The Perfect Operator," Saturday Evening Post, July 12, 1930.** Katherine Schmitt opened the New York Operator's School in 1902. Looking back later, she described the qualities sought in operators. What does this document tell us about the values of the emerging corporate workplace?

[The operator] must now be made as nearly as possible a paragon of perfection, a kind of human machine, the exponent of speed and courtesy; a creature spirited enough to move like chain lightning, and with perfect accuracy; docile enough to deny herself the sweet privilege of the last word. She must assume that the subscriber is always right, and even when she knows he is not, her only comeback must be: "Excuse it please," in the same smiling voice.

- "The Mischievous Telephone Girl Makes More Trouble," Wheeling Register, West Virginia, October 26, 1884.** Early operators had to speak to each caller and manually connect the call. Newspapers in the 1880s featured many stories like this one. Telephone companies predominantly hired young white native-born women as operators, or "hello girls." Many such employees came from the working class.

The girl had been asleep a long time, when somebody called. Looking at the switch board, she observed that No. 1,111 was down, and leisurely raised the phone to her ear. . . . "Hello! . . . You bald headed old sinner! What do you want?"

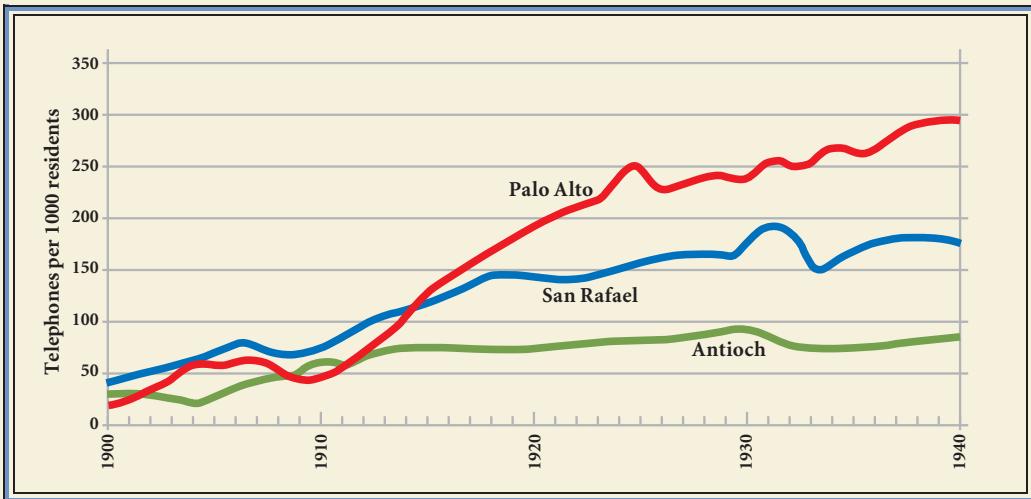
"Dr. Highflyer. No. 2,222."

"Hello!"

"Hello, Highflyer! My wife is not very well to-night. She has a severe pain in the back of her neck, and complains of a sort of goneness in the abdomen. . . . What shall I do for her?"

Here the wicked telephone girl switched on a machinist who was telling the owner of a saw mill what he thought ailed his boiler and the answer . . . was as follows:

"I think she's covered with scales inside about an inch thick. Let her cool down during the night, and before she fires up in the morning, take a hammer and pound her



Based on Figure 9 from *A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*, by Claude S. Fischer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Copyright © 1992 by The Regents of the University of California. Used by permission of the University of California Press.

thoroughly all over, and then take a hose and hitch it on the fire plug and wash her out."

... The result is that No. 1,111 does not now speak to No. 2,222, and Dr. Highflyer has had the telephone taken out of his house.

4. Estimated residential telephones in three California locations, 1900–1940 (top of page). Palo Alto was an affluent university town. Antioch was working-class. San Rafael had a mixed economy, including some industry; it served increasingly as a bedroom community for San Francisco professionals.

5. Telephone etiquette from "A Woman of Fashion," 1898. At the turn of the century, etiquette authorities began grudgingly to acknowledge the role of telephones in social life. Do you notice any contradictions in the advice below?

Invitations by telephone, for anything other than informal engagements . . . are hopelessly vulgar. They should be the last resort. Invitations to bicycle or to play golf may be transmitted in this way, and the telephone is a blessing often in adjusting details, or making explanations; but for most social matters the use of the telephone is questionable, at best. Many women will stand with aching feet and irritated brow at a telephone for half an hour rather than write a note which would take four minutes. . . . Invitation by telephone is one of those modern innovations to which the conservative have never been accustomed, and which shocks elderly, conventional persons still. The convenience of the telephone for quickness and prompt response appeals, however, to so many persons, that it is hopeless and useless to inveigh against it. . . . If some one's note has been mislaid or forgotten, there is nothing simpler than to telephone to repair the error, and to explain. It is much speedier than sending a note. . . . There is no

excuse for telephoning an invitation when time is not an object, or when the person invited is not an intimate friend.

6. Bell Telephone advertisement, 1910. The text from this ad was accompanied by a picture of a young woman on the telephone with young men and women in a room behind her, dancing.

For Social Arrangements: The informal invitation which comes over the phone is generally the most welcome. The Bell service makes it possible to arrange delightful social affairs at the last moment. . . .

For Impromptu Invitations: The easiest way to get up an informal party, quickly, is by telephone.

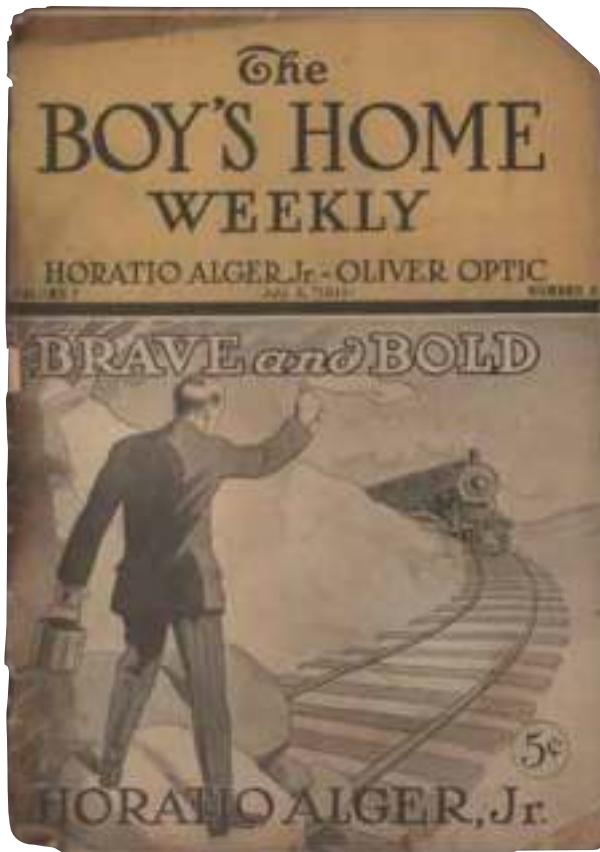
Sources: (2) Venus Green, *Race on the Line* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 67; (3) *Wheeling Register*, October 26, 1884; (5) *Etiquette for Americans* (New York: Herbert S. Stone & Co., 1898), 59, 70–71; (6) Claude S. Fischer, *America Calling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 184.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

- Consider the audience for each of these sources. Who was intended to read, view, or listen to it? What message does it convey?
- Sources 2, 5, and 6 all give advice on how women should behave. Compare these pieces of advice. In what ways are they similar and different?
- Based on these sources, which groups of Americans appear to have been affected by the arrival of telephones, and how?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using evidence from these sources and your knowledge of the period, write an essay explaining how the telephone contributed to, and reflected, changes in American women's social and economic roles.



Horatio Alger Jr.

In dozens of popular boys' books published between 1867 and 1917, Horatio Alger Jr. assured young readers that if they were honest, worked hard, and cultivated good character, they could succeed in the new competitive economy. His heroes, such as the famous "Ragged Dick," often grew up in poverty on the streets of big cities. *Brave and Bold* (1874) told the story of a small-town boy forced to work in a factory; he is unfairly fired, but through persistence and courage he wins a good job and recovers an inheritance for his mother. Alger's books were republished often, as in this boys' magazine from 1911, and many remain in print today. Courtesy Stanford University Archives.

was brought by civil rights advocates on behalf of Homer Plessy, a New Orleans resident who was one-eighth black. Ordered to leave a first-class car and move to the "colored" car of a Louisiana train, Plessy refused and was arrested. The Court ruled that such segregation did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment as long as blacks had access to accommodations that were "separate but equal" to those of whites. "Separate but equal" was a myth: segregated facilities in the South were flagrantly inferior. Jim Crow segregation laws, named for a stereotyped black character who appeared in minstrel shows, clearly discriminated, but the Court allowed them to stand.

Jim Crow laws applied to public schools and parks and also to emerging commercial spaces—hotels, restaurants, streetcars, trains, and eventually sports stadiums and movie theaters. Placing a national stamp of approval on segregation, the *Plessy* decision remained in place until 1954, when the Court's *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* ruling finally struck it down. Until then, blacks' exclusion from first-class "public accommodations" was one of the most painful marks of racism. The *Plessy* decision, like the rock-bottom wages earned by twelve-year-old girls at Macy's, showed that consumer culture could be modern and innovative without being politically progressive. Business and consumer culture were shaped by, and themselves shaped, racial and class injustices.

Masculinity and the Rise of Sports

While industrialization spawned public domesticity—a consumer culture that courted affluent women and families—it also changed expectations for men in the workplace. Traditionally, the mark of a successful American man was economic independence: he was his own boss. Now, tens of thousands worked for other men in big companies—and in offices, rather than using their muscles. Would the professional American male, through his concentration on "brain work," become "weak, effeminate, [and] decaying," as one editor warned? How could well-to-do men assert their independence if work no longer required them to prove themselves physically? How could they develop toughness and strength? One answer was athletics.

"Muscular Christianity" The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was one of the earliest and most successful promoters of athletic fitness. Introduced in Boston in 1851, the group promoted muscular Christianity, combining evangelism with gyms and athletic facilities where men could make themselves "clean and strong." Focusing first on white-collar workers, the YMCA developed a substantial industrial program after 1900. Railroad managers and other corporate titans hoped YMCAs would foster a loyal and contented workforce, discouraging labor unrest. Business leaders also relied on sports to build physical and mental discipline and help men adjust their bodies to the demands of the industrial clock. Sports honed men's competitive spirit, they believed; employer-sponsored teams instilled teamwork and company pride.

Working-class men had their own ideas about sports and leisure, and YMCAs quickly became a site of negotiation. Could workers come to the "Y" to play

billiards or cards? Could they smoke? At first, YMCA leaders said no, but to attract working-class men they had to make concessions. As a result, the “Y” became a place where middle-class and working-class customs blended—or existed in uneasy tension. At the same time, YMCA leaders innovated. Searching for winter activities in the 1890s, YMCA instructors invented the new indoor games of basketball and volleyball.

For elite Americans, meanwhile, country clubs flourished; both men and women could enjoy tennis, golf, and swimming facilities as well as social gatherings. By the turn of the century—perhaps because country club women were encroaching on their athletic turf—elite men took up even more aggressive physical sports, including boxing, weightlifting, and martial arts. As early as 1890, future president Theodore Roosevelt argued that such “virile” activities were essential to “maintain and defend this very civilization.” “Most masterful nations,” he claimed, “have shown a strong taste for manly sports.” Roosevelt, son of a wealthy New York family, became one of the first American devotees of jujitsu. During his presidency (1901–1909), he designated a judo room in the White House and hired an expert Japanese instructor. Roosevelt also wrestled and boxed, urging other American men—especially among the elite—to increase their leadership fitness by pursuing the “strenuous life.”



To see a longer excerpt of Theodore Roosevelt’s views on sports, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America’s History*.

America’s Game Before the 1860s, the only distinctively American game was Native American lacrosse, and the most popular team sport among European Americans was cricket. After the Civil War, however, team sports became a fundamental part of American manhood, none more successfully than baseball. A derivative of cricket, the game’s formal rules had begun to develop in New York in the 1840s and 1850s. Its popularity spread in military camps during the Civil War. Afterward, the idea that baseball “received its baptism in the bloody days of our Nation’s direst danger,” as one promoter put it, became part of the game’s mythology.

Until the 1870s, most amateur players were clerks and white-collar workers who had leisure to play and the income to buy their own uniforms. Business frowned on baseball and other sports as a waste of time, especially for working-class men. But late-nineteenth-century employers came to see baseball, like other athletic pursuits, as a benefit for workers. It

provided fresh air and exercise, kept men out of saloons, and promoted discipline and teamwork. Players on company-sponsored teams, wearing uniforms emblazoned with their employers’ names, began to compete on paid work time. Baseball thus set a pattern for how other American sports developed. Begun among independent craftsmen, it was taken up by elite men anxious to prove their strength and fitness. Well-to-do Americans then decided the sport could benefit the working class.

Big-time professional baseball arose with the launching of the National League in 1876. The league quickly built more than a dozen teams in large cities, from the Brooklyn Trolley Dodgers to the Cleveland Spiders. Team owners were, in their own right, profit-minded entrepreneurs who shaped the sport to please consumers. Wooden grandstands soon gave way to concrete and steel stadiums. By 1900, boys collected lithographed cards of their favorite players, and the baseball cap came into fashion. In 1903, the Boston Americans defeated the Pittsburgh Pirates in the first World Series. American men could now adopt a new consumer identity—not as athletes, but as fans.

Rise of the Negro Leagues Baseball stadiums, like first-class rail cars, were sites of racial negotiation and conflict. In the 1880s and 1890s, major league managers hired a few African American players. As late as 1901, the Baltimore Orioles succeeded in signing Charlie Grant, a light-skinned black player from Cincinnati, by renaming him Charlie Tokohoma and claiming he was Cherokee. But as this subterfuge suggested, black players were increasingly barred. A Toledo team received a threatening note before one game in Richmond, Virginia: if their “negro catcher” played, he would be lynched. Toledo put a substitute on the field, and at the end of the season the club terminated the black player’s contract.

Shut out of white leagues, players and fans turned to all-black professional teams, where black men could showcase athletic ability and race pride. Louisiana’s top team, the New Orleans Pinchbacks, pointedly named themselves after the state’s black Reconstruction governor. By the early 1900s, such teams organized into separate **Negro Leagues**. Though players suffered from erratic pay and rundown ball fields, the leagues thrived until the desegregation of baseball after World War II. In an era of stark discrimination, they celebrated black manhood and talent. “I liked the way their uniform fit, the way they wore their cap,” wrote an admiring fan of

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How and why did American sports evolve, and how did athletics soften or sharpen social divisions?

the Newark Eagles. “They showed a style in almost everything they did.”

American Football The most controversial sport of the industrializing era was football, which began at elite colleges during the 1880s. The great powerhouse was the Yale team, whose legendary coach Walter Camp went on to become a watch manufacturer. Between 1883 and 1891, under Camp’s direction, Yale scored 4,660 points; its opponents scored 92. Drawing on the workplace model of scientific management, Camp emphasized drill and precision. He and other coaches argued that football offered perfect training for the competitive world of business. The game was violent: six players’ deaths in the 1908 college season provoked a public outcry. Eventually, new rules protected quarterbacks and required coaches to remove

injured players from the game. But such measures were adopted grudgingly, with supporters arguing that they ruined football’s benefits in manly training.

Like baseball and the YMCA, football attracted sponsorship from business leaders hoping to divert workers from labor activism. The first professional teams emerged in western Pennsylvania’s steel towns, soon after the defeat of the steelworkers’ union. Carnegie Steel executives organized teams in Homestead and Braddock; the first league appeared during the anthracite coal strike of 1902. Other teams arose in the midwestern industrial heartland. The Indian-Acme Packing Company sponsored the Green Bay Packers; the future Chicago Bears, first known as the Decatur Staleys, were funded by a manufacturer of laundry starch. Like its baseball equivalent, professional football encouraged men to buy in as spectators and fans.



Football Practice, Chilocco Indian School, 1911

Football became widely popular, spreading from Ivy League schools and state universities to schools like this one, built on Cherokee land in Oklahoma. The uniforms of this team, typical of the day, show very limited padding and protection—a factor that contributed to high rates of injury and even death on the field. As they practiced in 1911, these Chilocco students had an inspiring model to look up to: in that year Jim Thorpe, a fellow Oklahoman and a member of the Sac and Fox tribe, was winning national fame by leading the all-Indian team at Pennsylvania’s Carlisle School to victory against Harvard. Thorpe, one of the finest athletes of his generation, went on to win gold medals in the pentathlon and decathlon at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, Sweden. National Archives.

The Great Outdoors

As the rise of sports suggests, elite and middle-class Americans began by the 1880s and 1890s to see Victorian culture as stuffy and claustrophobic. They revolted by heading outdoors. A craze for bicycling swept the country; in 1890, at the height of the mania, U.S. manufacturers sold an astonishing ten million bikes. Women were not far behind men in taking up athletics. By the 1890s, even elite women, long confined to corsets and heavy clothes that restricted their movement, donned lighter dresses and pursued archery and golf. Artist Charles Gibson became famous for his portraits of the Gibson Girl, an elite beauty depicted on the tennis court or swimming at the beach. The Gibson Girl personified the ideal of “New Women,” more educated, athletic, and independent than their mothers.

Those with money and leisure time used railroad networks to get to the national parks of the West, which, as one senator put it, became a “breathing-place for the national lungs.” People of more modest means began to take up camping. As early as 1904, California’s Coronado Beach offered tent rentals for \$3 a week. A decade later, campgrounds and cottages in many parts of the country catered to a working-class clientele. In an industrial society, the outdoors became associated with leisure and renewal rather than danger and hard work. One journalist, reflecting on urban life from the vantage point of a western vacation, wrote, “How stupid it all seems: the mad eagerness of money-making men, the sham pleasures of conventional society.” In the wilderness, he wrote, “your blood clarifies; your brain becomes active. You get a new view of life.”

As Americans searched for such renewal in remnants of unexploited land, the nation’s first environmental movement arose. John Muir, who fell in love with the Yosemite Valley in 1869, became the most famous voice for wilderness. Raised in a stern Scots Presbyterian family on a Wisconsin farm, Muir knew much of the Bible by heart. He was a keen observer who developed a deeply spiritual relationship with the natural world. His contemporary Mary Austin, whose book *Land of Little Rain* (1905) celebrated the austere beauty of the California desert, called him “a devout man.” In cooperation with his editor at *Century* magazine, Muir founded the **Sierra Club** in 1892. Like the earlier Appalachian Mountain Club, founded in Boston in 1876, the Sierra Club dedicated itself to preserving and enjoying America’s great mountains.

Encouraged by such groups, national and state governments set aside more public lands for preservation and recreation. The United States substantially

expanded its park system and, during Theodore Roosevelt’s presidency, extended the reach of national forests. Starting in 1872 with the preservation of Yellowstone in Wyoming, Congress had begun to set aside land for national parks. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson provided comprehensive oversight of these national parks, signing an act creating the **National Park Service** (Map 18.1). A year later, the system numbered thirteen parks—including Maine’s Acadia, the first east of the Mississippi River.

Environmentalists also worked to protect wildlife. By the 1890s, several state Audubon Societies, named in honor of antebellum naturalist John James Audubon, banded together to advocate broader protections for wild birds, especially herons and egrets that were being slaughtered by the thousands for their plumes. They succeeded in winning the Lacey Act (1900), which established federal penalties for selling specified birds, animals, and plants. Soon afterward, state organizations joined together to form the **National Audubon Society**. Women played prominent roles in the movement, promoting boycotts of hats with plumage. In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt created the first National Wildlife Refuge at Pelican Island, Florida.

Roosevelt also expanded preservation under the Antiquities Act (1906), which enabled the U.S. president, without congressional approval, to set aside “objects of historic and scientific interest” as national monuments. Two years later, Roosevelt used these powers to preserve 800,000 acres at Arizona’s magnificent Grand Canyon. The act proved a mixed blessing for conservation. Monuments received weaker protection than national parks did; many fell under the authority of the U.S. Forest Service, which permitted logging and grazing. Business interests thus lobbied to have coveted lands designated as monuments rather than national parks so they could more easily exploit resources. Nonetheless, the creation of national monuments offered some protection, and many monuments (such as Alaska’s Katmai) later obtained park status. The expanding network of parks and monuments became popular places to hike, camp, and contemplate natural beauty.

The great outdoors provided new opportunities for women with the means to travel. One writer, advising women to enjoy mountain hikes, hinted at liberating possibilities: “For those loving freedom and health,” he recommended “short skirts, pantlets, stout shoes, tasty hat.” And like other leisure venues, “wilderness” did not remain in the hands of elite men and women.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What changes in American society precipitated the rise of national parks and monuments?



MAP 18.1

National Parks and Forests, 1872–1980

Yellowstone, the first national park in the United States, dates from 1872. In 1893, the federal government began to intervene to protect national forests. Without Theodore Roosevelt, however, the national forest program might have languished; during his presidency, he added 125 million acres to the forest system, plus six national parks in addition to several that had already been created during the 1890s. America's national forest and park systems remain one of the most visible and beloved legacies of federal policy innovation in the decades between the Civil War and World War I.

As early as the late 1880s, the lakes and hiking trails of the Catskill Mountains became so thronged with working-class tourists from nearby New York City, including many Jewish immigrants, that elite visitors began to segregate themselves into gated summer communities. They thus preserved the “seclusion and privacy” that they snobbishly claimed as the privilege of those who could demonstrate “mental and personal worth.”

At the state level, meanwhile, new game laws triggered conflicts between elite conservationists and the poor. Shifting from year-round subsistence hunting to a limited, recreational hunting season brought hardship to poor rural families who depended on game for food. Regulation brought undeniable benefits: it suppressed such popular practices as songbird hunting and the use of dynamite to kill fish. Looking back on the era before game laws, one Alabama hunter remembered that “the slaughter was terrific.” But while game laws prevented further extinctions like that of the

passenger pigeon, which vanished around 1900, they made it harder for rural people to support themselves from the bounty of the land.

Women, Men, and the Solitude of Self

Speaking to Congress in 1892, women’s rights advocate Elizabeth Cady Stanton described what she called the “solitude of self.” Stanton rejected the claim that women did not need equal rights because they enjoyed men’s protection. “The talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the sheerest mockery,” she declared. “They beat on her from every point of the compass, just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself.”

Stanton’s argument captured one of the dilemmas of industrialization: the marketplace of labor brought



John Singer Sargent, *Mr. and Mrs. I. N. Phelps Stokes*, 1897

This painting was a wedding gift to this wealthy young couple, both of whom inherited substantial fortunes. In what ways does the artist, a famous portraitist, represent Edith Minturn Stokes as a “New Woman” of the 1890s? What does he suggest about the relationship between husband and wife? How might we reconcile this with the painting’s title, which identifies the central figure as “Mrs. I. N. Phelps Stokes,” not as “Edith”? Mrs. Stokes was a noted beauty and active in an array of charitable causes. Here she wears a shirtwaist and skirt, more practical than the traditional heavy dresses and bustles of the previous decade. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

both freedom and risk, and working-class women were particularly vulnerable. At the same time, middle-class women—expected to engage in selfless community service—often saw the impact of industrialization more clearly than fathers, brothers, and husbands did. In seeking to address alcoholism, poverty, and other social and economic ills, they gained a new sense of their own collective power. Women’s protest and reform work thus helped lay the foundations for progressivism (Chapter 20) and modern women’s rights.

Changes in Family Life

The average American family, especially among the middle class, decreased in size during the industrial era. In 1800, white women who survived to menopause had borne an average of 7.0 children; by 1900, the average was 3.6. On farms and in many working-class families, youngsters counted as assets on the family balance sheet: they worked in fields or factories. But parents who had fewer sons and daughters could concentrate their resources, educating and preparing each child for success in the new economy. Among the professional classes, education became a necessity, while limiting family size became, more broadly, a key to upward mobility.

Several factors limited childbearing. Americans married at older ages, and many mothers tried to space pregnancies more widely—as their mothers and grandmothers had—by nursing children for several years, which suppressed fertility. By the late nineteenth century, as vulcanized rubber became available, couples also had access to a range of other contraceptive methods, such as condoms and diaphragms. With pressure for family limitation rising, these methods were widely used and apparently effective. But couples rarely wrote about them. Historians’ evidence comes from the occasional frank diary and from the thriving success of the mail-order contraceptive industry, which advertised prominently and shipped products—wrapped in discreet brown paper packages—to customers nationwide.

Reluctance to talk about contraceptives was understandable, since information about them was stigmatized and, after 1873, illegal to distribute. During Reconstruction, Anthony Comstock, crusading secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, secured a federal law banning “obscene materials” from the U.S. mail. The **Comstock Act** (1873) prohibited circulation of almost any information about sex and birth control. Comstock won support for the law, in part, by appealing to parents’ fears that young people were receiving sexual information through the mail,



Portrait of a Middle-Class American Family

This photograph of the Hedlund family was taken on July 4, 1911, on the front porch of their home in St. Paul, Minnesota. Christian, Grace, and Anna Hedlund appear on the top row, Louis and George on the bottom. Families like this one—with three children—were becoming typical among the middle class, in contrast to larger families in earlier generations. This photo was taken by twenty-one-year-old Joseph Pavlicek, a recent immigrant from Eastern Europe who was boarding with the Hedlunds. Pavlicek bought fireworks for the children to celebrate the holiday. He remembered being so proud and grateful to be in America that his heart “was nearly bursting.” Minnesota Historical Society.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

In what ways did the Comstock Act reflect and contradict the realities of American life in the industrial era?

Committee of the New York legislature declared Comstock’s crusade “wholly essential to the safety and decency of the community.” It appears, however, that Comstock had little success in stopping the lucrative and popular trade in contraceptives.

Education

In the industrial economy, the watchword for young people who hoped to secure good jobs was *education*. A high school diploma—now a gateway to a college

degree—was valuable for boys who hoped to enter professional or managerial work. Daughters attended in even larger numbers than their brothers (Table 18.1). Parents of the Civil War generation, who had witnessed the plight of war widows and orphans, encouraged girls to prepare themselves for teaching or office jobs, work before marriage, and gain skills they could fall back on, “just in case.” By 1900, 71 percent of Americans between the ages of five and eighteen attended school. That figure rose further in the early twentieth century, as public officials adopted laws requiring school attendance.

Most high schools were coeducational, and almost every high school featured athletics. Recruited first as cheerleaders for boys’ teams, girls soon established field hockey and other sports of their own. Boys and girls engaged in friendly—and sometimes not-so-friendly—rivalry in high school. In 1884, a high school newspaper in Concord, New Hampshire, published

TABLE 18.1**High School Graduates, 1870–1910**

Year	Number	Percent	Male	Female
		17-Year-Olds		
1870	16,000	2.0	7,000	9,000
1890	44,000	3.0	19,000	25,000
1910	156,000	8.6	64,000	93,000

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975), 1: 386.

this poem from a disgruntled boy who caricatured his female classmates:

We know many tongues of living and dead,
In science and fiction we're very well read,
But we cannot cook meat and cannot make bread
And we've wished many times that we were all dead.

A female student shot back a poem of her own, denouncing male students' smoking habit:

But if boys will smoke cigarettes
Although the smoke may choke them,
One consolation still remains—
They kill the boys that smoke them.

The rate of Americans attending college had long hovered around 2 percent; driven by public universities' expansion, the rate rose in the 1880s, reaching 8 percent by 1920. Much larger numbers attended a growing network of business and technical schools. "GET A PLACE IN THE WORLD," advertised one Minneapolis business college in 1907, "where your talents can be used to the best advantage." Typically, such schools offered both day and night classes in subjects such as bookkeeping, typewriting, and shorthand.

The needs of the new economy also shaped the curriculum at more traditional collegiate institutions. State universities emphasized technical training and fed the growing professional workforce with graduates trained in fields such as engineering. Many private colleges distanced themselves from such practical pursuits; their administrators argued that students who aimed to be leaders needed broad-based knowledge. But they modernized course offerings, emphasizing French and German, for example, rather than Latin and Greek. Harvard, led by dynamic president Charles W. Eliot from 1869 to 1909, pioneered the **liberal arts**. Students at the all-male college chose from a range of electives, as Eliot called for classes that developed each young man's "individual reality and creative power."

In the South, one of the most famous educational projects was Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, founded in 1881. Washington both taught and exemplified the goal of self-help; his autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), became a best-seller. Because of the deep poverty in which most southern African Americans lived, Washington concluded that "book education" for most "would be almost a waste of time." He focused instead on industrial education. Students, he argued, would "be sure of knowing how to make a living after they had left us." Tuskegee sent female graduates into teaching and nursing; men more often entered the industrial trades or farmed by the latest scientific methods.

Washington gained national fame in 1895 with his **Atlanta Compromise** address, delivered at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. For the exposition's white organizers, the racial "compromise" was inviting Washington to speak at all. It was a move intended to show racial progress in the South. Washington, in turn, delivered an address that many interpreted as approving racial segregation. Stating that African Americans had, in slavery days, "proved our loyalty to you," he assured whites that "in our humble way, we shall stand by you . . . ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours." The races could remain socially detached: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Washington urged, however, that whites join him in working for "the highest intelligence and development of all."

Whites greeted this address with enthusiasm, and Washington became the most prominent black leader of his generation. His soothing rhetoric and style of leadership, based on avoiding confrontation and cultivating white patronage and

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did educational opportunities change after the Civil War, and for whom?



Booker T. Washington

In an age of severe racial oppression, Booker T. Washington emerged as the leading public voice of African Americans. He was remarkable both for his effectiveness in speaking to white Americans and for his deep understanding of the aspirations of blacks. Born a slave, Washington had plenty of firsthand experience with racism. But having befriended several whites in his youth, he also believed that African Americans could appeal to whites of good will—and maneuver around those who were hostile—in the struggle for equality. He hoped, most of all, that economic achievement would erase white prejudice.

Brown Brothers.

private influence, was well suited to the difficult years after Reconstruction. Washington believed that money was color-blind, that whites would respect economic success. He represented the ideals of millions of African Americans who hoped education and hard work would erase white prejudice. That hope proved tragically overoptimistic. As the tide of disenfranchisement and segregation rolled in, Washington would come under fire from a younger generation of race leaders who argued that he accommodated too much to white racism.

In addition to African American education, women's higher education expanded notably. In the Northeast and South, women most often attended single-sex

institutions, including teacher-training colleges. For affluent families, private colleges offered an education equivalent to men's—for an equally high price. Vassar College started the trend when it opened in 1861; Smith, Wellesley, and others followed. Anxious doctors warned that these institutions were dangerous: intensive brain work would unsex young women and drain energy from their ovaries, leading them to bear weak children. But as thousands of women earned degrees and suffered no apparent harm, fears faded. Single-sex higher education for women spread from private to public institutions, especially in the South, where the Mississippi State College for Women (1885) led the way.

Coeducation was more prevalent in the Midwest and West, where many state universities opened their doors to female students after the Civil War. Women were also admitted to most African American colleges founded during Reconstruction. By 1910, 58 percent of America's colleges and universities were coeducational. While students at single-sex institutions forged strong bonds with one another, women also gained benefits from learning with men. When male students were friendly, they built comfortable working relationships; when men were hostile, women learned coping skills that served them well in later employment or reform work. One doctor who studied at the University of Iowa remembered later that he and his friends mercilessly harassed the first women who entered the medical school. But when the women showed they were good students, the men's attitudes changed to "wholesome respect."

Whether or not they got a college education, more and more women recognized, in the words of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, their "solitude of self." In the changing economy, they could not always count on fathers and husbands. Women who needed to support themselves could choose from dozens of guidebooks such as *What Girls Can Do* (1880) and *How to Make Money Although a Woman* (1895). The Association for the Advancement of Women, founded in 1873 by women's college graduates, defended women's higher education and argued that women's paid employment was a positive good.

Today, many economists argue that education and high-quality jobs for women are keys to reducing poverty in the developing world. In the United States, that process also led to broader gains in women's political rights. As women began to earn advanced degrees, work for wages and salaries, and live independently, it became harder to argue that women were "dependents" who did not need to vote.



Class of 1896, Radcliffe College

When Harvard University, long a bastion of male privilege, created an “Annex” for women’s instruction in 1879, it was a sure sign of growing support for women’s higher education. The Annex became Radcliffe College in 1894. Two years later, this graduating class of thirty posed for their portrait. Among them was Alice Sterling of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who went on to marry Harvard graduate Frank Cook and devote herself to Protestant foreign missions. On two trips around the world, Alice Sterling Cook visited all the women’s colleges that missionaries had founded in India, China, and Japan. Cook’s energetic public activities typified those of many women’s college alumnae. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University.

From Domesticity to Women’s Rights

As the United States confronted industrialization, middle-class women steadily expanded their place beyond the household, building reform movements and taking political action. Starting in the 1880s, women’s clubs sprang up and began to study such problems as pollution, unsafe working conditions, and urban poverty. So many formed by 1890 that their leaders created a nationwide umbrella organization, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs. Women justified such work through the ideal of **maternalism**, appealing to their special role as mothers. Maternalism was an intermediate step between domesticity and

modern arguments for women’s equality. “Women’s place is Home,” declared the journalist Rheta Childe Dorr. But she added, “Home is the community. The city full of people is the Family. . . . Badly do the Home and Family need their mother.”

The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union One maternalist goal was to curb alcohol abuse by prohibiting liquor sales. The **Woman’s Christian Temperance Union** (WCTU), founded in 1874, spread rapidly after 1879, when charismatic Frances Willard became its leader. More than any other group of the late nineteenth century, the WCTU launched women into reform. Willard knew how to frame political demands

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

How did women use widespread beliefs about their “special role” to justify political activism, and for what goals?

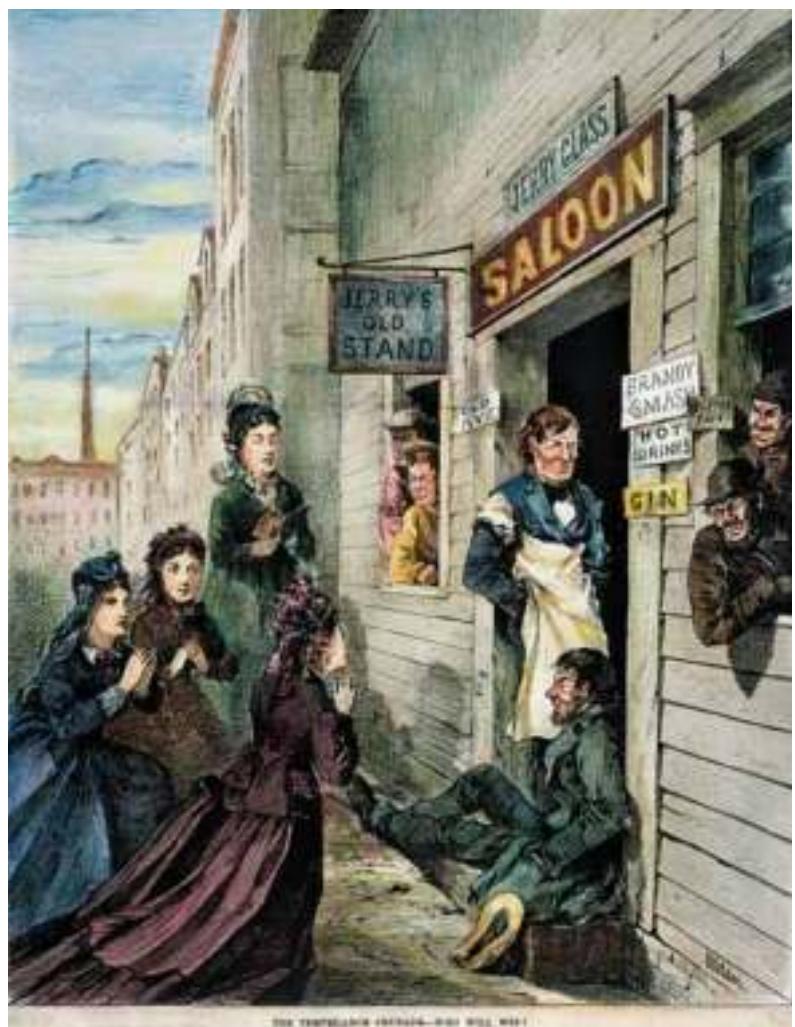
“Home Protection,” and though it placed all the blame on alcohol rather than other factors, the WCTU became the first organization to identify and combat domestic violence.

The prohibitionist movement drew activists from many backgrounds. Middle-class city dwellers worried about the link between alcoholism and crime, especially in the growing immigrant wards. Rural citizens equated liquor with big-city sins such as prostitution and political corruption. Methodists, Baptists, Mormons, and members of other denominations condemned

in the language of feminine self-sacrifice. “Womanliness first,” she advised her followers; “afterward, what you will.” WCTU members vividly described the plight of abused wives and children when men suffered in the grip of alcoholism. Willard’s motto was

drinking for religious reasons. Immigrants passionately disagreed, however: Germans and Irish Catholics enjoyed their Sunday beer and saw no harm in it. Saloons were a centerpiece of working-class leisure and community life, offering free lunches, public toilets, and a place to share neighborhood news. Thus, while some labor unions advocated voluntary temperance, attitudes toward prohibition divided along ethnic, religious, and class lines.

WCTU activism led some leaders to raise radical questions about the shape of industrial society. As she investigated alcohol abuse, Willard increasingly confronted poverty, hunger, unemployment, and other industrial problems. “Do Everything,” she urged her members. Across the United States, WCTU chapters founded soup kitchens and free libraries. They introduced a German educational innovation, the kindergarten. They investigated prison conditions. Though she did not persuade most prohibitionists to follow her



A Plea for Temperance, 1874

The origins of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union lay in spontaneous prayer meetings held by women outside local saloons, where they appealed for men to stop drinking and liquor sellers to destroy their product. A string of such meetings in Ohio won national attention, as in this image from a popular magazine, the *Daily Graphic*. “Who Will Win?” asked the artist. The answers varied. A few saloon owners, struck with remorse over the damage caused by alcohol abuse, smashed their beer kegs and poured their liquor into the gutters. Far more refused, but in the 1880s, temperance women succeeded in organizing the largest grassroots movement of their day to build support for outlawing liquor sales. The Granger Collection, New York.

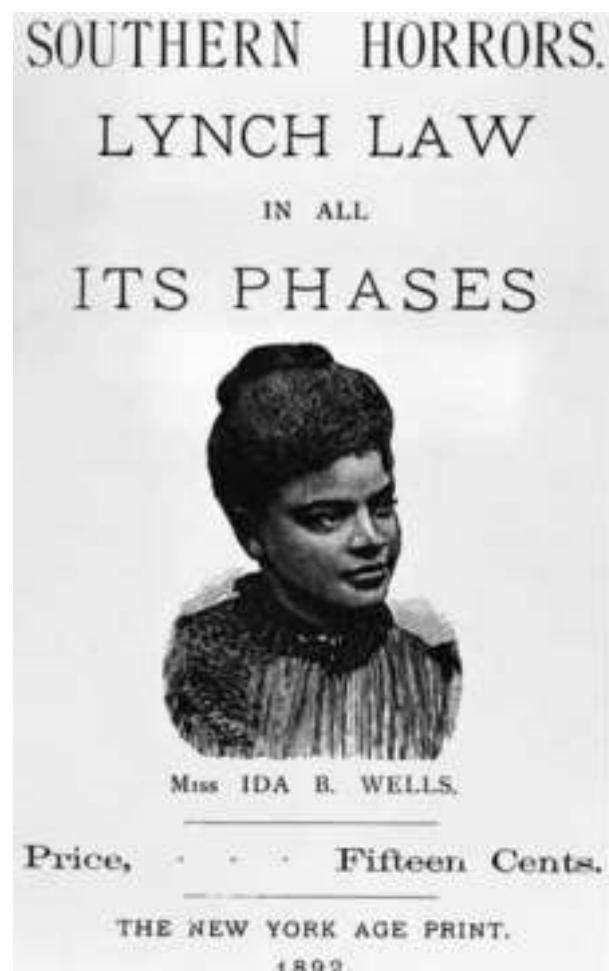
lead, Willard declared herself a Christian Socialist and urged more attention to workers' plight. She advocated laws establishing an eight-hour workday and abolishing child labor.

Willard also called for women's voting rights, lending powerful support to the independent suffrage movement that had emerged during Reconstruction. Controversially, the WCTU threw its energies behind the Prohibition Party, which exercised considerable clout during the 1880s. Women worked in the party as speakers, convention delegates, and even local candidates. Liquor was big business, and powerful interests mobilized to block antiliquor legislation. In many areas—particularly the cities—prohibition simply did not gain majority support. Willard retired to England, where she died in 1898, worn and discouraged by many defeats. But her legacy was powerful. Other groups took up the cause, eventually winning national prohibition after World War I.

Through its emphasis on human welfare, the WCTU encouraged women to join the national debate over poverty and inequality of wealth. Some became active in the People's Party of the 1890s, which welcomed women as organizers and stump speakers. Others led groups such as the National Congress of Mothers, founded in 1897, which promoted better child-rearing techniques in rural and working-class families. The WCTU had taught women how to lobby, raise money, and even run for office. Willard wrote that "perhaps the most significant outcome" of the movement was women's "knowledge of their own power."

Women, Race, and Patriotism As in temperance work, women played central roles in patriotic movements and African American community activism. Members of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), founded in 1890, celebrated the memory of Revolutionary War heroes. Equally influential was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894 to extol the South's "Lost Cause." The UDC's elite southern members shaped Americans' memory of the Civil War by constructing monuments, distributing Confederate flags, and promoting school textbooks that defended the Confederacy and condemned Reconstruction. The UDC's work helped build and maintain support for segregation and disenfranchisement (Chapter 15, Thinking Like a Historian, p. 502).

African American women did not sit idle in the face of this challenge. In 1896, they created the **National Association of Colored Women**. Through its local clubs, black women arranged for the care of orphans, founded homes for the elderly, advocated temperance,



Ida B. Wells

In 1887, Ida Wells (Wells-Barnett after she married in 1895) was thrown bodily from a train in Tennessee for refusing to vacate her seat in a section reserved for whites, launching her into a lifelong crusade for racial justice. Her mission was to expose the evil of lynching in the South. This image is the title page of a pamphlet she published in 1892. Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

and undertook public health campaigns. Such women shared with white women a determination to carry domesticity into the public sphere. Journalist Victoria Earle Matthews hailed the American home as "the foundation upon which nationality rests, the pride of the citizen, and the glory of the Republic." She and other African American women used the language of domesticity and respectability to justify their work.

One of the most radical voices was Ida B. Wells, who as a young Tennessee schoolteacher sued the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad for denying her a seat in the ladies' car. In 1892, a white mob in Memphis invaded a grocery store owned by three of Wells's

friends, angry that it competed with a nearby white-owned store. When the black store owners defended themselves, wounding several of their attackers, all three were lynched. Grieving their deaths, Wells left Memphis and urged other African Americans to join her in boycotting the city's white businesses. As a journalist, she launched a one-woman campaign against lynching. Wells's investigations demolished the myth that lynchers were reacting to the crime of interracial rape; she showed that the real cause was more often economic competition, a labor dispute, or a consensual relationship between a white woman and a black man. Settling in Chicago, Wells became a noted and accomplished reformer, but in an era of increasing racial injustice, few whites supported her cause.

The largest African American women's organization arose within the National Baptist Church (NBC), which by 1906 represented 2.4 million black churchgoers. Founded in 1900, the Women's Convention of the NBC funded night schools, health clinics, kindergartens, day care centers, and prison outreach programs. Adella Hunt Logan, born in Alabama, exemplified how such work could lead women to demand political rights. Educated at Atlanta University, Logan became a women's club leader, teacher, and suffrage advocate. "If white American women, with all their mutual and acquired advantage, need the ballot," she declared, "how much more do Black Americans, male and female, need the strong defense of a vote to help secure them their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?"

Women's Rights Though it had split into two rival organizations during Reconstruction, the movement for women's suffrage reunited in 1890 in the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** (NAWSA). Soon afterward, suffragists built on earlier victories in the West, winning full ballots for women in Colorado (1893), Idaho (1896), and Utah (1896, reestablished as Utah gained statehood). Afterward, movement leaders were discouraged by a decade of state-level defeats and Congress's refusal to consider a constitutional amendment. But suffrage again picked up momentum after 1911 (Map 18.2). By 1913, most women living west of the Mississippi River had the ballot. In other localities, women could vote in municipal elections, school elections, or liquor referenda.

The rising prominence of the women's suffrage movement had an ironic result: it prompted some women—and men—to organize against it, in groups such as the National Association Opposed to Woman

Suffrage (1911). Antisuffragists argued that it was expensive to add so many voters to the rolls; wives' ballots would just "double their husbands' votes" or worse, cancel them out, subjecting men to "petticoat rule." Some antisuffragists also argued that voting would undermine women's special roles as disinterested reformers: no longer above the fray, they would be plunged into the "cesspool of politics." In short, women were "better citizens without the ballot." Such arguments helped delay passage of national women's suffrage until after World War I.

By the 1910s, some women moved beyond suffrage to take a public stance for what they called **feminism**—women's full political, economic, and social equality. A famous site of sexual rebellion was New York's Greenwich Village, where radical intellectuals, including many gays and lesbians, created a vibrant community. Among other political activities, women there founded the Heterodoxy Club (1912), open to any woman who pledged not to be "orthodox in her opinions." The club brought together intellectuals, journalists, and labor organizers. Almost all supported suffrage, but they had a more ambitious view of what was needed for women's liberation. "I wanted to belong to the human race, not to a ladies' aid society," wrote one divorced journalist who joined Heterodoxy. Feminists argued that women should not simply fulfill expectations of feminine self-sacrifice; they should work on their own behalf.

Science and Faith

Amid rapid change, the United States remained a deeply religious nation. But new discoveries enhanced another kind of belief: faith in science. In the early nineteenth century, most Americans had believed the world was about six thousand years old. No one knew what lay beyond the solar system. By the 1910s, paleontologists were classifying the dinosaurs, astronomers had identified distant galaxies, and physicists could measure the speed of light. Many scientists and ordinary Americans accepted the theory of evolution.

Scientific discoveries received widespread publicity through a series of great world's fairs, most famously Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, held (a year late) to celebrate Columbus's arrival in America in 1492. At the vast fairgrounds, visitors strolled through enormous buildings that displayed the latest inventions in industry, machinery, and transportation. They marveled over a moving sidewalk and, at dusk,



MAP 18.2

Women's Suffrage, 1890–1919

By 1909, after more than sixty years of agitation, only four lightly populated western states had granted women full voting rights. A number of other states offered partial suffrage, limited to voting for school boards and such issues as taxes and local referenda on whether or not to permit the sale of liquor licenses (the so-called local option). Between 1910 and 1918, as the effort shifted to the struggle for a constitutional amendment, eleven states joined the list granting full suffrage. The West remained the most progressive region in granting women's voting rights; the most stubborn resistance lay in the ex-Confederacy.

saw the fair buildings illuminated with strings of electric lights. One observer called the fair "a vast and wonderful university of the arts and sciences."

It is hardly surprising, amid these achievements, that "fact worship" became a central feature of intellectual life. Researchers in many fields argued that one could rely only on hard facts to understand the "laws of life." In their enthusiasm, some economists and sociologists rejected all social reform as sentimental. Fiction writers and artists kept a more humane emphasis, but they made use of similar methods—close observation and attention to real-life experience—to create works

of realism. Other Americans struggled to reconcile scientific discoveries with their religious faith.

Darwinism and Its Critics

Evolution—the idea that species are not fixed, but ever changing—was not a simple idea on which all scientists agreed. In his immensely influential 1859 book, *On the Origin of Species*, British naturalist Charles Darwin argued that all creatures struggle to survive. When individual members of a species are born with random genetic mutations that better suit them for

their environment—for example, camouflage coloring for a moth—these characteristics, since they are genetically transmissible, become dominant in future generations. Many scientists rejected this theory of **natural selection**. They followed a line of thinking laid out by French biologist Jean Baptiste Lamarck, who argued, unlike Darwin, that individual animals or plants could acquire transmittable traits within a single lifetime. A rhinoceros that fought fiercely, in Lamarck's view, could build up a stronger horn; its offspring would then be born with that trait.

Darwin himself disapproved of the word *evolution* (which does not appear in his book) because it implied upward progress. In his view, natural selection was blind: environments and species changed randomly. Others were less scrupulous about drawing sweeping conclusions from Darwin's work. In the 1870s, British philosopher Herbert Spencer spun out an elaborate

theory of how human society advanced through “survival of the fittest.” **Social Darwinism**, as Spencer's idea became (confusingly) known, found its American champion in William Graham Sumner, a sociology professor at Yale. Competition, said Sumner,

was a law of nature, like gravity. Who were the fittest? “Millionaires,” Sumner declared. Their success showed they were “naturally selected.”

Even in the heyday of Social Darwinism, Sumner's views were controversial (American Voices, p. 596). Some thinkers objected to the application of biological findings to the realm of society and government. They pointed out that Darwin's theories applied to finches and tortoises, not human institutions. Social Darwinism, they argued, was simply an excuse for the worst excesses of industrialization. By the early twentieth century, intellectuals revolted against Sumner and his allies.

Meanwhile, though, the most dubious applications of evolutionary ideas were codified into new reproductive laws based on **eugenics**, a so-called science of human breeding. Eugenicists argued that mentally deficient people should be prevented from reproducing. They proposed sterilizing those deemed “unfit,” especially residents of state asylums for the insane or mentally disabled. In early-twentieth-century America, almost half of the states enacted eugenics laws. By the time eugenics subsided in the 1930s, about twenty thousand people had been sterilized, with California and Virginia taking the lead. Women in Puerto Rico and other U.S. imperial possessions (Chapter 21) also

suffered from eugenics policies. Advocates of eugenics had a broad impact. Because they associated mental unfitness with “lower races”—including people of African, Asian, and Native American descent—their arguments lent support to segregation and racial discrimination. By warning that immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe would dilute white Americans' racial purity, eugenicists helped win passage of immigration restriction in the 1920s.

Realism in the Arts

Inspired by the quest for facts, American authors rejected nineteenth-century romanticism and what they saw as its unfortunate product, sentimentality. Instead, they took up literary **realism**. In the 1880s, editor and novelist William Dean Howells called for writers “to picture the daily life in the most exact terms possible.” By the 1890s, a younger generation of writers pursued this goal. Theodore Dreiser dismissed unrealistic novels that always had “a happy ending.” In *Main-Traveled Roads* (1891), based on the struggles of his midwestern farm family, Hamlin Garland turned the same unsparing eye on the hardships of rural life. Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), privately printed because no publisher would touch it, described the seduction, abandonment, and death of a slum girl.

Some authors believed realism did not go far enough to overturn sentimentalism. Jack London spent his teenage years as a factory worker, sailor, and tramp. In stories such as “The Law of Life” (1901), he dramatized what he saw as the harsh reality of an uncaring universe. American society, he said, was “a jungle wherein wild beasts eat and are eaten.” Similarly, Stephen Crane tried to capture “a world full of fists.” London and Crane helped create literary **naturalism**. They suggested that human beings were not so much rational shapers of their own destinies as blind victims of forces beyond their control—including their own subconscious impulses.

America's most famous writer, Samuel Langhorne Clemens, who took the pen name of Mark Twain, came to an equally bleak view. Though he achieved enormous success with such lighthearted books as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), Clemens courted controversy with *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), notable for its indictment of slavery and racism. In his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), which ends with a bloody, technology-driven slaughter of Arthur's knights, Mark Twain became one of the bitterest critics of America's idea of

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

How did the ideas of scientists and social scientists reflect events they saw happening around them?

John French Sloan, *A Woman's Work*, 1912

The subject of this painting—a woman hanging out laundry behind a city apartment building—is typical of the subjects chosen by American artist John Sloan (1871–1951). Sloan and a group of his allies became famous as realists; critics derided them as the “Ash Can school” because they did not paint rural landscapes or other conventional subjects considered worthy of painting. Sloan, though, warned against seeing his paintings as simple representations of reality, even if he described his work as based on “a creative impulse derived out of a consciousness of life.” “‘Looks like’ is not the test of a good painting,” he wrote: “Even the scientist is interested in effects only as phenomena from which to deduce order in life.” Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of Amelia Elizabeth White.



progress. Soon afterward, Clemens was devastated by the loss of his wife and two daughters, as well as by failed investments and bankruptcy. An outspoken critic of imperialism and foreign missions, Twain eventually denounced Christianity itself as a hypocritical delusion. Like his friend the industrialist Andrew Carnegie, Clemens “got rid of theology.”

By the time Clemens died in 1910, realist and naturalist writers had laid the groundwork for **modernism**, which rejected traditional canons of literary taste. Questioning the whole idea of progress and order, modernists focused on the subconscious and “primitive” mind. Above all, they sought to overturn convention and tradition. Poet Ezra Pound exhorted, “Make it new!” Modernism became the first great literary and artistic movement of the twentieth century.

In the visual arts, new technologies influenced aesthetics. By 1900, some photographers argued that their “true” representations made painting obsolete. But painters invented their own forms of realism. Nebraska-born artist Robert Henri became fascinated with life in the great cities. “The backs of tenement houses are living documents,” he declared, and he set out to put them on canvas. Henri and his followers, notably John Sloan and George Bellows, called themselves the New York Realists. Critics derided them as the Ash Can school because they chose subjects that were not conventionally beautiful.

In 1913, Realists participated in one of the most controversial events in American art history,

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What effect did technology and scientific ideas have on literature and the arts?



Three Interpretations of Social Darwinism

Theodore Dreiser

The Financier

Theodore Dreiser (1871–1945) was an American literary naturalist. His novel *The Financier* (1912) traces the rise of Frank Cowperwood, a young man who, during the last years of the nineteenth century, becomes a powerful banker. Dreiser loosely based the character on the life of financier Charles Yerkes. In this excerpt, the narrator describes a transformative moment in Cowperwood's youth.

[Cowperwood] could not figure out how this thing he had come into—this life—was organized. How did all these people get into the world? What were they doing here? Who started things, anyhow? His mother told him the story of Adam and Eve, but he didn't believe it. . . .

One day he saw a squid and a lobster put in [a] tank, and in connection with them was witness to a tragedy which stayed with him all his life and cleared things up considerably intellectually. The lobster, it appeared from the talk of the idle bystanders, was offered no food, as the squid was considered his rightful prey. He lay at the bottom of the clear glass tank . . . apparently seeing nothing—you could not tell in which way his beady, black buttons of eyes were looking—but apparently they were never off the body of the squid. The latter, pale and waxy in texture, looking very much like pork fat or jade, moved about in torpedo fashion; but his movements were apparently never out of the eyes of his enemy, for by degrees small portions of his body began to disappear, snapped off by the relentless claws of his pursuer. . . .

[One day] only a portion of the squid remained. . . . In the corner of the tank sat the lobster, poised apparently for action. The boy stayed as long as he could, the bitter struggle fascinating him. Now, maybe, or in an hour or a day, the squid might die, slain by the lobster, and the lobster would eat him. He looked again at the greenish-copperish engine of destruction in the corner and wondered when this would be. . . .

He returned that night, and lo! the expected had happened. There was a little crowd around the tank.

The idea that human society advanced through “survival of the fittest” was a popular doctrine, referred to by historians as “Social Darwinism.” Many Americans agreed with Harvard sociologist William Graham Sumner, who argued that the poor and weak were a “burden,” a “dead-weight on the society in all its struggles.” Such views prompted a range of responses, ranging from enthusiastic endorsement to uneasy accommodation to impassioned opposition.

The lobster was in the corner. Before him was the squid cut in two and partially devoured. . . .

The incident made a great impression on him. It answered in a rough way that riddle which had been annoying him so much in the past: “How is life organized?” Things lived on each other—that was it. Lobsters lived on squids and other things. What lived on lobsters? Men, of course! . . . And what lived on men? he asked himself. Was it other men? Wild animals lived on men. And there were Indians and cannibals. And some men were killed by storms and accidents. He wasn’t so sure about men living on men; but men did kill each other. How about wars and street fights and mobs? . . .

Frank thought of this and of the life he was tossed into, for he was already pondering on what he should be in this world, and how he should get along. From seeing his father count money, he was sure that he would like banking; and Third Street, where his father’s office was, seemed to him the cleanest, most fascinating street in the world.

Source: Theodore Dreiser, *The Financier* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912), 10–15.

Lyman Abbott

The Evolution of Christianity

Liberal Congregationalist Lyman Abbott (1835–1922) was a noted advocate of the Social Gospel. In *The Evolution of Christianity* (1892), Abbott sought to reconcile the theory of evolution with the development of Christianity.

The doctrine of evolution is not a doctrine of harmonious and uninterrupted progress. The most common, if not the most accurate formula of evolution is “struggle for existence, survival of the fittest.” The doctrine of evolution assumes that there are forces in the world seemingly hostile to progress, that life is a perpetual battle and progress a perpetual victory.

The Christian evolutionist will then expect to find Christianity a warfare—in church, in society, in the individual. . . . He will remember that the divine life is

resident in undivine humanity. He will not be surprised to find the waters of the stream disturbed; for he will reflect that the divine purity has come into a turbid stream, and that it can purify only by being itself indistinguishably combined with the impure. When he is told that modern Christianity is only a "civilized paganism," he will reply, "That is exactly what I supposed it to be; and it will continue to be a civilized paganism until civilization has entirely eliminated paganism." He will not be surprised to find pagan ceremonies in the ritual, ignorance and superstition in the church, and even errors and partialisms in the Bible. For he will remember that the divine life, which is bringing all life into harmony with itself, is a life resident in man. He will remember that the Bible does not claim to be the absolute Word of God; that, on the contrary . . . it claims to be the Word of God . . . as spoken to men, and understood and interpreted by men, which saw it in part as we still see it, and reflected it as from a mirror in enigmas.

He will remember that the Church is not yet the bride of Christ, but the plebeian daughter whom Christ is educating to be his bride. He will remember that Christianity is not the absolutely divine, but the divine in humanity, the divine force resident in man and transforming man into the likeness of the divine. Christianity is the light struggling with the darkness, life battling with death, the spiritual overcoming the animal. We judge Christianity as the scientist judges the embryo, as the gardener the bud, as the teacher the pupil,—not by what it is, but by what it promises to be.

Source: Lyman Abbott, *The Evolution of Christianity* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1892), 8–10.

Lester Frank Ward

Glimpses of the Cosmos

Lester Frank Ward (1841–1913) helped establish sociology in the United States. Following French philosopher Auguste Comte, he held that the social sciences should develop methods of improving society. In his autobiography *Glimpses of the Cosmos* (1913–1918), Ward rejected Social Darwinism.

How shall we distinguish this human, or anthropic, method from the method of nature? Simply by reversing

all the definitions. Art is the antithesis of nature. If we call one the natural method, we must call the other the artificial method. If nature's process is rightly named natural selection, man's process is artificial selection. The survival of the fittest is simply the survival of the strong, which implies, and might as well be called, the destruction of the weak. And if nature progresses through the destruction of the weak, man progresses through the *protection* of the weak. . . .

. . . Man, through his intelligence, has labored successfully to resist the law of nature. His success is conclusively demonstrated by a comparison of his condition with that of other species of animals. No other cause can be assigned for his superiority. How can the naturalistic philosophers shut their eyes to such obvious facts? Yet, what is their attitude? They condemn all attempts to protect the weak, whether by private or public methods. They claim that it deteriorates the race by enabling the unfit to survive and transmit their inferiority. . . . Nothing is easier than to show that the unrestricted competition of nature does not secure the survival of the fittest possible, but only of the actually fittest, and in every attempt man makes to obtain something fitter than this actual fittest he succeeds, as witness improved breeds of animals and grafts of fruits. Now, the human method of protecting the weak deals in such way with men. It not only increases the number but improves the quality.

Source: Lester Frank Ward, *Glimpses of the Cosmos* (New York: Harper, 1913), 371, 374.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. By telling the squid and lobster story, what message was Dreiser conveying to readers, about men such as Copperwood? If Abbott and Ward had read *The Financier*, how might they have responded? Why?
2. Historians sometimes claim that American thinkers of this era, endorsing Social Darwinism and "survival of the fittest," opposed social reform. How do Abbott and Ward complicate that view?

the Armory Show. Housed in an enormous National Guard building in New York, the exhibit introduced America to modern art. Some painters whose work appeared at the show were experimenting with cubism, characterized by abstract, geometric forms. Along with works by Henri, Sloan, and Bellows, organizers featured paintings by European rebels such as Pablo Picasso. America's academic art world was shocked. One critic called cubism "the total destruction of the art of painting." But as the exhibition went on to Boston and Chicago, more than 250,000 people crowded to see it.

A striking feature of both realism and modernism, as they developed, was that many leading writers and artists were men. In making their work strong and modern, they also strove to assert their masculinity. Paralleling Theodore Roosevelt's call for "manly sports," they denounced nineteenth-century culture as hopelessly feminized. Stephen Crane called for "virility" in literature. Jack London described himself as a "man's man, . . . lustfully roving and conquering." Artist

Robert Henri banned small brushes as "too feminine." In their own ways, these writers and artists contributed to a broad movement to masculinize American culture.

Religion: Diversity and Innovation

By the turn of the twentieth century, emerging scientific and cultural paradigms posed a significant challenge to religious faith. Some Americans argued that science and modernity would sweep away religion altogether. Contrary to such predictions, American religious practice remained vibrant. Protestants developed creative new responses to the challenges of industrialization, while millions of newcomers built institutions for worship and religious education.

Immigrant Faiths Arriving in the United States in large numbers, Catholics and Jews wrestled with similar questions. To what degree should they adapt to Protestant-dominated American society? Should the education of clergy be changed? Should children attend



Arthur B. Davies, *Dancers*, 1914–1915

Artist Arthur Davies (1862–1928) was one of the primary organizers of New York's 1913 Armory Show, which introduced Americans to modernist art. An associate of John Sloan and other New York Realists, Davies experimented with an array of painting styles, as well as printmaking and tapestry making. This painting dates from a three-year period, just after the Armory Show, in which Davies experimented with Cubist techniques. *Dancers*, 1914–1915 (oil on canvas), Detroit Institute of Arts, USA/Gift of Ralph Harman Booth/The Bridgeman Art Library.

religious or public schools? What happened if they married outside the faith? Among Catholic leaders, Bishop John Ireland of Minnesota argued that “the principles of the Church are in harmony with the interests of the Republic.” But traditionalists, led by Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York, disagreed. They sought to insulate Catholics from the pluralistic American environment. Indeed, by 1920, almost two million children attended Catholic elementary schools nationwide, and Catholic dioceses operated fifteen hundred high schools. Catholics as well as Jews feared some of the same threats that distressed Protestants: industrial poverty and overwork kept working-class people away from worship services, while new consumer pleasures enticed many of them to go elsewhere.

Faithful immigrant Catholics were anxious to preserve familiar traditions from Europe, and they generally supported the Church’s traditional wing. But they also wanted religious life to express their ethnic identities. Italians, Poles, and other new arrivals wanted separate parishes where they could celebrate their customs, speak their languages, and establish their own parochial schools. When they became numerous enough, they also demanded their own bishops. The Catholic hierarchy, dominated by Irishmen, felt the integrity of the Church was at stake. The demand for ethnic parishes implied local control of church property. With some strain, the Catholic Church managed to satisfy the diverse needs of the immigrant faithful. It met the demand for representation, for example, by appointing immigrant priests as auxiliary bishops within existing dioceses.

In the same decades, many prosperous native-born Jews embraced Reform Judaism, abandoning such reli-

gious practices as keeping a kosher kitchen and conducting services in Hebrew. This was not the way of Yiddish-speaking Jews from Eastern Europe, who arrived in large numbers after the 1880s. Generally much poorer and eager to preserve their own traditions, they founded Orthodox synagogues, often in vacant stores, and practiced Judaism as they had at home.

But in Eastern Europe, Judaism had been an entire way of life, one not easily replicated in a large American city. “The very clothes I wore and the very food I ate had a fatal effect on my religious habits,” confessed the hero of Abraham Cahan’s novel *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917). “If you . . . attempt to bend your religion to the spirit of your surroundings, it breaks. It falls to pieces.” Levinsky shaved off his beard and plunged into the Manhattan clothing business. Orthodox Judaism survived the transition to America, but like other immigrant religions, it had to renounce its claims to some of the faithful.

Protestant Innovations One of the era’s dramatic religious developments—facilitated by global steamship and telegraph lines—was the rise of Protestant foreign missions. From a modest start before the Civil War, this movement peaked around 1915, a year when American religious organizations sponsored more than nine thousand overseas missionaries, supported at home by armies of volunteers, including more than three million women. A majority of Protestant missionaries served in Asia, with smaller numbers posted to Africa and the Middle East. Most saw American-style domesticity as a central part of evangelism, and missionary societies sent married couples into the field. Many unmarried women also served overseas as missionary

Christian Missions in Japan, 1909

Through this colorful postcard, Protestant missionaries in Japan demonstrate their success in winning converts (at least a few) and their adaptation of missionary strategies to meet local needs and expectations. Here, outside their headquarters, they demonstrate “preaching by means of banners.” The large characters on the vertical banner proclaim the “Association of Christian Gospel Evangelists.” The horizontal banner is a Japanese translation of Matthew 11:28, “Come unto me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.”

© Bettmann/Corbis.



IDENTIFY CAUSES

How did America's religious life change in this era, and what prompted those changes?

teachers, doctors, and nurses, though almost never as ministers. "American woman," declared one Christian reformer, has "the exalted privilege of extending over the world those blessed influences, that are to renovate degraded man."

Protestant missionaries won converts, in part, by providing such modern services as medical care and women's education. Some missionaries developed deep bonds of respect with the people they served. Others showed considerable condescension toward the "poor heathen," who in turn bristled at their assumptions (*America Compared*, p. 601). One Presbyterian, who found Syrians uninterested in his gospel message, angrily denounced all Muslims as "corrupt and immoral." By imposing their views of "heathen races" and attacking those who refused to convert, Christian missionaries sometimes ended up justifying Western imperialism.

Chauvinism abroad reflected attitudes that also surfaced at home. Starting in Iowa in 1887, militant Protestants created a powerful political organization, the **American Protective Association** (APA), which for a brief period in the 1890s counted more than two million members. This virulently nativist group expressed outrage at the existence of separate Catholic schools while demanding, at the same time, that all public school teachers be Protestants. The APA called for a ban on Catholic officeholders, arguing that they were beholden to an "ecclesiastic power" that was "not created and controlled by American citizens." In its virulent anti-Catholicism and calls for restrictions on immigrants, the APA prefigured the revived Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s (Chapter 22).

The APA arose, in part, because Protestants found their dominance challenged. Millions of Americans, especially in the industrial working class, were now Catholics or Jews. Overall, in 1916, Protestants still constituted about 60 percent of Americans affiliated with a religious body. But they faced formidable rivals: the number of practicing Catholics in 1916—15.7 million—was greater than the number of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians combined.

Some Protestants responded to the urban, immigrant challenge by evangelizing among the unchurched. They provided reading rooms, day nurseries, vocational classes, and other services. The goal of renewing religious faith through dedication to justice and social welfare became known as the **Social Gospel**. Its goals were epitomized by Charles Sheldon's novel *In His Steps* (1896), which told the story of a congregation

who resolved to live by Christ's precepts for one year. "If church members were all doing as Jesus would do," Sheldon asked, "could it remain true that armies of men would walk the streets for jobs, and hundreds of them curse the church, and thousands of them find in the saloon their best friend?"

The Salvation Army, which arrived from Great Britain in 1879, also spread a gospel message among the urban poor, offering assistance that ranged from soup kitchens to shelters for former prostitutes. When



The Salvation Army on the Streets

This theater poster for the popular play *On the Bowery* (1894), written by theater agent Robert Neilson Stephens, shows how many Americans perceived the Salvation Army. Here, Salvation Army workers in New York City offer the organization's newspaper, *War Cry*, to a man who brushes them off (rudely). The man is Steve Brodie, a celebrity who was recruited to portray himself onstage. A former East River lifesaving champion who became a saloon owner in New York's Bowery district, Brodie had won fame in 1886 by claiming to have jumped from the Brooklyn Bridge and survived. (It was later claimed that he faked the stunt, but "doing a Brodie" became popular slang for taking a big risk.) While many Americans admired the Salvation Army, others—particularly men of working-class origins, like Brodie—rejected its appeals. Library of Congress.

Christianity in the United States and Japan

I do not understand why the Christian lands have ignored the rights and advantages of forty million souls of Japan for forty years. . . . One of the excuses offered by foreign nations is that our country is not yet civilized. Is it the principle of civilized law that the rights and profits of the so-called uncivilized, or the weaker, should be sacrificed? As I understand it, the spirit and necessity of law is to protect the rights and profits of the weaker against the aggression of the stronger. . . .

From the religious source, the claim is made that the Japanese are idolaters and heathen. . . . [A]dmitting for the sake of argument that we are idolaters and heathen, is it Christian morality to trample upon the rights and advantages of a non-Christian nation, coloring all their natural happiness with the dark stain of injustice? . . .

You send your missionaries to Japan and they advise us to be moral and believe Christianity. We like to be moral, we know that Christianity is good; and we are very thankful for this kindness. But at the same time our people are rather perplexed. . . . For when we think that the treaty stipulated in the time of feudalism, when we were yet in our youth, is still clung to by the powerful nations of Christendom; when we find that every year a good many western vessels of seal fishery are smuggled into our seas; when legal cases are always decided by the foreign authorities in Japan unfavorably to us; when some years ago a Japanese was not allowed to enter a university on the Pacific coast of America because of his being of a different race; when a few months ago the school board in San Francisco enacted a regulation that no Japanese should be allowed to enter the public school there; when

During the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition, a Parliament of Religions brought together representatives of prominent faiths for discussion. English-speaking Protestants dominated the program, but several Asian representatives included Kinzo Hirai, a lay Buddhist from Japan. In his speech, Hirai reviewed Japan's experiences with the United States since Commodore Matthew C. Perry "opened" the country in 1853.

last year the Japanese were driven out in wholesale from one of the territories of the United States; when our business men in San Francisco were compelled by some union not to employ Japanese assistants and laborers, but the Americans; when there are some in the same city who speak on the platform against those of us who are already here; when there are many who go in procession hoisting lanterns marked "Japs must go"; when the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands were deprived of their suffrage; when we see some western people in Japan who erect before the entrance to their houses a special post upon which is the notice, "No Japanese is allowed to enter here"—just like a board upon which is written, "No dogs allowed"; when we are in such a situation, notwithstanding the kindness of the western nations from one point of view, who send their missionaries to us, that we unintelligent heathens are embarrassed and hesitate to swallow the sweet and warm liquid of the heaven of Christianity, will not be unreasonable.

Source: *The World's Parliament of Religions*, ed. John Henry Barrows (Chicago: Parliament Publishing Co., 1893), 444–450.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What is Hirai's attitude toward American Christians?
2. Of what events is Hirai aware that are taking place in the United States? How does this shape his view of Christian missions in Japan?
3. How might American delegates to the Parliament, especially Protestant missionaries, have responded to Hirai?

all else failed, down-and-outers knew they could count on the Salvation Army, whose bell ringers became a familiar sight on city streets. The group borrowed up-to-date marketing techniques and used the latest business slang in urging its Christian soldiers to "hustle."

The Salvation Army succeeded, in part, because it managed to bridge an emerging divide between Social Gospel reformers and Protestants who were taking a

different theological path. Disturbed by what they saw as rising secularism, conservative ministers and their allies held a series of Bible Conferences at Niagara Falls between 1876 and 1897. The resulting "Niagara Creed" reaffirmed the literal truth of the Bible and the certain damnation of those not born again in Christ. By the 1910s, a network of churches and Bible institutes had emerged from these conferences. They called their



Billy Sunday with His Bible

One of the most popular Protestant preachers of the early twentieth century, Billy Sunday (1862–1935) was a former professional baseball player with an imposing physique and dynamic preaching style. More willing than most of his predecessors to make direct political arguments, Sunday championed antiradicalism and prohibition—stances that foreshadowed the Protestant political crusades of the 1920s. Sunday's most famous sermon was his anti-liquor exhortation, “Get on the Water Wagon.” Library of Congress.

movement **fundamentalism**, based on their belief in the fundamental truth of the Bible.

Fundamentalists and their allies made particularly effective use of revival meetings. Unlike Social Gospel advocates, revivalists said little about poverty or earthly justice, focusing not on the matters of the world, but on heavenly redemption. The pioneer modern evangelist was Dwight L. Moody, a former Chicago shoe salesman and YMCA official who won fame in the 1870s. Eternal life could be had for the asking, Moody promised. His listeners needed only “to come forward and take, TAKE!” Moody’s successor, Billy Sunday, helped bring evangelism into the modern era. More often than his predecessors, Sunday took political stances based on his Protestant beliefs. Condemning the “booze traffic” was his greatest cause. Sunday also denounced unrestricted immigration and labor radicalism. “If I had my way with these ornery wild-eyed Socialists,” he once threatened, “I would stand them up before a firing squad.” Sunday supported some progressive reform causes; he opposed child labor, for example, and advocated voting rights for women. But in other ways, his views anticipated the nativism and antiradicalism that would dominate American politics after World War I.

Billy Sunday, like other noted men of his era, broke free of Victorian practices and asserted his leadership in a masculinized American culture. Not only was he a commanding presence on the stage, but before his

conversion he had been a hard-drinking outfielder for the Chicago White Stockings. To advertise his revivals, Sunday often organized local men into baseball teams, then put on his own uniform and played for both sides. Through such feats and the fiery sermons that followed, Sunday offered a model of spiritual inspiration, manly strength, and political engagement. His revivals were thoroughly modern: marketed shrewdly, they provided mass entertainment and the chance to meet a pro baseball player. Like other cultural developments of the industrializing era, Billy Sunday’s popularity showed how Americans often adjusted to modernity: they adapted older beliefs and values, enabling them to endure in new forms.

SUMMARY

Industrialization and new consumer practices created foundations for modern American culture. While middle-class families sought to preserve the Victorian domestic ideal, a variety of factors transformed family life. Families had fewer children, and a substantial majority of young people achieved more education than their parents had obtained. Across class and gender lines, Americans enjoyed athletics and the outdoors, fostering the rise of environmentalism.

Among an array of women’s reform movements, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union sought

prohibition of liquor, but it also addressed issues such as domestic violence, poverty, and education. Members of women's clubs pursued a variety of social and economic reforms, while other women organized for race uplift and patriotic work. Gradually, the Victorian ideal of female moral superiority gave way to modern claims for women's equal rights.

New intellectual currents, including Darwinism, challenged Victorian certainties. In the arts, realist and naturalist writers rejected both romanticism and Victorian domesticity. Many Americans were shocked by

the results, including Theodore Dreiser's scandalous novel *Sister Carrie*, Mark Twain's rejection of Christian faith, and the boldly modernist paintings displayed at New York's Armory Show. Science and modernism did not, however, displace religion. Newly arrived Catholics and Jews, as well as old-line Protestants, adapted their faith to the conditions of modern life. Foreign missions, in the meantime, spread the Christian gospel around the world, with mixed results for those receiving the message.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Plessy v. Ferguson** (p. 577)
Young Men's Christian Association (p. 580)
Negro Leagues (p. 581)
Sierra Club (p. 583)
National Park Service (p. 583)
National Audubon Society (p. 583)
Comstock Act (p. 585)
liberal arts (p. 587)
Atlanta Compromise (p. 587)
maternalism (p. 589)
Woman's Christian Temperance Union (p. 589)
National Association of Colored Women (p. 591)

- National American Woman Suffrage Association** (p. 592)
feminism (p. 592)
natural selection (p. 594)
Social Darwinism (p. 594)
eugenics (p. 594)
realism (p. 594)
naturalism (p. 594)
modernism (p. 595)
American Protective Association (p. 600)
Social Gospel (p. 600)
fundamentalism (p. 602)

Key People

- Thomas Edison** (p. 576)
John Muir (p. 583)
Booker T. Washington (p. 587)
Frances Willard (p. 589)
Ida B. Wells (p. 591)
Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens) (p. 594)
Billy Sunday (p. 602)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. Why did athletics become popular in the late-nineteenth-century United States? In what ways did this trend represent broader changes in American society and culture?
2. What changes in women's private and public lives occurred in the decades after the Civil War, and how did these affect women from different backgrounds? Why do you think emphasis on the status of "ladies" became so insistent in this era?

3. Some historians argue that the changes brought by industrialization caused Americans to become a more secular people. To what extent do you agree or disagree, and why? Use evidence from this chapter to make your case.
4. What policy changes resulted, in part, from Americans' new zest for outdoor recreation? (You may also want to review Chapter 16, pp. 521 and 524–525 on John Wesley Powell, the creation of Yellowstone, and early wildlife conservation.)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** This chapter explains cultural transformation as largely the result of industrialization. That's true, but it's not the whole story: the Civil War also helped bring about change. Organizers of the WCTU, for example, were distressed by alcoholism among the industrial working class but also by the plight of veterans, some of whom anaesthetized their war wounds through heavy drinking. Review the material in Chapters 14 and 15, on the Civil War and its aftermath, and then write an essay in which you explain how changes in American society during the Civil War and Reconstruction laid the groundwork for new controversies in the areas of race relations, reform, science, and religious faith.

- 5. THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** On the Part 6 thematic timeline (p. 543), review developments in "Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture" and "Environment and Geography." How did industrialization change Americans' relationship to the outdoors—to natural environments? What connections do you see between those changes and other, broader shifts in American society and culture?

- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** This chapter contains several depictions of domestic spaces, and also of women in public. After studying these images, how would you describe the ideal roles that Americans of this era believed women should fulfill? Did the ideal differ, based on social and economic class? Compare these images to the photographs of women in this chapter. What differences do you see between the "ideal" depictions and the ways in which real women appeared in front of the camera?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Patrick W. Carey, *The Roman Catholics in America* (1996). A major synthesis of American Catholic history.

Stephen Fox, *The American Conservation Movement* (1985). A history of the rise of environmentalism.

Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow* (1996). An influential account of African American women's activism in reform and politics.

Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity* (2001). A good introduction to the new ideas of masculinity that

emerged in this period, and their impact on religious faith.

Jonathan Sarna, *American Judaism* (2004). Provides an excellent account of the negotiations between Americanized Jews and new Eastern European immigrants in this era.

David Shi, *Facing Facts* (1994). Explores the impact of realism and scientific thinking on the arts and intellectual life.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1861	• Vassar College founded for women
1872	• First national park established at Yellowstone
1873	• Association for the Advancement of Women founded • Comstock Act
1874	• Woman's Christian Temperance Union founded
1876	• Baseball's National League founded • Appalachian Mountain Club founded
1879	• Salvation Army established in the United States
1881	• Tuskegee Institute founded
1885	• Mississippi State College for Women founded
1890	• National American Woman Suffrage Association founded • Daughters of the American Revolution founded
1892	• Elizabeth Cady Stanton delivers "solitude of self" speech to Congress • John Muir founds Sierra Club
1893	• Chicago World's Columbian Exposition
1894	• United Daughters of the Confederacy founded
1895	• Booker T. Washington delivers Atlanta Compromise address
1896	• National Association of Colored Women founded • Charles Sheldon publishes <i>In His Steps</i> • <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> legalizes "separate but equal" doctrine
1900	• Lacey Act
1903	• First World Series • First National Wildlife Refuge established
1906	• Antiquities Act
1913	• Armory Show of modern art held in New York City
1916	• National Park Service created

KEY TURNING POINT: Some historians have argued that the 1890s was a crucial turning point in American culture — a decade when “modernity arrived.” Based on events in this chapter, do you agree?

19

CHAPTER

"Civilization's Inferno": The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities

1880–1917

THE NEW METROPOLIS

The Shape of the Industrial City
Newcomers and Neighborhoods
City Cultures

GOVERNING THE GREAT CITY

Urban Machines
The Limits of Machine Government

CRUCIBLES OF PROGRESSIVE REFORM

Fighting Dirt and Vice
The Movement for Social Settlements
Cities and National Politics

Clarence Darrow, a successful lawyer from Ashtabula, Ohio, felt isolated and overwhelmed when he moved to Chicago in the 1880s. "There is no place so lonely to a young man as a great city," Darrow later wrote. "When I walked along the street I scanned every face I met to see if I could not perchance discover someone from Ohio." Instead, he saw a "sea of human units, each intent upon hurrying by." At one point, Darrow felt near despair. "If it had been possible I would have gone back to Ohio," he wrote, "but I didn't want to borrow the money, and I dreaded to confess defeat."

In the era of industrialization, more and more Americans had experiences like Darrow's. In 1860, the United States was rural: less than 20 percent of Americans lived in an urban area, defined by census takers as a place with more than 2,500 inhabitants. By 1910, more Americans lived in cities (42.1 million) than had lived in the entire nation on the eve of the Civil War (31.4 million). The country now had three of the world's ten largest cities (*America Compared*, p. 611). Though the Northeast remained by far the most urbanized region, the industrial Midwest was catching up. Seattle, San Francisco, and soon Los Angeles became hubs on the Pacific coast. Even the South boasted of thriving Atlanta and Birmingham. As journalist Frederic C. Howe declared in 1905, "Man has entered on an urban age."

The scale of industrial cities encouraged experiments that ranged from the amusement park to the art museum, the skyscraper to the subway. Yet the city's complexity also posed problems, some of them far worse than Clarence Darrow's loneliness. Brothels flourished, as did slums, pollution, disease, and corrupt political machines. Fast-talking hucksters enjoyed prime opportunities to fleece newcomers; homeless men slept in the shadows of the mansions of the superrich. One African American observer called the city "Civilization's Inferno." The locus of urgent problems, industrial cities became important sites of political innovation and reform.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

How did the rise of large cities shape American society and politics?



George Bellows, *New York* George Bellows, a member of the so-called Ash Can school of painters (Chapter 18), was fascinated by urban life. In this 1911 painting, he depicts Madison Square during a winter rush-hour, crowded with streetcars, horse-drawn wagons, and pedestrians. If you could enter the world of this painting, what might you hear, feel, and smell, as well as see? What does Bellows suggest about the excitement and challenges of life in the big city? Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

The New Metropolis

Mark Twain, arriving in New York in 1867, remarked, “You cannot accomplish anything in the way of business, you cannot even pay a friendly call without devoting a whole day to it. . . . [The] distances are too great.” But new technologies allowed engineers and planners to reorganize urban geographies. Specialized districts began to include not only areas for finance, manufacturing, wholesaling, and warehousing but also immigrant wards, shopping districts, and business-oriented downtowns. It was an exciting and bewildering world.

The Shape of the Industrial City

Before the Civil War, cities served the needs of commerce and finance, not industry. Early manufacturing sprang up mostly in the countryside, where mill owners could draw water power from streams, find plentiful fuel and raw materials, and recruit workers from farms and villages. The nation’s largest cities were seaports; urban merchants bought and sold goods for distribution into the interior or to global markets.

As industrialization developed, though, cities became sites for manufacturing as well as finance and trade. Steam engines played a central role in this change. With them, mill operators no longer had to depend on less reliable water power. Steam power also vastly increased the scale of industry. A factory employing thousands of workers could instantly create a small city

such as Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, which belonged body and soul to the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company. Older commercial cities also industrialized. Warehouse districts converted to small-scale manufacturing. Port cities that served as immigrant gateways offered abundant cheap labor, an essential element in the industrial economy.

Mass Transit New technologies helped residents and visitors negotiate the industrial city. Steam-driven cable cars appeared in the 1870s. By 1887, engineer Frank Sprague designed an electric trolley system for Richmond, Virginia. Electricity from a central generating plant was fed to trolleys through overhead power lines, which each trolley touched with a pole mounted on its roof. Trolleys soon became the primary mode of transportation in most American cities. Congestion and frequent accidents, however, led to demands that

trolley lines be moved off streets. The “el” or elevated railroad, which began operation as early as 1871 in New York City, became a safer alternative. Other urban planners built down, not up. Boston opened a short underground line in 1897; by 1904, a subway running the length of Manhattan demonstrated the full potential of high-speed underground trains.

Even before the Civil War, the spread of railroads led to growth of outlying residential districts for the well-to-do. The high cost of transportation effectively segregated these wealthy districts. In the late nineteenth century, the trend accelerated. Businessmen and professionals built homes on large, beautifully landscaped lots in outlying towns such as Riverside, Illinois, and Tuxedo Park, New York. In such places, affluent wives and children enjoyed refuge from the pollution and perceived dangers of the city.

Los Angeles entrepreneur Henry Huntington, nephew of a wealthy Southern Pacific Railroad magnate, helped foster an emerging suburban ideal as he pitched the benefits of southern California sunshine. Huntington invested his family fortune in Los Angeles real estate and transportation. Along his trolley lines, he subdivided property into lots and built rows of bungalows, planting the tidy yards with lush trees and tropical fruits. Middle-class buyers flocked to purchase Huntington’s houses. One exclaimed, “I have apparently found a Paradise on Earth.” Anticipating twentieth-century Americans’ love for affordable single-family homes near large cities, Huntington had begun to invent southern California sprawl.

Skyscrapers By the 1880s, invention of steel girders, durable plate glass, and passenger elevators began to revolutionize urban building methods. Architects invented the skyscraper, a building supported by its steel skeleton. Its walls bore little weight, serving instead as curtains to enclose the structure. Although expensive to build, skyscrapers allowed downtown landowners to profit from small plots of land. By investing in a skyscraper, a landlord could collect rent for ten or even twenty floors of space. Large corporations commissioned these striking designs as symbols of business prowess.

The first skyscraper was William Le Baron Jenney’s ten-story Home Insurance Building (1885) in Chicago. Though unremarkable in appearance—it looked just like other downtown buildings—Jenney’s steel-girder construction inspired the creativity of American architects. A **Chicago school** sprang up, dedicated to the design of buildings whose form expressed, rather than masked, their structure and function. The presiding

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How were America’s industrial cities different from the typical city before 1860?

Woolworth Building, New York City

Under construction in this photograph, taken between 1910 and 1913, the headquarters of the nationwide Woolworth's five-and-dime chain became a dominant feature of the New York skyline. Manhattan soon had more skyscrapers than any other city in the world. Library of Congress.



genius of this school was architect Louis Sullivan, whose “vertical aesthetic” of set-back windows and strong columns gave skyscrapers a “proud and soaring” presence and offered plentiful natural light for workers inside. Chicago pioneered skyscraper construction, but New York, with its unrelenting demand for prime downtown space, took the lead by the late 1890s. The fifty-five-story Woolworth Building, completed in 1913, marked the beginning of Manhattan’s modern skyline.

The Electric City One of the most dramatic urban amenities was electric light. Gaslight, produced from coal gas, had been used for residential light since the early nineteenth century, but gas lamps were too dim to brighten streets and public spaces. In the 1870s, as generating technology became commercially viable, electricity proved far better. Electric arc lamps, installed in Wanamaker’s department store in Philadelphia in 1878, astonished viewers with their brilliant illumination. Electric streetlights soon replaced gaslights on city streets.

Before it had a significant effect on industry, electricity gave the city its modern tempo. It lifted elevators, illuminated department store windows, and above all, turned night into day. Electric streetlights made residents feel safer; as one magazine put it in 1912, “A light is as good as a policeman.” Nightlife became less risky and more appealing. One journalist described Broadway in 1894: “All the shop fronts are lighted, and

the entrances to the theaters blaze out on the sidewalk.” At the end of a long working day, city dwellers flocked to this free entertainment. Nothing, declared an observer, matched the “festive panorama” of Broadway “when the lights are on.”

Newcomers and Neighborhoods

Explosive population growth made cities a world of new arrivals, including many young women and men arriving from the countryside. Traditionally, rural daughters had provided essential labor for spinning and weaving cloth, but industrialization relocated those tasks from the household to the factory. Finding themselves without a useful household role, many farm daughters sought paid employment. In an age of declining rural prosperity, many sons also left the farm and—like immigrants arriving from other countries—set aside part of their pay to help the folks at home. Explaining why she moved to Chicago, an African American woman from Louisiana declared, “A child with any respect about herself or hisself wouldn’t like to see their mother and father work so hard and earn nothing. I feel it my duty to help.”

America’s cities also became homes for millions of overseas immigrants. Most numerous in Boston were the Irish; in Minneapolis, Swedes; in other northern cities, Germans. Arriving in a great metropolis, immigrants confronted many difficulties. One Polish man,



Lighting Up Minneapolis, 1883

Like other American cities, Minneapolis at night had been lit by dim gaslight until the advent of Charles F. Brush's electric arc lamps. This photograph marks the opening day, February 28, 1883, of Minneapolis's new era: the first lighting of a 257-foot tower topped by a ring of electric arc lamps. The electric poles on the right, connecting the tower to a power station, would soon proliferate into a blizzard of poles and overhead wires, as Minneapolis became an electric city. © Minnesota Historical Society/CORBIS.

who had lost the address of his American cousins, felt utterly alone after disembarking at New York's main immigration facility, Ellis Island, which opened in 1892. Then he heard a kindly voice in Polish, offering to help. "From sheer joy," he recalled, "tears welled up in my eyes to hear my native tongue." Such experiences suggest why immigrants stuck together, relying on relatives and friends to get oriented and find jobs. A high degree of ethnic clustering resulted, even within a single factory. At the Jones and Laughlin steelworks

in Pittsburgh, for example, the carpentry shop was German, the hammer shop Polish, and the blooming mill Serbian. "My people . . . stick together," observed a son of Ukrainian immigrants. But he added, "We who are born in this country . . . feel this country is our home."

Patterns of settlement varied by ethnic group. Many Italians, recruited by *padroni*, or labor bosses, found work in northeastern and Mid-Atlantic cities. Their urban concentration was especially marked after the



The World's Biggest Cities, 1800–2000

TABLE 19.1

1800		1900	
City	Population	City	Population
Beijing, China	1.10 million	London, United Kingdom	6.48 million
London, United Kingdom	0.86	New York, United States	4.24
Guangzhou, China	0.80	Paris, France	3.33
Istanbul, Turkey	0.57	Berlin, Germany	2.42
Paris, France	0.55	Chicago, United States	1.72
Hangzhou, China	0.50	Vienna, Austria	1.66
Edo (later Tokyo), Japan	0.49	Tokyo, Japan	1.50
Naples (later part of Italy)	0.43	St. Petersburg, Russia	1.44
Suzhou, China	0.39	Philadelphia, United States	1.42
Osaka, Japan	0.38	Manchester, United Kingdom	1.26
2000			
City	Population		
Tokyo, Japan	34.45 million		
Mexico City, Mexico	18.02		
New York City/Newark, United States	17.85		
São Paulo, Brazil	17.10		
Mumbai (Bombay), India	16.09		
Delhi, India	15.73		
Shanghai, China	13.22		
Calcutta, India	13.06		
Buenos Aires, Argentina	11.85		
Los Angeles, United States	11.81		

This table lists the ten largest cities in the world, by population in millions, at the start of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In each year, how many of the world's ten largest cities were located in the United States? In what regions of the world were the other cities located? What does this tell us about the United States's role in the world at each of these historical moments?
2. The figures from 1900 and 2000 show, to a large degree, the effects of industrialization. What does the table suggest about its impact?



The San Francisco Earthquake

California's San Andreas Fault had caused earthquakes for centuries—but when a major metropolis arose nearby, it created new potential for catastrophe. The devastating earthquake of April 18, 1906, occurred at 5:12 A.M., when many residents were sleeping. This photograph of Sacramento Street shows the resulting devastation and fires. The quake probably killed over 2,000 people, though the exact number will never be known. A massive 296-mile rupture along the fault, felt as far away as Los Angeles, Oregon, and central Nevada, the earthquake refuted contemporary geological theories. It prompted researchers to open new lines of inquiry aimed at predicting tremors—and constructing urban buildings that could withstand them.

Universal History Archive / UIG / The Bridgeman Art Library.

1880s, as more and more laborers arrived from southern Italy. The attraction of America was obvious to one young man, who had grown up in a poor southern Italian farm family. "I had never gotten any wages of any kind before," he reported after settling with his uncle in New Jersey. "The work here was just as hard as that on the farm; but I didn't mind it much because I would receive what seemed to me like a lot." Amadeo Peter Giannini, who started off as a produce merchant in San Francisco, soon turned to banking. After the San Francisco earthquake in 1906, his Banca d'Italia was the first financial institution to reopen in the Bay area. Expanding steadily across the West, it eventually became Bank of America.

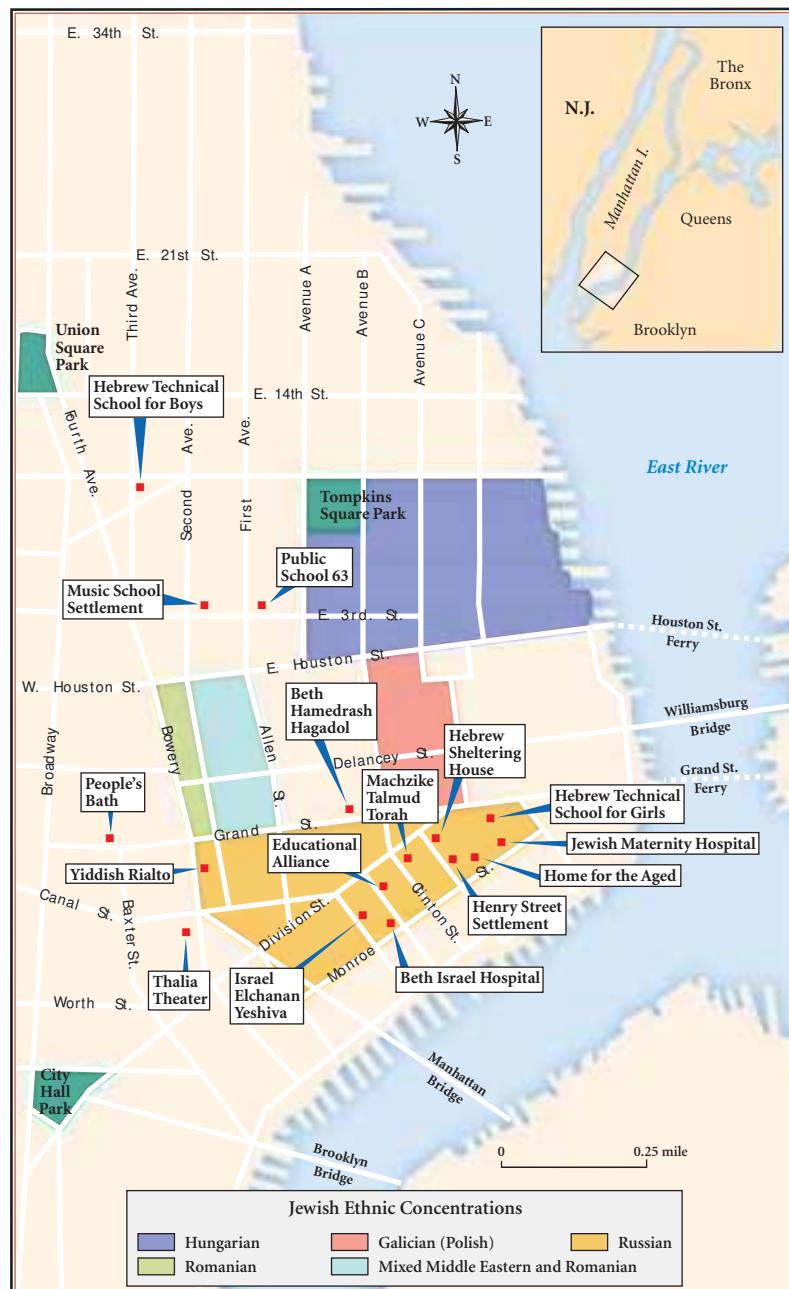
Like Giannini's bank, institutions of many kinds sprang up to serve ethnic urban communities. Throughout America, Italian speakers avidly read the newspaper *Il Progresso Italo-American*; Jews, the Yiddish-language *Jewish Daily Forward*, also published in New York. Bohemians gathered in singing societies,

while New York Jews patronized a lively Yiddish theater. By 1903, Italians in Chicago had sixty-six **mutual aid societies**, most composed of people from a particular province or town. These societies collected dues from members and paid support in case of death or disability on the job. Mutual benefit societies also functioned as fraternal clubs. "We are strangers in a strange country," explained one member of a Chinese *tong*, or mutual aid society, in Chicago. "We must have an organization (*tong*) to control our country fellows and develop our friendship."

Sharply defined ethnic neighborhoods such as San Francisco's Chinatown, Italian North Beach, and Jewish Hayes Valley grew up in every major city, driven by both discrimination and immigrants' desire to stick together (Map 19.1). In addition to patterns of ethnic and racial segregation, residential districts in almost all industrial cities divided along lines of economic class. Around Los Angeles's central plaza, Mexican neighborhoods diversified, incorporating Italians and Jews.

MAP 19.1**The Lower East Side, New York City, 1900**

As this map shows, the Jewish immigrants dominating Manhattan's Lower East Side preferred to live in neighborhoods populated by those from their home regions of Eastern Europe. Their sense of a common identity made for a remarkable flowering of educational, cultural, and social institutions on the Jewish East Side. Ethnic neighborhoods became a feature of almost every American city.



Later, as the plaza became a site for business and tourism, immigrants were pushed into working-class neighborhoods like Belvedere and Boyle Heights, which sprang up to the east. Though ethnically diverse, East Los Angeles was resolutely working class; middle-class white neighborhoods grew up predominantly in West Los Angeles.

African Americans also sought urban opportunities. In 1900, almost 90 percent of African Americans still lived in the South, but increasing numbers had moved to cities such as Baton Rouge, Jacksonville, Montgomery, and Charleston, all of whose populations were

more than 50 percent African American. Blacks also settled in northern cities, albeit not in the numbers that would arrive during the Great Migration of World War I. Though blacks constituted only 2 percent of New York City's population in 1910, they already numbered more than 90,000. These newcomers confronted conditions even worse than those for foreign-born immigrants. Relentlessly turned away from manufacturing jobs, most black men and

**PLACE EVENTS
IN CONTEXT**

What opportunities did urban neighborhoods provide to immigrants and African Americans, and what problems did these newcomers face?



The Cherry Family, 1906

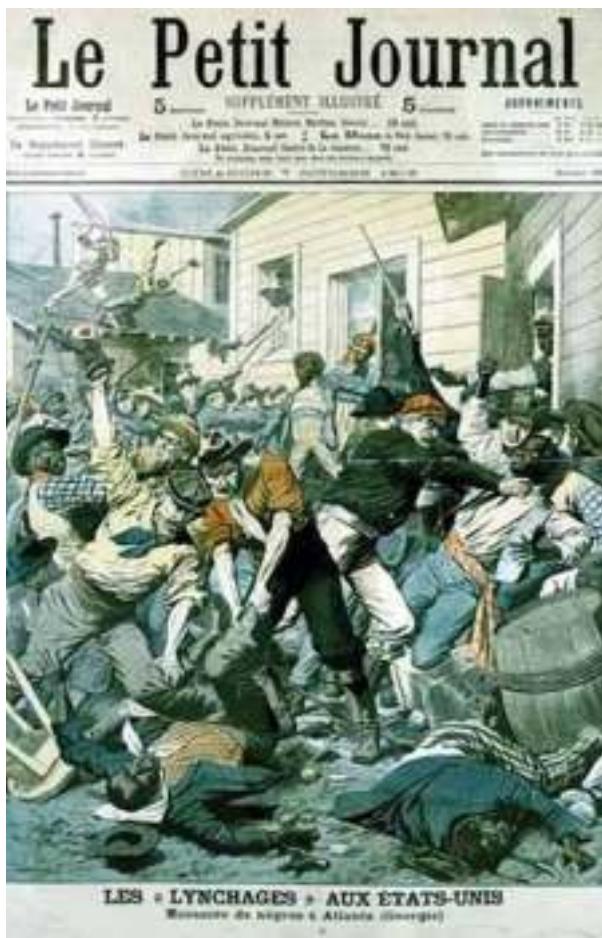
Wiley and Fannie Cherry migrated in 1893 from North Carolina to Chicago, settling in the small African American community that had established itself on the city's West Side. The Cherrys apparently prospered. By 1906, when this family portrait was taken, they had entered the black middle class. When migration intensified after 1900, longer-settled urban blacks like the Cherrys often became uncomfortable, and relations with needy rural newcomers were sometimes tense. Collection of Lorraine Heflin/Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

women took up work in the service sector, becoming porters, laundrywomen, and domestic servants.

Blacks faced another urban danger: the so-called **race riot**, an attack by white mobs triggered by street altercations or rumors of crime. One of the most virulent episodes occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1906. The violence was fueled by a nasty political campaign that generated sensational false charges of “negro crime.” Roaming bands of white men attacked black Atlantans, invading middle-class black neighborhoods and in one case lynching two barbers after seizing them in their shop. The rioters killed at least twenty-four blacks and wounded more than a hundred. The disease of hatred was not limited to the South. Race riots broke out in New York City’s Tenderloin district (1900);

Evansville, Indiana (1903); and Springfield, Illinois (1908). By then, one journalist observed, “In every important Northern city, a distinct race-problem already exists which must, in a few years, assume serious proportions.”

Whether they arrived from the South or from Europe, Mexico, or Asia, working-class city residents needed cheap housing near their jobs (Map 19.2). They faced grim choices. As urban land values climbed, speculators tore down houses that were vacated by middle-class families moving away from the industrial core. In their place, they erected five- or six-story **tenements**, buildings that housed twenty or more families in cramped, airless apartments (Figure 19.1). Tenements fostered rampant disease and horrific infant mortality.



The Atlanta Race Riot—Seen from France

The cover of this Paris newsmagazine depicts the Atlanta race riot of 1906. While the artist had almost certainly never visited Atlanta, his dramatic illustration shows that, from this early date, racial violence could be a source of embarrassment to the United States in its relations with other countries.

Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

In New York's Eleventh Ward, an average of 986 persons occupied each acre. One investigator in Philadelphia described twenty-six people living in nine rooms of a tenement. "The bathroom at the rear of the house was used as a kitchen," she reported. "One privy compartment in the yard was the sole toilet accommodation for the five families living in the house." African Americans often suffered most. A study of Albany, Syracuse, and Troy, New York, noted, "The colored people are relegated to the least healthful buildings."

Denouncing these conditions, reformers called for model tenements financed by public-spirited citizens willing to accept a limited return on their investment. When private philanthropy failed to make a dent, cities turned to housing codes. The most advanced was New

York's Tenement House Law of 1901, which required interior courts, indoor toilets, and fire safeguards for new structures. The law, however, had no effect on the 44,000 tenements that already existed in Manhattan and the Bronx. Reformers were thwarted by the economic facts of urban development. Industrial workers could not afford transportation and had to live near their jobs; commercial development pushed up land values. Only high-density, cheaply built housing earned landlords a significant profit.

City Cultures

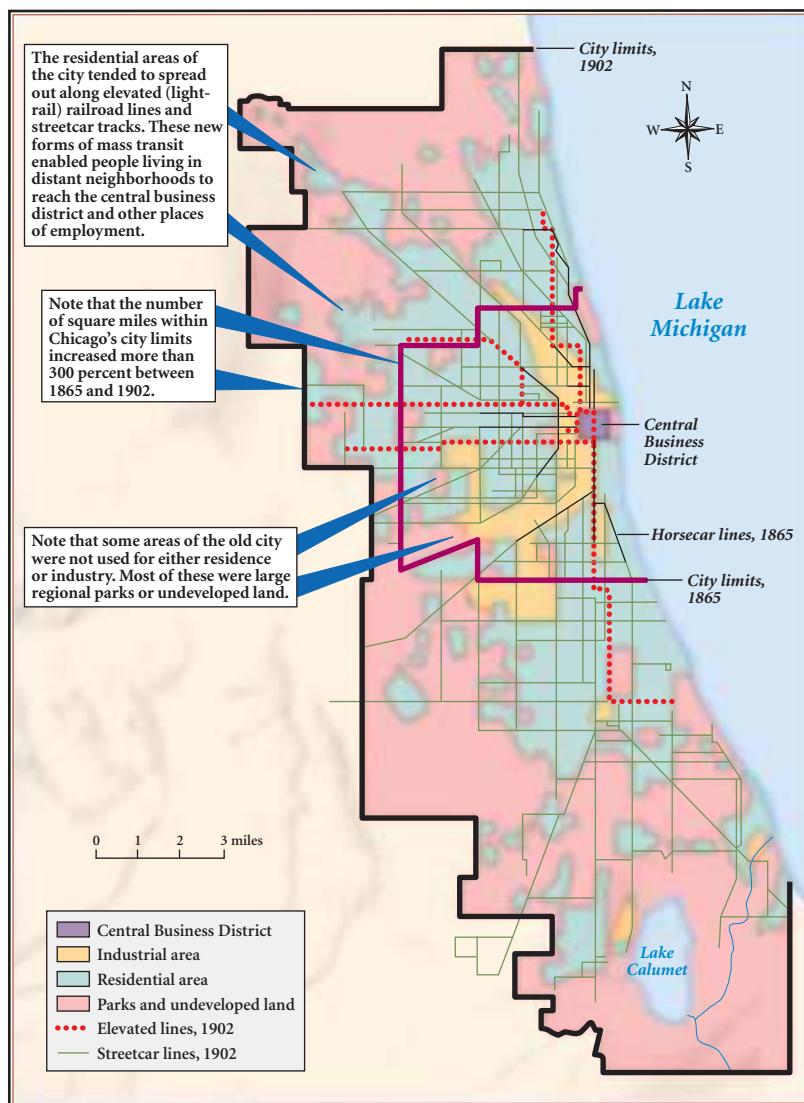
Despite their dangers and problems, industrial cities could be exciting places to live. In the nineteenth century, white middle-class Protestants had set the cultural standard; immigrants and the poor were expected to follow cues from their betters, seeking "uplift" and respectability. But in the cities, new mass-based entertainments emerged among the working classes, especially youth. These entertainments spread from the working class to the middle class—much to the distress of many middle-class parents. At the same time, cities became stimulating centers for intellectual life.

Urban Amusements One enticing attraction was **vaudeville theater**, which arose in the 1880s and 1890s. Vaudeville customers could walk in anytime and watch a continuous sequence of musical acts, skits, magic shows, and other entertainment. First popular among the working class, vaudeville quickly broadened its appeal to include middle-class audiences. By the early 1900s, vaudeville faced competition from early movie theaters, or nickelodeons, which offered short films for a nickel entry fee. With distaste, one reporter described a typical movie audience as "mothers of bawling infants" and "newsboys, bootblacks, and smudgy urchins." By the 1910s, even working girls who refrained from less respectable amusements might indulge in a movie once or twice a week.

More spectacular were the great amusement parks that appeared around 1900, most famously at New York's Coney Island. These parks had their origins in world's fairs, whose paid entertainment areas had offered giant Ferris wheels and camel rides through "a street in Cairo." Entrepreneurs found that such attractions were big business. Between 1895 and 1904, they installed them at several rival amusement parks near Coney Island's popular beaches. The parks offered New Yorkers a

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did working-class and elite city residents differ in how they spent their money and leisure time?



MAP 19.2

The Expansion of Chicago, 1865–1902

In 1865, Chicagoans depended on horsecars to get around town. By 1900, the city limits had expanded enormously and so had the streetcar service, which was by then electrified. Elevated trains eased the congestion on downtown streets. Ongoing extension of the streetcar lines, some beyond the city limits, ensured that suburban development would continue as well.

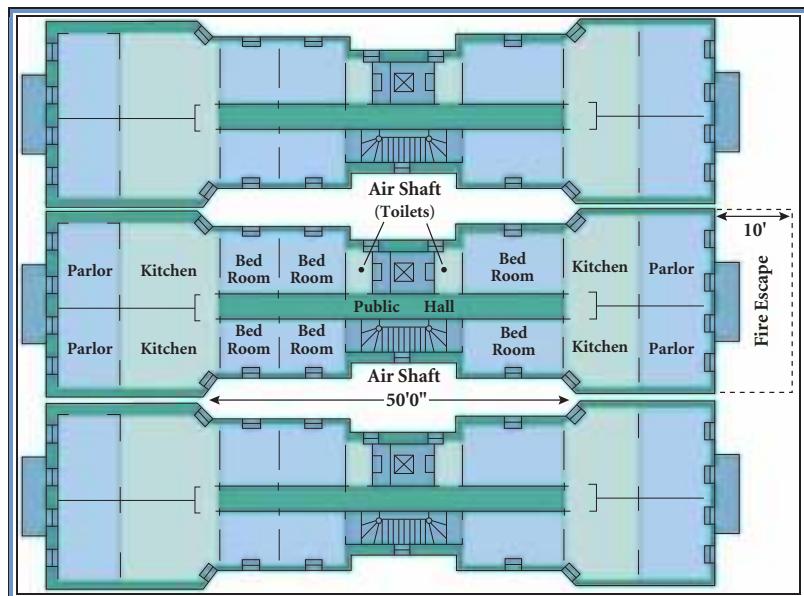


FIGURE 19.1

Floor Plan of a Dumbbell Tenement

In a contest for a design that met an 1879 requirement for every room to have a window, the dumbbell tenement won. The interior indentation, which created an airshaft between adjoining buildings, gave the tenement its "dumbbell" shape. But what was touted as a model tenement demonstrated instead the futility of trying to reconcile maximum land usage with decent housing. Each floor contained four apartments of three or four rooms, the largest only 10 by 11 feet. The two toilets in the hall became filthy or broke down under daily use by forty or more people. The narrow airshaft provided almost no light for the interior rooms and served mainly as a dumping ground for garbage. So deplorable were these tenements that they became the stimulus for the next wave of New York housing reform.

Amusement Park, Long Beach, California

The origins of the roller coaster go back to a Switchback Railway installed at New York's Coney Island in 1884, featuring gentle dips and curves. By 1900, when the Jack Rabbit Race was constructed at Long Beach, California, the goal was to create the biggest possible thrill. Angelenos journeyed by trolley to Long Beach to take a dip in the ocean as well as to ride the new roller coaster—and the airplane ride in the foreground. © Curt Teich Postcard Archives, Lake County Museum.



chance to come by ferry, escape the hot city, and enjoy roller coasters, lagoon plunges, and “hootchy-kootchy” dance shows. Among the amazed observers was Cuban revolutionary José Martí, working as a journalist in the United States. “What facilities for every pleasure!” Martí wrote. “What absolute absence of any outward sadness or poverty! . . . The theater, the photographers’ booth, the bathhouses!” He concluded that Coney Island epitomized America’s commercial society, driven not by “love or glory” but by “a desire for gain.” Similar parks grew up around the United States. By the summer of 1903, Philadelphia’s Willow Grove counted three million visitors annually; so did two amusement parks outside Los Angeles.

Ragtime and City Blues Music also became a booming urban entertainment. By the 1890s, Tin Pan Alley, the nickname for New York City’s song-publishing district, produced such national hit tunes as “A Bicycle Built for Two” and “My Wild Irish Rose.” The most famous sold more than a million copies of sheet music, as well as audio recordings for the newly invented phonograph. To find out what would sell, publishers had musicians play at New York’s working-class beer gardens and dance halls. One publishing agent, who visited “sixty joints a week” to test new songs, declared that “the best songs came from the gutter.”

African American musicians brought a syncopated beat that began, by the 1890s, to work its way into mainstream hits like “A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight.” Black performers became stars in their own right with the rise of **ragtime**. This music, apparently named for its ragged rhythm, combined a steady beat in the bass (played with the left hand on the piano) with syncopated, off-beat rhythms in the treble (played

with the right). Ragtime became wildly popular among audiences of all classes and races who heard in its infectious rhythms something exciting—a decisive break with Victorian hymns and parlor songs.

For the master of the genre, composer Scott Joplin, ragtime was serious music. Joplin, the son of former slaves, grew up along the Texas-Arkansas border and took piano lessons as a boy from a German teacher. He and other traveling performers introduced ragtime to national audiences at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893. Seeking to elevate African American music and secure a broad national audience, Joplin warned pianists, “It is never right to play ‘Ragtime’ fast.” But his instructions were widely ignored. Young Americans embraced ragtime.

They also embraced each other, as ragtime ushered in an urban dance craze. By 1910, New York alone had more than five hundred dance halls. In Kansas City, shocked guardians of morality counted 16,500 dancers on the floor on a Saturday night; Chicago had 86,000. Some young Polish and Slovak women chose restaurant jobs rather than domestic service so they would have free time to visit dance halls “several nights a week.” New dances like the Bunny Hug and Grizzly Bear were overtly sexual: they called for close body contact and plenty of hip movement. In fact, many of these dances originated in brothels. Despite widespread denunciation, dance mania quickly spread from the urban working classes to rural and middle-class youth.

By the 1910s, black music was achieving a central place in American popular culture. African American trumpet player and bandleader W. C. Handy, born in Alabama, electrified national audiences by performing music drawn from the cotton fields of the Mississippi Delta. Made famous when it reached the big city, this

music became known as the **blues**. Blues music spoke of hard work and heartbreak, as in Handy's popular hit "St. Louis Blues" (1914):

Got de St. Louis Blues jes blue as I can be,
Dat man got a heart lak a rock cast in the sea,
Or else he wouldn't gone so far from me.

Blues spoke to the emotional lives of young urbanites who were far from home, experiencing dislocation, loneliness, and bitter disappointment along with the thrills of city life. Like Coney Island and other leisure activities, ragtime and blues helped forge new collective experiences in a world of strangers.

Ragtime and blues spread quickly and had a profound influence on twentieth-century American culture. By the time Handy published "St. Louis Blues," composer Irving Berlin, a Russian Jewish immigrant, was introducing altered ragtime pieces into musical theater—which eventually transferred to radio and film. Lyrics often featured sexual innuendo, as in the title of Berlin's hit song "If You Don't Want My Peaches (You'd Better Stop Shaking My Tree)." The popularity of such music marked the arrival of modern youth culture. Its enduring features included "crossover" music that originated in the black working class and a commercial music industry that brazenly appropriated African American musical styles.

Sex and the City In the city, many young people found parental oversight weaker than it had been before. Amusement parks and dance halls helped foster the new custom of dating, which like other cultural innovations emerged first among the working class. Gradually, it became acceptable for a young man to escort a young woman out on the town for commercial entertainments rather than spending time at home under a chaperone's watchful eye. Dating opened a new world of pleasure, sexual adventure, and danger. Young women headed to dance halls alone to meet men; the term *gold digger* came into use to describe a woman who wanted a man's money more than the man himself.

But young women, not men, proved most vulnerable in the system of dating. Having less money to spend because they earned half or less of men's wages, working-class girls relied on the "treat." Some tried to maintain strict standards of respectability, keenly aware that their prospects for marriage depended on a virtuous reputation. Others became so-called charity girls, eager for a good time. Such young women, one investigator reported, "offer themselves to strangers, not for money, but for presents, attention and pleasure." For some women, sexual favors were a matter of

practical necessity. "If I did not have a man," declared one waitress, "I could not get along on my wages." In the anonymous city, there was not always a clear line between working-class treats and casual prostitution.

Dating and casual sex were hallmarks of an urban world in which large numbers of residents were young and single. The 1900 census found that more than 20 percent of women in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Boston lived as boarders and lodgers, not in family units; the percentage topped 30 percent in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Single men also found social opportunities in the city. One historian has called the late nineteenth century the Age of the Bachelor, a time when being an unattached male lost its social stigma. With boardinghouses, restaurants, and abundant personal services, the city afforded bachelors all the comforts of home and, on top of that, an array of men's clubs, saloons, and sporting events.

Many industrial cities developed robust gay subcultures. New York's gay underground, for example, included an array of drinking and meeting places, as well as clubs and drag balls. Middle-class men, both straight and gay, frequented such venues for entertainment or to find companionship. One medical student remembered being taken to a ball at which he was startled to find five hundred gay and lesbian couples waltzing to "a good band." By the 1910s, the word *queer* had come into use as slang for *homosexual*. Though harassment was frequent and moral reformers like Anthony Comstock issued regular denunciations of sexual "degeneracy," arrests were few. Gay sex shows and saloons were lucrative for those who ran them (and for police, who took bribes to look the other way, just as they did for brothels). The exuberant gay urban subculture offered a dramatic challenge to Victorian ideals.

High Culture For elites, the rise of great cities offered an opportunity to build museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions that could flourish only in major metropolitan centers. Millionaires patronized the arts partly to advance themselves socially but also out of a sense of civic duty and national pride. As early as the 1870s, symphony orchestras emerged in Boston and New York. Composers and conductors soon joined Europe in new experiments. The Metropolitan Opera, founded in 1883 by wealthy businessmen, drew enthusiastic crowds to hear the innovative work of Richard Wagner. In 1907, the Met shocked audiences by presenting Richard Strauss's sexually scandalous opera *Salomé*.

Art museums and natural history museums also became prominent new institutions in this era. The nation's first major art museum, the Corcoran Gallery

of Art, opened in Washington, D.C., in 1869, while New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art settled into its permanent home in 1880. In the same decades, public libraries grew from modest collections into major urban institutions. The greatest library benefactor was steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, who announced in 1881 that he would build a library in any town or city that was prepared to maintain it. By 1907, Carnegie had spent more than \$32.7 million to establish over a thousand libraries throughout the United States.

Urban Journalism Patrons of Carnegie’s libraries could read, in addition to books, an increasing array of mass-market newspapers. Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *New York World*, led the way in building his sales base with sensational investigations, human-interest stories, and targeted sections covering sports and high society. By the 1890s, Pulitzer faced a challenge from William Randolph Hearst (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 620). The arrival of Sunday color comics featuring the “Yellow Kid” gave such publications the name **yellow journalism**, a derogatory term for mass-market newspapers. Hearst’s and Pulitzer’s sensational coverage was often irresponsible. In the late 1890s, for example, their papers helped whip up frenzied pressure for the United States to declare war against Spain (Chapter 21). But Hearst and Pulitzer also exposed scandals and injustices. They believed their papers should challenge the powerful by speaking to and for ordinary Americans.

Along with Hearst’s and Pulitzer’s stunt reporters, other urban journalists also worked to promote reform. New magazines such as *McClure’s* introduced national audiences to reporters such as Ida Tarbell, who exposed the machinations of John D. Rockefeller, and David Graham Phillips, whose “Treason of the Senate,” published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1906, documented the deference of U.S. senators—especially Republicans—to wealthy corporate interests. Theodore Roosevelt dismissed such writers as **muckrakers** who focused too much on the negative side of American life. The term stuck, but muckrakers’ influence was profound. They inspired thousands of readers to get involved in reform movements and tackle the problems caused by industrialization.

Governing the Great City

One of the most famous muckrakers was Lincoln Steffens, whose book *The Shame of the Cities* (1904), first published serially in *McClure’s* magazine, denounced

the corruption afflicting America’s urban governments. Steffens used dramatic language to expose “swindling” politicians. He claimed, for example, that the mayor of Minneapolis had turned his city over to “outlaws.” In St. Louis, “bribery was a joke,” while Pittsburgh’s Democratic Party operated a private company that handled most of the city’s street-paving projects—at a hefty profit. Historians now believe that Steffens and other middle-class crusaders took a rather extreme view of urban politics; the reality was more complex. But charges of corruption could hardly be denied. As industrial cities grew with breathtaking speed, they posed a serious problem of governance.

Urban Machines

In the United States, cities relied largely on private developers to build streetcar lines and provide urgently needed water, gas, and electricity. This preference for business solutions gave birth to what one urban historian calls the “private city”—an urban environment shaped by individuals and profit-seeking businesses. Private enterprise, Americans believed, spurred great innovations—trolley cars, electric lighting, skyscrapers—and drove urban real estate development. Investment opportunities looked so tempting, in fact, that new cities sprang up almost overnight from the ruins of a catastrophic Chicago fire in 1871 and a major San Francisco earthquake in 1906. Real estate interests were often instrumental in encouraging streetcar lines to build outward from the central districts.

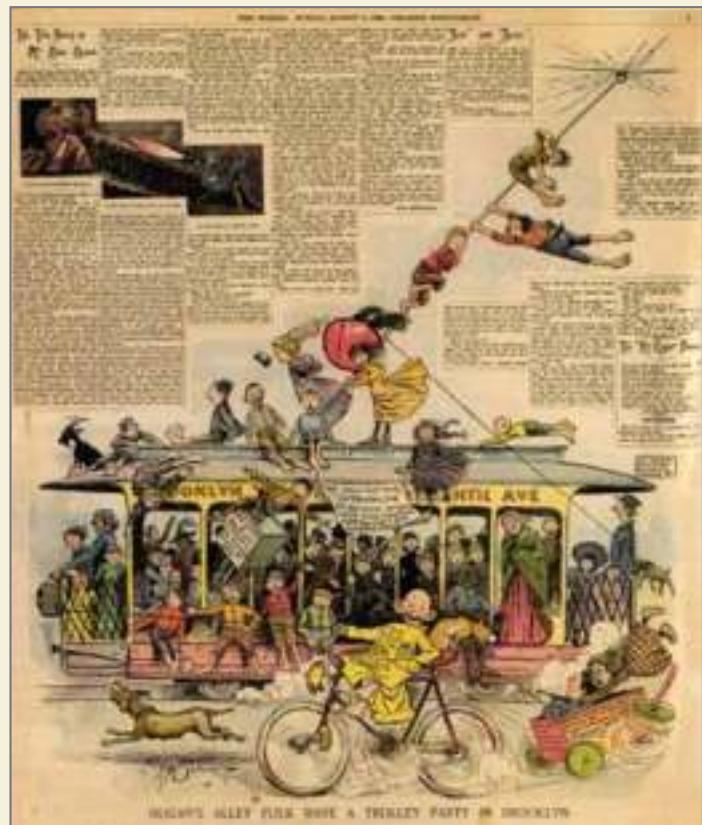
When contractors sought city business, or saloonkeepers needed licenses, they turned to **political machines**: local party bureaucracies that kept an unshakable grip on both elected and appointed public offices. A machine like New York’s infamous Tammany Society—known by the name of its meeting place, Tammany Hall—consisted of layers of political functionaries. At the bottom were precinct captains who knew every city neighborhood and block; above them were ward bosses and, at the top, powerful citywide leaders, who had usually started at the bottom and worked their way up. Machines dispensed jobs and patronage, arranged for urban services, and devoted their energies to staying in office, which they did, year after year, on the strength of their political clout and popularity among urban voters.

For constituents, political machines acted as a rough-and-ready social service agency, providing jobs for the jobless or a helping hand for a bereaved family. Tammany ward boss George Washington Plunkitt, for example, reported that he arranged housing for



Making Mass Media: Newspaper Empires

1. R. F. Outcault's "The Yellow Kid" comic, *The World*, August 9, 1896. Pulitzer and Hearst introduced Sunday color comics, including "The Yellow Kid" (shown here on a bicycle). Working-class readers instantly recognized the "kid," slang that then referred to working-class immigrant children. The Kid, like other boys of his age, wore skirts; tenement toddlers' heads were shaved to discourage lice.



The World, Sunday, August 9, 1896.

2. Editorial, *Wheeling Register*, April 6, 1885. A West Virginia newspaper commented on a campaign by the New York World to complete the Statue of Liberty. Parts of the statue, donated by France, were languishing in New York City parks.

The *New York World* is a liberty-loving journal. It has taken the responsibility of being foster mother to that

Among the businesses that served urban consumers were mass-market newspapers. Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* led the way in the 1880s; a decade later Pulitzer had a powerful rival in the *New York Journal*, owned by William Randolph Hearst.

much abused piece of bronze called the "BARTHOLDI statue." It begins to look as if the *World* may nurse it to a successful termination by raising funds enough through public contributions to complete the pedestal upon which it is to stand. Success to the enterprise.

3. "HOMELESS, HOPELESS! Nellie Bly in a Night Haunt of the City's Wretchedest of Women," *New York World*, February 9, 1896. Pulitzer and Hearst hired many "stunt reporters." The most famous was Elizabeth Jane Cochrane, who took her pen name, Nellie Bly, from a popular song. In 1892, sponsored by the *World*, Bly beat the record in Jules Verne's famous novel *Around the World in Eighty Days*, circumnavigating the world in seventy-two days. She filed many investigative pieces such as this one.

An old woman stood with her back against the side of a building. Over her head was a ragged shawl that had once been red. Around her knees hung a limp and shapeless calico skirt. The rain and sleet were falling steadily and lay thick and slushy upon the streets.

I shivered as I stopped to watch. . . . If the old woman felt the cold she gave no sign. She stood motionless, peeping around the corner. Her eyes were fixed upon the door of the Oak Street Station-House.

Just then three small boys, unmindful of the weather, came trudging down the street . . . industriously gathering every white spot that showed upon the pavement to add to the black snowballs they held in their wet red hands.

Turning the corner suddenly they came upon the old woman. For a second they paused and looked at her and she glared at them. It reminded me of the way dogs behave when they turn a corner and espy a cat. . . . The old woman started on a frantic hobble across the street, the boys after her. Their black snowballs landed squarely and soakingly against her bent back. . . . The old woman shouted things as she ran, things that do not sound well and are never by any chance reproduced in print, but they seemed to increase the delight of the fiendish boys. . . . She could hobble she made for the station-house and the boys pursued her, pelting her.

- 4. Lewis Wickes Hine, newsboys selling at a Hartford, Connecticut saloon, 9:30 P.M., March 1909.**
In addition to subscriptions and sales at newsstands, newspapers sold bundles of one hundred papers to boys and girls, who resold as many as they could. Photographer Lewis Hine's caption, included below, suggests one strategy for selling papers. Hine, working for the National Child Labor Committee, took many such images.

A common case of “team work.” The smaller boy . . . goes into one of the saloons and sells his “last” papers. Then comes out and his brother gives him more. Joseph said, “Drunks are me best customers. . . . Dey buy me out so I kin go home.” He sells every afternoon and night. Extra late Saturday. At it again at 6 A.M.

- 5. Newsboys strike coverage, New York Herald-Tribune, July 25, 1899.** As sales plummeted after the War of 1898, Pulitzer and other newspaper titans raised the cost of a newspaper bundle, for children who resold them, from 50 to 60 cents. Newsboys struck. They failed to get the 50-cent price reinstated, but the World and other companies agreed to buy back unsold papers, which they had not done before. Kid Blink, the strike leader, was blind in one eye.

The newsboys’ strike gathered new strength last night in a monster mass meeting held at New Irving Hall. . . . “Kid” Blink, who has been made Grand Master Workman of the union, led the procession. . . . The unbiased spectator last evening could not fail to be impressed with the resolute, manly fight the little fellows are making. . . .

SPEECH OF “KID” BLINK

. . . Dis is de time when we’s got to stick togedder like glue! But der’s one ting I want ter say before I goes any furder. I don’t believe in getting’ no feller’s papers frum him and tearin’ em up. I know I done it. (Cries of “You bet you did!”) But I’m sorry fer it. No! der ain’t nuttin in dat. We know wot we wants and we’ll git it. . . . Dem 10 cents is as good ter us as to de millionaires — maybe better. . . . We’ll strike and restrike till we get it. . . . We’ll stick togedder like plaster, won’t we, boys?

The boys answered that they would.



Library of Congress.

- 6. Circulation statistics for the *New York World* from N. W. Ayer and Son’s *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1910.**

Edition	Political affiliation	No. of Pages	Circulation
Morning	Democratic	16	361,412
Evening	Independent	12–16	410,259
Sunday	Democratic	56–72	459,663

Sources: (2) *Wheeling Register*, April 6, 1885; (3) *New York World*, February 9, 1896; (5) *New York Herald-Tribune*, July 25, 1899; (6) *N. W. Ayer and Son’s American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1910), 623.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

- Based on these sources, why do you think “yellow journalism” was popular and profitable? What audiences did it serve, and how?
- Consider the tone and point of view of sources 1, 3, and 5. What do they suggest about American attitudes toward the urban poor?
- What do these sources say about how Pulitzer and Hearst viewed their role as publishers? How might we compare their newspaper empires to other corporations of the industrial era (Chapter 17)?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Write a brief essay in which you explain the ways in which the rise of mass-market newspapers might have contributed to and helped to publicize calls for progressive reform.

families after their apartments burned, “fix[ing] them up until they get things runnin’ again.” Plunkitt was an Irishman, and so were most Tammany Hall leaders. But by the 1890s, Plunkitt’s Fifteenth District was filling up with Italians and Russian Jews. On a given day (as recorded in his diary), he might attend an Italian funeral in the afternoon and a Jewish wedding in the evening. Wherever he went, he brought gifts, listened to his constituents’ troubles, and offered a helping hand.

The favors dispensed by men like Plunkitt came via a system of boss control that was, as Lincoln Steffens charged, corrupt. Though rural, state, and national politics were hardly immune to such problems, cities offered flagrant opportunities for bribes and kickbacks. The level of corruption, as Plunkitt observed, was greater in cities, “accordin’ to the opportunities.” When politicians made contracts for city services, some of the money ended up in their pockets. In the 1860s, William Marcy Tweed, known as Boss Tweed, had made Tammany Hall a byword for corruption, until he was brought down in 1871 by flagrant overpricing of contracts for a lavish city courthouse. Thereafter, machine corruption became more surreptitious. Plunkitt declared that he had no need for outright bribes. He favored what he called “honest graft”—the profits that came to savvy insiders who knew where and when to buy land. Plunkitt made most of his money building wharves on Manhattan’s waterfront.

Middle-class reformers condemned immigrants for supporting machines. But urban immigrants believed that few middle-class Americans cared about the plight of poor city folk like themselves. Machines were hardly perfect, but immigrants could rely on them for jobs, emergency aid, and the only public services they could hope to obtain. Astute commentators saw that bosses dominated city government because they provided what was needed, with no condescending moral judgments. As reformer Jane Addams put it, the ward boss was a “stalking survival of village kindness.” Voters knew he was corrupt, but on election day they might say, “Ah, well, he has a big Irish heart. He is good to the widow and the fatherless,” or, “he knows the poor.” Addams concluded that middle-class reformers would only make headway if they set aside their prejudices, learned to “stand by and for and with the people,” and did a better job of it than the machine bosses did.



To see a longer excerpt of the Jane Addams essay, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Machine-style governments achieved some notable successes. They arranged (at a profit) for companies to operate streetcars, bring clean water and gaslight, and remove garbage. Nowhere in the world were there more massive public projects—aqueducts, sewage systems, bridges, and spacious parks—than in the great cities of the United States. The nature of this achievement can be grasped by comparing Chicago, Illinois, with Berlin, the capital of Germany, in 1900. At that time, Chicago’s waterworks pumped 500 million gallons of water a day, providing 139 gallons per resident; Berliners made do with 18 gallons each. Flush toilets, a rarity in Berlin, could be found in 60 percent of Chicago homes. Chicago lit its streets with electricity, while Berlin still relied mostly on gaslight. Chicago had twice as many parks as the German capital, and it had just completed an ambitious sanitation project that reversed the course of the Chicago River, carrying sewage into Lake Michigan, away from city residents.

These achievements were remarkable, because American municipal governments labored under severe political constraints. Judges did grant cities some authority: in 1897, for example, New York’s state supreme court ruled that New York City was entirely within its rights to operate a municipally owned subway. Use of private land was also subject to whatever regulations a city might impose. But, starting with an 1868 ruling in Iowa, the American legal system largely classified the city as a “corporate entity” subject to state control. In contrast to state governments, cities had only a limited police power, which they could use, for example, to stop crime but not to pass more ambitious measures for public welfare. States, not cities, held most taxation power and received most public revenues. Machines and their private allies flourished, in part, because cities were starved for legitimate cash.

Thus money talked; powerful economic interests warped city government. Working-class residents—even those loyal to their local machines—knew that the newest electric lights and best trolley lines served affluent neighborhoods, where citizens had the most clout. Hilda Satt, a Polish immigrant who moved into a poor Chicago neighborhood in 1893, recalled garbage-strewn streets and filthy backyard privies. “The streets were paved with wooden blocks,” she later wrote, “and after a heavy rainfall the blocks would become loose and float about in the street.” She remembered that on one such occasion, local pranksters posted a sign

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

Why, given that everyone agreed machines were corrupt, did urban voters support them?



City Garbage

“How to get rid of the garbage?” was a question that bedeviled every American city. The difficulties of keeping up are all too clear in this ground-level photograph by the great urban investigator Jacob Riis, looking down Tammany Street in New York City around 1890. Museum of the City of New York.

saying, “The Mayor and the Aldermen are Invited to Swim Here.” As cities expanded, the limitations of political machines became increasingly clear.

The Limits of Machine Government

The scale of urban problems became dramatically evident in the depression of the 1890s, when unemployment reached a staggering 25 percent in some cities. Homelessness and hunger were rampant; newspapers nationwide reported on cases of starvation, desperation, and suicide. To make matters worse, most cities

had abolished the early-nineteenth-century system of outdoor relief, which provided public support for the indigent. Fearing the system promoted laziness among the poor, middle-class reformers had insisted on private, not public, charity. Even cities that continued to provide outdoor relief in the 1890s were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the crisis. Flooded with “tramps,” police stations were forced to end the long-standing practice of allowing homeless individuals to sleep inside.

Faced with this crisis, many urban voters proved none too loyal to the machines when better alternatives arose. Cleveland, Ohio, for example, experienced

eighty-three labor strikes between 1893 and 1898. Workers' frustration centered on corrupt businesses with close ties to municipal officials. The city's Central Labor Union, dissatisfied with Democrats' failure to address its concerns, worked with middle-class allies to build a thriving local branch of the People's Party (Chapter 20). Their demands for stronger government measures, especially to curb corporate power, culminated in citywide protests in 1899 during a strike against the hated streetcar company. That year, more than eight thousand workers participated in the city's annual Labor Day parade. As they passed the mayor's reviewing stand, the bands fell silent and the unions furled their flags in a solemn protest against the mayor's failure to support their cause.

To recapture support from working-class Clevelanders, Democrats made a dramatic change in 1901, nominating Tom Johnson for mayor. Johnson, a reform-minded businessman, advocated municipal ownership of utilities and a tax system in which "monopoly and privilege" bore the main burdens. (Johnson once thanked Cleveland's city appraisers for raising taxes on his own mansion.) Johnson's comfortable victory transformed Democrats into Cleveland's leading reform party. While the new mayor did not fulfill the whole agenda of the Central Labor Union and its allies, he became an advocate of publicly owned utilities, and one of the nation's most famous and innovative reformers.

Like Johnson, other mayors began to oust machines and launch ambitious programs of reform. Some modeled their municipal governments on those of Glasgow, Scotland; Düsseldorf, Germany; and other European cities on the cutting edge of innovation. In Boston, Mayor Josiah Quincy built public baths, gyms, swimming pools, and playgrounds and provided free public concerts. Like other mayors, he battled streetcar companies to bring down fares. The scope of such projects varied. In 1912, San Francisco managed to open one small municipally owned streetcar line to compete with private companies. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the other hand, elected socialists who experimented with a sweeping array of measures, including publicly subsidized medical care and housing.

Republican Hazen Pingree, mayor of Detroit from 1890 to 1897, was a particularly noted reformer who worked for better streets and public transportation. During the depression, Pingree opened a network of vacant city-owned lots as community

vegetable gardens. Though some people ridiculed "Pingree's Potato Patches," the gardens helped feed thousands of Detroit's working people during the harsh depression years. By 1901, a coalition of reformers who campaigned against New York's Tammany Hall began to borrow ideas from Pingree and other mayors. In the wealthier wards of New York, they promised to reduce crime and save taxpayer dollars. In working-class neighborhoods, they vowed to provide affordable housing and municipal ownership of gas and electricity. They defeated Tammany's candidates, and though they did not fulfill all of their promises, they did provide more funding for overcrowded public schools.

Reformers also experimented with new ways of organizing municipal government itself. After a devastating hurricane in 1900 killed an estimated six thousand people in Galveston, Texas, and destroyed much of the city, rebuilders adopted a commission system that became a nationwide model for efficient government. Leaders of the **National Municipal League** advised cities to elect small councils and hire professional city managers who would direct operations like a corporate executive. The league had difficulty persuading politicians to adopt its business-oriented model; it won its greatest victories in young, small cities like Phoenix, Arizona, where the professional classes held political power. Other cities chose, instead, to enhance democratic participation. As part of the Oregon System, which called for direct voting on key political questions, Portland voters participated in 129 municipal referendum votes between 1905 and 1913.

Crucibles of Progressive Reform

The challenges posed by urban life presented rich opportunities for experimentation and reform. As happened in Cleveland with Tom Johnson's election as mayor, working-class radicals and middle-class reformers often mounted simultaneous challenges to political machines, and these combined pressures led to dramatic change. Many reformers pointed to the plight of the urban poor, especially children. Thus it is not surprising that **progressivism**, an overlapping set of movements to combat the ills of industrialization (Chapter 20), had important roots in the city. In the slums and tenements of the metropolis, reformers invented new forms of civic participation that shaped the course of national politics.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

How did reformers try to address the limits of machine government? To what extent did they succeed?

Fighting Dirt and Vice

As early as the 1870s and 1880s, news reporters drew attention to corrupt city governments, the abuse of power by large corporations, and threats to public health. Researcher Helen Campbell reported on tenement conditions in such exposés as *Prisoners of Poverty* (1887). Making innovative use of the invention of flash photography, Danish-born journalist Jacob Riis included photographs of tenement interiors in his famous 1890 book, *How the Other Half Lives*. Riis had a profound influence on Theodore Roosevelt when the future president served as New York City's police commissioner. Roosevelt asked Riis to lead him on tours around the tenements, to help him better understand the problems of poverty, disease, and crime.

Cleaning Up Urban Environments One of the most urgent problems of the big city was disease. In the late nineteenth century, scientists in Europe came to understand the role of germs and bacteria. Though

researchers could not yet cure epidemic diseases, they could recommend effective measures for prevention. Following up on New York City's victory against cholera in 1866—when government officials instituted an effective quarantine and prevented large numbers of deaths—city and state officials began to champion more public health projects. With a major clean-water initiative for its industrial cities in the late nineteenth century, Massachusetts demonstrated that it could largely eliminate typhoid fever. After a horrific yellow fever epidemic in 1878 that killed perhaps 12 percent of its population, Memphis, Tennessee, invested in state-of-the-art sewage and drainage. Though the new system did not eliminate yellow fever, it unexpectedly cut death rates from typhoid and cholera, as well as infant deaths from water-borne disease. Other cities followed suit. By 1913, a nationwide survey of 198 cities found that they were spending an average of \$1.28 per resident for sanitation and other health measures.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What prompted the rise of urban environmental and antiprostitution campaigns?

A Hint to Boards of Health

In 1884, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* urged municipal and state boards of health to work harder to protect urban children. When this cartoon appeared, New Yorkers were reading shocking reports of milk dealers who diluted milk with borax and other chemicals. Note the range of health threats that the cartoonist identifies. Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center.



The public health movement became one of the era's most visible and influential reforms. In cities, the impact of pollution was obvious. Children played on piles of garbage, breathed toxic air, and consumed poisoned food, milk, and water. Infant mortality rates were shocking: in the early 1900s, a baby born to a Slavic woman in an American city had a 1 in 3 chance of dying in infancy. Outraged, reformers mobilized to demand safe water and better garbage collection. Hygiene reformers taught hand-washing and other techniques to fight the spread of tuberculosis.

Americans worked in other ways to make industrial cities healthier and more beautiful to live in. Many municipalities adopted smoke-abatement laws, though they had limited success with enforcement until the post-World War I adoption of natural gas, which burned cleaner than coal. Recreation also received attention. Even before the Civil War, urban planners had established sanctuaries like New York's Central

Park, where city people could stroll, rest, and contemplate natural landscapes. By the turn of the twentieth century, the **"City Beautiful" movement** arose to advocate more and better urban park spaces. Though most parks still featured flower gardens and tree-lined paths, they also made room for skating rinks, tennis courts, baseball fields, and swimming pools. Many included play areas with swing sets and seesaws, promoted by the National Playground Association as a way to keep urban children safe and healthy.

Closing Red Light Districts Distressed by the commercialization of sex, reformers also launched a campaign against urban prostitution. They warned, in dramatic language, of the threat of white slavery, alleging (in spite of considerable evidence to the contrary) that large numbers of young white women were being kidnapped and forced into prostitution. In *The City's Perils* (1910), author Leona Prall Groetzinger wrote



The Crusade Against "White Slavery"

With the growth of large cities, prostitution was a major cause of concern in the Progressive Era. Though the number of sex workers per capita in the United States was probably declining by 1900, the presence of red light districts was obvious; thousands of young women (as well as a smaller number of young men) were exploited in the sex trade. This image appeared in *The Great War on White Slavery*, published by the American Purity Foundation in 1911. It illustrates how immigrant women could be ensnared in the sex trade by alleged "friends" who offered them work. Reformers' denunciations of "white slavery" show an overt racial bias: while antiprostitution campaigners reported on the exploitation of Asian and African American women, the victimization of white women received the greatest emphasis and most effectively grabbed the attention of prosperous, middle-class Americans. From *The Great War on White Slavery*, by Clifford G. Roe, 1911. Courtesy Vassar College Special Collections.

that young women arrived from the countryside “burning with high hope and filled with great resolve, but the remorseless city takes them, grinds them, crushes them, and at last deposits them in unknown graves.”

Practical investigators found a more complex reality: women entered prostitution as a result of many factors, including low-wage jobs, economic desperation, abandonment, and often sexual and domestic abuse. Women who bore a child out of wedlock were often shunned by their families and forced into prostitution. Some working women and even housewives undertook casual prostitution to make ends meet. For decades, female reformers had tried to “rescue” such women and retrain them for more respectable employments, such as sewing. Results were, at best, mixed. Efforts to curb demand—that is, to focus on arresting and punishing men who employed prostitutes—proved unpopular with voters.

Nonetheless, with public concern mounting over “white slavery” and the payoffs machine bosses exacted from brothel keepers, many cities appointed vice commissions in the early twentieth century. A wave of brothel closings crested between 1909 and 1912, as police shut down red light districts in cities nationwide. Meanwhile, Congress passed the Mann Act (1910) to prohibit the transportation of prostitutes across state lines.

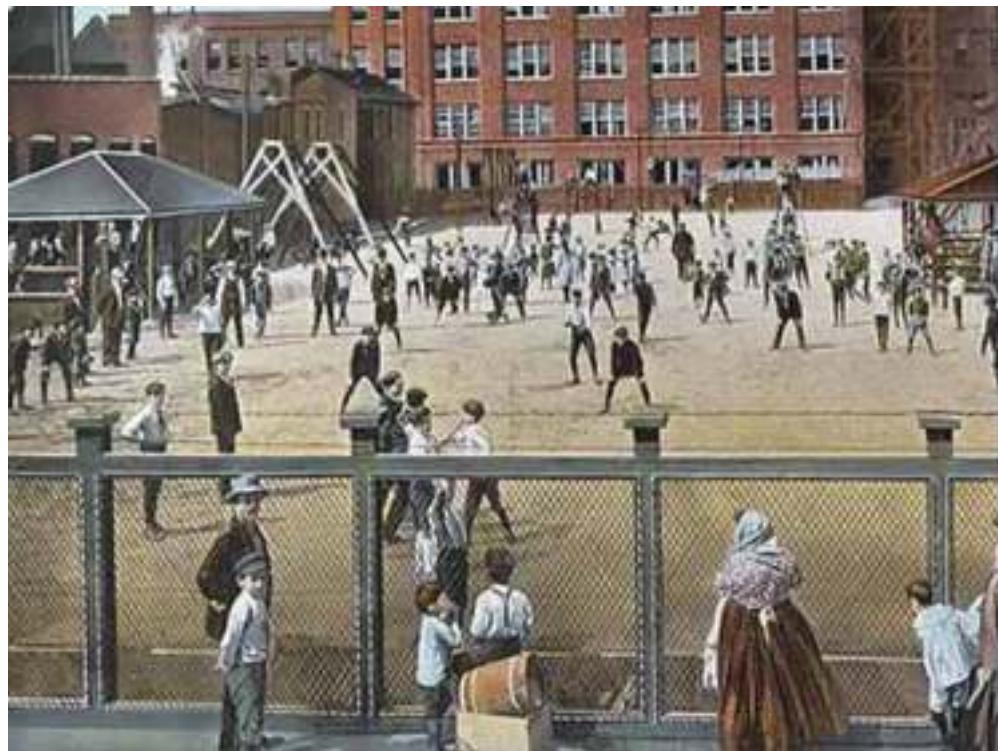
The crusade against prostitution accomplished its main goal, closing brothels, but in the long term it worsened the conditions under which many prostitutes worked. Though conditions in some brothels were horrific, sex workers who catered to wealthy clients made high wages and were relatively protected by madams, many of whom set strict rules for clients and provided medical care for their workers. In the wake of brothel closings, such women lost control of the prostitution business. Instead, almost all sex workers became “streetwalkers” or “call girls,” more vulnerable to violence and often earning lower wages than they had before the antiprostitution crusade began.

The Movement for Social Settlements

Some urban reformers focused their energies on building a creative new institution, the **social settlement**. These community welfare centers investigated the plight of the urban poor, raised funds to address urgent needs, and helped neighborhood residents advocate on their own behalf. At the movement’s peak in the early twentieth century, dozens of social settlements operated across the United States. The most famous, and one of the first, was **Hull House** on Chicago’s West Side, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and her companion Ellen Gates Starr. Their dilapidated mansion, flanked

Hull House Playground, Chicago, 1906

When this postcard was made, the City of Chicago’s Small Parks Commission had just taken over management of the playground from settlement workers at Hull House, who had created it. In a pattern repeated in many cities, social settlements introduced new institutions and ideas—such as safe places for urban children to play—and inspired municipal authorities to assume responsibility and control. Picture Research Consultants & Archives.



TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

What were the origins of social settlements, and how did they develop over time?

by saloons in a neighborhood of Italian and Eastern European immigrants, served as a spark plug for community improvement and political reform.

The idea for Hull House came partly from Toynbee Hall, a

London settlement that Addams and Starr had visited while touring Europe. Social settlements also drew inspiration from U.S. urban missions of the 1870s and 1880s. Some of these, like the Hampton Institute, had aided former slaves during Reconstruction; others, like Grace Baptist in Philadelphia, arose in northern cities. To meet the needs of urban residents, missions offered employment counseling, medical clinics, day care centers, and sometimes athletic facilities in cooperation with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).

Jane Addams, a daughter of the middle class, first expected Hull House to offer art classes and other cultural programs for the poor. But Addams's views quickly changed as she got to know her new neighbors and struggled to keep Hull House open during the depression of the 1890s. Addams's views were also influenced by conversations with fellow Hull House resident Florence Kelley, who had studied in Europe and returned a committed socialist. Dr. Alice Hamilton, who opened a pediatric clinic at Hull House, wrote that Addams came to see her settlement as "a bridge between the classes. . . . She always held that this bridge was as much of a help to the well-to-do as to the poor." Settlements offered idealistic young people "a place where they could live as neighbors and give as much as they could of what they had."

Addams and her colleagues believed that working-class Americans already *knew* what they needed. What they lacked were resources to fulfill those needs, as well as a political voice. These, settlement workers tried to provide. Hull House was typical in offering a bathhouse, playground, kindergarten, and day care center. Some settlements opened libraries and gyms; others operated penny savings banks and cooperative kitchens where tired mothers could purchase a meal at the end of the day. (Addams humbly closed the Hull House kitchen when she found that her bland New England cooking had little appeal for Italians; her coworker, Dr. Alice Hamilton, soon investigated the health benefits of garlic.) At the Henry Street Settlement in New York, Lillian Wald organized visiting nurses to improve health in tenement wards. Addams, meanwhile, encouraged local women to inspect the neighborhood and bring back a list of dangers to health and safety. Together, they prepared a complaint to city

council. The women, Addams wrote, had shown "civic enterprise and moral conviction" in carrying out the project themselves.

Social settlements took many forms. Some attached themselves to preexisting missions and African American colleges. Others were founded by energetic college graduates. Catholics ran St. Elizabeth Center in St. Louis; Jews, the Boston Hebrew Industrial School. Whatever their origins, social settlements were, in Addams's words, "an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern condition of life in a great city."

Settlements served as a springboard for many other projects. Settlement workers often fought city hall to get better schools and lobbied state legislatures for new workplace safety laws. At Hull House, Hamilton investigated lead poisoning and other health threats at local factories. Her colleague Julia Lathrop investigated the plight of teenagers caught in the criminal justice system. She drafted a proposal for separate juvenile courts and persuaded Chicago to adopt it. Pressuring the city to experiment with better rehabilitation strategies for juveniles convicted of crime, Lathrop created a model for juvenile court systems across the United States.

Another example of settlements' long-term impact was the work of Margaret Sanger, a nurse who moved to New York City in 1911 and volunteered with a Lower East Side settlement. Horrified by women's suffering from constant pregnancies—and remembering her devout Catholic mother, who had died young after bearing eleven children—Sanger launched a crusade for what she called birth control. Her newspaper column, "What Every Girl Should Know," soon garnered an indictment for violating obscenity laws. The publicity that resulted helped Sanger launch a national birth control movement.

Settlements were thus a crucial proving ground for many progressive experiments, as well as for the emerging profession of social work, which transformed the provision of public welfare. Social workers rejected the older model of private Christian charity, dispensed by well-meaning middle-class volunteers to those in need. Instead, social workers defined themselves as professional caseworkers who served as advocates of social justice. Like many reformers of the era, they allied themselves with the new social sciences, such as sociology and economics, and undertook statistical surveys and other systematic methods for gathering facts. Social work proved to be an excellent opportunity for educated women who sought professional careers. By 1920, women made up 62 percent of U.S. social workers.

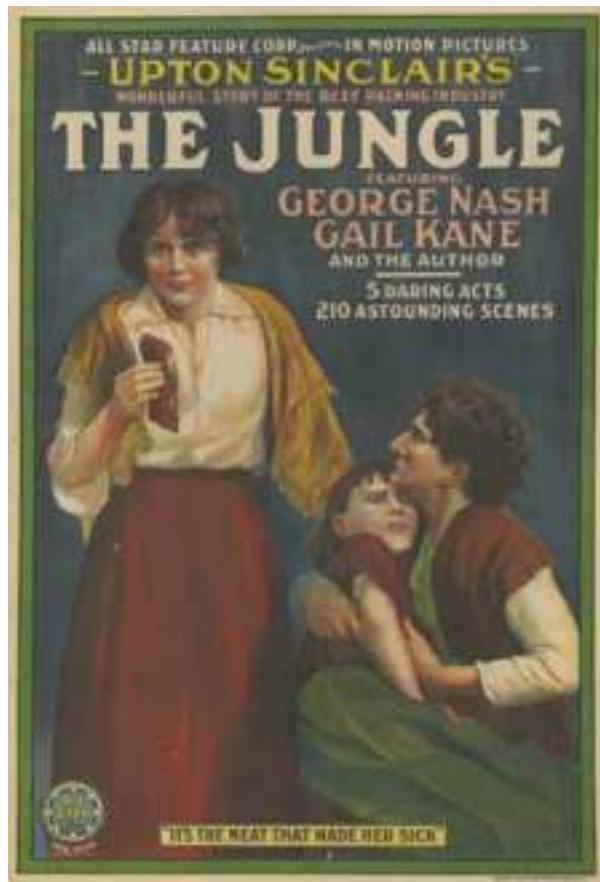
Cities and National Politics

Despite reform efforts, the problems wrought by industrialization continued to cause suffering in urban workplaces and environments. In 1906, journalist Upton Sinclair exposed some of the most extreme forms of labor exploitation in his novel *The Jungle*, which described appalling conditions in Chicago meatpacking plants. What caught the nation’s attention was not Sinclair’s account of workers’ plight, but his descriptions of rotten meat and filthy packing conditions. With constituents up in arms, Congress passed the **Pure Food and Drug Act** (1906) and created the federal Food and Drug Administration to oversee compliance with the new law.

The impact of *The Jungle* showed how urban reformers could affect national politics. Even more significant was the work of Josephine Shaw Lowell, a Civil War widow from a prominent family. After years of struggling to aid poverty-stricken individuals in New York City, Lowell concluded that charity was not enough. In 1890, she helped found the New York Consumers’ League to improve wages and working conditions for female store clerks. The league encouraged shoppers to patronize only stores where wages and working conditions were known to be fair. By 1899, the organization had become the **National Consumers’ League** (NCL). At its head stood the outspoken and skillful Florence Kelley, a Hull House worker and former chief factory inspector of Illinois. Kelley believed that only government oversight could protect exploited workers. Under her crusading leadership, the NCL became one of the most powerful progressive organizations advocating worker protection laws.

Many labor organizations also began in a single city and then grew to national stature. One famous example was the **Women’s Trade Union League**, founded in New York in 1903. Financed by wealthy women who supported its work, the league trained working-class leaders like Rose Schneiderman, who organized unions among garment workers. Although often frustrated by the patronizing attitude of elite sponsors, trade-union women joined together in the broader struggle for women’s rights. When New York State held referenda on women’s suffrage in 1915 and 1917, strong support came from Jewish and Italian precincts where unionized garment workers lived. Working-class voters hoped, in turn, that enfranchised women would use their ballots to help industrial workers.

Residents of industrial cities, then, sought allies in state and national politics. The need for broader action was made clear in New York City by a shocking event



The Jungle

This poster advertises a 1914 silent film based on Sinclair’s reform novel, which tells the story of Lithuanian immigrants struggling to get by amid the dangerous work, starvation wages, and abysmal living conditions of Chicago’s meatpacking district. The film launched the film careers of actors George Nash and Gail Kane, who played the hero, Jurgis Rutkus, and his wife, Ona. Sinclair himself appeared at the start of the film, explaining how he conducted research for his story. Socialist clubs often screened the film, which ended—like the book—with a ringing call for workers to organize and create a “cooperative commonwealth” to take control of their conditions of life and work. Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.

on March 25, 1911. On that Saturday afternoon, just before quitting time, a fire broke out at the **Triangle Shirtwaist** Company. It quickly spread through the three floors the company occupied at the top of a ten-story building. Panicked workers discovered that, despite fire safety laws, employers had locked the emergency doors to prevent theft. Dozens of Triangle workers, mostly young immigrant women, were trapped in the flames. Many leaped to their deaths; the rest never reached the windows. The average age of the 146 people who died was just nineteen (American Voices, p. 630).



"These Dead Bodies Were the Answer": The Triangle Fire

William G. Shepherd, Reporter

William G. Shepherd's eyewitness account appeared in newspapers across the country. Working for the United Press, Shepherd phoned the story to his editor as he watched the unfolding tragedy.

I was walking through Washington Square when a puff of smoke issuing from a factory building caught my eye. I reached the building before the alarm was turned in. I saw every feature of the tragedy visible from outside the building. I learned a new sound — a more horrible sound than description can picture. It was the thud of a speeding, living body on a stone sidewalk. . . .

I looked up — saw that there were scores of girls at the windows. The flames from the floor below were beating in their faces. Somehow I knew that they, too, must come down, and something within me — something I didn't know was there — steeled me.

I even watched one girl falling. Waving her arms, trying to keep her body upright until the very instant she struck the sidewalk, she was trying to balance herself. Then came the thud — then a silent, unmoving pile of clothing and twisted, broken limbs. . . .

On the sidewalk lay heaps of broken bodies. A policeman later went about with tags, which he fastened with wire to the wrists of the dead girls, numbering each with a lead pencil, and I saw him fasten tag no. 54 to the wrist of a girl who wore an engagement ring. . . .

The floods of water from the firemen's hose that ran into the gutter were actually stained red with blood. I looked upon the heap of dead bodies and I remembered these girls were the shirtwaist makers. I remembered their great strike of last year in which these same girls had demanded more sanitary conditions and more safety precautions in the shops. These dead bodies were the answer.

Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi

A week after the fire, on April 2, 1911, a memorial meeting was held at the Metropolitan Opera House. One of the speakers, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, a prominent figure in New York reform circles, made the following remarks.

Entire books have been written about the catastrophic 1911 fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City. The following excerpts are from documents by four contemporaries who in various ways played a part in the Triangle tragedy and its aftermath. Note the different audiences that these speakers and authors were addressing and the lessons that each one draws from this horrific event.

This was not an inevitable disaster which man could neither foresee nor control. We might have foreseen it, and some of us did; we might have controlled it, but we chose not to do so. . . . It is not a question of enforcement of law nor of inadequacy of law. We have the wrong kind of laws and the wrong kind of enforcement. Before insisting upon inspection and enforcement, let us lift up the industrial standards so as to make conditions worth inspecting, and, if inspected, certain to afford security to workers. . . . And when we go before the legislature of the state, and demand increased appropriations in order to ensure the possibility of a sufficient number of inspectors, we will not forever be put off with the answer: We have no money.

The lesson of the hour is that while property is good, life is better; that while possessions are valuable, life is priceless. The meaning of the hour is that the life of the lowliest worker in the nation is sacred and inviolable, and, if that sacred human right be violated, we shall stand adjudged and condemned before the tribunal of God and history.

Rose Schneiderman, Trade Unionist

Rose Schneiderman also spoke at the Metropolitan Opera House meeting. At age thirteen, she had gone to work in a garment factory like Triangle Shirtwaist's and, under the tutelage of the Women's Trade Union League, had become a labor organizer. The strike she mentions in her speech was popularly known as the Uprising of the 30,000, a nearly spontaneous walkout in 1909 that launched the union movement in the women's garment trades.

I would be a traitor to these poor burned bodies if I came here to talk good fellowship. We have tried you good people of the public and we have found you wanting. The old Inquisition had its rack and its thumbscrews and its instruments of torture with iron teeth. We know what these things are today; the iron teeth are our necessities, the thumbscrews are the high-powered and swift machinery close to which we must work, and the rack is here in the firetrap structures that will destroy us the minute they catch on fire.

This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in the city. . . . Every year thousands of us are maimed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred. There are so many of us for one job it matters little if 146 of us are burned to death.

We have tried you citizens; we are trying you now, and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers, brothers, and sisters by way of a charity gift. But every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unbearable the strong hand of the law is allowed to press down heavily upon us . . . [and] beats us back, when we rise, into the conditions that make life unbearable.

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement.

Max D. Steuer, Lawyer

After finding physical evidence of the locked door that had blocked escape from the fire, New York's district attorney brought manslaughter charges against the Triangle proprietors, Max Blanck and Isaac Harris, who hired in their defense the best, highest-priced trial attorney in town, Max D. Steuer. In this talk, delivered some time later to a rapt audience of lawyers, Steuer described how he undermined the testimony of the key witness for the prosecution by suggesting that she had been coached to recite her answer. The trial judge instructed the jury that they could only convict Blanck and Harris if it was *certain* they had known the emergency exits were locked; as Steuer notes, the jury voted to acquit.

There are many times, many times when a witness has given evidence very hurtful to your cause and you say, "No questions," and dismiss him or her in the hope that the jury will dismiss the evidence too. [*Laughter*.] But can you do that when the jury is weeping, and the little girl witness is weeping too? [*Laughter*.] . . . There is one [rule] that commands what not to do. Do not attack the witness. Suavely, politely, genially, toy with the story.

In the instant case, about half an hour was consumed by the examiner [Steuer]. . . . Very little progress was made; but the tears had stopped. And then [the witness] was asked, "Now, Rose, in your own words, and in your

own way will you tell the jury everything you did, everything you said, and everything you saw from the moment you first saw flames."

The question was put in precisely the same words that the District Attorney had put it, and little Rose started her answer with exactly the same word that she had started it to the District Attorney . . . and the only change in her recital was that Rose left out one word. And then Rose was asked, "Didn't you leave out a word that you put in when you answered it before?" . . . So Rose started to repeat to herself the answer [*laughter*], and as she came to the missing word she said, "Oh, yes!" and supplied it; and thereupon the examiner went on to an entirely different subject. . . . [W]hen again he [asked her to repeat her story] . . . Rose started with the same word and finished with the same word, her recital being identical with her first reply to the same question.

The jurymen were not weeping. Rose had not hurt the case, and the defendants were acquitted; there was not a word of reflection at any time during that trial upon poor little Rose.

Source: Excerpt from *Out of the Sweatshop: The Struggle of Industrial Democracy* by Leon Stein, copyright © 1977 by Leon Stein. Used by permission of Quadrangle Books, an imprint of Random House LLC. All rights reserved. Any third party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited. Interested parties must apply directly to Random House LLC for permission.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The hardest task of the historian is to conjure up the reality of the past—to say, "This is what it was really like." That's where eyewitness evidence like the reporter Shepherd's comes in. What is there in his account that you could only obtain from an eyewitness?
2. Both Rabbi Wise and Rose Schneiderman were incensed at the Triangle carnage, yet their speeches are quite different. In what ways? What conclusions do you draw about the different motivations and arguments that led to reform?
3. Max Steuer and Rose Schneiderman came from remarkably similar backgrounds. They were roughly the same age, grew up in poverty on the Lower East Side, and started out as child workers in the garment factories. The differences in their adult lives speak to the varieties of immigrant experience in America. Does anything in their statements help to account for their differing life paths? What might have happened if Rose Schneiderman, rather than "little Rose," had faced Max Steuer on the witness stand?

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did urban reform movements impact state and national politics?

Shocked by this horrific event, New Yorkers responded with an outpouring of anger and grief that crossed ethnic, class, and religious boundaries. Many remembered that, only a year earlier, shirtwaist workers had walked off the job to protest abysmal safety and working conditions—and that the owners of Triangle, among other employers, had broken the strike. Facing demands for action, New York State appointed a factory commission that developed a remarkable program of labor reform: fifty-six laws dealing with such issues as fire hazards, unsafe machines, and wages and working hours for women and children. The chairman and vice chairman of the commission were Robert F. Wagner and Alfred E. Smith, both Tammany Hall politicians then serving in the state legislature. They established the commission, participated fully in its work, and marshaled party regulars to pass the proposals into law—all with the approval of Tammany. The labor code that resulted was the most advanced in the United States.

Tammany's response to the Triangle fire showed that it was acknowledging its need for help. The social and economic problems of the industrial city had outgrown the power of party machines; only stronger state and national laws could bar industrial firetraps, alleviate sweatshop conditions, and improve slums. Politicians like Wagner and Smith saw that Tammany had to change or die. The fire had unforeseen further consequences. Frances Perkins, a Columbia University student who witnessed the horror of Triangle workers leaping from the windows to their deaths, decided she would devote her efforts to the cause of labor. Already active in women's reform organizations, Perkins went to Chicago, where she volunteered for several years at Hull House. In 1929, she became New York State's first commissioner of labor; four years later, during the New Deal (Chapter 23), Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed her as U.S. secretary of labor—the first woman to hold a cabinet post.

The political aftermath of the Triangle fire demonstrated how challenges posed by industrial cities pushed politics in new directions, transforming urban government and initiating broader movements for reform. The nation's political and cultural standards had long been set by native-born, Protestant, middle-class Americans. By 1900, the people who thronged to the great cities helped build America into a global industrial power—and in the process, created an electorate

that was far more ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse.

In the era of industrialization, some rural and native-born commentators warned that immigrants were “inferior breeds” who would “mongrelize” American culture. But urban political leaders defended cultural pluralism, expressing appreciation—even admiration—for immigrants, including Catholics and Jews, who sought a better life in the United States. At the same time, urban reformers worked to improve conditions of life for the diverse residents of American cities. Cities, then, and the innovative solutions proposed by urban leaders, held a central place in America’s consciousness as the nation took on the task of progressive reform.

SUMMARY

After 1865, American cities grew at an unprecedented rate, and urban populations swelled with workers from rural areas and abroad. To move burgeoning populations around the city, cities pioneered innovative forms of mass transit. Skyscrapers came to mark urban skylines, and new electric lighting systems encouraged nightlife. Neighborhoods divided along class and ethnic lines, with the working class inhabiting crowded, shoddily built tenements. Immigrants developed new ethnic cultures in their neighborhoods, while racism followed African American migrants from the country to the city. At the same time, new forms of popular urban culture bridged class and ethnic lines, challenging traditional sexual norms and gender roles. Popular journalism rose to prominence and helped build rising sympathy for reform.

Industrial cities confronted a variety of new political challenges. Despite notable achievements, established machine governments could not address urban problems through traditional means. Forward-looking politicians took the initiative and implemented a range of political, labor, and social reforms. Urban reformers also launched campaigns to address public health, morals, and welfare. They did so through a variety of innovative institutions, most notably social settlements, which brought affluent Americans into working-class neighborhoods to learn, cooperate, and advocate on behalf of their neighbors. Such projects began to increase Americans' acceptance of urban diversity and their confidence in government's ability to solve the problems of industrialization.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Chicago school (p. 608)
mutual aid society (p. 612)
race riot (p. 614)
tenement (p. 614)
vaudeville (p. 615)
ragtime (p. 617)
blues (p. 618)
yellow journalism (p. 619)
muckrakers (p. 619)
political machine (p. 619)
National Municipal League
(p. 624)
- progressivism (p. 624)
“City Beautiful” movement
(p. 626)
social settlement (p. 627)
Hull House (p. 627)
Pure Food and Drug Act (p. 629)
National Consumers’ League
(p. 629)
Women’s Trade Union League
(p. 629)
Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (p. 629)

Key People

- Scott Joplin (p. 617)
Tom Johnson (p. 624)
Jacob Riis (p. 625)
Jane Addams (p. 627)
Margaret Sanger (p. 628)
Upton Sinclair (p. 629)
Florence Kelley (p. 629)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter’s main ideas.

- What were the major features of industrial cities that arose in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? What institutions and innovations helped make urban life distinctive?
- What were the limitations and achievements of urban governments run by political machines?
- Why did so many reform initiatives of the early twentieth century emerge in large cities? What were some of those initiatives, and what was their political impact?
- THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Using the thematic timeline on page 543, consider some of the ways in which mass migrations of people—both from other countries and from places within the United States—shaped industrial cities. How did this influence American society, culture, and national identity?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE In Chapter 17 we explored the activities of agrarian reformers and labor unions who protested the impact of industrialization on their lives. In Chapters 18 and 19 we considered the work of middle-class and urban reformers who sought to address some of the same conditions. Chronologically, their work overlapped: note, for example, that Jane Addams founded Hull House in 1889, just as the Farmers' Alliance was reaching a peak of activism and workers had organized the Knights of Labor and American Federation of Labor. Imagine a conversation among the following individuals: a rural man or woman active in the Farmers' Alliance; a skilled workman who joined the American Federation of Labor; an urban antiprostitution reformer; and a middle-class volunteer who worked in a settlement house. How would each have described the problems caused by industrializa-

tion? What remedies would each suggest? On what points would they have disagreed? Can you imagine any issues on which they might have worked together? What does this suggest about the opportunities and limits of alliance building, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, across class and geographic lines?

2. VISUAL EVIDENCE Imagine that you have just arrived in a big American city in the early 1900s. Look carefully at all the images in this chapter and group them under two categories: (1) problems and dangers you might have encountered as a new urban resident; (2) sights and opportunities that might have been appealing and exciting to you as a newcomer. On balance, do you think you would have wanted to stay, or turn around and head back home? Why? What factors might have shaped your decision?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910). An inspiring must-read by a great American reformer.

George Chauncey, *Gay New York* (1994). A groundbreaking study of the rise of urban gay subcultures.

Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements* (1986). Explores urban working-class dating and the world of young working-class women.

Harold Platt, *The Electric City* (1991). A study of how electricity shaped the urban industrial society and economy.

Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood* (1982). A poignant account of Progressive Era antiprostitution campaigns and their tragic impact on sex workers.

David Von Drehle, *Triangle: The Fire That Changed America* (2003). The most recent account of the fire and its consequences.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1866	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• New York City contains cholera epidemic
1869	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Corcoran Gallery of Art opens in Washington, D.C.
1871	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First elevated railroad begins operation in New York
1878	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Yellow fever epidemic in Memphis, Tennessee
1883	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Metropolitan Opera opens in New York
1885	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First skyscraper completed in Chicago
1887	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First electric trolley system built in Richmond, Virginia
1889	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr found Hull House in Chicago
1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jacob Riis's <i>How the Other Half Lives</i>
1892	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• New York's Ellis Island opens
1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ragtime introduced to national audiences at Chicago World's Fair
1897	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First subway line opened in Boston
1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Central Labor Union protests in Cleveland• National Consumers' League founded
1901	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• New York passes Tenement House Law• "City Beautiful" plan developed for Washington, D.C.
1903	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Women's Trade Union League founded
1904	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Subway running the length of Manhattan completed
1906	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Upton Sinclair's <i>The Jungle</i> published• Food and Drug Administration established• Atlanta race riot
1910	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mann Act prohibits transportation of prostitutes across state lines
1911	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in New York
1913	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Fifty-five-story Woolworth Building completed in New York

KEY TURNING POINTS: On the timeline above, what tipping points can you identify when Americans began to propose political solutions for urban industrial problems? What issues did they emphasize?

20

CHAPTER

Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives

1880–1917

REFORM VISIONS, 1880–1892

- Electoral Politics After Reconstruction
- The Populist Program

THE POLITICAL EARTHQUAKES OF THE 1890s

- Depression and Reaction
- Democrats and the "Solid South"
- New National Realities

REFORM RESHAPED, 1901–1912

- Theodore Roosevelt as President
- Diverse Progressive Goals
- The Election of 1912

WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM, 1913–1917

- Economic Reforms
- Progressive Legacies

We are living in a grand and wonderful time," declared Kansas political organizer Mary E. Lease in 1891. "Men, women and children are in commotion, discussing the mighty problems of the day." This "movement among the masses," she said, was based on the words of Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Between the 1880s and the 1910s, thousands of reformers like Lease confronted the problems of industrialization. Lease herself stumped not only for the People's Party, which sought more government regulation of the economy, but also for the Knights of Labor and Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), as well as for women's suffrage and public health.

Between the end of Reconstruction and the start of World War I, political reformers focused on four main goals: cleaning up politics, limiting the power of big business, reducing poverty, and promoting social justice. Historians call this period of agitation and innovation the Progressive Era. In the 1880s and 1890s, labor unions and farm groups took the lead in critiquing the industrial order and demanding change. But over time, more and more middle-class and elite Americans took up the call, earning the name *progressives*. On the whole, they proposed more limited measures than farmer-labor advocates did, but since they had more political clout, they often had greater success in winning new laws. Thus both radicals and progressives played important roles in advancing reform.

No single group defined the Progressive Era. On the contrary, reformers took opposite views on such questions as immigration, racial justice, women's rights, and imperialism. Leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, initially hostile to the sweeping critiques of capitalism offered by radicals, gradually adopted bolder ideas. Dramatic political changes influenced the direction of reform. Close party competition in the 1880s gave way to Republican control between 1894 and 1910, followed by a period of Democratic leadership during Wilson's presidency (1913–1919). Progressives gave the era its name, not because they acted as a unified force, but because they engaged in diverse, energetic movements to improve America.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

In the Progressive Era, how and why did reformers seek to address the problems of industrial America? To what extent did they succeed?



Coxey's Army on the March, 1894 During the severe depression of the 1890s, Ohio businessman Jacob Coxey organized unemployed men for a peaceful march to the U.S. Capitol to plead for an emergency jobs program. They called themselves the Commonweal of Christ but won the nickname "Coxey's Army." Though it failed to win sympathy from Congress, the army's march on Washington—one of the nation's first—inspired similar groups to set out from many cities. Here, Coxey's group nears Washington, D.C. The man on horseback is Carl Browne, one of the group's leaders and a flamboyant publicist. As the marchers entered Washington, Coxey's seventeen-year-old daughter Mamie, dressed as the "Goddess of Peace," led the procession on a white Arabian horse. Library of Congress.

Reform Visions, 1880–1892

In the 1880s, radical farmers' groups and the Knights of Labor provided a powerful challenge to industrialization (Chapter 17). At the same time, groups such as the WCTU (Chapter 18) and urban settlements (Chapter 19) laid the groundwork for progressivism, especially among women. Though they had different goals, these groups confronted similar dilemmas upon entering politics. Should they work through existing political parties? Create new ones? Or generate pressure from the outside? Reformers tried all these strategies.

Electoral Politics After Reconstruction

The end of Reconstruction ushered in a period of fierce partisan conflict. Republicans and Democrats traded control of the Senate three times between 1880 and 1894, and the House majority five times. Causes of this tight competition included northerners' disillusionment with Republican policies

and the resurgence of southern Democrats, who regained a strong base in Congress. Dizzying population growth also changed the size and shape of the House of

Representatives. In 1875, it counted 243 seats; two decades later, that had risen to 356. Between 1889 and 1896, entry of seven new western states—Montana, North and South Dakota, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah—contributed to political instability.

Heated competition and the legacies of the Civil War drew Americans into politics. Union veterans donned their uniforms to march in Republican parades, while ex-Confederate Democrats did the same in the South. When politicians appealed to war loyalties, critics ridiculed them for “**waving the bloody shirt**”: whipping up old animosities that ought to be set aside. For those who had fought or lost beloved family members in the conflict, however—as well as those struggling over African American rights in the South—war issues remained crucial. Many voters also had strong views on economic policies, especially Republicans’ high protective tariffs. Proportionately more voters turned out in presidential elections from 1876 to 1892 than at any other time in American history.

The presidents of this era had limited room to maneuver in a period of narrow victories, when the opposing party often held one or both houses of Congress. Republicans Rutherford B. Hayes and Benjamin

Harrison both won the electoral college but lost the popular vote. In 1884, Democrat Grover Cleveland won only 29,214 more votes than his opponent, James Blaine, while almost half a million voters rejected both major candidates (Map 20.1). With key states decided by razor-thin margins, both Republicans and Democrats engaged in vote buying and other forms of fraud. The fierce struggle for advantage also prompted innovations in political campaigning (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 640).

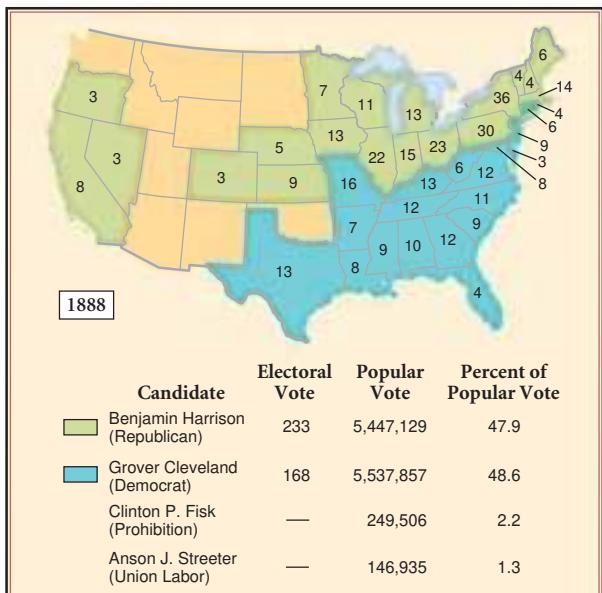
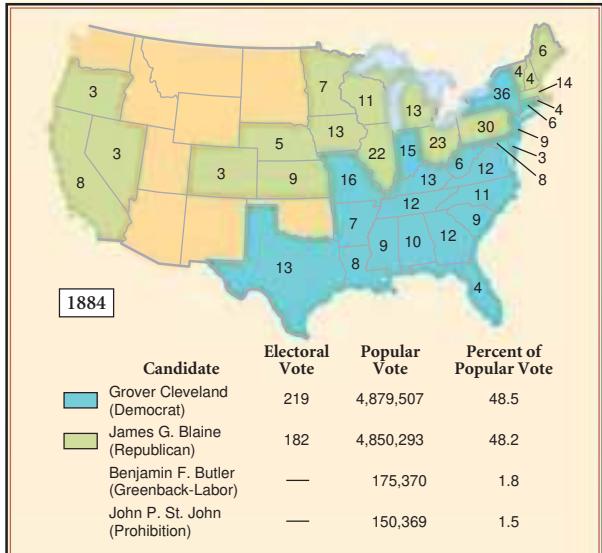
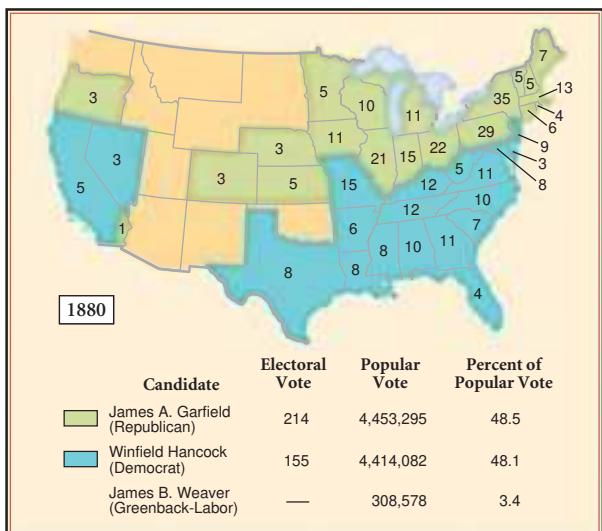
Some historians have characterized this period as a **Gilded Age**, when politics was corrupt and stagnant and elections centered on “meaningless hoopla.” The term *Gilded Age*, borrowed from the title of an 1873 novel cowritten by Mark Twain, suggested that America had achieved a glittery outer coating of prosperity and lofty rhetoric, but underneath suffered from moral decay. Economically, the term *Gilded Age* seems apt: as we have seen in previous chapters, a handful of men made spectacular fortunes, and their “Gilded” triumphs belied a rising crisis of poverty, pollution, and erosion of workers’ rights. But political leaders were not blind to these problems, and the political scene was hardly idle or indifferent. Rather, Americans bitterly disagreed about what to do. Nonetheless, as early as the 1880s, Congress passed important new federal measures to clean up corruption and rein in corporate power. That decade deserves to be considered an early stage in the emerging Progressive Era.

New Initiatives One of the first reforms resulted from tragedy. On July 2, 1881, only four months after entering the White House, James Garfield was shot at a train station in Washington, D.C. (“Assassination,” he had told a friend, “can no more be guarded against than death by lightning, and it is best not to worry about either.”) After lingering for several agonizing months, Garfield died. Most historians now believe the assassin, Charles Guiteau, suffered from mental illness. But reformers then blamed the spoils system, arguing that Guiteau had murdered Garfield out of disappointment in the scramble for patronage, the granting of government jobs to party loyalists.

In the wake of Garfield’s death, Congress passed the **Pendleton Act** (1883), establishing a nonpartisan Civil Service Commission to fill federal jobs by examination. Initially, civil service applied to only 10 percent of such jobs, but the act laid the groundwork for a sweeping transformation of public employment. By the 1910s, Congress extended the act to cover most federal positions; cities and states across the country enacted similar laws.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What factors led to close party competition in the 1880s?



MAP 20.1

The Presidential Elections of 1880, 1884, and 1888

The anatomy of hard-fought, narrowly won presidential campaigns is evident in this trio of electoral maps. First, note the equal division of the popular vote between Republicans and Democrats. Second, note the persistent pattern of electoral votes, as states overwhelmingly went to the same party in all three elections. Here, we can identify who determined the outcomes—“swing” states, such as New York and Indiana, whose vote shifted every four years and always in favor of the winning candidate.

Civil service laws had their downside. In the race for government jobs, they tilted the balance toward middle-class applicants who could perform well on tests. “Firemen now must know equations,” complained a critic, “and be up on Euclid too.” But the laws put talented professionals in office and discouraged politicians from appointing unqualified party hacks. The civil service also brought stability and consistency to government, since officials did not lose their jobs every time their party lost power. In the long run, civil service laws markedly reduced corruption.

Leaders of the civil service movement included many classical liberals (Chapter 15): former Republicans who became disillusioned with Reconstruction and advocated smaller, more professionalized government. Many had opposed President Ulysses S. Grant’s reelection in 1872. In 1884, they again left the Republican Party because they could not stomach its scandal-tainted candidate, James Blaine. Liberal Republicans—ridiculed by their enemies as **Mug-wumps** (fence-sitters who had their “mugs” on one side and their “wumps” on the other)—helped elect Democrat Grover Cleveland. They believed he shared their vision of smaller government.

As president, Cleveland showed that he largely did share their views. He vetoed, for example, thousands of bills providing pensions for individual Union veterans. But in 1887, responding to pressure from farmer-labor advocates in the Democratic Party who demanded action to limit corporate power, he signed the Interstate Commerce Act (Chapter 17). At the same time, municipal and state-level initiatives were showing how expanded government could help solve industrial problems. In the 1870s and early 1880s, many states created Bureaus of Labor Statistics to investigate workplace safety and unemployment. Some appointed commissions to oversee key industries, from banking to dairy farming. By later standards, such commissions were underfunded, but even when they lacked legal



Making Modern Presidents

Between 1880 and 1917, the stature and powers of the U.S. president grew in relation to those of Congress. Presidential campaign techniques also changed. The sources below shed light on candidates' increasing public visibility and new uses of campaign funds.

- Household sewing machine company advertisement, 1880s.** President Grover Cleveland, a bachelor, married young Frances Folsom in a quiet White House ceremony in June 1886. The bride, a college graduate who was twenty-six years younger than her husband, proved wildly popular. The Clevelands never authorized political or commercial use of the First Lady's image. Nonetheless, over their objections, young women organized "Frankie Cleveland Clubs" to march in Democratic parades, while companies such as this one capitalized on her popularity in advertising.



Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

- Account of Benjamin Harrison's front porch campaign in Indianapolis, New York Tribune, October 12, 1888.** For much of the nineteenth century, presidential candidates left campaigning to their allies. A man who promoted himself risked appearing vain and greedy for office. By the 1880s, Republicans began to run "front porch campaigns": party leaders arranged for delegations to visit the candidate at home.

This morning General Harrison's home was surrounded by visitors, who had arrived in the city in the night and on the early morning trains. . . . There were many relic-hunters among the early visitors and they swarmed about the house, taking, without protest from any one, whatever they were pleased to seize. There is no longer a fence about the house to be converted into relics, and so the visitors are taking the trees now. The shrubbery has almost disappeared. . . . The informal reception began as soon as the General got up from [breakfast] and continued until afternoon. The first delegation was composed of representatives of the Cincinnati Republican Clubs. . . . A delegation from Belleville, Ill., which . . . had patiently waited for more than four hours, were next invited to enter the house, and they were accorded the usual hand-shaking reception. . . .

The parade early in the afternoon was the principal feature of the day's demonstration. Two hundred or more clubs participated and they came from all parts of the State, representing various classes and interests. . . . There were mounted men and men on foot, women in wagons and women in uniform marching, brass bands. . . .

On the balcony beside General Harrison stood his wife, with several of her lady friends.

3. Henry George on money in politics, *Wheeling Register*, September 19, 1896. Reformer Henry George was among many who warned of the influence of corporate contributions, solicited brilliantly in 1896 by William McKinley's campaign manager, Mark Hanna. Short of funds, Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan undertook exhausting nationwide speaking tours.

There is no question which of the great parties represents the house of Have and which the house of Want. . . . Democrat[s] are cramped for want of funds. . . . On the other hand there is practically "no end of money" at the disposal of the McKinley committees. . . .

As for the banks, the great railroad companies and insurance companies, who, even in ordinary times find it to their interest to help financially one, and frequently both, sides . . . , their purse strings are unloosed more freely than ever before, but only in one direction.

The danger to a republican form of government of a money interest in politics is so clear that it needs not to be dwelt upon. . . . The steady tendency of American legislation, national and state, has not merely been to create great special interests, but in the very effort to control them for the benefit of the public, to concern them directly in politics.

4. Theodore Roosevelt on the campaign trail, 1904. Having watched Bryan's electrifying tours, Theodore Roosevelt became the first winning candidate to adopt the practice. In 1904, after a summer front porch campaign, he undertook a thirty-day speaking tour of the West. To cover as much ground as possible, Roosevelt often spoke from the last car of his train.



Library of Congress.

5. "Expenses of the Campaign," *Springfield Daily Republican*, September 22, 1900.

It is estimated that it costs \$25,000,000 to elect a president of the United States. The annual allowance which the British Parliament makes to Queen Victoria is \$1,925,000 . . . indicat[ing] that it is much cheaper to maintain a queen permanently than it is to elect a president. . . .

More than half of the money spent by both national and state committees goes for campaign orators. During the next three months it is estimated that the Republican national committee will have 3000 "spellbinders" traveling out of the Chicago headquarters and 2500 who will report to the New York office. . . .

The next largest item on the campaign bill is that for printing. . . . Each of the national committees will spend at least \$500,000 in this way. Before the campaign is over it is estimated that both the Republican and Democratic committees will send out 100,000,000 separate documents. . . .

One more important branch of the work is the two house-to-house canvasses of the voters. . . . Hundreds of men are employed in each state, and the work of tabulating and classifying the results is by no means small. . . .

Some novel campaign methods will be adopted by both the great parties during the campaign just opening. The Republicans, it is stated, have decided to use phonographs. . . . Some eloquent party man . . . will deliver a speech before a phonographic record, from which any desired number of copies may be made . . . and sent far out into the rural districts, where it would be impossible for the more popular and important orators to go. . . .

Democrats, on the other hand, will pin their faith to stereopticons [an early slide projector].

Sources: (2) *New York Tribune*, October 12, 1888; (3) *Wheeling Register*, September 19, 1896; (5) *Springfield Daily Republican*, September 22, 1900.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What did a presidential candidate need in the 1880s to run an effective campaign? Two decades later, what had changed, and what had not?
2. Based on these documents, what developments both inside and outside of politics seem to have influenced changing campaign strategies?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Historians have traced the rise of an "imperial presidency" in the late 1890s and early 1900s. How might new campaign techniques have reflected, and perhaps contributed to, this rise? To what extent was it a Republican invention?



"Political Purity," Puck, 1884

This Democratic cartoon suggests the disillusionment with Republicans that emerged among many voters in the 1880s. Here, the party chooses a dress, bustle, and plume to celebrate Republicans' achievements in prior decades: the Union war record, Emancipation, and "high moral ideals." Her undergarments tell a different story: they are marked with scandals of the Grant era (Chapter 15), while the economic interests of tariff supporters ("protection") are depicted as her corset. The hats in the upper right corner show Republicans' attempts to appeal to various constituencies: temperance advocates and German immigrants, workingmen and business leaders. Whitelaw Reid, staunchly Republican editor of the *New York Tribune*, appears as the party's handmaiden. *Puck*, August 20, 1884.

power, energetic commissioners could serve as public advocates, exposing unsafe practices and generating pressure for further laws.

Republican Activism In 1888, after a decade of divided government, Republicans gained control of both Congress and the White House. They pursued an ambitious agenda they believed would meet the needs of a modernizing nation. In 1890, Congress extended pensions to all Union veterans and yielded to growing public outrage over trusts by passing a law to regulate interstate corporations. Though it proved difficult to enforce and was soon weakened by the Supreme Court, the **Sherman Antitrust Act** (1890) was the first federal attempt to forbid any "combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade."

President Benjamin Harrison also sought to protect black voting rights in the South. Warned during his campaign that the issue was politically risky, Harrison vowed that he would not "purchase the presidency by a compact of silence upon this question." He found allies in Congress. Massachusetts representative Henry Cabot Lodge drafted the Federal Elections Bill of 1890, or **Lodge Bill**, proposing that whenever one hundred citizens in any district appealed for intervention, a bipartisan federal board could investigate and seat the rightful winner.

Despite cries of outrage from southern Democrats, who warned that it meant "Negro supremacy," the House passed the measure. But it met resistance in the Senate. Northern classical liberals, who wanted the "best men" to govern through professional expertise, thought it provided too much democracy, while machine bosses feared the threat of federal interference in the cities. Unexpectedly, many western Republicans also opposed the bill—and with the entry of ten new states since 1863, the West had gained enormous clout. Senator William Stewart of Nevada, who had southern family ties, claimed that federal oversight of elections would bring "monarchy or revolution." He and his allies killed the bill by a single vote.

The defeat was a devastating blow to those seeking to defend black voting rights. In the verdict of one furious Republican leader who supported Lodge's proposal, the episode marked the demise of the party of emancipation. "Think of it," he fumed. "Nevada, barely a respectable *county*, furnished two senators to betray the Republican Party and the rights of citizenship."

Other Republican initiatives also proved unpopular—at the polls as well as in Congress. In the Midwest, swing voters reacted against local Republican campaigns to prohibit liquor sales and end state funding for Catholic schools. Blaming high consumer prices on protective tariffs, other voters rejected Republican economic policies. In a major shift in the 1890 election, Democrats captured the House of Representatives. Two years later, by the largest margin in twenty years, voters reelected Democrat Grover Cleveland to the presidency for a nonconsecutive second term. Republican congressmen abandoned any further attempt to enforce fair elections in the South.

The Populist Program

As Democrats took power in Washington, they faced rising pressure from rural voters in the South and West who had organized the Farmers' Alliance. Savvy politicians responded quickly. Iowa Democrats, for example,

Riding to a Populist Rally, Dickinson County, Kansas, 1890s

Farm families in wagons carry their banners to a local meeting of the People's Party. Men, women, and children often traveled together to campaign events, which included not only stump speeches but also picnics, glee club music, and other family entertainments. Kansas State Historical Society.



took up some of the farmers' demands, forestalling creation of a separate farmer-labor party in that state. But other politicians listened to Alliance pleas and did nothing. It was a response they came to regret.

Republicans utterly dominated Kansas, a state chock-full of Union veterans and railroad boosters. But politicians there treated the Kansas Farmers' Alliance with contempt. In 1890, the Kansas Alliance joined with the Knights of Labor to create a People's Party. They then stunned the nation by capturing four-fifths of the lower house of the Kansas legislature and most of the state's congressional seats. The victory electrified labor and agrarian radicals nationwide. In July 1892, delegates from these groups met at Omaha, Nebraska, and formally created the national People's Party.

Nominating former Union general and Greenback-Labor leader James B. Weaver for president, the Populists, as they became known, captured a million votes in November and carried four western states (Map 20.2).

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

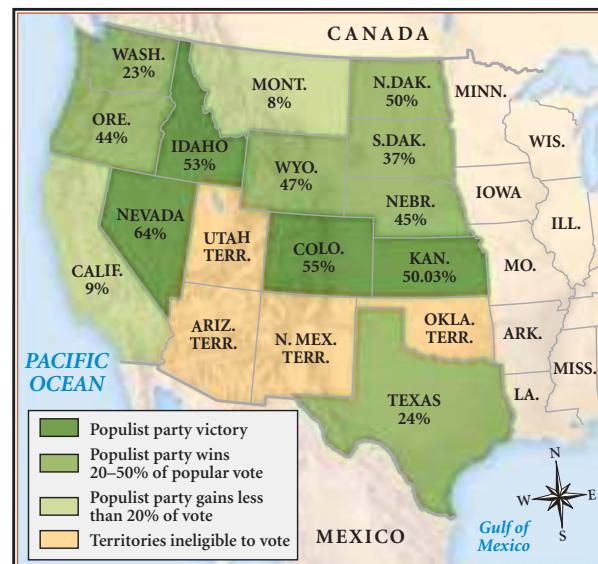
How did the political goals of Populists differ in this period from those of Democrats and Republicans?

In recognizing an “irrepressible conflict between capital and labor,” Populists split from the mainstream parties, calling for stronger government to protect ordinary Americans. “We believe,” declared their **Omaha Platform** (1892), “that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to

MAP 20.2

The Heyday of Western Populism, 1892

This map shows the percentage of the popular vote won by James B. Weaver, the People's Party candidate, in the presidential election of 1892. Except in California and Montana, the Populists won broad support across the West and genuinely threatened the established parties in that region.



the end that oppression, injustice and poverty should eventually cease.” Populists called for public ownership of railroad and telegraph systems, protection of land from monopoly and foreign ownership, a federal income tax on the rich, and a looser monetary policy to help borrowers. Some Populist allies went further to make their point: in New Mexico, the Gorras Blancas, a vigilante group of small-scale Mexican American farmers, protested exploitative railroads and “land grabbers” by intimidating railroad workers and cutting fences on large Anglo farms.



To see a longer excerpt of the Omaha Platform, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Populist leaders represented a grassroots uprising of ordinary farmers, and some won colorful nicknames. After a devastating debate triumph, James H. Davis of Texas became known as “Cyclone.” Mary E. Lease was derided as “Yellin’ Mary Ellen”; her fellow Kansan Jerry Simpson was called “Sockless Jerry” after he ridiculed a wealthy opponent for wearing “fine silk hosiery,” boasting that he himself wore no socks at all. The national press, based in northeastern cities, ridiculed such “hayseed politicians,” but farmers insisted on being taken seriously. In the run-up to one election, a Populist writer encouraged party members to sing these lyrics to the tune of an old gospel hymn:

I once was a tool of oppression,
As green as a sucker could be
And monopolies banded together
To beat a poor hayseed like me. . . .

But now I’ve roused up a little,
And their greed and corruption I see,
And the ticket we vote next November
Will be made up of hayseeds like me.

Driven by farmers’ votes, the People’s Party had mixed success in attracting other constituencies. Its labor planks won support among Alabama steelworkers and Rocky Mountain miners, but not among many other industrial workers, who stuck with the major parties. Prohibitionist and women’s suffrage leaders attended Populist conventions, hoping their issues would be taken up, but they were disappointed. The legacies of the Civil War also hampered the party. Southern Democrats warned that Populists were really Radical Republicans in disguise, while northeastern Republicans claimed the southern “Pops” were ex-Confederates plotting another round of treason. Amid these heated debates, the political system suddenly confronted an economic crisis.

The Political Earthquakes of the 1890s

In 1893, a severe economic depression hit the United States. Though it was a global shock, and the agriculture sector had already lagged for years, Republicans blamed Grover Cleveland, who had just reentered the White House. “On every hand can be seen evidences of Democratic times,” declared one Republican. “The deserted farm, the silent factory.”

Apparently receptive to such appeals, voters outside the South abandoned the Democrats in 1894 and 1896. Republicans, promising prosperity, gained control of the White House and both chambers of Congress for the next fifteen years. This development created both opportunities and challenges for progressive reformers. A different pattern emerged in the South: Democrats deployed fraud, violence, and race-based appeals for white solidarity to defeat the Populist revolt.

Depression and Reaction

When Cleveland took the oath of office in March 1893, hard times were prompting European investors to pull money out of the United States; farm foreclosures and railroad bankruptcies signaled economic trouble. A few weeks later, a Pennsylvania railroad went bankrupt, followed by several other companies. Investors panicked; the stock market crashed. By July, major banks had drained their reserves and “suspended,” unable to give depositors access to their money. By year’s end, five hundred banks and thousands of other businesses had gone under. “Boston,” one man remembered, “grew suddenly old, haggard, and thin.” The unemployment rate in industrial cities soared above 20 percent.

For Americans who had lived through the terrible 1870s, conditions looked grimly familiar. Even fresher in the public mind were recent labor uprisings, including the 1886 Haymarket violence and the 1892 showdown at Homestead—followed, during the depression’s first year, by a massive Pennsylvania coal strike and a Pullman railroad boycott that ended with bloody clashes between angry crowds and the U.S. Army. Prosperous Americans, fearful of Populism, were even more terrified that workers would embrace socialism or Marxism. Reminding Americans of upheavals such as the Paris Commune of 1871 and its bloody aftermath, conservative commentators of the 1890s launched America’s first “Red Scare”—a precursor to similar episodes of hysteria in the 1920s (Chapter 22) and 1950s (Chapter 25).

In the summer of 1894, a further protest jolted affluent Americans. Radical businessman Jacob Coxey of Ohio proposed that the U.S. government hire the unemployed to fix America's roads. In 1894, he organized hundreds of jobless men—nicknamed Coxey's Army—to march peacefully to Washington and appeal for the program. Though public employment of the kind Coxey proposed would become central to the New Deal in the 1930s, many Americans in the 1890s viewed Coxey as a dangerous extremist. Public alarm grew when more protesters, inspired by Coxey, started out from Los Angeles, Seattle, and other cities. As they marched east, these men found warm support and offers of aid in Populist-leaning cities and towns. In other places, police and property owners drove marchers away at gunpoint. Coxey was stunned by what happened when he reached Capitol Hill: he was jailed for trespassing on the grass. Some of his men, arrested for vagrancy, ended up in Maryland chain gangs. The rest went home hungry.

As this response suggested, President Grover Cleveland's administration was increasingly out of step with rural and working-class demands. Any president would have been hard-pressed to cope with the depression, but Cleveland made a particularly bad hash of it. He steadfastly resisted pressure to loosen the money supply by expanding federal coinage to include silver as well as gold. Advocates of this **free silver** policy ("free" because, under this plan, the U.S. Mint would not charge a fee for minting silver coins) believed the policy would encourage borrowing and stimulate industry. But Cleveland clung to the gold standard; however dire things became, he believed, the money supply must remain tied to the nation's reserves of gold.

Even collapsing prices and a hemorrhage of gold to Europe did not budge the president. With gold reserves dwindling in 1895, he made a secret arrangement with a syndicate of bankers led by John Pierpont Morgan to arrange gold purchases to replenish the treasury. Morgan helped maintain America's gold supply—preserving the gold standard—and turned a tidy profit by earning interest on the bonds he provided. Cleveland's deal, once discovered, enraged fellow Democrats. South Carolina governor Ben Tillman vowed to go to Washington and "poke old Grover with a pitchfork," earning the nickname "Pitchfork Ben."

As the 1894 midterm elections loomed, Democratic candidates tried to distance themselves from the president. But on election day, large numbers of voters chose Republicans, who promised to support business, put down social unrest, and bring back prosperity. Western voters turned many Populists out of office. In the next

congressional session, Republicans controlled the House by a margin of 245 to 105. The election began sixteen years of Republican national dominance.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did different groups of Americans react to the economic depression of the 1890s, and what happened as a result?

Democrats and the "Solid South"

In the South, the only region where Democrats gained strength in the 1890s, the People's Party lost ground for distinctive reasons. After the end of Reconstruction, African Americans in most states had continued to vote in significant numbers. As long as Democrats competed for (and sometimes bought) black votes, the possibility remained that other parties could win them away. Populists proposed new measures to help farmers and wage earners—an appealing message for poverty-stricken people of both races. Some white Populists went out of their way to build cross-racial ties. "The accident of color can make no difference in the interest of farmers, croppers, and laborers," argued Georgia Populist Tom Watson. "You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings."

Such appeals threatened the foundations of southern politics. Democrats struck back, calling themselves the "white man's party" and denouncing Populists for advocating "Negro rule." From Georgia to Texas, many poor white farmers, tenants, and wage earners ignored such appeals and continued to support the Populists in large numbers. Democrats found they could put down the Populist threat only through fraud and violence. Afterward, Pitchfork Ben Tillman of South Carolina openly bragged that he and other southern whites had "done our level best" to block "every last" black vote. "We stuffed ballot boxes," he said in 1900. "We shot them. We are not ashamed of it." "We had to do it," a Georgia Democrat later argued. "Those damned Populists would have ruined the country."

Having suppressed the political revolt, Democrats looked for new ways to enforce white supremacy. In 1890, a constitutional convention in Mississippi had adopted a key innovation: an "understanding clause" that required would-be voters to interpret parts of the state constitution, with local Democratic officials deciding who met the standard. After the Populist uprising, such measures spread to other southern states. Louisiana's grandfather clause, which denied the ballot to any man whose grandfather had been unable to vote in slavery days, was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court. But in *Williams v. Mississippi* (1898), the Court allowed poll taxes and literacy tests to stand.

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did politics change in the South between the 1880s and the 1910s?

By 1908, every southern state had adopted such measures. The impact of disenfranchisement can hardly be overstated (Map 20.3). Across the South, voter turnout plunged, from above 70 percent to 34 percent or even lower. Not only blacks but also many poor whites ceased to vote. Since Democrats faced virtually no opposition, action shifted to the “white primaries,” where Democratic candidates competed for nominations. Some former Populists joined the Democrats in openly advocating white supremacy. The racial climate hardened. Segregation laws proliferated. Lynchings of African Americans increasingly occurred in broad daylight, with crowds of thousands gathered to watch.

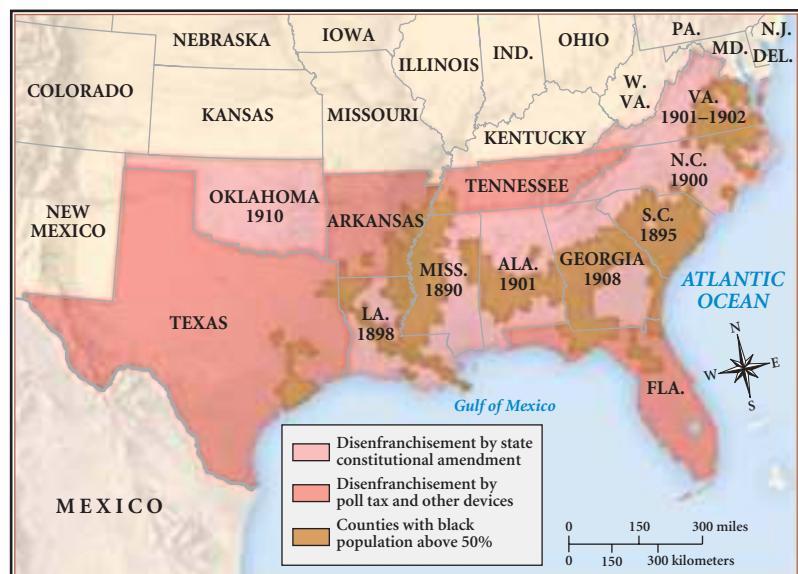
The convict lease system, which had begun to take hold during Reconstruction, also expanded. Blacks received harsh sentences for crimes such as “vagrancy,” often when they were traveling to find work or if they could not produce a current employment contract. By the 1890s, Alabama depended on convict leasing for 6 percent of its total revenue. Prisoners were overwhelmingly black: a 1908 report showed that almost 90 percent of Georgia’s leased convicts were black; out of a white population of 1.4 million, only 322 were in prison. Calling attention to the torture and deaths of prisoners, as well as the damaging economic effect of their unpaid labor, reformers, labor unions, and Populists protested the situation strenuously. But “reforms” simply replaced convict leasing with the chain gang, in which prisoners worked directly for the

state on roadbuilding and other projects, under equally cruel conditions. All these developments depended on a political **Solid South** in which Democrats exercised almost complete control.

The impact of the 1890s counterrevolution was dramatically illustrated in Grimes County, a cotton-growing area in east Texas where blacks comprised more than half of the population. African American voters kept the local Republican Party going after Reconstruction and regularly sent black representatives to the Texas legislature. Many local white Populists dismissed Democrats’ taunts of “negro supremacy,” and a Populist-Republican coalition swept the county elections in 1896 and 1898. But after their 1898 defeat, Democrats in Grimes County organized a secret brotherhood and forcibly prevented blacks from voting in town elections, shooting two in cold blood. The Populist sheriff proved unable to bring the murderers to justice. Reconstituted in 1900 as the White Man’s Party, Democrats carried Grimes County by an overwhelming margin. Gunmen then laid siege to the Populist sheriff’s office, killed his brother and a friend, and drove the wounded sheriff out of the county. The White Man’s Party ruled Grimes County for the next fifty years.

New National Realities

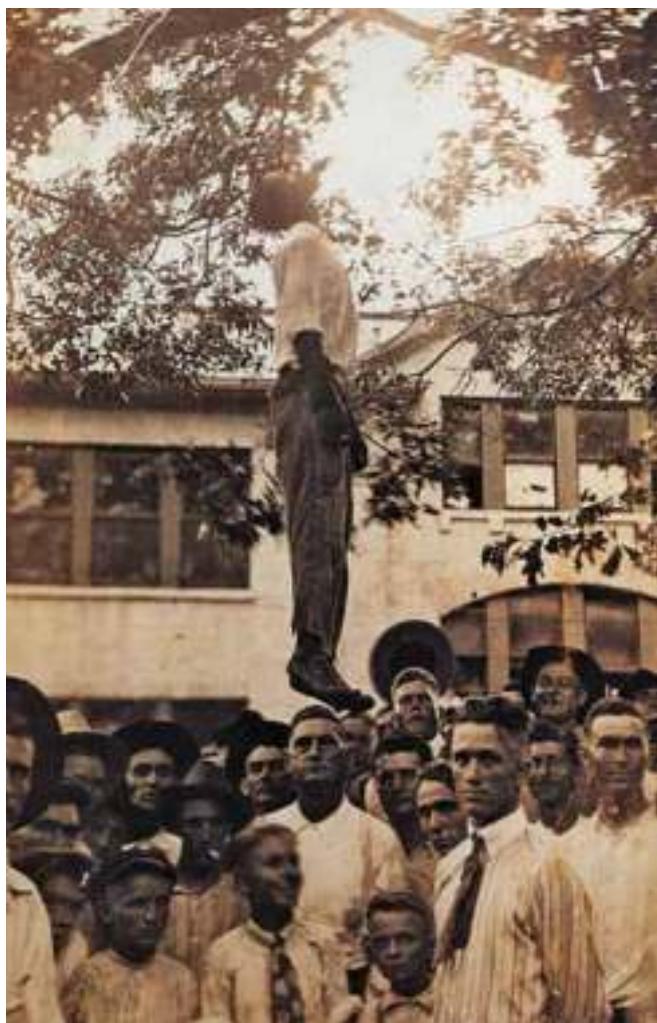
While their southern racial policies were abhorrent, the national Democrats simultaneously amazed the country in 1896 by embracing parts of the Populists’ radical farmer-labor program. They nominated for



MAP 20.3

Disenfranchisement in the New South

In the midst of the Populist challenge to Democratic one-party rule in the South, a movement to deprive blacks of the right to vote spread from Mississippi across the South. By 1910, every state in the region except Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida had made constitutional changes designed to prevent blacks from voting, and these four states accomplished much the same result through poll taxes and other exclusionary methods. For the next half century, the political process in the South would be for whites only.



Lynching in Texas

Lynchings peaked between 1890 and 1910; while most common in the South, they occurred in almost every state, from Oregon to Minnesota to New York. After many lynchings—such as this one in the town of Center, Texas, in 1920—crowds posed to have their pictures taken. Commercial photographers often, as in this case, produced photographic postcards to sell as souvenirs. What do we make of these gruesome rituals? Who is in the crowd, and who is not? What do we learn from the fact that this group of white men, some of whom may have been responsible for the lynching, felt comfortable having their photographs recorded with the body? The victim in this photograph, a young man named Lige Daniels, was seized from the local jail by a mob that broke down the prison door to kidnap and kill him. The inscription on the back of the postcard includes information about the killing, along with the instructions "Give this to Bud From Aunt Myrtle." Private Collection.

president a young Nebraska congressman, free-silver advocate William Jennings Bryan, who passionately defended farmers and attacked the gold standard. “Burn down your cities and leave our farms,” Bryan declared in his famous convention speech, “and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.” He ended with a vow: “You shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold.” Cheering delegates endorsed a platform calling for free silver and a federal income tax on the wealthy that would replace tariffs as a source of revenue. Democrats, long defenders of limited government, were moving toward a more activist stance.

Populists, reeling from recent defeats, endorsed Bryan in the campaign, but their power was waning. Populist leader Tom Watson, who wanted a separate program, more radical than Bryan’s, observed that Democrats in 1896 had cast the Populists as “Jonah

while they play whale.” The People’s Party never recovered from its electoral losses in 1894 and from Democrats’ ruthless opposition in the South. By 1900, rural voters pursued reform elsewhere, particularly through the new Bryan wing of the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, horrified Republicans denounced Bryan’s platform as anarchistic. Their nominee, the Ohio congressman and tariff advocate William McKinley, chose a brilliant campaign manager, Ohio coal and shipping magnate Marcus Hanna, who orchestrated an unprecedented corporate fund-raising campaign. Under his guidance, the party backed away from moral issues such as prohibition of liquor and reached out to new immigrants. Though the popular vote was closer, McKinley won big: 271 electoral votes to Bryan’s 176 (Map 20.4).

Nationwide, as in the South, the realignment of the 1890s prompted new measures to exclude voters. Influenced by classical liberals’ denunciations of “unfit

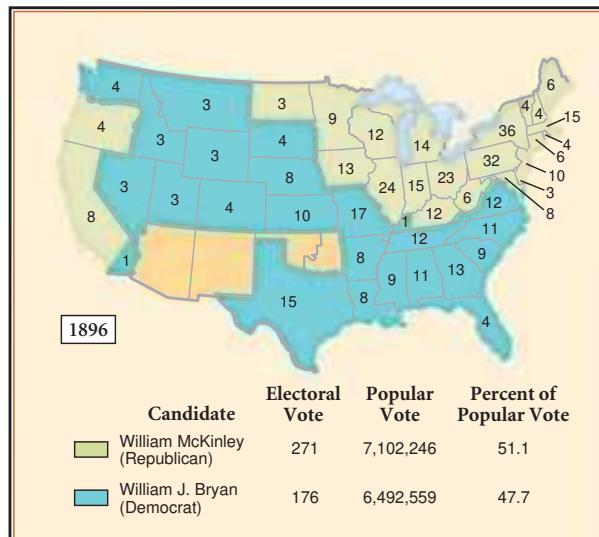
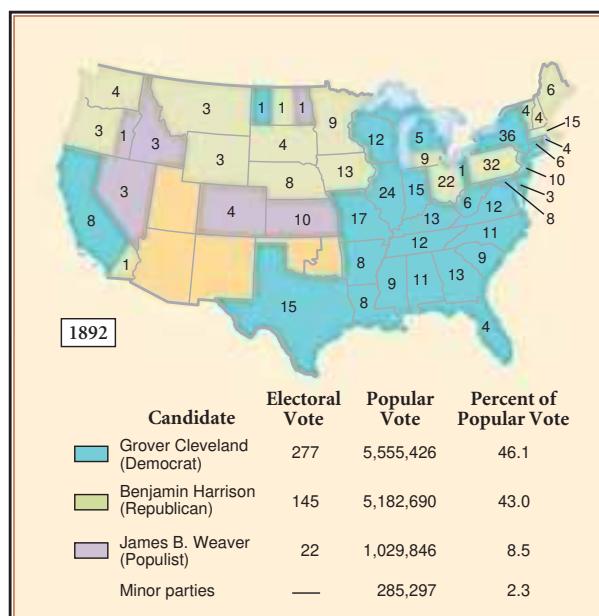


William Jennings Bryan

This 1896 campaign poster emphasizes the youth of the thirty-six-year-old Nebraska Democrat and includes portraits of his wife Mary and their three young children. The full text of his famous “Cross of Gold” speech appears flanked by silver coins and overlaid with “16 to 1,” representing the Chicago platform’s proposal to mint U.S. silver coins at a 16-to-1 ratio with gold, increasing the money supply to stimulate the economy and aid borrowers. At the bottom stand a farmer and industrial workingman—primary bases of Democratic support. Many farmers and workers voted for McKinley, however, especially in the industrial heartland of the Northeast and Midwest. Though Bryan secured the electoral votes of the South and a substantial majority of western states, McKinley won the election. Library of Congress.

voters,” many northern states imposed literacy tests and restrictions on immigrant voting. Leaders of both major parties, determined to prevent future Populist-style threats, made it more difficult for new parties to get candidates listed on the ballot. In the wake of such laws, voter turnout declined, and the electorate narrowed in ways that favored the native-born and wealthy.

Antidemocratic restrictions on voting helped, paradoxically, to foster certain democratic innovations.



MAP 20.4

The Presidential Elections of 1892 and 1896

In the 1890s, the age of political stalemate came to an end. Students should compare the 1892 map with Map 20.1 (p. 639) and note especially Cleveland’s breakthrough in the normally Republican states of the Upper Midwest. In 1896, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, with McKinley’s consolidation of Republican control over the Northeast and Midwest far overbalancing the Democratic advances in the thinly populated western states. The 1896 election marked the beginning of sixteen years of Republican dominance in national politics.

Having excluded or reduced the number of poor, African American, and immigrant voters, elite and middle-class reformers felt more comfortable increasing the power of the voters who remained. Both major

parties increasingly turned to the direct primary, asking voters (in most states, registered party members) rather than party leaders to choose nominees. Another measure that enhanced democratic participation was the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution (1913), requiring that U.S. senators be chosen not by state legislatures, but by popular vote. Though many states had adopted the practice well before 1913, southern states had resisted, since Democrats feared that it might give more power to their political opponents. After disenfranchisement, such objections faded and the measure passed. Thus disenfranchisement enhanced the power of remaining voters in multiple, complicated ways.

At the same time, the Supreme Court proved hostile to many proposed reforms. In 1895, for example, it struck down a recently adopted federal income tax on the wealthy. The Court ruled that unless this tax was calculated on a per-state basis, rather than by the wealth of individuals, it could not be levied without a constitutional amendment. It took progressives nineteen years to achieve that goal.

Labor organizations also suffered in the new political regime, as federal courts invalidated many regulatory laws passed to protect workers. As early as 1882, in the case of *In re Jacobs*, the New York State Court of Appeals struck down a public-health law that prohibited cigar manufacturing in tenements, arguing that such regulation exceeded the state's police powers. In *Lochner v. New York* (1905), the U.S. Supreme Court told New York State it could not limit bakers' workday to ten hours because that violated bakers' rights to make contracts. Judges found support for such rulings in the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibited states from depriving "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Though the clause had been intended to protect former slaves, courts used it to shield contract rights, with judges arguing that they were protecting workers'

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What developments caused the percentage of Americans who voted to plunge after 1900, and what role did courts play in antidemocratic developments?



The U.S. Supreme Court, 1894

During the 1890s, the Supreme Court struck down a number of pieces of progressive legislation, including a progressive federal income tax that had been signed into law by Congress and the president. In the Knight Sugar Case (*United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*), the Court ruled that the federal government had limited power over interstate commerce when a company did most of its manufacturing in a single state. In another 1894 decision, *In re Debs*, manufacturers were allowed free use of injunctions to shut down strikes. Two years later, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court gave national sanction to racial segregation. In the front row, from left to right, are justices Horace Gray, Stephen J. Field, Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, John Marshall Harlan I, and David J. Brewer. Standing in the back row, left to right, are justices Howell Jackson, Henry B. Brown, George Shiras, and Edward Douglas White. C. M. Bell, Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States.

freedom *from* government regulation. Interpreted in this way, the Fourteenth Amendment was a major obstacle to regulation of private business.

Farmer and labor advocates, along with urban progressives who called for more government regulation, disagreed with such rulings. They believed judges, not state legislators, were overreaching. While courts treated employers and employees as equal parties, critics dismissed this as a legal fiction. “Modern industry has reduced ‘freedom of contract’ to a paper privilege,” declared one labor advocate, “a mere figure of rhetoric.” Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., dissenting in the *Lochner* decision, agreed. If the choice was between working and starving, he observed, how could bakers “choose” their hours of work? Holmes’s view, known as legal realism, eventually won judicial favor, but only after years of progressive and labor activism.

Reform Reshaped, 1901–1912

William McKinley, a powerful presence in the White House, was no reformer. His victory was widely understood as a triumph for business and especially for industrial titans who had contributed heavily to his campaign. But the depression of the 1890s, by subjecting millions to severe hardship, had dramatically illustrated the problems of industrialization. At the same time, the success of McKinley’s campaign managers—who spent more than \$3.5 million, versus Bryan’s \$300,000—raised unsettling questions about corporate power. Once the crisis of the 1890s passed, many middle-class Americans proved ready to embrace progressive ideas. The rise of such ideas was aided by historical chance, when a shocking assassination put a reformer in the White House.

Theodore Roosevelt as President

On September 14, 1901, only six months after William McKinley won his second face-off against Democrat William Jennings Bryan, the president was shot as he attended the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. He died eight days later. The murderer, Leon Czolgosz, was influenced by anarchists who had carried out recent assassinations in Europe. Though Czolgosz was American-born, many feared that McKinley’s violent death was another warning of the threat posed by radical immigrants. As the nation mourned its third murdered president in less than four decades, Vice President Theodore Roosevelt was sworn into office.

Roosevelt, from a prominent family, had chosen an unconventional path. After graduating from Harvard, he plunged into politics, winning a seat as a Republican New York assemblyman. Disillusioned by his party’s resistance to reform, he left politics in the mid-1880s and moved to a North Dakota ranch. But his cattle herd was wiped out in the blizzards of 1887. He returned east, winning appointments as a U.S. Civil Service commissioner, head of the New York City Police Commission, and McKinley’s assistant secretary of the navy. An energetic presence in all these jobs, Roosevelt gained broad knowledge of the problems America faced at the municipal, state, and federal levels.

After serving in the War of 1898 (Chapter 21), Roosevelt was elected as New York’s governor. In this job, he pushed through civil service reform and a tax on corporations. Seeking to neutralize this progressive and rather unpredictable political star, Republican bosses chose Roosevelt as McKinley’s running mate in 1900, hoping the vice-presidency would be a political dead end. Instead, they suddenly found Roosevelt in the White House. The new president, who called for vigorous reform, represented a major shift for the Republicans.

Antitrust Legislation Roosevelt blended reform with the needs of private enterprise, but on occasion he challenged corporations in new ways. During a bitter 1902 coal strike, for example, he threatened to nationalize the big coal companies if their owners refused to negotiate with the miners’ union. The owners hastily came to the table. Roosevelt also sought better enforcement of the Interstate Commerce Act and Sherman Antitrust Act. He pushed through the Elkins Act (1903), which prohibited discriminatory railway rates that favored powerful customers. That same year, he created the Bureau of Corporations, empowered to investigate business practices and bolster the Justice Department’s capacity to mount antitrust suits. The department had already filed such a suit against the Northern Securities Company, arguing that this combination of northwestern railroads had created a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. In a landmark decision in 1904, the Supreme Court ordered Northern Securities dissolved.

That year, calling for every American to get what he called a Square Deal, Roosevelt handily defeated Democratic candidate Alton B. Parker. Now president in his own right, Roosevelt stepped up his attack on trusts. He regarded large-scale enterprise as the natural tendency of modern industry, but he hoped to



Reining in Big Business

This 1904 cartoon from *Puck* shows Theodore Roosevelt as a tiny figure with a sword marked “public service,” taking on railroad developer Jay Gould, financier John Pierpont Morgan, and other Wall Street titans. The figure at the top right is oil magnate John D. Rockefeller. In its reference to the folktale “Jack the Giant Killer,” the cartoon suggests how difficult it will be for the president to limit the power of globally connected bankers and financiers. Library of Congress.

identify and punish “malefactors of great wealth” who abused their power. After much wrangling in Congress, Roosevelt won a major victory with the passage of the Hepburn Act (1906), which enabled the Interstate Commerce Commission to set shipping rates.

At the time Roosevelt acted, trusts had partially protected themselves with the help of two friendly states, New Jersey and Delaware, whose legislatures had loosened regulations and invited trusts to incorporate under their new state laws. With its Northern Securities ruling, however, the Supreme Court began to recognize federal authority to dissolve the most egregious monopolies. Roosevelt left a powerful legacy

to his successor, William Howard Taft. In its *Standard Oil* decision (1911), the Supreme Court agreed with Taft’s Justice Department that John D. Rockefeller’s massive oil monopoly should be broken up into several competing companies. After this ruling, Taft’s attorney general undertook antitrust actions against other giant companies.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

To what degree, and in what ways, were Roosevelt’s policies progressive?

Environmental Conservation Roosevelt was an ardent outdoorsman and hunter. It was after the president went bear hunting in Mississippi in 1902, in fact, that a Russian Jewish immigrant couple in New York began to sell stuffed “Teddy’s bears,” which became an American childhood tradition. After John Muir gave Roosevelt a tour of Yosemite Valley, the president described the transcendent experience of camping in the open air under the giant sequoias. “The majestic trunks, beautiful in color and in symmetry,” he wrote, “rose round us like the pillars of a mightier cathedral than ever was conceived.”

Roosevelt translated his love of nature into environmental action. By the end of his presidency, he had issued fifty-one executive orders creating wildlife refuges and signed a number of bills advocated by environmentalists. He also oversaw creation of three national parks, including Colorado’s Mesa Verde, the first to “protect the works of man”: American Indian archaeological sites. Also notable was his vigorous use of the Antiquities Act, through which he set aside such beautiful sites as Arizona’s Grand Canyon and Washington’s Mt. Olympus.

Some of Roosevelt’s conservation policies, however, had a probusiness bent. He increased the amount of land held in federal forest reserves and turned their management over to the new, independent U.S. Forest Service, created in 1905. But his forestry chief, Gifford Pinchot, insisted on fire suppression to maximize logging potential. In addition, Roosevelt lent support to the **Newlands Reclamation Act** (1902), which had much in common with earlier Republican policies to promote economic development in the West. Under the act, the federal government sold public lands to raise money for irrigation projects that expanded agriculture on arid lands. The law, interestingly, fulfilled one of the demands of the unemployed men who had marched with Coxey’s Army.

Roosevelt’s Legacies Like the environmental laws enacted during his presidency, Theodore Roosevelt was full of contradictions. An unabashed believer in

what he called “Anglo-Saxon” superiority, Roosevelt nonetheless incurred the wrath of white supremacists by inviting Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House. Roosevelt called for elite “best men” to enter politics, but he also defended the dignity of labor.

In 1908, Roosevelt chose to retire, bequeathing the Republican nomination to talented administrator William Howard Taft. Taft portrayed himself as Roosevelt’s man, though he maintained a closer relationship than his predecessor with probusiness Republicans in Congress. In 1908, Taft faced off against Democrat William Jennings Bryan, who, eloquent as ever, attacked Republicans as the party of “plutocrats”: men who used their wealth to buy political influence. Bryan outdid Taft in urging tougher antitrust and pro-labor legislation, but Taft won comfortably.

In the wake of Taft’s victory, however, rising pressure for reform began to divide Republicans. Conservatives dug in, while militant progressives within the party thought Roosevelt and his successor had not gone far enough. Reconciling these conflicting forces was a daunting task. For Taft, it spelled disaster. Through various incidents, he found himself on the opposite side of progressive Republicans, who began to call themselves “Insurgents” and to plot their own path.

Diverse Progressive Goals

The revolt of Republican Insurgents signaled the strength of grassroots demands for change. No one described these emerging goals more eloquently than Jane Addams, who famously declared in *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), “The cure for the ills of Democracy is more Democracy.” It was a poignant statement, given the sharply antidemocratic direction American politics had taken since the 1890s. What, now, should more democracy look like? Various groups of progressives—women, antipoverty reformers, African American advocates—often disagreed about priorities and goals. Some, frustrated by events in the United States, traveled abroad to study inspiring experiments in other nations, hoping to bring ideas home (*America Compared*, p. 653).

States also served as seedbeds of change. Theodore Roosevelt dubbed Wisconsin a “laboratory of democracy” under energetic Republican governor Robert La Follette (1901–1905). La Follette promoted what he called the **Wisconsin Idea**—greater government intervention in the economy, with reliance on experts, particularly progressive economists, for policy recommendations. Like Addams, La Follette combined respect for expertise with commitment to “more Democracy.”

He won battles to restrict lobbying and to give Wisconsin citizens the right of **recall**—voting to remove unpopular politicians from office—and **referendum**—voting directly on a proposed law, rather than leaving it in the hands of legislators. Continuing his career in the U.S. Senate, La Follette, like Roosevelt, advocated increasingly aggressive measures to protect workers and rein in corporate power.

Protecting the Poor The urban settlement movement called attention to poverty in America’s industrial cities. In the emerging social sciences, experts argued that unemployment and crowded slums were not caused by laziness and ignorance, as elite Americans had long believed. Instead, as journalist Robert Hunter wrote in his landmark study, *Poverty* (1904), such problems resulted from “miserable and unjust social conditions.” Charity work was at best a limited solution. “How vain to waste our energies on single cases of relief,” declared one reformer, “when society should aim at removing the prolific sources of all the woe.”

By the early twentieth century, reformers placed particular emphasis on labor conditions for women and children. The **National Child Labor Committee**, created in 1907, hired photographer Lewis Hine to record brutal conditions in mines and mills where children worked. (See Hine’s photograph on p. 621.) Impressed by the committee’s investigations, Theodore Roosevelt sponsored the first White House Conference on Dependent Children in 1909, bringing national attention to child welfare issues. In 1912, momentum from the conference resulted in creation of the Children’s Bureau in the U.S. Labor Department.

Those seeking to protect working-class women scored a major triumph in 1908 with the Supreme Court’s decision in *Muller v. Oregon*, which upheld an Oregon law limiting women’s workday to ten hours. Given the Court’s ruling three years earlier in *Lochner v. New York*, it was a stunning victory. To win the case, the National Consumers’ League (NCL) recruited Louis Brandeis, a son of Jewish immigrants who was widely known as “the people’s lawyer” for his eagerness to take on vested interests. Brandeis’s legal brief in the *Muller* case devoted only two pages to the constitutional issue of state police powers. Instead, Brandeis rested his arguments on data gathered by the NCL describing the toll that long work hours took on women’s health. The “Brandeis brief” cleared the way for use of social science research in court decisions. Sanctioning a more expansive role for state governments, the *Muller* decision encouraged women’s organizations to lobby for further reforms. Their achievements included

A Progressive Reports from New Zealand



Henry Demarest Lloyd, a reform journalist discouraged by populism's defeat in the United States, toured New Zealand in 1899. Lloyd wanted to study New Zealand's sudden burst of reform legislation stemming from a great industrial strike in 1890 and, in its wake, a Labor Party election victory that precipitated dramatic change.

Lloyd was one of many reformers who looked overseas for progressive ideas. The urban settlement movement in the United States was inspired by British examples. Municipal, state, and federal officials borrowed innovative policies from other parts of the industrializing world—from scientific forest management to workmen's compensation laws.

New Zealand democracy is the talk of the world to-day. It has made itself the policeman and partner of industry to an extent unknown elsewhere. It is the "experiment station" of advanced legislation. . . .

Instead of escaping from the evils of the social order by going to a new country, the Englishmen who settled New Zealand found that they had brought all its problems with them. . . . The best acres were in the hands of monopolists. . . . The little farmer, forced by unjust and deliberately contrived laws to pay his own and his rich neighbor's taxes, had to sell out his little homestead to that neighbor for what he could get. The workingman, able to get neither land nor work, had to become a tramp. . . . The blood of the people was the vintage of the rich.

Here is the record of ten years [of progressive legislation]: . . . The rich man, because rich, is made to pay more. . . .

By compulsory arbitration the public gets for the guidance of public opinion all the facts as to disputes between labor and capital, [and] puts an end to strikes and lock-outs. . . . For the unemployed the nation makes itself a labor bureau. It brings them and the employers together. It reorganizes its public works and land system so as to give land to the landless and work to the workless. . . . The state itself insures the working people against accident.

. . . The nation's railroads are used to redistribute unemployed labour, to rebuild industry shattered by calamity, to stimulate production by special rates to and

from farms and factories, to give health and education to the school and factory population and the people generally by cheap excursions.

. . . Women are enfranchised. . . . On election day one can see the baby-carriage standing in front of the polls while the father and mother go in and vote—against each other if they choose.

Last of all, pensions are given to the aged poor.

. . . We are exhorted to take "one step at a time" [but] this theory does not fit the New Zealand evolution. . . . It was not merely a change in parties; it was a change in principles and institutions that amounted to nothing less than a social right-about-face. It was a New Zealand revolution, one which without destruction passed at once to the tasks of construction.

Source: Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Newest England* (New York: Doubleday, 1901), 1, 364–374.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What reforms had New Zealand enacted, according to Lloyd, and what problems did they solve?
2. New Zealand had a population of one million in 1890, mostly British immigrants and their descendants, with a smaller number of native Maori. Why might reform have been easier to achieve there than in the United States?

the first law providing public assistance for single mothers with dependent children (Illinois, 1911) and the first minimum wage law for women (Massachusetts, 1912).

Muller had drawbacks, however. Though men as well as women suffered from long work hours, the *Muller* case did not protect men. Brandeis's brief treated all women as potential mothers, focusing on the state's

interest in protecting future children. Brandeis and his allies hoped this would open the door to broader regulation of working hours. The Supreme Court, however, seized on motherhood as the key issue, asserting that the female worker, because of her maternal function, was "in a class by herself, and legislation for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not



Robert M. La Follette

La Follette was transformed into a political reformer when, in 1891, a Wisconsin Republican boss attempted to bribe him to influence a judge in a railway case. As he described it in his autobiography, "Out of this awful ordeal came understanding; and out of understanding came resolution. I determined that the power of this corrupt influence . . . should be broken." This photograph captures him at the top of his form, expounding his progressive vision to a rapt audience of Wisconsin citizens at an impromptu street gathering. Library of Congress.

necessary for men." This conclusion dismayed labor advocates and divided female reformers for decades afterward.

Male workers did benefit, however, from new workmen's compensation measures. Between 1910 and 1917, all the industrial states enacted insurance laws covering on-the-job accidents, so workers' families would not starve if a breadwinner was injured or killed. Some states also experimented with so-called mothers' pensions, providing state assistance after a breadwinner's desertion or death. Mothers, however, were subjected to home visits to determine whether they "deserved" government aid; injured workmen were not judged on this basis, a pattern of gender discrimination that reflected the broader impulse to protect women, while also treating them differently from men. Mothers' pensions reached relatively small numbers of women, but they laid foundations for the national program Aid to Families with Dependent Children, an important component of the Social Security Act of 1935.

While federalism gave the states considerable freedom to innovate, it hampered national reforms. In

some states, for example, opponents of child labor won laws barring young children from factory work and strictly regulating hours and conditions for older children's labor. In the South, however, and in coal-mining states like Pennsylvania, companies fiercely resisted such laws—as did many working-class parents who relied on children's income to keep the family fed. A proposed U.S. constitutional amendment to abolish child labor never won ratification; only four states passed it. Tens of thousands of children continued to work in low-wage jobs, especially in the South. The same decentralized power that permitted innovation in Wisconsin hampered the creation of national minimum standards for pay and job safety.

The Birth of Modern Civil Rights Reeling from disenfranchisement and the sanction of racial segregation in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), African American leaders faced distinctive challenges. Given the obvious deterioration of African American rights, a new generation of black leaders proposed bolder approaches than those popularized earlier by Booker T. Washington. Harvard-educated sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois called



W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois was born in western Massachusetts in 1868, the son of a barber and a domestic worker. He received an excellent local education and went on to earn his BA and PhD at Harvard, as well as to study with cutting-edge social scientists in Germany. By 1900, Du Bois had become a national civil rights leader and America's leading black intellectual. Famous for his sociological and historical studies, including *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Du Bois helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and edited the organization's journal, *The Crisis*. Between 1900 and 1945, he helped organize Pan-African conferences in locations around the world. Toward the end of his life, Du Bois pursued this Pan-African ideal by moving to Ghana, the first modern African nation formed after the end of European colonialism. He died there in 1963. Special Collections and Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

for a **talented tenth** of educated blacks to develop new strategies. “The policy of compromise has failed,” declared William Monroe Trotter, pugnacious editor of the *Boston Guardian*. “The policy of resistance and aggression deserves a trial.”

In 1905, Du Bois and Trotter called a meeting at Niagara Falls—on the Canadian side, because no hotel on the U.S. side would admit blacks. The resulting Niagara Principles called for full voting rights; an end to segregation; equal treatment in the justice system; and equal opportunity in education, jobs, health care,

and military service. These principles, based on African American pride and an uncompromising demand for full equality, guided the civil rights movement throughout the twentieth century.

In 1908, a bloody race riot broke out in Springfield, Illinois. Appalled by the white mob’s violence in the hometown of Abraham Lincoln, New York settlement worker Mary White Ovington called together a group of sympathetic progressives to formulate a response. Their meeting led in 1909 to creation of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**. Most leaders of the Niagara Movement soon joined; W. E. B. Du Bois became editor of the NAACP journal, *The Crisis*. The fledgling group found allies in many African American women’s clubs and churches. It also cooperated with the National Urban League (1911), a union of agencies that assisted black migrants in the North. Over the coming decades, these groups grew into a powerful force for racial justice.

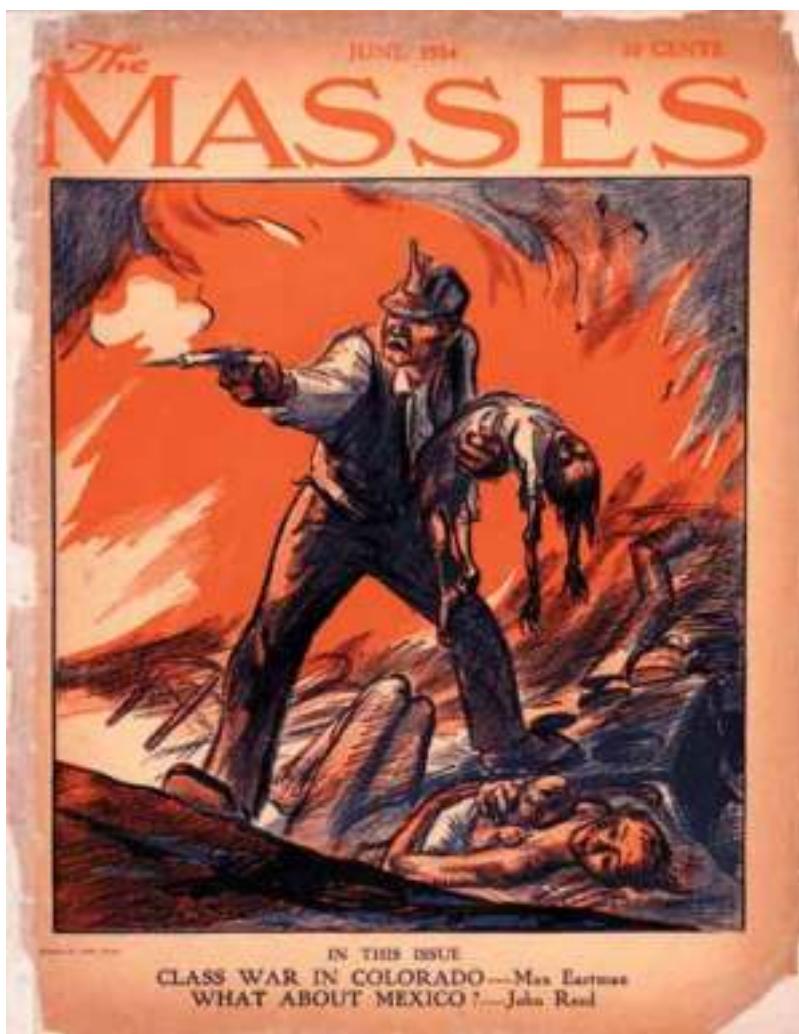
The Problem of Labor Leaders of the nation’s dominant union, the American Federation of Labor, were slow to ally with progressives. They had long believed workers should improve their situation through strikes and direct negotiation with employers, not through politics. But by the 1910s, as progressive reformers came forward with solutions, labor leaders in state after state began to join the cause.

The nation also confronted a daring wave of radical labor militancy. In 1905, the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), led by fiery leaders such as William “Big Bill” Haywood, helped create a new movement, the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**. The Wobblies, as they were called, fervently supported the Marxist class struggle. As syndicalists, they believed that by resisting in the workplace and ultimately launching a general strike, workers could overthrow capitalism. A new society would emerge, run directly by workers. At its height, around 1916, the IWW had about 100,000 members. Though divided by internal conflicts, the group helped spark a number of local protests during the 1910s, including strikes of rail car builders in Pennsylvania, textile operatives in Massachusetts, rubber workers in Ohio, and miners in Minnesota.

Meanwhile, after midnight on October 1, 1910, an explosion ripped through the *Los Angeles Times* headquarters, killing twenty employees and wrecking the building. It turned out that John J. McNamara, a high official

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did various grassroots reformers define “progressivism,” and how did their views differ from Theodore Roosevelt’s version of “progressivism”?



The Ludlow Massacre, 1914

Like his drawings of Triangle Shirtwaist fire victims in New York, this cover illustration for the popular socialist magazine *The Masses* demonstrates John Sloan's outrage at social injustice in progressive America. The drawing memorializes a tragic episode during a coal miners' strike at Ludlow, Colorado—the asphyxiation of women and children when vigilantes torched the tent city of evicted miners—and the aftermath, an armed revolt by enraged miners.

The Masses, June 1914.

of the American Federation of Labor's Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union, had planned the bombing against the fiercely antiunion *Times*. McNamara's brother and another union member had carried out the attack. The bombing created a sensation, as did the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist fire (Chapter 19) and the IWW's high-profile strikes. What should be done? As the election of 1912 approached, labor issues moved high on the nation's agenda.

The Election of 1912

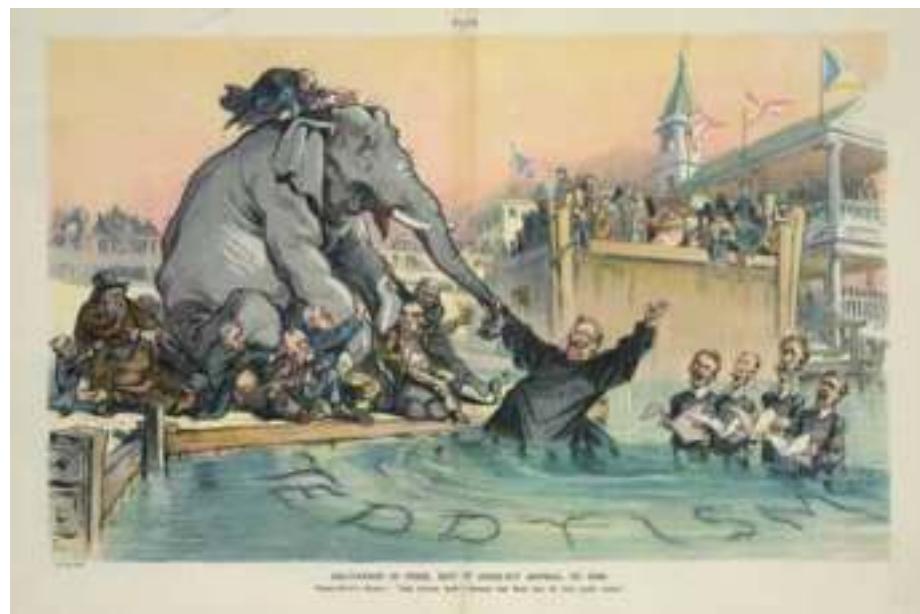
Retirement did not sit comfortably with Theodore Roosevelt. Returning from a yearlong safari in Africa in 1910 and finding Taft wrangling with the Insurgents, Roosevelt itched to jump in. In a speech in Osawatomie, Kansas, in August 1910, he called for a **New Nationalism**. In modern America, he argued, private property had to be controlled "to whatever degree the public

welfare may require it." He proposed a federal child labor law, more recognition of labor rights, and a national minimum wage for women. Pressed by friends like Jane Addams, Roosevelt also endorsed women's suffrage. Most radical was his attack on the legal system. Insisting that courts blocked reform, Roosevelt proposed sharp curbs on their powers (American Voices, p. 658).

Early in 1912, Roosevelt announced himself as a Republican candidate for president. A battle within the party ensued. Roosevelt won most states that held primary elections, but Taft controlled party caucuses elsewhere. Dominated by regulars, the Republican convention chose Taft. Roosevelt then led his followers into what became known as the Progressive Party, offering his New Nationalism directly to the people. Though Jane Addams harbored private doubts (especially about Roosevelt's mania for battleships), she seconded his nomination, calling the Progressive Party

The Republicans Resist Roosevelt, August 7, 1912

This cartoon appeared in the political humor journal *Puck*, six weeks after the Republican convention nominated Taft and two days after the new Progressive Party nominated Theodore Roosevelt. The baptismal choir consists of men such as Gifford Pinchot, who helped Roosevelt form the new party. The G.O.P. elephant refuses to be baptized in "Teddyism," though Preacher Roosevelt insists, "Salvation is Free." President William Howard Taft, dressed in brown with a hat, pulls on the elephant's tail. Library of Congress.



"the American exponent of a world-wide movement for juster social conditions." In a nod to Roosevelt's combative stance, party followers called themselves "Bull Moose."

Roosevelt was not the only rebel on the ballot: the major parties also faced a challenge from charismatic socialist Eugene V. Debs. In the 1890s, Debs had founded the American Railway Union (ARU), a broad-based group that included both skilled and unskilled workers. In 1894, amid the upheavals of depression and popular protest, the ARU had boycotted luxury Pullman sleeping cars, in support of a strike by workers at the Pullman Company. Railroad managers, claiming the strike obstructed the U.S. mail, persuaded Grover Cleveland's administration to intervene against the union. The strike failed, and Debs served time in prison along with other ARU leaders. The experience radicalized him, and in 1901 he launched the Socialist Party of America. Debs translated socialism into an American idiom, emphasizing the democratic process as a means to defeat capitalism. By the early 1910s, his party had secured a minor but persistent role in politics. Both the Progressive and Socialist parties drew strength from the West, a region with vigorous urban reform movements and a legacy of farmer-labor activism.

Watching the rise of the Progressives and Socialists, Democrats were keen to build on dramatic gains they had made in the 1910 midterm election. Among their younger leaders was Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson, who as New Jersey's governor had compiled an impressive reform record, including passage of a direct primary, workers' compensation, and utility regulation. In

1912, he won the Democrats' nomination. Wilson possessed, to a fault, the moral certainty that characterized many elite progressives. He had much in common with Roosevelt. "The old time of individual competition is probably gone by," he admitted, agreeing for more federal measures to restrict big business. But his goals were less sweeping than Roosevelt's, and only gradually did he hammer out a reform program, calling it the New Freedom. "If America is not to have free enterprise," Wilson warned, "then she can have freedom of no sort whatever." He claimed Roosevelt's program represented collectivism, whereas the New Freedom would preserve political and economic liberty.

With four candidates in the field — Taft, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Debs — the 1912 campaign generated intense excitement. Democrats continued to have an enormous blind spot: their opposition to African American rights. But Republicans, despite plentiful opportunities, had also conspicuously failed to end segregation or pass antilynching laws. Though African American leaders had high hopes for the Progressive Party, they were crushed when the new party refused to seat southern black delegates or take a stand for racial equality. W. E. B. Du Bois considered voting for Debs, calling the Socialists the only party "which openly recognized Negro manhood." But he ultimately endorsed Wilson. Across the North, in a startling shift, thousands of African American men and women worked and voted for Wilson, hoping Democrats' reform

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

Why did the election of 1912 feature four candidates, and how did their platforms differ?



Theodore Roosevelt: From Anti-Populist to New Nationalist

"How Not to Help Our Poorer Brother," 1897

In the 1890s Roosevelt, a rising Republican star, forcefully denounced populism and other radical movements. The comments below were part of an exchange with Populists' 1896 vice-presidential nominee, Tom Watson of Georgia.

There are plenty of ugly things about wealth and its possessors in the present age, and I suppose there have been in all ages. There are many rich people who so utterly lack patriotism, or show such sordid and selfish traits of character, . . . that all right-minded men must look upon them with angry contempt; but, on the whole, the thrifty are apt to be better citizens than the thriftless; and the worst capitalist cannot harm laboring men as they are harmed by demagogues. . . .

The first lesson to teach the poor man is that, as a whole, the wealth of the community is distinctly beneficial to him; that he is better off in the long run because other men are well off, and that the surest way to destroy what measure of prosperity he may have is to paralyze industry and the well-being of those men who have achieved success.

. . . It may become necessary to interfere even more than we have done with the right of private contract, and to shackle cunning as we have shackled force. All I insist upon is that we must be sure of our ground before trying to get any legislation, and that we must not expect too much from this legislation. . . . The worst foe of the poor man is the labor leader, whether philanthropist or politician, who tried to teach him that he is a victim of conspiracy and injustice, when in reality he is merely working out his fate with blood and sweat as the immense majority of men who are worthy of the name always have done and always will have to do. . . .

Something can be done by good laws; more can be done by honest administration of the laws; but most of all can be done by frowning resolutely upon the preachers of vague discontent; and by upholding the true doctrine of self-reliance, self-help, and self-mastery. This doctrine sets forth many things. Among them is that, though a man can occasionally be helped when he stumbles, yet

Theodore Roosevelt published the first piece below in a leading journal in 1897. At the time he was serving as police commissioner of New York City. The second document is a famous speech he delivered in 1910, when he had retired from the presidency but was planning a bid for the 1912 Republican nomination.

that it is useless to try to carry him when he will not or cannot walk; and worse than useless to try to bring down the work and reward of the thrifty and intelligent to the level of the capacity of the weak, the shiftless, and the idle. . . .

If an American is to amount to anything he must rely upon himself, and not upon the State. . . . It is both foolish and wicked to teach the average man who is not well off that some wrong or injustice has been done him, and that he should hope for redress elsewhere than in his own industry, honesty and intelligence.

New Nationalism Speech, August 31, 1910

Roosevelt delivered this speech to a gathering of Union veterans at Osawatomie, Kansas, a site associated with abolitionist John Brown (Chapter 13). Why do you think Roosevelt chose this occasion and audience?

Of that [Civil War] generation of men to whom we owe so much, the man to whom we owe most is, of course, Lincoln. Part of our debt to him is because he forecast our present struggle and saw the way out. He said:

. . . "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

If that remark was original with me, I should be even more strongly denounced as a Communist agitator than I shall be anyhow. It is Lincoln's. I am only quoting it; and that is one side; that is the side the capitalist should hear. Now, let the working man hear his side.

"Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. . . . Nor should this lead to a war upon the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable."

. . . It seems to me that, in these words, Lincoln took substantially the attitude that we ought to take; he showed the proper sense of proportion in his relative estimates of capital and labor, of human rights and property rights. One of the chief factors in progress is the destruction of special privilege. The essence of any struggle for healthy

liberty has always been, and must always be, to take from some one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position, or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows. That is what you fought for in the Civil War, and that is what we strive for now.

... Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results. First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies; to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privilege of others, can carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned. Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable.

... When I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward for equally good service. . . . This means that our government, national and State, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests. Exactly as the special interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great special business interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit. We must drive the special interests out of politics. . . .

The Constitution guarantees protections to property, and we must make that promise good. But it does not give the right of suffrage to any corporation. The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth. . . . The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains. To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done. . . .

We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the

rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare. . . .

No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so that after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community. . . . We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them. We need comprehensive workmen's compensation acts [and] laws to regulate child labor and work for women. . . .

The New Nationalism puts the national need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues, [and] the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property. . . .

The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens.

Sources: Article from *Review of Reviews*, January 1897; speech from theodore-roosevelt.com/trspeeches.html.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what ways did Roosevelt's views change between 1897 and 1910? What factors might have contributed to the change? Can you identify aspects of Roosevelt's thinking that remained the same?
2. How might the jobs Roosevelt held or sought, in 1897 and in 1910, have influenced his ideas?
3. If you were asked, after reading these documents, what Roosevelt stood for, how would you respond?

energy would benefit Americans across racial lines. The change helped lay the foundations for Democrats' New Deal coalition of the 1930s.

Despite the intense campaign, Republicans' division between Taft and Roosevelt made the result fairly easy to predict. Wilson won, though he received only 42 percent of the popular vote and almost certainly would have lost if Roosevelt had not been in the race (Map 20.5). In comparison with Roosevelt and Debs, Wilson appeared to be a rather old-fashioned choice. But with labor protests cresting and progressives gaining support, Wilson faced intense pressure to act.

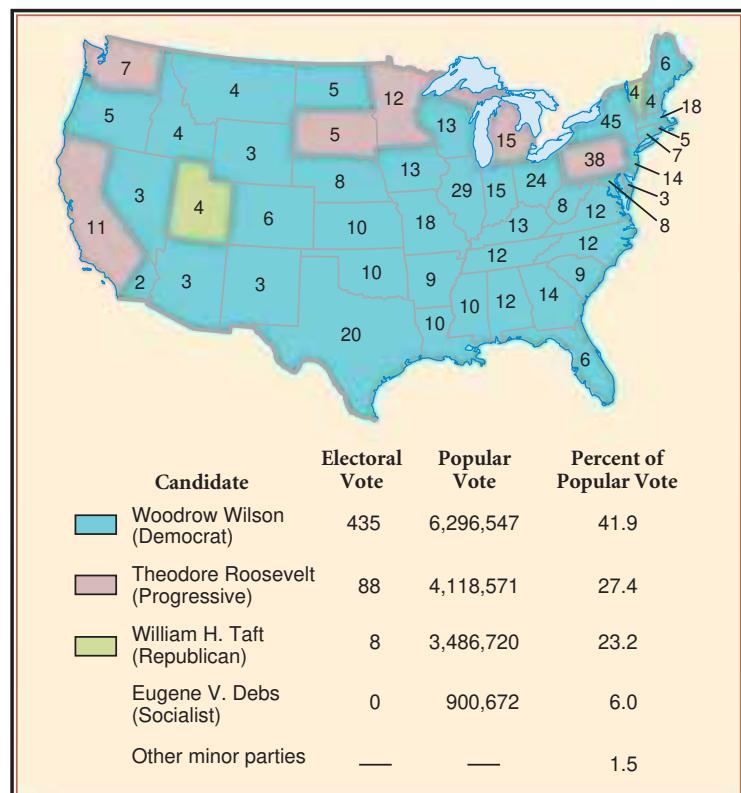
Wilson and the New Freedom, 1913–1917

In his inaugural address, Wilson acknowledged that industrialization had precipitated a crisis. "There can be no equality of opportunity," he said, "if men and women and children be not shielded . . . from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with." Wilson was a Democrat, and labor interests and farmers—some previously radicalized in the People's

Party—were important components of his base. In the South, many of those voters also upheld strong support for white supremacy. Despite many northern African Americans' support for Wilson, his administration did little for those constituents. But he undertook bold economic reforms.

Economic Reforms

In an era of rising corporate power, many Democrats believed workers needed stronger government to intervene on their behalf, and they began to transform themselves into a modern, state-building party. The Wilson administration achieved a series of landmark measures—at least as significant as those enacted during earlier administrations, and perhaps more so (Table 20.1). The most enduring was the federal progressive income tax. "Progressive," by this definition, referred to the fact that it was not a flat tax but rose progressively toward the top of the income scale. The tax, passed in the 1890s but rejected by the Supreme Court, was reenacted as the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified by the states in February 1913. The next year, Congress used the new power to enact an income tax of 1 to 7 percent on Americans with annual incomes of \$4,000 or more. At a time when white



MAP 20.5

The Presidential Election of 1912

The 1912 election reveals why the two-party system is so strongly rooted in American politics—especially in presidential elections. The Democrats, though a minority party, won an electoral landslide because the Republicans divided their vote between Roosevelt and Taft. This result indicates what is at stake when major parties splinter. The Socialist Party candidate, Eugene V. Debs, despite a record vote of 900,000, received no electoral votes.



"The Finishing Touch," November 2, 1912

Three days before the election, *Harper's Weekly*, which endorsed Woodrow Wilson, suggested in this cartoon some of the reasons why he would win. Roosevelt supported protective tariffs, while Wilson called for tariff reform; Democrats also claimed that Roosevelt's antitrust proposals were not sufficiently aggressive and that in 1904 he had taken a large campaign contribution from Standard Oil. Such controversies showed the nation's accelerating momentum for reform. The man in the middle is Wilson's campaign manager, William McAdoo. *Harper's Weekly*, November 2, 1912, p. 26.

male wageworkers might expect to make \$800 per year, the tax affected less than 5 percent of households.

Three years later, Congress followed this with an inheritance tax. These measures created an entirely new way to fund the federal government, replacing Republicans' high tariff as the chief source of revenue. Over subsequent decades, especially between the 1930s and the 1970s, the income tax system markedly reduced America's extremes of wealth and poverty.

Wilson also reorganized the financial system to address the absence of a central bank. At the time, the main function of national central banks was to back up commercial banks in case they could not meet their obligations. In the United States, the great private banks of New York (such as J. P. Morgan's) assumed this role; if they weakened, the entire system could collapse. This had nearly happened in 1907, when the Knickerbocker Trust Company failed, precipitating a panic. The **Federal Reserve Act** (1913) gave the nation

a banking system more resistant to such crises. It created twelve district reserve banks funded and controlled by their member banks, with a central Federal Reserve Board to impose regulation. The Federal Reserve could issue currency—paper money based on assets held in the system—and set the interest rate that district reserve banks charged to their members. It thereby regulated the flow of credit to the general public. The act strengthened the banking system and, to a modest degree, discouraged risky speculation on Wall Street.

Wilson and the Democratic Congress turned next to the trusts. In doing so, Wilson relied heavily on Louis D. Brandeis, the celebrated people's lawyer. Brandeis denied that monopolies were efficient. On the contrary, he believed the best source of

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

To what degree did reforms of the Wilson era fulfill goals that various agrarian-labor advocates and progressives had sought?

TABLE 20.1**Major Federal Progressive Measures, 1883–1921****Before 1900**

- Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883)
- Hatch Act (1887; Chapter 17)
- Interstate Commerce Act (1887; Chapter 17)
- Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)
- Federal income tax (1894; struck down by Supreme Court, 1895)

During Theodore Roosevelt's Presidency, 1901–1909

- Newlands Reclamation Act for federal irrigation (1902)
- Elkins Act (1903)
- First National Wildlife Refuge (1903; Chapter 18)
- Bureau of Corporations created to aid Justice Department antitrust work (1903)
- National Forest Service created (1905)
- Antiquities Act (1906; Chapter 18)
- Pure Food and Drug Act (1906; Chapter 19)
- Hepburn Act (1906)
- First White House Conference on Dependent Children (1909)

During William Howard Taft's Presidency, 1909–1913

- Mann Act preventing interstate prostitution (1910; Chapter 19)
- Children's Bureau created in the U.S. Labor Department (1912)
- U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations appointed (1912)

During Woodrow Wilson's Presidency, 1913–1920

- Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution; federal income tax (1913)
- Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution; direct election of U.S. senators (1913)
- Federal Reserve Act (1913)
- Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)
- Seamen's Act (1915)
- Workmen's Compensation Act (1916)
- Adamson Eight-Hour Act (1916)
- National Park Service created (1916; Chapter 18)
- Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution; prohibition of liquor (1919; Chapter 22)
- Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution; women's suffrage (1920; Chapter 21)

efficiency was vigorous competition in a free market. The trick was to prevent trusts from unfairly using their power to curb such competition. In the **Clayton Antitrust Act** (1914), which amended the Sherman Act, the definition of illegal practices was left flexible, subject to the test of whether an action “substantially

lessen[ed] competition.” The new Federal Trade Commission received broad powers to decide what was fair, investigating companies and issuing “cease and desist” orders against anticompetitive practices.

Labor issues, meanwhile, received attention from a blue-ribbon U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations,

appointed near the end of Taft's presidency and charged with investigating the conditions of labor. In its 1913 report, the commission summed up the impact of industrialization on low-skilled workers. Many earned \$10 or less a week and endured regular episodes of unemployment; some faced long-term poverty and hardship. Workers held "an almost universal conviction" that they were "denied justice." The commission concluded that a major cause of industrial violence was the ruthless antiunionism of American employers. In its key recommendation, the report called for federal laws protecting workers' right to organize and engage in collective bargaining. Though such laws were, in 1915, too radical to win passage, the commission helped set a new national agenda that would come to fruition in the 1930s.

Guided by the commission's revelations, President Wilson warmed up to labor. In 1915 and 1916, he championed a host of bills to benefit American workers. They included the Adamson Act, which established an eight-hour day for railroad workers; the Seamen's Act, which eliminated age-old abuses of merchant sailors; and a workmen's compensation law for federal employees. Wilson, despite initial modest goals, presided over a major expansion of federal authority, perhaps the most significant since Reconstruction. The continued growth of U.S. government offices during Wilson's term reflected a reality that transcended party lines: corporations had grown in size and power, and Americans increasingly wanted federal authority to grow, too.

Wilson's reforms did not extend to the African Americans who had supported him in 1912. In fact, the president rolled back certain Republican policies, such as selected appointments of black postmasters. "I tried to help elect Wilson," W. E. B. Du Bois reflected gloomily, but "under Wilson came the worst attempt at Jim Crow legislation and discrimination in civil service that we had experienced since the Civil War." Wilson famously praised the film *Birth of a Nation* (1915), which depicted the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan in heroic terms. In this way, Democratic control of the White House helped set the tone for the Klan's return in the 1920s.

Progressive Legacies

In the industrial era, millions of Americans decided that their political system needed to adjust to new conditions. Whatever their specific goals—and whether they were rural, working-class, or middle-class—reformers faced fierce opposition from powerful business interests. When they managed to win key

regulatory laws, they often found these struck down by hostile courts and were forced to try again by different means. Thus the Progressive Era in the United States should be understood partly by its limitations. Elitism and racial prejudice, embodied in new voting restrictions, limited working-class power at the polls; African Americans, their plight ignored by most white reformers, faced segregation and violence. Divided power in a federalist system blocked passage of uniform national policies on such key issues as child labor. Key social welfare programs that became popular in Europe during these decades, including national health insurance and old-age pensions, scarcely made it onto the American agenda until the 1930s.

An international perspective suggests several reasons for American resistance to such programs. Business interests in the United States were exceptionally successful and powerful, flush with recent expansion. At the time, also, voters in countries with older, more native-born populations tended to support government regulation and welfare spending to a greater extent than their counterparts in countries with younger populations and large numbers of immigrants. Younger voters, understandably, seem to have been less concerned than older voters about health insurance and old-age security. Divisions in the American working class also played a role. Black, immigrant, and native-born white laborers often viewed one another as enemies or strangers rather than as members of a single class with common interests. This helps explain why the Socialist Party drew, at peak, less than 6 percent of the U.S. vote at a time when its counterparts in Finland, Germany, and France drew 40 percent or more. Lack of pressure from a strong, self-conscious workingmen's party contributed to more limited results in the United States.

But it would be wrong to underestimate progressive achievements. Over several decades, in this period, more and more prosperous Americans began to support stronger economic regulations. Even the most cautious, elite progressives recognized that the United States had entered a new era. Multinational corporations overshadowed small businesses; in vast cities, old support systems based on village and kinship melted away. Outdated political institutions—from the spoils system to urban machines—would no longer do. Walter Lippmann, founding editor of the progressive magazine *New Republic*, observed in 1914 that Americans had "no precedents to guide us, no wisdom

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What factors explain the limits of progressive reform in the United States?

that wasn't made for a simpler age." Progressives created new wisdom. By 1917, they had drawn blueprints for a modern American state, one whose powers more suited the needs of an industrial era.

SUMMARY

The Progressive Era emerged from the political turmoil of the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1880s, despite the limits imposed by close elections, federal and state governments managed to achieve important administrative and economic reforms. After 1888, Republican leaders undertook more sweeping efforts, including the Sherman Antitrust Act, but failed in a quest to protect black voting rights. In the South and West, the People's Party called for much stronger government intervention in the economy, but its radical program drew bitter Republican and Democratic resistance.

The depression of the 1890s brought a wave of reaction. Labor unrest threw the nation into crisis,

and Cleveland's intransigence over the gold standard cost the Democrats dearly in the 1894 and 1896 elections. While Republicans took over the federal government, southern Democrats restricted voting rights in the Solid South. Federal courts struck down regulatory laws and supported southern racial discrimination.

After McKinley's assassination, Roosevelt launched a program that balanced reform and private enterprise. At both the federal and state levels, progressive reformers made extensive use of elite expertise. At the grassroots, black reformers battled racial discrimination; women reformers worked on issues ranging from public health to women's working conditions; and labor activists tried to address the problems that fueled persistent labor unrest. The election of 1912 split the Republicans, giving victory to Woodrow Wilson, who launched a Democratic program of economic and labor reform. Despite the limits of the Progressive Era, the reforms of this period laid the foundation for a modern American state.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- “waving the bloody shirt” (p. 638)
Gilded Age (p. 638)
Pendleton Act (p. 638)
Mugwumps (p. 639)
Sherman Antitrust Act (p. 642)
Lodge Bill (p. 642)
Omaha Platform (p. 643)
free silver (p. 645)
Williams v. Mississippi (p. 645)
Solid South (p. 646)
Lochner v. New York (p. 649)
Newlands Reclamation Act
(p. 651)
Wisconsin Idea (p. 652)

Key People

- Mary E. Lease (p. 636)
William Jennings Bryan (p. 647)
Theodore Roosevelt (p. 650)
Robert La Follette (p. 652)
Louis Brandeis (p. 652)
W. E. B. Du Bois (p. 654)
Eugene V. Debs (p. 657)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- Reformers in the Progressive Era came from different backgrounds and represented several distinct interests. What were some of those backgrounds and interests? How did their goals differ?
- How did the economic crisis of the 1890s shape American politics?
- Compare the reform legislation passed during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency with that of Wilson's term. How were these goals and achievements shaped by the broader agenda of the party

that held power (Republicans, in Roosevelt's case, and Democrats, in Wilson's)?

- THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Look at the events on the thematic timeline on page 543. Historians often call the decades from the 1880s to the 1910s the Progressive Era. Given the limitations and new problems that emerged during this time, as well as the achievements of progressive policymaking, do you think the name is warranted? What other names might we suggest for this era?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Returning to Chapter 17, review the strategies and goals of the labor and agrarian organizations that flourished in the 1880s. The People's Party embodied many of those ideas. Imagine that you are a journalist interviewing a former People's Party leader in 1917. To what extent might he or she have said that progressives had, after 1900, fulfilled the agrarian-labor agenda? To what extent might he or she criticize progressives for failing to achieve important reforms? What do you conclude from this about the similarities and differences of populism and progressivism?
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** Study the cartoons that appear on pages 642, 651, and 660. One depicts a woman's dressing room; two depict combat among men. What do these cartoons tell us about the ways that ideals of masculinity and femininity were deployed in political campaigns? How might you use these cartoons to explain the challenges that women faced in winning suffrage during the Progressive Era? (For a counterpoint, you may also want to examine John Sloan's drawing about the Ludlow Massacre, on p. 656, and compare its depiction of masculine violence to the other three cartoons.)

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Charles Calhoun, *Conceiving a New Republic* (2006). An excellent account of post-Reconstruction politics, emphasizing issues of race and Republicans' dilemma in the South.

John Milton Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest* (1983). A provocative dual biography of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Maureen Flanagan, *America Reformed* (2007). A readable introduction and guide to further sources on progressive movements.

Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero* (2006). This biography of William Jennings Bryan is a good starting point on the era's Democrats and their charismatic leader.

Robert C. McMath, *American Populism* (1993). A lively history of the Farmers' Alliance and People's Party.

Nancy Woloch, ed., *Muller v. Oregon* (1996). An excellent analysis and collection of primary documents on this critical legal decision.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1881	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• President James Garfield assassinated
1883	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Pendleton Act establishes the Civil Service Commission
1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sherman Antitrust Act• People's Party created in Kansas
1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic depression begins
1894	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Coxey's Army marches on Washington, D.C.
1895	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• John Pierpont Morgan arranges gold purchases to rescue U.S. Treasury
1896	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• William McKinley wins presidency• <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> establishes "separate but equal" doctrine
1898	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Williams v. Mississippi</i> allows poll taxes and literacy tests for voters
1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National Consumers' League founded
1901	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Eugene Debs founds the Socialist Party of America• McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt assumes presidency
1902	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Newlands Reclamation Act
1903	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Elkins Act
1904	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Robert Hunter publishes <i>Poverty</i>
1905	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Industrial Workers of the World founded• Niagara Principles articulated
1906	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hepburn Act
1908	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Muller v. Oregon</i> limits women's work hours
1909	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• NAACP created
1912	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Four-way election gives presidency to Woodrow Wilson
1913	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sixteenth Amendment• Seventeenth Amendment• Federal Reserve Act
1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Clayton Antitrust Act

KEY TURNING POINTS: In the timeline above, identify key actions taken by Congress and the Progressive Era presidents, and those enacted by the Supreme Court. What role did each branch of government play in the Progressive Era, and how did those roles change over time?

7

PART

Domestic and Global Challenges

1890–1945

CHAPTER 21
An Emerging World Power, 1890–1918

CHAPTER 22
Cultural Conflict, Bubble, and Bust, 1919–1932

CHAPTER 23
Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal, 1929–1939

CHAPTER 24
The World at War, 1937–1945

In a famous speech he made in 1918, amid the horrors of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson outlined his Fourteen Points for international peace. Americans, he argued, must help make the world “fit and safe to live in.” “We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose,” Wilson declared. Fifteen years later, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt made a similar call for solidarity during the Great Depression. “We face the arduous days that lie before us,” he said, “in the warm courage of national unity.” Soon, even more grit and determination were needed, as Americans faced another looming world war.

In these years, America’s political leaders met major challenges at home and abroad with bold responses. The exception to this pattern was the 1920s, a decade of limited government under Republican presidents who deferred to business interests and to Americans’ isolationist, consumer-oriented mood. During the crises of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, however, American voters called for—and got—what Roosevelt called “action and action now.”

Wilson’s proposals met with failure at the end of World War I, but Roosevelt won immense popularity for his measures to combat the depression, which helped millions of Americans survive unemployment and hardship. FDR, however, had limited success in ending the depression until World War II reignited the American economy. The United States emerged from the war with unprecedented global power, and the federal government with a broad mandate for sustaining the new welfare state. Part 7 addresses these transformations.



America's Rise to World Power

The United States became a major international power after the 1890s, first in the Western Hemisphere and by the 1940s across the world, renewing debates at home about America's global role. After defeating Spain in the War of 1898, the United States claimed overseas colonies and asserted control over the Caribbean basin. Though President Wilson attempted to maintain neutrality at the start of World War I, trade ties and old alliances drew America into the conflict on the Allied side. Wilson sought to influence the peace, but Allied leaders ignored his proposals and the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles. By war's end, the United States's position on the world stage remained uncertain.

The 1920s was an era of dollar diplomacy and U.S. business expansion abroad. In the 1930s, faced with isolationist sentiment at home and the rise of fascist powers in Europe and Japan, the Roosevelt administration steered a middle course. In the late 1930s, it began to send aid to its traditional ally Great Britain without committing U.S. forces, keeping the nation out of the brewing wars in Europe and the Pacific. When the United States entered World War II in 1941, it did so as part of an alliance with both England and the Soviet Union against Germany and Japan (and their ally Italy). The United States emerged from the war as the dominant global power. These events are covered in Chapters 21, 22, and 24.

Modernity and Its Discontents

World War I had a powerful domestic impact in the United States. The Great Migration brought African Americans northward, and Mexicans across the U.S. border, to take up wartime jobs. A full-blown modern consumer culture also emerged by the 1920s as radio, cars, and Hollywood movies transformed leisure pastimes. While many Americans embraced consumer culture, others expressed deep fear and antagonism toward a new modern sensibility, especially secularism and sexual freedoms. Repressive impulses also came from above; during World War I, the federal government introduced new laws to police dissent, and the country took a sharp right turn. A Red Scare, rollback of labor and immigrant rights, and rising nativism marked the political scene. A resurgent nationwide Klan arose to target Catholics and Jews as well as African Americans. Many cultural conflicts emerged: the teaching of evolution in the schools angered religious fundamentalists, while "wets" and "drys" debated the prohibition of liquor.

Later events showed that racism took many forms: the U.S. government deported hundreds of thousands of people of Mexican descent during the Great Depression, including American citizens, and temporarily imprisoned Japanese Americans in a mass relocation policy during World War II. These, too, represented battles over what a diverse, modern nation would look like. We explore these conflicts in Chapters 21, 22, and 24.



Creation of the Welfare State

In comparison with their progressive predecessors (Chapters 19 and 20), Republican policymakers of the 1920s believed in hands-off government. Their policies likely helped trigger the Great Depression and deepened its impact after it arrived. Starting in 1932, Americans voted for change: President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs, 1933–1937, expanded federal responsibility for the welfare of ordinary citizens, sweeping away the *laissez faire* individualism of the previous decade. Though the New Deal faced considerable challenges on the political right—especially from business and corporate leaders and a hostile Supreme Court—the popularity of its programs, such as Social Security, established a broad consensus that the United States needed a modern welfare state to regulate the economy and provide a basic safety net for the nation's citizens. For an exploration of the New Deal, see Chapter 23.

Wartime measures went even further, as the government mobilized the entire economy and tens of millions of citizens to fight the Axis powers. The welfare state became a "warfare state," and Congress gave the president broad powers to fight the war abroad and reorganize the economy at home. Under the government-directed wartime economy, business boomed and productivity grew, but other policies, such as the internment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans, violated fragile civil liberties, leaving a mixed legacy. On America's roles in World War II, see Chapter 24.

Domestic and Global Challenges 1890–1945

Thematic Understanding

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes. Consider the entries under "America in the World," "Politics and Power," "Identity," and "Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture." What connections do you see between events on the world stage and developments within the United States? What impact did World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II appear to have on American politics, society, and culture? >

	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	POLITICS AND POWER	IDENTITY	IDEAS, BELIEFS, AND CULTURE	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Congress funds construction of modern battleships U.S.-backed planters overthrow Hawaii's queen (1892) U.S. wins War of 1898 against Spain; claims Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Philippines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republicans sweep congressional elections as Americans respond to severe depression (1894) Republican William McKinley elected president (1896) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "American exceptionalism" and rise of imperialism Alfred Mahan, <i>The Influence of Sea Power upon History</i> (1890) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Remember the <i>Maine</i>" campaign fuels surge in nationalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depression of 1890s increases pressure for U.S. to secure foreign markets
1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> U.S. war against Philippine revolutionaries Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine (1904) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> William McKinley reelected on pro-imperialist platform (1900) William McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt becomes president (1901) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Insular Cases</i> establish noncitizenship status for new territories (1901) California, Washington, and Hawaii limit rights for Asian immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rise of modernism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Root-Takahira Agreement affirms free oceanic commerce (1908)
1910	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wilson intervenes in Mexico (1914) Panama Canal opened (1914) United States enters WWI (1917) War ends; Wilson seeks to influence peace treaty negotiations (1918) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Woodrow Wilson elected president (1912) Red Scare (1919) Woodrow Wilson issues Fourteen Points (1919) U.S. Senate rejects Treaty of Versailles (1919, 1920) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Ku Klux Klan founded (1915) Post-WWI race riots Wartime pressure for "100% loyalty"; dissent suppressed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moviemaking industry moves to southern California <i>Birth of a Nation</i> glorifies the Reconstruction-era Klan (1915) Radio Corporation of America created (1919) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Great Migration brings African Americans to northern cities, Mexicans north to United States Assembly-line production begins
1920	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heyday of "dollar diplomacy" U.S. occupation of Haiti and other Caribbean and Central American nations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nineteenth Amendment grants women's suffrage (1920) Prohibition (1920–1933) Teapot Dome scandal (1923) Republican "associated state," probusiness policies (1920–1932) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Origins Act limits immigration (1924) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rise of Hollywood Harlem Renaissance Popularity of jazz music Scopes "monkey trial" (1925) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic prosperity (1922–1929) Labor gains rolled back Era of welfare capitalism Rise of automobile loans and consumer credit
1930	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rise of European fascist powers Japan invades China (1937) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Franklin Roosevelt elected president (1932) First New Deal (1933) Second New Deal (1935) Roosevelt attempts to reform Supreme Court (1937) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bonus Army (1932) Indian Reorganization Act (1934) Social Security created (1935) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Documentary impulse in arts WPA assists artists Federal Writers' Project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Great Depression (1929–1941) Rise of CIO and organized labor
1940	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> United States enters WWII (1941) Atomic bombing of Japan and end of WWII (1945) United Nations founded (1945) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roosevelt elected to fourth term (1944) Roosevelt dies (1945) Harry Truman becomes president (1945) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internment of Japanese Americans Segregation in armed services until 1948 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Film industry aids war effort 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> War spending ends depression Rationing curbs consumer spending Married women take war jobs

21

CHAPTER

FROM EXPANSION TO IMPERIALISM

- Foundations of Empire
- The War of 1898
- Spoils of War

A POWER AMONG POWERS

- The Open Door in Asia
- The United States and Latin America

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD WAR I

- From Neutrality to War
- "Over There"
- War on the Home Front

CATASTROPHE AT VERSAILLES

- The Fate of Wilson's Ideas
- Congress Rejects the Treaty

An Emerging World Power 1890–1918

Accepting the Democratic presidential nomination in 1900, William Jennings Bryan delivered a famous speech denouncing U.S. military occupations overseas. "God Himself," Bryan declared, "placed in every human heart the love of liberty.... He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master." At the time, Republican president William McKinley was leading an ambitious and popular plan of overseas expansion. The United States had asserted control over the Caribbean, claimed Hawaii, and sought to annex the Philippines. Bryan failed to convince a majority of voters that imperialism—the exercise of military, political, and economic power overseas—was the wrong direction. He lost the election by a landslide.

By the 1910s, however, American enthusiasm for overseas involvement cooled. Despite efforts to stay neutral, the United States got caught up in the global catastrophe of World War I, which killed 8 million combatants, including over 50,000 U.S. soldiers. By the war's end, European powers' grip on their colonial empires was weakening. The United States also ceased acquiring overseas territories and pursued a different path. It did so in part because the war brought dramatic changes at home, leaving Americans a postwar legacy of economic upheaval and political disillusionment.

President Woodrow Wilson, who in 1913 appointed Bryan as his secretary of state, tried to steer a middle course between revolutionary socialism and European-style imperialism. In Wilson's phrase, America would "make the world safe for democracy" while unapologetically working to advance U.S. economic interests. The U.S. Senate, however, rejected the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and with it Wilson's vision, leaving the nation's foreign policy in doubt. Should the United States try to promote democracy abroad? If so, how? To what degree should the federal government seek to promote American business interests? Under what conditions was overseas military action justified? When, on the contrary, did it impinge on others' sovereignty, endanger U.S. soldiers, and invite disaster? Today's debates over foreign policy still center to a large degree on questions that Americans debated in the era of McKinley, Bryan, and Wilson, when the nation first asserted itself as a major world power.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

As the United States became a major power on the world stage, what ideas and interests did policymakers seek to promote in international affairs?



American Soldiers on a French Battlefield, 1918 As the United States asserted its power on the world stage, American soldiers found themselves fighting on foreign battlefields. This 1918 photograph shows a few of the 1 million U.S. soldiers who joined French and British troops fighting on the brutal Western Front to defeat Germany in the Great War. Over 26,000 American soldiers lost their lives on the battlefield during World War I, and 95,000 were wounded. Library of Congress.

From Expansion to Imperialism

Historians used to describe turn-of-the-twentieth-century U.S. imperialism as something new and unprecedented. Now they stress continuities between foreign policy in this era and the nation's earlier, relentless expansion across North America. Wars against native peoples had occurred almost continuously since the country's founding; in the 1840s, the United States had annexed a third of Mexico. The United States never administered a large colonial empire, as did European powers like Spain, England, and Germany, partly because it had a plentiful supply of natural resources in the American West. But policymakers undertook a determined quest for global markets. Events in the 1890s opened opportunities to pursue this goal in new ways.

Foundations of Empire

American empire builders around 1900 fulfilled a vision laid out earlier by William Seward, secretary of state under presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, who saw access to global markets as the key to power (Chapter 16). Seward's ideas had won only limited support at the time, but the severe economic depression of the 1890s brought Republicans into power and Seward's ideas back into vogue. Confronting high unemployment and mass protests, policymakers feared American workers would embrace socialism or Marxism. The alternative, they believed, was to create jobs and prosperity at home by selling U.S. products in overseas markets.

Intellectual trends also favored imperialism. As early as 1885, in his popular book *Our Country*, Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong urged Protestants to proselytize overseas. He predicted that the American "Anglo-Saxon race," which represented "the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization," would "spread itself over the earth." Such arguments were grounded in **American exceptionalism**, the idea that the United States had a unique destiny to foster democracy and civilization.

As Strong's exhortation suggested, imperialists also drew on popular racial theories, which claimed that people of "Anglo-Saxon" descent—English and often German—were superior to all others. "Anglo-Saxon" rule

over foreign people of color made sense in an era when, at home, most American Indians and Asian immigrants were denied citizenship and most southern blacks were disenfranchised. Imperialists argued that "free land" on the western frontier was dwindling, and thus new outlets needed to be found for American energy and enterprise. Responding to critics of U.S. occupation of the Philippines, Theodore Roosevelt scoffed: if Filipinos should control their own islands, he declared, then America was "morally bound to return Arizona to the Apaches."

Imperialists also justified their views through racialized Social Darwinism (Chapter 18). Josiah Strong, for example, predicted that with the globe fully occupied, a "competition of races" would ensue, with victory based on "survival of the fittest." Fear of ruthless competition drove the United States, like European nations, to invest in the latest weapons. Policymakers saw that European powers were amassing steel-plated battleships and carving up Africa and Asia among themselves. In his book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), U.S. naval officer Alfred Mahan urged the United States to enter the fray, observing that naval power had been essential to past empires. As early as 1886, Congress ordered construction of two steel-hulled battleships, the USS *Texas* and USS *Maine*; in 1890, it appropriated funds for three more, a program that expanded over the next two decades.

During Grover Cleveland's second term (1893–1897), his secretary of state, Richard Olney, turned to direct confrontation. He warned Europe to stay away from Latin America, which he saw as the United States's rightful sphere of influence. Without consulting the nation of Venezuela, Olney suddenly demanded in 1895 that Britain resolve a long-standing border dispute between Venezuela and Britain's neighboring colony, British Guiana. Invoking the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the Western Hemisphere was off-limits to further European colonization, Olney warned that the United States would brook no challenge to its interests. Startled, Britain agreed to arbitrate. U.S. power was on the rise.

The War of 1898

Events in the Caribbean presented the United States with far greater opportunities. In 1895, Cuban patriots mounted a major guerrilla war against Spain, which had lost most of its other New World territories. The Spanish commander responded by rounding up Cuban civilians into concentration camps, where as many as 200,000 died of starvation, exposure,

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did imperialism in the 1890s reflect both continuities and changes from earlier eras?

or dysentery. In the United States, “yellow journalists” such as William Randolph Hearst turned their plight into a cause célèbre. Hearst’s coverage of Spanish atrocities fed a surge of nationalism, especially among those who feared that industrialization was causing American men to lose physical strength and valor. The government should not pass up this opportunity, said Indiana senator Albert Beveridge, to “manufacture manhood.” Congress called for Cuban independence.

President Cleveland had no interest in supporting the Cuban rebellion but worried over Spain’s failure to end it. The war disrupted trade and damaged American-owned sugar plantations on the island. Moreover, an unstable Cuba was incompatible with U.S. strategic interests, including a proposed canal whose Caribbean approaches had to be safeguarded. Taking office in 1897, President William McKinley took a tough stance. In September, a U.S. diplomat informed Spain that it must ensure an “early and certain peace” or the United States would step in. At first, this hard line seemed to work: Spain’s conservative regime fell, and a liberal government, taking office in October 1897, offered Cuba limited self-rule. But Spanish loyalists in Havana rioted against this proposal, while Cuban rebels held out for full independence.

In February 1898, Hearst’s *New York Journal* published a private letter in which a Spanish minister to the United States belittled McKinley. The minister, Dupuy de Lôme, resigned, but exposure of the de Lôme letter intensified Americans’ indignation toward Spain. The next week brought shocking news: the U.S. battle cruiser *Maine* had exploded and sunk in Havana harbor, with 260 seamen lost. “Whole Country Thrills with the War Fever,” proclaimed the *New York Journal*. “Remember the *Maine*” became a national chant. Popular passions were now a major factor in the march toward war.

McKinley assumed the sinking of the *Maine* had been accidental. Improbably, though, a naval board of inquiry blamed an underwater mine, fueling public outrage. (Later investigators disagreed: the more likely cause was a faulty ship design that placed explosive munitions too close to coal bunkers, which were prone to fire.) No evidence linked Spain to the purported mine, but if a mine sank the *Maine*, then Spain was responsible for not protecting the ship.

Business leaders became impatient, believing war was preferable to an unending Cuban crisis. On March 27, McKinley cabled an ultimatum to Madrid: an immediate ceasefire in Cuba for six months and, with the United States mediating, peace negotiations with the rebels. Spain, while desperate to avoid war, balked at the added demand that mediation must result

in Cuban independence. On April 11, McKinley asked Congress for authority to intervene in Cuba “in the name of civilization, [and] in behalf of endangered American interests.”

Historians long referred to the ensuing fight as the Spanish-American War, but because that name ignores the central role of Cuban revolutionaries, many historians now call the three-way conflict the War of 1898. Though Americans widely admired Cubans’ aspirations for freedom, the McKinley administration defeated a congressional attempt to recognize the rebel government. In response, Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado added an amendment to the war bill, disclaiming any intention by the United States to occupy Cuba. The **Teller Amendment** reassured Americans that their country would uphold democracy abroad as well as at home. McKinley’s expectations differed. He wrote privately, “We must keep all we get; when the war is over we must keep what we want.”

On April 24, 1898, Spain declared war on the United States. The news provoked full-blown war fever. Across the country, young men enlisted for the fight. Theodore Roosevelt, serving in the War Department, resigned to become lieutenant colonel of a cavalry regiment. Recruits poured into makeshift bases around Tampa, Florida, where confusion reigned. Rifles failed to arrive; food was bad, sanitation worse. No provision had been made for getting troops to Cuba, so the government hastily collected a fleet of yachts and commercial boats. Fortunately, the regular army was a disciplined, professional force; its 28,000 seasoned troops provided a nucleus for 200,000 volunteers. The navy was in better shape: Spain had nothing to match America’s seven battleships and armored cruisers. The Spanish admiral bitterly predicted that his fleet would “like Don Quixote go out to fight windmills and come back with a broken head.”

The first, decisive military engagement took place in the Pacific. This was the handiwork of Theodore Roosevelt, who, in his government post, had gotten the intrepid Commodore George Dewey appointed commander of the Pacific fleet. In the event of war, Dewey had instructions to sail immediately for the Spanish-owned Philippines. When war was declared, Roosevelt confronted his surprised superior and pressured him into validating Dewey’s instructions. On May 1, 1898, American ships cornered the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and destroyed it. Manila, the Philippine capital, fell on August 13. “We must on no account let the [Philippines] go,” declared Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. McKinley agreed. The United States now had a major foothold in the western Pacific.



Hawaii's Queen

Hawaiian queen Liliuokalani (1838–1917) was the great-granddaughter of Keawaheulu, founder of the Kamehameha dynasty that had ruled the islands since the late 1700s. Liliuokalani assumed the throne after her brother's death in 1891. As an outspoken critic, however, of treaties ceding power to U.S. economic interests, she was deposed three years later by a cabal of sugar planters who established a republic. When secret plans to revolt and restore the monarchy were discovered, the queen was imprisoned for a year in Iolani Palace. She lived the remainder of her life in Hawaii but never regained power. Fluent in English and influenced from childhood by Congregational missionaries, she used this background to advocate for her people; in her book *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898), she appealed for justice from fellow Christians. George Bacon Collection, Hawaii State Archives.

Dewey's victory directed policymakers' attention to Hawaii. Nominally independent, these islands had long been subject to U.S. influence, including a horde of resident American sugarcane planters. An 1876 treaty between the United States and the island's monarch gave Hawaiian sugar free access to the American market, without tariff payments, and Hawaii pledged to sign no such agreement with any other power. When this treaty was renewed in 1887, Hawaii also granted a long-coveted lease for a

IDENTIFY CAUSES

Why did the United States go to war against Spain in 1898, and what led to U.S. victory?

U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. Four years later, succeeding her brother as Hawaii's monarch, Queen Liliuokalani made known her frustration with these treaties. In response, an Annexation Club of U.S.-backed planters organized secretly and in 1892, with the help of U.S. Marines, overthrew the queen and then negotiated a treaty of annexation. Grover Cleveland, however, rejected it when he entered office, declaring that it would violate America's "unbroken tradition" against acquiring territory overseas.

Dewey's victory in Manila delivered what the planters wanted: Hawaii acquired strategic value as a halfway station to the Philippines. In July 1898, Congress voted for annexation, over the protests of Hawaii's deposed queen. "Oh, honest Americans," she pleaded, "as Christians hear me for my down-trodden people! Their form of government is as dear to them as yours is precious to you. Quite as warmly as you love your country, so they love theirs." But to the great powers, Hawaii was not a country. One congressman dismissed Hawaii's monarchy as "absurd, grotesque, tottering"; the "Aryan race," he declared, would "rescue" the islands from it.



To see a longer excerpt from Queen Liliuokalani's appeal, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Further U.S. annexations took on their own logic. The navy pressed for another coaling base in the central Pacific; that meant Guam, a Spanish island in the Marianas. A strategic base was needed in the Caribbean; that meant Puerto Rico. By early summer, before U.S. troops had fired a shot in Cuba, McKinley's broader war aims were crystallizing.

In Cuba, Spanish forces were depleted by the long guerrilla war. Though poorly trained and equipped, American forces had the advantages of a demoralized foe and knowledgeable Cuban allies. The main battle occurred on July 1 at San Juan Hill, near Santiago, where the Spanish fleet was anchored. Roosevelt's Rough Riders took the lead, but four African American regiments bore the brunt of the fighting. Observers credited much of the victory to the "superb gallantry" of these soldiers. Spanish troops retreated to a well-fortified second line, but U.S. forces were spared the test of a second assault. On July 3, the Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor tried a desperate run through the American blockade and was destroyed. Days later, Spanish forces surrendered. American combat casualties had been few; most U.S. soldiers' deaths had resulted from malaria and yellow fever.



The Battle of San Juan Hill

On July 1, 1898, the key battle for Cuba took place on heights overlooking Santiago. African American troops bore the brunt of the fighting. Although generally overlooked, black soldiers' role in the San Juan battle is done justice in this contemporary lithograph, without the demeaning stereotypes by which blacks were normally depicted in an age of intensifying racism. Note, however, that as in the Civil War, blacks enlisted as foot soldiers; their officers were white. Library of Congress.

Spoils of War

The United States and Spain quickly signed a preliminary peace agreement in which Spain agreed to liberate Cuba and cede Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States. But what would happen to the Philippines, an immense archipelago that lay more than 5,000 miles from California? Initially, the United States aimed to keep only Manila, because of its fine harbor. Manila was not defensible, however, without the whole island of Luzon, on which it sat. After deliberating, McKinley found a justification for annexing all of the Philippines. He decided that "we could not leave [the Filipinos] to themselves—they were unfit for self-rule."

This declaration provoked heated debate. Under the Constitution, as Republican senator George F. Hoar argued, "no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies" or "to conquer alien people and hold them in subjugation." Leading citizens and peace advocates, including Jane Addams and Mark Twain, enlisted in the anti-imperialist cause. Steel king Andrew Carnegie offered \$20 million to purchase Philippine independence. Labor leader Samuel Gompers warned union members about the threat of competition from low-wage Filipino immigrants. Anti-imperialists, however, were a diverse lot. Some argued that Filipinos were perfectly capable of self-rule; others warned about

the dangers of annexing eight million Filipinos of an “inferior race.” “No matter whether they are fit to govern themselves or not,” declared a Missouri congressman, “they are not fit to govern us.”

Beginning in late 1898, anti-imperialist leagues sprang up around the country, but they never sparked a mass movement. On the contrary, McKinley’s “splendid little war” proved immensely popular. Confronted with that reality, Democrats waffled. Their standard-bearer,

William Jennings Bryan, decided not to stake Democrats’ future on opposition to a policy that he believed to be irreversible. He threw his party into turmoil by declaring last-minute support for McKinley’s proposed treaty. Having met military defeat, Spanish representatives had little choice. In

the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.

Annexation was not as simple as U.S. policymakers had expected. On February 4, 1899, two days before the Senate ratified the treaty, fighting broke out between American and Filipino patrols on the edge of Manila. Confronted by annexation, rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo asserted his nation’s independence and turned his guns on occupying American forces. Though Aguinaldo found it difficult to organize a mass-based resistance movement, the ensuing conflict between Filipino nationalists and U.S. troops far exceeded in length and ferocity the war just concluded with Spain. Fighting tenacious guerrillas, the U.S. Army resorted to the same tactics Spain had employed in Cuba: burning crops and villages and rounding up civilians. Atrocities became commonplace on both sides. In three years of warfare, 4,200 Americans and an estimated 200,000 Filipinos died; many of the latter were dislocated civilians, particularly children, who succumbed to malnutrition and disease.

McKinley’s convincing victory over William Jennings Bryan in 1900 suggested popular satisfaction with America’s overseas adventures, even in the face of dogged Filipino resistance to U.S. rule. The fighting ended in 1902, and William Howard Taft, appointed as governor-general of the Philippines, sought to make the territory a model of roadbuilding and sanitary engineering. Yet misgivings lingered as Americans confronted the brutality of the war. Philosopher William James noted that the United States had destroyed “these islanders by the thousands, their villages and cities. . . . Could there be any more damning indictment of that whole bloated ideal termed ‘modern civilization?’” (American Voices, p. 680).

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What were the long-term results of the U.S. victory over Spain, in Hawaii and in former Spanish possessions?

Constitutional issues also remained unresolved. The treaty, while guaranteeing freedom of religion to inhabitants of ceded Spanish territories, withheld any promise of citizenship. It was up to Congress to decide Filipinos’ “civil rights and political status.” In 1901, the Supreme Court upheld this provision in a set of decisions known as the *Insular Cases*. The Constitution, declared the Court, did not automatically extend citizenship to people in acquired territories; Congress could decide. Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were thus marked as colonies, not future states.

The next year, as a condition for withdrawing from Cuba, the United States forced the newly independent island to accept a proviso in its constitution called the **Platt Amendment** (1902). This blocked Cuba from making a treaty with any country except the United States and gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs if it saw fit. Cuba also granted the United States a lease on Guantánamo Bay (still in effect), where the U.S. Navy built a large base. Cubans’ hard-fought independence was limited; so was that of Filipinos. Eventually, the Jones Act of 1916 committed the United States to Philippine independence but set no date. (The Philippines at last achieved independence in 1946.) Though the war’s carnage had rubbed off some of the moralizing gloss, America’s global aspirations remained intact.

A Power Among Powers

No one appreciated America’s emerging influence more than the man who, after William McKinley’s assassination, became president in 1901. Theodore Roosevelt was an avid student of world affairs who called on “the civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world.” He meant, in part, directing the affairs of “backward peoples.” For Roosevelt, imperialism went hand in hand with domestic progressivism (Chapter 20). He argued that a strong federal government, asserting itself both at home and abroad, would enhance economic stability and political order. Overseas, Roosevelt sought to arbitrate disputes and maintain a global balance of power, but he also asserted U.S. interests.

The Open Door in Asia

U.S. officials and business leaders had a burning interest in East Asian markets, but they were entering a crowded field (Map 21.1). In the late 1890s, following Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain divided

MAP 21.1**The Great Powers in East Asia, 1898–1910**

European powers established dominance over China by way of “treaty ports,” where the powers based their naval forces, and through “spheres of influence” that extended from the ports into the hinterland. This map reveals why the United States had a weak hand: it lacked a presence on this colonized terrain. An uprising of Chinese nationalists in 1900 gave the United States a chance to insert itself on the Chinese mainland by sending an American expeditionary force. American diplomats made the most of the opportunity to defend U.S. commercial interests in China. As noted in the key, all place names in this map are those in use in 1910: Modern Beijing, for example, is shown as Peking.



coastal China into spheres of influence. Fearful of being shut out, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay sent these powers a note in 1899, claiming the right of equal trade access—an “open door”—for all nations seeking to do business in China. The United States lacked leverage in Asia, and Hay’s note elicited only noncommittal responses. But he chose to interpret this as acceptance of his position.

When a secret society of Chinese nationalists, known outside China as “Boxers” because of their pugnacious political stance, rebelled against foreign occupation in 1900, the United States sent 5,000 troops to join a multinational campaign to break the nationalists’ siege of European offices in Beijing. Hay took this opportunity to assert a second open door principle: China must be preserved as a “territorial and administrative entity.” As long as the legal fiction of an independent China survived, Americans could claim equal access to its market.

European and American plans were, however, unsettled by Japan’s emergence as East Asia’s dominant power. A decade after its victory over China, Japan responded to Russian bids for control of both Korea

and Manchuria, in northern China, by attacking the tsar’s fleet at Russia’s leased Chinese port. In a series of brilliant victories, the Japanese smashed the Russian forces. Westerners were shocked: for the first time, a European power had been defeated by a non-Western nation. Conveying both admiration and alarm, American cartoonists sketched Japan as a martial artist knocking down the Russian giant. Roosevelt mediated a settlement to the war in 1905, receiving for his efforts the first Nobel Peace Prize awarded to an American.

Though he was contemptuous of other Asians, Roosevelt respected the Japanese, whom he called “a wonderful and civilized people.” More important, he understood Japan’s rising military might and aligned himself with the mighty. The United States approved Japan’s “protectorate” over Korea in 1905 and, six years later, its seizure of full control. With Japan asserting harsh authority over Manchuria, energetic Chinese diplomat Yuan Shih-kai tried to encourage the United States to intervene. But

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

What factors constrained and guided U.S. actions in Asia and in Latin America?



Debating the Philippines

As President McKinley privately acknowledged in writing—"when the war is over we must keep what we want"—seizing the Philippines was an act of national self-interest. Of the alternatives, it was the one that seemed best calculated to serve America's strategic aims in Asia. But McKinley's geopolitical decision had unintended consequences. For one, it provoked a bloody insurrection. For another, it challenged the United States's democratic principles. As these consequences hit home, a divided Senate set up a special committee and held closed hearings. Congressional testimony is a source much prized by historians. Though some of it is prepared, once questioning begins, testimony becomes unscripted and can be especially revealing. The following documents are taken from the 1902 testimony before the Senate Committee on the Philippines.

Ideals

General Arthur MacArthur (1845–1912) was in on the action in the Philippines almost from the start. He commanded one of the first units to arrive there in 1898 and in 1900 was reassigned as the islands' military governor and general commander of the troops. His standing as a military man—holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor from the Civil War—was matched later by his more famous son, Douglas MacArthur, who fought in the Pacific during World War II. Here the elder MacArthur explains in prepared testimony his vision of America's mission to the Philippines.

At the time I returned to Manila [May 1900] to assume the supreme command it seemed to me that . . . our occupation of the island was simply one of the necessary consequences in logical sequence of our great prosperity, and to doubt the wisdom of [occupation] was simply to doubt the stability of our own institutions and in effect to declare that a self-governing nation was incapable of successfully resisting strains arising naturally from its own productive energy. It seemed to me that our conception of right, justice, freedom, and personal liberty was the precious fruit of centuries of strife . . . [and that] we must regard ourselves simply as the custodians of imperishable ideas held in trust for the general benefit of mankind. In other words, I felt that we had attained a moral and intellectual height from which we were bound to proclaim to all as the occasion arose the true message of humanity as embodied in the principles of our own institutions. . . .

All other governments that have gone to the East have simply planted trading establishments; they have not materially affected the conditions of the people. . . . There is not a single establishment, in my judgment, in Asia to-day that would survive five years if the original power which planted it was withdrawn therefrom.

The contrasting idea with our idea is this: In planting our ideas we plant something that can not be destroyed. To my mind the archipelago is a fertile soil upon which to plant republicanism. . . . We are planting the best traditions, the best characteristics of Americanism in such a way that they can never be removed from that soil. That in itself seems to me a most inspiring thought. It encouraged me during all my efforts in those lands, even when conditions seemed most disappointing, when the people themselves, not appreciating precisely what the remote consequences of our efforts were going to be, mistrusted us; but that fact was always before me—that going deep down into that fertile soil were the indispensable ideas of Americanism.

Skepticism

At this point, the general was interrupted by Colorado senator Thomas Patterson, a Populist-Democrat and a vocal anti-imperialist.

Sen. Patterson: Do you mean that imperishable idea of which you speak is the right of self-government?

Gen. MacArthur: Precisely so; self-government regulated by law as I understand it in this Republic.

Sen. Patterson: Of course you do not mean self-government regulated by some foreign and superior power?

Gen. MacArthur: Well, that is a matter of evolution, Senator. We are putting these institutions there so they will evolve themselves just as here and everywhere else where freedom has flourished. . . .

Sen. Patterson [after the General concluded his statement]: Do I understand your claim of right and duty to retain the Philippine Islands is based upon the proposition that they have come to us upon the basis of our morals, honorable dealing, and unassailable international integrity?

Gen. MacArthur: That proposition is not questioned by anybody in the world, excepting a few people in the United States. . . . We will be benefited, and the Filipino people will be benefited, and that is what I meant by the original proposition —

Sen. Patterson: Do you mean the Filipino people that are left alive?

Gen. MacArthur: I mean the Filipino people. . . .

Sen. Patterson: You mean those left alive after they have been subjugated?

Gen. MacArthur: I do not admit that there has been any unusual destruction of life in the Philippine Islands. The destruction is simply the incident of war, and of course it embraces only a very small percentage of the total population.

. . . I doubt if any war — either international or civil, any war on earth — has been conducted with as much humanity, with as much careful consideration, with as much self-restraint, as have been the American operations in the Philippine Archipelago. . . .

Realities

Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes, a military district commander, testified as follows.

Q: In burning towns, what would you do? Would the entire town be destroyed by fire or would only the offending portions of the town be burned?

Gen. Hughes: I do not know that we ever had a case of burning what you would call a town in this country, but probably a barrio or a sitio; probably half a dozen houses, native shacks, where the insurrectos would go in and be concealed, and if they caught a detachment passing they would kill some of them.

Q: What did I understand you to say would be the consequences of that?

Gen. Hughes: They usually burned the village.

Q: All of the houses in the village?

Gen. Hughes: Yes, every one of them.

Q: What would become of the inhabitants?

Gen. Hughes: That was their lookout.

Q: If these shacks were of no consequence what was the utility of their destruction?

Gen. Hughes: The destruction was as a punishment. They permitted these people to come in there and conceal themselves. . . .

Q: The punishment in that case would fall, not upon the men, who could go elsewhere, but mainly upon the women and little children.

Gen. Hughes: The women and children are part of the family, and where you wish to inflict a punishment you

can punish the man probably worse in that way than in any other.

Q: But is that within the ordinary rules of civilized warfare? . . .

Gen. Hughes: These people are not civilized.

Cruelties

Daniel J. Evans, Twelfth Infantry, describes the "water cure."

Q: The committee would like to hear . . . whether you were the witness to any cruelties inflicted upon the natives of the Philippine Islands; and if so, under what circumstances.

Evans: The case I had reference to was where they gave the water cure to a native in the Ilocano Province at Ilocos Norte . . . about the month of August 1900. There were two native scouts with the American forces. They went out and brought in a couple of insurgents. . . . They tried to get from this insurgent . . . where the rest of the insurgents were at that time. . . . The first thing one of the Americans — I mean one of the scouts for the Americans — grabbed one of the men by the head and jerked his head back, and then they took a tomato can and poured water down his throat until he could hold no more. . . . Then they forced a gag into his mouth; they stood him up . . . against a post and fastened him so that he could not move. Then one man, an American soldier, who was over six feet tall, and who was very strong, too, struck this native in the pit of the stomach as hard as he could. . . . They kept that operation up for quite a time, and finally I thought the fellow was about to die, but I don't believe he was as bad as that, because finally he told them he would tell, and from that day on he was taken away, and I saw no more of him.

Source: From *American Imperialism and the Philippine Insurrection*, edited by Henry F. Graff (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969). Reprinted by permission of the author.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The text of this chapter offers the U.S. reasons for holding on to the Philippines. In what ways does General MacArthur's testimony confirm, add to, or contradict the text account?
2. The chapter text also describes the anti-imperialist movement. What does Senator Patterson's cross-examination of General MacArthur reveal about the anti-imperialists' beliefs?
3. Does the clash of ideas in these excerpts remain relevant to our own time? How does it compare to what you might read or hear about in a news source today?

Roosevelt reviewed America's weak position in the Pacific and declined. He conceded that Japan had "a paramount interest in what surrounds the Yellow Sea." In 1908, the United States and Japan signed the **Root-Takahira Agreement**, confirming principles of free oceanic commerce and recognizing Japan's authority over Manchuria.

William Howard Taft entered the White House in 1909 convinced that the United States had been short-changed in Asia. He pressed for a larger role for American investors, especially in Chinese railroad construction. Eager to promote U.S. business interests abroad, he hoped that infusions of American capital would offset Japanese power. When the Chinese Revolution of 1911 toppled the Manchu dynasty, Taft supported the victorious Nationalists, who wanted to modernize their country and liberate it from Japanese domination. The United States had entangled itself in China and entered a long-term rivalry with Japan for power in the Pacific, a competition that would culminate thirty years later in World War II.

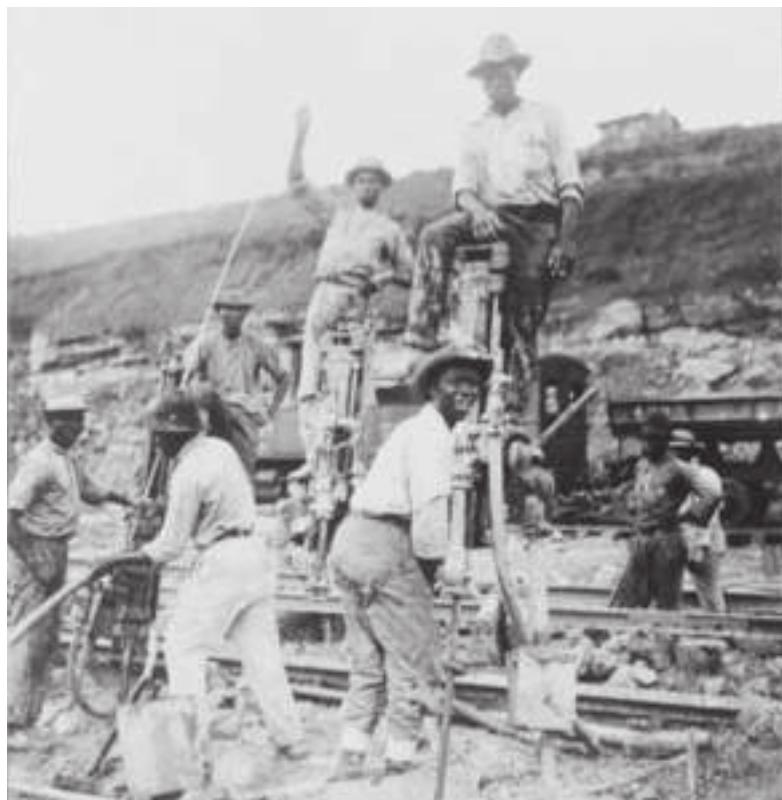
The United States and Latin America

Roosevelt famously argued that the United States should "speak softly and carry a big stick." By "big stick," he meant naval power, and rapid access to two

oceans required a canal. European powers conceded the United States's "paramount interest" in the Caribbean. Freed by Britain's surrender of canal-building rights in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), Roosevelt persuaded Congress to authorize \$10 million, plus future payments of \$250,000 per year, to purchase from Colombia a six-mile strip of land across Panama, a Colombian province.

Furious when Colombia rejected this proposal, Roosevelt contemplated outright seizure of Panama but settled on a more roundabout solution. Panamanians, long separated from Colombia by remote jungle, chafed under Colombian rule. The United States lent covert assistance to an independence movement, triggering a bloodless revolution. On November 6, 1903, the United States recognized the new nation of Panama; two weeks later, it obtained a perpetually renewable lease on a canal zone. Roosevelt never regretted the venture, though in 1922 the United States paid Colombia \$25 million as a kind of conscience money.

To build the canal, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers hired 60,000 laborers, who came from many countries to clear vast swamps, excavate 240 million cubic yards of earth, and construct a series of immense locks. The project, a major engineering feat, took eight years and cost thousands of lives among the workers who built it. Opened in 1914, the **Panama Canal** gave



Panama Canal Workers, 1910

The 51-mile-long Panama Canal includes seven sets of locks that can raise and lower fifty large ships in a twenty-four-hour period. Building the canal took eight years and required over 50,000 workers, including immigrants from Spain and Italy and many West Indians such as these men, who accomplished some of the worst-paid, most dangerous labor. Workers endured the horrors of rockslides, explosions, and a yellow fever epidemic that almost halted the project. But American observers hailed the canal as a triumph of modern science and engineering—especially in medical efforts to eradicate the yellow fever and malaria that had stymied earlier canal-building efforts. Theodore Roosevelt insisted on making a personal visit in November 1906. "He made the men that were building there feel like they were special people," recalled the descendant of one canal worker. "Give them pride of what they were doing for the United States." Library of Congress.

the United States a commanding position in the Western Hemisphere.

Meanwhile, arguing that instability invited European intervention, Roosevelt announced in 1904 that the United States would police all of the Caribbean (Map 21.2). This so-called **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine actually turned that doctrine upside down: instead of guaranteeing that the United States would protect its neighbors from Europe and help preserve their independence, it asserted the United States's unrestricted right to regulate Caribbean affairs. The Roosevelt Corollary was not a treaty but a unilateral declaration sanctioned only by America's military and economic might. Citing it, the United States intervened regularly in Caribbean and Central American nations over the next three decades.

Entering office in 1913, Democratic president Woodrow Wilson criticized his predecessors' foreign policy. He pledged that the United States would "never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." This stance appealed to anti-imperialists in the Democratic base, including longtime supporters of William Jennings Bryan. But the new president soon showed that, when American interests called for it, his actions were not so different from those of Roosevelt and Taft.

Since the 1870s, Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz had created a friendly climate for American companies that

purchased Mexican plantations, mines, and oil fields. By the early 1900s, however, Díaz feared the extraordinary power of these foreign interests and began to nationalize—reclaim—key resources. American investors who faced the loss of Mexican holdings began to back Francisco Madero, an advocate of constitutional government who was friendly to U.S. interests. In 1911, Madero forced Díaz to resign and proclaimed himself president. Thousands of poor Mexicans took this opportunity to mobilize rural armies and demand more radical change. Madero's position was weak, and several strongmen sought to overthrow him; in 1913, he was deposed and murdered by a leading general. Immediately, several other military men vied for control.

Wilson, fearing that the unrest threatened U.S. interests, decided to intervene in the emerging Mexican Revolution. On the pretext of a minor insult to the navy, he ordered U.S. occupation of the port of Veracruz on April 21, 1914, at the cost of 19 American and 126 Mexican lives. Though the intervention helped Venustiano Carranza, the revolutionary leader whom Wilson most favored, Carranza protested it as illegitimate meddling in Mexican affairs. Carranza's forces, after nearly engaging the Americans themselves, entered Mexico City in triumph a few months later. Though Wilson had supported this outcome, his interference caused lasting mistrust.



MAP 21.2

Policeman of the Caribbean

After the War of 1898, the United States vigorously asserted its interest in the affairs of its neighbors to the south. As the record of interventions shows, the United States truly became the "policeman" of the Caribbean and Central America.



Pancho Villa, 1914

This photograph captures Mexican general Pancho Villa at the height of his power, at the head of Venustiano Carranza's northern army in 1914. The next year, he broke with Carranza and, among other desperate tactics, began to attack Americans. Though he had been much admired in the United States, Villa instantly became America's foremost enemy. He evaded General John J. Pershing's punitive expedition of 1916, however, demonstrating the difficulties even modern armies could have against a guerrilla foe who knows his home terrain and can melt away into a sympathetic population. Brown Brothers.

Carranza's victory did not subdue revolutionary activity in Mexico. In 1916, General Francisco "Pancho" Villa — a thug to his enemies, but a heroic Robin Hood to many poor Mexicans — crossed the U.S.-Mexico border, killing sixteen American civilians and raiding the town of Columbus, New Mexico. Wilson sent 11,000 troops to pursue Villa, a force that soon resembled an army of occupation in northern Mexico. Mexican public opinion demanded withdrawal as armed clashes broke out between U.S. and Mexican troops. At the brink of war, both governments backed off and U.S. forces departed. But policymakers in Washington had shown their intention to police not only the Caribbean and Central America but also Mexico when they deemed it necessary.

The United States in World War I

While the United States staked claims around the globe, a war of unprecedented scale was brewing in Europe. The military buildup of Germany, a rising power, terrified its neighbors. To the east, the disintegrating Ottoman Empire was losing its grip on the Balkans. Out of these conflicts, two rival power blocs emerged: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) and Triple Entente (Britain, France, and Russia). Within each alliance, national governments pursued their own interests but were bound to one another by both public and secret treaties.

Americans had no obvious stake in these developments. In 1905, when Germany suddenly challenged French control of Morocco, Theodore Roosevelt arranged an international conference to defuse the crisis. Germany got a few concessions, but France — with British backing — retained Morocco. Accomplished in the same year that Roosevelt brokered peace between Russia and Japan, the conference seemed another diplomatic triumph. One U.S. official boasted that America had kept peace by "the power of our detachment." It was not to last.

From Neutrality to War

The spark that ignited World War I came in the Balkans, where Austria-Hungary and Russia competed for control. Austria's 1908 seizure of Ottoman provinces, including Bosnia, angered the nearby Slavic nation of Serbia and its ally, Russia. Serbian revolutionaries recruited Bosnian Slavs to resist Austrian rule. In June 1914, in the city of Sarajevo, university student Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne.

Like dominos falling, the system of European alliances pushed all the powers into war. Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia for the assassination and declared war on July 28. Russia, tied by secret treaty to Serbia, mobilized against Austria-Hungary. This prompted Germany to declare war on Russia and its ally France. As a preparation for attacking France, Germany launched a brutal invasion of the neutral country of Belgium, which caused Great Britain to declare war on Germany.

Within a week, most of Europe was at war, with the major Allies—Great Britain, France, and Russia—confronting the Central Powers of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Two military zones emerged. On the Western Front, Germany battled the British and French; on the Eastern Front, Germany and Austria-Hungary fought Russia. Because most of the warring nations held colonial empires, the conflict soon spread to the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

The so-called Great War wreaked terrible devastation. New technology, some of it devised in the United States, made warfare deadlier than ever before. Every soldier carried a long-range, high-velocity rifle that could hit a target at 1,000 yards—a vast technical advancement over the 300-yard range of rifles used in the U.S. Civil War. The machine gun was even more deadly. Its American-born inventor, Hiram Maxim, had moved to Britain in the 1880s to follow a friend's advice: "If you want to make your fortune, invent something which will allow those fool Europeans to kill each other more quickly." New technologies helped soldiers in defensive positions; once advancing Germans ran into French fortifications, they stalled. Across a swath of Belgium and northeastern France, millions of soldiers on both sides hunkered down in fortified trenches. During 1916, repeatedly trying to break through French lines at Verdun, Germans suffered 450,000 casualties. The French fared even worse, with 550,000 dead or wounded. It was all to no avail. From 1914 to 1918, the Western Front barely moved.

At the war's outbreak, President Wilson called on Americans to be "neutral in fact as well as in name." If the United States remained out of the conflict, Wilson reasoned, he could influence the postwar settlement, much as Theodore Roosevelt had done after previous conflicts. Even if Wilson had wished to, it would have been nearly impossible in 1914 to unite Americans behind the Allies. Many Irish immigrants viewed Britain as an enemy—based on its continued occupation of Ireland—while millions of German Americans maintained ties to their homeland. Progressive-minded Republicans, such as Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, vehemently opposed taking sides in a European fight, as did socialists, who condemned the war as a conflict among greedy capitalist empires. Two giants of American industry, Andrew Carnegie and Henry Ford, opposed the war. In December 1915, Ford sent a hundred men and women to Europe on a "peace ship" to urge an end to the war. "It would be folly," declared the *New York Sun*, "for the country to sacrifice itself to . . . the clash of ancient hatreds which is urging the Old World to destruction."



Flying Aces

As millions of men suffered and died in the trenches during the Great War, a few hundred pilots did battle in the sky. America's best-known ace pilot was Eddie Rickenbacker (right) of the 94th Aero Pursuit Squadron — a pilot who was credited with shooting down twenty-six enemy aircraft. The 94th was known as the hat-in-the-ring squadron, after the American custom by which a combatant threw his hat into the ring as an invitation to fight. Note the hat insignia on the plane. © Bettmann/Corbis.

The Struggle to Remain Neutral The United States, wishing to trade with all the warring nations, might have remained neutral if Britain had not held commanding power at sea. In September 1914, the British imposed a naval blockade on the Central Powers to cut off vital supplies of food and military equipment. Though the Wilson administration protested this infringement of the rights of neutral carriers, commerce with the Allies more than made up for the economic loss. Trade with Britain and France grew fourfold over the next two years, to \$3.2 billion in 1916;

by 1917, U.S. banks had lent the Allies \$2.5 billion. In contrast, American trade and loans to Germany stood then at a mere \$56 million. This imbalance undercut U.S. neutrality. If Germany won and Britain and France defaulted on their debts, American companies would suffer catastrophic losses.

To challenge the British navy, Germany launched a devastating new weapon, the U-boat (short for *Unterseeboot*, “undersea boat,” or submarine). In April 1915, Germany issued a warning that all ships flying flags of Britain or its allies were liable to destruction. A few weeks later, a U-boat torpedoed the British luxury liner *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland, killing 1,198 people, including 128 Americans. The attack on the passenger ship (which was later revealed to have been carrying munitions) incensed Americans. The following year, in an agreement known as the Sussex pledge, Germany agreed not to target passenger liners or merchant ships unless an inspection showed the latter carried weapons. But the *Lusitania* sinking prompted Wilson to reconsider his options. After quietly trying to mediate in Europe but finding neither side interested in peace, he endorsed a \$1 billion U.S. military buildup.

American public opinion still ran strongly against entering the war, a fact that shaped the election of 1916. Republicans rejected the belligerently prowar Theodore Roosevelt in favor of Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes, a progressive former governor of New York. Democrats renominated Wilson, who campaigned on his domestic record and as the president who “kept us out of war.” Wilson eked out a narrow victory; winning California by a mere 4,000 votes, he secured a slim majority in the electoral college.

America Enters the War Despite Wilson’s campaign slogan, events pushed him toward war. In February 1917, Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare, a decision dictated by the impasse on the Western Front. In response, Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. A few weeks later, newspapers published an intercepted dispatch from German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann to his minister in

Mexico. The **Zimmermann telegram** urged Mexico to join the Central Powers, promising that if the United States entered the war, Germany would help Mexico recover “the lost territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.” With Pancho Villa’s border raids still fresh in Americans’ minds,

this threat jolted public opinion. Meanwhile, German U-boats attacked U.S. ships without warning, sinking three on March 18 alone.

On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. He argued that Germany had trampled on American rights and imperiled U.S. trade and citizens’ lives. “We desire no conquest,” Wilson declared, “no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make.” Reflecting his progressive idealism, Wilson promised that American involvement would make the world “safe for democracy.” On April 6, the United States declared war on Germany. Reflecting the nation’s divided views, the vote was far from unanimous. Six senators and fifty members of the House voted against entry, including Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to Congress. “You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake,” Rankin said. “I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war.”

“Over There”

To Americans, Europe seemed a great distance away. Many assumed the United States would simply provide munitions and economic aid. “Good Lord,” exclaimed one U.S. senator to a Wilson administration official, “you’re not going to send soldiers over there, are you?” But when General John J. Pershing asked how the United States could best support the Allies, the French commander put it bluntly: “Men, men, and more men.” Amid war fever, thousands of young men prepared to go “over there,” in the words of George M. Cohan’s popular song: “Make your Daddy glad to have had such a lad. / Tell your sweetheart not to pine, / To be proud her boy’s in line.”

Americans Join the War In 1917, the U.S. Army numbered fewer than 200,000 soldiers; needing more men, Congress instituted a military draft in May 1917. In contrast to the Civil War, when resistance was common, conscription went smoothly, partly because local, civilian-run draft boards played a central role in the new system. Still, draft registration demonstrated government’s increasing power over ordinary citizens. On a single day—June 5, 1917—more than 9.5 million men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty registered at local voting precincts for possible military service.

President Wilson chose General Pershing to head the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), which had to be trained, outfitted, and carried across the submarine-plagued Atlantic. This required safer shipping. When

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What factors led the United States to enter World War I, despite the desire of so many Americans, including the president, to stay out of the war?

Safe Sex, Vintage 1919

To teach young American men how to avoid venereal diseases, the War Department used posters, pep talks, and films. There were no effective treatments for venereal infections until 1928, when Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin, and so the army urged soldiers to refrain from visiting prostitutes or to use condoms. *Fit to Win* starred handsome Ray McKee, who had already appeared in eighty films, and was directed by E. H. Griffith, who would go on to direct sixty Hollywood films between 1920 and 1946. Social Welfare History Archives Center, University of Minnesota/Picture Research Consultants & Archives.



the United States entered the war, German U-boats were sinking 900,000 tons of Allied ships each month. By sending merchant and troop ships in armed convoys, the U.S. Navy cut that monthly rate to 400,000 tons by the end of 1917. With trench warfare grinding on, Allied commanders pleaded for American soldiers to fill their depleted units, but Pershing waited until the AEF reached full strength. As late as May 1918, the brunt of the fighting fell to the French and British.

The Allies' burden increased when the Eastern Front collapsed following the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution in Russia in November 1917. To consolidate power at home, the new Bolshevik government, led by Vladimir Lenin, sought peace with the Central Powers. In a 1918 treaty, Russia surrendered its claims over vast parts of its territories in exchange for peace. Released from war against Germany, the Bolsheviks turned their attention to a civil war at home. Terrified by communism, Japan and several Allied countries, including the United States, later sent troops to fight the Bolsheviks and aid forces loyal to the deposed tsar. But after a four-year civil war, Lenin's forces established full control over Russia and reclaimed Ukraine and other former possessions.

Peace with Russia freed Germany to launch a major offensive on the Western Front. By May 1918, German troops had advanced to within 50 miles of Paris. Pershing at last committed about 60,000 U.S. soldiers to support the French defense. With American soldiers engaged in massive numbers, Allied forces brought the Germans to a halt in July; by September, they forced a retreat. Pershing then pitted more than one million

American soldiers against an outnumbered and exhausted German army in the Argonne forest. By early November, this attack broke German defenses at a crucial rail hub, Sedan. The cost was high:

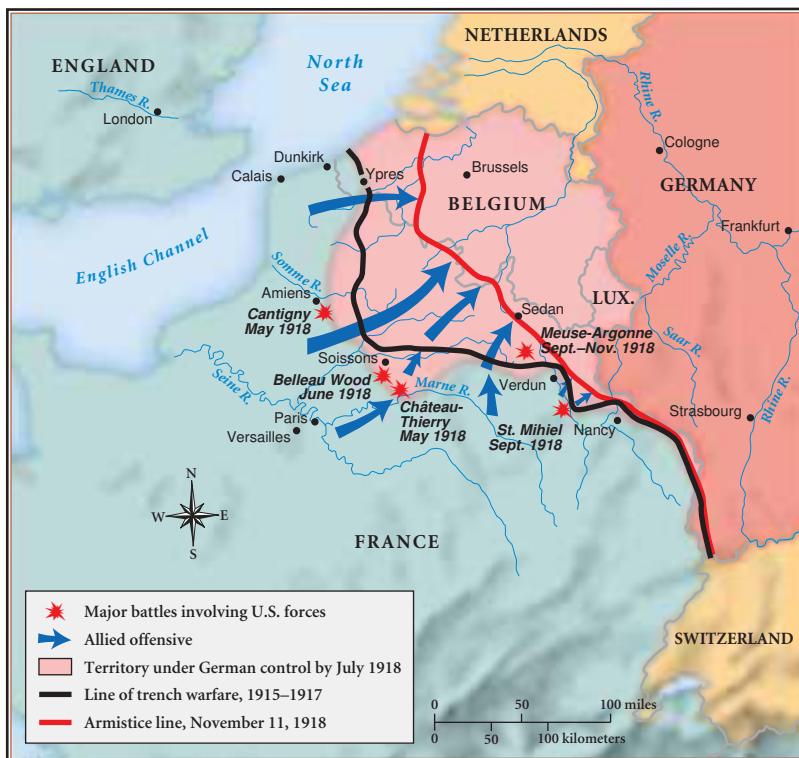
26,000 Americans killed and 95,000 wounded (Map 21.3). But the flood of U.S. troops and supplies determined the outcome. Recognizing inevitable defeat and facing popular uprisings at home, Germany signed an armistice on November 11, 1918. The Great War was over.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did U.S. military entry into World War I affect the course of the war?

The American Fighting Force By the end of World War I, almost 4 million American men—popularly known as “doughboys”—wore U.S. uniforms, as did several thousand female nurses. The recruits reflected America's heterogeneity: one-fifth had been born outside the United States, and soldiers spoke forty-nine different languages. Though ethnic diversity worried some observers, most predicted that military service would promote Americanization.

Over 400,000 African American men enlisted, accounting for 13 percent of the armed forces. Their wartime experiences were often grim: serving in segregated units, they were given the most menial tasks. Racial discrimination hampered military efficiency and provoked violence at several camps. The worst incident occurred in August 1917, when, after suffering a string of racial attacks, black members of the 24th Infantry's Third Battalion rioted in Houston, killing 15 white civilians and police officers. The army tried 118



of the soldiers in military courts for mutiny and riot, hanged 19, and sentenced 63 to life in prison.

Unlike African Americans, American Indians served in integrated combat units. Racial stereotypes about Native Americans' prowess as warriors enhanced their military reputations, but it also prompted officers to assign them hazardous duties as scouts and snipers. About 13,000, or 25 percent, of the adult male American Indian population served during the war; roughly 5 percent died, compared to 2 percent for the military as a whole.

Most American soldiers escaped the horrors of sustained trench warfare. Still, during the brief period of U.S. participation, over 50,000 servicemen died in action; another 63,000 died from disease, mainly the devastating influenza pandemic that began early in 1918 and, over the next two years, killed 50 million people worldwide. The nation's military deaths, though substantial, were only a tenth as many as the 500,000 American civilians who died of this terrible epidemic—not to mention the staggering losses of Europeans in the war (*America Compared*, p. 689).

War on the Home Front

In the United States, opponents of the war were a minority. Helping the Allies triggered an economic boom that benefitted farmers and working people.

MAP 21.3

U.S. Participation on the Western Front, 1918

When American troops reached the European front in significant numbers in 1918, the Allies and Central Powers had been fighting a deadly war of attrition for almost four years. The influx of American troops and supplies helped break the stalemate. Successful offensive maneuvers by the American Expeditionary Force included those at Belleau Wood and Château-Thierry and the Meuse-Argonne campaign.

Many progressives also supported the war, hoping Wilson's ideals and wartime patriotism would renew Americans' attention to reform. But the war bitterly disappointed them. Rather than enhancing democracy, it chilled the political climate as government agencies tried to enforce "100 percent loyalty."

Mobilizing the Economy American businesses made big bucks from World War I. As grain, weapons, and manufactured goods flowed to Britain and France, the United States became a creditor nation. Moreover, as the war drained British financial reserves, U.S. banks provided capital for investments around the globe.

Government powers expanded during wartime, with new federal agencies overseeing almost every part of the economy. The **War Industries Board** (WIB), established in July 1917, directed military production. After a fumbling start that showed the limits of voluntarism, the Wilson administration reorganized the board and placed Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street financier and superb administrator, at its head. Under his direction, the WIB allocated scarce resources among industries, ordered factories to convert to war production, set prices, and standardized procedures. Though he could compel compliance, Baruch preferred to win voluntary cooperation. A man of immense charm, he usually succeeded—helped by the lucrative military contracts at his disposal. Despite higher taxes, corporate

The Human Cost of World War I



The United States played a crucial role in financing World War I. In its war-related expenditures, totaling \$22.6 billion, the United States ranked fourth among all nations that participated, ranking behind only Germany (\$37.7 billion), Britain (\$35.3 billion), and France (\$24.3 billion). In human terms, however, the U.S. role was different. Note that the figures below for military casualties are rough estimates. Civilian casualties are even more uncertain: the exact number of Russians, Italians, Romanians, Serbians, and others who died will never be known.

TABLE 21.1

World War I Casualties

Country	Total Population	Military Killed or Missing	Total Civilian Deaths
Germany	67,000,000	2,037,000	700,000
Russia	167,000,000	1,800,000	2,000,000
France	39,000,000	1,385,300	40,000
Austria-Hungary	49,900,000	1,016,200	unknown
United Kingdom	46,400,000	702,410	1,386
Italy	35,000,000	462,400	unknown
Turkey	21,300,000	236,000	2,000,000*
Romania	7,510,000	219,800	265,000–500,000
Serbia	5,000,000	127,500	600,000
Bulgaria	5,500,000	77,450	275,000
India	316,000,000	62,060	negligible
Canada	7,400,000	58,990	negligible
Australia	4,872,000	53,560	negligible
United States	92,000,000	51,822	negligible

*Mostly Armenians

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- What does this data suggest about the comparative role of the United States in World War I? The experience of its soldiers? The war's impact on civilians in each nation?
- Which other countries made contributions similar to that of the United States, and why?

profits soared, as military production sustained a boom that continued until 1920.

Some federal agencies took dramatic measures. The **National War Labor Board** (NWLB), formed in April 1918, established an eight-hour day for war workers with time-and-a-half pay for overtime, and it endorsed equal pay for women. In return for a no-strike pledge, the NWLB also supported workers' right to organize—a major achievement for the labor movement. The Fuel

Administration, meanwhile, introduced daylight saving time to conserve coal and oil. In December 1917, the Railroad Administration seized control of the nation's hodgepodge of private railroads, seeking to facilitate rapid movement of troops and equipment—an experiment that had, at best, mixed results.

Perhaps the most successful wartime agency was the Food Administration, created in August 1917 and led by engineer Herbert Hoover. With the slogan "Food



Fighting the Flu

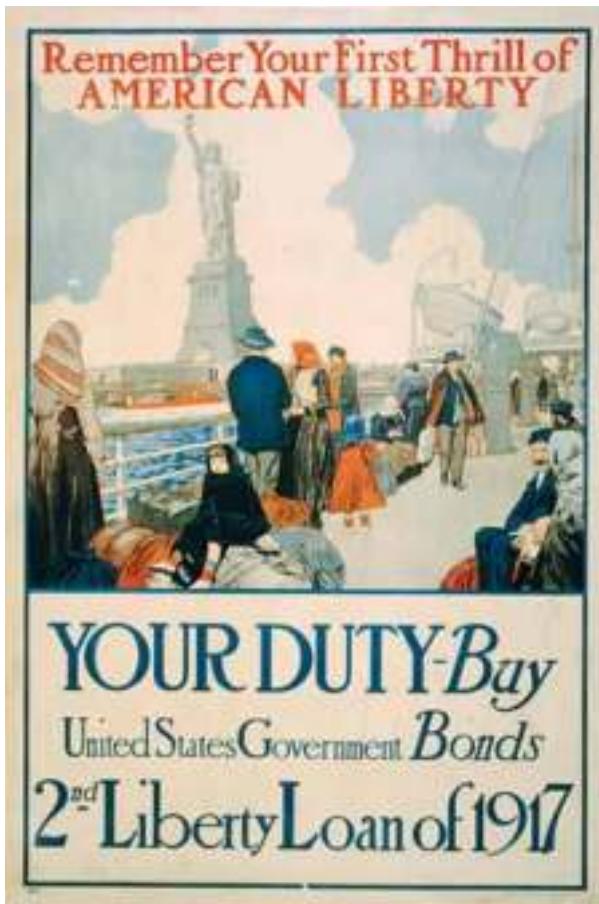
Influenza traversed the globe in 1918–1919, becoming a pandemic that killed as many as 50 million people. According to recent research, the flu began as a virus native to wild birds and then mutated into a form that passed easily from one human to another. In the United States, one-fifth of the population was infected and more than 500,000 civilians died—ten times the number of American soldiers who died in combat during World War I. The flu virus spread with frightening speed, and the epidemic strained the resources of a U.S. public health system already fully mobilized for the war effort. In October 1918 alone, 200,000 Americans died. This photo shows doctors, army officers, and reporters who donned surgical masks and gowns before touring hospitals that treated influenza patients. © Bettmann/Corbis.

“will win the war,” Hoover convinced farmers to nearly double their acreage of grain. This increase allowed a threefold rise in food exports to Europe. Among citizens, the Food Administration mobilized a “spirit of self-denial” rather than mandatory rationing. Female volunteers went from door to door to persuade housekeepers to observe “Wheatless” Mondays and “Porkless” Thursdays. Hoover, a Republican, emerged from the war as one of the nation’s most admired public figures.

Promoting National Unity Suppressing wartime dissent became a near obsession for President Wilson. In April 1917, Wilson formed the **Committee on Public**

Information (CPI), a government propaganda agency headed by journalist George Creel. Professing lofty goals—educating citizens about democracy, assimilating immigrants, and ending the isolation of rural life—the committee set out to mold Americans into “one white-hot mass” of war patriotism. The CPI touched the lives of nearly all civilians. It distributed seventy-five million pieces of literature and enlisted thousands of volunteers—**Four-Minute Men**—to deliver short prowar speeches at movie theaters.

The CPI also pressured immigrant groups to become “One Hundred Percent Americans.” German Americans bore the brunt of this campaign (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 692). With posters exhorting



Selling Liberty Bonds: Two Appeals

Once the United States entered the Great War, government officials sought to enlist all Americans in the battle against the Central Powers. They carefully crafted patriotic advertising campaigns that urged Americans to buy bonds, conserve food, enlist in the military, and support the war effort in many other ways. One of these posters appeals to recent immigrants, reminding them of their debt to American Liberty. The other shows the overtly anti-German prejudices of many war appeals: it depicts the “Hun,” a slur for a German soldier, with bloody hands and bayonet. Library of Congress.

citizens to root out German spies, a spirit of conformity pervaded the home front. A quasi-vigilante group, the American Protective League, mobilized about 250,000 “agents,” furnished them with badges issued by the Justice Department, and trained them to spy on neighbors and coworkers. In 1918, members of the league led violent raids against draft evaders and peace activists. Government propaganda helped rouse a nativist hysteria that lingered into the 1920s.

Congress also passed new laws to curb dissent. Among them was the **Sedition Act of 1918**, which prohibited any words or behavior that might “incite, provoke, or encourage resistance to the United States, or promote the cause of its enemies.” Because this and an earlier Espionage Act (1917) defined treason loosely, they led to the conviction of more than a thousand

people. The Justice Department prosecuted members of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose opposition to militarism threatened to disrupt war production of lumber and copper. When a Quaker pacifist teacher in New York City refused to teach a prowar curriculum, she was fired. Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to ten years in jail for the crime of arguing that wealthy capitalists had started the conflict and were forcing workers to fight.

Federal courts mostly supported the acts. In *Schenck v. United States* (1919), the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a socialist who was jailed for circulating pamphlets that urged army draftees to resist induction. The justices followed this with a similar decision in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), ruling that authorities could prosecute speech they believed to



German Americans in World War I

Before 1917, Americans expressed diverse opinions about the war in Europe. After the United States joined the Allies, however, German Americans' loyalty became suspect. German immigrant men who were not U.S. citizens were required to register as "alien enemies," and government propaganda fueled fear of alleged German spies. In April 1918 in Collingsville, Illinois, a German-born socialist named Robert Prager—who had sought U.S. citizenship and tried to enlist in the navy—was lynched by drunken miners. The documents below shed light on German Americans' wartime experiences.

- Advertisement, *Fatherland*, 1915.** This ad appeared in a political journal for German Americans. The translation of the songs offered on this recording are "Germany, Germany Above All" and "Precious Homeland."

Patriotic German Music on Columbia Double-Disc Records

E2039 Deutschland, Deutschland über alles. . . .

10 in.—75¢ Teure Heimat. . . .

COLUMBIA GRAMOPHONE COMPANY . . .
DEALERS EVERYWHERE.

- C. J. Hexamer, speech, Milwaukee, 1915.** This address by a German American community leader was widely cited during a 1918 investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Whoever casts his Germanism from him like an old glove, is not worthy to be spit upon. . . . We have long suffered the preaching that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge more in the American people;" but no one will ever find us prepared to step down to a lesser culture. No, we have made it our aim to elevate the others to us. . . . Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of Germanic *kultur*.

Courtesy of The Ohio State University Department of History.

- Sign in a Chicago park, 1917.**



Chicago History Museum.

- "Lager Uber Alles" cartoon, 1918.** This cartoon was part of an Ohio Anti-Saloon League referendum campaign to prohibit liquor sales. Ohio voters had rejected such a measure in 1915 and 1917, but in 1918 a majority voted for prohibition. Many U.S. breweries, such as Anheuser-Busch and Pabst, were owned by German Americans. "Hun" was an epithet for Germans; "Lager (Beer) Uber Alles" refers to the German national anthem cited in source 1.



5. James W. Gerard, radio address, 1917. Gerard was U.S. ambassador to Great Britain.

The great majority of American citizens of German descent have, in this great crisis in our history, shown themselves splendidly loyal to our flag. Everyone has a right to sympathize with any warring nation. But now that we are in the war there are only two sides, and the time has come when every citizen must declare himself American—or traitor!

... The Foreign Minister of Germany once said to me "... we have in your country 500,000 German reservists who will rise in arms against your government if you dare to make a move against Germany." Well, I told him that that might be so, but that we had 500,001 lampposts in this country, and that that was where the reservists would be hanging the day after they tried to rise. And if there are any German-Americans here who are so ungrateful for all the benefits they have received that they are still for the Kaiser, there is only one thing to do with them. And that is to hog-tie them, give them back the wooden shoes and the rags they landed in, and ship them back. . . . There is no animal that bites and kicks and squeals . . . equal to a fat German-American, if you commenced to tie him up and told him that he was on his way back to the Kaiser.

6. Actions by New York liederkranz reported in New Orleans Times-Picayune, May 16, 1918. Liederkranz, or singing societies, played a vital role in German immigrant communities. Before World War I the city of Wheeling, West Virginia, counted eleven such societies, with names like Harmonie, Germania, and Mozart. By 1918 most liederkranz had vanished. New York City's was one of the few that did not.

Members of the [New York] Liederkranz, an organization founded seventy-one years ago by Germans . . . met tonight and placed on record their unqualified Americanism.

... They declared English the official language of the organization, and for the first time in years the sound of an enemy tongue will not be heard in the club's halls. Likewise they reiterated their offer to turn the buildings over to the government as a hospital if it were necessary.

7. Lola Gamble Clyde, 1976 interview on life in Idaho during World War I. In the 1970s, historians interviewed residents of rural Latah County, Idaho, about their experiences in World War I. Frank

Brocke, a farmer, recalled that neighbors on their joint telephone line would slam down the phone when his mother or sister spoke German. "We had to be so careful," he said.

I remember when they smashed out store windows at Uniontown that said [sauer]kraut. . . . Nobody would eat kraut. Throw the Kraut out, they were Germans. . . . Even the great Williamson store, he went in and gathered up everything that was made in Germany, and had a big bonfire out in the middle of the street, you know. Although he had many good German friends all over the county that had helped make him rich. . . . And if it was a German name—we'll just change our name. . . . There were some [German American] boys that got draft deferments. . . . Some of them said that their fathers were sick and dying, and their father had so much land they had to stay home and farm it for them. . . . [Local men] tarred and feathered some of them. Some of them as old men dying still resented and remembered.

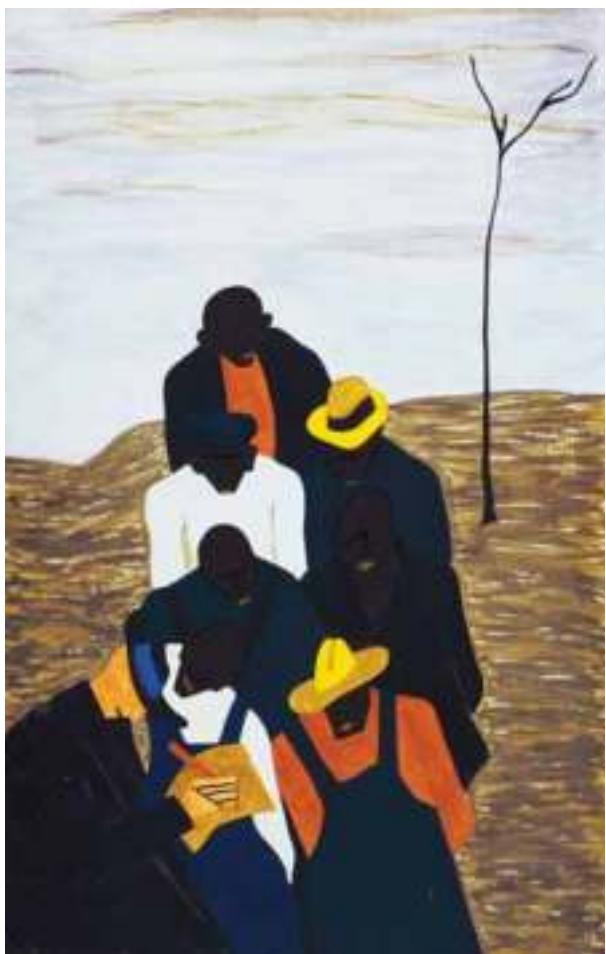
Sources: (1) Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 109; (2) Hearings Before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 65th Congress, Second Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 300; (5) Gerard speech, transcript and recording, at Library of Congress American Memory: memory.loc.gov/ammem/nfhtml/nforSpeakers01.html; (6) *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 16, 1918; (7) Oral histories of Idaho residents at GMU History Matters, historymatters.gmu.edu/d/2/. Excerpt courtesy of Latah County Historical Society.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How did conditions change for German Americans between 1915 and 1918?
2. According to these sources, what aspects of German American culture did other Americans find threatening? What forms did anti-German hostility take?
3. Compare the sources that offer a German American perspective (sources 1, 2, 6, and 7) to those that represent a threat to German Americans' way of life (3, 4, 5). How did German Americans respond to growing anti-German sentiment in this period?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

World War I heightened anxieties about who was a "true" American. What groups were singled out in particular and why? What continuities do you see between these fears over "hyphenated" identities and controversies in earlier eras of U.S. history? Today?



The Labor Agent in the South

This evocative painting from 1940 is part of the famous Great Migration series by African American painter Jacob Lawrence. It shows how many African American workers found a route to opportunity: northern manufacturers, facing severe wartime labor shortages, sent agents to the South to recruit workers. Agents often arranged loans to pay for train fare and other travel expenses; once laborers were settled and employed in the North, they repaid the loans from their wages. Here, a line of men waits for the agent to record their names in his open ledger. The bare tree in the background suggests the barrenness of economic prospects for impoverished rural blacks in the South; it also hints at the threat of lynching and racial violence. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY.

pose “a clear and present danger to the safety of the country.” In an important dissent, however, Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. and Louis Brandeis objected to the *Abrams* decision. Holmes’s probing questions about the definition of “clear and present danger” helped launch twentieth-century legal battles over free speech and civil liberties.

Great Migrations World War I created tremendous economic opportunities at home. Jobs in war industries drew thousands of people to the cities. With so many men in uniform, jobs in heavy industry opened for the first time to African Americans, accelerating the pace of black migration from South to North. During World War I, more than 400,000 African Americans moved to such cities as St. Louis, Chicago, New York, and Detroit, in what became known as the **Great Migration**. The rewards were great, and taking war jobs could be a source of patriotic pride. “If it hadn’t been for the negro,” a Carnegie Steel manager later recalled, “we could hardly have carried on our operations.”

Blacks in the North encountered discrimination in jobs, housing, and education. But in the first flush of opportunity, most celebrated their escape from the repressive racism and poverty of the South. “It is a matter of a dollar with me and I feel that God made the path and I am walking therein,” one woman reported to her sister back home. “Tell your husband work is plentiful here.” “I just begin to feel like a man,” wrote another migrant to a friend in Mississippi. “My children are going to the same school with the whites. . . . Will vote the next election and there isn’t any ‘yes sir’ and ‘no sir’ — it’s all yes and no and Sam and Bill.”

Wartime labor shortages prompted Mexican Americans in the Southwest to leave farmwork for urban industrial jobs. Continued political instability in Mexico, combined with increased demand for farmworkers in the United States, also encouraged more Mexicans to move across the border. Between 1917 and 1920, at least 100,000 Mexicans entered the United States; despite discrimination, large numbers stayed. If asked why, many might have echoed the words of an African American man who left New Orleans for Chicago: they were going “north for a better chance.” The same was true for Puerto Ricans such as Jésus Colón, who also confronted racism. “I came to New York to poor pay, long hours, terrible working conditions, discrimination even in the slums and in the poor paying factories,” Colón recalled, “where the bosses very dexterously pitted Italians against Puerto Ricans and Puerto Ricans against American Negroes and Jews.”

Women were the largest group to take advantage of wartime job opportunities. About 1 million women joined the paid labor force for the first time, while another 8 million gave up low-wage service jobs for higher-paying industrial work. Americans soon got used to the sight of female streetcar conductors, train engineers, and defense workers. Though most people expected these jobs to return to men in peacetime, the



Women Riveters at the Puget Sound Navy Yard, 1919

With men at the front, women took many new jobs during World War I—as mail carriers, police officers, and farm laborers who joined the Women’s Land Army. African American women, generally limited by white prejudice to jobs in domestic service and agriculture, found that the war opened up new opportunities and better wages in industry. When the war ended, women usually lost jobs deemed to be men’s work. In 1919, however, these women were still hard at work in the Puget Sound Navy Yard, near Seattle. What clues indicate their attitudes toward their work, and toward one another? National Archives.

war created a new comfort level with women’s employment outside the home—and with women’s suffrage.

Women’s Voting Rights The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) threw the support of its 2 million members wholeheartedly into the war effort. Its president, Carrie Chapman Catt, declared that women had to prove their patriotism to win the ballot. NAWSA members in thousands of communities promoted food conservation and distributed emergency relief through organizations such as the Red Cross.

Alice Paul and the **National Woman’s Party** (NWP) took a more confrontational approach. Paul was a Quaker who had worked in the settlement movement and earned a PhD in political science. Finding as a NAWSA lobbyist that congressmen dismissed her, Paul founded the NWP in 1916. Inspired by militant British suffragists, the group began in July 1917 to picket the

White House. Standing silently with their banners, Paul and other NWP activists faced arrest for obstructing traffic and were sentenced to seven months in jail. They protested by going on a hunger strike, which prison authorities met with forced feeding. Public shock at the women’s treatment drew attention to the suffrage cause.

Impressed by NAWSA’s patriotism and worried by the NWP’s militancy, the antisuffrage Wilson reversed his position. In January 1918, he urged support for woman suffrage as a “war measure.” The constitutional amendment quickly passed the House of Representatives; it took eighteen months to get through the Senate and another year to win ratification by the states. On August 26, 1920, when Tennessee voted for ratification, the Nineteenth

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What were the different effects of African Americans’, Mexican Americans’, and women’s civilian mobilization during World War I?



Wagon Decorated for the Labor Day Parade, San Diego, California, 1910

As the woman suffrage movement grew stronger in the years before and during World War I, working-class women played increasingly prominent and visible roles in its leadership. This Labor Day parade float, created by the Women's Union Label League of San Diego, showed that activists championed equal pay for women in the workplace as well as women's voting rights. "Union Label Leagues" urged middle-class shoppers to purchase only clothing with a union label, certifying that the item had been manufactured under safe conditions and the workers who made it had received a fair wage. San Diego Historical Society, Title Insurance Trust Collection.

Amendment became law. The state thus joined Texas as one of two ex-Confederate states to ratify it. In most parts of the South, the measure meant that *white* women began to vote: in this Jim Crow era, African American women's voting rights remained restricted along with men's.

In explaining suffragists' victory, historians have debated the relative effectiveness of Catt's patriotic strategy and Paul's militant protests. Both played a role in persuading Wilson and Congress to act, but neither might have worked without the extraordinary impact of the Great War. Across the globe, before 1914, the only places where women had full suffrage were New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway. After World War I, many nations moved to enfranchise women. The new Soviet Union acted first, in 1917, with Great Britain and Canada following in 1918; by 1920, the measure had passed in Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary as well as the United States. (Major exceptions were France and Italy, where

women did not gain voting rights until after World War II, and Switzerland, which held out until 1971.) Thus, while World War I introduced modern horrors on the battlefield—machine guns and poison gas—it brought some positive results at home: economic opportunity and women's political participation.

Catastrophe at Versailles

The idealistic Wilson argued that no victor should be declared after World War I: only "peace among equals" could last. Having won at an incredible price, Britain and France showed zero interest in such a plan. But the devastation wrought by the war created popular pressure for a just and enduring outcome. Wilson scored a diplomatic victory at the peace conference, held at Versailles, near Paris, in 1919, when the Allies chose to base the talks on his **Fourteen Points**, a blueprint for



"Peace and Future Cannon Fodder"

This scathing cartoon, published in 1920, was drawn by Australian-born artist Will Dyson and published in a British magazine. It shows the "Big Four" power brokers at Versailles—from left to right, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, David Lloyd George of Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States. Clemenceau, who was nicknamed "The Tiger," turns his head and comments on the crying child. Even at the time, astute observers such as Dyson argued that the treaty might have horrific consequences, particularly in the brutal conditions it imposed on Germany. Dyson sketched "1940 Class" over the head of the child. The young children of 1920 grew up to inherit the consequences of the Versailles treaty, which contributed to the rise of fascism, Nazism, and World War II. *British Daily Herald*, May 13, 1919.

peace that he had presented a year earlier in a speech to Congress.

Wilson's Points embodied an important strand in progressivism. They called for open diplomacy; "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas"; arms reduction; removal of trade barriers; and national self-determination for peoples in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and German empires. Essential to Wilson's vision was the creation of an international regulatory body, eventually called the **League of Nations**, that would guarantee each country's "independence and territorial integrity." The League would mediate disputes, supervise arms reduction, and—according to its crucial Article X—curb aggressor nations through

collective military action. Wilson hoped the League would "end all wars." But his ideals had marked limits, and in negotiations he confronted harsh realities.

The Fate of Wilson's Ideas

The peace conference included ten thousand representatives from around the globe, but leaders of France, Britain, and the United States dominated the proceedings. When the Japanese delegation proposed a declaration for equal treatment of all races, the Allies rejected it. Similarly, the Allies ignored a global Pan-African Congress, organized by W. E. B. Du Bois and other black leaders; they snubbed Arab representatives who had been military allies during the war. Even Italy's prime minister—included among the influential "Big Four," because in 1915 Italy had switched to the Allied side—withdrew from the conference, aggrieved at the way British and French leaders marginalized him. The Allies excluded two key players: Russia, because they distrusted its communist leaders, and Germany, because they planned to dictate terms to their defeated foe. For Wilson's "peace among equals," it was a terrible start.

Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France imposed harsh punishments on Germany. Unbeknownst to others at the time, they had already made secret agreements to divide up Germany's African colonies and take them as spoils of war. At Versailles, they also forced the defeated nation to pay \$33 billion in reparations and surrender coal supplies, merchant ships, valuable patents, and even territory along the French border. These terms caused keen resentment and economic hardship in Germany, and over the following two decades they helped lead to World War II.

Given these conditions, it is remarkable that Wilson influenced the **Treaty of Versailles** as much as he did. He intervened repeatedly to soften conditions imposed on Germany. In accordance with the Fourteen Points, he worked with the other Allies to fashion nine new nations, stretching from the Baltic to the Mediterranean (Map 21.4). These were intended as a buffer to protect Western Europe from communist Russia; the plan also embodied Wilson's principle of self-determination for European states. Elsewhere in the world, the Allies dismantled their enemies' empires but did not create independent nations, keeping colonized people subordinate to European power. France, for example, refused to give up its long-standing occupation of Indochina; Clemenceau's snub of future Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, who sought representation at Versailles, had

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

In what ways did the Treaty of Versailles embody—or fail to embody—Wilson's Fourteen Points?

grave long-term consequences for both France and the United States.

The establishment of a British mandate in Palestine (now Israel) also proved crucial. During the war, British foreign secretary Sir Arthur Balfour had stated that his country would work to establish

there a “national home for the Jewish people,” with the condition that “nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.” Under the British mandate, thousands of Jews moved to Palestine and purchased land, in some cases evicting Palestinian tenants. As early as 1920, riots erupted between Jews and Palestinians—a situation that, even before World War II, escalated beyond British control.

The Versailles treaty thus created conditions for horrific future bloodshed, and it must be judged one of history’s great catastrophes. Balfour astutely described Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson as “all-powerful, all-ignorant men, sitting there and carving up continents.” Wilson, however, remained optimistic as he returned home, even though his health was beginning to fail. The president hoped the new League of Nations, authorized by the treaty, would moderate the settlement and secure peaceful resolutions of other disputes. For this to occur, U.S. participation was crucial.

Congress Rejects the Treaty

The outlook for U.S. ratification was not promising. Though major opinion makers and religious denominations supported the treaty, openly hostile Republicans



MAP 21.4

Europe and the Middle East After World War I

World War I and its aftermath dramatically altered the landscape of Europe and the Middle East. In central Europe, the collapse of the German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian empires brought the reconstitution of Poland and the creation of a string of new states based on the principle of national (ethnic) self-determination. The demise of the Ottoman Empire resulted in the appearance of quasi-independent territories, or “mandates,” of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. The League of Nations stipulated that their affairs would be supervised by one of the Allied powers.

held a majority in the Senate. One group, called the “irreconcilables,” consisted of western progressive Republicans such as Hiram Johnson of California and Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, who opposed U.S. involvement in European affairs. Another group, led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, worried that Article X—the provision for collective security—would prevent the United States from pursuing an independent foreign policy. Was the nation, Lodge asked, “willing to have the youth of America ordered to war” by an international body? Wilson refused to accept any amendments, especially to placate Lodge, a hated rival. “I shall consent to nothing,” the president told the French ambassador. “The Senate must take its medicine.”

To mobilize support, Wilson embarked on an exhausting speaking tour. His impassioned defense of the League of Nations brought audiences to tears, but the strain proved too much for the president. While visiting Colorado in September 1919, Wilson collapsed. A week later, back in Washington, he suffered a stroke that left one side of his body paralyzed. Wilson still urged Democratic senators to reject all Republican amendments. When the treaty came up for a vote in November 1919, it failed to win the required two-thirds majority. A second attempt, in March 1920, fell seven votes short.

The treaty was dead, and so was Wilson’s leadership. The president never fully recovered from his stroke. During the last eighteen months of his administration, the government drifted as Wilson’s physician, his wife, and various cabinet heads secretly took charge. The United States never ratified the Versailles treaty or joined the League of Nations. In turn, the League was weak. When Wilson died in 1924, his dream of a just and peaceful international order lay in ruins.

The impact of World War I can hardly be overstated. Despite bids for power by Britain and France, Europe’s hold on its colonial empires never recovered. The United States, now a major world power, appeared to turn its back on the world when it rejected the Versailles treaty. But in laying claim to Hawaii and the Philippines, asserting power in Latin America, and intervening in Asia, the United States had entangled itself deeply in global politics. By 1918, the nation had gained too much diplomatic clout—and was too dependent on overseas trade—for isolation to be a realistic long-term option.

On the home front, the effects of World War I were no less dramatic. Wartime jobs and prosperity ushered in an era of exuberant consumerism, while the

achievements of women’s voting rights seemed to presage a new progressive era. But as peace returned, it became clear that the war had not advanced reform. Rather than embracing government activism, Americans of the 1920s proved eager to relinquish it.

SUMMARY

Between 1877 and 1918, the United States rose as a major economic and military power. Justifications for overseas expansion emphasized access to global markets, the importance of sea power, and the need to police international misconduct and trade. These justifications shaped U.S. policy toward European powers in Latin America, and victory in the War of 1898 enabled the United States to take control of former Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific. Victory, however, also led to bloody conflict in the Philippines as the United States struggled to suppress Filipino resistance to American rule.

After 1899, the United States aggressively asserted its interests in Asia and Latin America. In China, the United States used the so-called Boxer Rebellion to make good its claim to an “open door” to Chinese markets. Later, President Theodore Roosevelt strengthened relations with Japan, and his successor, William Howard Taft, supported U.S. business interests in China. In the Caribbean, the United States constructed the Panama Canal and regularly exercised the right, claimed under the Roosevelt Corollary, to intervene in the affairs of states in the region. President Woodrow Wilson publicly disparaged the imperialism of his predecessors but repeatedly used the U.S. military to “police” Mexico.

At the outbreak of World War I, the United States asserted neutrality, but its economic ties to the Allies rapidly undercut that claim. In 1917, German submarine attacks drew the United States into the war on the side of Britain and France. Involvement in the war profoundly transformed the economy, politics, and society of the nation, resulting in an economic boom, mass migrations of workers to industrial centers, and the achievement of national voting rights. At the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson attempted to implement his Fourteen Points. However, the designs of the Allies in Europe undermined the Treaty of Versailles, while Republican resistance at home prevented ratification of the treaty. Although Wilson’s dream of a just international order failed, the United States had taken its place as a major world power.

CHAPTER REVIEW



MAKE IT STICK Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.

TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- American exceptionalism (p. 674)
- “Remember the *Maine*” (p. 675)
- Teller Amendment (p. 675)
- Insular Cases* (p. 678)
- Platt Amendment (p. 678)
- open door policy (p. 679)
- Root-Takahira Agreement (p. 682)
- Panama Canal (p. 682)
- Roosevelt Corollary (p. 683)
- Zimmermann telegram (p. 686)
- War Industries Board (p. 688)
- National War Labor Board (p. 689)
- Committee on Public Information (p. 690)
- Four-Minute Men (p. 690)
- Sedition Act of 1918 (p. 691)
- Great Migration (p. 694)
- National Woman’s Party (p. 695)
- Fourteen Points (p. 696)
- League of Nations (p. 697)
- Treaty of Versailles (p. 697)

Key People

- Theodore Roosevelt (p. 674)
- Alfred Mahan (p. 674)
- Queen Liliuokalani (p. 676)
- Emilio Aguinaldo (p. 678)
- Porfirio Díaz (p. 683)
- Woodrow Wilson (p. 683)
- Herbert Hoover (p. 689)
- Alice Paul (p. 695)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter’s main ideas.

1. What factors prompted the United States to claim overseas territories in the 1890s and early 1900s?
2. What role did the United States play in World War I? On balance, do you think U.S. entry into the war was justified? Why or why not?
3. How did World War I shape America on the home front, economically and politically?

4. **THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events listed under “America in the World” on the thematic timeline on page 671. By the end of World War I, what influence did the United States exercise in the Caribbean, Latin America, the Pacific, and China, and in European affairs? How, and to what extent, had its power in each region expanded over the previous four decades? Compare and contrast the role of the United States to the roles of other powers in each region.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Read again the documents from “Representing Indians” in Chapter 16 (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 530). In what ways might ideas about Native Americans have informed attitudes toward Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other people of color overseas? How might this explain which peoples Woodrow Wilson included and excluded in his ideal of “national self-determination”? Write a short essay in which you explain how Americans’ policies and attitudes toward native peoples within North America shaped U.S. foreign policy between 1898 and 1918. You may also wish to review relevant information in Chapters 15 and 20 and consider how attitudes toward African Americans shaped white Americans’ racial assumptions in this era.
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** Review the images on pages 673, 685, and 695. What do they tell us about how the 1910s, especially the experiences of World War I, changed gender expectations for men and women? At the start of the war, would you rather have been a young man or a young woman? Why? How did new opportunities vary according to a young person’s race and ethnicity? (The posters on pp. 687 and 691 may also be useful in considering this question.)

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Jean H. Baker, *Votes for Women* (2002). A collection of essays on the achievement of women’s suffrage.

Frank Freidel, *Over There* (1990). A collection of American soldiers’ firsthand accounts of their experiences in World War I.

The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century. An excellent PBS documentary with accompanying documents at pbs.org/greatwar/index.html.

Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders* (2009). The story of the Panama Canal through the viewpoint of the diverse workers who constructed it.

James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope* (1999). A sweeping study of the Great Migration.

Walter LaFeber, *The American Search for Opportunity, 1865–1913* (1993). An excellent, up-to-date synthesis of foreign policy in this era.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1886	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. begins building modern battleships
1892	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S.-backed planters overthrow Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani
1895	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United States arbitrates border dispute between Britain and Venezuela • Guerrilla war against Spanish rule begins in Cuba
1898	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War between United States and Spain • United States annexes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Guam
1899–1902	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S.-Philippine War, ending in U.S. occupation of Philippines • United States pursues open door policy in China
1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United States helps suppress nationalist rebellion in China ("Boxer Rebellion")
1901	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hay-Pauncefote Treaty
1902	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Platt Amendment gives U.S. exclusive role in Cuba
1903	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. recognizes Panama's independence from Colombia
1905	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russo-Japanese War; Roosevelt mediates peace
1908	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Root-Takahira Agreement
1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Panama Canal opens • U.S. military action in Veracruz, Mexico • World War I begins in Europe
1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jones Act commits United States to future Philippine independence
1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United States declares war on Germany and its allies, creates new agencies to mobilize economy and promote national unity • Espionage Act
1918	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sedition Act • World War I ends • Beginning of two-year influenza pandemic that kills 50 million people worldwide
1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Schenck v. United States</i> and <i>Abrams v. United States</i> • Wilson promotes Fourteen Points at Paris Peace Conference • Senate rejects the Treaty of Versailles
1920	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nineteenth Amendment grants women suffrage

KEY TURNING POINTS: On the timeline above, identify at least five events that demonstrated the rising global power of the United States. Compare their consequences. If you had been an observer in London or Tokyo, how might you have interpreted the United States's actions in each case?

22

CHAPTER

Cultural Conflict, Bubble, and Bust 1919–1932

CONFICTED LEGACIES OF WORLD WAR I

- Racial Strife
- Erosion of Labor Rights
- The Red Scare

POLITICS IN THE 1920s

- Women in Politics
- Republicans and Business
- Dollar Diplomacy
- Culture Wars

INTELLECTUAL MODERNISM

- Harlem in Vogue
- Critiquing American Life

FROM BOOM TO BUST

- The Postwar Economy
- Consumer Culture
- The Coming of the Great Depression

Rising to fame in *The Sheik* (1922), Rudolph Valentino became a controversial Hollywood star. Calling him “dark, darling, and delightful,” female fans mobbed his appearances. In Chicago, Mexican American boys slicked back their hair and called each other “sheik.” But some Anglo men said they loathed Valentino. One reviewer claimed the star had stolen his style from female “vamps” and ridiculed him for wearing a bracelet (a gift from his wife). The *Chicago Tribune* blamed Valentino for the rise of “effeminate men,” shown by the popularity of “floppy pants and slave bracelets.” Outraged, Valentino challenged the journalist to a fight—and defeated the writer’s stand-in.

Valentino, an Italian immigrant, upset racial and ethnic boundaries. Nicknamed the Latin Lover, he played among other roles a Spanish bullfighter and the son of a maharajah. When a reporter called his character in *The Sheik* a “savage,” Valentino retorted, “People are not savages because they have dark skins. The Arab civilization is one of the oldest in the world.”

But to many American-born Protestants, movies were morally dangerous—“vile and atrocious,” one women’s group declared. The appeal of “dark” stars like Valentino and his predecessor, Japanese American actor Sessue Hayakawa, was part of the problem. Hollywood became a focal point for political conflict as the nation took a sharp right turn. A year before *The Sheik* appeared, the Reverend Wilbur Crafts published a widely reprinted article warning of “Jewish Supremacy in Film.” He accused “Hebrew” Hollywood executives of “gross immorality” and claimed they were racially incapable of understanding “the prevailing standards of the American people.” These were not fringe views. Crafts’s editorial first appeared in a newspaper owned by prominent auto-maker Henry Ford.

Critics, though, failed to slow Hollywood’s success. Faced with threats of regulation, movie-makers did what other big businesses did in the 1920s: they used their clout to block government intervention. At the same time, they expanded into world markets; when Valentino visited Paris, he was swarmed by thousands of French fans. *The Sheik* highlighted America’s business success and its political and cultural divides. Young urban audiences, including women “flappers,” were eager to challenge older sexual and religious mores. Rural Protestants saw American values going down the drain. In Washington, meanwhile, Republican leaders abandoned two decades of reform and deferred to business. Americans wanted prosperity, not progressivism—until the consequences arrived in the shock of the Great Depression.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

What conflicts in culture and politics arose in the 1920s, and how did economic developments in that decade help cause the Great Depression?

Life

HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICAN NUMBER



Celebrating the Fourth of July, 1926 This *Life* magazine cover celebrates two famous symbols of the 1920s: jazz music and the "flapper," in her droopy tights and scandalously short skirt, who loves to dance to its rhythms. The flags at the top record the latest slang expressions, including "so's your old man" and "step on it" ("it" being the accelerator of an automobile, in a decade when cars were America's hottest commodity). The bottom of the picture also added a note of protest: while July 4, 1926, marked the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, *Life* says that Americans have had only "one hundred and forty-three years of liberty"—followed by "seven years of Prohibition."

Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

Conflicted Legacies of World War I

"The World War has accentuated all our differences," a journalist observed in 1919. "It has not created those differences, but it has revealed and emphasized them." In the war's immediate aftermath, thousands of strikes revealed continuing labor tensions. Violent riots exposed white resistance to the rising expectations of African Americans, while an obsessive hunt for "foreign" radicals—like angry denunciations of Hollywood's Latin Lover—showed that ethnic pluralism would not win easy acceptance.

Racial Strife

African Americans emerged from World War I determined to achieve citizenship rights. Millions had loyally supported the war effort; 350,000 had served in uniform. At the same time, the Great Migration drew hundreds of thousands from the South to northern industrial cities, where they secured good wartime jobs and found they could vote and use their new economic

clout to build community institutions and work for racial justice. The black man, one observer wrote, "realized that he was part and parcel of the great army of democracy. . . . With this realization came the consciousness of pride in himself as a man, and an American citizen."

These developments sparked white violence. In the South, the number of lynchings rose from 48 in 1917 to 78 in 1919, including several murders of returning black soldiers in their military uniforms. In 1921, after a brutal lynching in the railroad town of Rosewood, Florida, black residents armed for self-defense; mobs of furious whites responded by torching houses and hunting down African Americans. Police and state authorities refused to intervene. The town of Rosewood vanished from the map.

In northern and midwestern cities, the arrival of southern migrants deepened existing racial tensions. Blacks competed with whites—including recent immigrants—for scarce housing and jobs. Unionized white workers resented blacks who served as strikebreakers. Racism turned such conflicts into violent confrontations. Attacks on African Americans broke out in more than twenty-five cities. One of the deadliest riots



Chicago Race Riot

When racial violence exploded in Chicago during the summer of 1919, *Chicago Evening Post* photographer Jun Fujita was on the scene to capture it. As one of the few Japanese immigrants in Chicago at the time, Fujita was probably no stranger to racism, and it took personal courage to put himself in the midst of the escalating violence. When the riot finally ended, thirty-eight people were dead and more than five hundred were injured. Chicago Historical Society/Photo by Jun Fujita.

occurred in 1917 in East St. Louis, Illinois, where nine whites and more than forty blacks died. Chicago endured five days of rioting in July 1919. By September, the national death toll from racial violence reached 120.

The oil boomtown of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was the site of a horrific incident in June 1921. Sensational, false reports of an alleged rape helped incite white mobs who resented growing black prosperity. Anger focused on the 8,000 residents of Tulsa's prosperous Greenwood district, locally known as "the black Wall Street." The mob—helped by National Guardsmen, who arrested blacks who resisted—burned thirty-five blocks of Greenwood and killed several dozen people. The city's leading paper acknowledged that "semi-organized bands of white men systematically applied the torch, while others shot on sight men of color." It took a decade for black residents to rebuild Greenwood.

Erosion of Labor Rights

African Americans were not the only ones who faced challenges to their hard-won gains. The war effort, overseen by a Democratic administration sympathetic to labor, had temporarily increased the size and power of labor unions. The National War Labor Board had instituted a series of prolabor measures, including recognition of workers' right to organize. Membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) grew by a third during World War I, reaching more than 3 million by war's end, and continued to climb afterward. Workers' expectations also rose as the war economy brought higher pay and better working conditions.

But when workers tried to maintain these standards after the war, employers cut wages and rooted out unions, prompting massive confrontations. In 1919, more than four million wage laborers—one in every five—went on strike, a proportion never since equaled. A walkout of shipyard workers in Seattle sparked a general strike that shut down the city. Another strike disrupted the steel industry, as 350,000 workers demanded union recognition and an end to twelve-hour shifts. Elbert H. Gary, head of United States Steel Corporation, refused to negotiate; he hired Mexican and African American replacements and broke the strike. Meanwhile, business leaders in rising industries, such as automobile manufacturing, resisted unions, creating more and more nonunionized jobs.

Public employees fared no better. Late in 1919, Boston's police force demanded a union and went on strike to get it. Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge won national fame by declaring, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere,



Fear of "Bolshevism," 1919

This cartoon from the *Post Dispatch* in Cleveland, Ohio, reflects nationwide panic over the general strike by 110 unions that paralyzed Seattle in February 1919. Opponents of radical labor unrest had a deeper fear: the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, resulting in creation of the USSR, had brought into existence the world's first enduring communist state. By crushing unions in Seattle with a club of "Law and Order," this image suggests that Uncle Sam could beat back the global communist threat. This aspect of the 1919 Red Scare prefigured, at an early date, the anxieties of the Cold War era. Ohio Historical Society.

anytime." Coolidge fired the entire police force; the strike failed. A majority of the public supported the governor. Republicans rewarded Coolidge by nominating him for the vice-presidency in 1920.

Antilabor decisions by the Supreme Court were an additional key factor in unions' decline. In *Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers* (1925), the Court ruled that a striking union could be penalized for illegal restraint of trade. The Court also struck down federal legislation regulating child labor; in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923), it voided a minimum wage for women

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What factors contributed to antiblack violence, labor defeats, and the Red Scare, and what connections might we draw among these events?

workers in the District of Columbia, reversing many of the gains that had been achieved through the groundbreaking decision in *Muller v. Oregon* (Chapter 20). Such decisions, along with aggressive antiunion campaigns, caused membership in labor unions to fall from 5.1 million in 1920 to 3.6 million in 1929—just 10 percent of the nonagricultural workforce.

In place of unions, the 1920s marked the heyday of **welfare capitalism**, a system of labor relations that stressed management's responsibility for employees' well-being. Automaker Henry Ford, among others, pioneered this system before World War I, famously paying \$5 a day. Ford also offered a profit-sharing plan to employees who met the standards of its Social Department, which investigated to ensure that workers' private lives met the company's moral standards. At a time when government unemployment compensation and Social Security did not exist, General Electric and U.S. Steel provided health insurance and old-age pensions. Other employers, like Chicago's Western Electric Company, built athletic facilities and selectively offered paid vacations. Employers hoped this would build a loyal workforce and head off labor unrest. But such plans covered only about 5 percent of the industrial workforce. Facing new financial pressures in the 1920s, even Henry Ford cut back his \$5 day. In the tangible benefits it offered workers, welfare capitalism had serious limitations.

The Red Scare

Many well-off Americans sided with management in the upheavals of the postwar years. They blamed workers for the rapidly rising cost of living, which jumped nearly 80 percent between 1917 and 1919. The socialist views of some recent immigrants frightened native-born citizens; communism terrified them. When in 1919 the Soviet Union's new Bolshevik leaders founded the Third International, intended to foster revolutions abroad, some Americans began to fear that dangerous radicals were hiding everywhere. Wartime hatred of Germans was replaced by hostility toward Bolsheviks (labeled "Reds," after the color of communist flags). Ironically, American communists remained few in number and had little political influence. Of the 50 million adults in the United States in 1920, no more than 70,000 belonged to either the fledgling U.S. Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party.

In April 1919, alert postal workers discovered and defused thirty-four mail bombs addressed to government officials. In June, a bomb detonated outside the Washington town house of recently appointed attorney



***The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*, by Ben Shahn, 1931–1932**

Ben Shahn (1898–1969) came to the United States from Lithuania as a child and achieved fame as a social realist painter and photographer. Shahn used his art to advance his belief in social justice. In this painting, Sacco and Vanzetti lie dead and pale, hovered over by three distinguished Massachusetts citizens. These grim-faced men—holding lilies, a symbol of death—are Harvard University president A. Lawrence Lowell and the two other members of a commission appointed by the governor in 1927 to review the case. The commission concluded that the men were guilty, a finding that led to their execution. Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at the original trial in 1921, stands in the window in the background.

The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti by Ben Shahn (1931–1932)

Art © Estate of Ben Shahn/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

Photo © Geoffrey Clements.

general A. Mitchell Palmer. Palmer escaped unharmed, but he used the incident to fan public fears, precipitating a hysterical **Red Scare**. With President Woodrow Wilson incapacitated by stroke, Palmer had a free

hand. He set up an antiradicalism division in the Justice Department and appointed his assistant J. Edgar Hoover to direct it; shortly afterward, it became the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In November 1919, Palmer's agents stormed the headquarters of radical organizations. The dragnet captured thousands of aliens who had committed no crimes but who held anarchist or revolutionary beliefs. Lacking the protection of U.S. citizenship, many were deported without indictment or trial.

The **Palmer raids** peaked on a notorious night in January 1920, when federal agents invaded homes and meeting halls, arrested six thousand citizens and aliens, and denied the prisoners access to legal counsel. Then Palmer, who had presidential ambitions, overreached. He predicted that on May 1 a radical conspiracy would attempt to overthrow the U.S. government. State militia and police went on twenty-four-hour alert to guard against the alleged threat, but not a single incident occurred. As the summer of 1920 passed without major strikes or renewed bombings, the Red Scare began to abate.

Like other postwar legacies, however, antiradicalism had broad, long-lasting effects. In May 1920, at the height of the Red Scare, police arrested Nicola Sacco, a shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, for the murder of two men during a robbery of a shoe company in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Sacco and Vanzetti were Italian aliens and self-proclaimed anarchists who had evaded the draft. Convicted of the murders, Sacco and Vanzetti sat in jail for six years while supporters appealed their verdicts. In 1927, Judge Webster Thayer denied a motion for a new trial and sentenced them to death. Scholars still debate their guilt or innocence. But the case was clearly biased by prosecutors' emphasis on their ties to radical groups. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was one of the ugly scars left by the ethnic and political hostilities of the Great War.

Politics in the 1920s

As the plight of labor suggested, the 1920s were a tough decade for progressives who had gained ground before World War I. After a few early reform victories, including achievement of national women's suffrage, the dominant motif of the 1920s was limited government. Native-born white Protestants rallied against what they saw as big-city values and advocated such goals as immigration restriction. A series of Republican presidents placed responsibility for the nation's well-being

in the hands of business. President Calvin Coolidge declared, "The man who builds a factory builds a temple. The man who works there worships there." The same theme prevailed in continued U.S. interventions in Latin America and elsewhere: American business needs were the top priority.

Women in Politics

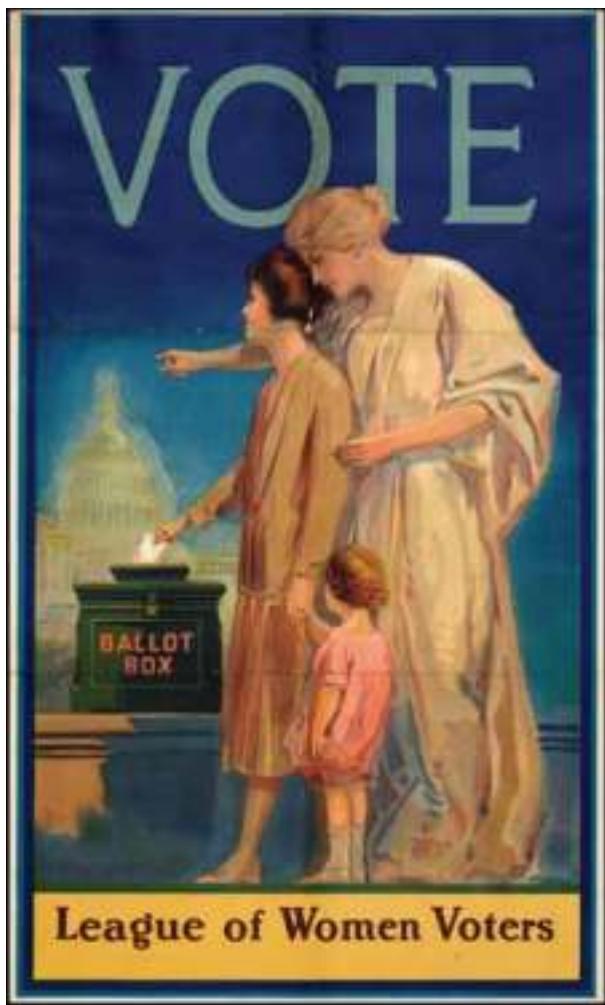
At the start of the 1920s, many progressives hoped the attainment of women's voting rights would offer new leverage to tackle poverty. They created organizations like the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, a Washington-based advocacy group. The committee's greatest accomplishment was the first federally funded health-care legislation, the **Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act** (1921). Sheppard-Towner provided federal funds for medical clinics, prenatal education programs, and visiting nurses. Though opponents warned that the act would lead to socialized medicine, Sheppard-Towner improved health care for the poor and significantly lowered infant mortality rates. It also marked the first time that Congress designated federal funds for the states to encourage them to administer a social welfare program.

In 1923, Alice Paul, founder of the National Woman's Party, also persuaded congressional allies to consider an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution. It stated simply, "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States." Advocates were hopeful; Wisconsin had passed a similar law two years earlier, and it helped women fight gender discrimination. But opponents pointed out that the ERA would threaten recent labor laws that protected women from workplace abuses. Such laws recognized women's vulnerable place in a heavily sex-segregated labor market. Would a theoretical statement of "equality" help poor and working women more than existing protections did? This question divided women's rights advocates. Introduced repeatedly in Congress over the next five decades but rarely making it out of committee, the ERA was debated again and again until the bitter ratification struggle of the 1970s (Chapter 29).

Horrified at the suffering caused by World War I, some women joined a growing international peace movement. While diplomats conducted negotiations at Versailles, women peace advocates from around the

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

Before World War I, women didn't have full voting rights, but they had considerable success as reformers. After the war they *could* vote, but their proposals met defeat. How might we account for this apparent contradiction?



The League of Women Voters

The League of Women Voters was the brainchild of Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Formed in 1920, as the Nineteenth Amendment was about to give women the vote, the league undertook to educate Americans in responsible citizenship and to win enactment of legislation favorable to women. The league helped secure passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, which provided federal aid for maternal and child-care programs. In the 1930s, members campaigned for the enactment of Social Security and other social welfare legislation.

The Library of Virginia

world convened in Zurich and called on all nations to use their resources to end hunger and promote human welfare. Treaty negotiators ignored them, but the women organized for sustained activism. In 1919, they created the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom** (WILPF), whose leading American members included Jane Addams. Members of the league denounced imperialism, stressed the human suffering caused by militarism, and proposed social justice measures.

Such women faced serious opposition. The WILPF came under fierce attack during the Red Scare because it included socialist women in its ranks. And though women proved to be effective lobbyists, they had difficulty gaining access to positions inside the Republican and Democratic parties. Finding that women did not vote as a bloc, politicians in both parties began to take their votes for granted. New reforms failed to gain support, and others were rolled back. Many congressmen, for example, had supported the Sheppard-Towner Act because they feared the voting power of women, but Congress ended the program in the late 1920s.

Republicans and Business

With President Wilson ailing in 1920, Democrats nominated Ohio governor James M. Cox for president, on a platform calling for U.S. participation in the League of Nations and continuation of Wilson's progressivism. Republicans, led by their pro-business wing, tapped genial Ohio senator Warren G. Harding. In a dig at Wilson's idealism, Harding promised "not nostrums but normalcy." On election day, he won in a landslide, beginning an era of Republican dominance that lasted until 1932.

Harding's most energetic appointee was Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, well known as head of the wartime Food Administration. Under Hoover's direction, the Commerce Department helped create two thousand trade associations representing companies in almost every major industry. Government officials worked closely with the associations, providing statistical research, suggesting industry-wide standards, and promoting stable prices and wages. Hoover hoped that through voluntary business cooperation with government—an **associated state**—he could achieve what progressives had sought through governmental regulation. This meant, of course, giving corporate leaders greater policymaking power.

More sinister links between government and corporate interests were soon revealed. When President Harding died suddenly of a heart attack in August 1923, evidence was just emerging that parts of his administration were riddled with corruption. The worst scandal concerned secret leasing of government oil reserves in **Teapot Dome**, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, to private companies. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall was eventually convicted of taking \$300,000 in bribes and became the first cabinet officer in U.S. history to serve a prison sentence.

Vice President Calvin Coolidge became president upon Harding's death. He maintained Republican

dominance while offering, with his austere Yankee morality, a contrast to his predecessor's cronyism. Campaigning for election in his own right in 1924, Coolidge called for limited government and tax cuts for business. Rural and urban Democrats, deeply divided over such issues as prohibition and immigration restriction, deadlocked at their national convention; after 102 ballots, delegates finally nominated John W. Davis, a Wall Street lawyer. Coolidge easily defeated Davis and staved off a challenge from Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, who tried to resuscitate the Progressive Party. The 1924 Progressive platform called for stronger government regulation at home and international efforts to reduce weapons production and prevent war. "Free men of every generation," it declared, "must combat the renewed efforts of organized force and greed." In the end, Coolidge received 15.7 million votes to Davis's 8.4 million and La Follette's 4.9 million.



To see a longer excerpt of the Progressive Party platform, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

For the most part, Republicans dropped progressive initiatives of the prewar years. The Federal Trade Commission failed to enforce antitrust laws. The Supreme Court, now headed by former Republican president William Howard Taft, refused to break up the mammoth U.S. Steel Corporation, despite evidence of its near-monopoly status. With the agricultural sector facing hardship, Congress sought to aid farmers with the McNary-Haugen bills of 1927 and 1928, which proposed a system of federal price supports for major crops. But President Coolidge opposed the bills as "special-interest legislation" and vetoed them both. While some state and municipal leaders continued to pursue ambitious agendas, they were shut out of federal power.

Dollar Diplomacy

Political campaigns emphasized domestic issues in the 1920s, but while the United States refused to join the League of Nations, the federal government remained deeply engaged in foreign affairs. Republican presidents worked to advance U.S. business interests, especially by encouraging private banks to make foreign loans — part of the broader government-business alliance in Republicans' associated state. Policymakers hoped loans would stimulate growth and increase demand for U.S. products in developing markets. Bankers, though, wanted

government guarantees of repayment in countries they perceived as weak or unstable.

Officials provided such assurance. In 1922, for example, when American banks offered an immense loan to Bolivia (at a hefty profit), State Department officials pressured the South American nation to accept it. Diplomats also forced Bolivia to agree to financial oversight by a commission under the banks' control. A similar arrangement was reached with El Salvador's government in 1923. In other cases, the United States intervened militarily, often to force repayment of debt. To implement such policies, the U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua almost continuously from 1912 to 1933, the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, and Haiti from 1915 to 1934.

In these lengthy military deployments, Americans came to think of the occupied countries as essentially U.S. possessions, much like Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Sensational memoirs by marines who had served in Haiti popularized the island as the "American Africa." White Americans became fascinated by *vodou* (voodoo) and other Haitian religious customs, reinforcing their view of Haitians as dangerous savages or childlike people who needed U.S. guidance and supervision. One commander testified that his troops saw themselves as "trustees of a huge estate that belonged to minors. . . . The Haitians were our wards."

At home, critics denounced loan guarantees and military interventions as **dollar diplomacy**. The term was coined in 1924 by Samuel Guy Inman, a Disciples of Christ missionary who toured U.S.-occupied Haiti and the Dominican Republic. "The United States," Inman declared, "cannot go on destroying with impunity the sovereignty of other peoples, however weak." African American leaders also denounced the Haitian occupation. On behalf of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races, a delegation conducted a fact-finding tour of Haiti in 1926. Their report exposed, among other things, the sexual exploitation of Haitian women by U.S. soldiers.

By the late 1920s, dollar diplomacy was on the defensive, in keeping with a broader disgust over international affairs. At the same time, political leaders became frustrated with their poor results. Dollar diplomacy usually managed to get loans repaid, securing bankers' profits. But the loans

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

What choices did Americans face in the elections of 1920 and 1924, and what directions did they choose?

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What were the economic goals of U.S. foreign policymakers in the 1920s?

often ended up in the pockets of local elites; U.S. policies failed to build broad-based prosperity overseas. Military intervention had even worse results. In Haiti, for example, the marines crushed peasant protests and helped the Haitian elite consolidate power. U.S. occupation thus helped create the conditions for harsh dictatorships that Haitians endured through the rest of the twentieth century.

Culture Wars

By 1929, ninety-three U.S. cities had populations of more than 100,000. New York City's population exceeded 7 million; Los Angeles's had exploded to 1.2 million. The lives and beliefs of urban Americans often differed dramatically from those in small towns and farming areas. Native-born rural Protestants, faced with a dire perceived threat, rallied in the 1920s to protect what they saw as American values.

Prohibition Rural and native-born Protestants started the decade with the achievement of a longtime goal: national **prohibition** of liquor (Chapter 18). Wartime anti-German prejudice was a major spur. Since breweries like Pabst and Anheuser-Busch were owned by German Americans, many citizens decided it was unpatriotic to drink beer. Mobilizing the economy for war, Congress also limited brewers' and

distillers' use of barley and other scarce grains, causing consumption to decline. The decades-long prohibition campaign culminated with Congress's passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1917. Ratified over the next two years by nearly every state and taking effect in January 1920, the amendment prohibited "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors" anywhere in the United States.

Defenders hailed prohibition as a victory for health, morals, and Christian values. In urban areas, though, thousands flagrantly ignored the law. Patrons flocked to urban speakeasies, or illegal drinking sites, which flourished in almost every Chicago neighborhood; one raid on a South Side speakeasy yielded 200,000 gallons of alcohol. Profits from the secret clubs enriched notorious gangsters such as Chicago's Al Capone and New York's Jack Diamond.

In California, Arizona, and Texas, tens of thousands of Americans streamed "south of the border." Mexico regulated liquor but kept it legal (along with gambling, drugs, and prostitution), leading to the rise of booming vice towns such as Tijuana and Mexicali, places that had been virtually uninhabited before 1900. U.S. nightclub owners in these cities included such prominent figures as African American boxer Jack Johnson. By 1928, the American investors who built a \$10 million resort, racetrack, and casino in Tijuana became known as border barons. Prohibitionists were



**Wine in the Gutters,
Brooklyn**

This photograph captures America's cultural conflicts over prohibition. When the law went into effect, federal agents seized and destroyed supplies of alcohol, often dumping it in the streets. Here, working-class children in Brooklyn race to scoop it up in buckets before it drains away. In tenement neighborhoods, children eager to earn a nickel often toted buckets of beer, wine, and homemade liquor for their parents or neighbors. How might a rural temperance advocate have responded to this photograph? How about a working-class man in Chicago, Atlanta, Seattle, or New York? Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

outraged by Americans' circumventions of the law. Religious leaders on both sides of the border denounced illegal drinking—but profits were staggering. The difficulties of enforcing prohibition contributed to its repeal in 1933 (Chapter 23).

Evolution in the Schools At the state and local levels, controversy erupted as fundamentalist Protestants sought to mandate school curricula based on the biblical account of creation. In 1925, Tennessee's legislature outlawed the teaching of "any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, [and teaches] instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals." The **American Civil Liberties Union** (ACLU), formed during the Red Scare to protect free speech rights, challenged the law's constitutionality. The ACLU intervened in the trial of John T. Scopes, a high school biology teacher who taught the theory of evolution to his class and faced a jail sentence for doing so. The case attracted national attention because Clarence Darrow, a famous criminal lawyer, defended Scopes, while William Jennings Bryan, the three-time Democratic presidential candidate, spoke for the prosecution.

Journalists dubbed the **Scopes trial** "the monkey trial." This label referred both to Darwin's argument that human beings and other primates share a common ancestor and to the circus atmosphere at the trial, which was broadcast live over a Chicago radio station. (Proving that urbanites had their own prejudices, acerbic critic H. L. Mencken dismissed antievolutionists as "gaping primates of the upland valleys," implying that they had not evolved.) The jury took only eight minutes to deliver its verdict: guilty. Though the Tennessee Supreme Court later overturned Scopes's conviction, the law remained on the books for more than thirty years.

Nativism Some native-born Protestants pointed to immigration as the primary cause of what they saw as America's moral decline. A nation of 105 million people had added more than 23 million immigrants over the previous four decades; the newcomers included many Catholics and Jews from Southern and Eastern Europe, whom one Maryland congressman referred to as "indigestible lumps" in the "national stomach." Such attitudes recalled hostility toward Irish and Germans in the 1840s and 1850s. In this case, they fueled a momentous shift in immigration policy. "America must be kept American," President Coolidge declared in 1924. Congress had banned Chinese immigration in 1882, and Theodore Roosevelt had

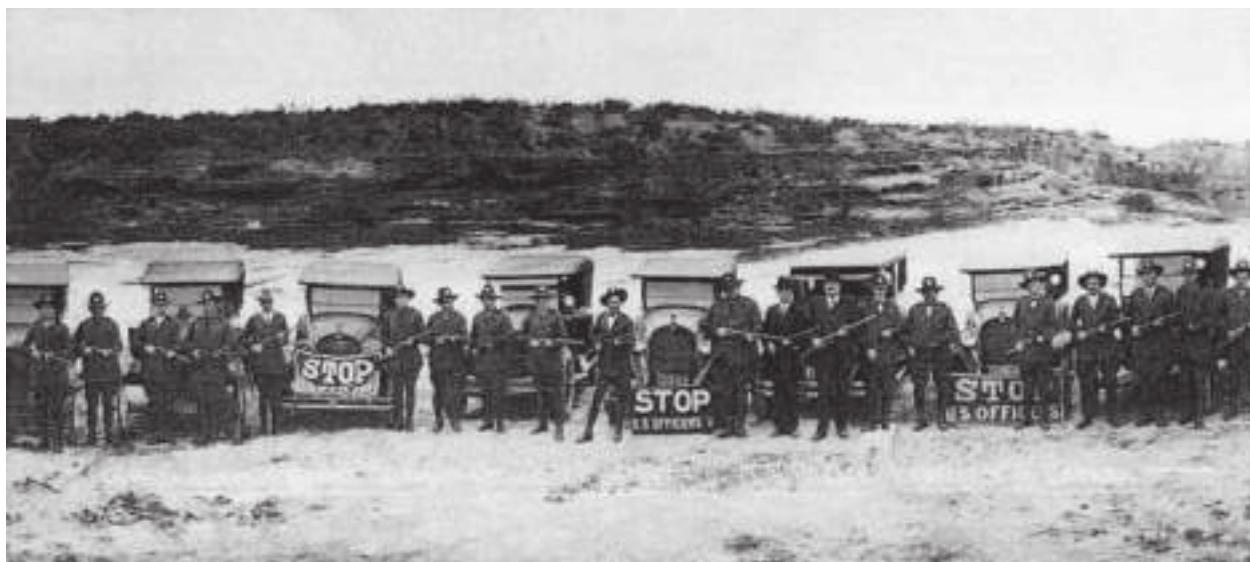
negotiated a so-called gentleman's agreement that limited Japanese immigration in 1907. Now nativists charged that there were also too many European arrivals, some of whom undermined Protestantism and imported anarchism, socialism, and other radical doctrines. Responding to this pressure, Congress passed emergency immigration restrictions in 1921 and a permanent measure three years later. The **National Origins Act** (1924) used backdated census data to establish a baseline: in the future, annual immigration from each country could not exceed 2 percent of that nationality's percentage of the U.S. population as it had stood in 1890. Since only small numbers of Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russians, and other Southern and Eastern European immigrants had arrived before 1890, the law drastically limited immigration from those places. In 1929, Congress imposed even more restrictive quotas, setting a cap of 150,000 immigrants per year from Europe and continuing to ban most immigrants from Asia.

The new laws, however, permitted unrestricted immigration from the Western Hemisphere. As a result, Latin Americans arrived in increasing numbers, finding jobs in the West that had gone to other immigrants before exclusion. More than 1 million Mexicans entered the United States between 1900 and 1930, including many during World War I. Nativists lobbied Congress to cut this flow; so did labor leaders, who argued that impoverished migrants lowered wages for other American workers. But Congress heeded the pleas of employers, especially farmers in Texas and California, who wanted cheap labor. Only the Great Depression cut off migration from Mexico.

Other anti-immigrant measures emerged at the state level. In 1913, by an overwhelming majority, California's legislature had passed a law declaring that "aliens ineligible to citizenship" could not own "real property." The aim was to discourage Asians, especially Japanese immigrants, from owning land, though some had lived in the state for decades and built up prosperous farms. In the wake of World War I, California tightened these laws, making it increasingly difficult for Asian families to establish themselves. California, Washington, and Hawaii also severely restricted any school that taught Japanese language, history, or culture. Denied both citizenship and land rights, Japanese Americans would be in a vulnerable position at the outbreak of World War II, when anti-Japanese hysteria swept the United States.

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did debates over alcohol use, the teaching of evolution, immigration, anti-Semitism, and racism evolve in the 1920s?



The U.S. Border Patrol, Laredo, Texas, 1926

In 1926, San Antonio photographer Eugene O. Goldbeck took this photograph of U.S. Border Patrol officers in Laredo. Since 1917, Mexicans, like other immigrants, had been subject to a head tax and literacy test. The U.S. government had not enforced these provisions, however, because of pressure from southwestern employers eager for cheap Mexican labor. Following passage of the National Origins Act in 1924, the United States established the Border Patrol. Its increasing efforts to police the border slowed the casual movement of Mexican workers in and out of the United States. Why do you think the Border Patrol posed in this way for Goldbeck's picture? Notice that some of the officers depicted here were dressed as civilians. What might this signify? Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

The National Klan The 1920s brought a nationwide resurgence of the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK), the white supremacist group formed in the post–Civil War South. Soon after the premiere of *Birth of a Nation* (1915), a popular film glorifying the Reconstruction-era Klan, a group of southerners gathered on Georgia's Stone Mountain to revive the group. With its blunt motto, “Native, white, Protestant supremacy,” the Klan recruited supporters across the country (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 716). KKK members did not limit their harassment to blacks but targeted immigrants, Catholics, and Jews as well, with physical intimidation, arson, and economic boycotts.

At the height of its power, the Klan wielded serious political clout and counted more than three million members, including many women. The Klan’s mainstream appeal was illustrated by President Woodrow Wilson’s public praise for *Birth of a Nation*. Though the Klan declined nationally after 1925, robbed of a potent issue by passage of the anti-immigration bill, it remained strong in the South, and pockets of KKK activity persisted in all parts of the country (Map 22.1). Klan activism lent a menacing cast to political issues. Some local Klansmen, for example, cooperated with

members of the Anti-Saloon League to enforce prohibition laws through threats and violent attacks.

The rise of the Klan was part of an ugly trend that began before World War I and extended into the 1930s. In 1915, for example, rising anti-Semitism was marked by the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory supervisor in Marietta, Georgia, who was wrongly accused of the rape and murder of a thirteen-year-old girl. The rise of the national Klan helped prepare the way for white supremacist movements of the 1930s, such as the Los Angeles-based Silver Legion, a fringe paramilitary group aligned with Hitler’s Nazis. Far more influential were major figures such as industrialist Henry Ford, whose *Dearborn Independent* railed against immigrants and warned that members of “the proud Gentile race” must arm themselves against a Jewish conspiracy aimed at world domination. Challenged by critics, Ford issued an apology in 1927 and admitted that his allegations had been based on “gross forgeries.” But with his paper’s editorials widely circulated by the Klan and other groups, considerable long-term damage had been done.

The Election of 1928 Conflicts over race, religion, and ethnicity created the climate for a stormy



MAP 22.1

Ku Klux Klan Politics and Violence in the 1920s

Unlike the Reconstruction-era Klan, the Klan of the 1920s was geographically dispersed and had substantial strength in the West and Midwest as well as in the South. Although the Klan is often thought of as a rural movement, some of the strongest "klaverns" were in Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Detroit, and other large cities. The organization's members operated as vigilantes in areas where they were strong; elsewhere, their aggressive tactics triggered riots between Klansmen and their ethnic and religious targets.

presidential election in 1928. Democrats had traditionally drawn strength from white voters in the South and immigrants in the North: groups that divided over prohibition, immigration restriction, and the Klan. By 1928, the northern urban wing gained firm control. Democrats nominated Governor Al Smith of New York, the first presidential candidate to reflect the aspirations of the urban working class. A grandson of Irish peasants, Smith had risen through New York City's Democratic machine to become a dynamic reformer. But he offended many small-town and rural Americans with his heavy New York accent and brown derby hat, which highlighted his ethnic working-class origins. Middle-class reformers questioned his ties to Tammany Hall; temperance advocates opposed him as a "wet." But the governor's greatest handicap was his religion.

Although Smith insisted that his Catholic beliefs would not affect his duties as president, many Protestants opposed him. "No Governor can kiss the papal ring and get within gunshot of the White House," vowed one Methodist bishop.

Smith proved no match for the Republican nominee, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who embodied the technological promise of the modern age. Women who had mobilized for Hoover's conservation campaigns during World War I enlisted as Hoover Hostesses, inviting friends to their homes to hear the candidate's radio speeches. Riding on eight years of Republican prosperity, Hoover promised that individualism and voluntary cooperation would banish poverty. He won overwhelmingly, with 444 electoral votes to Smith's 87 (Map 22.2). Because many



Who Joined the Ku Klux Klan?

1. Klan wedding in Washington, D.C., 1925.



Source: Getty Images

2. Poem read at a meeting of KKK Grand Dragons, North Carolina, 1923.

God Give Us Men! The Invisible Empire demands
strong
Minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands . . .
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue and damn
his treacherous flattering without winking! . . .
Men of dependable character; men of sterling worth;
Then wrongs will be redressed, and right will rule the
earth.

3. "95% of Bootleggers Jews," editorial, *Dearborn Independent*, Michigan, 1922.

Violation and evasion of the Prohibition laws has had a deep Jewish complexion from the very beginning. . . . This does not mean, of course, that every bootlegger is a Jew. Unless you live in Chicago, New York or other large cities, an actual meeting with the Jew in this minor capacity will not be frequent. The Jew is the possessor of the wholesale stocks; . . . But notwithstanding all this carefulness, the bulk of the arrests made in the United States have been among Jews. . . . The maintenance of *the idea of drink* in the minds of the people is due to Jewish

Asked why a person would join the Klan, you might cite racism and religious bigotry. But the story is complicated: many whites with strong prejudices did not join the Klan in the 1920s, while others did. Why?

propaganda. . . . *The idea of drink* will be maintained by means of the Jewish stage, Jewish jazz, and the Jewish comics, until somebody comes down hard upon it.

4. Report on a Klan gathering in Birmingham, Alabama, 1923.

Edgewood Park was crowded by noon. Klansmen and their wives and families enjoyed a great barbecue, went swimming, dancing, and picknicking. There were airplane stunts during the day with band concerts thrown in for good measure. At night there was a wonderful display of fireworks following the initiation and the address of the Imperial Wizard.

5. Klansmen in Buffalo, New York, 1924. Data based on historical research into a Klan membership list of almost 2,000 men in the Buffalo area.

TABLE 22.1

Klansmen in Buffalo, New York, 1924

Occupational Group	Percentage of Klan Members	Percentage of Total Native White Male Workers in Buffalo
Professional (predominantly clergy, doctors, engineers, pharmacists)	6.1	4.7
Business (small businessmen, managers, inspectors, accountants)	18.5	10.4
Low nonmanual (salesmen, clerks, foremen)	27.7	22.6
Skilled (machinists, electricians, railroad engineers, construction trades)	30.6	25.3
Semiskilled and service (factory and rail workers, deliverymen, policemen, repairmen)	16.4	30.2
Unskilled (laborers, gardeners)	0.5	14.5

6. Interviews conducted in the 1980s with Indiana Klanswomen about Klan life in the 1920s. Seeking truthful accounts, the interviewer allowed the women to remain anonymous.

Anonymous

For [the Klan] to say, we want to get rid of the niggers, we want to get rid of the Catholics, it didn't mean a thing to us. . . . I can remember quite well the stories that you hear sitting on the porch. . . . They'd talk about religion, and they'd talk about Catholics. . . . The Catholics were considered horrible people. . . .

Anonymous

Kelly had a grocery store. Well, it hurt their business terribly because people wouldn't go in there, because the Klan would tell you not to. . . . If you had a empty house . . . , why you were told not to rent it to a Catholic.

Some Klan leader said that the Pope was coming to take over the country, and he said he might be on the next train that went through North Manchester. You know, just trying to make it specific. So, about a thousand people went out to the train station and stopped the train. It only had . . . one passenger on it. They took him off, and he finally convinced them that he wasn't the Pope. He was a carpet salesman. And so they put him on the next train and he went on to Chicago.

7. Editorial by National Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans in the KKK periodical *Dawn: A Journal for True American Patriots*, November 10, 1923.

Humanity has become a commodity. For mercenary motives, our importers of it want the most inferior grade. Industry desires cheap labor. Therefore, we have had this recent flood of 5 and 10-cent citizenship. Take any map which shows the concentration of the South and Eastern European type of immigrant and you will see [that] wherever manufacturing and mining and lumbering predominate, there the hordes of unskilled labor have overwhelmingly been assembled. . . .

The present and recent flood of inferior foreigners has vastly increased our illiteracy, vitally lowered the health level and visibly menaced America by inheritable mental and moral deficiencies. . . . [Farms are] the only legitimate and justifiable excuse for cheap labor, yet that class is moving irresistibly cityward to swell the slums and multiply immorality. For example, throughout the south the colored race . . . is migrating to the North — not to its rural districts, but to its industrial centers.

8. "Program for America," in the KKK newspaper *American Standard*, April 15, 1925.

- Laws to require the reading of the Holy Bible in every American public school.

- Recognition of the fact . . . that Romanism is working here to undermine Americanism. . . . Since Roman Catholics give first allegiance to an alien political potentate, the pope . . . their claim to citizenship, to the ballot, and to public office in this Protestant country is illegitimate, and must be forbidden by law. . . .

- A law to destroy the alien influence of the foreign language press [by] requiring that the English language be used exclusively.

- . . . Recognition of the tendency toward moral disintegration, resulting from the activities . . . of the anti-Christian Jews, in our theaters, our motion pictures, and in American business circles; the discontinuance of these anti-Christian activities, and the exclusion of Jews of this character from America.

- The return of the Negroes to their homeland of Africa, under the protection and with the help of the United States Government.

- Strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States, including the Prohibition Amendment, by every citizen.

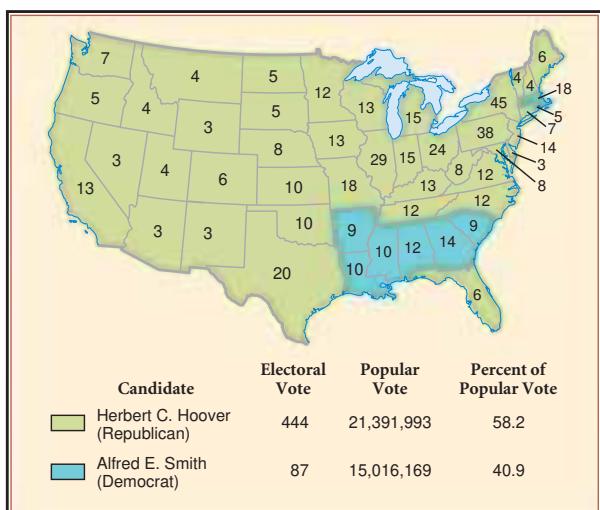
Sources: (2) Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 119; (3) Dearborn Independent editorial reprinted in *Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States* (Dearborn, MI: Dearborn Publishing, 1922), 34–40; (4) Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 150; (5) Shawn Lay, *Hooded Knights on the Niagara* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), chapter 4 (esp. 87); (6) Kathleen M. Blee, *Women in the Klan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 78–79, 149–151; (7) McVeigh, 64–65; (8) *American Standard*, April 15, 1925, 172.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Based on the documents above, identify factors that made the KKK appealing to some Americans in the 1920s.
2. Which groups in source 5 were over- and underrepresented in the Klan? The same historian found that at least 34 percent of local Klan members were German American. Review the Thinking Like a Historian feature in Chapter 21, page 692. Why might Germans have been especially likely to join the Klan in this period?
3. What are the advantages and limitations of source 6?
4. Imagine that Republican president Calvin Coolidge had set up a federal agency to discourage KKK activity (an action he did NOT take). He put you in charge of the effort and gave you a generous budget. How would you have spent the funds? Explain why you believe your strategy might have been effective.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using your knowledge of Chapter 22, and drawing on evidence from the documents above, write a brief essay explaining how the rise of the KKK in the 1920s reflected larger patterns in American society and politics.



MAP 22.2

The Presidential Election of 1928

Historians still debate the extent to which 1928 was a critical election—an election that produced a significant realignment in voting behavior. Although Republican Herbert Hoover swept the popular and the electoral votes, Democrat Alfred E. Smith won majorities not only in the South, his party's traditional stronghold, but also in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and (although it is not evident on this map) all of the large cities of the North and Midwest. In subsequent elections, the Democrats won even more votes among African Americans and European ethnic groups and, until 1980, were the nation's dominant political party.

southern Protestants refused to vote for a Catholic, Hoover carried five ex-Confederate states, breaking the Democratic "Solid South" for the first time since Reconstruction. Smith, though, carried industrialized Massachusetts and Rhode Island as well as the nation's twelve largest cities, suggesting that urban voters were moving into the Democrats' camp.

Intellectual Modernism

The horrors of World War I prompted many intellectuals to question long-standing assumptions about civilization, progress, and the alleged superiority of Western cultures over so-called primitive ways of life. In the United States, these questions contributed to struggles between modernity and tradition, reflected not only in politics but also in art and literature. Some of these intellectual movements had their roots in the devastation of Europe; others—such as the Harlem Renaissance—emerged from social upheavals the Great War had wrought at home.

Harlem in Vogue

The Great Migration tripled New York's black population in the decade after 1910. Harlem stood as "the symbol of liberty and the Promised Land to Negroes everywhere," as one minister put it. Talented African Americans flocked to the district, where they created bold new art forms and asserted ties to Africa.

Black Writers and Artists Poet Langston Hughes captured the upbeat spirit of the **Harlem Renaissance** when he asserted, "I am a Negro—and beautiful." Other writers and artists also championed race pride. Claude McKay and Jean Toomer represented in fiction what philosopher Alain Locke called, in an influential 1925 book, *The New Negro*. Painter Jacob Lawrence, who had grown up in crowded tenement districts of the urban North, used bold shapes and vivid colors to portray the daily life, aspirations, and suppressed anger of African Americans.

No one embodied the energy and optimism of the Harlem Renaissance more than Zora Neale Hurston. Born in the prosperous black community of Eatonville, Florida, Hurston had been surrounded as a child by examples of achievement, though she struggled later with poverty and isolation. In contrast to some other black thinkers, Hurston believed African American culture could be understood without heavy emphasis on the impact of white oppression. After enrolling at Barnard College and studying with anthropologist Franz Boas, Hurston traveled through the South and the Caribbean for a decade, documenting folklore, songs, and religious beliefs. She incorporated this material into her short stories and novels, celebrating the humor and spiritual strength of ordinary black men and women. Like other work of the Harlem Renaissance, Hurston's stories and novels sought to articulate what it meant, as black intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, "to be both a Negro and an American."

Jazz To millions of Americans, the most famous product of the Harlem Renaissance was **jazz**. Though the origins of the word are unclear, many historians believe it was a slang term for sex—an etymology that makes sense, given the music's early association with urban vice districts. As a musical form, jazz coalesced in New Orleans and other parts of the South before World War I. Borrowing from blues, ragtime, and other popular forms, jazz musicians developed an ensemble style in which performers, keeping a rapid ragtime beat, improvised around a basic melodic line. The majority of early jazz musicians were black, but white

Archibald Motley, *Blues*, 1929

Painter Archibald Motley (1891–1981) was born in New Orleans but arrived in Chicago as a small child, when his family—like thousands of other African Americans—moved north in search of opportunity. Motley was able to study at the Art Institute of Chicago and by the 1920s also showed his work in New York City. Many of his paintings depicted life in the predominantly African American neighborhood on Chicago's South Side that was widely known as the Black Belt. This piece, *Blues*, was painted when Motley was living in Paris. It shows the powerful impact jazz had on European listeners. Art Institute of Chicago.



performers, some of whom had more formal training, injected elements of European concert music.

In the 1920s, as jazz spread nationwide, musicians developed its signature mode, the improvised solo. The key figure in this development was trumpeter Louis Armstrong. A native of New Orleans, Armstrong learned his craft playing in the saloons and brothels of the city's vice district. Like tens of thousands of other African Americans he moved north, settling in Chicago in 1922. Armstrong showed an inexhaustible capacity for melodic invention, and his dazzling solos inspired other musicians. By the late 1920s, soloists became the celebrities of jazz, thrilling audiences with their improvisational skill.

As jazz spread, it followed the routes of the Great Migration from the South to northern and midwestern cities, where it met consumers primed to receive it. Most cities had plentiful dance halls where jazz could be featured. Radio also helped popularize jazz, with the emerging record industry marketing the latest tunes. As white listeners flocked to ballrooms and clubs to hear Duke Ellington and other stars, Harlem became the hub of this commercially lucrative jazz. Those who hailed “primitive” black music rarely suspended their racial condescension: visiting a mixed-race club became known as “slumming.”

The recording industry soon developed race records specifically aimed at urban working-class blacks. The breakthrough came in 1920, when Otto

K. E. Heinemann, a producer who sold immigrant records in Yiddish, Swedish, and other languages, recorded singer Mamie Smith performing “Crazy Blues.” This smash hit prompted big recording labels like Columbia and Paramount to copy Heinemann’s approach. Yet, while its marketing reflected the segregation of American society, jazz brought black music to the center stage of American culture. It became the era’s signature music, so much so that novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald dubbed the 1920s the “Jazz Age.”

Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Harlem’s creative energy generated broad political aspirations. The Harlem-based **Universal Negro Improvement Association** (UNIA), led by charismatic Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, arose in the 1920s to mobilize African American workers and champion black separatism. Garvey urged followers to move to Africa, arguing that people of African descent would never be treated justly in white-run countries.

The UNIA soon claimed four million followers, including many recent migrants to northern cities. It published a newspaper, *Negro World*, and solicited funds for the Black Star steamship company, which Garvey created as an enterprise that would foster trade with the West Indies and carry

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did the Great Migration lead to flourishing African American culture, politics, and intellectual life, and what form did these activities take?



Augusta Fells Savage, African American Sculptor

Born in Florida in 1892, Augusta Fells Savage arrived in New York in 1921 to study and remained to take part in the Harlem Renaissance. Widowed at a young age and struggling to support her parents and young daughter, Savage faced both racism and poverty. Much of her work has been lost because she sculpted in clay and could not afford to cast in bronze. Savage began to speak out for racial justice after she was denied, on the basis of her race, a fellowship to study in Paris. In 1923, she married a close associate of UNIA leader Marcus Garvey. Augusta Savage with her sculpture *Realization*, c. 1938/Andrew Herman, photographer. Federal Art Project, Photographic Division collection, Archives of American Art/Smithsonian Institution.

American blacks to Africa. But the UNIA declined as quickly as it had risen. In 1925, Garvey was imprisoned for mail fraud because of his solicitations for the Black Star Line. President Coolidge commuted his sentence but ordered his deportation to Jamaica. Without Garvey's leadership, the movement collapsed.

However, the UNIA left a legacy of activism, especially among the working class. Garvey and his followers represented an emerging **pan-Africanism**. They

argued that people of African descent, in all parts of the world, had a common destiny and should cooperate in political action. Several developments contributed to this ideal: black men's military service in Europe during World War I, the Pan-African Congress

that had sought representation at the Versailles treaty table, protests against U.S. occupation of Haiti, and modernist experiments in literature and the arts. One African American historian wrote in 1927, "The grandiose schemes of Marcus Garvey gave to the race a consciousness such as it had never possessed before. The dream of a united Africa, not less than a trip to France, challenged the imagination."

Critiquing American Life

Paralleling the defiant creativity of Harlem, other artists and intellectuals of the 1920s raised voices of dissent. Some had endured firsthand the shock of World War I, an experience so searing that American writer Gertrude Stein dubbed those who survived it the **Lost Generation**. Novelist John Dos Passos railed at the obscenity of "Mr. Wilson's war" in *The Three Soldiers* (1921). Ernest Hemingway's novel *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) portrayed war's futility and dehumanizing consequences.



UNIA Parade in Harlem, Early 1920s

This photo, taken at 138th Street in Harlem, shows the collective pride fostered by Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. What types of people do you see in the crowd? How are they dressed? Note the slogan carried by a rider in the automobile: "The New Negro Has No Fear." Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

What criticisms of mainstream culture did modernist American writers offer in the 1920s?

Other writers also explored the dark side of the human psyche. In such dramas as *Desire Under the Elms* (1924), playwright Eugene O'Neill depicted characters driven by raw, ungovernable sexual impulses. O'Neill first made his mark with *The Emperor Jones* (1920), a popular Broadway drama about a black dictator driven from power by his people. Appealing to Americans' fascination with Haiti, the play offered an ambiguous message: its black protagonist was played not by the customary white actors made up in black-face, but by African Americans who won acclaim for their performances. W. E. B. Du Bois called it "a splendid tragedy." But others were dissatisfied with the play's primitivism; one actor who played Emperor Jones altered the script to omit offensive racial epithets. The white crowds who made *The Emperor Jones* a hit, like those who flocked to Harlem's jazz clubs, indulged a problematic fascination with "primitive" sexuality.

In a decade of conflict between traditional and modern worldviews, many writers exposed what they saw as the hypocrisy of small-town and rural life (American Voices, p. 722.) The most savage critic of conformity was Sinclair Lewis, whose novel *Babbitt* (1922) depicted the disillusionment of an ordinary small-town salesman. *Babbitt* was widely denounced as un-American; *Elmer Gantry* (1927), a satire about a greedy evangelical minister on the make, provoked even greater outrage. But critics found Lewis's work superb, and in 1930 he became the first American to win the Nobel Prize for literature. Even more famous was F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925), which offered a scathing indictment of Americans' mindless pursuit of pleasure and material wealth.

From Boom to Bust

Spurred by rapid expansion during the war, American business thrived in the 1920s. Corporations expanded more and more into overseas markets, while at home a national consumer culture emphasized leisure and fun. But some sectors of the economy, notably agriculture, never recovered from a sharp recession in the wake of World War I. Meanwhile, close observers worried over the rapid economic growth and easy credit that fueled the Roaring Twenties. Their fears proved well founded: the "Roar" ended in the Great Depression.

The Postwar Economy

Immediately after World War I, the United States experienced a series of economic shocks. They began with rampant inflation, as prices jumped by one-third in

1919 alone. Then came a two-year recession that raised unemployment to 10 percent. Finally, the economy began to grow smoothly, and more Americans began to benefit. Between 1922 and 1929, national per capita income rose an impressive 24 percent.

Large-scale corporations continued to replace small business in many sectors of the economy. By 1929, through successive waves of consolidation, the two hundred largest businesses had come to control almost half of the country's nonbanking corporate wealth. The greatest number of mergers occurred in rising industries such as chemicals (with DuPont in the lead) and electrical appliances (General Electric). At the same time, mergers between Wall Street banks enhanced New York City's position as the financial center of the nation and increasingly the world. Aided by Washington's dollar diplomats, U.S. companies exercised growing global power. Seeking cheaper livestock, giant American meat-packers opened plants in Argentina; the United Fruit Company developed plantations in Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala; General Electric set up production facilities in Latin America, Asia, and Australia.

Despite the boom, the U.S. economy had areas of significant weakness throughout the 1920s. Agriculture, which still employed one-fourth of all American workers, never fully recovered from the postwar recession. Once Europe's economy revived, its farmers flooded world markets with grain and other farm products, causing agricultural prices to fall. Other industries, including coal and textiles, languished for similar reasons. As a consequence, many rural Americans shared little of the decade's prosperity. The bottom 40 percent of American families earned an average annual income of only \$725 (about \$9,100 today). Many, especially rural tenants and sharecroppers, languished in poverty and malnutrition.

Consumer Culture

In middle-class homes, Americans of the 1920s sat down to a breakfast of Kellogg's corn flakes before getting into Ford Model Ts to work or shop at Safeway. On weekends, they might head to the local theater to see the newest Charlie Chaplin film. By 1929, electric refrigerators and vacuum cleaners came into use in affluent homes; 40 percent of American households owned a radio. The advertising industry reached new levels of ambition and sophistication, entering what one historian calls the era of the "aggressive hard sell." The 1920s gave birth, for example, to fashion modeling and style consulting. "Sell them their dreams," one radio announcer urged advertisers in 1923. "People



Urban Writers Describe Small-Town America

In the early twentieth century, the United States was becoming an urban society. By 1920, life outside the metropolis seemed sufficiently remarkable to warrant sociological investigation—or at least, city people thought so. Presented here are three views of rural and small-town America, all published during the 1920s. Though cities had become the wellspring of American intellectual life, urban writers juxtaposed their own experiences with those of people they thought of as living in “Middletown, U.S.A.”

Sinclair Lewis

Main Street

In his novel *Main Street* (1920), Sinclair Lewis portrayed the fictional midwestern town of Gopher Prairie. In the excerpts below, Lewis's narrator describes the reactions of young, urban Carol Kennicott, wife of the town's new doctor, and Bea Sorenson, a Swedish American farm girl.

When Carol had walked for thirty-two minutes she had completely covered the town, east and west, north and south; and she stood at the corner of Main Street and Washington Avenue and despaired.

Main Street with its two-story brick shops, its story-and-a-half wooden residences, its muddy expanse from concrete walk to walk, its huddle of Fords and lumber-wagons, was too small to absorb her. The broad, straight, unenticing gashes of the streets let in the grasping prairie on every side. She realized the vastness and the emptiness of the land. The skeleton iron windmill on the farm a few blocks away, at the north end of Main Street, was like the ribs of a dead cow. She thought of the coming of the Northern winter, when the unprotected houses would crouch together in terror of storms galloping out of that wild waste. They were so small and weak, the little brown houses. They were shelters for sparrows. . . .

She wanted to run, fleeing from the encroaching prairie, demanding the security of a great city. Her dreams of creating a beautiful town were ludicrous. Oozing out from every drab wall, she felt a forbidding spirit which she could never conquer.

She trailed down the street on one side, back on the other, glancing into the cross streets. It was a private Seeing Main Street tour. She was within ten minutes beholding not only the heart of a place called Gopher Prairie, but ten thousand towns from Albany to San Diego.

Dyer's Drug Store, a corner building of regular and unreal blocks of artificial stone. Inside the store, a greasy marble soda-fountain with an electric lamp of red and green and curdled-yellow mosaic shade. Pawed-over

heaps of toothbrushes and combs and packages of shaving-soap. Shelves of soap-cartons, teething-rings, garden-seeds, and patent medicines in yellow packages—nostrums for consumption, for “women’s diseases”—notorious mixtures of opium and alcohol, in the very shop to which her husband sent patients for the filling of prescriptions.

The train which brought Carol to Gopher Prairie also brought Miss Bea Sorenson.

Miss Bea was a stalwart, corn-colored, laughing young woman, and she was bored by farm-work. She desired the excitements of city-life, and the way to enjoy city-life was, she had decided, to “go get a yob as a hired girl in Gopher Prairie.” . . .

Bea had never before been in a town larger than Scandia Crossing, which has sixty-seven inhabitants.

As she marched up the street she was meditating that it didn't hardly seem like it was possible there could be so many folks all in one place at the same time. My! It would take years to get acquainted with them all. And swell people, too! A fine big gentleman in a new pink shirt with a diamond, and not no washed-out blue denim working-shirt. A lovely lady in a longery dress (but it must be an awful hard dress to wash). And the stores! . . . A drug store with a soda fountain that was just huge, awful long, and all lovely marble . . . and the soda spouts, they were silver, and they came right out of the bottom of the lamp-stand! Behind the fountain there were glass shelves, and bottles of new kinds of soft drinks, that nobody ever heard of. Suppose a fella took you *there!*

Anzia Yezierska

Bread Givers

A child of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, Anzia Yezierska grew up on the Lower East Side of New York City. In her autobiographical novel *Bread Givers* (1925), Yezierska described her arrival in the Ohio town where she attended college.

Before this, New York was all of America to me. But now I came to a town of quiet streets, shaded with green trees. No crowds, no tenements. No hurrying noise to beat the race of the hours. Only a leisured quietness whispered in the air: Peace. . . .

Each house had its own green grass in front, its own free space all around, and it faced the street with the calm security of being owned for generations, and not rented by the month from a landlord. In the early twilight, it was like a picture out of fairyland to see people sitting on their porches, lazily swinging in their hammocks, or watering their own growing flowers.

So these are the real Americans, I thought, thrilled by the lean, straight bearing of the passers-by. They had none of that terrible fight for bread and rent that I always saw in the New York people's eyes. . . . All the young people I had ever seen were shut up in factories. But here were young girls and young men enjoying life, free from the worry for a living. . . . The spick-and-span cleanliness of these people! It smelled from them, the soap and the bathing. Their fingernails so white and pink. . . . What a feast of happenings each day of college was to those other students. Societies, dances, letters from home, packages of food, midnight spreads and even birthday parties. I never knew that there were people glad enough of life to celebrate the day they were born.

Source: From *Bread Givers* by Anzia Yezierska. Copyright © 1970 by Louise Levitas Henriksen. Reprinted by permission of Persea Books, Inc., New York. All rights reserved.

Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd *Middletown*

In 1929, sociologists Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd published *Middletown*, a study of life in a small midwestern city. Middletown was not a single community but a composite of several communities studied by the Lynds.

The first real automobile appeared in Middletown in 1900. . . . At the close of 1923 there were 6,221 passenger cars in the city, one for every 6.1 persons, or roughly two for every three families. . . . As, at the turn of the century, business class people began to feel apologetic if they did not have a telephone, so ownership of an automobile has now reached the point of being an accepted essential of normal living. . . .

According to an officer of a Middletown automobile financing company, 75 to 90 percent of the cars purchased

locally are bought on time payment, and a working man earning \$35.00 a week frequently plans to use one week's pay each month as payment for his car. The automobile has apparently unsettled the habit of careful saving for some families. . . . "I'll go without food before I'll see us give up the car," said one woman emphatically. . . .

Many families feel that an automobile is justified as an agency holding the family group together. . . . [But] the fact that 348 boys and 382 girls in the three upper years of the high school placed "use of the automobile" fifth and fourth respectively in a list of twelve possible sources of disagreement between them and their parents suggests that this may be an increasing decentralizing agent. . . .

If the automobile touches the rest of Middletown's living at many points, it has revolutionized its leisure . . . making leisure-time enjoyment a regularly expected part of every day and week rather than an occasional event. . . . The frequency of movie attendance of high school boys and girls is about equal, business class families tend to go more often than do working class families, and children of both groups attend more often without their parents than do all the individuals or combinations of family members put together. . . . It is probable that time formerly spent in lodges, saloons, and unions is now being spent in part at the movies, at least occasionally with other members of the family. Like the automobile and radio, the movies [break] up leisure time into an individual, family, or small group affair.

Source: Excerpt from *Middletown: A Study in American Culture*, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd. Copyright © 1929 by Harcourt, Inc. and renewed 1957 by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What attitudes toward the small town and big city does *Main Street* represent? Why do you think Lewis includes views as different as Carol's and Bea's?
2. How does the urban experience of Yezierska's narrator shape her reaction to life in an Ohio town? How might small-town residents have reacted to her description of them as "the real Americans"? How might Lewis have responded to Yezierska's description?
3. How do the two novelists (Lewis and Yezierska) differ from the sociologists (the Lynds) in the issues they emphasize, and in their tone and point of view? What features of small-town life does each text emphasize?



don't buy things to have things. . . . They buy hope—hope of what your merchandise will do for them."

In practice, participation in consumer culture was as contested as the era's politics. It was no accident that white mobs in the Tulsa race riot plundered radios and phonograph players from prosperous African American homes: the message was that whites deserved such items and blacks did not. But neither prosperity nor poverty was limited by race. Surrounded by exhortations to indulge in luxuries, millions of working-class Americans barely squeaked by, with wives and mothers often working to pay for basic necessities. In times of crisis, some families sold their furniture, starting with pianos and phonographs and continuing, if necessary, to dining tables and beds. In the Los Angeles suburb of South Gate, white working-class men secured jobs in the steel and automobile industries, but prices were

American Companies Abroad

United Fruit was one of the many American companies that found opportunities for investment in South America in the 1920s and that introduced tropical foods to the United States. The company used elaborate and informative color advertisements to sell its products. Bananas were sufficiently exotic that the ads explained to consumers how to tell when bananas were ripe and how to store them ("Never place them in the ice-box"). John W. Hartman Center/Duke University Special Collections Library.

high and families often found it difficult to make ends meet. *Self-help* was the watchword as families bartered with neighbors and used their yards to raise vegetables, rabbits, and chickens.

The lure of consumer culture created friction. Wives resented husbands who spent all their discretionary cash at the ballpark. Generational conflicts emerged, especially when wage-earning children challenged the expectation that their pay should go "all to mother." In St. Louis, a Czech-born woman was exasperated when her son and daughter stopped contributing to rent and food and pooled their wages to buy a car. In Los Angeles, one fifteen-year-old girl spent her summer earning \$2 a day at a local factory. Planning to enroll in business school, she spent \$75 on dressy shoes and "a black coat with a red fox collar." Her brother reported that "Mom is angry at her for 'squandering' so much money."

Many poor and affluent families shared one thing in common: they stretched their incomes, small or large, through new forms of borrowing such as auto loans and installment plans. “Buy now, pay later,” said the ads, and millions did. Anyone, no matter how rich, could get into debt, but **consumer credit** was particularly perilous for those living on the economic margins. In Chicago, one Lithuanian man described his neighbor’s situation: “She ain’t got no money. Sure she buys on credit, clothes for the children and everything.” Such borrowing turned out to be a factor in the bust of 1929.

The Automobile No possession proved more popular than the automobile, a showpiece of modern consumer capitalism that revolutionized American life. Car sales played a major role in the decade’s economic boom: in one year, 1929, Americans spent \$2.58 billion on automobiles. By the end of the decade, they owned 23 million cars—about 80 percent of the world’s automobiles—or an average of one for every six people.

The auto industry’s exuberant expansion rippled through the economy, with both positive and negative results. It stimulated steel, petroleum, chemical, rubber, and glass production and, directly or indirectly, created 3.7 million jobs. Highway construction became

a billion-dollar-a-year enterprise, financed by federal subsidies and state gasoline taxes. Car ownership spurred urban sprawl and, in 1924, the first suburban shopping center: Country Club Plaza outside Kansas City, Missouri. But cars were expensive, and most Americans bought them on credit.

This created risks not only for buyers but for the whole economy. Borrowers who could not pay off car loans lost their entire investment in the vehicle; if they defaulted, banks were left holding unpaid loans. Amid the boom of the 1920s, however, few worried about this result.

Cars changed the way Americans spent their leisure time, as proud drivers took their machines on the road. An infrastructure of gas stations, motels, and drive-in restaurants soon catered to drivers. Railroad travel faltered. The American Automobile Association, founded in 1902, estimated that by 1929 almost a third of the population took vacations by car. As early as 1923, Colorado had 247 autocamps. “I had a few days after I got my wheat cut,” reported one Kansas farmer, “so I just loaded my family . . . and lit out.” An elite Californian complained that automobile travel was no

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

How did the radio, automobile, and Hollywood movies exemplify the opportunities and the risks of 1920s consumer culture?



Automobiles at Jacksonville Beach, Florida, 1923

The automobile transformed Americans’ leisure pursuits. As proud car owners took to the road in ever-larger numbers, the “vacation” became a summer staple. Auto travel created a booming business in gas stations, roadside motels, campgrounds, and sightseeing destinations. A Florida vacation—once reserved for wealthy northerners who had traveled to Miami’s exclusive hotels by first-class rail car—became an attainable luxury for middle-class and even some working-class families. © Curt Teich Postcard Archives, Lake County Museum.



Charlie Chaplin and Jackie Coogan

Charlie Chaplin (left) and Jackie Coogan starred together in *The Kid* (1921), a silent comedy that also included sentimental and dramatic moments, promising viewers “a smile . . . and perhaps a tear.” Chaplin, born in London in 1889, moved to the United States in 1912 and over the next two decades reigned as one of Hollywood’s most famous silent film stars. In 1919, he joined with D. W. Griffith, Mary Pickford, and other American directors and stars to create the independent studio United Artists. *The Kid* made the Los Angeles-born Coogan—discovered by Chaplin on the vaudeville stage—into America’s first child star. Library of Congress.

longer “aristocratic.” “The clerks and their wives and sweethearts,” observed a reporter, “driving through the Wisconsin lake country, camping at Niagara, scattering tin cans and pop bottles over the Rockies, made those places taboo for bankers.”

Hollywood Movies formed a second centerpiece of consumer culture. In the 1910s, the moviemaking industry had begun moving to southern California to take advantage of cheap land, sunshine, and varied scenery within easy reach. The large studios—United Artists, Paramount, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer—were run mainly by Eastern European Jewish immigrants like Adolph Zukor, who arrived from Hungary in the 1880s. Starting with fur sales, Zukor and a partner then set up five-cent theaters in Manhattan. “I spent a good

deal of time watching the faces of the audience,” Zukor recalled. “With a little experience I could see, hear, and ‘feel’ the reaction to each melodrama and comedy.” Founding Paramount Pictures, Zukor signed emerging stars and produced successful feature-length films.

By 1920, **Hollywood** reigned as the world’s movie capital, producing nearly 90 percent of all films. Large, ornate movie palaces attracted both middle-class and working-class audiences. Idols such as Rudolph Valentino, Mary Pickford, and Douglas Fairbanks set national trends in style. Thousands of young women followed the lead of actress Clara Bow, Hollywood’s famous **flapper**, who flaunted her boyish figure. Decked out in knee-length skirts, flappers shocked the older generation by smoking and wearing makeup.

Flappers represented only a tiny minority of women, but thanks to the movies and advertising, they became influential symbols of women’s sexual and social emancipation. In cities, young immigrant women eagerly bought makeup and the latest flapper fashions and went dancing to jazz. Jazz stars helped popularize the style among working-class African Americans. Mexican American teenagers joined the trend, though they usually found themselves under the watchful eyes of *la dueña*, the chaperone.

Politicians quickly grasped the publicity value of American radio and film to foreign relations. In 1919, with government support, General Electric spearheaded the creation of Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to expand U.S. presence in foreign radio markets. RCA—which had a federal appointee on its board of directors—emerged as a major provider of radio transmission in Latin America and East Asia. Meanwhile, by 1925, American films made up 95 percent of the movies screened in Britain, 80 percent in Latin America, and 70 percent in France (America Compared, p. 727). The United States was experimenting with what historians call **soft power**—the exercise of popular cultural influence—as radio and film exports celebrated the American Dream.

The Coming of the Great Depression

By 1927, strains on the economy began to show. Consumer lending had become the tenth-largest business in the country, topping \$7 billion that year. Increasing numbers of Americans bought into the stock market, often with unrealistic expectations. One Yale professor proclaimed that stocks had reached a “permanently high plateau.” Corporate profits were so high that some companies, fully invested in their own operations, plowed excess earnings into the stock

Hollywood in Europe



European film studios struggled after World War I to reach audiences who had fallen in love with American movies. Working-class Europeans, in particular, preferred Hollywood's offerings to the films produced in Europe. In this 1928 article from a cinematography journal, German expressionist filmmaker Erich Pommer suggested new strategies for expanding an audience for European films. Expressionists, influenced by romanticism and modernism, explored dark themes such as spiritual crisis and insanity. (A famous example of expressionist painting is Edvard Munch's *The Scream*.) Pommer worked for American studios and later fled to the United States after the rise of Hitler.

The towering importance of the American motion picture on the world's markets cannot be safely explained by the unlimited financial resources at the disposal of the American producers. . . . Its main reason is the mentality of the American picture, which, notwithstanding all attacks and claims to the contrary, apparently comes nearest to the taste of international cinema audiences.

. . . The specific and unique element of the American film is the fact of its being absolutely uncomplicated. Being what is called "naïve" it knows no problems. . . .

Universal Appeal. It is really preferable to have a picture too light rather than too heavy, because in the latter case there is a danger that the public will not understand the story. This is the worst thing that can happen with a picture. . . .

Spectacular Appeal. The international appeal of a picture has its foundation in a story. It is totally independent of the capital invested and of the splendor and luxury used in its production. The fact that in most cases the supers and monumental pictures have proved to be such international successes, does not disprove this claim.

Such productions always have a simple story of universal appeal, because it is simply impossible to use spiritual thoughts and impressions of the soul in a picture deluxe. The splendour in such production is not merely created for decoration — it is its outstanding purpose. . . . But splendour means show, and a show is always and everywhere easy to understand. . . .

Source: Excerpt from "The International Picture: A Lesson on Simplicity" by Erich Pommer from "Film Europe" and "Film America": Cinema, Commerce and Cultural Exchange 1920–1939, edited by Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby, 1999, ISBN: 978-0-85989-546-0. Used by permission of Exeter University Press.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Pommer characterize the attraction of popular American films for European audiences? What does he mean when he calls those films "naïve"?
2. How does Pommer propose to produce German films that will compete with Hollywood? What constraints and challenges did he face?

market. Other market players compounded risk by purchasing on margin. An investor might, for example, spend \$20 of his own money and borrow \$80 to buy a \$100 share of stock, expecting to pay back the loan as the stock rose quickly in value. This worked as long as the economy grew and the stock market climbed. But those conditions did not last.

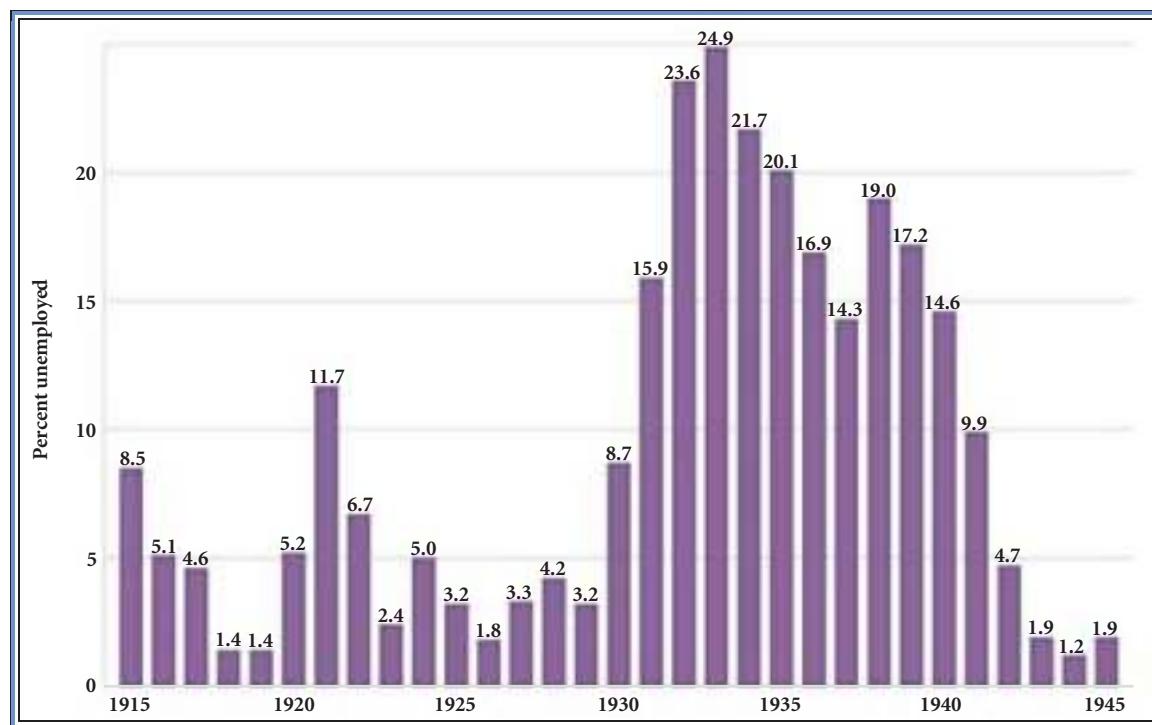
Yet when the stock market fell, in a series of plunges between October 25 and November 13, 1929, few onlookers understood the magnitude of the crisis. Cyclical downturns had been a familiar part of the industrializing economy since the panic of the 1830s; they tended to follow periods of rapid growth and speculation. A sharp recent recession, in 1921, had not

triggered disaster. The market rose again in late 1929 and early 1930, and while a great deal of money had been lost, most Americans hoped the aftermath of the crash would be brief. In fact, the nation had entered the Great Depression. Over the next four years, industrial production fell 37 percent. Construction plunged 78 percent. Prices for crops and other raw materials, already low, fell by half. By 1932, unemployment had reached a staggering 24 percent (Figure 22.1).

A precipitous drop in consumer spending deepened the crisis. Facing hard times and unemployment, Americans cut back dramatically, creating a

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What domestic and global factors helped cause the Great Depression?

**FIGURE 22.1****Unemployment, 1915–1945**

During the 1920s, business prosperity and low rates of immigration resulted in historically low unemployment levels. The Great Depression threw millions of people out of work; by 1933, one in four American workers was unemployed, and the rate remained high until 1941, when the nation mobilized for World War II.

vicious cycle of falling demand and forfeited loans. In late 1930, several major banks went under, victims of overextended credit and reckless management. The following year, as industrial production slowed, a much larger wave of bank failures occurred, causing an even greater shock. Since the government did not insure bank deposits, accounts in failed banks simply vanished. Some people who had had steady jobs and comfortable savings found themselves broke and out of work.

Not all Americans were devastated by the depression; the middle class did not disappear and the rich lived in accustomed luxury. But incomes plummeted even among workers who kept their jobs. Salt Lake City went bankrupt in 1931. Barter systems developed, as barbers traded haircuts for onions and potatoes and laborers worked for payment in eggs or pork. “We do not dare to use even a little soap,” reported one jobless Oregonian, “when it will pay for an extra egg, a few more carrots for our children.” “I would be only too glad to dig ditches to keep my family from going hungry,” wrote a North Carolina man.

Where did desperate people turn for aid? Their first hope lay in private charity, especially churches and synagogues. But by the winter of 1931, these institutions were overwhelmed, unable to keep pace with the extraordinary need. Only eight states provided even minimal unemployment insurance. There was no public support for the elderly, statistically among the poorest citizens. Few Americans had any retirement savings, and many who had saved watched their accounts erased by failing banks.

Even those who were not wiped out had to adapt to depression conditions. Couples delayed marriage and reduced the number of children they conceived. As a result, the marriage rate fell to a historical low, and by 1933 the birthrate dropped from 97 births per 1,000 women to 75. Often the responsibility for birth control fell to women. It was “one of the worst problems of women whose husbands were out of work,” a Californian told a reporter. Campaigns against hiring married women were common, on the theory that available jobs should go to male breadwinners. Three-quarters of the nation’s school districts banned married women

Minnesota Potato Farmers

The prosperity and consumer pleasures of the 1920s hardly extended to all Americans. This Minnesota family had horses, not a tractor; many of the women's clothes were probably made by hand. Rural and working-class Americans, who often struggled in the 1920s, found conditions even harsher after 1929. On the other hand, farmers had resources to fall back on that city folks did not: they could grow their own food, and they had long experience in "making do." Minnesota Historical Society.



from working as teachers—ignoring the fact that many husbands were less able to earn than ever before. Despite restrictions, female employment increased, as women expanded their financial contributions to their families in hard times.

The depression crossed regional boundaries, though its severity varied from place to place. Bank failures clustered heavily in the Midwest and plains, while areas dependent on timber, mining, and other extractive industries suffered catastrophic declines. Although southern states endured less unemployment because of their smaller manufacturing base, farm wages plunged. In many parts of the country, unemployment rates among black men stood at double that of white men; joblessness among African American women was triple that of white women.

By 1932, comprehending the magnitude of the crisis, Americans went to the ballot box and decisively rejected the probusiness, antiregulatory policies of the 1920s. A few years earlier, with business booming, politics had been so placid that people chuckled when President Coolidge disappeared on extended fishing trips. Now, Americans wanted bold action in Washington. Faced with the cataclysm of the Great Depression, Americans would transform their government and create a modern welfare state.

SUMMARY

Although involvement in World War I strengthened the United States economically and diplomatically, it left the nation profoundly unsettled. Racial tensions exploded after the war as African Americans pursued new opportunities and asserted their rights. Meanwhile, labor unrest grew as employers cut wages and sought to break unions. Labor's power declined sharply in the war's aftermath, while anxieties over radicalism and immigration prompted a nationwide Red Scare.

The politics of the 1920s brought a backlash against prewar progressivism. The agenda of women reformers met very limited success. Republican administrations pursued probusiness "normalcy" at home and "dollar diplomacy" abroad. Prohibition and the Scopes trial demonstrated the influence religion could exert on public policy, while rising nativism fueled a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and led to sweeping new restrictions on immigration.

Postwar alienation found artistic expression in new forms of modernism, which denounced the dehumanizing effects of war and criticized American materialism and hypocrisy. Spreading throughout the nation

from New Orleans, jazz appealed to elite and popular audiences alike. Black artists and intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance, including many inspired by pan-African ideas, explored the complexities of African American life.

Business thrived and a booming consumer culture, exemplified by the radio, the automobile, and

Hollywood films, created new forms of leisure, influencing daily life and challenging older sexual norms. However, the risky speculation and easy credit of the 1920s undermined the foundations of the economy. After the 1929 crash, these factors, along with a range of interconnected global conditions, plunged the United States into the Great Depression.

CHAPTER REVIEW



MAKE IT STICK

Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.

TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Adkins v. Children's Hospital** (p. 707)
- welfare capitalism** (p. 708)
- Red Scare** (p. 708)
- Palmer raids** (p. 709)
- Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act** (p. 709)
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom** (p. 710)
- associated state** (p. 710)
- Teapot Dome** (p. 710)
- dollar diplomacy** (p. 711)
- prohibition** (p. 712)
- American Civil Liberties Union** (p. 713)

- Scopes trial** (p. 713)
- National Origins Act** (p. 713)
- Ku Klux Klan** (p. 714)
- Harlem Renaissance** (p. 718)
- jazz** (p. 718)
- Universal Negro Improvement Association** (p. 719)
- pan-Africanism** (p. 720)
- Lost Generation** (p. 720)
- consumer credit** (p. 725)
- Hollywood** (p. 726)
- flapper** (p. 726)
- soft power** (p. 726)

Key People

- A. Mitchell Palmer** (p. 708)
- Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti** (p. 709)
- Henry Ford** (p. 714)
- Leo Frank** (p. 714)
- Zora Neale Hurston** (p. 718)
- Louis Armstrong** (p. 719)
- Marcus Garvey** (p. 719)
- Adolph Zukor** (p. 726)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What was the Republican vision of "normalcy," and how did the Harding and Coolidge administrations seek to realize it?
2. Along what lines did Americans find themselves divided in the 1920s? How were those conflicts expressed in politics? In culture and intellectual life?

3. What factors contributed to the economic boom of the 1920s and the crash that followed?
4. **THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Between 1917 and 1945, the “Roaring Twenties” were the only years when the United States did not face a major economic or international crisis. Review the categories

of “America in the World,” “Politics and Power,” and “Identity” on the thematic timeline on page 671. In what ways do they suggest that the prosperous 1920s were a politically distinctive era? What continuities do you see in politics and foreign policy?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. **ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** The Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction era (Chapter 15) emerged in a specific political and social context; while the Klan of the 1920s built on its predecessor, its goals and scope were different. Using material from Chapters 15 and 22, imagine that you are investigating a series of Klan meetings in each era (1870s and 1920s). Where would you conduct your investigation? How might you explain, to the public, the Klan’s membership and activities? How would you compare the two Klans?

2. **VISUAL EVIDENCE** This chapter includes two depictions of people dancing to jazz: the *Life* magazine cover that opens the chapter (p. 705) and *Blues* (p. 719) by Archibald John Motley Jr., an African American painter of the Harlem Renaissance. Look at these pictures carefully. Who do you think were the intended audiences for each? What evidence could you point to in support of that conclusion? What messages do you think the *Life* artist and Motley wanted to convey?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper* (1995). A readable overview of events in the 1920s.

David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (1979). A wonderful account of politics, arts, and culture in the vibrant “Negro capital of the world.”

Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (2010). A lively recent history of the movement to ban liquor.

Martha L. Olney, *Buy Now, Pay Later* (1991). Explores the rise and impact of consumer credit.

Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti* (2001). A compelling exploration of U.S. occupation of Haiti and its impact on Haiti and especially the United States.

The PBS series *American Experience* has produced an excellent documentary on the Scopes trial; information and documents are available at pbs.org/wgbh/amex/monkeytrial/. For a broad view of the 1929 crash and its impact, see pbs.org/wgbh/amex/crash/.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Ku Klux Klan founded • United States occupies Haiti
1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United States occupies Dominican Republic
1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois
1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Race riot in Chicago • Boston police strike • Palmer raids • Women's International League for Peace and Freedom founded
1920	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Height of Red Scare • Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition) takes effect • Warren Harding wins presidency • Eugene O'Neill's <i>The Emperor Jones</i>
1921	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Race riots in Rosewood, Florida, and Tulsa, Oklahoma • Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act
1923	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Adkins v. Children's Hospital</i> • President Harding dies • Calvin Coolidge assumes presidency • Teapot Dome scandal • Equal Rights Amendment first introduced in Congress
1924	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Origins Act • Coolidge wins presidential election against Democrats and La Follette's Progressive Party • First suburban shopping center opens outside Kansas City, Missouri
1925	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers</i> • Scopes "monkey trial" • Alain Locke's <i>The New Negro</i> • F. Scott Fitzgerald's <i>The Great Gatsby</i>
1927	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sacco and Vanzetti executed
1928	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Herbert Hoover wins presidency
1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stock market crashes precipitate Great Depression

KEY TURNING POINTS: American politics underwent two shifts in the period covered in this chapter: one in the aftermath of World War I, and another in 1932. What caused each turning point? What factors in American Society, economics, and culture help explain each moment of political change?

23

CHAPTER

Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal

1929–1939

EARLY RESPONSES TO THE DEPRESSION, 1929–1932

- Enter Herbert Hoover
- Rising Discontent
- The 1932 Election

THE NEW DEAL ARRIVES, 1933–1935

- Roosevelt and the First Hundred Days
- The New Deal Under Attack

THE SECOND NEW DEAL AND THE REDEFINING OF LIBERALISM, 1935–1938

- The Welfare State Comes into Being
- From Reform to Stalemate

THE NEW DEAL'S IMPACT ON SOCIETY

- A People's Democracy
- Reshaping the Environment
- The New Deal and the Arts
- The Legacies of the New Deal

In his inaugural address in March 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt did not hide the country's precarious condition. "A host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence," he said, "and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment." Roosevelt, his demeanor sincere and purposeful, saw both despair and determination as he looked out over the country. "This nation asks for action, and action now." From Congress he would request "broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe." With these words, Roosevelt launched a program of federal activism—which he called the New Deal—that would change the nature of American government.

The New Deal represented a new form of liberalism, a fresh interpretation of the ideology of individual rights that had long shaped the character of American society and politics. Classical nineteenth-century liberals believed that, to protect those rights, government should be small and relatively weak. However, the "regulatory" liberals of the early twentieth century had safeguarded individual freedom and opportunity by strengthening state and federal control over large businesses and monopolies. New Deal activists went much further: their social-welfare liberalism expanded individual rights to include economic security. Beginning in the 1930s and continuing through the 1960s, they increased the responsibility of the national government for the welfare of ordinary citizens. Their efforts did not go unchallenged. Conservative critics of the New Deal charged that its "big government" programs were paternalistic and dangerous, undermining individual responsibility and constraining personal freedom. This division between the advocates and the critics of the New Deal shaped American politics for the next half century.



To see a longer excerpt of Roosevelt's inaugural address, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Before Roosevelt was elected president, between the onset of the depression in 1929 and November 1932, the "dark realities of the moment" wore down American society. Rising unemployment, shuttered businesses, failing banks, and home foreclosures tore at the nation's social fabric. As crisis piled upon crisis and the federal government's initiatives under President Hoover proved ineffectual, Americans had to reconsider more than the role of government in economic life: they had to rethink many of the principles of individualism and free enterprise that had guided so much of the nation's history.

JOBS FOR GIRLS & WOMEN



GOOD PAY
GOOD MEALS
GOOD SURROUNDINGS
GOOD WORKING CONDITIONS

IF YOU WANT A GOOD JOB in
HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

APPLY AT OR WRITE TO
ILLINOIS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The New Deal This Federal Arts Project poster from 1936 captured the spirit of the New Deal under President Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt and other "New Dealers" hoped to get people working again during the depths of the Great Depression, raise their spirits, and help rebuild the national infrastructure.
Library of Congress.

Early Responses to the Depression, 1929–1932

The American economy collapsed between 1929 and 1932. U.S. gross domestic product fell almost by half, from \$103.1 billion to \$58 billion. Consumption dropped by 18 percent, construction by 78 percent, and private investment by 88 percent. Nearly 9,000 banks closed their doors, and 100,000 businesses failed. Corporate profits fell from \$10 billion to \$1 billion. Unemployment rose to 25 percent. Fifteen million people were out of work by 1933, and many who had jobs took wage cuts. “Hoover made a soughound outa me!” sang jobless harvest hands in the Southwest.

The depression respected no national boundaries. Germany had preceded the United States into economic contraction in 1928, and its economy, burdened by heavy World War I reparations payments, was brought to its knees by 1929. France, Britain, Argentina, Brazil, Poland, and Canada were hard hit as well (*America Compared*, p. 737). The legacies of World War I made recovery difficult in two respects. First, Britain’s central bank was in no position to resume its traditional role in managing the international financial system. Second, the war disrupted the international gold standard. The United States and most European nations had tied the value of their currencies to the price of gold, and the amount of gold held in reserves, since the late nineteenth century. This system had worked fairly well for a few decades, but it was vulnerable during economic downturns, when large financiers withdrew their investments and demanded gold payments. The gold standard rendered the international monetary system inflexible at a moment that required great flexibility in global finance.

Enter Herbert Hoover

President Herbert Hoover and Congress responded to the downturn by drawing on two powerful American traditions. The first was the belief that economic outcomes were the product of individual character. People’s fate was in their own hands, and success went to

those who deserved it. The second tradition held that through voluntary action, the business community could right itself and recover from economic downturns without relying on government assistance. Following these principles, Hoover asked Americans to

tighten their belts and work hard. After the stock market crash, he cut federal taxes in an attempt to boost private spending and corporate investment. “Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the strength of business in the United States is foolish,” Hoover assured the country in late 1929. Treasury secretary Andrew Mellon suggested that the downturn would help Americans “work harder” and “live a more moral life.”

While many factors caused the Great Depression, Hoover’s adherence to the gold standard was a major reason for its length and severity in the United States. Faced with economic catastrophe, both Britain and Germany abandoned the gold standard in 1931; when they did so, their economies recovered modestly. But the Hoover administration feared that such a move would weaken the value of the dollar. In reality, an inflexible money supply discouraged investment and therefore prevented growth. The Roosevelt administration would ultimately remove the United States from the burdens of the gold standard in 1933. By that time, however, the crisis had achieved catastrophic dimensions. Billions had been lost in business and bank failures, and the economy had stalled completely.

Along with their adherence to the gold standard, the Hoover administration and many congressional Republicans believed in another piece of economic orthodoxy that had protected American manufacturing in good economic times but that proved damaging during the downturn: high tariffs (taxes on imported goods designed to encourage American manufacturing). In 1930, Republicans enacted the **Smoot-Hawley Tariff**. Despite receiving a letter from more than a thousand economists urging him to veto it, Hoover approved the legislation. What served American interests in earlier eras now confounded them. Smoot-Hawley triggered retaliatory tariffs in other countries, which further hindered global trade and led to greater economic contraction throughout the industrialized world.

The president recognized that individual initiative, voluntarism, and high tariffs might not be enough, given the depth of the crisis, so he proposed government action as well. He called on state and local governments to provide jobs by investing in public projects. And in 1931, he secured an unprecedented increase of \$700 million in federal spending for public works. Hoover’s most innovative program was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which provided federal loans to railroads, banks, and other businesses. But the RFC lent money too cautiously, and by the end of 1932, after a year in operation, it had loaned out only 20 percent of its \$1.5 billion in funds.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What economic principles guided President Hoover and Congress in their response to the Great Depression?



The Great Depression in England and the United States

In a 1954 book, Denis Brogan, a professor at Cambridge University in England, looked back at the descent into the Great Depression between 1929 and 1932 and explained the significance of Franklin Roosevelt's election from an English perspective. The second selection is from an oral history conducted in the 1970s with an ordinary resident of London, who recalled life in the 1930s.

Denis W. Brogan, "From England"

No event . . . has so colored the European view of the United States as "the Depression." The first news of the crash of 1929 was not ill received. There was not only a marked feeling of *Schadenfreude* at the snub that destiny had given to the overconfident masters of the new world, but also a widespread belief that the extravagant gambling of the New York market was one of the chief causes of our ills. . . . But as the extent, depth, and duration of the American depression began to be appreciated, as its impact on all the world, especially on the dangerously unstable political and economic status quo of Germany and Austria, became more evident, as the old wound of unemployment was made to bleed more deeply in Britain, the tendency to blame the United States became overwhelming. Gone were the illusions about the "secret of high wages." If ever found, it had now been lost.

American politics was seen as not only sterile but positively immoral and dangerous. . . . American business and its political arm, the Republican Party, had been tried in the balance and found wanting. And it is safe to say that the election of F. D. Roosevelt was welcomed in every country of Europe as good news almost overshadowing the nomination of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of the German Reich.

Like most federal initiatives under Hoover, the RFC was not nearly aggressive enough given the severity of the depression. With federal officials fearing budget deficits and reluctant to interfere with the private market, caution was the order of the day.

Few chief executives could have survived the downward economic spiral of 1929–1932, but Hoover's reluctance to break with the philosophy of limited government and his insistence that recovery was always just around the corner contributed to his unpopularity.

Gladys Gibson, a Resident of London in the 1930s

Most of the unemployed were genuinely seeking work. A heavy snowfall was a blessing, when men with broken boots earned a little money by sweeping the streets. The Boroughs [a form of local administration in London] took on unemployed, in strict rotation, for thirteen weeks of unskilled work. It sometimes put a man back in benefit and took him off the hated dole. The situation began to change after Munich, when more men found work. Salvation came with the War, when the despised unemployed became valued workers or serving helpers.

Source: Joseph, Franz M., *As Others See Us*. © 1959 Princeton University Press, 1987 renewed PUP. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

Nigel Gray, *The Worst of Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression in Britain* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985), 54.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why would Brogan call the United States "overconfident masters of the new world"? What are his criticisms of U.S. economic policy?
2. How does the testimony of Gladys Gibson about the "hated dole" compare with what you have learned about attitudes in the United States in these years?

By 1932, Americans perceived Hoover as insensitive to the depth of the country's economic suffering. The nation had come a long way since the depressions of the 1870s and 1890s, when no one except the most radical figures, such as Jacob Coxey, called for direct federal aid to the unemployed (Chapter 20). Compared with previous chief executives—and in contrast to his popular image as a "do-nothing" president—Hoover had responded to the national emergency with unprecedented government action. But the nation's needs



Hooverville

The depression cast hundreds of thousands of Americans out of their homes. Most found shelter with relatives, but those with little choice had to make do as they could. Encampments such as this one south of downtown Seattle, Washington—places where the homeless crafted makeshift lodging out of whatever materials were at hand—became known as Hoovervilles. The name reflected Americans' attitudes toward President Hoover, whose popularity plummeted as the depression deepened. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW2129.

were even more unprecedented, and Hoover's programs failed to meet them (Map 23.1).

Rising Discontent

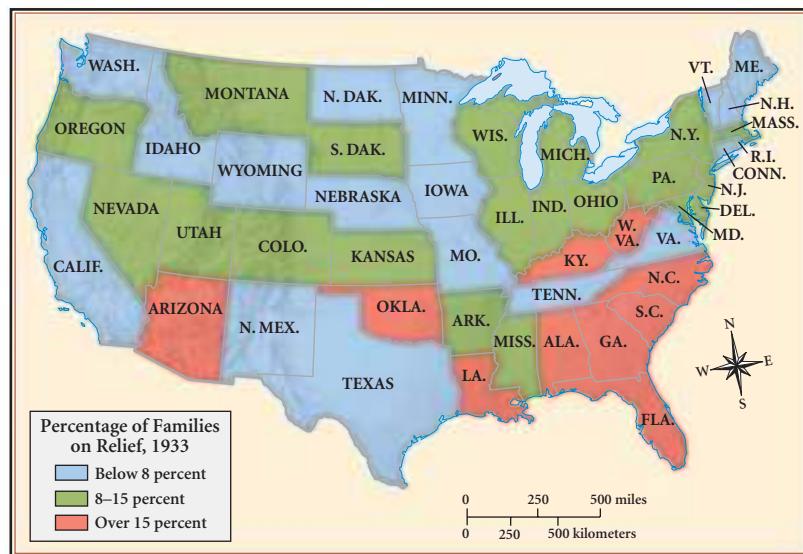
As the depression深ened, the American vocabulary now included the terms *Hoovervilles* (shantytowns where people lived in packing crates) and *Hoover blankets* (newspapers). Bankrupt farmers banded together to resist the bank agents and sheriffs who tried to evict them from their land. To protest low prices for their goods, in the spring of 1932 thousands of midwestern farmers joined the Farmers' Holiday Association, which cut off supplies to urban areas by barricading roads and dumping milk, vegetables, and other food-stuffs onto the roadways. Agricultural prices were so low that the Farmers' Holiday Association favored a government-supported farm program.

In the industrial sector, layoffs and wage cuts led to violent strikes. When coal miners in Harlan County, Kentucky, went on strike over a 10 percent wage cut in 1931, the mine owners called in the state's National Guard, which crushed the union. A 1932 confrontation between workers and security forces at the Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge factory outside Detroit left five workers dead and fifty with serious injuries. A photographer had his camera shot from his hands, and fifteen policemen were clubbed or stoned. Whether on farms or in factories, those who produced the nation's food and goods had begun to push for a more aggressive response to the nation's economic troubles.

Veterans staged the most publicized—and most tragic—protest. In the summer of 1932, the **Bonus Army**, a determined group of 15,000 unemployed World War I veterans, hitchhiked to Washington to demand

MAP 23.1**The Great Depression: Families on Relief**

Although the Great Depression was a nationwide crisis, some regions were hit harder than others. Economic hardship was widespread in the agricultural-based southern and Appalachian states of the Northeast and Midwest. As the depression worsened in 1931 and 1932, local and state governments, as well as charitable organizations, could not keep up with the demand for relief. After Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1933, the national government began a massive program of aid through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA).



immediate payment of pension awards that were due to be paid in 1945. “We were heroes in 1917, but we’re burns now,” one veteran complained bitterly. While their leaders unsuccessfully lobbied Congress, the Bonus Army set up camps near the Capitol building. Hoover called out regular army troops under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, who forcefully evicted the marchers and burned their main encampment to the ground. When newsreel footage showing the U.S. Army attacking and injuring veterans reached movie theaters across the nation, Hoover’s popularity plunged. In another measure of how the country had changed since the 1890s, what Americans had applauded when done to Coxey in 1894 was condemned in 1932.

The 1932 Election

Despite rising discontent, the national mood was mixed as the 1932 election approached. Many Americans had internalized the ideal of the self-made man and blamed themselves for their economic hardships. Despair, not anger, characterized their mood. Others, out of work for a year or more, perhaps homeless, felt the deeper stirrings of frustration and rage. Regardless of their circumstances, most Americans believed that something altogether new had to be tried—whatever that might be. The Republicans, reluctant to dump an incumbent president, unenthusiastically renominated Hoover. The Democrats turned to New York governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose state had initiated innovative relief and unemployment programs.

Roosevelt, born into a wealthy New York family, was a distant cousin to former president Theodore

Roosevelt, whose career he emulated. After attending Harvard College and Columbia University, Franklin Roosevelt served as assistant secretary of the navy during World War I (as Theodore Roosevelt had done before the War of 1898). Then, in 1921, a crippling attack of polio left both of his legs permanently paralyzed. Supported by his wife, Eleanor, he slowly returned to public life and campaigned successfully for the governorship of New York in 1928 and again in 1930. Running for the presidency in 1932, Roosevelt pledged vigorous action but gave no indication what that action might be, arguing simply that “the country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation.” He won easily, receiving 22.8 million votes to Hoover’s 15.7 million.

Elected in November, Roosevelt would not begin his presidency until March 1933. (The Twentieth Amendment, ratified in 1933, set subsequent inaugurations for January 20.) Meanwhile, Americans suffered through the worst winter of the depression. Unemployment continued to climb, and in three major industrial cities in Ohio, it shot to staggering levels: 50 percent in Cleveland, 60 percent in Akron, and 80 percent in Toledo. Private charities and public relief agencies reached only a fraction of the needy. The nation’s banking system was so close to collapse that many state governors closed banks temporarily to avoid further withdrawals. Several states were approaching bankruptcy, their tax revenues too low to pay for basic services. By March 1933, the nation had hit rock bottom.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

What did the depression look like when seen from the vantage of ordinary Americans?

The New Deal Arrives, 1933–1935

The ideological differences between Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt were not vast. Both leaders wished to maintain the nation's economic institutions and social values, to save capitalism while easing its worst downturns. Both believed in a balanced government budget and extolled the values of hard work, cooperation, and sacrifice. But Roosevelt's personal charm, political savvy, and willingness to experiment made him far more effective and more popular than Hoover. Most Americans felt a kinship with their new president, calling him simply FDR. His New Deal would put people to work and restore hope for the nation's future.

Roosevelt and the First Hundred Days

A wealthy patrician, Roosevelt was an unlikely figure to inspire millions of ordinary Americans. But his close rapport with the American people was critical to

his political success. More than 450,000 letters poured into the White House in the week after his inauguration. The president's masterful use of the new medium of radio, especially his evening radio addresses to the American public known as **fireside chats**, made him an intimate presence in people's lives. Thousands of citi-

zens felt a personal relationship with FDR, saying, "He gave me a job" or "He saved my home" (American Voices, p. 742).

Citing the national economic emergency, Roosevelt further expanded the presidential powers that Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson had increased previously. To draft legislation and policy, he relied heavily on financier Bernard Baruch and a "Brains Trust" of professors from Columbia, Harvard, and other leading universities. Roosevelt also turned to his talented cabinet, which included Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior; Frances Perkins at the Labor Department; Henry A. Wallace at Agriculture; and Henry Morgenthau Jr., secretary of the treasury. These intellectuals and administrators attracted hundreds of highly qualified recruits to Washington. Inspired by New Deal idealism, many of them would devote their lives to public service and the principles of social-welfare liberalism.

Roosevelt could have done little, however, without a sympathetic Congress. The 1932 election had swept Democratic majorities into both the House and Senate, giving the new president the lawmaking allies he needed. The first months of FDR's administration produced a whirlwind of activity on Capitol Hill. In a legendary session, known as the **Hundred Days**, Congress enacted fifteen major bills that focused primarily on four problems: banking failures, agricultural overproduction, the business slump, and soaring unemployment. Derided by some as an "alphabet soup" because of their many abbreviations (CCC, WPA, AAA, etc.), the new policies and agencies were more than bureaucracies: they represented the emergence of a new American state.

Banking Reform The weak banking system hobbled the entire economy, curtailing consumer spending and business investment. Widespread bank failures had reduced the savings of nearly nine million families, and panicked account holders raced to withdraw their funds. On March 5, 1933, the day after his inauguration, FDR declared a national "bank holiday"—closing all the banks—and called Congress into special session. Four days later, Congress passed the Emergency Banking Act, which permitted banks to reopen if a Treasury Department inspection showed that they had sufficient cash reserves.

In his first Sunday night fireside chat, to a radio audience of sixty million, the president reassured citizens that their money was safe. When the banks reopened on March 13, calm prevailed and deposits exceeded withdrawals, restoring stability to the nation's basic financial institutions. "Capitalism was saved in eight days," quipped Roosevelt's advisor Raymond Moley. Four thousand banks had collapsed in the months prior to Roosevelt's inauguration; only sixty-one closed their doors in all of 1934 (Table 23.1). A second banking law, the **Glass-Steagall Act**, further restored public confidence by creating the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which insured deposits up to \$2,500 (and now insures them up to \$250,000). The act also prohibited banks from making risky, unsecured investments with the deposits of ordinary people. And in a profoundly important economic and symbolic gesture, Roosevelt removed the U.S. Treasury from the gold standard in June 1933, which allowed the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates; since 1931, it had been raising rates, which had only deepened the downturn. Saving the banks and leaving the gold standard led to a mild and, it would turn out, brief recovery.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What specific new roles did the American government take up as a result of the legislation passed during the first hundred days?

TABLE 23.1**American Banks and Bank Failures, 1920–1940**

Year	Total Number of Banks	Total Assets (\$ billion)	Bank Failures
1920	30,909	53.1	168
1929	25,568	72.3	659
1931	22,242	70.1	2,294
1933	14,771	51.4	4,004
1934	15,913	55.9	61
1940	15,076	79.7	48

SOURCE: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 1019, 1038–1039.

Agriculture and Manufacturing Roosevelt and the New Deal Congress next turned to agriculture and manufacturing. In those sectors, a seeming paradox was evident: the depression led to overproduction in agriculture and underproduction in manufacturing. Reversing both problematic trends was critical. The **Agricultural Adjustment Act** (AAA) began direct governmental regulation of the farm economy for the first time. To solve the problem of overproduction, which lowered prices, the AAA provided cash subsidies to farmers who cut production of seven major commodities: wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and dairy products. Policymakers hoped that farm prices would rise as production fell.

By dumping cash in farmers' hands, the AAA briefly stabilized the farm economy. But the act's benefits were not evenly distributed. Subsidies went primarily to the owners of large and medium-sized farms, who often cut production by reducing the amount of land they rented to tenants and sharecroppers. In Mississippi, one plantation owner received \$26,000 from the federal government, while thousands of black sharecroppers living in the same county received only a few dollars in relief payments.

In manufacturing, the New Deal attacked declining production with the National Industrial Recovery Act. A new government agency, the **National Recovery Administration** (NRA), set up separate self-governing private associations in six hundred industries. Each industry—ranging from large corporations producing coal, cotton textiles, and steel to small businesses making pet food and costume jewelry—regulated itself by agreeing on prices and production quotas. Because large companies usually ran these associations, the NRA solidified their power at the expense of smaller enterprises and consumer interests.

The AAA and the NRA were designed to rescue the nation's productive industries and stabilize the economy. The measures had positive effects in some regions, but most historians agree that, overall, they did little to end the depression.

Unemployment Relief The Roosevelt administration next addressed the massive unemployment problem. By 1933, local governments and private charities had exhausted their resources and were looking to Washington for assistance. Although Roosevelt wanted to avoid a budget deficit, he asked Congress to provide relief for millions of unemployed Americans. In May, Congress established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Directed by Harry Hopkins, a hard-driving social worker from New York, the FERA provided federal funds for state relief programs.

Roosevelt and Hopkins had strong reservations about the "dole," the nickname for government welfare payments. As Hopkins put it, "I don't think anybody can go year after year, month after month, accepting relief without affecting his character." To support the traditional values of individualism, the New Deal put people to work. Early in 1933, Congress established the **Public Works Administration** (PWA), a construction program, and several months later, Roosevelt created the Civil Works Administration (CWA) and named Hopkins its head. Within thirty days, Hopkins had put 2.6 million men and women to work; at its peak in 1934, the CWA provided jobs for 4 million Americans repairing bridges, building highways, and constructing public buildings. A stopgap measure to get the country through the winter of 1933–1934, the CWA lapsed in the spring, when Republican opposition compelled New Dealers to abandon it. A longer-term program, the **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC), mobilized



Ordinary People Respond to the New Deal

Mrs. M. H. A.

Mrs. M. H. A. worked in the County Court House in Eureka, California.

June 14, 1934

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know you are overburdened with requests for help and if my plea cannot be recognized, I'll understand it is because you have so many others, all of them worthy. . . .

My husband and I are a young couple of very simple, almost poor families. We married eight years ago on the proverbial shoe-string but with a wealth of love. . . . We managed to build our home and furnish it comfortably. . . . Then came the depression. My work has continued and my salary alone has just been sufficient to make our monthly payments on the house and keep our bills paid. . . . But with the exception of two and one-half months work with the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey under the C.W.A. [Civil Works Administration], my husband has not had work since August, 1932.

My salary could continue to keep us going, but I am to have a baby. . . . I can get a leave of absence from my job for a year. But can't you, won't you do something so my husband can have a job, at least during that year? . . .

As I said before, if it were only ourselves, or if there were something we could do about it, we would never ask for help.

We have always stood on our own feet and been proud and happy. But you are a mother and you'll understand this crisis.

Very sincerely yours,
Mrs. M. H. A.

Unsigned Letter

This unsigned letter came from a factory worker in Paris, Texas.

November 23, 1936

Dear President,

[N]ow that we have had a land Slide [in the election of 1936] and done just what was best for our country. . . .

Franklin Roosevelt's fireside chats and his relief programs prompted thousands of ordinary Americans to write directly to the president and his wife, Eleanor. Taken together, their letters offer a vivid portrait of depression-era America that includes popular support for, and opposition to, the New Deal.

I do believe you Will Strain a point to help the ones who helped you mostly & that is the Working Class of People I am not smart or I would be in a different line of work & better up in ever way yet I will know you are the one & only President that ever helped a Working Class of People. . . .

I am a White Man American age, 47 married wife 2children in high School am a Finishing room foreman I mean a Working foreman & am in a furniture Factory here in Paris Texas where thaire is 175 to 200 Working & when the NRA [National Recovery Administration] came in I was Proud to See my fellow workmen Rec 30 Per hour in Place of 8 cents to 20 cents Per hour. . . .

I can't see for my life President why a man must toil &work his life out in Such factories 10 long hours ever day except Sunday for a small sum of 15 cents to 35 cents per hour & pay the high cost of honest & deason living expences. . . .

please see if something can be done to help this one Class of Working People the factories are a man killer not venelated or kept up just a bunch of Republickins Grafters 90/100 of them Please help us some way I Pray to God for relief. I am a Christian . . . and a truthful man & have not told you wrong & am for you to the end.

[not signed]

R. A.

R. A. was sixty-nine years old and an architect and builder in Lincoln, Nebraska.

May 19/34

Dear Mrs Roosevelt:

In the Presidents inaugral address delivered from the capitol steps the afternoon of his inauguration he made mention of The Forgotten Man, and I with thousands of others am wondering if the folk who was borned here in America some 60 or 70 years a go are this Forgotten Man, the President had in mind, if we are this Forgotten Man then we are still Forgotten.

We who have tried to be diligent in our support of this most wonderful nation of ours boath social and

other wise, we in our younger days tried to do our duty without complaining. . . .

And now a great calamity has come upon us and seemingly no cause of our own it has swept away what little savings we had accumulated and we are left in a condition that is impossible for us to correct, for two very prominent reasons if no more.

First we have grown to what is termed Old Age, this befalls every man.

Second, . . . we are confronted on every hand with the young generation, taking our places, this of course is what we have looked forward to in training our children. But with the extra ordinary crises which left us helpless and placed us in the position that our fathers did not have to contend with. . . .

We have been honorable citizens all along our journey, calamity and old age has forced its self upon us please do not send us to the Poor Farm but instead allow us the small pension of \$40.00 per month. . . .

Mrs. Roosevelt I am asking a personal favor of you as it seems to be the only means through which I may be able to reach the President, some evening very soon, as you and Mr. Roosevelt are having dinner together privately will you ask him to read this. And we American citizens will ever remember your kindness.

Yours very truly,

R. A.

M. A.

M. A. was a woman who held a low-level salaried position in a corporation.

Jan. 18, 1937

[Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:]

I . . . was simply astounded to think that anyone could be nitwit enough to wish to be included in the so called social security act if they could possibly avoid it. Call it by any name you wish it, in my opinion, (and that of many people I know) [it] is nothing but downright stealing. . . .

I am not an “economic royalist,” just an ordinary white collar worker at \$1600 per [year — about \$23,600 in 2009]. Please show this to the president and ask him to remember the wishes of the forgotten man, that is, the one who dared to vote against him. We expect to be tramped on but we do wish the stepping would be a little less hard.

Security at the price of freedom is never desired by intelligent people.

M. A.

M. A. H.

M. A. H. was a widow who ran a small farm in Columbus, Indiana.

December 14, 1937

Mrs. Roosevelt:

I suppose from your point of view the work relief, old age pensions, slum clearance and all the rest seems like a perfect remedy for all the ills of this country, but I would like for you to see the results, as the other half see them.

We have always had a shiftless, never-do-well class of people whose one and only aim in life is to live without work. I have been rubbing elbows with this class for nearly sixty years and have tried to help some of the most promising and have seen others try to help them, but it can't be done. We cannot help those who will not try to help themselves and if they do try a square deal is all they need, . . . let each one paddle their own canoe, or sink. . . .

I live alone on a farm and have not raised any crops for the last two years as there was no help to be had. I am feeding the stock and have been cutting the wood to keep my home fires burning. There are several reliefers around here now who have been kicked off relief but they refuse to work unless they can get relief hours and wages, but they are so worthless no one can afford to hire them. . . . They are just a fair sample of the class of people on whom so much of our hard earned tax-money is being squandered and on whom so much sympathy is being wasted. . . .

You people who have plenty of this world's goods and whose money comes easy have no idea of the heart-breaking toil and self-denial which is the lot of the working people who are trying to make an honest living, and then to have to shoulder all these unjust burdens seems like the last straw. . . . No one should have the right to vote themselves a living at the expense of the tax payers. . . .

M. A. H.

Sources (in order): Robert S. McElvaine, *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 54–55; Gerald Markowitz and David Rosner, eds., “*Slaves of the Depression*: Worker's Letters About Life on the Job (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 21; Robert S. McElvaine, *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 97, 147, 143.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How do you explain the personal, almost intimate, tone of these letters to the Roosevelts?
2. How have specific New Deal programs helped or hurt the authors of these letters?
3. What are the basic values of the authors? Do the values of those who support the New Deal differ from the values of those who oppose it?



Selling the NRA in Chinatown

To mobilize support for its program, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) distributed millions of posters to businesses and families, urging them to display its symbol, the Blue Eagle, in shops, factories, and homes. Here Constance King and Mae Chinn of the Chinese YMCA affix a poster (and a Chinese translation) to a shop in San Francisco that is complying with the NRA codes. © Bettmann/Corbis.

250,000 young men to do reforestation and conservation work. Over the course of the 1930s, the “CCC boys” built thousands of bridges, roads, trails, and other structures in state and national parks, bolstering the national infrastructure (Map 23.2).

Housing Crisis Millions of Americans also faced the devastating prospect of losing their homes. The economic expansion of the 1920s had produced the largest inflationary housing bubble in American history to that point, a scenario in which home prices rose wildly, fueled by excessive borrowing. In the early 1930s, as

home prices collapsed and banks closed, home owners were dragged down with them. More than half a million Americans lost their homes between 1930 and 1932, and in cities such as Cleveland and Indianapolis, half of all home mortgage holders faced possible foreclosure. In response, Congress created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to refinance home mortgages. In just two years, the HOLC helped more than a million Americans retain their homes. The Federal Housing Act of 1934 would extend this program under a new agency, the **Federal Housing Administration** (FHA). Together, the HOLC, the FHA,



MAP 23.2

Civilian Conservation Corps Camps

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) gave hope to unemployed young men during the Great Depression. The first camp opened in Big Meadows, Virginia, in July 1933, and by the end of the decade CCC camps had appeared across the length of the country, located in rural, mountainous, and forested regions alike. Young men constructed bridges and roads, built hiking trails, erected public campgrounds, and performed other improvements. By the early 1940s, the CCC had planted three billion trees, among its many other contributions to the national infrastructure.

and the subsequent Housing Act of 1937 permanently changed the mortgage system and set the foundation for the broad expansion of home ownership in the post–World War II decades (Chapter 25).

When an exhausted Congress recessed in June 1933, at the end of the Hundred Days, it had enacted Roosevelt's agenda: banking reform, recovery programs for agriculture and industry, public works, and unemployment relief. Few presidents had won the passage of so many measures in so short a time. The new federal agencies were far from perfect and had their critics on both the radical left and the conservative right. But the vigorous actions taken by Roosevelt and Congress had halted the downward economic spiral of the Hoover years, stabilized the financial sector, and sent a message of hope from the nation's political leaders. For all that,

however, the New Deal did not break the grip of the depression.

The New Deal Under Attack

As New Dealers waited anxiously for the economy to revive, Roosevelt turned his attention to the reform of Wall Street, where reckless speculation and overleveraged buying of stocks had helped trigger the financial panic of 1929. In 1934, Congress established the **Securities and Exchange Commission** (SEC) to regulate the stock market. The commission had broad powers to determine how stocks and bonds were sold to the public, to set rules for margin (credit) transactions, and to prevent stock sales by those with inside information about corporate plans. The Banking Act of 1935

authorized the president to appoint a new Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, placing control of interest rates and other money-market policies in a federal agency rather than in the hands of private bankers.

Critics on the Right Such measures exposed the New Deal to attack from economic conservatives—also known as the political right. A man of wealth, Roosevelt saw himself as the savior of American capitalism, declaring simply, “To preserve we had to reform.” Many bankers and business executives disagreed. To them, FDR became “That Man,” a traitor to his class. In 1934, Republican business leaders joined with conservative Democrats in the **Liberty League** to fight what they called the “reckless spending” and “socialist” reforms of the New Deal. Herbert Hoover condemned the NRA as a “state-controlled or state-directed social or economic system.” That, declared the former president, was “tyranny, not liberalism.”

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did critics on the right and left represent different kinds of challenges to Roosevelt and the New Deal?

The **National Association of Manufacturers** (NAM) was even more important than the Liberty League in opposing the New Deal, as the NAM’s influence stretched far into the post–World War II decades. Sparked by a new generation of business leaders who

believed that a publicity campaign was needed to “serve the purposes of business salvation,” the NAM produced radio programs, motion pictures, billboards, and direct mail in the late 1930s. In response to what many conservatives perceived as Roosevelt’s antibusiness policies, the NAM promoted free enterprise and unfettered capitalism. After World War II, the NAM emerged as a staunch critic of liberalism and forged alliances with influential conservative politicians such as Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan.

For its part, the Supreme Court repudiated several cornerstones of the early New Deal. In May 1935, in *Schechter v. United States*, the Court unanimously ruled the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional because it delegated Congress’s lawmaking power to the executive branch and extended federal authority to intrastate (in contrast to interstate) commerce. Roosevelt protested but watched helplessly as the Court struck down more New Deal legislation: the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Railroad Retirement Act, and a debt-relief law known as the Frazier-Lemke Act.

Critics on the Populist Left If business leaders and the Supreme Court thought that the New Deal had gone too far, other Americans believed it had not gone far enough. Among these were public figures who, in the tradition of American populism, sought to place government on the side of ordinary citizens against



Father Coughlin

One of the foremost critics of the New Deal was the “Radio Priest,” Father Charles E. Coughlin. Coughlin believed that Roosevelt and the Democratic Party had not gone far enough in their efforts to ensure the social welfare of all citizens. For instance, he and his organization, the National Union for Social Justice, urged Roosevelt to nationalize the banks. Coughlin, whose radio audience reached 30 million at the height of his popularity, was one of the most recognizable religious leaders in the country. Unfortunately, his remarks in the early 1930s were often laced with anti-Semitism (anti-Jewish sentiment).

© Bettmann/Corbis.

corporations and the wealthy. Francis Townsend, a doctor from Long Beach, California, spoke for the nation's elderly, most of whom had no pensions and feared poverty. In 1933, Townsend proposed the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan, which would give \$200 a month (about \$3,300 today) to citizens over the age of sixty. To receive payments, the elderly would have to retire and open their positions to younger workers. Townsend Clubs sprang up across the country in support of the **Townsend Plan**, mobilizing mass support for old-age pensions.

The most direct political threat to Roosevelt came from Louisiana senator Huey Long. As the Democratic governor of Louisiana from 1928 to 1932, the flamboyant Long had achieved stunning popularity. He increased taxes on corporations, lowered the utility bills of consumers, and built new highways, hospitals, and schools. To push through these measures, Long seized almost dictatorial control of the state government. Now a U.S. senator, Long broke with the New Deal in 1934 and, like Townsend, established a national movement. According to his Share Our Wealth Society, inequalities in the distribution of wealth prohibited millions of ordinary families from buying goods, which kept factories humming. Long's society advocated a tax of 100 percent on all income over \$1 million and on all inheritances over \$5 million. He hoped that this populist program would carry him into the White House.

That prospect encouraged conservatives, who hoped that a split between New Dealers and populist reformers might return the Republican Party, and its ideology of limited government and free enterprise, to political power. In fact, Roosevelt feared that Townsend and Long, along with the popular "radio priest," Father Charles Coughlin, might join forces to form a third party. He had to respond or risk the political unity of the country's liberal forces (Map 23.3).

adopting parts of their programs. The administration's Revenue Act of 1935 proposed a substantial tax increase on corporate profits and higher income and estate taxes on the wealthy. When conservatives attacked this legislation as an attempt to "soak the rich," Congress moderated its taxation rates. But FDR was satisfied. He had met the Share Our Wealth Society's proposal with a tax plan of his own.

The Welfare State Comes into Being

The Revenue Act symbolized the administration's new outlook. Unlike the First New Deal, which focused on economic recovery, the Second New Deal emphasized social justice and the creation of a safety net: the use of the federal government to assist working people and to provide economic security for the old, the disabled, and the unemployed. The resulting **welfare state**—a term applied to industrial democracies that adopted various government-guaranteed social-welfare programs—fundamentally changed American society.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did the Second New Deal differ from the first?

The Wagner Act and Social Security The first beneficiary of Roosevelt's Second New Deal was the labor movement. Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) had given workers the right to organize unions, producing a dramatic growth in rank-and-file militancy and leading to a strike wave in 1934. When the Supreme Court voided the NIRA in 1935, labor unions called for new legislation that would allow workers to organize and bargain collectively with employers. Named for its sponsor, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, the **Wagner Act** (1935) upheld the right of industrial workers to join unions. The act outlawed many practices that employers had used to suppress unions, such as firing workers for organizing activities. It also established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), a federal agency with the authority to protect workers from employer coercion and to guarantee collective bargaining.

A second initiative, the **Social Security Act** of 1935, had an equally widespread impact. Other industrialized societies, such as Germany and Britain, had created national old-age pension systems at the turn of the century, but American reformers had failed to secure a similar program in the United States. The Townsend and Long movements now pressed Roosevelt to act, giving political muscle to pension proponents within the administration. Children's welfare advocates,

The Second New Deal and the Redefining of Liberalism, 1935–1938

As attacks on the New Deal increased, Roosevelt and his advisors moved politically to the left. Historians have labeled this shift in policy the Second New Deal. Roosevelt now openly criticized the "money classes," proudly stating, "We have earned the hatred of entrenched greed." He also decisively countered the rising popularity of Townsend, Coughlin, and Long by



MAP 23.3

Popular Protest in the Great Depression, 1933–1939

The depression forced Americans to look closely at their society, and many of them did not like what they saw. Some citizens expressed their discontent through popular movements, and this map suggests the geography of discontent. The industrial Midwest witnessed union movements, strikes, and Radio Priest Charles Coughlin's demands for social reform. Simultaneously, farmers' movements—tenants in the South, smallholders in the agricultural Midwest—engaged in strikes and dumping campaigns and rallied behind the ideas of progressives in Wisconsin and Huey Long in the South. Protests took diverse forms in California, which was home to strikes by farmworkers, women, and—in San Francisco—all wageworkers. The West was also the seedbed of two important reform proposals: Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California (EPIC) movement and Francis Townsend's Old Age Revolving Pension clubs.

concerned about the fate of fatherless families, also pressured the president. The resulting Social Security Act had three main provisions: old-age pensions for workers; a joint federal-state system of compensation for unemployed workers; and a program of payments to widowed mothers and the blind, deaf, and disabled. Roosevelt, however, limited the reach of the legislation. Knowing that compulsory pension and unemployment legislation alone would be controversial, he dropped a provision for national health insurance, fearing it would doom the entire bill.

The Social Security Act was a milestone in the creation of an American welfare state. Never before had the federal government assumed such responsibility for the well-being of so many citizens. Social Security, as old-age pensions were known, became one of the most popular government programs in American history. On the other hand, the assistance program for widows and children known as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) became one of its most controversial measures. ADC covered only 700,000 youngsters in 1939; by 1994, its successor, Aid to

United Auto Workers Strike

Trade unions were among the most active and vocal organizations of the 1930s. Organized labor led a number of major strikes between 1934 and 1936 in various industries. None was more important to the future of trade unions than the sit-down strikes at major automobile plants, including General Motors and Chevrolet in Flint, Michigan, in 1936 and 1937. These strikes, in which workers stopped the assembly lines but refused to leave the factories, compelled GM to recognize the United Auto Workers (UAW), which became one of the strongest trade unions in American history. © Bettmann/Corbis.



Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), enrolled 14.1 million Americans. A minor program during the New Deal, AFDC grew enormously in the 1960s and remained an often maligned cornerstone of the welfare state until it was eliminated under President Clinton in 1996.

New Deal Liberalism The Second New Deal created what historians call New Deal liberalism. **Classical liberalism** held individual liberty to be the foundation of a democratic society, and the word *liberal* had traditionally denoted support for free-market policies and weak government. Roosevelt and his advisors, along with intellectuals such as British economist John Maynard Keynes, disagreed. They countered that, to preserve individual liberty, government must assist the needy and guarantee the basic welfare of citizens. This liberal welfare state was opposed by inheritors of the nineteenth-century ideology of *laissez-faire* capitalism, who gradually became known as conservatives. These two visions of liberty and government—with liberals on one side and conservatives on the other—would shape American politics for the next half century.

From Reform to Stalemate

Roosevelt's first term had seen an extraordinary expansion of the federal state. The great burst of government action between 1933 and 1935 was unequaled in the nation's history (though Congress and President Lyndon Johnson nearly matched it in 1965–1966; see Chapter 28). Roosevelt's second term, however, was characterized by a series of political entanglements and economic bad news that stifled further reform.

The 1936 Election FDR was never enthusiastic about public relief programs. But with the election of 1936 on the horizon and 10 million Americans still out of work, he won funding for the **Works Progress Administration** (WPA). Under the energetic direction of Harry Hopkins, the WPA employed 8.5 million Americans between 1935, when it was established, and 1943. The agency's workers constructed or repaired 651,087 miles of road, 124,087 bridges, 125,110 public buildings, 8,192 parks, and 853 airports. But although the WPA was an extravagant operation by 1930s standards, it reached only about one-third of the nation's unemployed.

As the 1936 election approached, new voters joined the Democratic Party. Many had personally benefitted from New Deal programs such as the WPA or knew people who had (Table 23.2). One was Jack Reagan, a down-on-his-luck shoe salesman (and the father of future president Ronald Reagan), who took a job as a federal relief administrator in Dixon, Illinois, and became a strong supporter of the New Deal. In

addition to voters such as Reagan, Roosevelt could count on a powerful coalition of organized labor, mid-western farmers, white ethnic groups, northern African Americans, and middle-class families concerned about unemployment and old-age security. He also commanded the support of intellectuals and progressive Republicans. With difficulty, the Democrats held on to the votes of their white southern constituency as well.

Republicans recognized that the New Deal was too popular to oppose directly, so they chose as their candidate the progressive governor of Kansas, Alfred M. Landon. Landon accepted the legitimacy of many New Deal programs but criticized their inefficiency and expense. He also pointed to authoritarian regimes in Italy and Germany and hinted that FDR harbored similar dictatorial ambitions. These charges fell on deaf ears. Roosevelt's victory in 1936 was one of the most lopsided in American history. The assassination of Huey Long by a Louisiana political rival in September 1935 had eliminated the threat of a serious third-party challenge. Roosevelt received 60 percent of the popular vote and carried every state except Maine and Vermont. Organized labor, in particular, mobilized on behalf of FDR, donating money, canvassing door to door, and registering hundreds of thousands of new voters. The *New Republic*, a liberal publication, boasted that "it was the greatest revolution in our political history."

"I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," the president declared in his second inaugural address in January 1937. But any hopes that FDR had for expanding the liberal welfare state were quickly dashed. Within a year, staunch opposition to Roosevelt's initiatives arose in Congress, and a sharp recession undermined confidence in his economic leadership.

Court Battle and Economic Recession Roosevelt's first setback in 1937 came when he surprised the nation by asking for fundamental changes to the Supreme Court. In 1935, the Court had struck down a series of New Deal measures by the narrow margin of 5 to 4. With the Wagner Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Social Security all slated to come before the Court, the future of the New Deal rested in the hands of a few elderly, conservative-minded judges. To diminish their influence, the president proposed adding a new justice to the Court for every member over the age of seventy, a scheme that would have brought six new judges to the bench at the time the legislation was proposed. Roosevelt's opponents protested that he was trying to "pack" the Court. After a bitter, months-long debate, Congress rejected this blatant attempt to alter the judiciary to the president's advantage.

TABLE 23.2

Major New Deal Legislation	
Agriculture	
1933	Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
	Resettlement Administration (RA)
1935	Rural Electrification Administration
1937	Farm Security Administration (FSA)
1938	Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938
Finance and Industry	
1933	Emergency Banking Act
	Glass-Steagall Act (created the FDIC)
	National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)
1934	Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)
1935	Banking Act of 1935
	Revenue Act (wealth tax)
Conservation and the Environment	
1933	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)
	Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
	Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act
Labor and Social Welfare	
1933	Section 7(a) of NIRA
1935	National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)
	National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)
	Social Security Act
1937	National Housing Act
1938	Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)
Relief and Reconstruction	
1933	Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)
	Civil Works Administration (CWA)
	Public Works Administration (PWA)
1935	Works Progress Administration (WPA)
	National Youth Administration (NYA)

If Roosevelt lost the battle, he went on to win the war. Swayed in part by the president's overwhelming electoral victory in the 1936 election, the Court upheld the Wagner and Social Security Acts. Moreover, a series of timely resignations allowed Roosevelt to reshape the Supreme Court after all. His new appointees—who included the liberal-leaning and generally pro-New Deal Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William O. Douglas—viewed the Constitution as a “living document” that had to be interpreted in the light of present conditions.

The so-called **Roosevelt recession** of 1937–1938 dealt another blow to the president. From 1933 to 1937, gross domestic product had grown at a yearly rate of about 10 percent, bringing industrial output back to 1929 levels. Unemployment had declined from 25 percent to 14 percent. “The emergency has passed,” declared Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina. Acting on this assumption, Roosevelt slashed the federal budget. Following the president’s lead, Congress cut the WPA’s funding in half, causing layoffs of about 1.5 million workers, and the Federal Reserve, fearing inflation, raised interest rates. These measures halted recovery. The stock market responded by dropping sharply, and unemployment jumped to 19 percent. Quickly reversing course, Roosevelt began once again to spend his way out of the recession by boosting funding for the WPA and resuming public works projects.

Although improvised, this spending program accorded with the theories of John Maynard Keynes, a visionary British economist. Keynes transformed economic thinking in capitalist societies in the 1920s by arguing that government intervention could smooth out the highs and lows of the business cycle through deficit spending and the manipulation of interest rates, which determined the money supply. This view was sharply criticized by Republicans and conservative Democrats in the 1930s, who disliked government intervention in the economy. But **Keynesian economics** gradually won wider acceptance as World War II defense spending finally ended the Great Depression.

A reformer rather than a revolutionary, Roosevelt had preserved capitalism and liberal individualism—even as he transformed them in significant ways. At the same time, conservatives had reclaimed a measure of power in Congress, and those who believed the New Deal had created an intrusive federal bureaucracy kept reform in check after 1937. Throughout Roosevelt’s second term, a conservative coalition of southern Democrats, rural Republicans, and industrial interests in both parties worked to block or impede social legislation. By 1939, the era of change was over.

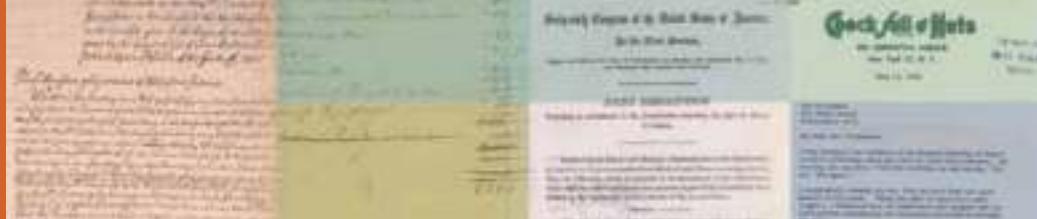
The New Deal’s Impact on Society

Whatever its limits, the New Deal had a tremendous impact. Its ideology of social-welfare liberalism fundamentally altered Americans’ relationship to their government and provided assistance to a wide range of ordinary people: the unemployed, the elderly, workers, and the poor. In doing so, New Dealers created a sizable federal bureaucracy: the number of civilian federal employees increased by 80 percent between 1929 and 1940, reaching a total of 1 million. The expenditures—and deficits—of the federal government grew at an even faster rate. In 1930, the Hoover administration spent \$3.1 billion and had a surplus of almost \$1 billion; in 1939, New Dealers expended \$9.4 billion and ran a deficit of nearly \$3 billion (still small by later standards). But the New Deal represented more than figures on a balance sheet. Across the country, the new era in government inspired democratic visions among ordinary citizens (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 752).

A People’s Democracy

In 1939, writer John La Touche and musician Earl Robinson produced “Ballad for Americans.” A patriotic song, it called for uniting “everybody who’s nobody . . . Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French, and English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Polish, Scotch, Hungarian, Litvak, Swedish, Finnish, Canadian, Greek, and Turk, and Czech and double Czech American.” The song captured the democratic aspirations that the New Deal had awakened. Millions of ordinary people believed that the nation could, and should, become more egalitarian. Influenced by the liberal spirit of the New Deal, Americans from all walks of life seized the opportunity to push for change in the nation’s social and political institutions.

Organized Labor Demoralized and shrinking during the 1920s, labor unions increased their numbers and clout during the New Deal, thanks to the Wagner Act. “The era of privilege and predatory individuals is over,” labor leader John L. Lewis declared. By the end of the decade, the number of unionized workers had tripled to 23 percent of the nonagricultural workforce. A new union movement, led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), promoted “industrial unionism”—organizing all the workers in an industry, from skilled machinists to unskilled janitors, into a single union. The American Federation of Labor (AFL),



The New Deal and Public Works

More than half a dozen New Deal programs were devoted to building up the physical and cultural infrastructure of the country. The former included roads, bridges, dams, trails, and national parks. The latter included artwork, murals, plays, and other forms of literary expression. Examine the following documents and use them collectively to analyze the New Deal's relationship to infrastructure, art, culture, and politics.

1. Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, *The New Democracy*, 1934.

Our Government is no longer a laissez-faire Government, exercising traditional and more or less impersonal powers. There exists in Washington a sense of responsibility for the health, safety, and well-being of the people. . . . I believe that we are at the dawn of a day when the average man, woman, and child in the United States will have an opportunity for a happier and richer life. And it is just and desirable that this should be so. . . . We are not here merely to endure a purgatorial existence in anticipation of a beatific eternity after the grave closes on us. We are here with hopes and aspirations and legitimate desires that we are entitled to have satisfied to at least a reasonable degree. Nor will such a social program as we are discussing cause a strain on our economic system.

2. Herbert Johnson cartoon, *Saturday Evening Post*, 1935.

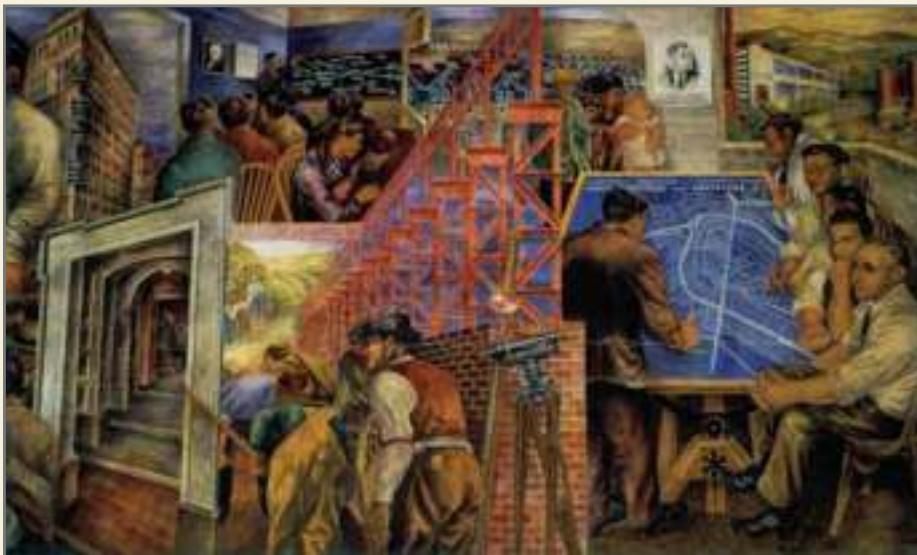
3. Federal Writers' Project interview with a WPA draftsman, Newburyport, Massachusetts, June 25, 1939.

One reason people here don't like the WPA is because they don't understand it's not all bums and drunks and aliens! Nobody ever explains to them that they'd never have had the new High School they're so [...] proud of if it hadn't been for the WPA. They don't stop to figure that new brick sidewalks wouldn't be there, the shade trees wouldn't be all dressed up to look at along High Street and all around town, if it weren't for WPA projects. To most in this town, and I guess it's not much different in this, than any other New England place, WPA's just a racket, set up to give a bunch of loafers and drunks steady pay to indulge in their vices! They don't stop to consider that on WPA are men and women who have traveled places and seen things, been educated and found their jobs folded up and nothing to replace them with.



The Granger Collection, New York.

4. **Ben Shahn, WPA mural, 1938.** This is part of a three-panel mural commissioned by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and painted at a public school in Roosevelt, New Jersey, by the well-known artist Ben Shahn.



Courtesy of Roosevelt Arts Project/Picture Research Consultants & Archives

5. **David E. Lilienthal, TVA: Democracy on the March, 1944.** Written by the former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I believe men may learn to work in harmony with the forces of nature, neither despoiling what God has given nor helpless to put them to use. I believe in the great potentialities for well-being of the machine and technology and science; and though they do hold a real threat of enslavement and frustration for the human spirit, I believe those dangers can be averted. I believe that through the practice of democracy the world of technology holds out the greatest opportunity in all history for the development of the individual, according to his own talents, aspirations, and willingness to carry the responsibilities of a free man. . . .

Such are the things that have happened in the Tennessee Valley. Here men and science and organizational skills applied to the resources of waters, land, forests, and minerals have yielded great benefits for the people. And it is just such fruits of technology and resources that people all over the world will, more and more, demand for themselves. That people believe these things can be theirs — this it is that constitutes the real revolution of our time, the dominant political fact of the generation that lies ahead.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What sorts of reasons do the authors of sources 1 and 5 give for supporting New Deal programs? What does the "good life" look like in their view, and how is it connected to the New Deal?
2. What do sources 2 and 3 suggest about possible opposition to New Deal programs? What sorts of public burdens do New Deal opponents envision?
3. Consider source 4. What can we learn from a mural about the spirit of the New Deal? Identify specific elements of the mural and think about what they might signify about the society the muralist envisioned. What kind of faith in the federal government does the mural reveal?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using evidence from the sources in this feature, alongside material from the chapter and from your knowledge of the period, write an essay in which you analyze Americans' attitudes toward New Deal public works projects. If they were positive or optimistic, what was the basis of their optimism? If they were critical, what was the basis of their criticism? From these sources, can you identify a governing spirit of New Deal reform?

Sources: (1) Harold L. Ickes, *The New Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1934), 60–61; (3) Federal Writers' Project Life Histories, Library of Congress, lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html; (5) David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1944), xxii, 3.

representing the other major group of unions, favored organizing workers on a craft-by-craft basis. Both federations dramatically increased their membership in the second half of the 1930s.

Labor's new vitality translated into political action and a long-lasting alliance with the Democratic Party. The CIO helped fund Democratic campaigns in 1936, and its political action committee became a major Democratic contributor during the 1940s. These successes were real but limited. The labor movement did not become the dominant force in the United States that it was in Europe, and unions never enrolled a majority of American wageworkers. Antiunion employer groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce remained powerful forces in American business life. After a decade of gains, organized labor remained an important, but secondary, force in American industry.

Women and the New Deal Because policymakers saw the depression primarily as a crisis of male breadwinners, the New Deal did not directly challenge gender inequities. New Deal measures generally enhanced women's welfare, but few addressed their specific needs and concerns. However, the Roosevelt administration did welcome women into the higher ranks of government. Frances Perkins, the first woman named to a cabinet post, served as secretary of labor throughout Roosevelt's presidency. While relatively few, female appointees often worked to open up other opportunities in government for talented women.

The most prominent woman in American politics was the president's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt. In the 1920s, she had worked to expand positions for women in political parties, labor unions, and education. A tireless advocate for women's rights, during her years in the White House Mrs. Roosevelt emerged as an independent public figure and the most influential First Lady in the nation's history. Descending into coal mines to view working conditions, meeting with African Americans seeking antilynching laws, and talking to people on breadlines, she became the conscience of the New Deal, pushing her husband to do more for the disadvantaged. "I sometimes acted as a spur," Mrs. Roosevelt later reflected, "even though the

spurring was not always wanted or welcome."

Without the intervention of Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, and other prominent women, New Deal policymakers would have largely ignored the



Roosevelts Visit Camp Tara

Franklin Roosevelt was a wealthy patrician, but one of his great political skills was the ability to connect with ordinary Americans. His wife, Eleanor, shared a similar gift, perhaps to an even greater degree. In an era when staged photographs had become an important part of a politician's image-making, Roosevelt made certain to appear frequently in settings in which he mingled with the public. Here, he and Eleanor visit a vocational training camp for jobless women in 1934; FDR is seated on the far left while Eleanor greets two women standing beside the car. AP/Wide World Photos.

needs of women. A fourth of the National Recovery Act's employment rules set a lower minimum wage for women than for men performing the same jobs, and only 7 percent of the workers hired by the Civil Works Administration were female. The Civilian Conservation Corps excluded women entirely. Women fared better under the Works Progress Administration; at its peak, 405,000 women were on the payroll. Most Americans agreed with such policies. When Gallup pollsters in 1936 asked people whether wives should work outside the home when their husbands had jobs, 82 percent said no. Such sentiment reflected a persistent belief in women's secondary status in American economic life.

African Americans Under the New Deal Across the nation, but especially in the South, African Americans held the lowest-paying jobs and faced harsh social and political discrimination. Though FDR did not fundamentally change this fact, he was the most popular president among African Americans since Abraham Lincoln. African Americans held 18 percent of WPA jobs, although they constituted 10 percent of the population. The Resettlement Administration, established in 1935 to help small farmers and tenants buy land, actively protected the rights of black tenant

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

What aspects of the New Deal inspired ordinary Americans? What stymied their ambitions?

farmers. Black involvement in the New Deal, however, could not undo centuries of racial subordination, nor could it change the overwhelming power of southern whites in the Democratic Party.

Nevertheless, black Americans received significant benefits from New Deal relief programs and believed that the White House cared about their plight, which caused a momentous shift in their political allegiance. Since the Civil War, black voters had staunchly supported the Republican Party, the party of Abraham Lincoln, known as the Great Emancipator. Even in the depression year of 1932, they overwhelmingly supported Republican candidates. But in 1936, as part of the tidal wave of national support for FDR, northern African Americans gave Roosevelt 71 percent of their votes and have remained solidly Democratic ever since.

African Americans supported the New Deal partly because the Roosevelt administration appointed a number of black people to federal office, and an informal “black cabinet” of prominent African American intellectuals advised New Deal agencies. Among the most important appointees was Mary McLeod Bethune. Born in 1875 in South Carolina to former slaves, Bethune founded Bethune-Cookman College and served during the 1920s as president of the National Association of Colored Women. She joined the New Deal in 1935, confiding to a friend that she “believed in the democratic and humane program” of FDR. Americans, Bethune observed, had to become “accustomed to seeing Negroes in high places.” Bethune had access to the White House and pushed continually for New Deal programs to help African Americans.

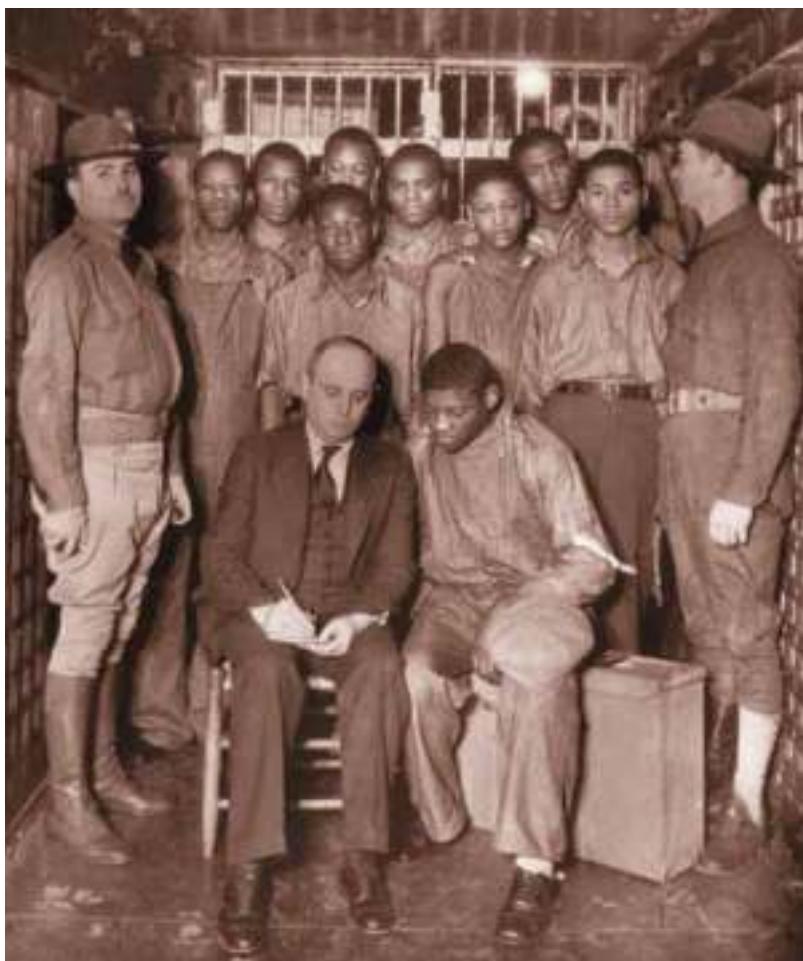
But the New Deal was limited in its approach to race. Roosevelt did not go further in support of black rights, because of both his own racial blinders and his need for the votes of the white southern Democrats in Congress—including powerful southern senators, many of whom held influential committee posts in Congress. Most New Deal programs reflected prevailing racial attitudes. Roosevelt and other New Dealers had to trim their proposals of measures that would substantially benefit African Americans. Civilian Conservation Corps camps segregated blacks, and most NRA rules did not protect black workers from discrimination. Both Social Security and the Wagner Act explicitly excluded the domestic and agricultural jobs held by most African Americans in the 1930s. Roosevelt also refused to support legislation making lynching a federal crime, which was one of the most pressing demands of African Americans in the 1930s. Between 1882 and 1930, more than 2,500 African Americans were lynched by white mobs in the southern

states, which means that statistically, one man, woman, or child was murdered every week for fifty years. But despite pleas from black leaders, and from Mrs. Roosevelt herself, FDR feared that southern white Democrats would block his other reforms in retaliation for such legislation.

If lynching embodied southern lawlessness, southern law was not much better. In an infamous 1931 case in Scottsboro, Alabama, nine young black men were accused of rape by two white women hitching a ride on a freight train. The women’s stories contained many inconsistencies, but within weeks a white jury had convicted all nine defendants; eight received the death sentence. After the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the sentences because the defendants had been denied adequate legal counsel, five of the men were again convicted and sentenced to long prison terms. Across the country, the Scottsboro Boys, as they were known, inspired solidarity within African American communities. Among whites, the Communist Party took the lead in publicizing the case—and was one of the only white organizations to do so—helping to support the Scottsboro Defense Committee, which raised money for legal efforts on the defendants’ behalf.

In southern agriculture, where many sharecroppers were black while landowners and government administrators were white, the Agricultural Adjustment Act hurt rather than helped the poorest African Americans. White landowners collected government subsidy checks but refused to distribute payments to their sharecroppers. Such practices forced 200,000 black families off the land. Some black farmers tried to protect themselves by joining the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), a biracial organization founded in 1934. “The same chain that holds you holds my people, too,” an elderly black farmer reminded his white neighbors. But landowners had such economic power and such support from local sheriffs that the STFU could do little.

A generation of African American leaders came of age inspired by the New Deal’s democratic promise. But it remained just a promise. From the outset, New Dealers wrestled with potentially fatal racial politics. Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic Party depended heavily on white voters in the South, who were determined to maintain racial segregation and white supremacy. But many Democrats in the North and West—centers of New Deal liberalism—would come to oppose racial discrimination. This meant, ironically, that the nation’s most liberal political forces and some of its most conservative political forces existed side by side in the same political party. Another thirty years



Scottsboro Defendants

The 1931 trial in Scottsboro, Alabama, of nine black youths accused of raping two white women became a symbol of the injustices African Americans faced in the South's legal system. Denied access to an attorney, the defendants were found guilty after a three-day trial, and eight were sentenced to death. When the U.S. Supreme Court overturned their convictions in 1932, the International Labor Defense Organization hired noted criminal attorney Samuel Leibowitz to argue the case. Leibowitz eventually won the acquittal of four defendants and jail sentences for the rest. This 1933 photograph, taken in a Decatur jail, shows Leibowitz conferring with Haywood Patterson, in front of the other eight defendants. Brown Brothers.

would pass before black Americans would gain an opportunity to reform U.S. racial laws and practices.

Indian Policy New Deal reformers seized the opportunity to implement their vision for the future of Native Americans, with mixed results. Indian peoples had long been one of the nation's most disadvantaged and powerless groups. In 1934, the average individual Indian income was only \$48 per year, and the Native American unemployment rate was three times the national average. The plight of Native Americans won the attention of the progressive commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), John Collier, an intellectual and critic of past BIA practices. Collier understood what Native Americans had long known: that the government's decades-long policy of forced assimilation, prohibition of Indian religions, and confiscation of Indian lands had left most tribes poor, isolated, and without basic self-determination.

Collier helped to write and push through Congress the **Indian Reorganization Act** of 1934, sometimes

called the Indian New Deal. On the positive side, the law reversed the Dawes Act of 1887 (Chapter 16) by promoting Indian self-government through formal constitutions and democratically elected tribal councils. A majority of Indian peoples—some 181 tribes—accepted the reorganization policy, but 77 declined to participate, primarily because they preferred the traditional way of making decisions by consensus rather than by majority vote. Through the new law, Indians won a greater degree of religious freedom, and tribal governments regained their status as semisovereign dependent nations. When the latter policy was upheld by the courts, Indian people gained a measure of leverage that would have major implications for native rights in the second half of the twentieth century.

Like so many other federal Indian policies, however, the "Indian New Deal" was a mixed blessing. For some peoples, the act imposed a model of self-government that proved incompatible with tribal traditions and languages. The Papagos of southern Arizona, for instance, had no words for *budget* or



Indian New Deal

Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier poses with chiefs of the Blackfoot Indian tribe in 1934. Collier helped reform the way the U.S. federal government treated Native Americans. As part of what many called the Indian New Deal, Collier lobbied Congress to pass the Indian Reorganization Act. The act gave Indian tribes greater control over their own affairs and ended many of the most atrocious federal practices, such as forcing Indian children into white-run boarding schools and dividing up and selling reservation land. The legislation's long-term results were mixed, but it signaled the beginning of greater autonomy for Indian tribes across the country. © Bettmann/Corbis.

representative, and they made no linguistic distinctions among *law*, *rule*, *charter*, and *constitution*. In another case, the nation's largest tribe, the Navajos, rejected the BIA's new policy, largely because the government was simultaneously reducing Navajo livestock to protect the Boulder Dam project. In theory, the new policy gave Indians a much greater degree of self-determination. In practice, however, although some tribes did benefit, the BIA and Congress continued to interfere in internal Indian affairs and retained financial control over reservation governments.

Struggles in the West By the 1920s, agriculture in California had become a big business—intensive, diversified, and export-oriented. Large-scale corporate-owned farms produced specialty crops—lettuce, tomatoes, peaches, grapes, and cotton—whose staggered harvests allowed the use of transient laborers. Thousands of workers, immigrants from Mexico and Asia and white migrants from the midwestern states,

trooped from farm to farm and from crop to crop during the long picking season. Some migrants settled in the rapidly growing cities along the West Coast, especially the sprawling metropolis of Los Angeles. Under both Hoover and FDR, the federal government promoted the “repatriation” of Mexican citizens—their deportation to Mexico. Between 1929 and 1937, approximately half a million people of Mexican descent were deported. But historians estimate that more than 60 percent of these were legal U.S. citizens, making the government's actions constitutionally questionable.

Despite the deportations, many Mexican Americans benefitted from the New Deal and generally held Roosevelt and the Democratic Party in high regard. People of Mexican descent, like other Americans, took jobs with the WPA and the CCC, or received relief in the worst years of the depression. The National Youth Administration (NYA), which employed young people from families on relief and sponsored a variety of school programs, was especially important in



Mexican American Farm Workers

Among the most hard-pressed workers during the Great Depression were those who labored in the nation's agricultural field, orchards, and processing plants. Agriculture was a big-time corporate business by the 1930s, and in California and other parts of the Southwest it employed hundreds of thousands of poor Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. Seizing on the spirit of social protest sweeping the country in the early 1930s, many of these workers went on strike for better wages and working conditions. Here, women from Mexican American communities are heading to the cotton fields near Corcoran, California, to urge workers to join a major strike of cotton pickers. Though the workers in Corcoran won some wage improvements in this 1933 strike, the fierce battle between employers and workers in American agriculture was far from over and continues to this day. Library of Congress.

southwestern cities. In California, the Mexican American Movement (MAM), a youth-focused organization, received assistance from liberal New Dealers. New Deal programs did not fundamentally improve the migrant farm labor system under which so many people of Mexican descent labored, but Mexicans joined the New Deal coalition in large numbers because of the Democrats' commitment to ordinary Americans. "Franklin D. Roosevelt's name was the spark that started thousands of Spanish-speaking persons to the polls," noted one Los Angeles activist.

Men and women of Asian descent—mostly from China, Japan, and the Philippines—formed a small minority of the American population but were a significant presence in some western cities. Immigrants from Japan and China had long faced discrimination. A 1913 California law prohibited them from owning land. Japanese farmers, who specialized in fruit and vegetable crops, circumvented this restriction by putting land titles in the names of their American-born children. As the depression cut farm prices and racial

discrimination excluded young Japanese Americans from nonfarm jobs, about 20 percent of the immigrants returned to Japan.

Chinese Americans were less prosperous than their Japanese counterparts. Only 3 percent of Chinese Americans worked in professional and technical positions, and discrimination barred them from most industrial jobs. In San Francisco, the majority of Chinese worked in small businesses: restaurants, laundries, and firms that imported textiles and ceramics. During the depression, they turned for assistance to Chinese social organizations such as *huiguan* (district associations) and to the city government; in 1931, about one-sixth of San Francisco's Chinese population was receiving public aid. But few Chinese benefitted from the New Deal. Until the repeal of the Exclusion Act in 1943, Chinese immigrants were classified as "aliens ineligible for citizenship" and therefore were excluded from most federal programs.

Because Filipino immigrants came from a U.S. territory, they were not affected by the ban on Asian

immigration enacted in 1924. During the 1920s, their numbers swelled to about 50,000, many of whom worked as laborers on large corporate-owned farms. As the depression cut wages, Filipino immigration slowed to a trickle, and it was virtually cut off by the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. The act granted independence to the Philippines (which since 1898 had been an American colony), classified all Filipinos in the United States as aliens, and restricted immigration from the Philippines to fifty people per year.

Reshaping the Environment

Attention to natural resources was a dominant theme of the New Deal, and the shaping of the landscape was among its most visible legacies. Franklin Roosevelt and Interior Secretary Harold Ickes saw themselves as conservationists in the tradition of FDR's cousin, Theodore Roosevelt. In an era before environmentalism, FDR practiced what he called the "gospel of conservation." The president cared primarily about making the land—and other natural resources, such as trees and water—better serve human needs. National policy stressed scientific land management and ecological balance. Preserving wildlife and wilderness was of secondary importance. Under Roosevelt, the federal government both responded to environmental crises and

reshaped the use of natural resources, especially water, in the United States.

The Dust Bowl Among the most hard-pressed citizens during the depression were farmers fleeing the "dust bowl" of the Great Plains. Between 1930 and 1941, a severe drought afflicted the semiarid states of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, and Kansas. Farmers in these areas had stripped the land of its native vegetation, which destroyed the delicate ecology of the plains. To grow wheat and other crops, they had pushed agriculture beyond the natural limits of the soil, making their land vulnerable, in times of drought, to wind erosion of the topsoil (Map 23.4). When the winds came, huge clouds of thick dust rolled over the land, turning the day into night. This ecological disaster prompted a mass exodus. At least 350,000 "Okies" (so called whether or not they were from Oklahoma) loaded their belongings into cars and trucks and headed to California. John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) immortalized them, and New Deal photographer Dorothea Lange's haunting images of California migrant camps made them the public face of the depression's human toll.

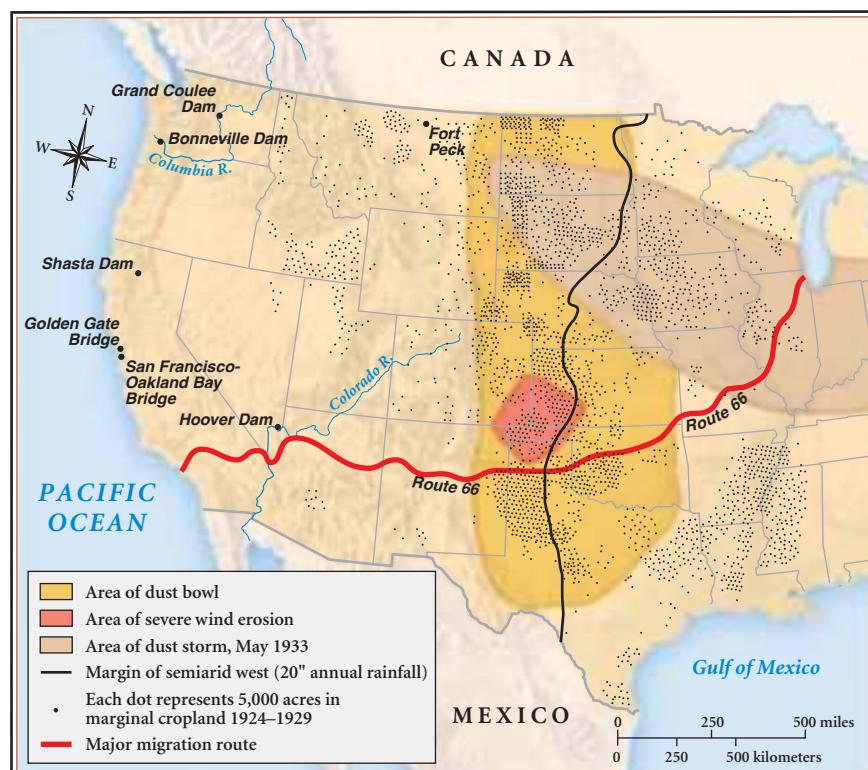
IDENTIFY CAUSES

Why did the natural environment receive so much attention under New Deal programs, and with what result?

MAP 23.4

The Dust Bowl and Federal Building Projects in the West, 1930–1941

A U.S. Weather Bureau scientist called the drought of the 1930s "the worst in the climatological history of the country." Conditions were especially severe in the southern plains, where farming on marginal land threatened the environment even before the drought struck. As farm families migrated west on U.S. Route 66, the federal government began a series of massive building projects that provided flood control, irrigation, electric power, and transportation facilities to residents of the states of the Far West.





The Human Face of the Great Depression

Migrant Mother by Dorothea Lange is one of the most famous documentary photographs of the 1930s. On assignment for the Resettlement Administration, Lange spent only ten minutes in a pea-pickers' camp in Nipomo, California. There she captured this image (though not the name) of the woman whose despair and resignation she so powerfully recorded. In the 1970s the woman was identified as Florence Thompson, a native Cherokee from Oklahoma, who disagreed with Lange's recollections of the circumstances of the taking of the photograph. Thompson and her family had left Nipomo, however, by the time the publication of this image sparked a large relief effort directed at the camp's migrant workers.

Library of Congress.

Roosevelt and Ickes believed that poor land practices made for poor people. Under their direction, government agencies tackled the dust bowl's human causes. Agents from the newly created Soil Conservation Service, for instance, taught farmers to prevent soil erosion by tilling hillsides along the contours of the land. They also encouraged (and sometimes paid) farmers to take certain commercial crops out of production and plant soil-preserving grasses instead. One of the U.S. Forest Service's most widely publicized programs was the Shelterbelts, the planting of 220 million trees running north along the 99th meridian from Abilene, Texas, to the Canadian border. Planted as a windbreak, the trees also prevented soil erosion. A variety of government agencies, from the CCC to the

U.S. Department of Agriculture, lent their expertise to establishing sound farming practices in the plains.

Tennessee Valley Authority The most extensive New Deal environmental undertaking was the **Tennessee Valley Authority** (TVA), which Roosevelt saw as the first step in modernizing the South. Funded by Congress in 1933, the TVA integrated flood control, reforestation, electricity generation, and agricultural and industrial development. The dams and their hydroelectric plants provided cheap electric power for homes and factories as well as ample recreational opportunities for the valley's residents. The massive project won praise around the world (Map 23.5).

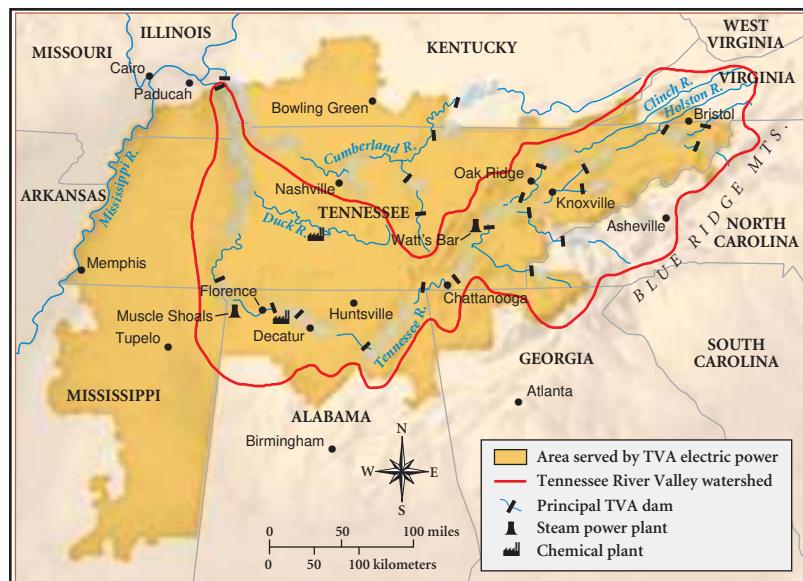
The TVA was an integral part of the Roosevelt administration's effort to keep farmers on the land by enhancing the quality of rural life. The **Rural Electrification Administration** (REA), established in 1935, was also central to that goal. Fewer than one-tenth of the nation's 6.8 million farms had electricity. The REA addressed this problem by promoting nonprofit farm cooperatives that offered loans to farmers to install power lines. By 1940, 40 percent of the nation's farms had electricity; a decade later, 90 percent did. Electricity brought relief from the drudgery and isolation of farm life. Electric irons, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines eased women's burdens, and radios brightened the lives of the entire family. Along with the automobile and the movies, electricity broke down the barriers between urban and rural life.

Grand Coulee As the nation's least populated but fastest-growing region, the West benefitted enormously from the New Deal's attention to the environment. With the largest number of state and federal parks in the country, the West gained countless trails, bridges, cabins, and other recreational facilities, laying the groundwork for the post–World War II expansion of western tourism. On the Colorado River, Boulder Dam (later renamed Hoover Dam) was completed in 1935 with Public Works Administration funds; the dam generated power for the region's growing cities such as Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and Phoenix.

The largest project in the West, however, took shape in an obscure corner of Washington State, where the PWA and the Bureau of Reclamation built the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. When it was completed in 1941, Grand Coulee was the largest electricity-producing structure in the world, and its 150-mile lake provided irrigation for the state's major crops: apples, cherries, pears, potatoes, and wheat. Inspired by the dam and the modernizing spirit of the

MAP 23.5**The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1952**

The Tennessee Valley Authority was one of the New Deal's most far-reaching environmental projects. Between 1933 and 1952, the TVA built twenty dams and improved five others, taming the flood-prone Tennessee River and its main tributaries. The cheap hydroelectric power generated by the dams brought electricity to industries as well as hundreds of thousands of area residents, and artificial lakes provided extensive recreational facilities. Widely praised at the time, the TVA came under attack in the 1970s for its practice of strip mining and the pollution caused by its power plants and chemical factories.



New Deal folk singer Woody Guthrie wrote a song about the Columbia. "Your power is turning our darkness to dawn," he sang, "so roll on, Columbia, roll on!"

New Deal projects that enhanced people's enjoyment of the natural environment can be seen today throughout the country. CCC and WPA workers built the famous Blue Ridge Parkway, which connects the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina. In the West, government workers built the San Francisco Zoo, Berkeley's Tilden Park, and the canals of San Antonio. The Civilian Conservation Corps helped to complete the East Coast's Appalachian Trail and the West Coast's Pacific Crest Trail through the Sierra Nevada. In state parks across the country, cabins, shelters, picnic areas, lodges, and observation towers stand as monuments to the New Deal ethos of recreation coexisting with nature.

The New Deal and the Arts

In response to the Great Depression, many American writers and artists redefined their relationship to society. Never had there been a decade, critic Malcolm Cowley suggested in 1939, "when literary events followed so closely on the flying coat-tails of social events." New Deal administrators encouraged artists to create projects that would be of interest to the entire community, not just the cultured elite. Encouraged by the popular New Deal slogan "Art for the millions," artists painted murals in hundreds of public buildings. The WPA's Federal Art Project gave work to many young artists who would become the twentieth century's

leading painters, muralists, and sculptors. Jackson Pollock, Alice Neel, Willem de Kooning, and Louise Nevelson all received support. The Federal Music Project and Federal Writers' Project (FWP) employed 15,000 musicians and 5,000 writers, respectively. Among the latter were Saul Bellow, Ralph Ellison, and John Cheever, who became great American writers. The FWP also collected oral histories, including two thousand narratives by former slaves. The black folklorist and novelist Zora Neale Hurston finished three novels while in the Florida FWP, among them *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). Richard Wright won the 1938 *Story* magazine prize for the best tale by a WPA writer and went on to complete *Native Son* (1940), a searing novel about white racism. Similarly, the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) nurtured such talented directors, actors, and playwrights as Orson Welles, John Huston, and Arthur Miller.

The Legacies of the New Deal

The New Deal addressed the Great Depression by restoring hope and promising security. FDR and Congress created a powerful social-welfare state that took unprecedented responsibility for the well-being of American citizens. During the 1930s, millions of people began to pay taxes directly to the Social Security Administration, and more than one-third of the population received direct government assistance from federal programs, including old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, farm loans, relief work, and mortgage guarantees. New legislation regulated the stock market, reformed the Federal Reserve System,



Grand Coulee Dam

This extraordinary photo from a *Life* magazine essay shows workers hitching a ride on a 13-ton conduit as it is lowered into place on the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington State. Dozens of dams were constructed across the country under the auspices of various New Deal programs, but none were more majestic than two in the West: Boulder Dam (renamed Hoover Dam in 1947) and Grand Coulee. Built to harness the awesome power of the Columbia River as it rushed to the Pacific, Grand Coulee would ultimately provide electric power to Seattle, Portland, and other West Coast cities and new irrigation waters for Washington's apple and cherry orchards, among many other crops. Library of Congress.

and subjected business corporations to federal regulation. The New Deal's pattern of government involvement in social life would persist for the rest of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, Lyndon Johnson and the "Great Society" Congress dramatically expanded social-welfare programs, most of which remained intact in the wake of the "Reagan Revolution" of the 1980s.

Like all other major social transformations, the New Deal was criticized both by those who thought it did too much and by those who believed it did too little. Conservatives, who prioritized limited government and individual freedom, pointed out that the New Deal state intruded deeply into the personal and

financial lives of citizens and the affairs of business. Conversely, advocates of social-welfare liberalism complained that the New Deal's safety net had too many holes: no national health-care system, welfare programs that excluded domestic workers and farm laborers, and state governments that often

limited the benefits distributed under New Deal programs.

Whatever the merits of its critics, the New Deal unquestionably transformed the American political landscape. From 1896 to 1932, the Republican Party had commanded the votes of a majority of Americans. That changed as Franklin Roosevelt's magnetic personality and innovative programs brought millions of voters into the Democratic fold. Democratic recruits included first- and second-generation immigrants from southern and central Europe—Italians, Poles, Slovaks, and Jews—as well as African American migrants to northern cities. Organized labor aligned itself with a Democratic administration that had recognized unions as a legitimate force in modern industrial life. The elderly and the unemployed, assisted by the Social Security Act, likewise supported FDR. This New Deal coalition of ethnic groups, city dwellers, organized labor, African Americans, and a cross section of the middle class formed the nucleus of the northern Democratic Party and supported additional liberal reforms in the decades to come.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What was the New Deal's long-term legacy?

SUMMARY

We have seen how Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First New Deal focused on stimulating recovery, providing relief to the unemployed, and regulating banks and other financial institutions. The Second New Deal was different. Influenced by the persistence of the depression and the growing popularity of Huey Long's Share Our Wealth proposals, Roosevelt promoted social-welfare legislation that provided Americans with economic security.

We also explored the impact of the New Deal on various groups of citizens, especially African Americans, women, and unionized workers. Our survey paid particular attention to the lives of the Mexicans, Asians, and Okies who worked in the farms and factories of California. Because of New Deal assistance, the mem-

bers of those groups gravitated toward the Democratic Party. The party's coalition of ethnic workers, African Americans, farmers, parts of the middle classes, and white southerners gave FDR and other Democrats a landslide victory in 1936.

Finally, we examined the accomplishments of the New Deal. In 1933, New Deal programs resolved the banking crisis while preserving capitalist institutions. Subsequently, these programs expanded the federal government and, through the Social Security system, farm subsidy programs, and public works projects, launched federal policies that were important to nearly every American. Great dams and electricity projects sponsored by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Works Progress Administration in the West, and the Rural Electrification Administration permanently improved the quality of life for the nation's citizens.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Smoot-Hawley Tariff (p. 736)
 - Bonus Army (p. 738)
 - fireside chats (p. 740)
 - Hundred Days (p. 740)
 - Glass-Steagall Act (p. 740)
 - Agricultural Adjustment Act (p. 741)
 - National Recovery Administration (p. 741)
 - Public Works Administration (p. 741)
 - Civilian Conservation Corps (p. 741)
 - Federal Housing Administration (p. 744)
 - Securities and Exchange Commission (p. 745)
 - Liberty League (p. 746)
 - National Association of Manufacturers (p. 746)
 - Townsend Plan (p. 747)
- welfare state (p. 747)
 - Wagner Act (p. 747)
 - Social Security Act (p. 747)
 - classical liberalism (p. 749)
 - Works Progress Administration (p. 749)
 - Roosevelt recession (p. 751)
 - Keynesian economics (p. 751)
 - Indian Reorganization Act (p. 756)
 - dust bowl (p. 759)
 - Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 760)
 - Rural Electrification Administration (p. 760)

Key People

- Herbert Hoover (p. 736)
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt (p. 739)
- Father Charles Coughlin (p. 747)
- Huey Long (p. 747)
- Frances Perkins (p. 754)
- Eleanor Roosevelt (p. 754)
- Mary McLeod Bethune (p. 755)
- John Collier (p. 756)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- Some historians have seen the New Deal as a natural evolution of progressive reforms from earlier in the century. Others have argued that it represented a revolution in social values and government institutions. Do you view the New Deal as an extension of progressivism, or a radical break with the past? Provide evidence for your argument.
- How did the lives of women, workers, and racial and ethnic minority groups change during the Great Depression? What role did the New Deal play in helping those groups of Americans?
- THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events listed under “Politics and Power,” “Identity,” and “Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture” on the thematic timeline on page 671. In what ways did the New Deal coalition and the emergence of the welfare state change the character of American politics? Why did Republicans oppose the Democratic initiatives, and how did these public debates shape visions of American national identity?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** People often view the New Deal as a set of government programs and policies enacted by President Roosevelt and Congress. In this version, change comes from above. Yet there is also evidence that ordinary Americans played an important role in inspiring and championing aspects of the New Deal. Find several specific examples of this, and think about the possible connections between the struggles, protests, and actions of ordinary people and the programs of the New Deal.
- VISUAL EVIDENCE** Consider two images: the famous Dorothea Lange photograph of Florence Thompson on page 760 and the photograph of workers building the Grand Coulee Dam on page 762. Why is the first image more frequently associated with the Great Depression than the second? How would it change our understanding of the era if we made the second photograph the iconic representation of the depression?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Kristen Downey, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life of Frances Perkins, FDR's Secretary of Labor and His Moral Conscience* (2009). Discusses women and the New Deal years as seen through the life and career of an important reformer.

Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Times* (2013). A powerful explanation of the New Deal's racial politics.

Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression* (1984) and *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (1983). The first is an excellent overview of the depression and the New Deal; the second contains letters written by ordinary people.

James F. Simon, *FDR and Chief Justice Hughes: The President, the Supreme Court, and the Epic Battle over the New Deal* (2012). Shows the legal controversies surrounding FDR's expansion of the state.

John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939); Josephine Herbst, *Pity Is Not Enough* (1933); and Richard Wright, *Native Son* (1940). Classic depression-era novels.

For extensive collections of 1930s materials, see the “New Deal Network” at newdeal.feri.org; government-commissioned art at archives.gov/exhibits/new_deal_for_the_arts; and the slave narratives collected by the Federal Writers' Project at memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1930	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Smoot-Hawley Tariff
1931–1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Scottsboro case: trials and appeals
1932	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bonus Army marches on Washington, D.C.• Franklin Delano Roosevelt elected president
1933	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• FDR's inaugural address and first fireside chats• Emergency Banking Act begins the Hundred Days• FDR takes U.S. off the gold standard• Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) created• Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)• National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)• Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) established• Townsend Clubs promote Old Age Revolving Pension Plan
1934	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) created• Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) founded• Indian Reorganization Act• Senator Huey Long promotes Share Our Wealth Society• Father Charles Coughlin founds National Union for Social Justice
1935	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Supreme Court voids NIRA in <i>Schechter v. United States</i>• National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act• Social Security Act creates old-age pension system• Works Progress Administration (WPA) created• Rural Electrification Administration (REA) established• Supreme Court voids Agricultural Adjustment Act• Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) formed
1936	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Landslide reelection of FDR marks peak of New Deal power
1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• FDR's Supreme Court plan fails
1937–1938	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Roosevelt recession” raises unemployment

KEY TURNING POINTS: Identify two critical turning points between 1934 and 1937, when the New Deal faced specific challenges.

24

CHAPTER

THE ROAD TO WAR

- The Rise of Fascism
- War Approaches
- The Attack on Pearl Harbor

ORGANIZING FOR VICTORY

- Financing the War
- Mobilizing the American Fighting Force
- Workers and the War Effort
- Politics in Wartime

LIFE ON THE HOME FRONT

- "For the Duration"
- Migration and the Wartime City
- Japanese Removal

FIGHTING AND WINNING THE WAR

- Wartime Aims and Tensions
- The War in Europe
- The War in the Pacific
- The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War
- The Toll of the War

The World at War 1937–1945

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

How did World War II transform the United States domestically and change its relationship with the world?

The Second World War was the defining international event of the twentieth century. Battles raged across six of the world's seven continents and all of its oceans. It killed more than 50 million people and wounded hundreds of millions more. When it was over, the industrial economies and much of the infrastructure of Europe and East Asia lay in ruins. Waged with both technologically advanced weapons and massive armies, the war involved every industrialized power in Europe, North America, and Asia, as well as dozens of other nations, many of them colonies of the industrialized countries.

The military conflict began on two continents: in Asia with Japan's 1937 invasion of China across the Sea of Japan, and in Europe with the 1939 blitzkrieg (lightning war) conducted by Germany in Poland. It ended in 1945 after American planes dropped two atomic bombs, the product of stunning yet ominous scientific breakthroughs, on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In between these demonstrations of technological prowess and devastating power, huge armies confronted and destroyed one another in the fields of France, the forests and steppes of Russia, the river valleys of China, the volcanic islands of the Pacific, and the deserts of North Africa.

"Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents," President Franklin Delano Roosevelt told the nation in January 1941. After remaining neutral for several years, the United States would commit to that "armed defense." Both FDR and British prime minister Winston Churchill came to see the war as a defense of democratic values from the threat posed by German, Italian, and Japanese fascism. For them, the brutal conflict was the "good war." When the grim reality of the Jewish Holocaust came to light, U.S. participation in the war seemed even more just. But as much as it represented a struggle between democracy and fascism, it was also inescapably a war to maintain British, French, and Dutch control of colonies in Africa, India, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. By 1945, democracy in the industrialized world had been preserved, and a new Euro-American alliance had taken hold; the future of the vast European colonial empires, however, remained unresolved.

On the U.S. domestic front, World War II ended the Great Depression, hastened profound social changes, and expanded the scope and authority of the federal government. Racial politics and gender roles shifted under the weight of wartime migration and labor shortages. The pace of urbanization increased as millions of Americans uprooted themselves and moved hundreds or thousands of miles to join the military or to take a war job. A stronger, more robust federal government, the product of a long, hard-fought war, would remain in place to fight an even longer, more expensive, and potentially more dangerous Cold War in the ensuing years. These developments, which accelerated transformations already under way, would have repercussions far into the postwar decades.



Black Mechanics in Tuskegee, Alabama World War II was a "total war," fought on seven continents by hundreds of millions of people and massive national armies. Though a late arrival to the conflict, the United States played a critical role in defeating the Axis powers. Here, African American soldiers in Tuskegee, Alabama, make engine adjustments for a training flight. Jeff Ethell Color Archives.

The Road to War

The Great Depression disrupted economic life around the world and brought the collapse of traditional political institutions. In response, an antidemocratic movement known as **fascism**, which had originated in Italy during the 1920s, developed in Germany, Spain, and Japan. By the mid-1930s, these nations had instituted authoritarian, militaristic governments led by powerful dictators: Benito Mussolini in Italy, Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany, Francisco Franco in Spain, and, after 1940, Hideki Tojo in Japan. As early as 1936, President Roosevelt warned that other peoples had “sold their heritage of freedom” and urged Americans to work for “the survival of democracy” both at home and abroad. Constrained by strong isolationist sentiment, by 1940 FDR was cautiously leading the nation toward war against the fascist powers.

The Rise of Fascism

World War II had its roots in the settlement of World War I. Germany struggled under the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and Japan and Italy had their desire for overseas empires thwarted by the treaty makers. Faced with the expansive ambitions and deep resentments of those countries, the League of Nations, the collective security system established at Versailles, proved unable to maintain the existing international order.

Fascism, as instituted in Germany by Hitler, combined a centralized, authoritarian state, a doctrine of Aryan racial supremacy, and intense nationalism in a call for the spiritual reawakening of the German people. Fascist leaders worldwide disparaged parliamentary government, independent labor movements, and individual rights. They opposed both the economic collectivism of the Soviet Union—where, in theory, the state managed the economy to ensure social equality—and the competitive capitalist economies of the United States and Western Europe. Fascist movements arose around the world in the 1930s but managed to achieve power in only a handful of countries. Those countries were at the center of global war making in the 1930s.

Japan and Italy The first challenge came from Japan. To become an industrial power, Japan required

raw materials and overseas markets. Like the Western European powers and the United States before it, Japan embraced an expansionary foreign policy in

pursuit of colonial possessions and overseas influence. In 1931, its troops occupied Manchuria, an industrialized province in northern China, and in 1937 the Japanese launched a full-scale invasion of China. In both instances, the League of Nations condemned Japan’s actions but did nothing to stop them.

Japan’s defiance of the League encouraged a fascist leader half a world away: Italy’s Benito Mussolini, who had come to power in 1922. Il Duce (The Leader), as Mussolini was known, had long denounced the Versailles treaty, which denied Italy’s colonial claims in Africa and the Middle East after World War I. As in Japan, the Italian fascists desired overseas colonies for raw materials, markets, and national prestige. In 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, one of the few remaining independent countries in Africa. Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations, but the League’s verbal condemnation and limited sanctions, its only real leverage, did not stop Italy from taking control of Ethiopia in 1936.

Hitler’s Germany Germany, however, posed the gravest threat to the existing world order. Huge World War I reparation payments, economic depression, fear of communism, labor unrest, and rising unemployment fueled the ascent of Adolf Hitler and his **National Socialist (Nazi) Party**. When Hitler became chancellor of Germany in 1933, the Reichstag (the German legislature) granted him dictatorial powers to deal with the economic crisis. Hitler promptly outlawed other political parties, arrested many of his political rivals, and declared himself *führer* (leader). Under Nazi control, the Reichstag invested all legislative power in Hitler’s hands.

Hitler’s goal was nothing short of European domination and world power, as he had made clear in his 1925 book *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). The book outlined his plans to overturn the territorial settlements of the Versailles treaty, unite Germans living throughout central Europe in a great German fatherland, and annex large areas of Eastern Europe. The “inferior races” who lived in these regions—Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs—would be removed or subordinated to the German “master race.” These territories would provide Germany with what Hitler called “lebensraum”—a new region of settlement and farming and a source of natural resources. A virulent anti-Semite, Hitler had long blamed Jews for Germany’s problems. Once in power, he began a sustained and brutal persecution of Jews, which expanded into a campaign of extermination in the early 1940s.

In 1935, Hitler began to rearm Germany, in violation of the Versailles treaty. No one stopped him. In

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What motivated Japanese, Italian, and German expansionism?

Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler salutes German troops during a parade at the Nazi Party's annual congress at Nuremberg. German fascism reveled in great public spectacles, such as the famous Nuremberg rallies held every year between the early 1920s and the late 1930s. Hitler used these mass rallies, at which tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians gathered, to build wide support for his policies of aggressive militarism abroad and suppression of Jews and other minorities at home.

Getty Images.



1936, he sent troops into the Rhineland, a demilitarized zone under the terms of Versailles. Again, France and Britain took no action. Later that year, Hitler and Mussolini formed the **Rome-Berlin Axis**, a political and military alliance between the two fascist nations. Also in 1936, Germany signed a pact to create a military alliance with Japan against the Soviet Union. With these alliances in place, and with France and Great Britain reluctant to oppose him, Hitler had seized the military advantage in Europe by 1937.

War Approaches

As Hitler pushed his initiatives in Europe, which was mired in economic depression as deeply as the United States, the Roosevelt administration faced widespread isolationist sentiment at home. In part, this desire to avoid European entanglements reflected disillusion with American participation in World War I. In 1934, Gerald P. Nye, a progressive Republican senator from North Dakota, launched an investigation into the profits of munitions makers during that war. Nye's committee alleged that arms manufacturers (popularly labeled "merchants of death") had maneuvered President Wilson into World War I.

Although Nye's committee failed to prove its charge against weapon makers, its factual findings prompted an isolationist-minded Congress to pass a series of acts to prevent the nation from being drawn into another overseas war. The **Neutrality Act of 1935** imposed an embargo on selling arms to warring countries and declared that Americans traveling on the ships of belligerent nations did so at their own risk. In 1936, Congress banned loans to belligerents, and in 1937 it imposed a "cash-and-carry" requirement: if a warring country wanted to purchase nonmilitary goods from the United States, it had to pay cash and carry them in its own ships, keeping the United States out of potentially dangerous naval warfare.

Americans for the most part had little enthusiasm for war, and a wide variety of groups and individuals espoused isolationism. Many isolationists looked to Republican Ohio senator Robert Taft, who distrusted both Roosevelt and European nations with equal conviction, or to the aviator hero Charles A. Lindbergh, who delivered impassioned speeches against intervention in Europe. Some isolationists, such as the conservative National Legion of Mothers of America, combined anticomunism, Christian morality, and even anti-Semitism. Isolationists were primarily



Charles Lindbergh Cartoon

Charles Lindbergh, the first person to fly solo nonstop across the Atlantic Ocean, was an American hero in the 1930s. In 1941, he had become the public face of the America First Committee, which was determined to keep the United States from entering the wars raging in Europe and Asia. In this political cartoon from October 1941, Lindbergh is shown standing on a soapbox labeled "Fascism," looking up at the figure of "Democracy." The implication is that Lindbergh had been fooled by German propaganda into taking its side. Less than two months after the cartoon appeared, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and isolationist sentiment all but disappeared in the United States. Library of Congress.

conservatives, but a contingent of progressives (or liberals) opposed America's involvement in the war on pacifist or moral grounds. Whatever their philosophies, ardent isolationists forced Roosevelt to approach the brewing war cautiously.

The Popular Front Other Americans responded to the rise of European fascism by advocating U.S. intervention. Some of the most prominent Americans pushing for greater involvement in Europe, even if it meant war, were affiliated with the **Popular Front**. Fearful of German and Japanese aggression, the Soviet Union instructed Communists in Western Europe and the United States to join with liberals in a broad coalition opposing fascism. This Popular Front supported various international causes—backing the Loyalists in their fight against fascist leader Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), for example, even

as the United States, France, and Britain remained neutral.

In the United States, the Popular Front drew from a wide range of social groups. The American Communist Party, which had increased its membership to 100,000 as the depression revealed flaws in the capitalist system, led the way. African American civil rights activists, trade unionists, left-wing writers and intellectuals, and even a few New Deal administrators also joined the coalition. In time, however, many supporters in the United States grew uneasy with the Popular Front because of the rigidity of Communists and the brutal political repression in the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin. Nevertheless, Popular Front activists were among a small but vocal group of Americans encouraging Roosevelt to take a stronger stand against European fascism.

The Failure of Appeasement Encouraged by the weak worldwide response to the invasions of China, Ethiopia, and the Rhineland, and emboldened by British and French neutrality during the Spanish Civil War, Hitler grew more aggressive in 1938. He sent troops to annex German-speaking Austria while making clear his intention to seize part of Czechoslovakia. Because Czechoslovakia had an alliance with France, war seemed imminent. But at the **Munich Conference** in September 1938, Britain and France capitulated, agreeing to let Germany annex the Sudetenland—a German-speaking border area of Czechoslovakia—in return for Hitler's pledge to seek no more territory. The agreement, declared British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, guaranteed "peace for our time." Hitler drew a different conclusion, telling his generals: "Our enemies are small fry. I saw them in Munich."

Within six months, Hitler's forces had overrun the rest of Czechoslovakia and were threatening to march into Poland. Realizing that their policy of appeasement—capitulating to Hitler's demands—had been disastrous, Britain and France warned Hitler that further aggression meant war. Then, in August 1939, Hitler and Stalin shocked the world by signing a mutual nonaggression pact. For Hitler, this pact was crucial, as it meant that Germany would not have to wage a two-front war against Britain and France in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. On September 1, 1939, Hitler launched a blitzkrieg against Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. World War II had officially begun.

Two days after the European war started, the United States declared its neutrality. But President Roosevelt made no secret of his sympathies. When war broke out

in 1914, Woodrow Wilson had told Americans to be neutral “in thought as well as in action.” FDR, by contrast, now said: “This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well.” The overwhelming majority of Americans—some 84 percent, according to a poll in 1939—supported Britain and France rather than Germany, but most wanted America to avoid another European war.

At first, the need for U.S. intervention seemed remote. After Germany conquered Poland in September 1939, calm settled over Europe. Then, on April 9, 1940, German forces invaded Denmark and Norway. In May, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg fell to the swift German army. The final shock came in mid-June, when France too surrendered. Britain now stood alone against Hitler’s plans for domination of Europe.

Isolationism and Internationalism What *Time* magazine would later call America’s “thousand-step road to war” had already begun. After a bitter battle in Congress in 1939, Roosevelt won a change in the neutrality laws to allow the Allies to buy arms as well as nonmilitary goods on a cash-and-carry basis. Interventionists, led by journalist William Allen White and his **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**, became increasingly vocal in 1940 as war escalated in Europe. (Interventionists were also known as “internationalists,” since they believed in engaging with, rather than withdrawing from, international developments.) In response, isolationists formed the **America First Committee** (AFC), with well-respected figures such as Lindbergh and Senator Nye urging the nation to stay out of the war. The AFC held rallies across the United States, and its posters, brochures, and broadsides warning against American involvement in Europe suffused many parts of the country, especially the Midwest.

Because of the America Firsters’ efforts, Roosevelt proceeded cautiously in 1940 as he moved the United States closer to involvement. The president did not want war, but he believed that most Americans “greatly underestimate the serious implications to our own future,” as he confided to White. In May, Roosevelt created the National Defense Advisory Commission and brought two prominent Republicans, Henry Stimson and Frank Knox, into his cabinet as secretaries of war and the navy, respectively. During the summer, the president traded fifty World War I destroyers to Great Britain in exchange for the right to build military bases on British possessions in the Atlantic, circumventing neutrality laws by using an executive order to complete

the deal. In October 1940, a bipartisan vote in Congress approved a large increase in defense spending and instituted the first peacetime draft in American history. “We must be the great arsenal of democracy,” FDR declared.

As the war in Europe and the Pacific expanded, the United States was preparing for the 1940 presidential election. The crisis had convinced Roosevelt to seek an unprecedented third term. The Republicans nominated Wendell Willkie of Indiana, a former Democrat who supported many New Deal policies. The two parties’ platforms differed only slightly. Both pledged aid to the Allies, and both candidates promised not to “send an American boy into the shambles of a European war,” as Willkie put it. Willkie’s spirited campaign resulted in a closer election than that of 1932 or 1936; nonetheless, Roosevelt won 55 percent of the popular vote.

Having been reelected, Roosevelt now undertook to persuade Congress to increase aid to Britain, whose survival he viewed as key to American security. In January 1941, he delivered one of the most important speeches of his career. Defining “four essential human freedoms”—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—Roosevelt cast the war as a noble defense of democratic societies. He then linked the fate of democracy in Western Europe with the new welfare state at home. Sounding a decidedly New Deal note, Roosevelt pledged to end “special privileges for the few” and to preserve “civil liberties for all.” Like President Wilson’s speech championing national self-determination at the close of World War I, Roosevelt’s **“Four Freedoms”** speech outlined a liberal international order with appeal well beyond its intended European and American audiences.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

How did Roosevelt use the Four Freedoms speech and the Atlantic Charter to define the war for Americans?



To see a longer excerpt of the “Four Freedoms” speech, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America’s History*.

Two months later, in March 1941, with Britain no longer able to pay cash for arms, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass the **Lend-Lease Act**. The legislation authorized the president to “lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of” arms and equipment to Britain or any other country whose defense was considered vital to the security of the United States. When Hitler abandoned his nonaggression pact with Stalin and invaded the

Soviet Union in June 1941, the United States extended lend-lease to the Soviets. The implementation of lend-lease marked the unofficial entrance of the United States into the European war.

Roosevelt underlined his support for the Allied cause by meeting in August 1941 with British prime minister Winston Churchill (who had succeeded Chamberlain in 1940). Their joint press release, which became known as the **Atlantic Charter**, provided the ideological foundation of the Western cause. Drawing from Wilson's Fourteen Points and Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, the charter called for economic cooperation, national self-determination, and guarantees of political stability after the war to ensure "that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." It would become the basis for a new American-led transatlantic alliance after the war's conclusion. Its promise of national self-determination,

however, set up potential conflict in Asia and Africa, where European powers would be reluctant to abandon their imperial holdings.

In the fall of 1941, the reality of U.S. involvement in the war drew closer. By September, Nazi U-boats and the American navy were exchanging fire in the Atlantic. With isolationists still a potent force, Roosevelt hesitated to declare war and insisted that the United States would defend itself only against a direct attack. But behind the scenes, the president openly discussed American involvement with close advisors and considered war inevitable.

The Attack on Pearl Harbor

The crucial provocation came not from Germany but from Japan. After Japan invaded China in 1937, Roosevelt had denounced "the present reign of terror



One City (and Island) at a Time

By late 1944, the victory of the United States and its allies was nearly certain, but Japanese and German troops continued to fight with great courage and determination. Many European cities and every Pacific island had to be taken foot by foot. Here, American troops from the 325th Regiment of the 82nd Airborne Division advance slowly through the rubble-filled street of a German city in early 1945. Jeff Ethell Color Archives.

and international lawlessness” and suggested that aggressors be “quarantined” by peaceful nations. Despite such rhetoric, the United States refused to intervene later that year when Japanese troops sacked the city of Nanjing, massacred 300,000 Chinese residents, and raped thousands of women.

FDR and other American officials prioritized events in Europe over those in East Asia, and without a counterweight, Japan’s military and imperial ambitions expanded. In 1940, General Hideki Tojo became war minister. After concluding a formal military alliance with Germany and Italy that year, Tojo dispatched Japanese troops to occupy the northern part of the French colony of Indochina (present-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). Tojo’s goal, supported by Emperor Hirohito, was to create a “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” under Japan’s control stretching from the Korean Peninsula south to Indonesia. Like Germany and Italy, Japan sought to match the overseas empires of Britain, France, Holland, and the United States.

The United States responded to the stationing of Japanese troops in Indochina by restricting trade with Japan. Roosevelt hoped that these economic sanctions would deter Japanese aggression. But in July 1941, Japanese troops staged a full-scale invasion of Indochina. Roosevelt then froze Japanese assets in the United States and stopped all trade with Japan, including vital oil shipments that accounted for almost 80 percent of Japanese consumption.

In October 1941, General Tojo became prime minister and accelerated secret preparations for war against the United States. By November, American military intelligence knew that Japan was planning an attack but did not know where it would occur. Early on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, Japanese bombers attacked **Pearl Harbor** in Hawaii, killing more than 2,400 Americans. They destroyed or heavily damaged eight battleships, three cruisers, three destroyers, and almost two hundred airplanes.

Although the assault was devastating, it united the American people. Calling December 7 “a date which will live in infamy,” President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. The Senate voted unanimously for war, and the House concurred by a vote of 388 to 1. The lone dissenter was Jeannette Rankin of Montana, a committed pacifist—she also voted against entry into World War I—and the first female member of Congress. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which in turn declared war on the Axis powers. The long shadows of two wars, one in Europe and one in Asia, had at long last converged over the United States.

Organizing for Victory

The task of fighting on a global scale dramatically increased the power of the federal government. Shifting from civilian to military production, raising an army, and assembling the necessary workforce required a massive expansion in government authority. When Congress passed the **War Powers Act** in December 1941, it gave President Roosevelt unprecedented control over all aspects of the war effort. This act marked the beginning of what some historians call the imperial presidency: the far-reaching use (and sometimes abuse) of executive authority during the latter part of the twentieth century.

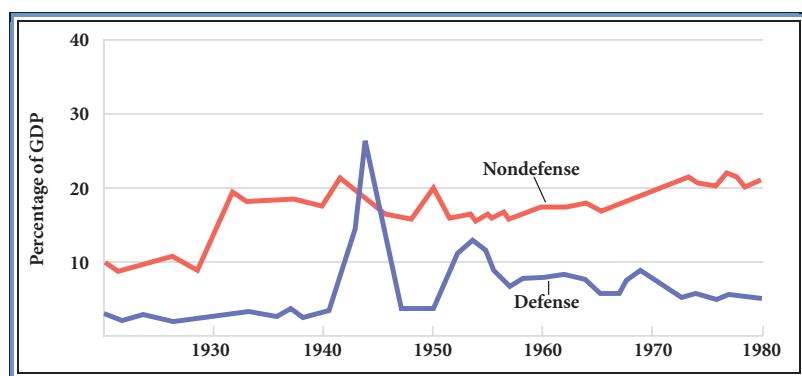
Financing the War

Defense mobilization, not the New Deal efforts of the 1930s, ended the Great Depression. Between 1940 and 1945, the annual gross national product doubled, and after-tax profits of American businesses nearly doubled (*America Compared*, p. 774). Federal spending on war production powered this advance. By late 1943, two-thirds of the economy was directly involved in the war effort (Figure 24.1). The government paid for these

FIGURE 24.1

Government Military and Civilian Spending as a Percentage of GDP, 1920–1980

Government military spending was about 3 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in the 1920s and 1930s, but it ballooned to more than 25 percent during World War II, to 13 percent during the Korean War, and to nearly 10 percent during the Vietnam War. Federal government spending for civilian purposes doubled during the New Deal and has remained at about 17 to 20 percent of GDP ever since.



The Scales of War: Losses and Gains During World War II



World War II saw an extraordinary loss of life. Worldwide, at least 50 million people perished between 1939 and 1945 from war-related causes. The majority of those who died were civilians, though many millions of soldiers perished in battle as well. For most countries, we have reasonable estimates rather than precise figures. The chart below compares the United States with other major combatants and nations caught in this global struggle.

On the other side of the scale, the war fueled tremendous economic growth, at least in the United States, which was spared the physical devastation of Europe and East Asia. Military production for World War II lifted the United States out of the Great Depression. Gross domestic product (GDP) nearly doubled between 1938 and 1945. Economic production in other combatant nations, as shown in the second figure, grew little if at all.

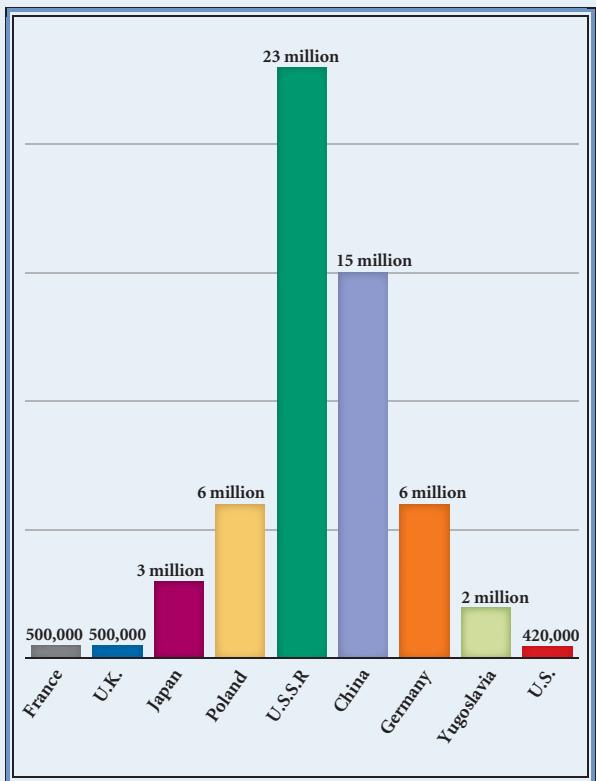


FIGURE 24.2
World War II Military and Civilian Deaths, 1939–1945

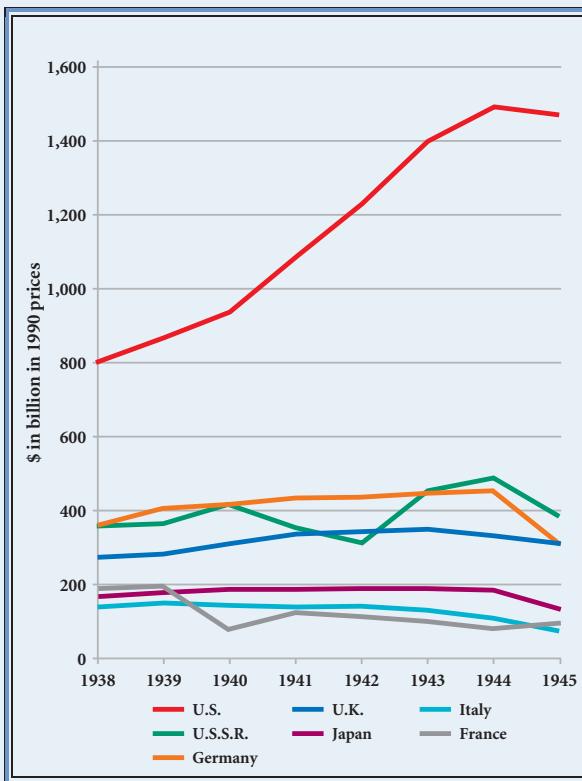


FIGURE 24.3
Gross Domestic Product Rates Worldwide, 1938–1945

Source: GDP data adapted from Mark Harrison, "The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers" in *International Comparison* (1998), 11. Copyright © 1998 Cambridge University Press. Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did the United States experience so many fewer deaths than other nations? Why were there so many deaths in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union?
2. Note the relative position of U.S. GDP to other industrial nations in 1938 and in 1945. How were some of the key domestic changes discussed in the chapter, such as rural-urban migration, racial conflict, and women's employment, linked to this economic growth?
3. How might you use these comparisons to add to your understanding of key wartime developments, such as the Holocaust, Stalin's demand for a second front, or the entry of the United States into the war?

military expenditures by raising taxes and borrowing money. The **Revenue Act** of 1942 expanded the number of people paying income taxes from 3.9 million to 42.6 million. Taxes on personal incomes and business profits paid half the cost of the war. The government borrowed the rest, both from wealthy Americans and from ordinary citizens, who invested in long-term treasury bonds known as war bonds.

Financing and coordinating the war effort required far-reaching cooperation between government and private business. The number of civilians employed by the government increased almost fourfold, to 3.8 million—a far higher rate of growth than that during the New Deal. The powerful War Production Board (WPB) awarded defense contracts, allocated scarce resources—such as rubber, copper, and oil—for military uses, and persuaded businesses to convert to military production. For example, it encouraged Ford and General Motors to build tanks rather than cars by granting generous tax advantages for re-equipping existing factories and building new ones. In other instances, the board approved “cost-plus” contracts, which guaranteed corporations a profit, and allowed them to keep new steel mills, factories, and shipyards after the war. Such government subsidies of defense

industries would intensify during the Cold War and continue to this day.

To secure maximum production, the WPB preferred to deal with major enterprises rather than with small businesses. The nation's fifty-six largest corporations received three-fourths of the war contracts; the top ten received one-third. The best-known contractor was Henry J. Kaiser. Already highly successful from building roads in California and the Hoover and Grand Coulee dams, Kaiser went from government construction work to navy shipbuilding. At his shipyard in Richmond, California, he revolutionized ship construction by applying Henry Ford's techniques of mass production. To meet wartime production schedules, Kaiser broke the work process down into small, specialized tasks that newly trained workers could do easily. Soon, each of his work crews was building a “Liberty Ship,” a large vessel to carry cargo and troops to the war zone, every two weeks. The press dubbed him the Miracle Man.

Central to Kaiser's success were his close ties to federal agencies. The government financed the great

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the war affect the relationship between private corporations and the federal government?

Shipyards in Wartime

The shipyard workers shown here are laying the keel of the *Joseph N. Teal*, a 10,500-ton “Liberty” freighter bound for the war in the Pacific in 1942. Amidst scaffolding, tools, and wires, these workers at Henry J. Kaiser's shipyard in Portland, Oregon, constructed the entire ship in just ten days after the keel was laid, to shatter all previous shipbuilding records. Kaiser was the king of shipbuilding on the West Coast, with massive yards in Portland and the San Francisco Bay area. In all, Kaiser's workers built nearly 1,500 ships in three years, one-quarter of the total constructed during the war. © Bettmann/Corbis.



dams that he built during the depression, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation lent him \$300 million to build shipyards and manufacturing plants during the war. Working together in this way, American business and government turned out a prodigious supply of military hardware: 86,000 tanks; 296,000 airplanes; 15 million rifles and machine guns; 64,000 landing craft; and 6,500 cargo ships and naval vessels. The American way of war, wrote the Scottish historian D. W. Brogan in 1944, was “mechanized like the American farm and kitchen.” America’s productive industrial economy, as much as or more than its troops, proved the decisive factor in winning World War II.

The system of allotting contracts, along with the suspension of antitrust prosecutions during the war, created giant corporate enterprises. By 1945, the largest one hundred American companies produced 70 percent of the nation’s industrial output. These corporations would form the core of what became known as the nation’s “military-industrial complex” during the Cold War (Chapter 25).

Mobilizing the American Fighting Force

The expanding federal bureaucracy also had a human face. To fight the war, the government mobilized tens of millions of soldiers, civilians, and workers—coordinated on a scale unprecedented in U.S. history. During World War II, the armed forces of the United States enlisted more than fifteen million men and women. In no other military conflict have so many American citizens served in the armed services. They came from every region and economic station: black sharecroppers from Alabama; white farmers from the Midwest; the sons and daughters of European, Mexican, and Caribbean immigrants; native men from Navajo and Choctaw reservations and other tribal communities; women from every state in the nation; even Hollywood celebrities. From urban, rural, and suburban areas, from working-class and middle-class backgrounds—they all served in the military.

In contrast to its otherwise democratic character, the American army segregated the nearly one million African Americans in uniform. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other civil rights groups reprimanded the government, saying, “A Jim Crow army cannot fight for a free world,” but the military continued to separate African Americans and assign them menial duties. The poet Langston Hughes observed the irony: “We are elevator boys, janitors, red caps, maids—a race

in uniform.” The military uniform, Hughes implied, was not assigned to African Americans so readily. Native Americans and Mexican Americans, on the other hand, were never officially segregated; they rubbed elbows with the sons of European immigrants and native-born soldiers from all regions of the country.

Among the most instrumental soldiers were the Native American “code talkers.” In the Pacific theater, native Navajo speakers communicated orders to fleet commanders. Japanese intelligence could not decipher the code because it was based on the Navajo language, which fewer than fifty non-Navajos in the world understood. At the battle of Iwo Jima, for instance—one of the war’s fiercest—Navajo code talkers, working around the clock, sent and received more than eight hundred messages without error. In the European theater, army commanders used Comanche, Choctaw, and Cherokee speakers to thwart the Nazis and exchange crucial military commands on the battlefield. No Axis nation ever broke these Native American codes.

Approximately 350,000 American women enlisted in the military. About 140,000 served in the Women’s Army Corps (WAC), and 100,000 served in the navy’s Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES). One-third of the nation’s registered nurses, almost 75,000 overall, volunteered for military duty. In addition, about 1,000 Women’s Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) ferried planes and supplies in noncombat areas. The armed forces limited the duties assigned to women, however. Female officers could not command men, and WACs and WAVES were barred from combat duty, although nurses of both sexes served close to the front lines, risking capture or death. Most of the jobs that women did in the military—clerical work, communications, and health care—resembled women’s jobs in civilian life.

Historians still debate how to characterize the World War II American military. As an army of “citizen-soldiers,” it represented a wide stratum of society. Military service gave a generation of men a noble purpose, following a decade of economic depression. And its ethic of patriotism further advanced the children of immigrants into mainstream American life. Yet the military embodied the tensions and contradictions of American society as well. The draft revealed appalling levels of health, fitness, and education among millions of Americans, spurring reformers to call for improved literacy and nutrition. Women’s integration into the military was marked by deep anxieties about their potentially negative effects on male soldiers as well as the threat to “womanhood” posed by service. The American army was like the nation itself.

United in wartime purpose, the military reflected the strengths and weaknesses of a diverse, fractious society.

Workers and the War Effort

As millions of working-age citizens joined the military, the nation faced a critical labor shortage. Consequently, many women and African Americans joined the industrial workforce, taking jobs unavailable to them before the conflict. Unions, benefitting from the demand for labor, negotiated higher wages and improved conditions for America's workers. By 1943, with the economy operating at full capacity, the breadlines and double-digit unemployment of the 1930s were a memory.

Rosie the Riveter Government officials and corporate recruiters urged women to take jobs in defense industries, creating a new image of working women. "Longing won't bring him back sooner . . . GET A WAR JOB!" one poster urged, while artist Norman Rockwell's famous "Rosie the Riveter" illustration beckoned to women from the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*. The government directed its publicity at housewives, but many working women gladly abandoned low-paying "women's jobs" as domestic servants or secretaries for higher-paying work in the defense industry. Suddenly, the nation's factories were full of women working as airplane riveters, ship welders, and drill-press

operators (American Voices, p. 778). Women made up 36 percent of the labor force in 1945, compared with 24 percent at the beginning of the war. War work did not free women from traditional expectations and limitations, however. Women often faced sexual harassment on the job and usually received lower wages than men did. In shipyards, women with the most seniority and responsibility earned \$6.95 a day, whereas the top men made as much as \$22.

Wartime work was thus bittersweet for women, because it combined new opportunities with old constraints. The majority labored in low-wage service jobs. Child care was often unavailable, despite the largest government-sponsored child-care program in history. When the men returned from war, Rosie the Riveter was usually out of a job. Government propaganda now encouraged women back into the home—where, it was implied, their true calling lay in raising families and standing behind the returning soldiers. But many married women refused, or could not afford, to put on aprons and stay home. Women's participation in the paid labor force rebounded by the late 1940s and continued to rise over the rest of the twentieth century, bringing major changes in family life (Chapter 26).

Wartime Civil Rights Among African Americans, a new militancy prevailed during the war. Pointing to parallels between anti-Semitism in Germany and racial

Rosie the Riveter

Women workers install fixtures and assemblies to a tail fuselage section of a B-17 bomber at the Douglas Aircraft Company plant in Long Beach, California. To entice women to become war workers, the War Manpower Commission created the image of "Rosie the Riveter," later immortalized in posters and by a Norman Rockwell illustration on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*. A popular 1942 song celebrating Rosie went: "Rosie's got a boyfriend, Charlie / Charlie, he's a marine / Rosie is protecting Charlie / Working overtime on the riveting machine." Even as women joined the industrial workforce in huge numbers (half a million in the aircraft industry alone), they were understood as fulfilling a nurturing, protective role.

Library of Congress.





Women in the Wartime Workplace

During World War II, millions of men served in the armed forces and millions of women worked in war-related industries. A generation later, some of these women workers recounted their wartime experiences to historians in oral interviews.

Evelyn Gotzion Becoming a Union Activist

Evelyn Gotzion went to work at Rayovac, a battery company in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1935; she retired in 1978. While at Rayovac, Gotzion and her working husband raised three children.

I had all kinds of jobs. [During the war] we had one line, a big line, where you'd work ten hours and you'd stand in one spot or sit in one spot. It got terrible, all day long. So I suggested to my foreman, the general foreman, that we take turns of learning everybody's job and switching every half hour. Well, they [the management] didn't like it, but we were on the side, every once in a while, learning each other's job and learning how to do it, so eventually most all of us got so we could do all the jobs, [of] which there were probably fifteen or twenty on the line. We could do every job so we could go up and down the line and rotate. And then they found out that that was really a pretty good thing to do because it made the people happier. . . .

One day I was the steward, and they wouldn't listen to me. They cut our rates, so I shut off the line, and the boss came up and he said, "What are you doing?" I said, "Well, I have asked everybody that I know why we have gotten a cut in pay and why we're doing exactly the same amount of work as we did." . . . So, anyhow, we wrote up a big grievance and they all signed it and then I called the president of the union and then we had a meeting. . . . At that point the president decided that I should be added to the bargaining committee so that I would go in and argue our case, because I could do it better than any of the rest of them because I knew what it was. . . . We finally got it straightened out, and we got our back pay, too. From then on I was on the bargaining committee all the years that I worked at Rayovac.

Source: *Women Remember the War, 1941–1945*, edited by Michael E. Stevens and Ellen D. Goldlust (State Historical Society of Wisconsin Press, 1993). Reprinted with permission of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Donna Jean Harvey Wartime Challenges and New Experiences

During the war Harvey raised her first child while working as a riveter and radio installer at a plant in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

I graduated from Cheyenne High School in 1940. I married Lewis Early Harvey in January 1941. He was drafted when the war broke out and was sent to the Aleutian Islands, and from there he transferred to the Paratroopers. In October I gave birth to my first son, Lewis Early Jr.

Labor force was critical at that time so I went to United Modification Plant and learned how to rivet, do installations of various kinds and etc. When the "new" radar system was implemented, I asked to be put on that crew. The F.B.I. investigated me and found me to be worthy and I proceeded to install radar along with my riveting duties, while waiting for the next shipment of planes to come in. . . . I was awarded the Army-Navy E Award and was presented with a pin. I've always been very proud of that!!! I certainly got educated in more ways than I ever expected, being a very young girl. But looking back I wouldn't trade my experiences for anything.

My feeling about the war in most instances was a conglomerate of mixed emotions. I had lived a fairly sheltered life, but I listened and learned and managed to survive, but I must admit, it left a scar on my memory that can never be erased.

I was living in one of my parent's apartments during the war and since they were both retired, they baby-sat my young son. My mother decided after a while that she too would like to do something in some little way to help. So she applied for maintenance and between my father and the girl next door, I managed to have a baby-sitter available at all times. The government was asking for rubber donations so my mother and I gave them our rubber girdles!! We liked to think that our girdles helped win the war!!!

My life took on a totally new perspective the longer I worked there. I saw many tragic accidents, none of which I care to talk about which haunt me to this day.

I couldn't do much socializing as I had a small infant at home to care for when off work and besides I was really pooped. Those midnight shifts were "killers." I hope I never have to do that again!! I tried to write weekly letters to my husband in between my other duties. . . .

Our community gathered together and collected scrap metals and such to help in the war effort and thanks to a good neighbor, who was growing a victory garden; we managed to get gifts of potatoes and lettuce etc. The government issued coupon books that allowed us two bananas a week, one pound of sugar and so many gallons of gas. We traded back and forth depending on our individual needs. I had a 1934 Ford and fortunately, it wasn't a gas eater and it managed to get me where I was going when I needed it. . . .

There were no unions there at that time and no babysitting service provided. The single people formed a club and they entertained themselves after work but I was a married person with a child and so I didn't participate in any of their activities. . . .

After the war was over, most people went back to their previous jobs. I opened a beauty salon and when my husband returned home from the service he got a job with the Frontier Refinery.

Source: National Park Service, *Rosie the Riveter: Women Working During World War II*, nps.gov/pwro/collection/website/donna.htm.

Fanny Christina (Tina) Hill

War Work: Social and Racial Mobility

After migrating to California from Texas and working as a domestic servant, Tina Hill, an African American, got a wartime job at North American Aircraft. After time off for a pregnancy in 1945, Hill worked there until 1980.

Most of the men was gone, and . . . most of the women was in my bracket, five or six years younger or older. I was twenty-four. There was a black girl that hired in with me. I went to work the next day, sixty cents an hour. . . . I could see where they made a difference in placing you in certain jobs. They had fifteen or twenty departments, but all the Negroes went to Department 17 because there was

nothing but shooting and bucking rivets. You stood on one side of the panel and your partner stood on this side and he would shoot the rivets with a gun and you'd buck them with the bar. That was about the size of it. I just didn't like it . . . went over to the union and they told me what to do. I went back inside and they sent me to another department where you did bench work and I liked that much better. . . .

Some weeks I brought home twenty-six dollars . . . then it gradually went up to thirty dollars [about \$420 in 2010]. . . . Whatever you make you're supposed to save some. I was also getting that fifty dollars a month from my husband and that was just saved right away. I was planning on buying a home and a car. . . . My husband came back [from the war, and] . . . looked for a job in the cleaning and pressing place, which was just plentiful. . . . That's why he didn't bother to go out to North American. But what we both weren't thinking about was that they [North American] have better benefits because they did have an insurance plan and a union to back you up. Later he did come to work there, in 1951 or 1952. . . .

When North American called me back [after I left to have a baby,] was I a happy soul! . . . It made me live better. It really did. We always say that Lincoln took the bale off of the Negroes. I think there is a statue up there in Washington, D.C., where he's lifting something off the Negro. Well, my sister always said — that's why you can't interview her because she's so radical — "Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen."

Source: *Rosie the Riveter Revisited*, by Sherna B. Gluck (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1987). Used by permission of Susan Berger Gluck.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How did the war change the lives of these women?
2. Consider how the themes of identity and work, technology, and economic change, connect to the lives of these two women. How was their experience of the wartime industrial workplace tied to their class and gender identities? How did labor unions affect their conditions of employment?
3. These interviews occurred long after the events they describe. How might that long interval have affected the women's accounts of those years?



Wartime Civil Rights

Fighting fascism abroad while battling racism at home was the approach taken by black communities across the country during World War II. Securing democracy in Europe and Asia while not enjoying it in the United States did not seem just. Jobs were plentiful as the wartime economy hummed along at a fevered pitch. But when employers and unions kept Jim Crow hiring policies in place, African Americans did not hesitate to protest. Here picketers rally for defense jobs outside the Glenn Martin Plant in Omaha, Nebraska, in the early 1940s. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY.

discrimination in the United States, black leaders waged the Double V campaign: calling for victory over Nazism abroad and racism at home. “This is a war for freedom. Whose freedom?” the renowned black leader W. E. B. Du Bois asked. If it meant “the freedom of Negroes in the Southern United States,” Du Bois answered, “my gun is on my shoulder.”

Even before Pearl Harbor, black labor activism was on the rise. In 1940, only 240 of the nation’s 100,000 aircraft workers were black, and most of them were janitors. African American leaders demanded that the government require defense contractors to hire more black workers. When Washington took no action, A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the largest black labor union in the country, announced plans for a march on Washington in the summer of 1941.

Roosevelt was not a strong supporter of African American equality, but he wanted to avoid public

protest and a disruption of the nation’s war preparations. So the president made a deal: he issued **Executive Order 8802**, and in June 1941 Randolph canceled the march. The order prohibited “discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race,

creed, color, or national origin” and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). Mary McLeod Bethune called the wartime FEPC “a refreshing shower in a thirsty land.” This federal commitment to black employment rights was unprecedented but limited: it did not affect segregation in the armed forces, and the FEPC could not enforce compliance with its orders.

Nevertheless, wartime developments laid the groundwork for the civil rights revolution of the 1960s. The NAACP grew ninefold, to 450,000 members, by 1945. In Chicago, James Farmer helped to found the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942, a group that would become known nationwide in the 1960s for its direct action protests such as sit-ins. The FEPC inspired black organizing against employment discrimination in hundreds of cities and workplaces. Behind this combination of government action and black militancy, the civil rights movement would advance on multiple fronts in the postwar years.

Mexican Americans, too, challenged long-standing practices of discrimination and exclusion. Throughout much of the Southwest, it was still common for signs to read “No Mexicans Allowed,” and Mexican American workers were confined to menial, low-paying jobs. Several organizations, including the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Congress of Spanish Speaking Peoples, pressed the government

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

How does the slogan “A Jim Crow army cannot fight for a free world” connect the war abroad with the civil rights struggle at home?

and private employers to end anti-Mexican discrimination. Mexican American workers themselves, often in Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions such as the Cannery Workers and Shipyard Workers, also led efforts to enforce the FEPC's equal employment mandate.

Exploitation persisted, however. To meet wartime labor demands, the U.S. government brought tens of thousands of Mexican contract laborers into the United States under the Bracero Program. Paid little and treated poorly, the braceros (who took their name from the Spanish *brazo*, “arm”) highlighted the oppressive conditions of farm labor in the United States. After the war, the federal government continued to participate in labor exploitation, bringing hundreds of thousands of Mexicans into the country to perform low-wage agricultural work. Future Mexican American civil rights leaders Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez began to fight this labor system in the 1940s.

Organized Labor During the war, unions solidified their position as the most powerful national voice for American workers and extended gains made during the New Deal. By 1945, almost 15 million workers belonged to a union, up from 9 million in 1939. Representatives of the major unions made a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war, and Roosevelt rewarded them by creating the National War Labor Board (NWLB), composed of representatives of labor, management, and the public. The NWLB established wages, hours, and working conditions and had the authority to seize manufacturing plants that did not comply. The Board’s “maintenance of membership” policy, which encouraged workers in major defense industries to join unions, also helped organized labor grow.

Despite these arrangements, unions endured government constraints and faced a sometimes hostile Congress. Frustrated with limits on wage increases and the no-strike pledge, in 1943 more than half a million United Mine Workers went out on strike, demanding a higher wage increase than that recommended by the NWLB. Congress responded by passing (over Roosevelt’s veto) the Smith-Connally Labor Act of 1943, which allowed the president to prohibit strikes in defense industries and forbade political contributions by unions. Congressional hostility would continue to hamper the union movement in the postwar years. Although organized labor would emerge from World War II more powerful than at any time in U.S. history, its business and corporate opponents, too, would emerge from the war with new strength.

Politics in Wartime

In his 1944 State of the Union address, FDR called for a second Bill of Rights, one that would guarantee all Americans access to education and jobs, adequate food and clothing, and decent housing and medical care. Like his Four Freedoms speech, this was a call to extend the New Deal by broadening the rights to individual security and welfare guaranteed by the government. The answer to his call, however, would have to wait for the war’s conclusion. Congress created new government benefits only for military veterans, known as GIs (short for “government issue”). The **Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (1944)**, an extraordinarily influential program popularly known as the “GI Bill of Rights,” provided education, job training, medical care, pensions, and mortgage loans for men and women who had served in the armed forces (Chapter 26).

The president’s call for social legislation sought to reinvigorate the New Deal political coalition. In the election of 1944, Roosevelt again headed the Democratic ticket. But party leaders, aware of FDR’s health problems and fearing that Vice President Henry Wallace’s outspoken support for labor and civil rights would alienate moderate voters, dropped him from the ticket. In his place, they chose Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, a straight-talking, no-nonsense politician with little national experience. The Republicans nominated Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York. Dewey, who accepted the general principles of welfare-state liberalism domestically and favored internationalism in foreign affairs, attracted some of Roosevelt’s supporters. But a majority of voters preferred political continuity, and Roosevelt was reelected with 53.5 percent of the nationwide vote. The Democratic coalition retained its hold on government power, and the era of Republican political dominance (1896–1932) slipped further into the past.

Life on the Home Front

The United States escaped the physical devastation that ravaged Europe and East Asia, but the war profoundly changed the country. Americans welcomed wartime prosperity but shuddered when they saw a Western Union boy on his bicycle, fearing that he carried a War Department telegram reporting the death of someone’s son, husband, or father. Citizens also grumbled about annoying wartime regulations and rationing but accepted that their lives would be different “for the duration.”



A Family Effort

After migrating from the Midwest to Portland, Oregon, fifteen members of the family of John R. Brauckmiller (sixth from left) found jobs at Henry Kaiser's Swan Island shipyard. From 1943 to 1945, the shipyard turned out 152 T-2 Tankers, mostly for use by the U.S. Navy to carry fuel oil. A local newspaper pronounced the Brauckmillers as "the shipbuildingest family in America," and because of the importance of shipbuilding to the war effort, *Life* magazine featured the family in its issue of August 16, 1943. Ralph Vincent, *The Journal*, Portland, Oregon/Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

"For the Duration"

Spurred by both government propaganda and a desire to serve the war cause, people on the home front took on wartime responsibilities. They worked on civilian defense committees, recycled old newspapers and scrap material, and served on local rationing and draft boards. About twenty million backyard "victory gardens" produced 40 percent of the nation's vegetables. Various federal agencies encouraged these efforts, especially the Office of War Information (OWI), which disseminated news and promoted patriotism. The OWI urged advertising agencies to link their clients' products to the war effort, arguing that patriotic ads

would not only sell goods but also "invigorate, instruct and inspire" citizens (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 784).

Popular culture, especially the movies, reinforced connections between the home front and the war effort. Hollywood producers, directors, and actors offered their talents to the War Department. Director Frank Capra created a documentary series titled *Why We Fight* to explain war aims to conscripted soldiers. Movie stars such as John Wayne and Spencer Tracy portrayed heroic American fighting men in numerous films, such as *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943) and *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1945). In this pretelevision era, newsreels accompanying the feature films kept the public up-to-date on the war, as did on-the-spot radio

broadcasts by Edward R. Murrow and Mary Marvin Breckenridge, the first female radio correspondent for CBS.

For many Americans, the major inconvenience during the war years was the shortage of consumer goods. Beginning in 1942, federal agencies subjected almost everything Americans ate, wore, or used to rationing or regulation. The first major scarcity was rubber. The Japanese conquest of Malaysia and Dutch Indonesia cut off 97 percent of America's imports of that essential raw material. To conserve rubber for the war effort, the government rationed tires, so many of the nation's 30 million car owners put their cars in storage. As more people walked, they wore out their shoes. In 1944, shoes were rationed to two pairs per person a year. By 1943, the government was rationing meat, butter, sugar, and other foods. Most citizens cooperated with the complicated rationing and coupon system, but at least one-quarter of the population bought items on the black market, especially meat, gasoline, cigarettes, and nylon stockings.

Migration and the Wartime City

The war determined where people lived. When men entered the armed services, their families often followed them to training bases or points of debarkation. Civilians moved to take high-paying defense jobs. About 15 million Americans changed residences during the war years, half of them moving to another state. One of them was Peggy Terry, who grew up in Paducah, Kentucky; worked in a shell-loading plant in nearby Viola; and then moved to a defense plant in Michigan. There, she recalled, "I met all those wonderful Polacks [Polish Americans]. They were the first people I'd ever known that were any different from me. A whole new world just opened up."

As the center of defense production for the Pacific war, California experienced the largest share of wartime migration. The state welcomed nearly three million new residents and grew by 53 percent during the war. "The Second Gold Rush Hits the West," announced the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1943. One-tenth of all federal dollars flowed into California, and the state's factories turned out one-sixth of all war materials. People went where the defense jobs were: to Los Angeles, San Diego, and cities around San Francisco Bay. Some towns grew practically overnight; within two years of the opening of the Kaiser Corporation shipyard in Richmond, California, the town's population had quadrupled. Other industrial states—notably New York, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio—also attracted

both federal dollars and migrants on a large scale.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What effects did wartime migration have on the United States?

The growth of war industries accelerated patterns of rural-urban migration. Cities grew dramatically, as factories, shipyards, and other defense work drew millions of citizens from small towns and rural areas. This new mobility, coupled with people's distance from their hometowns, loosened the authority of traditional institutions and made wartime cities vibrant and exciting. Around-the-clock work shifts kept people on the streets night and day, and bars, jazz clubs, dance halls, and movie theaters proliferated, fed by the ready cash of war workers.

Racial Conflict Migration and more fluid social boundaries meant that people of different races and ethnicities mixed in the booming cities. Over one million African Americans left the rural South for California, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—a continuation of the Great Migration earlier in the century (Chapter 21). As blacks and whites competed for jobs and housing, racial conflicts broke out in more than a hundred cities in 1943. Detroit saw the worst violence. In June 1943, a riot incited by southern-born whites and Polish Americans against African Americans left thirty-four people dead and hundreds injured.

Racial conflict struck the West as well. In Los Angeles, male Hispanic teenagers formed *pachuco* (youth) gangs. Many dressed in "zoot suits"—broad-brimmed felt hats, thigh-length jackets with wide lapels and padded shoulders, pegged trousers, and clunky shoes. Pachucas (young women) favored long coats, huarache sandals, and pompadour hairdos. Other working-class teenagers in Los Angeles and elsewhere took up the zoot-suit style to underline their rejection of middle-class values. To many adults, the zoot suit symbolized juvenile delinquency. Rumors circulating in Los Angeles in June 1943 that a pachuco gang had beaten an Anglo (white) sailor set off a four-day riot in which hundreds of Anglo servicemen roamed through Mexican American neighborhoods and attacked zoot-suiters, taking special pleasure in slashing their pegged pants. In a stinging display of bias, Los Angeles police officers arrested only Mexican American youth, and the City Council passed an ordinance outlawing the wearing of the zoot suit.

Gay and Lesbian Communities Wartime migration to urban centers created new opportunities for gay men and women to establish communities. Religious

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Mobilizing the Home Front



The U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) promoted everything from food rationing to car-pooling during World War II, and the U.S. Treasury encouraged millions of Americans to buy war bonds. More than 20 million victory gardens were planted by ordinary Americans. By 1944 they were producing more than 40 percent of all vegetables grown in the United States. Through these and other measures, those on the home front were encouraged to see themselves as part of the war effort.

1. U.S. government advertisement from the *Minneapolis Star Journal*, 1943.



John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History, Duke University.

2. Copy from War Advertising Council/U.S. Treasury Department advertisement, 1943.

Farmer: "Well, there's something we *really* want now—*more than anything else* . . . and I guess everybody does. It's VICTORY IN THIS WAR! We had started saving for a new milking machine and a deep-well pump that we will be needing in a few years. . . . We're still going to have that milking machine and that pump—and a lot of other new improvements after the war. When our son comes home from the fighting front, he'll help us pick them out. And we'll have the cash to pay for them. With the money we are saving now in War Bonds. And we are going to hang on to as many War Bonds as possible to take care

of us after our boy takes over on the farm. For after ten years, we get four dollars back for every three we have invested."

3. Poster from the U.S. Office of Price Administration, 1943.



United States Office of Price Administration/Northwestern University Library.

4. 4-H Club exhibiting victory garden posters, c. 1943.



"4-H club boys and girls" ID: 0016623, Special Collections Research Center, North Carolina State University Libraries, Raleigh, North Carolina.

5. Oral histories about life during the war.

Tessie Hickam Wilson, a young woman from Oklahoma.

It was a hard time, but we felt like we were doing our part, and all the people we knew were doing their part. We had rationing. Sugar, coffee, gasoline and meat were some of the items that were hard to come by. We had ration books every so often, and we had to use them sparingly. We bought savings bonds to help in the war effort.

We also had radios and record players, and when we could afford it, we went to the movies. And even though there were hard times, we did what we could in the war effort, and I will always be glad I was part of it.

Virginia J. Bondra, a student and clothing worker from Ohio.

The only newsreel footage we saw was in the theaters when we went to a movie. And we used to bring scrap metal or cans, and we'd get in the movies free. They needed scrap metal and they—the USA needed scrap fat. My mother used to scrap fat, you know, in a can. She'd save it, and we'd bring it to a certain place. Sugar was rationed. Each member of the family would get one pound of sugar a week. And I always had time to bake because we had sugar. . . .

Different things were rationed. We couldn't buy nylons because it was needed . . . for parachutes. So we'd—we'd—my older sisters would paint their legs with a certain makeup that came out in place of nylons. . . . It was makeup for legs.

They painted a eyebrow pencil line down the back of their leg so it would look like real nylons. And we would

write V-mail. I had brother—brothers-in-law in the service. We—we'd write V-mail to them. It was called V-mail. Victory mail. . . . We couldn't put their address on because they were moved around a lot and we didn't want the enemy to know. There were a lot of secrets. They would say "zip your lip was the"—was the word of the days then. "Zip your lip" because we didn't want the enemy to get information.

Sources: (2) Digital Collections, Duke University Libraries; (4) National Park Service, *Rosie the Riveter: Women Working During World War II*, and the Library of Congress Veterans History Project.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Examine sources 1, 2, and 3. Who created these sources, and what does this suggest about the context and purpose of these documents? Can you tell from their content who the intended audience was?
2. Study the photograph (source 4). Who is depicted, and how were they posed? What does this suggest about the victory garden program as well as war efforts on the home front more broadly?
3. How do the oral histories in source 5 add to your understanding of home front involvement in the war effort? Does their testimony force you to question the other documents in any way, and if so, how?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Analyze some of the ways the U.S. government encouraged ordinary citizens to participate in the war effort, and evaluate the objectives and results of these efforts.



Zoot-Suit Youth in Los Angeles

During a four-day riot in June 1943, servicemen in Los Angeles attacked young Latino men wearing distinctive zoot suits, which were widely viewed as emblems of gang membership and a delinquent youth culture. The police response was to arrest scores of zoot-suiters. Here, a group of handcuffed young Latino men is about to board a Los Angeles County sheriff's bus to make a court appearance. Note the wide-legged pants that taper at the ankle, a hallmark of the zoot suit. The so-called zoot-suit riot was evidence of cracks in wartime unity on the home front. Library of Congress.

morality and social conventions against gays and lesbians kept the majority of them silent and their sexuality hidden. During the war, however, cities such as New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and even Kansas City, Buffalo, and Dallas developed vibrant

gay neighborhoods, sustained in part by a sudden influx of migrants and the relatively open wartime atmosphere. These communities became centers of the gay rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Chapter 29).



New Urban Communities

Folk singer Pete Seeger performs at the opening of the Washington, D.C., labor canteen in 1944, sponsored by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Wartime migration brought people from across the country to centers of industry and military operations. Migration opened new possibilities for urban communities. African American neighborhoods grew dramatically; urban populations grew younger and more mobile; and gay and lesbian communities began to flourish and become more visible. The Granger Collection, New York.

The military tried to screen out homosexuals but had limited success. Once in the services, homosexuals found opportunities to participate in a gay culture often more extensive than that in civilian life. In the last twenty years, historians have documented thriving communities of gay and lesbian soldiers in the World War II military. Some “came out under fire,” as one historian put it, but most kept their sexuality hidden from authorities, because army officers, doctors, and psychiatrists treated homosexuality as a psychological disorder that was grounds for dishonorable discharge.

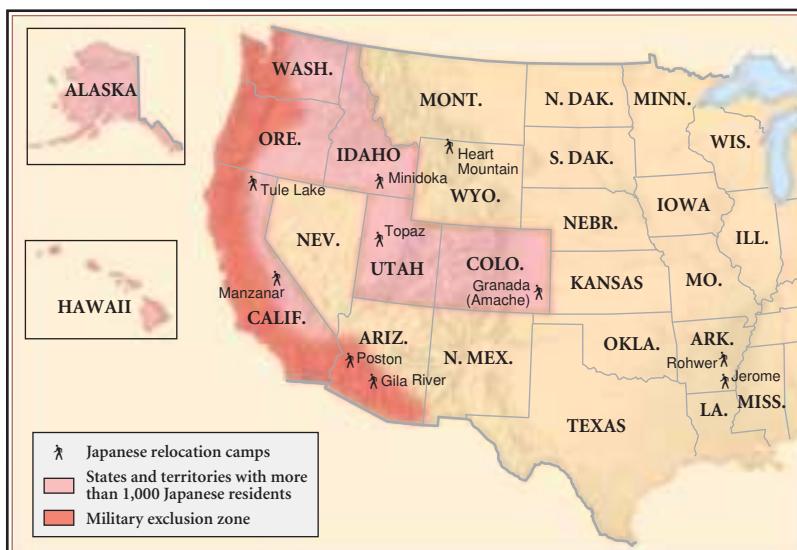
Japanese Removal

Unlike World War I, which evoked widespread harassment of German Americans, World War II produced relatively little condemnation of European Americans. Federal officials held about 5,000 potentially dangerous German and Italian aliens during the war. Despite the presence of small but vocal groups of Nazi sympathizers and Mussolini supporters, German American and Italian American communities were largely left in peace during the war. The relocation and temporary imprisonment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese American citizens was a glaring exception to this otherwise tolerant policy. Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the West Coast remained calm. Then, as residents began to fear spies, sabotage, and further attacks, California’s long history of racial animosity toward Asian immigrants surfaced. Local politicians and newspapers whipped up hysteria against Japanese Americans, who numbered only about 112,000, had no political power, and lived primarily in small enclaves in the Pacific coast states.

MAP 24.1

Japanese Relocation Camps

In 1942, the government ordered 112,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast into internment camps in the nation’s interior because of their supposed threat to public safety. Some of the camps were as far away as Arkansas. The federal government rescinded the mass evacuation order in December 1944, but 44,000 people still remained in the camps when the war ended in August 1945.



Early in 1942, President Roosevelt responded to anti-Japanese fears by issuing **Executive Order 9066**, which authorized the War Department to force Japanese Americans from their West Coast homes and hold them in relocation camps for the rest of the war. Although there was no disloyal or seditious activity among the evacuees, few public leaders opposed the plan. “A Jap’s a Jap,” snapped General John DeWitt, the officer charged with defense of the West Coast. “It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not.”

The relocation plan shocked Japanese Americans, more than two-thirds of whom were Nisei; that is, their parents were immigrants, but they were native-born American citizens. Army officials gave families only a few days to dispose of their property. Businesses that had taken a lifetime to build were liquidated overnight. The War Relocation Authority moved the prisoners to hastily built camps in desolate areas in California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arkansas (Map 24.1). Ironically, the Japanese Americans who made up one-third of the population of Hawaii, and presumably posed a greater threat because of their numbers and proximity to Japan, were not imprisoned. They provided much of the unskilled labor in the island territory, and the Hawaiian economy could not have functioned without them.

Cracks soon appeared in the relocation policy. An agricultural labor shortage led the government to furlough seasonal farmworkers from the camps as early as 1942. About 4,300 students were allowed to attend colleges outside the West Coast military zone. Other

IDENTIFY CAUSES

Why were Japanese Americans treated differently than German and Italian Americans during the war?



Behind Barbed Wire

As part of the forced relocation of 112,000 Japanese Americans, Los Angeles photographer Toyo Miyatake and his family were sent to Manzanar, a camp in the California desert east of the Sierra Nevada. Miyatake secretly began shooting photographs of the camp with a handmade camera. Eventually, Miyatake received permission from the authorities to document life in the camp—its births, weddings, deaths, and high school graduations. To communicate the injustice of internment, he also took staged photographs, such as this image of three young boys behind barbed wire with a watchtower in the distance. For Miyatake, the image gave new meaning to the phrase “prisoners of war.” Toyo Miyatake.

internees were permitted to join the armed services. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a unit composed almost entirely of Nisei volunteers, served with distinction in Europe.

Gordon Hirabayashi was among the Nisei who actively resisted incarceration. A student at the University of Washington, Hirabayashi was a religious pacifist who had registered with his draft board as a conscientious objector. He refused to report for evacuation and turned himself in to the FBI. “I wanted to uphold the principles of the Constitution,” Hirabayashi later stated, “and the curfew and evacuation orders which singled out a group on the basis of ethnicity violated them.” Tried and convicted in 1942, he appealed his case to the Supreme Court in *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943). In that case and in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944), the Court allowed the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast on the basis of “military necessity” but avoided ruling on the constitutionality of the incarceration program. The Court’s decision underscored the fragility of civil liberties in wartime. Congress issued a public apology in 1988 and awarded \$20,000 to each of the eighty thousand surviving Japanese Americans who had once been internees.

and much of Africa and the Middle East; Japan would have controlled most of East and Southeast Asia. To prevent this outcome, which would have crippled democracy in Europe and restricted American power to the Western Hemisphere, the Roosevelt administration took the United States to war. The combination of American intervention, the perseverance of Britain, and the profound civilian and military sacrifices of the Soviet Union decided the outcome of the conflict and shaped the character of the postwar world.

Wartime Aims and Tensions

Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union were the key actors in the Allied coalition. China, France, and other nations played crucial but smaller roles. The leaders who became known as the Big Three—President Franklin Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union—set military strategy. However, Stalin was not a party to the Atlantic Charter, which Churchill and Roosevelt had signed in August 1941, and disagreed fundamentally with some of its precepts, such as a capitalist-run international trading system. The Allies also disagreed about military strategy and timing. The Big Three made defeating Germany (rather than Japan) the top military priority, but they differed over how best to do it. In 1941, a massive German force had invaded the Soviet Union and reached the outskirts of Leningrad, Moscow, and Stalingrad before being halted in early 1942 by

Fighting and Winning the War

World War II was a war for control of the world. Had the Axis powers triumphed, Germany would have dominated, either directly or indirectly, all of Europe

hard-pressed Russian troops. To relieve pressure on the Soviet army, Stalin wanted the British and Americans to open a second front with a major invasion of Germany through France.

Roosevelt informally assured Stalin that the Allies would comply in 1942, but Churchill opposed an early invasion, and American war production was not yet sufficient to support it. For eighteen months, Stalin's pleas went unanswered, and the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the fighting; in the 1943 Battle of Kursk alone, the Soviet army suffered 860,000 casualties, several times what the Allies would suffer for the first two months of the European campaign after D-Day. Then, at a conference of the Big Three in Tehran, Iran, in November 1943, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to open a second front in France within six months in return for Stalin's promise to join the fight against Japan. Both sides adhered to this agreement, but the long delay angered Stalin, who became increasingly suspicious of American and British intentions.

The War in Europe

Throughout 1942, the Allies suffered one defeat after another. German armies pushed deep into Soviet territory, advancing through the wheat farms of the Ukraine and the rich oil region of the Caucasus. Simultaneously, German forces began an offensive in North Africa aimed at seizing the Suez Canal. In the Atlantic, U-boats devastated American convoys carrying oil and other vital supplies to Britain and the Soviet Union.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

How did the Allies disagree over military strategy?

Over the winter of 1942–1943, however, the tide began to turn in favor of the Allies. In the epic Battle of Stalingrad, Soviet forces not only halted the German advance but also allowed the Russian army to push westward (Map 24.2). By early 1944, Stalin's troops had driven the German army out of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, as Churchill's temporary substitute



Hitting the Beach at Normandy

These U.S. soldiers were among the 156,000 Allied troops who stormed the beaches of Normandy on D-Day, June 6, 1944: on that day alone, more than 10,000 were killed or wounded. Within a month, 1 million Allied troops had come ashore. Most Americans learned of the invasion at 3:30 A.M. Eastern Time, when Edward R. Murrow, the well-known radio journalist whose reports from war-torn London had gripped the nation in 1940, read General Eisenhower's statement to the troops. "The eyes of the world are upon you," Eisenhower told the men as they prepared to invade the European mainland. Library of Congress.



MAP 24.2

World War II in Europe, 1941–1943

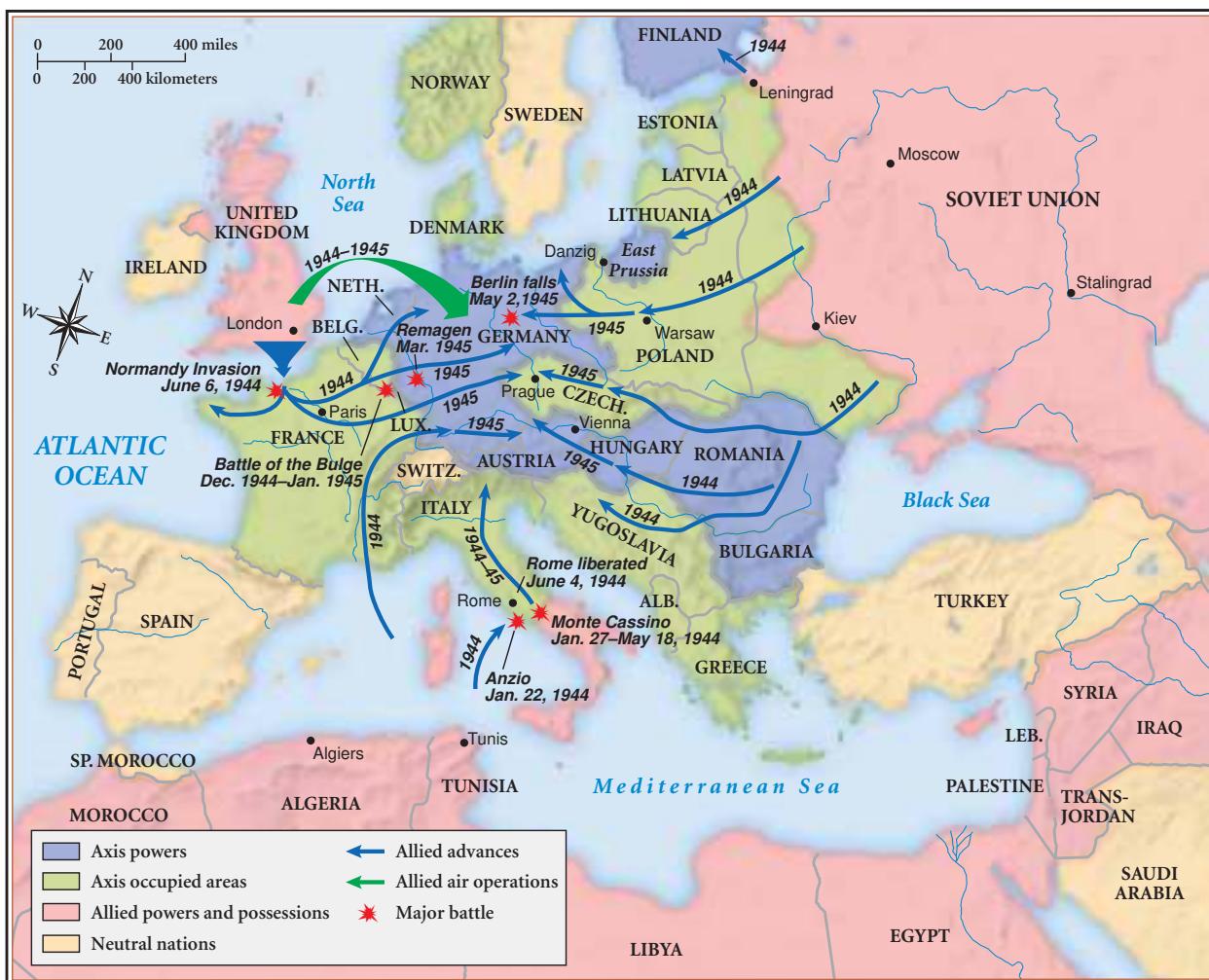
Hitler's Germany reached its greatest extent in 1942, by which time Nazi forces had occupied Norway, France, North Africa, central Europe, and much of western Russia. The tide of battle turned in late 1942 when the German advance stalled at Leningrad and Stalingrad. By early 1943, the Soviet army had launched a massive counterattack at Stalingrad, and Allied forces had driven the Germans from North Africa and launched an invasion of Sicily and the Italian mainland.

for a second front in France, the Allies launched a major counteroffensive in North Africa. Between November 1942 and May 1943, Allied troops under the leadership of General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General George S. Patton defeated the German Afrika Korps, led by General Erwin Rommel.

From Africa, the Allied command followed Churchill's strategy of attacking the Axis through its "soft underbelly": Sicily and the Italian peninsula. Faced with an Allied invasion, the Italian king ousted Mussolini's fascist regime in July 1943. But German troops, who far outmatched the Allies in skill and organization, took control of Italy and strenuously resisted

the Allied invasion. American and British divisions took Rome only in June 1944 and were still fighting German forces in northern Italy when the European war ended in May 1945 (Map 24.3). Churchill's southern strategy proved a time-consuming and costly mistake.

D-Day The long-promised invasion of France came on **D-Day**, June 6, 1944. That morning, the largest armada ever assembled moved across the English Channel under the command of General Eisenhower. When American, British, and Canadian soldiers hit the beaches of Normandy, they suffered terrible casualties but secured a beachhead. Over the next few days, more



MAP 24.3

World War II in Europe, 1944–1945

By the end of 1943, the Russian army had nearly pushed the Germans out of the Soviet Union, and by June 1944, when the British and Americans finally invaded France, the Russians had liberated eastern Poland and most of southeastern Europe. By the end of 1944, British and American forces were ready to invade Germany from the west, and the Russians were poised to do the same from the east. Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945.

than 1.5 million soldiers and thousands of tons of military supplies and equipment flowed into France. Much to the Allies' advantage, they never faced more than one-third of Hitler's Wehrmacht (armed forces), because the Soviet Union continued to hold down the Germans on the eastern front. In August, Allied troops liberated Paris; by September, they had driven the Germans out of most of France and Belgium. Meanwhile, long-range Allied bombers attacked German cities such as Hamburg and Dresden as well as military and industrial targets. The air campaign killed some 305,000 civilians and soldiers and injured another 780,000—a grisly reminder of the war's human brutality.

The Germans were not yet ready to give up, however. In December 1944, they mounted a final offensive in Belgium, the so-called Battle of the Bulge, before being pushed back across the Rhine River into Germany. American and British troops drove toward Berlin from the west, while Soviet troops advanced east through Poland. On April 30, 1945, as Russian troops massed outside Berlin, Hitler committed suicide; on May 7, Germany formally surrendered.

The Holocaust When Allied troops advanced into Poland and Germany in the spring of 1945, they came face-to-face with Hitler's "final solution" for the Jewish population of Germany and the German-occupied

countries: the extermination camps in which 6 million Jews had been put to death, along with another 6 million Poles, Slavs, Gypsies, homosexuals, and other “undesirables.” Photographs of the Nazi death camps at Buchenwald, Dachau, and Auschwitz showed bodies stacked like cordwood and survivors so emaciated that they were barely alive. Published in *Life* and other mass-circulation magazines, the photographs of the **Holocaust** horrified the American public and the world.

The Nazi persecution of German Jews in the 1930s was widely known in the United States. But when Jews had begun to flee Europe, the United States refused to relax its strict immigration laws to take them in. In 1939, when the SS *St. Louis*, a German ocean liner carrying nearly a thousand Jewish refugees, sought permission from President Roosevelt to dock at an American port, FDR had refused. Its passengers’ futures uncertain, the *St. Louis* was forced to return to Europe, where many would later be deported to Auschwitz and other extermination camps. American officials, along with those of most other nations, continued this exclusionist policy during World War II as the Nazi regime extended its control over millions of Eastern European Jews.

Various factors inhibited American action, but the most important was widespread anti-Semitism: in the State Department, Christian churches, and the public at large. The legacy of the immigration restriction legislation of the 1920s and the isolationist attitudes of the 1930s also discouraged policymakers from assuming responsibility for the fate of the refugees. Taking a narrow view of the national interest, the State Department allowed only 21,000 Jewish refugees to enter the United States during the war. But the War Refugee Board, which President Roosevelt established in 1944 at the behest of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, helped move 200,000 European Jews to safe havens in other countries.

The War in the Pacific

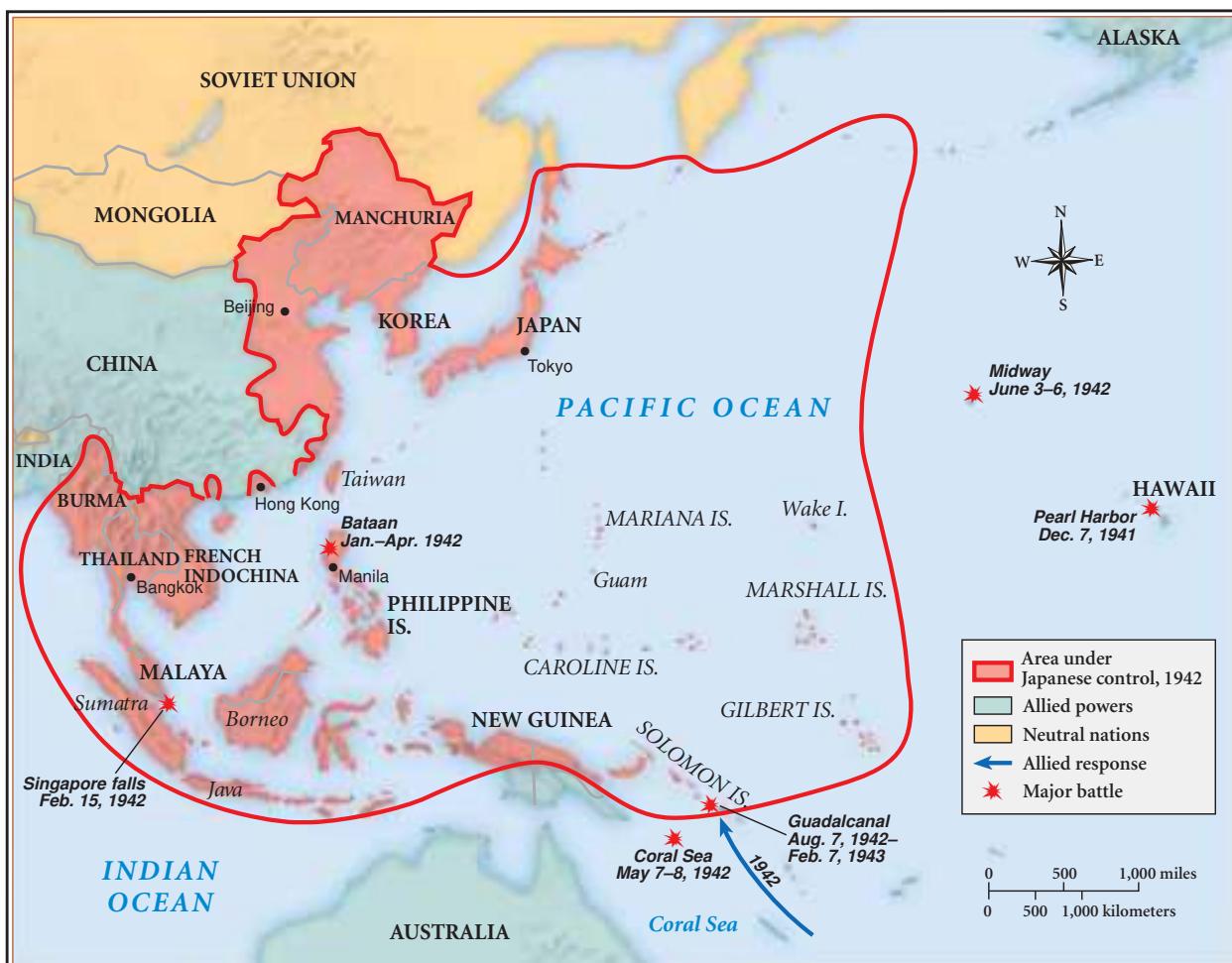
Winning the war against Japan was every bit as arduous as waging the campaign against Germany. After crippling the American battle fleet at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese quickly expanded into the South Pacific, with seaborne invasions of Hong Kong, Wake Island, and Guam. Japanese forces then advanced into Southeast Asia, conquering the Solomon Islands, Burma, and Malaya and threatening Australia and India. By May 1942, they had forced the surrender of U.S. forces in the Philippine Islands and, in the Bataan “death march,” caused the deaths of 10,000 American prisoners of war.

At that dire moment, American naval forces scored two crucial victories. These were possible because the attack on Pearl Harbor had destroyed several American battleships but left all aircraft carriers unscathed. In the Battle of the Coral Sea, off southern New Guinea in May 1942, they halted the Japanese offensive against Australia. Then, in June, at the Battle of Midway Island, the American navy severely damaged the Japanese fleet. In both battles, planes launched from American aircraft carriers provided the margin of victory. The U.S. military command, led by General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, now took the offensive in the Pacific (Map 24.4). For the next eighteen months, American forces advanced slowly toward Japan, taking one island after another in the face of determined Japanese resistance. In October 1944, MacArthur and Nimitz began the reconquest of the Philippines by winning the Battle of Leyte Gulf, a massive naval encounter in which the Japanese lost practically their entire fleet (Map 24.5).

By early 1945, victory over Japan was in sight. Japanese military forces had suffered devastating losses, and American bombing of the Japanese homeland had killed 330,000 civilians and crippled the nation’s economy. The bloodletting on both sides was horrendous. On the small islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers fought to the death, killing 13,000 U.S. Marines and wounding 46,000 more. Desperate to halt the American advance and short on ammunition, Japanese pilots flew suicidal kamikaze missions, crashing their bomb-laden planes into American ships.

Among the grim realities of war in the Pacific was the conflict’s racial overtones. The attack on Pearl Harbor reawakened the long tradition of anti-Asian sentiment in the United States. In the eyes of many Americans, the Japanese were “yellow monkeys,” an inferior race whose humanity deserved minimal respect. Racism was evident among the Japanese as well. Their brutal attacks on China (including the rape of Nanjing), their forcing of Korean “comfort women” to have sex with Japanese soldiers, and their treatment of American prisoners in the Philippines flowed from their own sense of racial superiority. Anti-Japanese attitudes in the United States would subside in the 1950s as the island nation became a trusted ally. But racism would again play a major role in the U.S. war in Vietnam in the 1960s.

As the American navy advanced on Japan in the late winter of 1945, President Roosevelt returned to the United States from the Yalta Conference, a major meeting of the Big Three at Yalta, a resort town on the Black

**MAP 24.4****World War II in the Pacific, 1941–1942**

After the attacks on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Japanese rapidly extended their domination in the Pacific. The Japanese flag soon flew as far east as the Marshall and Gilbert islands and as far south as the Solomon Islands and parts of New Guinea. Japan also controlled the Philippines, much of Southeast Asia, and parts of China, including Hong Kong. By mid-1942, American naval victories at the Coral Sea and Midway stopped further Japanese expansion.

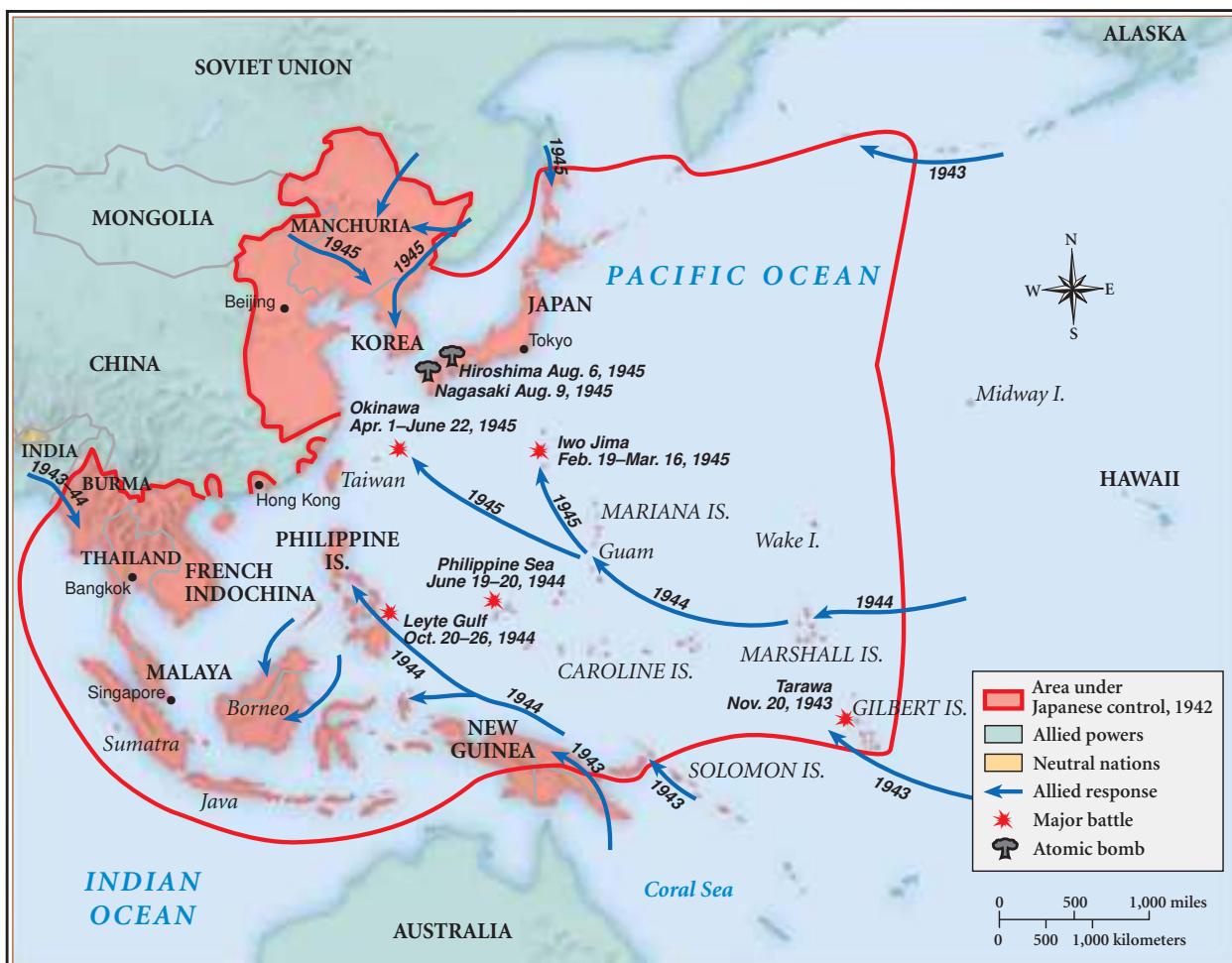
Sea (Chapter 25). The sixty-three-year-old president was a sick man, visibly exhausted by his 14,000-mile trip and suffering from heart failure and high blood pressure. On April 12, 1945, during a short visit to his vacation home in Warm Springs, Georgia, Roosevelt suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died.

The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War

When Harry Truman assumed the presidency, he learned for the first time about the top-secret **Manhattan Project**, which was on the verge of testing a new weapon: the atomic bomb. Working at the University of Chicago in December 1942, Enrico Fermi and Leo

Szilard, refugees from fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, produced the first controlled atomic chain reaction using highly processed uranium. With the aid of German-born refugee Albert Einstein, the greatest theorist of modern physics and a scholar at Princeton, they persuaded Franklin Roosevelt to develop an atomic weapon, warning that German scientists were also working on such nuclear reactions.

The Manhattan Project cost \$2 billion, employed 120,000 people, and involved the construction of thirty-seven installations in nineteen states—with all of its activity hidden from Congress, the American people, and even Vice President Truman. Directed by General Leslie Graves and scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, the nation's top physicists assembled the



MAP 24.5

World War II in the Pacific, 1943–1945

Allied forces retook the islands of the central Pacific in 1943 and 1944 and ousted the Japanese from the Philippines early in 1945. Carrier-launched planes had started bombing Japan itself in 1942, but the capture of these islands gave U.S. bombers more bases from which to strike Japanese targets. As the Soviet army invaded Japanese-occupied Manchuria in August 1945, U.S. planes took off from one of the newly captured Mariana Islands to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese offered to surrender on August 10.

first bomb in Los Alamos, New Mexico, and successfully tested it on July 16, 1945. Overwhelmed by its frightening power, as he witnessed the first mushroom cloud, Oppenheimer recalled the words from the Bhagavad Gita, one of the great texts of Hindu scripture: “I am become Death, the Destroyer of Worlds.”

Three weeks later, President Truman ordered the dropping of atomic bombs on two Japanese cities:

Hiroshima on August 6 and Nagasaki on August 9. Truman’s rationale for this order—and the implications of his decision—have long been the subject of scholarly and popular debate. The

principal reason was straightforward: Truman and his American advisors, including Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall, believed that Japan’s military leaders would never surrender unless their country faced national ruin. Moreover, at the Potsdam Conference on the outskirts of Berlin in July 1945, the Allies had agreed that only the “unconditional surrender” of Japan was acceptable—the same terms under which Germany and Italy had been defeated. To win such a surrender, an invasion of Japan itself seemed necessary. Stimson and Marshall told Truman that such an invasion would produce between half a million and a million Allied casualties.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What factors influenced Truman’s decision to use atomic weapons against Japan?



The Big Three at Yalta

With victory in Europe at hand, Roosevelt journeyed in February 1945 to Yalta, on the Black Sea, and met for what would be the final time with Churchill and Stalin. The leaders discussed the important and controversial issues of the treatment of Germany, the status of Poland, the creation of the United Nations, and Russian entry into the war against Japan. The Yalta agreements mirrored a new balance of power and set the stage for the Cold War. Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

Before giving the order to drop the atomic bomb, Truman considered other options. His military advisors rejected the most obvious alternative: a nonlethal demonstration of the bomb's awesome power, perhaps on a remote Pacific island. If the demonstration failed—not out of the question, as the bomb had been tested only once—it would embolden Japan further. A detailed advance warning designed to scare Japan into surrender was also rejected. Given Japan's tenacious fighting in the Pacific, the Americans believed that only massive devastation or a successful invasion would lead Japan's military leadership to surrender. After all, the deaths of more than 100,000 Japanese civilians in the U.S. firebombing of Tokyo and other cities in the spring of 1945 had brought Japan no closer to surrender.

In any event, the atomic bombs achieved the immediate goal. The deaths of 100,000 people at Hiroshima

and 60,000 at Nagasaki prompted the Japanese government to surrender unconditionally on August 10 and to sign a formal agreement on September 2, 1945. Fascism had been defeated, thanks to a fragile alliance between the capitalist nations of the West and the communist government of the Soviet Union. The coming of peace would strain and then destroy the victorious coalition. Even as the global war came to an end, the early signs of the coming Cold War were apparent, as were the stirrings of independence in the European colonies.

The Toll of the War

After the battle of Iwo Jima, one of the fiercest and bloodiest of the Pacific war, a rabbi chaplain in the Marine Corps delivered the eulogy for the fallen. "This shall not be in vain," he said, surveying a battlefield that



Hiroshima, March 1946

Though the atomic bomb had been dropped on the port city of Hiroshima six months previous to this photo being taken, the devastation is still apparent. The U.S. Army report on the bombing described the immediate effects of the blast: "At 8:15 A.M., the bomb exploded with a blinding flash in the sky, and a great rush of air and a loud rumble of noise extended for many miles around the city; the first blast was soon followed by the sounds of falling buildings and of growing fires, and a great cloud of dust and smoke began to cast a pall of darkness over the city." The only buildings not leveled were those with concrete reinforcement, meant to withstand earthquakes. The human toll of this weapon was unprecedented: of the estimated population of 350,000, 100,000 were likely killed by the explosion, and many tens of thousands more died slowly of the effects of radiation poisoning. U.S. Air Force.

witnessed the deaths of nearly 30,000 American and Japanese soldiers. Speaking of American losses, he said, "from the suffering and sorrow of those who mourn this, will come—we promise—the birth of a new freedom for the sons of man everywhere." The toll of "suffering and sorrow" from World War II was enormous. Worldwide, more than 50 million soldiers and civilians were killed, nearly 2.5 percent of the globe's population. The Holocaust took the lives of 6 million European Jews, 2.6 million from Poland alone. Nearly 100 million additional soldiers and civilians were wounded, and 30 million people across the globe were rendered homeless. It was one of the most wrenching, disruptive, and terrible wars in human history.

Alongside the human toll stood profound economic and political transformations. Hundreds of cities in Europe and Asia had been bombed. Some of them, like Dresden, Warsaw, Hamburg, and Hiroshima, had been simply obliterated. Much of the industrial infrastructure of Germany and Japan, two of the world's most important industrial economies before the war, lay in ruins. Moreover, despite emerging as one of the

victors, Britain was no longer a global power. The independence movement in India was only the most obvious sign of its waning influence. Indeed, throughout the colonized world in Asia and Africa, people had taken the Atlantic Charter, and FDR's insistence that this was a war for *democracy*, seriously. For them, resumption of European imperialism was unacceptable, and the war represented a step toward national self-determination.

In the United States, too, the toll of war was great. More than 400,000 lives were lost, and nearly 300,000 American soldiers were wounded. Yet millions returned home, and in the coming decades veterans would play a central role in national life. Incredibly, in 1950 World War II veterans made up one-third of all American men over the age of nineteen. Only the Civil War involved a comparable commitment of military service from a generation. Americans paid dearly for that commitment—though not, it must be noted, as dearly as other peoples in Europe and Asia—and the legacies of the war shaped families, politics, and foreign policy for the remainder of the century.

SUMMARY

The rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan led to the outbreak of World War II. Initially, the American public opposed U.S. intervention. But by 1940, President Roosevelt was mobilizing support for the military and preparing the country for war. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 brought the nation fully into the conflict. War mobilization dramatically expanded the federal government and led to substantial economic growth. It also boosted geographical and social mobility as women, rural whites, and southern blacks found employment in new defense plants across the country. Government rules assisted both the labor movement and the African American campaign for civil rights. However, religious and racial animosity caused the exclusion of Jewish refugees and the internment of 112,000 Japanese Americans.

By 1942, Germany and Japan seemed to be winning the war. But in 1943, the Allies took the offensive—with

advances by the Soviet army in Europe and the American navy in the Pacific—and by the end of 1944, Allied victory was all but certain. Germany finally surrendered in May 1945, and Japan surrendered in August, after the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The United States emerged from the war with an undamaged homeland, sole possession of the atomic bomb, and a set of unresolved diplomatic disputes with the Soviet Union that would soon lead to the four-decade-long Cold War. Federal laws and practices established during the war—the universal income tax, a huge military establishment, and multibillion-dollar budgets, to name but a few—became part of American life. So, too, did the active participation of the United States in international politics and alliances, an engagement intensified by the unresolved issues of the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union and the postwar fate of colonized nations.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to [LearningCurve](#) to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- fascism (p. 768)
- National Socialist (Nazi) Party (p. 768)
- Rome-Berlin Axis (p. 769)
- Neutrality Act of 1935 (p. 769)
- Popular Front (p. 770)
- Munich Conference (p. 770)
- Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies (p. 771)
- America First Committee (p. 771)
- Four Freedoms (p. 771)
- Lend-Lease Act (p. 771)
- Atlantic Charter (p. 772)
- Pearl Harbor (p. 773)
- War Powers Act (p. 773)
- Revenue Act (p. 775)
- code talkers (p. 776)
- Executive Order 8802 (p. 780)
- Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944) (p. 781)
- zoot suits (p. 783)
- Executive Order 9066 (p. 787)
- D-Day (p. 790)
- Holocaust (p. 792)
- Manhattan Project (p. 793)

Key People

- Benito Mussolini (p. 768)
- Adolf Hitler (p. 768)
- Hideki Tojo (p. 773)
- Charles A. Lindbergh (p. 769)
- Winston Churchill (p. 772)
- Harry S. Truman (p. 781)
- Gordon Hirabayashi (p. 788)
- Dwight D. Eisenhower (p. 790)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- World War II has popularly been called the “good war.” Do you agree with this assessment? Why do you think it earned that nickname?
- Overall, what effects—positive or negative—did World War II have on social change in the United States, particularly among women and minority groups?
- How did World War II affect the federal government’s regulating of the economy and its taxing power?
- THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events listed under “America in the World” on the thematic timeline on page 671. How did World War II change the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world in the first half of the twentieth century?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** For the United States, the period between World War I (1914–1918) and World War II (1937–1945) was a prolonged series of conflicts and crises, both domestically and internationally. What connections can be drawn between World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II? Did this “long” conflict draw the United States and Europe closer together or drive them further apart? How did American attitudes toward involvement in European affairs change over this period?
- VISUAL EVIDENCE** Compare the photographs of soldiers and those contributing to the war effort. How do these images help us understand a major event like World War II from different perspectives? How would their proximity to battle affect people’s experience of war?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Ronald A. Goldberg, *America in the Forties* (2012). An engaging account of the home front during World War II.

David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (1999). A fascinating exploration of both the domestic and military experience of World War II.

Elizabeth Mullener, *War Stories: Remembering World War II* (2002). Fifty-three personal stories of war.

Emily Yellin, *Our Mothers’ War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II* (2004). The war seen from the point of view of women.

For documents and images related to the war, see “A People at War” and “Powers of Persuasion: Poster Art

from World War II” (archives.gov/exhibits/exhibits-list.html); “Women Come to the Front: Journalists, Photographers, and Broadcasters During World War II” (lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/wcf/wcf0001.html); “The Japanese American Legacy Project” (densho.org/densho.asp); and “Ansel Adams’s Photographs of Japanese-American Internment at Manzanar” (memory.loc.gov/ammem/aamhtml).

“The Enola Gay Controversy: How Do We Remember a War That We Won?” at lehigh.edu/~ineng/enola. Lehigh University professor Edward J. Gallagher’s site on the decision to drop the atomic bomb.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1933	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Adolf Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany
1935	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Italy invades Ethiopia
1935–1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• U.S. Neutrality Acts
1936	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Germany reoccupies Rhineland demilitarized zone• Rome-Berlin Axis established
1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Japan invades China
1938	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Munich conference
1939	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• German-Soviet nonaggression pact• Germany invades Poland• Britain and France declare war on Germany
1940	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Germany, Italy, and Japan form alliance
1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Germany invades Soviet Union• Lend-Lease Act and Atlantic Charter established• Japanese attack Pearl Harbor (December 7)
1942	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Executive Order 9066 leads to Japanese internment camps• Battles of Coral Sea and Midway halt Japanese advance
1942–1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Rationing of scarce goods
1943	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Race riots in Detroit and Los Angeles
1944	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• D-Day: Allied landing in France (June 6)
1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Yalta Conference (February)• Germany surrenders (May 7)• United Nations founded• Potsdam Conference (July–August)• United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 6 and 9)• Japan surrenders (August 10)

KEY TURNING POINTS: On the timeline, identify the key turning points for the Allies in the European and Pacific campaigns.

8

P A R T

CHAPTER 25

**Cold War America,
1945–1963**

CHAPTER 26

**Triumph of the Middle
Class, 1945–1963**

CHAPTER 27

**Walking into Freedom
Land: The Civil Rights
Movement, 1941–1973**

CHAPTER 28

**Uncivil Wars:
Liberal Crisis and
Conservative Rebirth,
1961–1972**

CHAPTER 29

**The Search for Order
in an Era of Limits,
1973–1980**

The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism

1945–1980

Between 1945 and 1980, the United States became the world's leading economic and military power. That development defines these decades as a distinct period of American history. Internationally, a prolonged period of tension and conflict known as the Cold War drew the United States into an engagement in world affairs unprecedented in the nation's history. Domestically, three decades of sustained economic growth, whose benefits were widely, though imperfectly, distributed, expanded the middle class and brought into being a mass consumer society. These international and domestic developments were intertwined with the predominance of liberalism in American politics and public policy. One might think of an “age of liberalism” in this era, encompassing the social-welfare liberalism that was a legacy of the New Deal and the rights liberalism of the 1960s, both of which fell under the larger umbrella of Cold War liberalism.

Global leadership abroad and economic prosperity at home were conditioned on further expansions in government power. How that power was used proved controversial. Immediately following World War II, a national security state emerged to investigate so-called subversives in the United States and, through the clandestine Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to destabilize foreign governments abroad. Meanwhile, American troops went to war in Korea and Vietnam. At home, African Americans, women, the poor, and other social groups called for greater equality in American life and sought new laws and government initiatives to make that equality a reality. Here, in brief, are the three key dimensions of this convulsive, turbulent era.



Global Leadership and the Cold War

When the United States officially joined the combatants of World War II, it entered into an alliance with England and the Soviet Union. That alliance proved impossible to sustain after 1945, as the United States and the Soviet Union became competitors to shape postwar Europe, East Asia, and the developing world. The resulting Cold War lasted four decades, during which the United States extended its political and military reach onto every continent. Under the presidency of Harry S. Truman, American officials developed the policy of containment—a combination of economic, diplomatic, and military actions to limit the expansion of communism—that subsequent presidents embraced and expanded.

Diplomatic and military intervention abroad was a hallmark of the Cold War. Most American interventions took place in developing countries, in recently independent, decolonized nations, and in countries where nationalist movements pressed for independence. In the name of preventing the spread of communism, the United States intervened directly or indirectly in China, Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, Indonesia, and the Dominican Republic, among many other nations, and fought major wars in Korea and Vietnam. This new global role for the United States inspired support but also spurred detractors. The latter eventually included the antiwar movement during the war in Vietnam. Chapter 25 focuses on the Cold War, and Vietnam is addressed in Chapter 28.

The Age of Liberalism

In response to the Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal expanded federal responsibility for the social welfare of ordinary citizens, sweeping away much of the *laissez-faire* individualism of earlier eras (see Chapter 23). Legislators from both parties embraced liberal ideas about the role of government and undertook such measures as the GI Bill, subsidies for suburban home ownership, and investment in infrastructure and education. Poverty, however, affected nearly one-third of Americans in the 1960s, and racial discrimination denied millions of nonwhites full citizenship. Lack of opportunity became a driving force in the civil rights movement and in the Great Society under President Lyndon Johnson.

Inspired by African American civil rights, other social movements sought equality based on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and other identities. If "New Deal liberalism" had focused on social welfare, this "rights liberalism" focused on protecting people from discrimination and ensuring equal citizenship. These struggles resulted in new laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and transformative Supreme Court decisions. Conservative opponents, however, mobilized in the 1960s against what they saw as the excesses of liberal activism. The resulting conflict began to reshape politics in the 1970s and laid the groundwork for a new conservative resurgence. These developments are discussed in Chapters 27 and 28.



Mass Consumption and the Middle Class

More than ever, the postwar American economy was driven by mass consumption and the accompanying process of suburbanization. Rising wages, increasing access to higher education, and the availability of suburban home ownership raised living standards and allowed more Americans than ever to afford consumer goods. Suburbanization transformed the nation's cities, and the Sunbelt led the nation in population growth. But the new prosperity had mixed results. Cities declined and new racial and ethnic ghettos formed. Suburbanization and mass consumption raised concerns that the nation's rivers, streams, air, and open land were being damaged, and an environmental movement arose in response. And prosperity itself proved short-lived. By the 1970s, deindustrialization had eroded much of the nation's once prosperous industrial base.

A defining characteristic of the postwar decades was the growth of the American middle class. That growth was predicated on numerous demographic changes. Home ownership increased, as did college enrollments. Women worked more outside the home and spurred a new feminism. Children enjoyed more purchasing power, and a "teen culture" arose on television, in popular music, and in film. The family became politicized, too, and by the late 1970s, liberals and conservatives were divided over how best to address the nation's family life. All these developments are discussed in Chapters 25 and 29.

The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism 1945–1980

Thematic Understanding

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes. Consider the entries under "America in the World" and "Politics and Power" across all four decades. What connections were there between international developments and domestic politics in this era of the Cold War? ➤

	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	POLITICS AND POWER	IDENTITY	ENVIRONMENT AND GEOGRAPHY	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1940	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Truman Doctrine Israel created (1947) Marshall Plan (1948) Containment strategy emerges NATO created; West Germany created (1949) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GI Bill (1944) Loyalty-Security Program Taft-Hartley Act (1947) Truman reelected (1948) Truman's Fair Deal (1949) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>To Secure These Rights</i> (1947) Desegregation of armed services (1948) <i>Shelley v. Kraemer</i> (1948) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued South-North migration of African Americans First Levittown opens (1947) FHA and VA subsidize suburbanization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bretton Woods system established; World Bank, International Monetary Fund Baby boom establishes new consumer generation
1950	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Permanent mobilization as a result of NSC-68 Korean War (1950–1953) Geneva Accords regarding Vietnam (1954) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cold War liberalism McCarthyism and Red Scare Eisenhower's presidency (1953–1961) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> (1954) Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955) Little Rock—Central High School desegregation battle Southern Christian Leadership Conference founded (1957) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disneyland opens (1955) National Highway Act (1956) Growth of suburbia and Sunbelt Atomic bomb testing in Nevada and Pacific Ocean 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty of Detroit (1950) Military-industrial complex begins to rise National Defense Education Act (1958) spurs development of technology
1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cuban missile crisis (1962) Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964) Johnson sends ground troops to Vietnam; war escalates (1965) Tet offensive (1968); peace talks begin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> John F. Kennedy's New Frontier John F. Kennedy assassinated (1963) Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory (1964) War on Poverty; Great Society Riots at Democratic National Convention (1968) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greensboro sit-ins <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> (1963) Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts (1964–1965) National Organization for Women founded (1966) Alcatraz occupation (1969) Black Power Student and antiwar activism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Great Society environmental initiatives Urban riots (1964–1968) Kerner Commission Report (1968) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic boom Government spending on Vietnam and Great Society Medicare and Medicaid created (1965)
1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nixon invades Cambodia (1971) Paris Accords end Vietnam War (1973) Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel (1978) Iranian Revolution (1979) and hostage crisis (1979–1981) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Richard Nixon's landslide victory (1972) Watergate scandal; Nixon resigns (1974) Jimmy Carter elected president (1976) Moral Majority founded (1979) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Equal Rights Amendment (1972) <i>Roe v. Wade</i> (1973) <i>Bakke v. University of California</i> (1978) Harvey Milk assassinated (1978) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First Earth Day (1970) Environmental Protection Agency established (1970) Endangered Species Act (1973) Three Mile Island accident (1979) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Energy crisis (1973) Inflation surges, while economy stagnates (stagflation) Deindustrialization Tax revolt in California (1978)

25

CHAPTER

CONTAINMENT AND A DIVIDED GLOBAL ORDER

Origins of the Cold War
The Containment Strategy
Containment in Asia

COLD WAR LIBERALISM

Truman and the End of Reform
Red Scare: The Hunt for Communists
The Politics of Cold War Liberalism

CONTAINMENT IN THE POSTCOLONIAL WORLD

The Cold War and Colonial Independence
John F. Kennedy and the Cold War
Making a Commitment in Vietnam

Cold War America

1945–1963

In the autumn of 1950, a little-known California congressman running for the Senate named Richard M. Nixon stood before reporters in Los Angeles. His opponent, Helen Gahagan Douglas, was a Hollywood actress and a New Deal Democrat. Nixon told the gathered reporters that Douglas had cast “Communist-leaning” votes and that she was “pink right down to her underwear.” Gahagan’s voting record was not much different from Nixon’s. But tarring her with communism made her seem un-American, and Nixon defeated the “pink lady” with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

A few months earlier, U.S. tanks, planes, and artillery supplies had arrived in French Indochina. A French colony since the nineteenth century, Indochina (present-day Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) was home to an independence movement led by Ho Chi Minh and supported by the Soviet Union and China. In the summer of 1950, President Harry S. Truman authorized \$15 million worth of military supplies to aid France, which was fighting Ho’s army to keep possession of its Indochinese empire. “Neither national independence nor democratic evolution exists in any area dominated by Soviet imperialism,” Secretary of State Dean Acheson warned ominously as he announced U.S. support for French imperialism.

Connecting these coincidental historical moments, one domestic and the other international, was a decades-old force in American life that gained renewed strength after World War II: anticommunism. The events in Los Angeles and Vietnam, however different on the surface, were part of the global geopolitical struggle between the democratic United States and the communist, authoritarian Soviet Union known as the Cold War. Beginning in Europe as World War II ended and extending to Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa by the mid-1950s, the Cold War reshaped international relations and dominated global politics for more than forty years.

In the United States, the Cold War fostered suspicion of “subversives” in government, education, and the media. The arms race that developed between the two superpowers prompted Congress to boost military expenditures. The resulting military-industrial complex enhanced the power of the corporations that built planes, munitions, and electronic devices. In politics, the Cold War stifled liberal initiatives as the New Deal coalition tried to advance its domestic agenda in the shadow of anticommunism. In these ways, the line between the international and the domestic blurred—and that blurred line was another enduring legacy of the Cold War.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

In the first two decades of the Cold War, how did competition on the international stage and a climate of fear at home affect politics, society, and culture in the United States?



It can happen Here

JOIN

CIVIL DEFENSE

Contributed in the interest

THE DEFENSE COUNCIL OF TEANECK

The Perils of the Cold War Americans, like much of the world, lived under the threat of nuclear warfare during the tense years of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. This 1951 civil defense poster, with the message "It can happen Here," suggests that Americans should be prepared for such a dire outcome. © Bettmann/Corbis.

Containment and a Divided Global Order

The Cold War began on the heels of World War II and ended in 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. While it lasted, this conflict raised two critical questions at the center of global history: What conditions, and whose interests, would determine the balance of power in Europe and Asia? And how would the developing nations (the European colonies in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa) gain their independence and take their places on the world stage? Cold War rivalry framed the possible answers to both questions as it drew the United States into a prolonged engagement with world affairs, unprecedented in the nation's history, that continues to the present day.

Origins of the Cold War

World War II set the basic conditions for the Cold War. With Germany and Japan defeated and Britain and France weakened by years of war, only two geopolitical powers remained standing in 1945. Even had nothing divided them, the United States and the Soviet Union would have jostled each other as they moved to fill the

postwar power vacuum. But, of course, the two countries were divided—by geography, history, ideology, and strategic interest. Little united them other than their commitment to defeating the Axis powers. President Franklin Roosevelt understood that maintaining the U.S.-Soviet alliance was essential for postwar global stability. But he also believed that permanent peace and long-term U.S. interests depended on the Wilsonian principles of collective security, self-determination, and free trade (Chapter 21).

Yalta At the **Yalta Conference** of February 1945, Wilsonian principles yielded to U.S.-Soviet power realities. As Allied forces neared victory in Europe and advanced toward Japan in the Pacific, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met in Yalta, a resort in southern Ukraine on the Black Sea. Roosevelt focused on maintaining Allied unity and securing Stalin's commitment to enter the war against Japan. But the fates of the nations of Eastern Europe divided the Big Three. Stalin insisted that Russian national security required pro-Soviet governments in Eastern Europe. Roosevelt pressed for an agreement, the "Declaration on Liberated Europe," that guaranteed self-determination and democratic elections in Poland and neighboring countries, such as Romania and Hungary. However, given the



East Meets West

With an "East Meets West" placard providing inspiration, Private Frank B. Huff of Virginia (on the left) and a Russian soldier shake hands. Huff was one of the first four Americans to contact the Russians when the two armies met at the River Elbe (seen in the background of this photo) in eastern Germany, on April 25, 1945. The good will in evidence in the spring of 1945, as Americans and Russians alike celebrated the defeat of Nazi Germany, would within two short years be replaced by Cold War suspicion and hostility. © Bettmann/Corbis.

presence of Soviet troops in those nations, FDR had to accept a pledge from Stalin to hold “free and unfettered elections” at a future time. The three leaders also formalized their commitment to divide Germany into four administrative zones, each controlled by one of the four Allied powers, and to similarly partition the capital city, Berlin, which was located in the middle of the Soviet zone.

At Yalta, the Big Three also agreed to establish an international body to replace the discredited League of Nations. Based on plans drawn up at the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks conference in Washington, D.C., the new organization, to be known as the **United Nations**, would have both a General Assembly, in which all nations would be represented, and a Security Council composed of the five major Allied powers—the United States, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union—and seven other nations elected on a rotating basis. The Big Three determined that the five permanent members of the Security Council should have veto power over decisions of the General Assembly. They announced that the United Nations would convene for the first time in San Francisco on April 25, 1945.

Potsdam Following the Yalta Conference, developments over the ensuing year further hardened relations between the Soviets on one side and the Americans and British on the other. At the **Potsdam Conference** outside Berlin in July 1945, Harry Truman replaced the deceased Roosevelt. Inexperienced in world affairs and thrown into enormously complicated negotiations, Truman’s instinct was to stand up to Stalin. “Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language,” he said, “another war is in the making.” But Truman was in no position to realign events in Eastern Europe, where Soviet-imposed governments in Poland, Hungary, and Romania were backed by the Red Army and could not be eliminated by Truman’s bluster. In Poland and Romania, in particular, Stalin was determined to establish communist governments, punish wartime Nazi collaborators, and win boundary concessions that augmented Soviet territory (the Soviet leader sought eastern Polish lands for the Soviet Union and sought to make far northeastern Germany part of Poland).

Yalta and Potsdam thus set the stage for communist rule to descend over Eastern Europe. The elections called for at Yalta eventually took place in Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, with varying degrees of democratic openness. Nevertheless, Stalin got the client regimes he desired in those countries and would soon exert near-complete control over their governments. Stalin’s unwillingness to honor

self-determination for nations in Eastern Europe was, from the American point of view, the precipitating event of the Cold War.

Germany represented the biggest challenge of all. American officials at Potsdam believed that a revived German economy was essential to ensuring the prosperity of democratic regimes throughout Western Europe—and to keeping ordinary Germans from turning again to Nazism. In contrast, Stalin hoped merely to extract reparations from Germany in the form of industrial machines and goods. In exchange for recognizing the new German-Polish border, Truman and Secretary of State James Byrnes convinced the Soviet leader to accept German reparations only from the Soviet zone, which lay in the far eastern, and largely rural, portion of Germany and promised little wealth or German industry to plunder. As they had done for Europe as a whole, the Yalta and Potsdam agreements paved the way for the division of Germany into East and West (Map 25.1).

Yalta and Potsdam had demonstrated that in private negotiations the United States and the Soviet Union had starkly different objectives. Subsequent public utterances only intensified those differences. In February 1946, Stalin delivered a speech in which he insisted that, according to Marxist-Leninist principles, “the unevenness of development of the capitalist countries” was likely to produce “violent disturbance” and even another war. He seemed to blame any future war on the capitalist West. Churchill responded in kind a month later. While visiting Truman in Missouri to be honored for his wartime leadership, Churchill accused Stalin of raising an “iron curtain” around Eastern Europe and allowing “police government” to rule its people. He went further, claiming that “a fraternal association of English-speaking peoples,” and not Russians, ought to set the terms of the postwar world.

The cities and fields of Europe had barely ceased to run with the blood of World War II before they were menaced again by the tense standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States. With Stalin intent on establishing client states in Eastern Europe and the United States equally intent on reviving Germany and ensuring collective security throughout Europe, the points of agreement were few and far between. Among the Allies, anxiety about a Nazi victory in World War II had been quickly replaced by fear of a potentially more cataclysmic war with the Soviet Union.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

How did American and Soviet viewpoints differ over the postwar fate of Europe?

**MAP 25.1****Cold War in Europe, 1955**

This map vividly shows the Cold War division of Europe. The NATO countries (colored green) are allies of the United States; the Warsaw Pact countries (in purple) are allied to the USSR. At that point, West Germany had just been admitted to NATO, completing Europe's stabilization into two rival camps. But Berlin remained divided, and one can see from its location deep in East Germany why the former capital was always a flash point in Cold War controversies.

The Containment Strategy

In the late 1940s, American officials developed a clear strategy toward the Soviet Union that would become known as **containment**. Convinced that the USSR was methodically expanding its reach, the United States would counter by limiting Stalin's influence to Eastern Europe while reconstituting democratic governments in Western Europe. In 1946–1947, three specific issues worried Truman and his advisors. First, the Soviet Union was pressing Iran for access to oil and Turkey for access to the Mediterranean. Second, a civil war was roiling in Greece, between monarchists backed by England and insurgents supported by the Greek and

Yugoslavian Communist parties. Third, as European nations suffered through terrible privation in 1946 and 1947, Communist parties gained strength, particularly in France and Italy. All three developments, as seen from the United States, threatened to expand the influence of the Soviet Union outside of Eastern Europe.

Toward an Uneasy Peace In this anxious context, the strategy of containment emerged in a series of incremental steps between 1946 and 1949. In February 1946, American diplomat George F. Kennan first proposed the idea in an 8,000-word cable—a confidential message to the U.S. State Department—from his post at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Kennan argued that the

Soviet Union was an “Oriental despotism” and that communism was merely the “fig leaf” justifying Soviet aggression. A year after writing this cable (dubbed the Long Telegram), he published an influential *Foreign Affairs* article, arguing that the West’s only recourse was to meet the Soviets “with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.” Kennan called for “long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.” *Containment*, the key word, came to define America’s evolving strategic stance toward the Soviet Union.



To see a longer excerpt of the Long Telegram, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Kennan believed that the Soviet system was inherently unstable and would eventually collapse. Containment would work, he reasoned, as long as the United States and its allies opposed Soviet expansion in all parts of the world. Kennan’s attentive readers included Stalin himself, who quickly obtained a copy of the classified Long Telegram. The Soviet leader saw the United States as an imperialist aggressor determined to replace Great Britain as the world’s dominant capitalist power. Just as Kennan thought that the Soviet system was despotic and unsustainable, Stalin believed that the West suffered from its own fatal weaknesses. Neither side completely understood or trusted the other, and each projected its worst fears onto the other.

In fact, Britain’s influence in the world was declining. Exhausted by the war, facing enormous budget deficits and a collapsing economy at home, and confronted with a determined independence movement in India led by Mohandas Gandhi and growing nationalist movements throughout its empire, Britain was waning as a global power. “The reins of world leadership are fast slipping from Britain’s competent but now very weak hands,” read a U.S. State Department report. “These reins will be picked up either by the United States or by Russia.” The United States was wedded to the notion—dating to the Wilson administration—that communism and capitalism were incompatible on the world stage. With Britain faltering, American officials saw little choice but to fill its shoes.

It did not take long for the reality of Britain’s decline to resonate across the Atlantic. In February 1947, London informed Truman that it could no longer afford to support the anticommunists in the Greek civil war. Truman worried that a communist victory in Greece would lead to Soviet domination of the eastern

Mediterranean and embolden Communist parties in France and Italy. In response, the president announced what became known as the **Truman Doctrine**. In a speech on March 12, he asserted an American responsibility “to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” To that end, Truman proposed large-scale assistance for Greece and Turkey (then involved in a dispute with the Soviet Union over the Dardanelles, a strait connecting the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara). “If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world,” Truman declared (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 810). Despite the open-endedness of this military commitment, Congress quickly approved Truman’s request for \$300 million in aid to Greece and \$100 million for Turkey.

Soviet expansionism was part of a larger story. Europe was sliding into economic chaos. Already devastated by the war, in 1947 the continent suffered the worst winter in memory. People were starving, credit was nonexistent, wages were stagnant, and the consumer market had collapsed. For both humanitarian and practical reasons, Truman’s advisors believed something had to be done. A global depression might ensue if the European economy, the largest foreign market for American goods, did not recover. Worse, unemployed and dispirited Western Europeans might fill the ranks of the Communist Party, threatening political stability and the legitimacy of the United States. Secretary of State George C. Marshall came up with a remarkable proposal: a massive infusion of American capital to rebuild the European economy. Speaking at the Harvard University commencement in June 1947, Marshall urged the nations of Europe to work out a comprehensive recovery program based on U.S. aid.

This pledge of financial assistance required congressional approval, but the plan ran into opposition in Washington. Republicans castigated the **Marshall Plan** as a huge “international WPA.” But in the midst of the congressional stalemate, on February 25, 1948, Stalin supported a communist-led coup in Czechoslovakia. Congress rallied and voted overwhelmingly in 1948 to approve the Marshall Plan. Over the next four years, the United States contributed nearly \$13 billion to a highly successful recovery effort that benefitted both Western Europe and the United States. European industrial production increased by 64 percent, and the appeal of Communist parties waned in the West. Markets for American goods grew stronger

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

Why did the United States enact the Marshall Plan, and how did the program illustrate America’s new role in the world?



The Global Cold War

Until 1950, the U.S. policy of containment was confined to economic measures, such as financial assistance to Greece and Turkey and the Marshall Plan, and focused on Europe. That changed between 1950 and 1954. In those years, containment became militarized, and its scope was expanded to include Asia and Latin America. What had begun as a limited policy to contain Soviet influence in war-torn Europe had by the mid-1950s become a global campaign against communism and social revolution.

- President Harry S. Truman, address before joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947. Known as the Truman Doctrine, this speech outlined Truman's plan to give large-scale assistance to Greece and Turkey as part of a broader anticommunist policy.**

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. . . .

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

- Syngman Rhee, president of South Korea, criticizing U.S. policy in 1950. The Korean War, 1950–1953, represented the militarization of the Truman Doctrine.**

A few days ago one American friend said that if the U.S. gave weapons to South Korea, she feared that South Korea would invade North Korea. This is a useless worry of some Americans, who do not know South Korea. Our present war is not a Cold War, but a real shooting war. Our troops will take all possible counter-measures. . . . In South Korea the U.S. has one foot in South Korea and one foot outside so that in case of an unfavorable situation it could pull out of the country. I daresay that if the U.S. wants to aid our country, it should not be only lip-service.

- Secretary of State Dean Acheson's testimony before the Senate Armed Forces and Foreign Relations Committee, 1951.**

The attack on Korea was . . . a challenge to the whole system of collective security, not only in the Far East, but everywhere in the world. It was a threat to all nations newly arrived at independence. . . .

This was a test which would decide whether our collective security system would survive or would crumble. It would determine whether other nations would be intimidated by this show of force. . . .

As a people we condemn aggression of any kind. We reject appeasement of any kind. If we stood with our arms folded while Korea was swallowed up, it would have meant abandoning our principles, and it would have meant the defeat of the collective security system on which our own safety ultimately depends.

- Shigeru Yoshida, prime minister of Japan, speech before the Japanese Diet (parliament), July 14, 1950.**

It is heartening . . . that America and so many members of the United Nations have gone to the rescue of an invaded country regardless of the heavy sacrifices involved. In case a war breaks out on an extensive scale how would Japan's security be preserved [since we are disarmed]? . . . This has been hotly discussed. However, the measures taken by the United Nations have done much to stabilize our people's minds.

- 5. John Foster Dulles, secretary of state (1953–1959), June 30, 1954, radio and television address to the American people.** In 1951, Jacobo Arbenz was elected president of Guatemala. Arbenz pursued reform policies that threatened large landholders, including the United Fruit Company. In 1954, the United States CIA engineered a coup that overthrew Arbenz and replaced him with Carlos Castillo Armas, a colonel in the Guatemalan military.

Tonight I should like to speak with you about Guatemala. It is the scene of dramatic events. They expose the evil purpose of the Kremlin to destroy the inter-American system, and they test the ability of the American States to maintain the peaceful integrity of the hemisphere.

For several years international communism has been probing here and there for nesting places in the Americas. It finally chose Guatemala as a spot which it could turn into an official base from which to breed subversion which would extend to other American Republics.

This intrusion of Soviet despotism was, of course, a direct challenge to our Monroe Doctrine, the first and most fundamental of our foreign policies.

- 6. Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan foreign minister, speech to delegates at the Tenth Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States in Caracas, Venezuela, March 5, 1954.**

What is the real and effective reason for describing our government as communist? From what sources comes the accusation that we threaten continental solidarity and security? Why do they [United States] wish to intervene in Guatemala?

The answers are simple and evident. The plan of national liberation being carried out with firmness by my government has necessarily affected the privileges of the foreign enterprises that are impeding the progress and the economic development of the country. . . . With construction of publicly owned ports and docks, we are putting an end to the monopoly of the United Fruit Company. . . .

They wanted to find a ready expedient to maintain the economic dependence of the American Republics and suppress the legitimate desires of their peoples, cataloguing as “communism” every manifestation of nationalism or economic independence, any desire for social progress, any intellectual curiosity, and any interest in progressive and liberal reforms.

- 7. Herblock cartoon from the *Washington Post*, February 11, 1962.** Many Latin American countries were beset by a wide gap between a small wealthy elite and the mass of ordinary, much poorer citizens. American officials worried that this made social revolution an attractive alternative for those at the bottom.



A 1962 Herblock Cartoon, by The Herb Block Foundation.

Sources: (1) The Avalon Project at avalon.law.yale.edu; (2) Reinhard Drifte, “Japan’s Involvement in the Korean War,” in *The Korean War in History*, ed. James Cotton and Ian Neary (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1989), 43; (3) Glenn D. Paige, *The Korean Decision* (New York: The Free Press, 1968), 175–176; (4) Drifte, 122; (5) Jonathan L. Fried et al., eds., *Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History* (New York: Grove Press, 1983), 78; (6) Stephen C. Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 143–144.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

- In source 1, Truman presents the choice facing the world in stark terms: totalitarianism or democracy. Why would he frame matters in this way in 1947? How did Truman anticipate the militarization of American foreign policy?
- Analyze the audience, purpose, and point of view presented in the documents dealing with the war in Korea (sources 2–4). What does Acheson mean by “collective security”? Why is Yoshida thankful for the UN intervention? What can you infer about U.S. involvement in world affairs during the postwar period based on these documents?
- In document 6, how does Toriello characterize accusations that the elected Guatemalan government is communist? What are his accusations of the United States?
- How does source 7 express one of the obstacles to democracy in developing nations?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using these documents, and based on what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write an essay in which you analyze the goals of American foreign policy during the early years of the Cold War.



The Marshall Plan

Officials from the United States and Britain watch as the first shipment of Caribbean sugar provided under the Marshall Plan arrives in England, lowered from the decks of the *Royal Victoria*. Passed by Congress in 1948, the Marshall Plan (known officially as the European Recovery Program) committed the United States to spend \$17 billion over a four-year period to assist the war-ravaged nations of Western Europe. Marshall Plan funds helped the struggling British, French, and especially German economies, but they also benefitted the United States itself: the plan required European nations who participated to purchase most of their goods from American companies. Keystone/Getty Images.

and fostered economic interdependence between Europe and the United States. Notably, however, the Marshall Plan intensified Cold War tensions. U.S. officials invited the Soviets to participate but insisted on certain restrictions that would virtually guarantee Stalin's refusal. When Stalin refused, ordering Soviet client states to do so as well, the onus of dividing Europe appeared to fall on the Soviet leader and deprived his threadbare partners of assistance they sorely needed.

East and West in the New Europe The flash point for a hot war remained Germany, the most important industrial economy and the key strategic landmass in Europe. When no agreement could be reached to unify

the four zones of occupation into a single state, the Western allies consolidated their three zones in 1947. They then prepared to establish an independent federal German republic. Marshall Plan funds would jump-start economic recovery. Some of those funds were slated for West Berlin, in hopes of making the city a capitalist showplace 100 miles deep inside the Soviet zone.

Stung by the West's intention to create a German republic, in June 1948 Stalin blockaded all traffic to West Berlin. Instead of yielding, as Stalin had expected, Truman and the British were resolute. "We are going to stay, period," Truman said plainly. Over the next year, American and British pilots, who had been dropping bombs on Berlin only four years earlier, improvised the Berlin Airlift, which flew 2.5 million tons of food and fuel into the Western zones of the city—nearly a ton for each resident. Military officials reported to Truman that General Lucius D. Clay, the American commander in Berlin, was nervous and on edge, "drawn as tight as a steel spring." But after a prolonged stalemate, Stalin backed down: on May 12, 1949, he lifted the blockade. Until the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the Berlin crisis was the closest the two sides came to actual war, and West Berlin became a symbol of resistance to communism.

The crisis in Berlin persuaded Western European nations to forge a collective security pact with the United States. In April 1949, for the first time since the end of the American Revolution, the United States entered into a peacetime military alliance, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Under the NATO pact, twelve nations—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States—agreed that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all." In May 1949, those nations also agreed to the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), which eventually joined NATO in 1955. In response, the Soviet Union established the German Democratic Republic (East Germany); the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON); and, in 1955, the **Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance for Eastern Europe that included Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. In these parallel steps, the two superpowers had institutionalized the Cold War through a massive division of the continent.

By the early 1950s, West and East were the stark markers of the new Europe. As Churchill had observed

The Berlin Airlift

For 321 days U.S. planes like this one flew missions to bring food and other supplies to Berlin after the Soviet Union had blocked all surface routes into the former German capital. The blockade was finally lifted on May 12, 1949, after the Soviets conceded that it had been a failure. AP Images.



in 1946, the line dividing the two stretched “from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic,” cutting off tens of millions of Eastern Europeans from the rest of the continent. Stalin’s tactics had often been ruthless, but they were not without reason. The Soviet Union acted out of the sort of self-interest that had long defined powerful nations—ensuring a defensive perimeter of allies, seeking access to raw materials, and pressing the advantage that victory in war allowed.

NSC-68 Atomic developments, too, played a critical role in the emergence of the Cold War. As the sole nuclear power at the end of World War II, the United States entertained the possibility of international control of nuclear technology but did not wish to lose its advantage over the Soviet Union. When the American Bernard Baruch proposed United Nations oversight of atomic energy in 1946, for instance, the plan assured the United States of near-total control of the technology, which further increased Cold War tensions. America’s brief tenure as sole nuclear power ended in September 1949, however, when the Soviet Union detonated an atomic bomb. Truman then turned to the U.S. National Security Council (NSC), established by the National Security Act of 1947, for a strategic reassessment.

In April 1950, the NSC delivered its report, known as **NSC-68**. Bristling with alarmist rhetoric, the document marked a decisive turning point in the U.S. approach to the Cold War. The report’s authors described the Soviet Union not as a typical great power but as one with a “fanatic faith” that seeks to “impose its absolute authority.” Going beyond even the stern

language used by George Kennan, NSC-68 cast Soviet ambitions as nothing short of “the domination of the Eurasian landmass.”

To prevent that outcome, the report proposed “a bold and massive program of rebuilding the West’s defensive potential to surpass that of the Soviet world” (*America Compared*, p. 814). This included the development of a hydrogen bomb, a thermonuclear device that would be a thousand times more destructive than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, as well as dramatic increases in conventional military forces. Critically, NSC-68 called for Americans to pay higher taxes to support the new military program and to accept whatever sacrifices were necessary to achieve national unity of purpose against the Soviet enemy. Many historians see the report as having “militarized” the American approach to the Cold War, which had to that point relied largely on economic measures such as aid to Greece and the Marshall Plan. Truman was reluctant to commit to a major defense buildup, fearing that it would overburden the national budget. But shortly after NSC-68 was completed, events in Asia led him to reverse course.

Containment in Asia

As with Germany, American officials believed that restoring Japan’s economy, while limiting its military influence, would ensure prosperity and contain communism in East Asia. After dismantling Japan’s military, American occupation forces under General Douglas MacArthur drafted a democratic constitution and



Arming for the Cold War

To fight the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union increased overall military spending and assembled massive arsenals of nuclear weapons.

TABLE 25.1

Worldwide Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945–1975

Country	1945	1955	1965	1975
United States	2	3,057	32,135	27,235
USSR	0	200	6,129	19,443
United Kingdom	0	10	310	350
France	0	0	32	188
China	0	0	5	185
Israel	0	0	0	20*

*Estimated

SOURCES: Adapted from *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, National Resources Defense Council, and *Nuclear Weapons and Nonproliferation* (2007).

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Do you see evidence of the effects of NSC-68 in this table? What kinds of changes did NSC-68 bring about?
2. In what ways does the data in this table suggest the emergence of two “superpowers” after World War II?

paved the way for the restoration of Japanese sovereignty in 1951. Considering the scorched-earth war that had just ended, this was a remarkable achievement, thanks partly to the imperious MacArthur but mainly to the Japanese, who embraced peace and accepted U.S. military protection. However, events on the mainland of Asia proved much more difficult for the United States to shape to its advantage.

Civil War in China A civil war had been raging in China since the 1930s as Communist forces led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) fought Nationalist forces under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). Fearing a Communist victory, between 1945 and 1949 the United States provided \$2 billion to Jiang’s army. Pressing

Truman to “save” China, conservative Republican Ohio senator Robert A. Taft predicted that “the Far East is ultimately even more important to our future peace than is Europe.” By 1949, Mao’s

forces held the advantage. Truman reasoned that to save Jiang, the United States would have to intervene militarily. Unwilling to do so, he cut off aid and left the Nationalists to their fate. The People’s Republic of China was formally established under Mao on October 1, 1949, and the remnants of Jiang’s forces fled to Taiwan.

Both Stalin and Truman expected Mao to take an independent line, as the Communist leader Tito had just done in Yugoslavia. Mao, however, aligned himself with the Soviet Union, partly out of fear that the United States would re-arm the Nationalists and invade the mainland. As attitudes hardened, many Americans viewed Mao’s success as a defeat for the United States. The pro-Nationalist “China lobby” accused Truman’s State Department of being responsible for the “loss” of China. Sensitive to these charges, the Truman administration refused to recognize “Red China” and blocked China’s admission to the United Nations. But the United States pointedly declined to guarantee Taiwan’s independence, and in fact accepted the outcome on the

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did U.S. containment strategy in Asia compare to containment in Europe?

Communist China

People in Beijing raise their clenched fists in a welcoming salute for Chinese Communist forces entering the city after the Nationalists surrendered on January 31, 1949. The center portrait behind them is of General Mao Zedong, the leader of the Communist Party of China. Mao's victory in the civil war (1946–1950) meant that from East Germany to the Pacific Ocean, much of the Eurasian landmass (including Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China) was ruled by Communist governments.

AP Images.



mainland. (Since 1982, however, the United States has recognized Taiwanese sovereignty.)

The Korean War The United States took a stronger stance in Korea. The United States and the Soviet Union had agreed at the close of World War II to occupy the Korean peninsula jointly, temporarily

dividing the former Japanese colony at the 38th parallel. As tensions rose in Europe, the 38th parallel hardened into a permanent demarcation line. The Soviets supported a Communist government, led by Kim Il Sung, in North Korea; the United States backed a right-wing Nationalist, Syngman Rhee, in South Korea. The two sides had waged low-level war since 1945, and

The Korean War

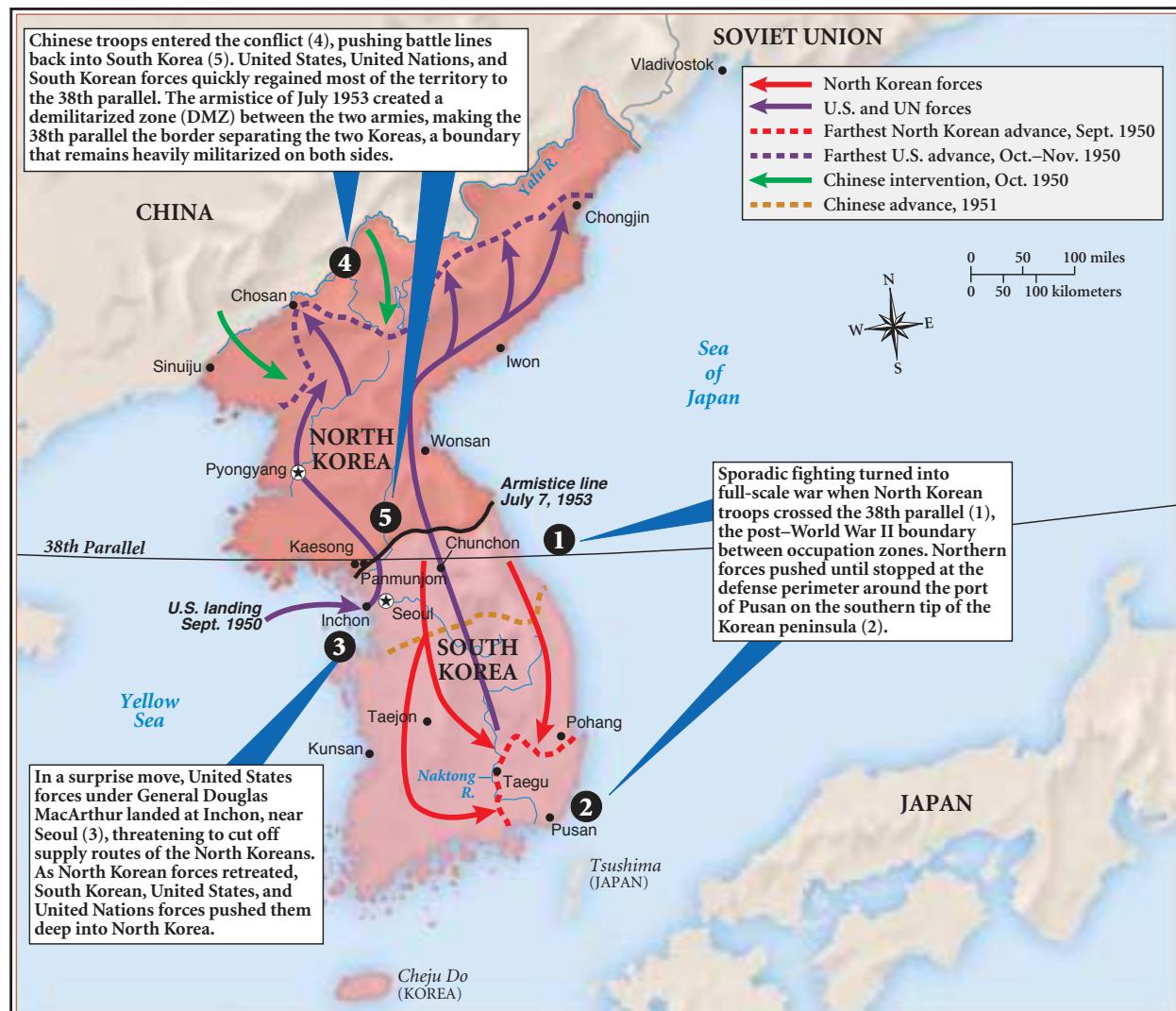
As a result of President Truman's 1948 Executive Order 9981, for the first time in the nation's history all troops in the Korean War served in racially integrated combat units. This photo taken during the Battle of Ch'ongch'on in 1950 shows a sergeant and his men of the 2nd Infantry Division. National Archives.



both leaders were spoiling for a more definitive fight. However, neither Kim nor Rhee could launch an all-out offensive without the backing of his sponsor. Washington repeatedly said no, and so did Moscow. But Kim continued to press Stalin to permit him to reunify the nation. Convinced by the North Koreans that victory would be swift, the Soviet leader finally relented in the late spring of 1950.

On June 25, 1950, the North Koreans launched a surprise attack across the 38th parallel (Map 25.2). Truman immediately asked the UN Security Council

to authorize a “police action” against the invaders. The Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council to protest China’s exclusion from the United Nations and could not veto Truman’s request. With the Security Council’s approval of a “peacekeeping force,” Truman ordered U.S. troops to Korea. The rapidly assembled UN army in Korea was overwhelmingly American, with General Douglas MacArthur in command. At first, the North Koreans held a distinct advantage, but MacArthur’s surprise amphibious attack at Inchon gave the UN forces control of Seoul, the South Korean



MAP 25.2

The Korean War, 1950–1953

The Korean War, which the United Nations officially deemed a “police action,” lasted three years and cost the lives of more than 36,000 U.S. troops. South and North Korean deaths were estimated at more than 900,000. Although hostilities ceased in 1953, the South Korean Military (with U.S. military assistance) and the North Korean Army continue to face each other across the demilitarized zone, more than fifty years later.

capital, and almost all the territory up to the 38th parallel.

The impetuous MacArthur then ordered his troops across the 38th parallel and led them all the way to the Chinese border at the Yalu River. It was a major blunder, certain to draw China into the war. Sure enough, a massive Chinese counterattack forced MacArthur's forces into headlong retreat back down the Korean peninsula. Then stalemate set in. With weak public support for the war in the United States, Truman and his advisors decided to work for a negotiated peace. MacArthur disagreed and denounced the Korean stalemate, declaring, "There is no substitute for victory." On April 11, 1951, Truman relieved MacArthur of his command. Truman's decision was highly unpopular, especially among conservative Republicans, but he had likely saved the nation from years of costly warfare with China.

Notwithstanding MacArthur's dismissal, the war dragged on for more than two years. An armistice in July 1953, pushed by the newly elected president,

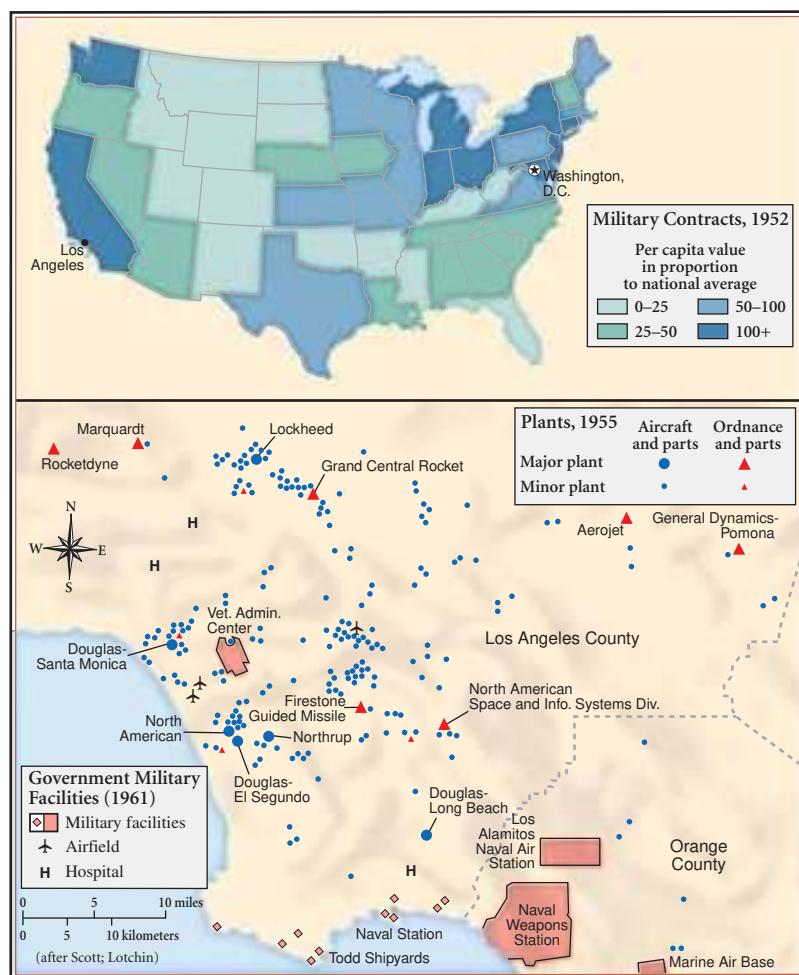
Dwight D. Eisenhower, left Korea divided at the original demarcation line. North Korea remained firmly allied with the Soviet Union; South Korea signed a mutual defense treaty with the United States. It had been the first major proxy battle of the Cold War, in which the Soviet Union and United States took sides in a civil conflict. It would not be the last.

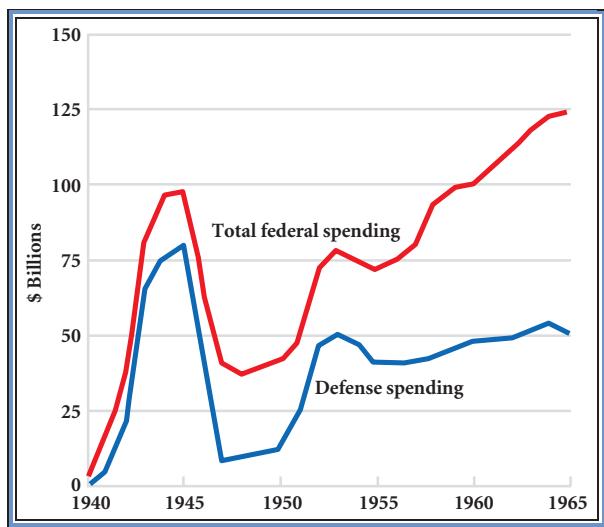
The Korean War had far-reaching consequences. Truman's decision to commit troops without congressional approval set a precedent for future undeclared wars. His refusal to unleash atomic bombs, even when American forces were reeling under a massive Chinese attack, set ground rules for Cold War conflict. The war also expanded American involvement in Asia, transforming containment into a truly global policy—and significantly boosting Japan's struggling postwar economy. Finally, the Korean War ended Truman's resistance to a major military buildup. Defense expenditures grew from \$13 billion in 1950, roughly one-third of the federal budget, to \$50 billion in 1953, nearly two-thirds of the budget (Map 25.3). American

MAP 25.3

The Military-Industrial Complex

Defense spending gave a big boost to the Cold War economy, but, as the upper map suggests, the benefits were by no means equally distributed. The big winners were the Middle Atlantic states, the industrialized Upper Midwest, Washington State (with its aircraft and nuclear plants), and California. The epicenter of California's military-industrial complex was Los Angeles, which, as is evident in the lower map, was studded with military facilities and major defense contractors like Douglas Aircraft, Lockheed, and General Dynamics. There was work aplenty for engineers and rocket scientists.



**FIGURE 25.1****National Defense Spending, 1940–1965**

In 1950, the U.S. defense budget was \$13 billion, less than a third of total federal outlays. In 1961, U.S. defense spending reached \$47 billion, fully half of the federal budget and almost 10 percent of the gross domestic product.

foreign policy had become more global, more militarized, and more expensive (Figure 25.1). Even in times of peace, the United States now functioned in a state of permanent military mobilization.

The Munich Analogy Behind much of U.S. foreign policy in the first two decades of the Cold War lay the memory of appeasement (Chapter 24). The generation of politicians and officials who designed the containment strategy had come of age in the shadow of Munich, the conference in 1938 at which the Western democracies had appeased Hitler by offering him part of Czechoslovakia, paving the road to World War II. Applying the lessons of Munich, American presidents believed that “appeasing” Stalin (and subsequent Soviet rulers Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev) would have the same result: wider war. Thus in Germany, Greece, and Korea, and later in Iran, Guatemala, and Vietnam, the United States staunchly resisted the Soviets—or what it perceived as Soviet influence. The Munich analogy strengthened the U.S. position in a number of strategic conflicts, particularly over the fate of Germany. But it also drew Americans into armed conflicts—and convinced them to support repressive, right-wing regimes—that compromised, as much as supported, stated American principles.

Cold War Liberalism

Harry Truman cast himself in the mold of his predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, and hoped to seize the possibilities afforded by victory in World War II to expand the New Deal at home. But the crises in

postwar Europe and Asia, combined with the spectacular rise of anticommunism in the United States, forced him to take a different path. In the end, Truman went down in history not as a New Dealer, but as a Cold Warrior. The Cold War consensus that he ultimately embraced—the notion that resisting communism at home and abroad represented America’s most important postwar objective—shaped the nation’s life and politics for decades to come.

Truman and the End of Reform

Truman and the Democratic Party of the late 1940s and early 1950s forged what historians call **Cold War liberalism**. They preserved the core programs of the New Deal welfare state, developed the containment policy to oppose Soviet influence throughout the world, and fought so-called subversives at home. But there would be no second act for the New Deal. The Democrats adopted this combination of moderate liberal policies and anticommunism—Cold War liberalism—partly by choice and partly out of necessity. A few high-level espionage scandals and the Communist victories in Eastern Europe and China reenergized the Republican Party, which forced Truman and the Democrats to retreat to what historian Arthur Schlesinger called the “vital center” of American politics. However, Americans on both the progressive left and the conservative right remained dissatisfied with this development. Cold War liberalism was a practical centrist policy for a turbulent era. But it would not last.

Organized labor remained a key force in the Democratic Party and played a central role in championing

Cold War liberalism. Stronger than ever, union membership swelled to more than 14 million by 1945. Determined to make up for their wartime sacrifices, unionized workers made aggressive demands and mounted major strikes in the automobile, steel, and coal industries after the war. Republicans responded. They gained control of the House in a sweeping repudiation of Democrats in 1946 and promptly passed—over Truman's veto—the **Taft-Hartley Act** (1947), an overhaul of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act.

Taft-Hartley crafted changes in procedures and language that, over time, weakened the right of workers to organize and engage in collective bargaining. Unions especially disliked Section 14b, which allowed states to pass “right-to-work” laws prohibiting the union shop. Additionally, the law forced unions to purge communists, who had been among the most successful labor organizers in the 1930s, from their ranks. Taft-Hartley effectively “contained” the labor movement. Trade unions would continue to support the Democratic Party, but the labor movement would not move into the largely non-union South and would not extend into the many American industries that remained unorganized.

The 1948 Election Democrats would have dumped Truman in 1948 had they found a better candidate. But

the party fell into disarray. The left wing split off and formed the Progressive Party, nominating Henry A. Wallace, an avid New Dealer whom Truman had fired as secretary of commerce in 1946 because Wallace opposed America's actions in the Cold War. A right-wing challenge came from the South. When northern liberals such as Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis pushed through a strong civil rights platform at the Democratic convention, the southern delegations bolted and, calling themselves Dixiecrats, nominated for president South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond, an ardent supporter of racial segregation. The Republicans meanwhile renominated Thomas E. Dewey, the politically moderate governor of New York who had run a strong campaign against FDR in 1944.

Truman surprised everyone. He launched a strenuous cross-country speaking tour and hammered away at the Republicans for opposing progressive legislation and, in general, for running a “do-nothing” Congress. By combining these issues with attacks on the Soviet menace abroad, Truman began to salvage his troubled campaign. At his rallies, enthusiastic listeners shouted, “Give ‘em hell, Harry!” Truman won, receiving 49.6 percent of the vote to Dewey's 45.1 percent (Map 25.4).

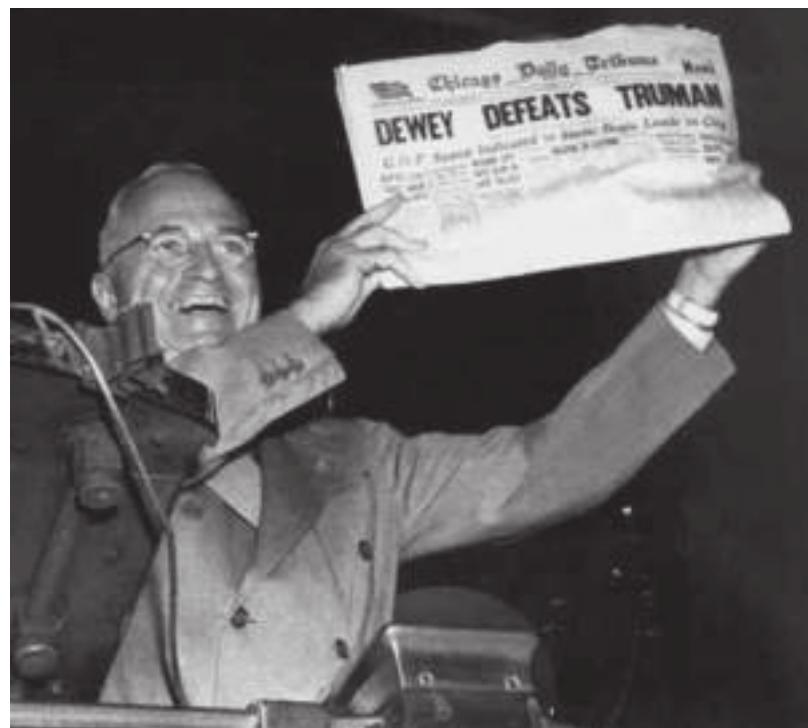
PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

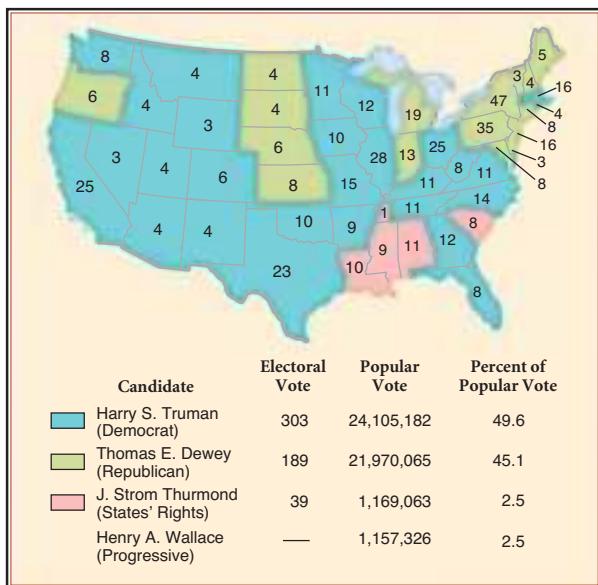
How was the Democratic Party divided in 1948, and what were its primary constituencies?

Truman Triumphant

In one of the most famous photographs in U.S. political history, Harry S. Truman gloats over an erroneous headline in the November 3 *Chicago Daily Tribune*. Pollsters had predicted an easy victory for Thomas E. Dewey. Their primitive techniques, however, missed the dramatic surge in support for Truman during the last days of the campaign.

© Bettmann/Corbis.



**MAP 25.4****The Presidential Election of 1948**

Truman's electoral strategy in 1948 was to concentrate his campaign in areas where the Democrats had their greatest strength. In an election with a low turnout, Truman held on to enough support from Roosevelt's New Deal coalition of blacks, union members, and farmers to defeat Dewey by more than 2 million votes.

This remarkable election foreshadowed coming political turmoil. Truman occupied the center of FDR's sprawling New Deal coalition. On his left were progressives, civil rights advocates, and anti-Cold War peace activists. On his right were segregationist southerners, who opposed civil rights and were allied with Republicans on many economic and foreign policy issues. In 1948, Truman performed a delicate balancing act, largely retaining the support of Jewish and Catholic voters in the big cities, black voters in the North, and organized labor voters across the country. But Thurmond's strong showing—he carried four states in the Deep South—demonstrated the fragile nature of the Democratic coalition and prefigured the revolt of the party's southern wing in the 1960s. As he tried to manage contending forces in his own party, Truman faced mounting pressure from Republicans to denounce radicals at home and to take a tough stand against the Soviet Union.

The Fair Deal Despite having to perform a balancing act, Truman and progressive Democrats forged ahead. In 1949, reaching ambitiously to extend the New Deal, Truman proposed the **Fair Deal**: national

health insurance, aid to education, a housing program, expansion of Social Security, a higher minimum wage, and a new agricultural program. In its attention to civil rights, the Fair Deal also reflected the growing role of African Americans in the Democratic Party. Congress, however, remained a huge stumbling block, and the Fair Deal fared poorly. The same conservative coalition that had blocked Roosevelt's initiatives in his second term continued the fight against Truman's. Cold War pressure shaped political arguments about domestic social programs, while the nation's growing paranoia over internal subversion weakened support for bold extensions of the welfare state. Truman's proposal for national health insurance, for instance, was a popular idea, with strong backing from organized labor. But it was denounced as "socialized medicine" by the American Medical Association and the insurance industry. In the end, the Fair Deal's only significant breakthrough, other than improvements to the minimum wage and Social Security, was the National Housing Act of 1949, which authorized the construction of 810,000 low-income units.

Red Scare: The Hunt for Communists

Cold War liberalism was premised on the grave domestic threat posed, many believed, by Communists and Communist sympathizers. Was there any significant Soviet penetration of the American government? Records opened after the 1991 disintegration of the Soviet Union indicate that there was, although it was largely confined to the 1930s. Among American suppliers of information to Moscow were FDR's assistant secretary of the treasury, Harry Dexter White; FDR's administrative aide Laughlin Currie; a strategically placed midlevel group in the State Department; and several hundred more, some identified only by code name, working in a range of government departments and agencies.

How are we to explain this? Many of these enlistees in the Soviet cause had been bright young New Dealers in the mid-1930s, when the Soviet-backed Popular Front suggested that the lines separating liberalism, progressivism, and communism were permeable (Chapter 24). At that time, the United States was not at war and never expected to be. And when war did come, the Soviet Union was an American ally. For critics of the informants, however, there remained the time between the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a nearly two-year period during which cooperation with the Soviet Union could be seen in a less positive light. Moreover,

passing secrets to another country, even a wartime ally, was simply indefensible to many Americans. The lines between U.S. and Soviet interests blurred for some; for others, they remained clear and definite.

After World War II, however, most suppliers of information to the Soviets apparently ceased spying. For one thing, the professional apparatus of Soviet spying in the United States was dismantled or disrupted by American counterintelligence work. For another, most of the well-connected amateur spies moved on to other careers. Historians have thus developed a healthy skepticism that there was much Soviet espionage in the United States after 1947, but this was not how many Americans saw it at the time. Legitimate suspicions and real fears, along with political opportunism, combined to fuel the national Red Scare, which was longer and more far-reaching than the one that followed World War I (Chapter 22).

Loyalty-Security Program To insulate his administration against charges of Communist infiltration, Truman issued Executive Order 9835 on March 21, 1947, which created the **Loyalty-Security Program**. The order permitted officials to investigate any employee of the federal government (some 2.5 million people) for “subversive” activities. Representing a profound centralization of power, the order sent shock waves through every federal agency. Truman intended the order to apply principally to actions designed to harm the United States (sabotage, treason, etc.), but it was broad enough to allow anyone to be accused of subversion for the slightest reason—for marching in a Communist-led demonstration in the 1930s, for instance, or signing a petition calling for public housing. Along with suspected political subversives, more than a thousand gay men and lesbians were dismissed from federal employment in the 1950s, victims of an obsessive search for anyone deemed “unfit” for government work.

Following Truman’s lead, many state and local governments, universities, political organizations, churches, and businesses undertook their own antisubversion campaigns, which often included loyalty oaths. In the labor movement, charges of Communist domination led to the expulsion of a number of unions by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1949. Civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League also expelled Communists and “fellow travelers,” or Communist sympathizers. Thus the Red Scare spread from the federal government to the farthest reaches of American organizational, economic, and cultural life.

HUAC The Truman administration had legitimized the vague and malleable concept of “disloyalty.” Others proved willing to stretch the concept even further, beginning with the **House Un-American Activities Committee** (HUAC), which Congressman Martin Dies of Texas and other conservatives had launched in 1938. After the war, HUAC helped spark the Red Scare by holding widely publicized hearings in 1947 on alleged Communist infiltration in the movie industry. A group of writers and directors dubbed the Hollywood Ten went to jail for contempt of Congress after they refused to testify about their past associations. Hundreds of other actors, directors, and writers whose names had been mentioned in the HUAC investigation were unable to get work, victims of an unacknowledged but very real blacklist honored by industry executives.

Other HUAC investigations had greater legitimacy. One that intensified the anticommunist crusade in 1948 involved Alger Hiss, a former New Dealer and State Department official who had accompanied Franklin Roosevelt to Yalta. A former Communist, Whitaker Chambers, claimed that Hiss was a member of a secret Communist cell operating in the government and had passed him classified documents in the 1930s. Hiss denied the allegations, but California Republican congressman Richard Nixon doggedly pursued the case against him. In early 1950, Hiss was found guilty not of spying but of lying to Congress about his Communist affiliations and was sentenced to five years in federal prison. Many Americans doubted at the time that Hiss was a spy. But the Venona transcripts in the 1990s corroborated a great deal of Chambers’s testimony, and though no definitive proof has emerged, many historians now recognize the strong circumstantial evidence against Hiss.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What factors led to the postwar Red Scare, and what were its ramifications for civil liberties in the United States?

McCarthyism The meteoric career of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin marked first the apex and then the finale of the Red Scare. In February 1950, McCarthy delivered a bombshell during a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia: “I have here in my hand a list of 205 . . . a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department.” McCarthy later reduced his numbers, gave different figures in different speeches, and never released any names or proof. But he had gained the attention he sought (American Voices, p. 822).



Hunting Communists and Liberals

The onset of the Cold War created an opportunity for some conservatives to use anticommunism as a weapon to attack the Truman administration. In Senator Joseph McCarthy's case, the charge was that the U.S. government was harboring Soviet spies. There was also a broader, more amorphous attack on people accused not of spying but of having communist sympathies; such "fellow travelers" were considered "security risks" and thus unsuitable for government positions. The basis of suspicion for this targeted group was generally membership in organizations that supported policies that either overlapped with or seemed similar to policies supported by the Communist Party.

Senator Joseph McCarthy

Speech Delivered in Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950

Though Senator McCarthy was actually late getting on board the anticommunist rocket ship, this was the speech that launched him into orbit. No one else ever saw the piece of paper he waved about during this speech with the names of 57 spies in the State Department. Over time, the numbers he cited fluctuated (in early versions of this speech he claimed to have a list of 205 names) and never materialized into a single indictment for espionage. Still, McCarthy had an extraordinary talent for whipping up anticommunist hysteria. His downfall came in 1954, when the U.S. Senate formally censured him for his conduct; three years later, he died of alcoholism at the age of forty-eight.

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down — they are truly down. . . .

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather 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 had to offer — the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government we can give. . . .

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.

Fulton Lewis Jr.

Radio Address, January 13, 1949

The groundwork for McCarthy's anticommunist crusade was laid by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which had been formed in 1938 by conservative southern Democrats seeking to investigate alleged communist influence around the country. One of its early targets had been Dr. Frank P. Graham, the distinguished president of the University of North Carolina. A committed southern liberal, Graham was a leading figure in the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the most prominent southern organization supporting the New Deal, free speech, organized labor, and greater rights for southern blacks—causes that some in the South saw as pathways for communist subversion. After the war, HUAC stepped up its activities and kept a close eye on Graham. Among Graham's duties was to serve as the head of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, a consortium of fourteen southern universities designed to undertake joint research with the federal government's atomic energy facility at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. To enable him to carry on his duties, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) granted Graham a security clearance, overriding the negative recommendation of the AEC's Security Advisory Board. That was the occasion for the following statement by Fulton Lewis Jr., a conservative radio commentator with a nationwide following.

About Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and the action of the Atomic Energy Commission giving him complete clearance for all atomic secrets despite the fact that the security officer of the commission flatly rejected him. . . .

President Truman was asked to comment on the matter today at his press and radio conference, and his reply was that he has complete confidence in Dr. Graham.

. . . The defenders of Dr. Graham today offered the apology that during the time he joined the various subversive and Communist front organizations [like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare] — organizations so listed by the Attorney General of the United States — this country was a co-belligerent with Soviet Russia, and numerous people joined such groups and causes. That argument is going to sound very thin to most American citizens, because the overwhelming majority of us would have no part of any Communist or Communist front connections at any time.

Frank Porter Graham

Telegram to Fulton Lewis Jr., January 13, 1949

One can imagine Graham's shock at hearing himself pilloried on national radio. (He had not even been aware of the AEC's investigation of him.) The following is from his response to Lewis.

In view of your questions and implications I hope you will use my statement to provide for my answers. . . . I have always been opposed to Communism and all totalitarian dictatorships. I opposed both Nazi and Communist aggression against Czechoslovakia and the earlier Russian aggression against Finland and later Communist aggression against other countries. . . .

During the period of my active participation, the overwhelming number of members of the Southern Conference were to my knowledge anti-Communists. There were several isolationist stands of the Conference with which I disagreed. The stands which I supported as the main business of the Conference were such as the following: Federal aid to the states for schools; abolition of freight rate discrimination against Southern commerce, agriculture, and industry; anti-poll tax bill; anti-lynching bill; equal right of qualified Negroes to vote in both primaries and general elections; the unhampered lawful right of labor to organize and bargain collectively in our region; . . . minimum wages and social security in the Southern and American tradition. . . .

I have been called a Communist by some sincere people. I have been called a spokesman of American capitalism by Communists and repeatedly called a tool of imperialism by the radio from Moscow. I shall simply continue to oppose Ku Kluxism, imperialism, fascism, and Communism whether in America . . . or behind the "iron curtain."

House Un-American Activities Committee

Report on Frank Graham, February 4, 1949

Because of the controversy, HUAC released a report on Graham.

A check of the files, records and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities has revealed the following information: Letterheads dated September 22, 1939, January 17, 1940, and May 26, 1940, as well as the "Daily Worker" of March 18, 1939, . . . reveal that Frank P. Graham was a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. . . . In Report 2277, dated June 25, 1942, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found that "the line of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has fluctuated in complete harmony with the line of the Communist Party." The organization was again cited by the Special Committee . . . as a Communist front "which defended Communist teachers." . . .

A letterhead of February 7, 1946, a letterhead of June 4, 1947 . . . and an announcement of the Third Meeting, April 19–21, 1942, at Nashville, Tennessee, reveal that Frank P. Graham was honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. . . .

In a report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, dated June 16, 1947, the Committee on Un-American Activities found "the most conclusive proof of Communist domination of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is to be found in the organization's strict and unvarying conformance to the line of the Communist Party in the field of foreign policy. It is also a clear indication of the fact that the real purpose of the organization was not 'human welfare' in the South, but rather to serve as a convenient vehicle in support of the current Communist Party line."

Source: # 1819 Frank Porter Graham Papers. Courtesy of the Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. On what grounds did Fulton Lewis Jr. and HUAC assert that Frank Graham was a security risk? Did they charge that he was a Communist? Is there any evidence in these documents that Graham might have been a security risk?
2. How did Graham defend himself? Are you persuaded by his argument?
3. Compare McCarthy's famous speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, and the suspicions voiced against Graham by Lewis and HUAC a year earlier. What similarities do you see?

For the next four years, from his position as chair of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, McCarthy waged a virulent smear campaign. Critics who disagreed with him exposed themselves to charges of being “soft” on communism. Truman called McCarthy’s charges “slander, lies, [and] character assassination” but could do nothing to curb him. Republicans, for their part, refrained from publicly challenging their most outspoken senator and, on the whole, were content to reap the political benefits. McCarthy’s charges almost always targeted Democrats.

Despite McCarthy’s failure to identify a single Communist in government, several national developments gave his charges credibility with the public. The dramatic 1951 espionage trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, followed around the world, fueled McCarthy’s allegations. Convicted of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, the Rosenbergs were executed in 1953. As in

the Hiss case, documents released decades later provided some evidence of Julius Rosenberg’s guilt, though not Ethel’s. Their execution nevertheless remains controversial—in part because some felt that anti-Semitism played a role in their sentencing. Also fueling McCarthy’s charges were a series of trials of American Communists between 1949 and 1955 for violation of the 1940 Smith Act, which prohibited Americans from advocating the violent overthrow of the government. Though civil libertarians and two Supreme Court justices vigorously objected, dozens of Communist Party members were convicted. McCarthy was not involved in either the Rosenberg trial or the Smith Act convictions, but these sensational events gave his wild charges some credence.

In early 1954, McCarthy overreached by launching an investigation into subversive activities in the U.S. Army. When lengthy hearings—the first of their kind



The Army-McCarthy Hearings

These 1954 hearings contributed to the downfall of Senator Joseph McCarthy by exposing his reckless accusations and bullying tactics to the huge television audience that tuned in each day. Some of the most heated exchanges took place between McCarthy (center) and Joseph Welch (seated, left), the lawyer representing the army. When the gentlemanly Welch finally asked, “Have you no sense of decency sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?” he fatally punctured McCarthy’s armor. The audience broke into applause because someone had finally had the courage to stand up to the senator from Wisconsin. © Bettmann/Corbis.

broadcast on the new medium of television — brought McCarthy's tactics into the nation's living rooms, support for him plummeted. In December 1954, the Senate voted 67 to 22 to censure McCarthy for unbecoming conduct. He died from an alcohol-related illness three years later at the age of forty-eight, his name forever attached to a period of political repression of which he was only the most flagrant manifestation.

The Politics of Cold War Liberalism

As election day 1952 approached, the nation was embroiled in the tense Cold War with the Soviet Union and fighting a “hot” war in Korea. Though Americans gave the Republicans victory, radical change was not in the offing. The new president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, set the tone for what his supporters called modern Republicanism, an updated GOP approach that aimed at moderating, not dismantling, the New Deal state. Eisenhower and his supporters were more successors of FDR than of Herbert Hoover. Foreign policy revealed a similar continuity. Like their predecessors, Republicans saw the world in Cold War polarities.

Republicans rallied around Eisenhower, the popular former commander of Allied forces in Europe, but divisions in the party persisted. More conservative party activists preferred Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the Republican leader in the Senate who was a vehement opponent of the New Deal. A close friend of business, he particularly detested labor unions. Though an ardent anticommunist, the isolationist-minded Taft criticized Truman's aggressive containment policy and opposed U.S. participation in NATO. Taft ran for president three times, and though he was never the Republican nominee, he won the loyalty of conservative Americans who saw the welfare state as a waste and international affairs as dangerous foreign entanglements.

In contrast, moderate Republicans looked to Eisenhower and even to more liberal-minded leaders like Nelson Rockefeller, who supported international initiatives such as the Marshall Plan and NATO and were willing to tolerate labor unions and the welfare state. Eisenhower was a man without a political past. Believing that democracy required the military to stand aside, he had never voted. Rockefeller, the scion of one of the richest families in America, was a Cold War internationalist. He served in a variety of capacities under Eisenhower, including as an advisor on foreign affairs. Having made his political name, Rockefeller was elected the governor of New York in 1959 and became the de facto leader of the liberal wing of the Republican Party.



Dwight Eisenhower

In this photo taken during the 1952 presidential campaign, Dwight D. Eisenhower acknowledges cheers from supporters in Chicago. “Ike,” as he was universally known, had been a popular five-star general in World War II (also serving as Supreme Allied Commander in the European theater) and turned to politics in the early 1950s as a member of the Republican Party. However, Eisenhower was a centrist who did little to disrupt the liberal social policies that Democrats had pursued since the 1930s.
© Bettmann/Corbis.

For eight years, between 1952 and 1960, Eisenhower steered a precarious course from the middle of the party, with conservative Taft Republicans on one side and liberal Rockefeller Republicans on the other. His popularity temporarily kept the two sides at bay, though more ardent conservatives considered him a closet New Dealer. “Ike,” as he was widely known, proved willing to work with the mostly Democratic-controlled Congresses of those years. Eisenhower signed bills increasing federal outlays for veterans’ benefits, housing, highway construction (Chapter 26), and Social Security, and he increased the minimum wage from 75 cents an hour to \$1. Like Truman, Eisenhower accepted some government responsibility for the economic security of individuals, part of a broad consensus in American politics in these years.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

What were the components of Cold War liberalism, and why did the Democratic Party embrace them?

America Under Eisenhower The global power realities that had called forth containment guided Eisenhower's foreign policy. New developments, however, altered the tone of the Cold War. Stalin's death in March 1953 precipitated an intraparty struggle in the Soviet Union that lasted until 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev emerged as Stalin's successor. Khrushchev soon startled communists around the world by denouncing Stalin and detailing his crimes and blunders. He also surprised many Americans by calling for "peaceful coexistence" with the West and by dealing more flexibly with dissent in the Communist world. But the new Soviet leader had his limits, and when Hungarians rose up in 1956 to demand independence from Moscow, Khrushchev crushed the incipient revolution.

With no end to the Cold War in sight, Eisenhower focused on limiting the cost of containment. The president hoped to economize by relying on a nuclear arsenal and deemphasizing expensive conventional forces. Under this "**New Look**" defense policy, the Eisenhower administration stepped up production of the hydrogen bomb and developed long-range bombing capabilities. The Soviets, however, matched the United States weapon for weapon. By 1958, both nations had intercontinental ballistic missiles. When an American nuclear submarine launched an atomic-tipped Polaris missile in 1960, Soviet engineers raced to produce an equivalent weapon. This arms race was another critical feature of the Cold War. American officials believed the best deterrent to Soviet aggression was the threat of an all-out nuclear response by the United States, which was dubbed "massive retaliation" by Secretary of State Dulles.



To see a longer excerpt of the Dulles document, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Although confident in the international arena, Eisenhower started out as a novice in domestic affairs. Doing his best to set a less confrontational tone after the rancorous Truman years, he was reluctant to speak out against Joe McCarthy, and he was not a leader on civil rights. Democrats meanwhile maintained a strong presence in Congress but proved weak in presidential elections in the 1950s. In the two presidential contests of the decade, 1952 and 1956, Eisenhower defeated the admired but politically ineffectual liberal Adlai Stevenson. In the 1952 election, Stevenson was hampered by the unpopularity of the Truman administration. The deadlocked Korean War and a series of scandals that Republicans dubbed "the mess in

Washington" combined to give the war-hero general an easy victory. In 1956, Ike won an even more impressive victory over Stevenson, an eloquent and sophisticated spokesman for liberalism but no match for Eisenhower's popularity with the public.

During Eisenhower's presidency, new political forces on both the right and the left had begun to stir. But they had not yet fully transformed the party system itself. Particularly at the national level, Democrats and Republicans seemed in broad agreement about the realities of the Cold War and the demands of a modern, industrial economy and welfare state. Indeed, respected commentators in the 1950s declared "the end of ideology" and wondered if the great political clashes that had wracked the 1930s were gone forever. Below the apparent calm of national party politics, however, lay profound differences among Americans over the direction of the nation. Those differences were most pronounced regarding the civil rights of African Americans. But a host of other issues had begun to emerge as controversial subjects that would soon starkly divide the country and, in the 1960s, bring an end to the brief and fragile Cold War consensus.

Containment in the Postcolonial World

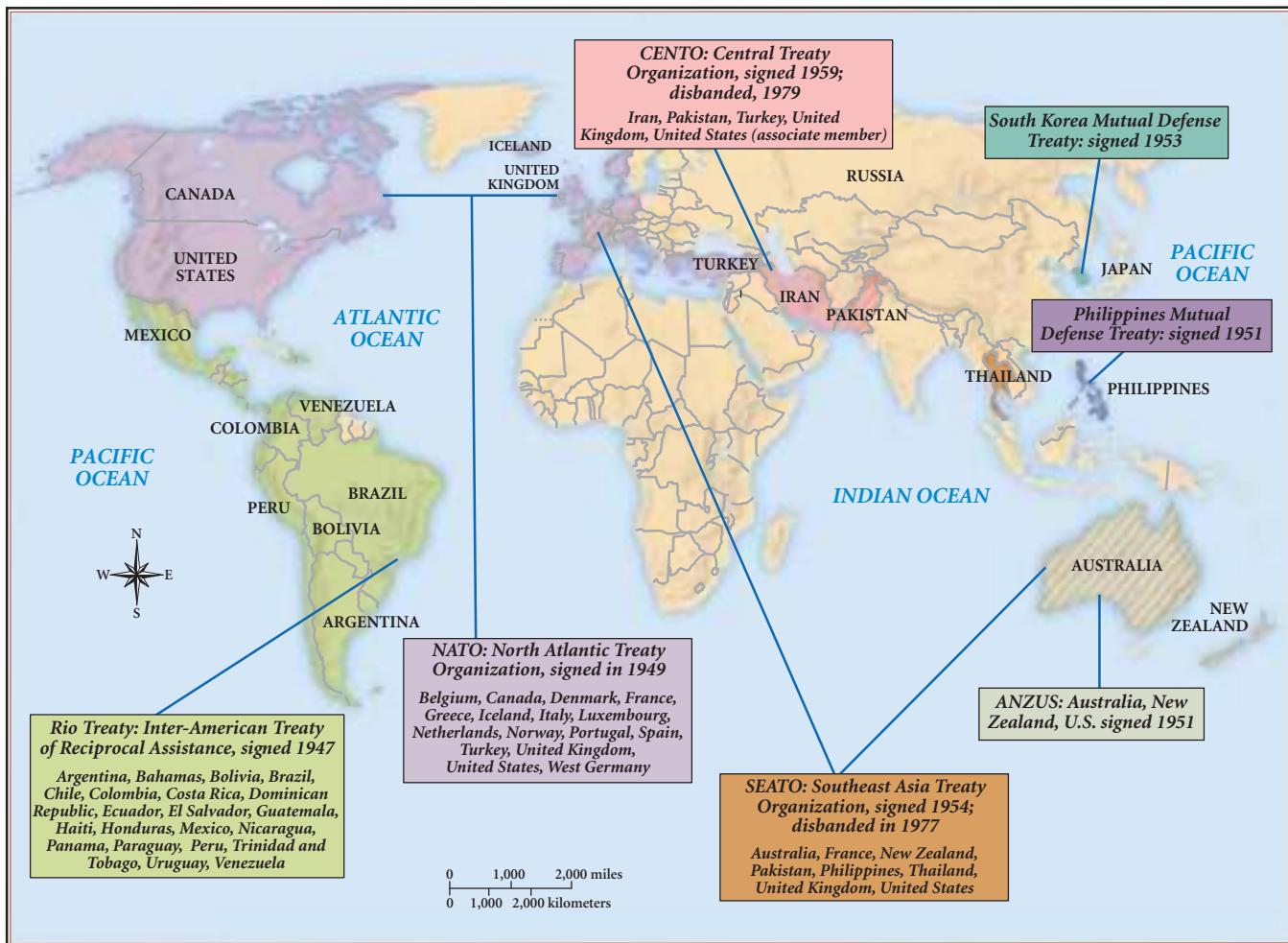
As the Cold War took shape, the world scene was changing at a furious pace. New nations were emerging across Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, created in the wake of powerful anticolonial movements whose origins dated to before World War II. Between 1947 and 1962, the British, French, Dutch, and Belgian empires all but disintegrated in a momentous collapse of European global reach. FDR had favored the idea of national self-determination, often to the fury of his British and French allies. He expected emerging democracies to be new partners in an American-led, free-market world system. But colonial revolts produced many independent- or socialist-minded regimes in the so-called Third World, as well. *Third World* was a term that came into usage after World War II to describe developing or ex-colonial nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East that were not aligned with the Western capitalist countries led by the United States or the socialist states of Eastern Europe led by the Soviet Union. The Truman and Eisenhower administrations often treated Third World countries as pawns of the Soviet Union to be opposed at all costs.

The Cold War and Colonial Independence

Insisting that all nations had to choose sides, the United States drew as many countries as possible into collective security agreements, with the NATO alliance in Europe as a model. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles orchestrated the creation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which in 1954 linked the United States and its major European allies with Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand. An extensive system of defense alliances eventually tied the United States to more than forty

other countries (Map 25.5). The United States also sponsored a strategically valuable defensive alliance between Iraq and Iran, on the southern flank of the Soviet Union.

Despite American rhetoric, the United States was often concerned less about democracy than about stability. The Truman and Eisenhower administrations tended to support governments, no matter how repressive, that were overtly anticommunist. Some of America's staunchest allies—the Philippines, South Korea, Iran, Cuba, South Vietnam, and Nicaragua—were governed by dictatorships or right-wing regimes that lacked broad-based support. Moreover, Eisenhower's



MAP 25.5

American Global Defense Treaties in the Cold War Era

The advent of the Cold War led to a major shift in American foreign policy—the signing of mutual defense treaties. Dating back to George Washington's call “to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world,” the United States had avoided treaty obligations that entailed the defense of other nations. As late as 1919, the U.S. Senate had rejected the principle of “collective security,” the centerpiece of the League of Nations established by the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. But after World War II, in response to fears of Soviet global expansion, the United States entered defense alliances with much of the non-Communist world.

secretary of state Dulles often resorted to covert operations against governments that, in his opinion, were too closely aligned with the Soviets.

For these covert tasks, Dulles used the newly created (1947) Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), run by his brother, Allen Dulles. When Iran's democratically elected nationalist premier, Mohammad Mossadegh, seized British oil properties in 1953, CIA agents helped depose him and installed the young Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as shah of Iran. Iranian resentment of the coup, followed by twenty-five years of U.S. support for the shah, eventually led to the 1979 Iranian Revolution (Chapter 30). In 1954, the CIA also engineered a coup in Guatemala against the democratically elected president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, who had seized land owned by the American-owned United Fruit Company. Arbenz offered to pay United Fruit the declared value of the land, but the company rejected the offer and turned to the U.S. government. Eisenhower specifically approved those CIA efforts and expanded the agency's mandate from gathering intelligence to intervening in the affairs of sovereign states.

Vietnam But when covert operations and coups failed or proved impractical, the American approach to emerging nations could entangle the United States in deeper, more intractable conflicts. One example was already unfolding on a distant stage, in a small country unknown to most Americans: Vietnam. In August 1945, at the close of World War II, the Japanese occupiers of Vietnam surrendered to China in the north and Britain in the south. The Vietminh, the nationalist movement that had led the resistance against the Japanese (and the French, prior to 1940), seized control in the north. But their leader, Ho Chi Minh, was a Communist, and this single fact outweighed American and British commitment to self-determination. When France moved to restore its control over the country, the United States and Britain sided with their European ally. President Truman rejected Ho's plea to support the Vietnamese struggle for nationhood, and France rejected Ho's offer of a negotiated independence. Shortly after France returned, in late 1946, the Vietminh resumed their war of national liberation.

Eisenhower picked up where Truman left off. If the French failed, Eisenhower argued, all non-Communist governments in the region would fall like dominoes. This so-called **domino theory**—which represented an extension of the containment

doctrine—guided U.S. policy in Southeast Asia for the next twenty years. The United States eventually provided most of the financing for the French war, but money was not enough to defeat the determined Vietminh, who were fighting for the liberation of their country. After a fifty-six-day siege in early 1954, the French were defeated at the huge fortress of Dien Bien Phu. The result was the 1954 Geneva Accords, which partitioned Vietnam temporarily at the 17th parallel and called for elections within two years to unify the strife-torn nation.

The United States rejected the Geneva Accords and set about undermining them. With the help of the CIA, a pro-American government took power in South Vietnam in June 1954. Ngo Dinh Diem, an anticommunist Catholic who had been residing in the United States, returned to Vietnam as premier. The next year, in a rigged election, Diem became president of an independent South Vietnam. Facing certain defeat by the popular Ho Chi Minh, Diem called off the scheduled reunification elections. As the last French soldiers left in March 1956, the Eisenhower administration propped up Diem with an average of \$200 million a year in aid and a contingent of 675 American military advisors. This support was just the beginning.

The Middle East If Vietnam was still of minor concern, the same could not be said of the Middle East, an area rich in oil and political complexity. The most volatile area was Palestine, populated by Arabs but also historically the ancient land of Israel and coveted by the Zionist movement as a Jewish national homeland. After World War II, many survivors of the Nazi extermination camps resettled in Palestine, which was still controlled by Britain under a World War I mandate. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine between Jewish and Arab sectors. When the British mandate ended in 1948, Zionist leaders proclaimed the state of Israel. A coalition of Arab nations known as the Arab League invaded, but Israel survived. Many Palestinians fled or were driven from their homes during the fighting. The Arab defeat left these people permanently stranded in refugee camps. President Truman recognized the new state immediately, which won him crucial support from Jewish voters in the 1948 election but alienated the Arab world.

Southeast of Palestine, Egypt began to assert its presence in the region. Having gained independence from Britain several decades earlier, Egypt remained a monarchy until 1952, when Gamal Abdel Nasser led a military coup that established a constitutional republic.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

How did the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union affect disparate regions such as the Middle East and Southeast Asia?

The Suez Crisis, 1956

In this photograph, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser is greeted ecstatically by Cairo crowds after he nationalized the Suez Canal. Nasser's gamble paid off. Thanks to American intervention, military action by Britain, France, and Israel failed, and Nasser emerged as the triumphant voice of Arab nationalism across the Middle East. The popular emotions he unleashed against the West survived his death in 1970 and are more potent today than ever, although now expressed more through Islamic fundamentalism than Nasser's brand of secular nationalism. Getty Images.



Caught between the Soviet Union and the United States, Nasser sought an independent route: a pan-Arab socialism designed to end the Middle East's colonial relationship with the West. When negotiations with the United States over Nasser's plan to build a massive hydroelectric dam on the Nile broke down in 1956, he nationalized the Suez Canal, which was the lifeline for Western Europe's oil. Britain and France, in alliance with Israel, attacked Egypt and seized the canal. Concerned that the invasion would encourage Egypt to turn to the Soviets for help, Eisenhower urged France and Britain to pull back. He applied additional pressure through the UN General Assembly, which called for a truce and troop withdrawal. When the Western nations backed down, however, Egypt reclaimed the Suez Canal and built the Aswan Dam on the Nile with Soviet support. Eisenhower had likely avoided a larger war, but the West lost a potential ally in Nasser.

In early 1957, concerned about Soviet influence in the Middle East, the president announced the **Eisenhower Doctrine**, which stated that American forces would assist any nation in the region that required aid "against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism." Invoking the doctrine later that year, Eisenhower helped King Hussein of Jordan put down a Nasser-backed revolt and propped up a pro-American government in

Lebanon. The Eisenhower Doctrine was further evidence that the United States had extended the global reach of containment, in this instance accentuated by the strategic need to protect the West's access to steady supplies of oil.

John F. Kennedy and the Cold War

Charisma, style, and personality—these, more than platforms and issues, defined a new brand of politics in the early 1960s. This was John F. Kennedy's natural environment. Kennedy, a Harvard alumnus, World War II hero, and senator from Massachusetts, had inherited his love of politics from his grandfathers—colorful, and often ruthless, Irish Catholic politicians in Boston. Ambitious and deeply aware of style, the forty-three-year-old Kennedy made use of his many advantages to become, as novelist Norman Mailer put it, "our leading man." His one disadvantage—that he was Catholic in a country that had never elected a Catholic president—he masterfully neutralized. And thanks to both media advisors and his youthful attractiveness, Kennedy projected a superb television image.

At heart, however, Kennedy was a Cold Warrior who had

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How was Kennedy's approach to the Cold War similar to and different from Eisenhower's and Truman's?



The Kennedy Magnetism

John F. Kennedy, the 1960 Democratic candidate for president, used his youth and personality (and those of his equally personable and stylish wife) to attract voters. Here the Massachusetts senator draws an enthusiastic crowd on a campaign stop in Elgin, Illinois. AP Images.

come of age in the shadow of Munich, Yalta, and McCarthyism. He projected an air of idealism, but his years in the Senate (1953–1960) had proved him to be a conventional Cold War politician. Once elected president, Kennedy would shape the nation's foreign policy by drawing both on his ingenuity and on old-style Cold War power politics.

The Election of 1960 and the New Frontier Kennedy's Republican opponent in the 1960 presidential election, Eisenhower's vice president, Richard Nixon, was a seasoned politician and Cold Warrior himself. The great innovation of the 1960 campaign was a series of four nationally televised debates. Nixon, less photogenic than Kennedy, looked sallow and unshaven under the intense studio lights. Voters who heard the first debate on the radio concluded that Nixon had won, but those who viewed it on television favored Kennedy. Despite the edge Kennedy enjoyed in the debates, he won only the narrowest of electoral victories, receiving 49.7 percent of the popular vote to Nixon's 49.5 percent. Kennedy attracted Catholics, African Americans, and the labor vote; his vice-presidential running mate, Texas senator Lyndon Baines Johnson, helped bring in southern Democrats. Yet only 120,000 votes separated the two candidates, and a shift of a few thousand votes in key states would have reversed the outcome.

Kennedy brought to Washington a cadre of young, ambitious newcomers, including Robert McNamara, a

renowned systems analyst and former head of Ford Motor Company, as secretary of defense. A host of trusted advisors and academics flocked to Washington to join the New Frontier—Kennedy's term for the challenges the country faced. Included on the team as attorney general was Kennedy's younger brother Robert, who had made a name as a hard-hitting investigator of organized crime. Relying on an old American trope, Kennedy's New Frontier suggested masculine toughness and adventurism and encouraged Americans to again think of themselves as exploring uncharted terrain. That terrain proved treacherous, however, as the new administration immediately faced a crisis.

Crises in Cuba and Berlin In January 1961, the Soviet Union announced that it intended to support "wars of national liberation" wherever in the world they occurred. Kennedy took Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev's words as a challenge, especially as they applied to Cuba, where in 1959 Fidel Castro had overthrown the right-wing dictator Fulgencio Batista and declared a revolution. Determined to keep Cuba out of the Soviet orbit, Kennedy followed through on Eisenhower administration plans to dispatch Cuban exiles to foment an anti-Castro uprising. The invaders, trained by the Central Intelligence Agency, were ill-prepared for their task. On landing at Cuba's **Bay of Pigs** on April 17, 1961, the force of 1,400 was crushed by Castro's troops. Kennedy prudently rejected CIA pleas for a U.S. air strike. Accepting defeat, Kennedy

went before the American people and took full responsibility for the fiasco (Map 25.6).

Already strained by the Bay of Pigs incident, U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated further in June 1961 when Khrushchev stopped movement between Communist-controlled East Berlin and the city's Western sector. Kennedy responded by dispatching 40,000 more troops to Europe. In mid-August, to stop the exodus of East Germans, the Communist regime began constructing the Berlin Wall, policed by border guards under shoot-to-kill orders. Until the 12-foot-high concrete barrier came down in 1989, it served as the supreme symbol of the Cold War.

A perilous Cold War confrontation came next, in October 1962. In a somber televised address on October 22, Kennedy revealed that U.S. reconnaissance

planes had spotted Soviet-built bases for intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. Some of those weapons had already been installed, and more were on the way. Kennedy announced that the United States would impose a “quarantine on all offensive military equipment” on its way to Cuba. As the world held its breath waiting to see if the conflict would escalate into war, on October 25, ships carrying Soviet missiles turned back. After a week of tense negotiations, both sides made concessions: Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba, and Khrushchev promised to dismantle the missile bases. Kennedy also secretly ordered U.S. missiles to be removed from Turkey, at Khrushchev's insistence. The risk of nuclear war, greater during the **Cuban missile crisis** than at any other time in the Cold War, prompted a slight thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations. As National



MAP 25.6

The United States and Cuba, 1961–1962

Fidel Castro's 1959 Communist takeover of Cuba brought Cold War tensions to the Caribbean. In 1961, the United States tried unsuccessfully to overthrow Castro's regime by sponsoring the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuban exiles launched from Nicaragua and other points in the Caribbean. In 1962, the United States confronted the Soviet Union over Soviet construction of nuclear missile sites in Cuba. After President Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of the island, the Soviets backed down from the tense standoff and removed the missiles. Despite the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union and the official end of the Cold War, the United States continues to view Cuba, governed in 2012 by Raúl Castro, Fidel's brother, as an enemy nation.



The Berlin Wall

A West Berlin resident walks alongside a section of the Berlin Wall in August 1962, a year after its construction. Note the two border guards on the East Berlin side, plus the numerous loudspeakers, which East German Communists used to broadcast propaganda over the barricade that divided the city. © Bettmann/Corbis.

Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy put it, both sides were chastened by “having come so close to the edge.”

Kennedy and the World Kennedy also launched a series of bold nonmilitary initiatives. One was the **Peace Corps**, which embodied a call to public service put forth in his inaugural address (“Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country”). Thousands of men and women agreed to devote two or more years as volunteers for projects such as teaching English to Filipino schoolchildren or helping African villagers obtain clean water. Exhibiting the idealism of the early 1960s, the Peace Corps was also a low-cost Cold War weapon intended to show the developing world that there was an alternative to communism. Kennedy championed space exploration, as well. In a 1962 speech, he proposed that the nation commit itself to landing a man on the moon within the decade. The Soviets had already beaten the United

States into space with the 1957 *Sputnik* satellite and the 1961 flight of cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin. Capitalizing on America’s fascination with space, Kennedy persuaded Congress to increase funding for the government’s space agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), enabling the United States to pull ahead of the Soviet Union. Kennedy’s ambition was realized when U.S. astronauts arrived on the moon in 1969.

Making a Commitment in Vietnam

Despite slight improvements, U.S.-Soviet relations stayed tense and containment remained the cornerstone of U.S. policy. When Kennedy became president, he inherited Eisenhower’s commitment in Vietnam. Kennedy saw Vietnam in Cold War terms, but rather than practicing brinksmanship—threatening nuclear war to stop communism—Kennedy sought what at



The Cuban Missile Crisis

During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, President Kennedy meets with U.S. Army officials. Over two tense weeks, the world watched as the United States and the Soviet Union went to the brink of war when it became known that Soviet military officials had begun to construct nuclear weapons bases in Cuba, a mere 90 miles from the southern tip of Florida. Kennedy's threat to intercept Soviet missile shipments with American naval vessels forced the Cold War adversary to back down. © Corbis.

the time seemed a more intelligent and realistic approach. In 1961, he increased military aid to the South Vietnamese and expanded the role of U.S. Special Forces ("Green Berets"), who would train the South Vietnamese army in unconventional, small-group warfare tactics.

South Vietnam's corrupt and repressive Diem regime, propped up by Eisenhower since 1954, was losing ground in spite of American aid. By 1961, Diem's opponents, with backing from North Vietnam, had formed a revolutionary movement known as the National Liberation Front (NLF). NLF guerrilla forces—the Vietcong—found allies among peasants alienated by Diem's "strategic hamlet" program, which had uprooted entire villages and moved villagers into barbed-wire compounds. Furthermore, Buddhists charged Diem, a Catholic, with religious persecution. Starting in May 1963, militant Buddhists staged dramatic demonstrations, including self-immolations recorded by reporters covering the activities of the 16,000 U.S. military personnel then in Vietnam.

These self-immolations, shown on television to an uneasy global audience, powerfully illustrated the dilemmas of American policy in Vietnam. To ensure a stable

southern government and prevent victory for Ho Chi Minh and the North, the United States had to support Diem's authoritarian regime. But the regime's political repression of its opponents made Diem more unpopular. He was assassinated on November 3, 1963. Whether one supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam or not, the elemental paradox remained unchanged: in its efforts to win, the United States brought defeat ever closer.

SUMMARY

The Cold War began as a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union over Eastern Europe and the fate of post–World War II Germany. Early in the conflict, the United States adopted a strategy of containment, which quickly expanded to Asia after China became a communist state under Mao Zedong. The first effect of that expansion was the Korean War, after which, under Dwight D. Eisenhower, containment of communism became America's guiding principle across the developing world—often called the Third World. Cold War tensions relaxed in the late 1950s but erupted again under John F. Kennedy with the Cuban

missile crisis, the building of the Berlin Wall, and major increases in American military assistance to South Vietnam. Cold War imperatives between 1945 and the early 1960s meant a major military buildup, a massive nuclear arms race, and unprecedented entanglements across the globe.

On the domestic front, Harry S. Truman started out with high hopes for an expanded New Deal, only to be confounded by resistance from Congress and the competing demands of the Cold War. The greatest

Cold War-inspired development was a climate of fear over internal subversion by Communists that gave rise to McCarthyism. Truman's successor, Eisenhower, brought the Republicans back into power. Although personally conservative, Eisenhower actually proved a New Dealer in disguise. When Eisenhower left office and Kennedy became president, it seemed that a "liberal consensus" prevailed, with old-fashioned, *laissez-faire* conservatism mostly marginalized in American political life.

CHAPTER REVIEW



MAKE IT STICK

Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.

TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Yalta Conference (p. 806)
- United Nations (p. 807)
- Potsdam Conference (p. 807)
- containment (p. 808)
- Truman Doctrine (p. 809)
- Marshall Plan (p. 809)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (p. 812)
- Warsaw Pact (p. 812)
- NSC-68 (p. 813)
- Cold War liberalism (p. 818)
- Taft-Hartley Act (p. 819)

Key People

- Joseph Stalin (p. 806)
- George F. Kennan (p. 808)
- Joseph McCarthy (p. 821)
- Nikita Khrushchev (p. 826)
- John F. Kennedy (p. 829)
- Fidel Castro (p. 830)
- Ho Chi Minh (p. 833)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What factors led to the Cold War?
2. What was the domestic impact of the anticommunist crusade of the late 1940s and 1950s?
3. Why did the United States become involved in Vietnam?

4. **THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "Identity" on the thematic timelines on pages 671 and 803. Radicalism played a significant role in American history between 1890 and 1945. What radical politics took root in the United States during this time, and how did the government, the business community, and different social groups respond to that radicalism?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** How was America's Cold War foreign policy an extension of principles and policies from earlier eras, and in what ways was it a break with those traditions? Was the Cold War inevitable? Why or why not?
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** Look at the map of the military-industrial complex (Map 25.3) on page 817

and the map of population changes (Chapter 26, Map 26.2) on page 862. Where were the majority of military weapons manufactured? What were the connections between weapons and geography? How did those connections affect population distribution in the United States and within individual metropolitan areas?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (2005), and Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–2006*, 10th ed. (2008). Excellent overviews of the Cold War from distinct perspectives.

John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (1999). A thoughtful analysis of Soviet espionage.

W. J. Rorabaugh, *Kennedy and the Promise of the Sixties* (2002). A good starting point for Kennedy's presidency.

Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (1998). An excellent, detailed account of the McCarthy period.

The Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest's site, "The Cold War and Red Scare in Washington State," at [washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom Materials/Curriculum Packets/Cold War & Red Scare/Cold War and Red Scare.html](http://washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Curriculum%20Packets/Cold%20War%20&%20Red%20Scare/Cold%20War%20and%20Red%20Scare.html), provides detailed information on how the Red Scare operated in one state.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center has established the Cold War International History Project at wilsoncenter.org/cwihp.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End of World War II; Yalta and Potsdam conferences • Senate approves U.S. participation in United Nations
1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • George F. Kennan outlines containment policy • U.S. sides with French in war between French and Vietminh over control of Vietnam
1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Truman Doctrine • House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigates film industry
1948	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist coup in Czechoslovakia • Marshall Plan aids economic recovery in Europe • State of Israel created • Stalin blockades West Berlin; Berlin Airlift begins
1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) founded • Soviet Union detonates atomic bomb • Mao Zedong establishes People's Republic of China
1950–1953	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean War
1950	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NSC-68 leads to nuclear buildup • Joseph McCarthy announces “list” of Communists in government
1952	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dwight D. Eisenhower elected president
1954	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Army-McCarthy hearings on army subversion • Geneva Accords partition Vietnam
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nikita Khrushchev emerges as Stalin’s successor • Suez Canal crisis
1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John F. Kennedy elected president
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kennedy orders the first contingent of Special Forces (“Green Berets”) to Vietnam
1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diem assassinated in South Vietnam

KEY TURNING POINTS: What turning points and crises defined American containment policy between 1946 and 1953? Explain your answer with evidence from the timeline and chapter.

26

CHAPTER

POSTWAR PROSPERITY AND THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

- Economy: From Recovery to Dominance
- A Nation of Consumers
- Youth Culture
- Religion and the Middle Class

THE AMERICAN FAMILY IN THE ERA OF CONTAINMENT

- The Baby Boom
- Women, Work, and Family
- Challenging Middle-Class Morality

A SUBURBAN NATION

- The Postwar Housing Boom
- Rise of the Sunbelt
- Two Nations: Urban and Suburban

Triumph of the Middle Class 1945–1963

At the height of the Cold War, in 1959, U.S. vice president Richard Nixon debated Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev on the merits of Pepsi-Cola, TV dinners, and electric ovens. Face-to-face at the opening of an American exhibition in Moscow, Nixon and Khrushchev strolled through a model American home, assembled to demonstrate the consumer products available to the typical citizen of the United States. Nixon explained to Khrushchev that although the Soviet Union may have had superior rockets, the United States was ahead in other areas, such as color television.

This was Cold War politics by other means—a symbolic contest over which country's standard of living was higher. What was so striking about the so-called **kitchen debate** was Nixon's insistence, to a disbelieving Khrushchev, that a modern home filled with shiny new toasters, televisions, and other consumer products was accessible to the average American worker. "Any steelworker could buy this house," Nixon told the Soviet leader. The kitchen debate settled little in the geopolitical rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. But it speaks to us across the decades because it reveals how Americans had come to see themselves by the late 1950s: as home owners and consumers, as a people for whom the middle-class American Dream was a commercial aspiration.

The real story of the postwar period was the growing number of Americans who embraced that aspiration. In the two decades following the end of World War II, a new middle class was born in the United States. *Fortune* magazine estimated that in the 1950s, the middle class—which *Fortune* defined as families with more than \$5,000 in annual earnings after taxes (about \$40,000 today)—was increasing at the rate of 1.1 million people per year. Riding a wave of rising incomes, American dominance in the global economy, and Cold War federal spending, the postwar middle class enjoyed the highest standard of living in the world.

However, the success of the middle class could not hide deeper troubles. This was an era of neither universal conformity nor diminishing social strife. Jim Crow laws, contradictions in women's lives, a rebellious youth culture, and changing sexual mores were only the most obvious sources of social tension. Suburban growth came at the expense of cities, hastening urban decay and exacerbating racial segregation. Nor was prosperity ever as widespread as the Moscow exhibit implied. The suburban lifestyle was beyond the reach of the working poor, the elderly, immigrants, Mexican Americans, and most African Americans—indeed, the majority of the country.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

Why did consumer culture become such a fixture of American life in the postwar decades, and how did it affect politics and society?



The Middle-Class Family Ideal A family eats breakfast at a campground in Zion National Park, Utah. Americans embraced a middle-class, nuclear family ideal in the postwar decades. Photo by Justin Locke/National Geographic/Getty Images.

Postwar Prosperity and the Affluent Society

The United States enjoyed enormous economic advantages at the close of World War II. While the Europeans and Japanese were still clearing the war's rubble, America stood poised to enter a postwar boom. As the only major industrial nation not devastated by war, the United States held an unprecedented global position. The American economy also benefitted from an expanding internal market and heavy investment in research and development. Two additional developments stood out: First, for the first time in the nation's history, employers generally accepted collective bargaining, which for workers translated into rising wages, expanding benefits, and an increasing rate of home ownership. Second, the federal government's outlays for military and domestic programs gave a huge boost to the economy.

Economy: From Recovery to Dominance

U.S. corporations, banks, and manufacturers so dominated the global economy that the postwar period has been called the Pax Americana (a Latin term meaning "American Peace" and harking back to the Pax Romana of the first and second centuries A.D.). *Life* magazine publisher Henry Luce was so confident in the nation's growing power that during World War II he had predicted the dawning of the "American century." The preponderance of American economic power in the

postwar decades, however, was not simply an artifact of the world war—it was not an inevitable development. Several key elements came together, internationally and at home, to propel three decades of unprecedented economic growth.

The Bretton Woods System American global supremacy rested partly on the economic institutions created at an international conference in **Bretton Woods**, New Hampshire, in July 1944. The first of those institutions was the **World Bank**, created to provide loans for the reconstruction of war-torn Europe as well as for the development of former colonized nations—the so-called Third World or developing world. A second institution, the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, was set up to stabilize currencies and provide a predictable monetary environment for trade, with the U.S. dollar serving as the benchmark. The World Bank and the IMF formed the cornerstones of the Bretton Woods system, which guided the global economy after the war.

The Bretton Woods system was joined in 1947 by the first General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which established an international framework for overseeing trade rules and practices. Together, the Bretton Woods system and GATT served America's conception of an open-market global economy and complemented the nation's ambitious diplomatic aims in the Cold War. The chief idea of the Bretton Woods system was to make American capital available, on cheap terms, to nations that adopted free-trade capitalist economies. Critics charged, rightly, that Bretton Woods and GATT favored the United States at the



The Kitchen Debate

At the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959, the United States put on display the technological wonders of American home life. When Vice President Richard Nixon visited, he and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev got into a heated debate over the relative merits of their rival systems, with the up-to-date American kitchen as a case in point. This photograph shows the debate in progress. Khrushchev is the bald man pointing his finger at Nixon. To Nixon's left stands Leonid Brezhnev, who would be Khrushchev's successor. Getty Images.

expense of recently independent countries, because the United States could dictate lending terms and stood to benefit as nations purchased more American goods. But the system provided needed economic stability.

The Military-Industrial Complex A second engine of postwar prosperity was defense spending. In his final address to the nation in 1961, President Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke about the power of what he called the **military-industrial complex**, which by then employed 3.5 million Americans. Even though his administration had fostered this defense establishment, Eisenhower feared its implications: “We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex,” he said. This complex had its roots in the business-government partnerships of World War II. After 1945, though the country was nominally at peace, the

economy and the government operated in a state of perpetual readiness for war.

Based at the sprawling Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, the Defense Department evolved into a massive bureaucracy. In the name of national security, defense-related industries entered into long-term relationships with the Pentagon. Some companies did so much business with the government that they in effect became private divisions of the Defense Department. Over 60 percent of the income of Boeing, General Dynamics, and Raytheon, for instance, came from military contracts, and the percentages were even higher for Lockheed and Republic Aviation. In previous peacetime years, military spending had constituted only 1 percent of gross domestic product (GDP); now it represented 10 percent. Economic growth was increasingly dependent on a robust defense sector.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What primary factors led to the growth of the American economy after World War II?



The Military-Industrial Complex

Often, technology developed for military purposes, such as the complex design of jet airplanes, was easily transferred to the consumer market. The Boeing Aircraft Company—their Seattle plant is pictured here in the mid-1950s—became one of the leading commercial airplane manufacturers in the world in the 1960s, boosted in part by tax dollar-financed military contracts. Major American corporations—such as Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric, General Dynamics, and dozens of others—benefitted enormously from military contracts from the Department of Defense in the years after World War II. © Bettmann/Corbis.

As permanent mobilization took hold, science, industry, and government became intertwined. Cold War competition for military supremacy spawned both an arms race and a space race as the United States and the Soviet Union each sought to develop more explosive bombs and more powerful rockets. Federal spending underwrote 90 percent of the cost of research for aviation and space, 65 percent for electricity and electronics, 42 percent for scientific instruments, and even 24 percent for automobiles. With the government footing the bill, corporations lost little time in transforming new technology into useful products. Backed by the Pentagon, for instance, IBM and Sperry Rand pressed ahead with research on integrated circuits, which later spawned the computer revolution.

When the Soviet Union launched the world's first satellite, *Sputnik*, in 1957, the startled United States went into high gear to catch up in the Cold War space competition. Alarmed that the United States was falling behind in science and technology, Eisenhower persuaded Congress to appropriate additional money for college scholarships and university research. The **National Defense Education Act** of 1958 funneled millions of dollars into American universities, helping institutions such as the University of California at Berkeley, Stanford University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Michigan become the leading research centers in the world.

Corporate Power Despite its massive size, the military-corporate partnership was only one part of the nation's economy. For over half a century, the consolidation of economic power into large corporate firms had characterized American capitalism. In the postwar decades, that tendency accelerated. By 1970, the top four U.S. automakers produced 91 percent of all motor vehicles sold in the country; the top four firms in tires produced 72 percent; those in cigarettes, 84 percent; and those in detergents, 70 percent. Eric Johnston, former president of the American Chamber of Commerce, declared that "we have entered a period of accelerating bigness in all aspects of American life." Expansion into foreign markets also spurred corporate growth. During the 1950s, U.S. exports nearly doubled, giving the nation a trade surplus of close to \$5 billion in 1960. By the 1970s, such firms as Coca-Cola, Gillette, IBM, and Mobil made more than half their profits abroad.

To staff their bureaucracies, the postwar corporate giants required a huge white-collar army. A new generation of corporate chieftains emerged, operating in a complex environment that demanded long-range forecasting. Companies turned to the universities, which

grew explosively after 1945. Postwar corporate culture inspired numerous critics, who argued that the obedience demanded of white-collar workers was stifling creativity and blighting lives. In *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), the sociologist David Riesman mourned a lost masculinity and contrasted the independent businessmen and professionals of earlier years with the managerial class of the postwar world. The sociologist William Whyte painted a somber picture of "organization men" who left the home "spiritually as well as physically to take the vows of organization life." Andrew Hacker, in *The Corporation Take-Over* (1964), warned that a small handful of such organization men "can draw up an investment program calling for the expenditure of several billions of dollars" and thereby "determine the quality of life for substantial segments of society."

Many of these "investment programs" relied on mechanization, or automation—another important factor in the postwar boom. From 1947 to 1975, worker productivity more than doubled across the whole of the economy. American factories replaced manpower with machines, substituting cheap fossil energy for human muscle. As industries mechanized, they could turn out products more efficiently and at lower cost. Mechanization did not come without social costs, however. Over the course of the postwar decades, millions of high-wage manufacturing jobs were lost as machines replaced workers, affecting entire cities and regions. Corporate leaders approved, but workers and their union representatives were less enthusiastic. "How are you going to sell cars to all of these machines?" wondered Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

The Economic Record The American economy produced an extraordinary postwar record. Annual GDP jumped from \$213 billion in 1945 to more than \$500 billion in 1960; by 1970, it exceeded \$1 trillion (Figure 26.1). This sustained economic growth meant a 25 percent rise in real income for ordinary Americans between 1946 and 1959. Even better, the new prosperity featured low inflation. After a burst of high prices in the immediate postwar period, inflation slowed to 2 to 3 percent annually, and it stayed low until the escalation of the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s. Feeling secure about the future, Americans were eager to spend and rightly felt that they were better off than ever before. In 1940, 43 percent of American families owned their homes; by 1960, 62 percent did. In that period, moreover, income inequality dropped sharply. The share of total income going to the top tenth—the

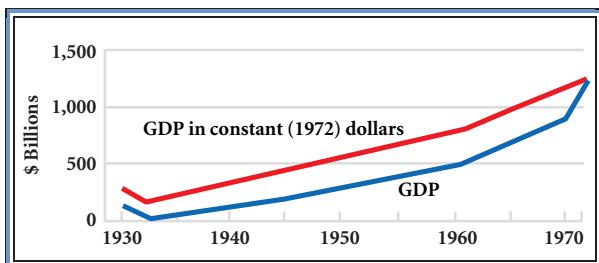


FIGURE 26.1
Gross Domestic Product, 1930–1972

After a sharp dip during the Great Depression, the GDP rose steadily in both real and constant dollars in the postwar period.

richest Americans—declined by nearly one-third from the 45 percent it had been in 1940. American society had become not only more prosperous but also more egalitarian.

However, the picture was not as rosy at the bottom, where tenacious poverty accompanied the economic boom. In *The Affluent Society* (1958), which analyzed the nation's successful, "affluent" middle class, economist John Kenneth Galbraith argued that the poor were only an "afterthought" in the minds of economists and politicians, who largely celebrated the new growth. As Galbraith noted, one in thirteen families at the time earned less than \$1,000 a year (about \$7,500 in today's dollars). Four years later, in *The Other America* (1962), the left-wing social critic Michael Harrington chronicled "the economic underworld of American life," and a U.S. government study, echoing a well-known sentence from Franklin Roosevelt's second inaugural address ("I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished"), declared "one-third of the nation" to be poorly paid, poorly educated, and poorly housed. It appeared that in economic terms, as the top and the middle converged, the bottom remained far behind.

A Nation of Consumers

The most breathtaking development in the postwar American economy was the dramatic expansion of the domestic consumer market. The sheer quantity of consumer goods available to the average person was without precedent. In some respects, the postwar decades seemed like the 1920s all over again, with an abundance of new gadgets and appliances, a craze for automobiles, and new types of mass media. Yet there was a significant difference: in the 1950s, consumption became associated with citizenship. Buying things, once a sign of personal indulgence, now meant participating

fully in American society and, moreover, fulfilling a social responsibility. What the suburban family consumed, asserted *Life* magazine in a photo essay, would help to ensure "full employment and improved living standards for the rest of the nation."

The GI Bill The new ethic of consumption appealed to the postwar middle class, the driving force behind the expanding domestic market. Middle-class status was more accessible than ever before because of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill. In the immediate postwar years, more than half of all U.S. college students were veterans attending class on the government's dime. By the middle of the 1950s, 2.2 million veterans had attended college and another 5.6 million had attended trade school with government financing. Before the GI Bill, commented one veteran, "I looked upon college education as likely as my owning a Rolls-Royce with a chauffeur."

Government financing of education helped make the U.S. workforce the best educated in the world in the 1950s and 1960s. American colleges, universities, and trade schools grew by leaps and bounds to accommodate the flood of students—and expanded again when the children of those students, the baby boomers, reached college age in the 1960s. At Rutgers University, enrollment went from 7,000 before the war to 16,000 in 1947; at the University of Minnesota, from 15,000 to more than 27,000. The GI Bill trained nearly half a million engineers; 200,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses; and 150,000 scientists (among many other professions). Better education meant higher earning power, and higher earning power translated into the consumer spending that drove the postwar economy. One observer of the GI Bill was so impressed with its achievements that he declared it responsible for "the most important educational and social transformation in American history."

The GI Bill stimulated the economy and expanded the middle class in another way: by increasing home ownership. Between the end of World War II and 1966, one of every five single-family homes built in the United States was financed through a GI Bill mortgage—2.5 million new homes in all. In cities and suburbs across the country, the **Veterans Administration** (VA), which helped former soldiers purchase new homes with no down payment, sparked a building boom that created jobs in the construction industry and fueled consumer spending in home appliances and automobiles. Education and home ownership were more than personal triumphs for the families of World



College on the GI Bill

In 1947—the year this photo was taken of a crowded lecture hall at the University of Iowa—more than 6,000 of this university's 10,000 students (60 percent) were veterans whose education was financed by the GI Bill. Across the country, American universities were bursting at the seams from the massive enrollment of World War II veterans. Government financing of college education for these vets made the U.S. workforce one of the best educated in the world in the 1950s and 1960s. Margaret Bourke-White/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

War II veterans (and Korean and Vietnam War veterans, after a new GI Bill was passed in 1952). They were concrete financial *assets* that helped lift more Americans than ever before into a mass-consumption-oriented middle class.

Trade Unions Organized labor also expanded the ranks of the middle class. For the first time ever, trade unions and **collective bargaining** became major factors in the nation's economic life. In the past, organized labor had been confined to a narrow band of craft trades and a few industries, primarily coal mining, railroading, and the building and metal trades. The power balance shifted during the Great Depression, and by the time the dust settled after World War II, labor unions overwhelmingly represented America's industrial workforce (Figure 26.2). By the beginning of the 1950s, the nation's major industries, including auto, steel, clothing, chemicals, and virtually all consumer product manufacturing, were operating with union contracts.

That outcome did not arrive without a fight. Unions staged major strikes in nearly all American industries in 1945 and 1946, and employers fought back. Head of the UAW Walter Reuther and CIO president Philip Murray declared that employers could afford a 30 percent wage increase, which would fuel postwar consumption. When employers, led by the giant General

Motors, balked at that demand, the two sides seemed set for a long struggle. Between 1947 and 1950, however, a broad “labor-management accord” gradually

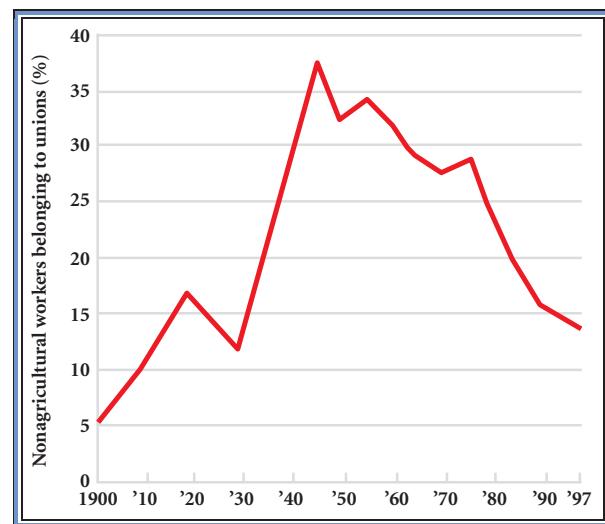


FIGURE 26.2

Labor Union Strength, 1900–1997

Labor unions reached their peak strength immediately after World War II, when they represented close to 40 percent of the nonfarm workforce. Although there was some decline after the mid-1950s, unions still represented nearly 30 percent in 1973. Thereafter, their decline was precipitous. AFL-CIO Information Bureau, Washington, DC.

emerged across most industries. This was not industrial peace, because the country still experienced many strikes, but a general acceptance of collective bargaining as the method for setting the terms of employment. The result was rising real income. The average worker with three dependents gained 18 percent in spendable real income in the 1950s.

In addition, unions delivered greater leisure (more paid holidays and longer vacations) and, in a startling departure, a social safety net. In postwar Europe, America's allies were constructing welfare states. But having lost the bruising battle in Washington for national health care during Truman's presidency, American unions turned to the bargaining table. By the end of the 1950s, union contracts commonly provided pension plans and company-paid health insurance. Collective bargaining, the process of trade unions and employers negotiating workplace contracts, had become, in effect, the American alternative to the European welfare state and, as Reuther boasted, the passport into the middle class.

The labor-management accord, though impressive, was never as durable or universal as it seemed. Vulnerabilities lurked. For one thing, the sheltered domestic markets—the essential condition for generous contracts—were quite fragile. In certain industries, the lead firms were already losing market share. Second, generally overlooked were the many unorganized workers with no middle-class passport—those consigned to unorganized industries, casual labor, or low-wage jobs in the service sector. A final vulnerability was the most basic: the abiding antiunionism of American employers. At heart, managers regarded the labor-management accord as a negotiated truce, not a permanent peace. The postwar labor-management accord turned out to be a transitory event, not a permanent condition of American economic life.

Houses, Cars, and Children Increased educational levels, growing home ownership, and higher wages all enabled more Americans than ever before to become members of what one historian has called a “consumer republic.” But what did they buy? The postwar emphasis on nuclear families and suburbs provides the answer. In the emerging suburban nation, three elements came together to create patterns of consumption that would endure for decades: houses, cars, and children.

A feature in a 1949 issue of *McCall's*, a magazine targeting middle-class women, illustrates the connections. “I now have three working centers,” a typical housewife explains. “The baby center, a baking center and a cleaning center.” Accompanying illustrations

reveal the interior of the brand-new house, stocked with the latest consumer products: accessories for the baby's room; a new stove, oven, and refrigerator; and a washer and dryer, along with cleaning products and other household goods. The article does not mention automobiles, but the photo of the house's exterior makes the point clear: father drives home from work in a new car.

Consumption for the home, including automobiles, drove the postwar American economy as much as, or more than, the military-industrial complex did. If we think like advertisers and manufacturers, we can see why. Between 1945 and 1970, more than 25 million new houses were built in the United States. Each required its own supply of new appliances, from refrigerators to lawn mowers. In 1955 alone, Americans purchased 4 million new refrigerators, and between 1940 and 1951 the sale of power mowers increased from 35,000 per year to more than 1 million. Moreover, as American industry discovered planned obsolescence—the encouragement of consumers to replace appliances and cars every few years—the home became a site of perpetual consumer desire.

Children also encouraged consumption. The baby boomers born between World War II and the late 1950s have consistently, throughout every phase of their lives, been the darlings of American advertising and consumption. When they were infants, companies focused on developing new baby products, from disposable diapers to instant formula. When they were toddlers and young children, new television programs, board games, fast food, TV dinners, and thousands of different kinds of toys came to market to supply the rambunctious youth. When they were teenagers, rock music, Hollywood films, and a constantly marketed “teen culture”—with its appropriate clothing, music, hairstyles, and other accessories—bombed them. Remarkably, in 1956, middle-class American teenagers on average had a weekly income of more than \$10, close to the weekly disposable income of an entire family a generation earlier.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did the tastes and values of the postwar middle class affect the country?

Television The emergence of commercial television in the United States was swift and overwhelming. In the realm of technology, only the automobile and the personal computer were its equal in transforming everyday life in the twentieth century. In 1947, there were 7,000 TV sets in American homes. A year later, the CBS and NBC radio networks began offering regular



Teenagers

These teenage girls and boys are being restrained by police outside an Elvis Presley concert in Florida in 1956. Elvis, who was instrumental in popularizing rock 'n' roll music among white middle-class teenagers in the mid-1950s, was one example of a broader phenomenon: the creation of the "teenager" as a distinct demographic, cultural category and, perhaps most significantly, consumer group. Beginning in the 1950s, middle-class teenagers had money to spend, and advertisers and other entrepreneurs—such as the music executives who marketed Elvis or the Hollywood executives who invented the "teen film"—sought ways to win their allegiance and their dollars. Photo by Charles Trainor/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

programming, and by 1950 Americans owned 7.3 million sets. Ten years later, 87 percent of American homes had at least one television set. Having conquered the home, television would soon become the principal mediator between the consumer and the marketplace.

Television advertisers mastered the art of manufacturing consumer desire. TV stations, like radio stations before them, depended entirely on advertising for profits. The first television executives understood that as long as they sold viewers to advertisers they would stay on the air. Early corporate-sponsored shows (such as *General Electric Theater* and *U.S. Steel Hour*) and simple product jingles (such as "No matter what the time or place, let's keep up with that happy pace. 7-Up your thirst away!") gave way by the early 1960s to slick advertising campaigns that used popular music, movie stars, sports figures, and stimulating graphics to captivate viewers.

By creating powerful visual narratives of comfort and plenty, television revolutionized advertising and changed forever the ways products were sold to American, and global, consumers. On *Queen for a Day*, a

show popular in the mid-1950s, women competed to see who could tell the most heartrending story of tragedy and loss. The winner was lavished with household products: refrigerators, toasters, ovens, and the like. In a groundbreaking advertisement for Anacin aspirin, a tiny hammer pounded inside the skull of a headache sufferer. Almost overnight, sales of Anacin increased by 50 percent.

By the late 1950s, what Americans saw on television, both in the omnipresent commercials and in the programming, was an overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant world of nuclear families, suburban homes, and middle-class life. A typical show was *Father Knows Best*, starring Robert Young and Jane Wyatt. Father left home each morning wearing a suit and carrying a briefcase. Mother was a full-time housewife and stereotypical female, prone to bad driving and tears. *Leave It to Beaver*, another immensely popular series about suburban family life, embodied similar late-fifties themes. Earlier in the decade, however, television featured grittier realities. *The Honeymooners*, starring Jackie Gleason as a Brooklyn bus driver, and

Advertising in the TV Age

Aggressive advertising of new products such as the color television helped fuel the surge in consumer spending during the 1950s. Marketing experts emphasized television's role in promoting family togetherness, while interior designers offered decorating tips that placed the television at the focal point of living rooms and the increasingly popular "family rooms." In this 1951 magazine advertisement, the family is watching a variety program starring singer Dinah Shore, who was the television spokeswoman for Chevrolet cars. Every American probably could hum the tune of the little song she sang in praise of the Chevy. Courtesy of Motorola Museum © 1951 Motorola, Inc./Picture Research Consultants & Archives.



The Life of Riley, a situation comedy featuring a California aircraft worker, treated working-class lives. Two other early-fifties television series, *Beulah*, starring Ethel Waters and then Louise Beavers as an African American maid, and the comedic *Amos 'n' Andy*, were the only shows featuring black actors in major roles. Television was never a showcase for the breadth of American society, but in the second half of the 1950s broadcasting lost much of its ethnic, racial, and class diversity and became a vehicle for the transmission of a narrow range of middle-class tastes and values.

Youth Culture

One of the most striking developments in American life in the postwar decades was the emergence of the **teenager** as a cultural phenomenon. In 1956, only

partly in jest, the CBS radio commentator Eric Sevareid questioned "whether the teenagers will take over the United States lock, stock, living room, and garage." Sevareid was grumbling about American youth culture, a phenomenon first noticed in the 1920s and with its roots in the lengthening years of education, the role of peer groups, and the consumer tastes of young people. Market research revealed a distinct teen market to be exploited. *Newsweek* noted with awe in 1951 that the aggregate of the weekly spending money of teenagers was enough to buy 190 million candy bars, 130 million soft drinks, and 230 million sticks of gum. Increasingly, advertisers targeted the young, both to capture their spending money and to exploit their influence on family purchases.

Hollywood movies played a large role in fostering a teenage culture. Young people made up the largest

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

How did rebellion become an integral part of consumer culture in the postwar period?

audience for motion pictures, and Hollywood studios learned over the course of the 1950s to cater to them. The success of films such as *The Wild One* (1953), starring Marlon Brando; *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), with Sidney Poitier; and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), starring James Dean, convinced movie executives that films directed at teenagers were worthy investments. “What are you rebelling against?” Brando is asked in *The Wild One*. “Whattaya got?” he replies. By the early 1960s, Hollywood had retooled its business model, shifting emphasis away from adults and families to teenagers. The “teenpic” soon included multiple genres: horror, rock ‘n’ roll, dangerous youth, and beach party, among others.

Rock ‘n’ Roll What really defined the youth culture, however, was its music. Rejecting the romantic ballads of the 1940s, teenagers discovered rock ‘n’ roll, which originated in African American rhythm and blues. The Cleveland disc jockey Alan Freed took the lead in introducing white America to the black-created sound

by playing what were called “race” records. “If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars,” a record company owner is quoted as saying. The performer who fit that bill was Elvis Presley, who rocketed into instant celebrity in 1956 with his hit records “Hound Dog” and “Heartbreak Hotel,” covers of songs originally recorded by black artists such as Big Mama Thornton. Between 1953 and 1959, record sales increased from \$213 million to \$603 million, with rock ‘n’ roll as the driving force.

Many unhappy adults saw in rock ‘n’ roll music an invitation to interracial dating, rebellion, and a more flagrant sexuality. The media featured hundreds of stories on problem teens, and denunciations of the new music poured forth from many corners. Such condemnation only deflected off the new youth culture or, if anything, increased its popularity. Both Hollywood and the music industry had learned that youth rebellion sold tickets.

Cultural Dissenters Youth rebellion was only one aspect of a broader discontent with the sometimes



Motown

Mary Wilson, Diana Ross, and Florence Ballard (from left to right) were the founding members of the Motown singing group the Supremes (shown here in concert in 1964), which produced twelve number-one singles. Motown, a record label owned by African American entrepreneur Berry Gordy, specialized in so-called cross-over acts: black singers who sold records to white audiences. In the era of Jim Crow, Motown represented a small but noteworthy step toward a less racially segregated American culture. Photo by RB/Redferns/Getty Images.

saccharine consumer culture of the 1950s. Many artists, writers, and jazz musicians embarked on powerful new experimental projects in a remarkable flowering of intensely personal, introspective art forms. Black musicians developed a hard-driving improvisational style known as bebop. Whether the “hot” bebop of saxophonist Charlie Parker or the more subdued “cool” sound of the influential trumpeter Miles Davis, post-war jazz was cerebral, intimate, and individualistic. As such, it stood in stark contrast to the commercialized, dance-oriented “swing” bands of the 1930s and 1940s.

Black jazz musicians found eager fans not only in the African American community but also among young white **Beats**, a group of writers and poets centered in New York and San Francisco who disdained middle-class materialism. In his poem “Howl” (1956), which became a manifesto of the Beat generation, Allen Ginsberg lamented: “I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked, dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an angry fix.” In works such as Jack Kerouac’s novel *On the Road* (1957), the Beats glorified spontaneity, sexual adventurism, drug use, and spirituality. The Beats were apolitical, but their cultural rebellion would, in the 1960s, inspire a new generation of young rebels disenchanted with both the political and cultural status quo.

Religion and the Middle Class

In an age of anxiety about nuclear annihilation and the spread of “godless communism,” Americans yearned for a reaffirmation of faith. Church membership jumped from 49 percent of the population in 1940 to 70 percent in 1960. People flocked to the evangelical Protestant denominations, beneficiaries of a remarkable new crop of preachers. Most eloquent was the young Reverend Billy Graham, who made brilliant use of television, radio, and advertising. His massive 1949 revival in Los Angeles and his 1957 crusade at Madison Square Garden in New York, attended or viewed by hundreds of thousands of Americans, established Graham as the nation’s leading evangelical.

Rather than clashing with the new middle-class ethic of consumption, the religious reawakening was designed to mesh with it. Preachers such as Graham and the California-based Robert Schuller told Americans that so long as they lived moral lives, they deserved the material blessings of modern life. No one was more influential in this regard than the minister and author Norman Vincent Peale, whose best-selling book *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952) embodied the

therapeutic use of religion as an antidote to life’s trials and tribulations. Peale taught that with faith in God and “positive thinking,” anyone could overcome obstacles and become a success. Graham, Schuller, Peale, and other 1950s evangelicals laid the foundation for the rise of the televangelists, who created popular television ministries in the 1970s.

The postwar purveyors of religious faith cast Americans as a righteous people opposed to communist atheism. When Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to death in 1953, the judge criticized them for “devoting themselves to the Russian ideology of denial of God.” Cold War imperatives drew Catholics, Protestants, and Jews into an influential ecumenical movement that downplayed doctrinal differences. The phrase “under God” was inserted into the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954, and U.S. coins carried the words



Billy Graham

Charismatic and inspiring, Billy Graham wore down shoe leather to bring Christian conversion to hundreds of thousands of Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, preaching to large crowds such as this one in Columbia, South Carolina. He also migrated onto the radio and television airwaves, using technology to reach even wider audiences. Graham used the Cold War to sharpen his message, telling Americans that “godless communism” was an inferior system, but that democracy in America required belief in God and a constant struggle against “sin.” Photo by John Dominis/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

“In God We Trust” after 1956. These religious initiatives struck a distinctly moderate tone, however, in comparison with the politicized evangelism that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Chapter 29).

The American Family in the Era of Containment

Marriage, family structure, and gender roles had been undergoing significant changes since the turn of the twentieth century (Chapter 18). Beginning in the nineteenth century, middle-class Americans increasingly saw marriage as “companionate,” that is, based on romantic love and a lifetime of shared friendship. *Companionate* did not mean *equal*. In the mid-twentieth century, family life remained governed by notions of paternalism, in which men provided economic support and controlled the family’s financial resources, while women cared for children and occupied a secondary position in public life.

The resurgent postwar American middle class was preoccupied with the virtues of paternalism. Everyone from professional psychologists to television advertisers and every organization from schools to the popular press celebrated nuclear families. Children were prized, and women’s caregiving roles were valorized. This view of family life, and especially its emphasis on female “domesticity,” was bolstered by Cold War politics. Americans who deviated from prevailing gender and familial norms were not only viewed with scorn but were also sometimes thought to be subversive and politically dangerous. The word *containment* could apply to the home as easily as to foreign policy. The family had become politicized by the Cold War.

The model of domesticity so highly esteemed in postwar middle-class morality hid deeper, longer-term changes in the way marriage, gender roles, women’s work, and even sex were understood. To comprehend the postwar decades, we have to keep in mind both the value placed on domesticity and the tumultuous changes surging beneath its prescriptions.

The Baby Boom

A popular 1945 song was called “Gotta Make Up for Lost Time,” and Americans did just that. Two things were noteworthy about the families they formed after World War II: First, marriages were remarkably stable. Not until the mid-1960s did the divorce rate begin to rise sharply. Second, married couples were intent on

having babies. Everyone expected to have several children—it was part of adulthood, almost a citizen’s responsibility. After a century and a half of decline, the birthrate shot up. More babies were born in the six years between 1948 and 1953 than in the previous thirty years (Figure 26.3).

One of the reasons for this **baby boom** was that people were having children at the same time. A second was a drop in the average marriage age—down to twenty-two for men and twenty for women. Younger parents meant a bumper crop of children. Women who came of age in the 1930s averaged 2.4 children; their counterparts in the 1950s averaged 3.2 children. Such a dramatic turnaround reflected couples’ decisions during the Great Depression to limit childbearing and couples’ contrasting decisions in the postwar years to have more children. The baby boom peaked in 1957 and remained at a high level until the early 1960s. Far from “normal,” all of these developments were anomalies, temporary reversals of long-standing demographic trends. From the perspective of the whole of the twentieth century, the 1950s and early 1960s stand out as exceptions to declining birthrates, rising divorce rates, and the steadily rising marriage age.

The passage of time revealed the ever-widening impact of the baby boom. When baby boomers competed for jobs during the 1970s, the labor market became tight. When career-oriented baby boomers belatedly began having children in the 1980s, the birthrate jumped. And in our own time, as baby boomers

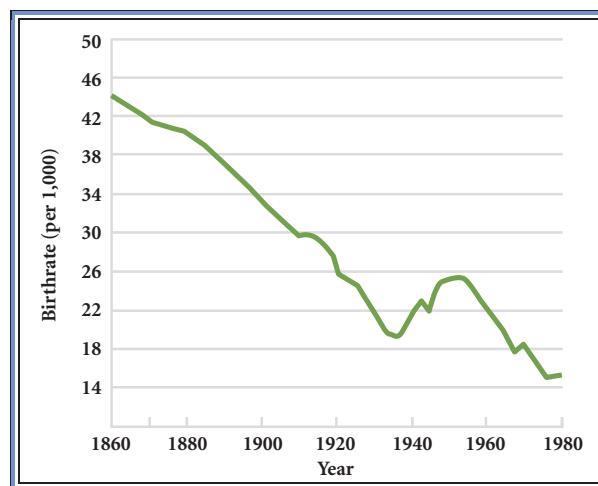


FIGURE 26.3
The American Birthrate, 1860–1980

When birthrates are viewed over more than a century, the postwar baby boom is clearly only a temporary reversal of the long-term downward trend in the American birthrate.

begin retiring, huge funding problems threaten to engulf Social Security and Medicare. The intimate decisions of so many couples after World War II continued to shape American life well into the twenty-first century.

Improving Health and Education Baby boom children benefitted from a host of important advances in public health and medical practice in the postwar years. Formerly serious illnesses became merely routine after the introduction of such “miracle drugs” as penicillin (introduced in 1943), streptomycin (1945), and cortisone (1946). When Dr. Jonas Salk perfected a polio vaccine in 1954, he became a national hero. The free distribution of Salk’s vaccine in the nation’s schools, followed in 1961 by Dr. Albert Sabin’s oral polio vaccine, demonstrated the potential of government-sponsored public health programs.

The baby boom also gave the nation’s educational system a boost. Postwar middle-class parents, America’s first college-educated generation, placed a high value on education. Suburban parents approved 90 percent of school bond issues during the 1950s. By 1970, school expenditures accounted for 7.2 percent of the gross national product, double the 1950 level. In the 1960s, the baby boom generation swelled college enrollments. State university systems grew in tandem: the pioneering University of California, University of Wisconsin, and State University of New York systems added dozens of new campuses and offered students in their states a low-cost college education.

Dr. Benjamin Spock To keep baby boom children healthy and happy, middle-class parents increasingly relied on the advice of experts. Dr. Benjamin Spock’s *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* sold 1 million copies every year after its publication in 1946. Spock urged mothers to abandon the rigid feeding and baby-care schedules of an earlier generation. New mothers found Spock’s commonsense approach liberating. “Your little paperback is still in my cupboard, with loose pages, rather worn from use because I brought up two babies using it as my ‘Bible,’ ” a California housewife wrote to Spock.

Despite his commonsense approach to child rearing, Spock was part of a generation of psychological experts whose advice often failed to reassure women. If mothers were too protective, Spock and others argued, they might hamper their children’s preparation for adult life. On the other hand, mothers who wanted to work outside the home felt guilty because Spock recommended that they be constantly available for their

children. As American mothers aimed for the perfection demanded of them seemingly at every turn, many began to question these mixed messages. Some of them would be inspired by the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

Why was there an increase in births in the decades after World War II, and what were some of the effects of this baby boom?

Women, Work, and Family

Two powerful forces shaped women’s relationships to work and family life in the postwar decades. One was the middle-class domestic ideal, in which women were expected to raise children, attend to other duties in the home, and devote themselves to their husbands’ happiness. So powerful was this ideal that in 1957 the *Ladies’ Home Journal* entitled an article, “Is College Education Wasted on Women?” The second force was the job market. Most working-class women had to earn a paycheck to help their family. And despite their education, middle-class women found that jobs in the professions and business were dominated by men and often closed to them. For both groups, the market offered mostly “women’s jobs”—in teaching, nursing, and other areas of the growing service sector—and little room for advancement (American Voices, p. 852).

The idea that a woman’s place was in the home was, of course, not new. The postwar obsession with femininity and motherhood bore a remarkable similarity to the nineteenth century’s notion of domesticity. The updated version drew on new elements of twentieth-century science and culture. Psychologists equated motherhood with “normal” female identity and suggested that career-minded mothers needed therapy. “A mother who runs out on her children to work—except in cases of absolute necessity—betrays a deep dissatisfaction with motherhood or with her marriage,” wrote one leading psychiatrist. Television shows and movies depicted career women as social misfits. The postwar consumer culture also emphasized women’s domestic role as purchasing agents for home and family. “Can a woman ever feel right cooking on a dirty range?” asked one advertisement.

The postwar domestic ideal held that women’s principal economic contribution came through consumption—women shopped for the family. In reality, their contributions increasingly took them outside their homes and into the workforce. In 1954, married women made up half of all women workers. Six years later, the 1960 census reported a stunning fact: the number of mothers who worked had increased four times, and over one-third of these women had children



Coming of Age in the Postwar Years

At the dawn of the postwar era, Americans faced new opportunities and new anxieties. Many former soldiers attended college and purchased new homes on the GI Bill, which forever changed their lives. Women faced new pressures to realize the ideal role of housewife and mother. On the horizon, both in reality and in the American imagination, lurked communism, which Americans feared but little understood. And racial segregation continued to shape the ordinary lives of Americans. Recorded here are several different reactions to these post-war tensions, distinct experiences of coming of age in the 1940s and 1950s.

Art Buchwald

Studying on the GI Bill

Art Buchwald was one of the best-known humorists in American journalism. But in 1946, he was an ordinary ex-serviceman using the GI Bill to go to college.

It was time to face up to whether I was serious about attending school. My decision was to go down to the University of Southern California and find out what I should study at night to get into the place. There were at least 4,000 ex-GIs waiting to register. I stood in line with them. Hours later, I arrived at the counter and said, "I would like to . . ." The clerk said, "Fill this out."

Having been accepted as a full-time student under the G.I. Bill, I was entitled to seventy-five dollars a month plus tuition, books, and supplies. Meanwhile, I found a boardinghouse a few blocks from campus, run by a cheery woman who was like a mother to her thirteen boarders. . . . At the time, just after the Second World War had ended, an undeclared class war was going on at USC. The G.I.s returning home had little use for the fraternity men, since most of the frat boys were not only much younger, but considered very immature.

The G.I.s were intent on getting their educations and starting new lives.

Source: From *Leaving Home: A Memoir*, by Art Buchwald (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1993). Used by permission of Joel Buchwald.

Betty Friedan

Living the Feminine Mystique

Like Buchwald, Betty Friedan would one day become famous as a writer—author of one of the most widely read books of the 1960s, *The Feminine Mystique*. In the late 1940s, Friedan was not yet a feminist, but she was deeply engaged in the politics of the era.

And then the boys our age had come back from the war. I was bumped from my job on a small labor news service

by a returning veteran, and it wasn't so easy to find another job I really liked. I filled out the applications for *Time-Life* researcher, which I'd always scorned before. All the girls I knew had jobs like that, but it was official policy that no matter how good, researchers, who were women, could never become writers or editors. They could write the whole article, but the men they were working with would always get the by-line as writer. I was certainly not a feminist then—none of us were a bit interested in women's rights. But I could never bring myself to take that kind of job.

After the war, I had been very political, very involved, consciously radical. Not about women, for heaven's sake! If you were a radical in 1949, you were concerned about the Negroes, and the working class, and World War III, and the Un-American Activities Committee and McCarthy and loyalty oaths, and Communist splits and schisms, Russia, China and the UN, but you certainly didn't think about being a woman, politically.

Source: From "It Changed My Life": *Writings on the Women's Movement*, by Betty Friedan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976). Copyright © 1963 by Betty Friedan. Reprinted by permission of Curtis Brown, Ltd.

Susan Allen Toth

Learning About Communism

Toth is a writer who grew up in Ames, Iowa, surrounded by cornfields. She writes here about her experience learning just how anxious people could become in the 1950s when the issue of communism was raised.

Of course, we all knew there was Communism. As early as sixth grade our teacher warned us about its dangers. I listened carefully to Mr. Casper describe what Communists wanted, which sounded terrible. World domination. Enslavement. Destruction of our way of life. I hung around school one afternoon hoping to catch Mr. Casper, whom I secretly adored, to ask him why Communism was so bad. He stayed in another teacher's room so late I finally scrawled my question on our blackboard: "Dear Mr. Casper, why is Communism so bad . . . Sue Allen" and

went home. Next morning the message was still there. Like a warning from heaven it had galvanized Mr. Casper. He began class with a stern lecture, repeating everything he had said about dangerous Russians and painting a vivid picture of how we would all suffer if the Russians took over the city government in Ames. We certainly wouldn't be able to attend a school like this, he said, where free expression of opinion was allowed. At recess that day one of the boys asked me if I was a "dirty Commie": two of my best friends shied away from me on the playground; I saw Mr. Casper talking low to another teacher and pointing at me. I cried all the way home from school and resolved never to commit myself publicly with a question like that again.

Source: From Susan Allen Toth, "Boyfriend" from *Blooming: A Small-Town Girlhood*. Reprinted by permission of Molly Friedrich on behalf of the author.

Melba Patillo Beals Encountering Segregation

Melba Patillo Beals was one of the "Little Rock Nine," the high school students who desegregated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. Here she recounts an experience documenting what it was like to come of age as a black southerner under Jim Crow.

An experience I endured on a December morning would forever affect any decision I made to go "potty" in a public place. We were Christmas shopping when I felt the twinge of emergency. I convinced Mother and Grandmother that I knew the way to restroom by myself. I was moving as fast as I could when suddenly I knew I wasn't going to make it all the way down those stairs and across the warehouse walkway to the "Colored Ladies" toilet. So I pushed open the door marked "White Ladies" and, taking a deep breath, I crossed the threshold. It was just as bright and pretty as I had imagined it to be. . . . Across the room, other white ladies sat on a couch reading the newspaper. Suddenly realizing I was there, two of them looked at me in astonishment. Unless I was the maid, they said, I was in the wrong place. While they shouted at me to "get out," my throbbing bladder consumed my attention as I frantically headed for the unoccupied stall. They kept shouting "Good lord, do something." I was doing something by that time, seated comfortably on the toilet, listening to the hysteria building outside my locked stall. One woman even knelt down to peep beneath the door to make certain that I didn't put my bottom on the toilet seat. She ordered me not to pee.

Source: Reprinted with permission of Atria Publishing Group, a Division of Simon & Schuster, Inc. *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock* by Melba Patillo Beals. Copyright © 1994, 1995 by Melba Beals. All rights reserved.

David Beers California Suburbia

David Beers grew up in the suburbs of California, in what would eventually become known as Silicon Valley. In his memoir, he recalls the ritual of buying a house.

"We never looked at a used house," my father remembers of those days in the early 1960s when he and my mother went shopping for a home of their own in the Valley of Heart's Delight. "A used house did not interest us." Instead, they roved in search of balloons and bunting and the many billboards advertising *Low Interest! No Money Down!* to military veterans like my father. They would follow the signs to the model homes standing in empty fields and tour the empty floor plans and leave with notes carefully made about square footage and closet space. "We shopped for a new house," my father says, "the way you shopped for a car." . . . We were blithe conquerors, my tribe. When we chose a new homeland, invaded a place, settled it, and made it over in our image, we did so with a smiling sense of our own inevitability. . . . We were drawn to the promise of a blank page inviting *our* design upon it.

Source: David Beers, *Blue Sky Dream: A Memoir of America's Fall from Grace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Company, 1996), 31, 39.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do you think Buchwald meant by "an undeclared class war"? Why would the influx of GI Bill veterans into colleges create conflict?
2. Why do you think Friedan "didn't think about being a woman, politically" in the 1940s and 1950s? Why do you think she was "bumped from" her job by a "returning veteran"?
3. What does Toth's experience as a young student suggest about American anxieties during the Cold War? Why would her question cause embarrassment and ridicule?
4. What does Beals's experience suggest about the indignities faced by young people on the front lines of challenging racial segregation? Does it help explain why youth were so important in breaking racial barriers?
5. What do you think Beers means by "our tribe"? What was the "blank page"?



Mom at Home and at Work

Middle-class women's lives grew increasingly complicated in the postwar decades. They may have dreamed of a suburban home with a brand-new kitchen, like the one shown in this 1955 photograph (left), but laboring all day over children, dirty dishes, and a hot stove proved dissatisfying to many. Betty Friedan called the confinement of women's identities to motherhood the "feminine mystique," but did the working woman have it much better? Hardly. Most women in the 1950s and 1960s were confined to low-level secretarial work (right), waitressing, and other service-sector work—or, worse, factory or domestic labor. By the end of the 1960s, women had begun to crack the "glass ceiling" and enter the professions in larger numbers. But regardless of their occupation, the majority of working women performed the "double day": a full day at work and a full day at home. Such were the expectations and double bind women faced. Elliott Erwitt/Magnum Photos./Inge Morath © The Inge Morath Foundation/Magnum Photos.

between the ages of six and seventeen. In that same year, 30 percent of wives worked, and by 1970, it was 40 percent. For working-class women, in particular, the economic needs of their families demanded that they work outside the home.

Despite rising employment rates, occupational segmentation still haunted women. Until 1964, the classified sections of newspapers separated employment ads into "Help Wanted Male" and "Help Wanted Female." More than 80 percent of all employed

women's pay, which averaged 60 percent of men's pay in 1963.

Contrary to stereotype, however, women's paid work was not merely supplementary. It helped lift families into the middle class. Even in the prosperous 1950s, many men found that their wages could not pay for what middle-class life demanded: cars, houses, vacations, and college education for the children. Many families needed more than one wage earner just to get by. Among married women, the highest rates of labor-force participation in the 1950s were found in families at the lower end of the middle class. Over the course of the postwar decades, from 1945 to 1965, more and more women, including married women, from all class backgrounds, entered the paid workforce.

How could American society steadfastly uphold the domestic ideal when so many wives and mothers were out of the house and at work? In many ways, the contradiction was hidden by the women themselves. Fearing public disapproval, women would explain

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

What transformations in women's economic role took place in the 1950s and 1960s?

women did stereotypical women's work as salesclerks, health-care technicians, waitresses, stewardesses, domestic servants, receptionists, telephone operators, and secretaries. In 1960, only 3 percent of lawyers and 6 percent of physicians were women; on the flip side, 97 percent of nurses and 85 percent of librarians were women. Along with women's jobs went

the expectation that they would also be responsible for the home and family.

their work in family-oriented terms—as a way to save money for the children's college education, for instance. Moreover, when women took jobs outside the home, they still bore full responsibility for child care and household management, contributing to the “double day” of paid work and family work. As one overburdened woman noted, she now had “two full-time jobs instead of just one—underpaid clerical worker and unpaid housekeeper.” Finally, the pressures of the Cold War made strong nuclear families with breadwinning fathers and domesticated mothers symbols of a healthy nation. Americans wanted to believe this even if it did not perfectly describe the reality of their lives.

Challenging Middle-Class Morality

In many ways, the two decades between 1945 and 1965 were a period of cultural conservatism that reflected the values of domesticity. At the dawn of the 1960s, going steady as a prelude to marriage was the fad in high school. College women had curfews and needed permission to see a male visitor. Americans married young; more than half of those who married in 1963 were under the age of twenty-one. After the birth control pill came on the market in 1960, few doctors prescribed it to unmarried women, and even married women did not enjoy unfettered access to contraception until the Supreme Court ruled it a “privacy” right in the 1965 decision *Griswold v. Connecticut*.

The Kinsey Reports

Like the woman on the cover of this lighthearted 1953 book of photographs, many Americans reacted with surprise when Alfred Kinsey revealed the country's sexual habits. In his 1948 book about men and his 1953 book about women, Kinsey wrote about American sexual practices in the detached language of science. But it still made for salacious reading. Evangelical minister Billy Graham (p. 849) warned: “It is impossible to estimate the damage this book will do to the already deteriorated morals of America.” Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

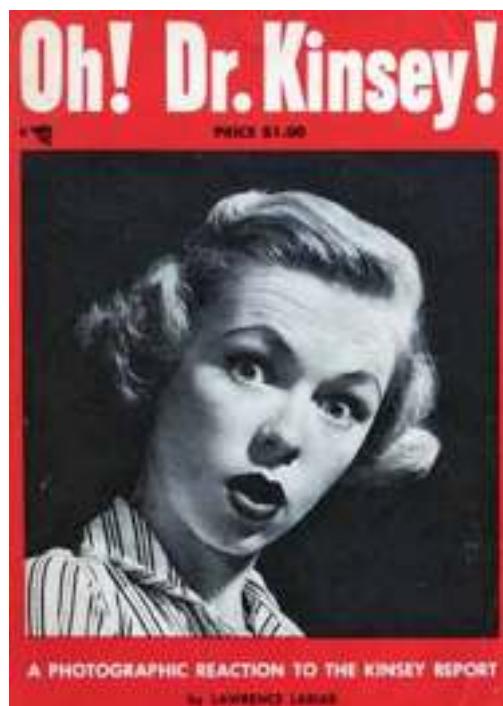
Alfred Kinsey Yet beneath the surface of middle-class morality, Americans were less repressed than confused. They struggled to reconcile new freedoms with older moral traditions. This was especially true with regard to sex. Two controversial studies by an unassuming Indiana University zoologist named Alfred Kinsey forced questions about sexuality into the open. Kinsey and his research team published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948 and followed it up in 1953 with *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*—an 842-page book that sold 270,000 copies in the first month after its publication.

Taking a scientific, rather than moralistic, approach, Kinsey, who became known as “the sex doctor,” documented the full range of sexual experiences of thousands of Americans. He broke numerous taboos, discussing such topics as homosexuality and marital infidelity in the detached language of science.

Both studies confirmed that a sexual revolution, although a largely hidden one, had already begun to transform American society by the early 1950s. Kinsey estimated that 85 percent of men had had sex prior to marriage and that more than 25 percent of married women had had sex outside of marriage by the age of forty. These were shocking public admissions in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and “hotter than the Kinsey

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What were the contradictions in postwar domesticity and middle-class morality?



report” became a national figure of speech. Kinsey was criticized by statisticians—because his samples were not randomly selected—and condemned even more fervently by religious leaders, who charged him with encouraging promiscuity and adultery. But his research opened a national conversation with profound implications for the future. Even if Kinsey’s numbers were off, he helped Americans learn to talk more openly about sex.

The Homophile Movement Among the most controversial of Kinsey’s claims was that homosexuality was far more prevalent than most Americans believed. Although the American Psychiatric Association would officially define homosexuality as a mental illness in 1952, Kinsey’s research found that 37 percent of men had engaged in some form of homosexual activity by early adulthood, as had 13 percent of women. Even more important, Kinsey claimed that 10 percent of American men were *exclusively* homosexual. These claims came as little surprise, but great encouragement, to a group of gay and lesbian activists who called themselves “homophiles.” Organized primarily in the Mattachine Society (the first gay rights organization in the country, founded in 1951) and the Daughters of Bilitis (a lesbian organization founded in 1955), homophiles were a small but determined collection of activists who sought equal rights for gays and lesbians. “The lesbian is a woman endowed with all the attributes of any other woman,” wrote the pioneer lesbian activist Del Martin in 1956. “The salvation of the lesbian lies in her acceptance of herself without guilt or anxiety.”

Building on the urban gay and lesbian communities that had coalesced during World War II, homophiles sought to change American attitudes about same-sex love. They faced daunting obstacles, since same-sex sexual relations were illegal in every state and scorned, or feared, by most Americans. To combat prejudice and change the laws, homophile organizations cultivated a respectable, middle-class image. Members were encouraged to avoid bars and nightclubs, to dress in conservative shirts and ties (for men) and modest skirts and blouses (for women), and to seek out professional psychologists who would attest to their “normalcy.” Only in the 1960s did homophiles begin to talk about the “homophile vote” and their “rights as citizens,” laying the groundwork for the gay rights movement of the 1970s.

Media and Morality The homophile movement remained unknown to most Americans. But other challenges to traditional morality received national media attention, and the media themselves became a controversial source of these challenges. Concerned that excessive crime, violence, and sex in comic books

were encouraging juvenile delinquency, the U.S. Senate held nationally televised hearings in 1954. The Senate’s final report, written largely by the Tennessee Democrat Estes Kefauver, complained of the “scantly clad women” and “penchant for violent death” common in comic books aimed at teenagers. Kefauver’s report forced the comics industry to tame its wildest practices but did little to slow the growing frankness about both sex and violence in the nation’s printed media and films.



To see a longer excerpt from the Senate hearing on juvenile delinquency, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

A magazine entrepreneur from Chicago named Hugh Hefner played a leading role in that growing frankness. Hefner founded *Playboy* magazine in 1953, in which he created a countermorality to domesticity: a fictional world populated by “hip” bachelor men and sexually available women. Hefner’s imagined bachelors condemned marriage and lived in sophisticated apartments filled with the latest stereo equipment and other consumer products. While domesticated fathers bought lawn mowers and patio furniture, Hefner’s magazine encouraged men to spend money on clothing and jazz albums for themselves, and for the “scantly clad women” that filled its pages. Hefner and his numerous imitators became powerful purveyors of sex in the media. But Hefner was the exception that proved the rule: marriage, not swinging bachelorhood, remained the destination for the vast majority of men. Millions of men read *Playboy*, but few adopted its fantasy lifestyle.

A Suburban Nation

Prosperity—how much an economy produces, how much people earn—is more easily measured than is quality of life. During the 1950s, however, the American definition of the good life emerged with exceptional distinctness: a high value on consumption, a devotion to family and domesticity, and preference for suburban living. In this section, we consider the third dimension of that definition: suburbanization. What drove the nation to abandon its cities for the suburbs, and what social and political consequences did this shift have?

The Postwar Housing Boom

Migration to the suburbs had been going on for a hundred years, but never before on the scale that the country experienced after World War II. Within a decade,

farmland on the outskirts of cities filled up with tract housing and shopping malls. Entire counties that had once been rural—such as San Mateo, south of San Francisco, or Passaic and Bergen in New Jersey, west of Manhattan—went suburban. By 1960, one-third of Americans lived in suburbs. Home construction, having ground to a halt during the Great Depression, surged after the war. One-fourth of the country's entire housing stock in 1960 had not even existed a decade earlier.

William J. Levitt and the FHA Two unique postwar developments remade the national housing market and gave it a distinctly suburban shape. First, an innovative Long Island building contractor, William J. Levitt, revolutionized suburban housing by applying mass-production techniques and turning out new homes at a dizzying speed. Levitt's basic four-room house, complete with kitchen appliances, was priced at \$7,990 when homes in the first Levittown went on sale in 1947 (about \$76,000 today). Levitt did not need to advertise; word of mouth brought buyers flocking to his developments (all called Levittown) in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Dozens of other developers were soon snapping up cheap farmland and building subdivisions around the country.

Even at \$7,990, Levitt's homes would have been beyond the means of most young families had the traditional home-financing standard—a down payment of half the full price and ten years to pay off the balance—still prevailed. That is where the second post-war development came in. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA)—that is, the federal government—brought the home mortgage market within the reach of a broader range of Americans than ever before. After the war, the FHA insured thirty-year mortgages with as little as 5 percent down and interest at 2 or 3 percent. The VA was even more generous, requiring only a token \$1 down for qualified ex-GIs. FHA and VA mortgages best explain why, after hovering around 45 percent for the previous half century, home ownership jumped to 60 percent by 1960.

What purchasers of suburban houses got, in addition to a good deal, were homogeneous communities. The developments contained few elderly people or unmarried adults. Even the trees were young. Levitt's company enforced regulations about maintaining lawns and not hanging out laundry on the weekends. Then there was the matter of race. Levitt's houses came with restrictive covenants prohibiting occupancy “by members of other than the Caucasian Race.” (Restrictive covenants often applied to Jews and, in California,

Asian Americans as well.) Levittowns were hardly alone. Suburban developments from coast to coast exhibited the same age, class, and racial homogeneity (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 858).

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

Place postwar suburbanization in the context of the growing size and influence of the federal government. How did the national government encourage suburbanization?

In *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), the Supreme Court outlawed restrictive covenants, but racial discrimination in housing changed little. The practice persisted long after *Shelley*, because the FHA and VA continued the policy of redlining: refusing mortgages to African Americans and members of other minority groups seeking to buy in white neighborhoods. Indeed, no federal law—or even Court decisions like *Shelley*—actually prohibited racial discrimination in housing until Congress passed the Fair Housing Act in 1968.

Interstate Highways Without automobiles, suburban growth on such a massive scale would have been impossible. Planners laid out subdivisions on the assumption that everybody would drive. And they did—to get to work, to take the children to Little League, to shop. With gas plentiful and cheap (15 cents a gallon), no one cared about the fuel efficiency of their V-8 engines or seemed to mind the elaborate tail fins and chrome that weighed down their cars. In 1945, Americans owned twenty-five million cars; by 1965, just two decades later, the number had tripled to seventy-five million (*America Compared*, p. 860). American oil consumption followed course, tripling as well between 1949 and 1972.

More cars required more highways, and the federal government obliged. In 1956, in a move that drastically altered America's landscape and driving habits, the **National Interstate and Defense Highways Act** authorized \$26 billion over a ten-year period for the construction of a nationally integrated highway system—42,500 miles (Map 26.1). Cast as a Cold War necessity because broad highways made evacuating crowded cities easier in the event of a nuclear attack, the law changed American cities forever. An enormous public works program surpassing anything undertaken during the New Deal, and enthusiastically endorsed by the Republican president, Dwight Eisenhower, federal highways made possible the massive suburbanization of the nation in the 1960s. Interstate highways rerouted traffic away from small towns, bypassed well-traveled main roads such as the cross-country Route 66, and cut wide swaths through old neighborhoods in the cities.



The Suburban Landscape of Cold War America

Between the end of World War II and the 1980s, Americans built and moved into suburban homes in an unprecedented wave of construction and migration that changed the nation forever. New home loan rules, and government backing under the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration, made new suburban houses cheaper and brought home ownership within reach of a larger number of Americans than ever before. Commentators cheered these developments as a boon to ordinary citizens, but by the 1960s a generation of urban critics, led by journalist Jane Jacobs, had begun to find fault with the nation's suburban obsession. The following documents provide the historian with evidence of how these new suburban communities arose and how they began to transform American culture.

1. "Peacetime Cornucopia," *The New Yorker*, October 6, 1945.



© Constanin Alajalov/New Yorker/Conde Nast Publications.

2. *Life* magazine, "A Life Round Table on Housing," January 31, 1949.

The most aggressive member of *Life's* Round Table, whether as builder or debater, was William J. Levitt, president of Levitt and Sons, Inc. of Manhasset, NY. He feels that he has started a revolution, the essence of which is size. Builders in his estimation are a poor and puny lot, too small to put pressure on materials manufacturers or the local czars of the building codes or the bankers or labor. A builder ought to be a manufacturer, he said, and to this end must be big. He himself is a nonunion operator.

The Levitt prescription for cheaper houses may be summarized as follows: 1) take infinite pains with infinite details; 2) be aggressive; 3) be big enough to throw your weight around; 4) buy at wholesale; and 5) build houses in concentrated developments where mass-production methods can be used on the site.

3. Site plan sketch for Park Forest, Illinois, 1946.



The Park Forest Historical Society.

4. William H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man*, 1956.

Whyte, a prominent journalist, wrote about the decline of individualism and the rise of a national class of interchangeable white-collar workers.

And is this not the whole drift of our society? We are not interchangeable in the sense of being people without differences, but in the externals of existence we are united by a culture increasingly national. And this is part of the momentum of mobility. The more people move about, the more similar American environments become, and the more similar they become, the easier it is to move about.

More and more, the young couples who move do so only physically. With each transfer the décor, the architecture, the faces, and the names may change; the people, the conversation, and the values do not—and sometimes the décor and architecture don't either. . . .

Suburban residents like to maintain that their suburbia not only looks classless but is classless. That is, they are apt to add on second thought, there are no extremes, and if the place isn't exactly without class, it is at least a one-class society—identified as the middle or upper middle, according to the inclination of the residents. "We are all," they say, "in the same boat."

5. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961. A classic celebration of vibrant urban neighborhoods by a New York writer and architectural critic.

Although it is hard to believe, while looking at dull gray areas, or at housing projects or at civic centers, the fact is that big cities are natural generators of diversity and prolific incubators of new enterprises and ideas of all kinds. . . .

This is because city populations are large enough to support wide ranges of variety and choice in these things. And again we find that bigness has all the advantages in smaller settlements. Towns and suburbs, for instance, are natural homes for huge supermarkets and for little else in the way of groceries, for standard movie houses or drive-ins and for little else in the way of theater. There are simply not enough people to support further variety, although there may be people (too few of them) who would draw upon it were it there. Cities, however, are the natural homes of supermarkets and standard movie houses plus delicatessens, Viennese bakeries, foreign groceries, art movies, and so on. . . .

The diversity, of whatever kind, that is generated by cities rests on the fact that in cities so many people are so close together, and among them contain so many different tastes, skills, needs, supplies, and bees in their bonnets.

6. Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners*, 1967. One of the first sociological studies of the new postwar suburbs and their residents.

The strengths and weakness of Levittown are those of many American communities, and the Levittowners closely resemble other young middle class Americans. They are not America, for they are not a numerical majority of the population, but they represent the major constituency of the latest and more powerful economic and political institutions in American society—the favored customers and voters whom these seek to attract and satisfy. . . .

Although they are citizens of a national polity and their lives are shaped by national economic, social, and political forces, Levittowners deceive themselves into thinking that the community, or rather the home, is the single most important unit of their lives. . . .

In viewing their homes as the center of life, Levittowners are still using a societal model that fit the rural America of self-sufficient farmers and the feudal Europe of self-isolating extended families.

Sources: (2) *Life*, January 31, 1949, 74; (4) William H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), 276, 299; (5) Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Westminster, MD: Vintage, 1992), 145–147; (6) Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 417–418.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 1, 4, and 6. How do they reinforce or contradict one another?
2. In source 4, what does Whyte mean by "classless"? Why would suburbanites wish to think of their communities as not beset by class inequality? Were they right in this point of view?
3. Do you see evidence in source 2 of the ways the postwar housing market was transformed? How does Levitt's vision of the home-building industry relate to other kinds of American industries?
4. In source 5, what advantages does Jacobs see in large cities over suburbs? Can you interpret source 3 from the perspective that Jacobs outlines in source 5?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Write an essay in which you use the knowledge you've gained from this chapter and the documents provided above to explore postwar suburbanization. What did it mean to the American economy? To ordinary Americans? What flaws did its critics see?



Hanoch Bartov: Everyone Has a Car

Our immediate decision to buy a car sprang from healthy instincts. Only later did I learn from bitter experience that in California, death was preferable to living without one. Neither the views from the plane nor the weird excursion that first evening hinted at what I would go through that first week.

Very simple—the nearest supermarket was about half a kilometer south of our apartment, the regional primary school two kilometers east, and my son's kindergarten even farther away. A trip to the post office—an undertaking, to the bank—an ordeal, to work—an impossibility. . . .

There are no tramways. No one thought of a subway. Railroads—not now and not in the future. Why? Because everyone has a car. A man invited me to his house, saying, "We are neighbors, within ten minutes of each other." After walking for an hour and a half I realized what he meant—"ten minute drive within the speed limit." Simply put, he never thought I might interpret his remark to refer to the walking distance. The moment a baby sees the light of day in Los Angeles, a car is registered in his name in Detroit. . . .

At first perhaps people relished the freedom and independence a car provided. You get in, sit down, and grab the steering wheel, your mobility exceeding that of any other generation. No wonder people refuse to live down-

One of Israel's foremost writers and journalists, Hanoch Bartov spent two years in the United States working as a correspondent for the newspaper *Lamerchav*. As a newcomer to Los Angeles in the early 1960s, he was both fascinated and appalled by Americans' love affair with the automobile.

town, where they can hear their neighbors, smell their cooking, and suffer frayed nerves as trains pass by bedroom windows. Instead, they get a piece of the desert, far from town, at half price, drag a water hose, grow grass, flowers, and trees, and build their dream house.

The result? A widely scattered city, its houses far apart, its streets stretched in all directions. Olympic Boulevard from west to east, forty kilometers. Sepulveda Boulevard, from Long Beach in the south to the edge of the desert, forty kilometers. Altogether covering 1,200 square kilometers. As of now.

Source: "Measures of Affluence" by Hanoch Bartov (1963) in Chapter 16 from *The Outer World*, edited by Oscar Handlin and Lilian Handlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). © 1997. Reprinted by permission of Oscar and Lilian Handlin.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

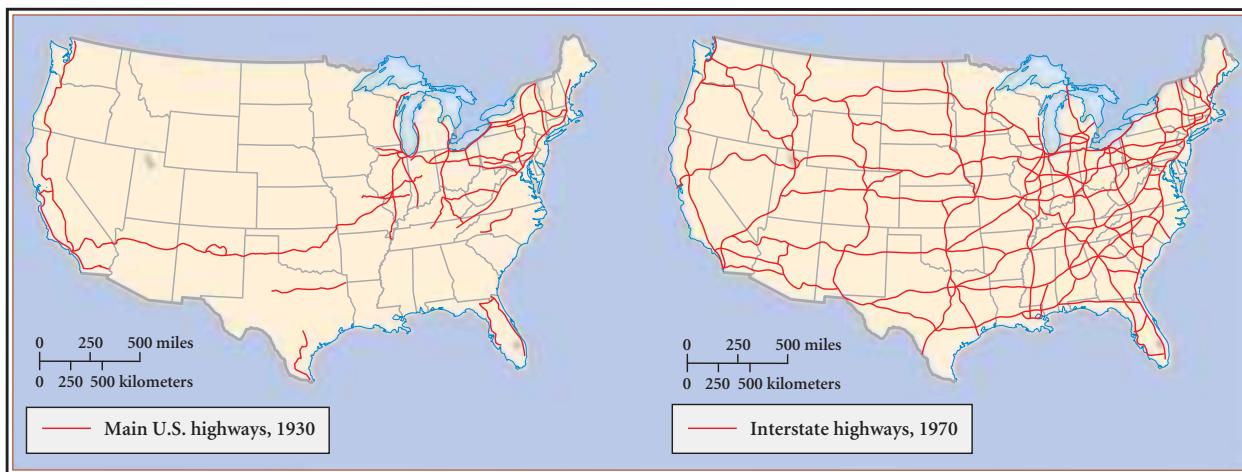
- From Bartov's observations, what are the pluses and minuses of America's car culture? In what ways was the automobile changing American society?
- Why did Bartov find that owning a car was necessary, especially in southern California?
- How would suburbanization have contributed to the construction of new highways in the United States? How would highway construction have facilitated suburbanization?

Fast Food and Shopping Malls Americans did not simply fill their new suburban homes with the latest appliances and gadgets; they also pioneered entirely new forms of consumption. Through World War II, downtowns had remained the center of retail sales and restaurant dining with their grand department stores, elegant eateries, and low-cost diners. As suburbanites abandoned big-city centers in the 1950s, ambitious entrepreneurs invented two new commercial forms that would profoundly shape the rest of the century: the shopping mall and the fast-food restaurant.

By the late 1950s, the suburban shopping center had become as much a part of the American landscape as the Levittowns and their imitators. A major developer of shopping malls in the Northeast called them

"crystallization points for suburbia's community life." He romanticized the new structures as "today's village green," where "the fountain in the mall has replaced the downtown department clock as the gathering place for young and old alike." Romanticism aside, suburban shopping centers worked perfectly in the world of suburban consumption; they brought "the market to the people instead of people to the market," commented the *New York Times*. In 1939, the suburban share of total metropolitan retail trade in the United States was a paltry 4 percent. By 1961, it was an astonishing 60 percent in the nation's ten largest metropolitan regions.

No one was more influential in creating suburban patterns of consumption than a Chicago-born son of Czech immigrants named Ray Kroc. A former jazz



MAP 26.1

Connecting the Nation: The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970

The 1956 National Interstate and Defense Highways Act paved the way for an extensive network of federal highways throughout the nation. The act not only pleased American drivers and enhanced their love affair with the automobile but also benefitted the petroleum, construction, trucking, real estate, and tourist industries. The new highway system promoted the nation's economic integration, facilitated the growth of suburbs, and contributed to the erosion of America's distinct regional identities.

musician and traveling salesman, Kroc found his calling in 1954 when he acquired a single franchise of the little-known McDonald's Restaurant, based in San Bernardino, California. In 1956, Kroc invested in twelve more franchises and by 1958 owned seventy-nine. Three years later, Kroc bought the company from

the McDonald brothers and proceeded to turn it into the largest chain of restaurants in the world. Based on inexpensive, quickly served hamburgers that hungry families could eat in the restaurant, in their cars, or at home, Kroc's vision transformed the way Americans consumed food. "Drive-in" or "fast" food became a

Fast Food, 1949

The sign atop this suburban Los Angeles restaurant says it all. Suburbanization laid the foundation for a unique post-war phenomenon that would forever change American life: the rise of fast food. Cheap, convenient, and "fast," the food served in the new restaurants, modeled after the industry's pioneer, McDonald's, was not necessarily nutritious, but its chief advantage was portability. Loomis Dean/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.



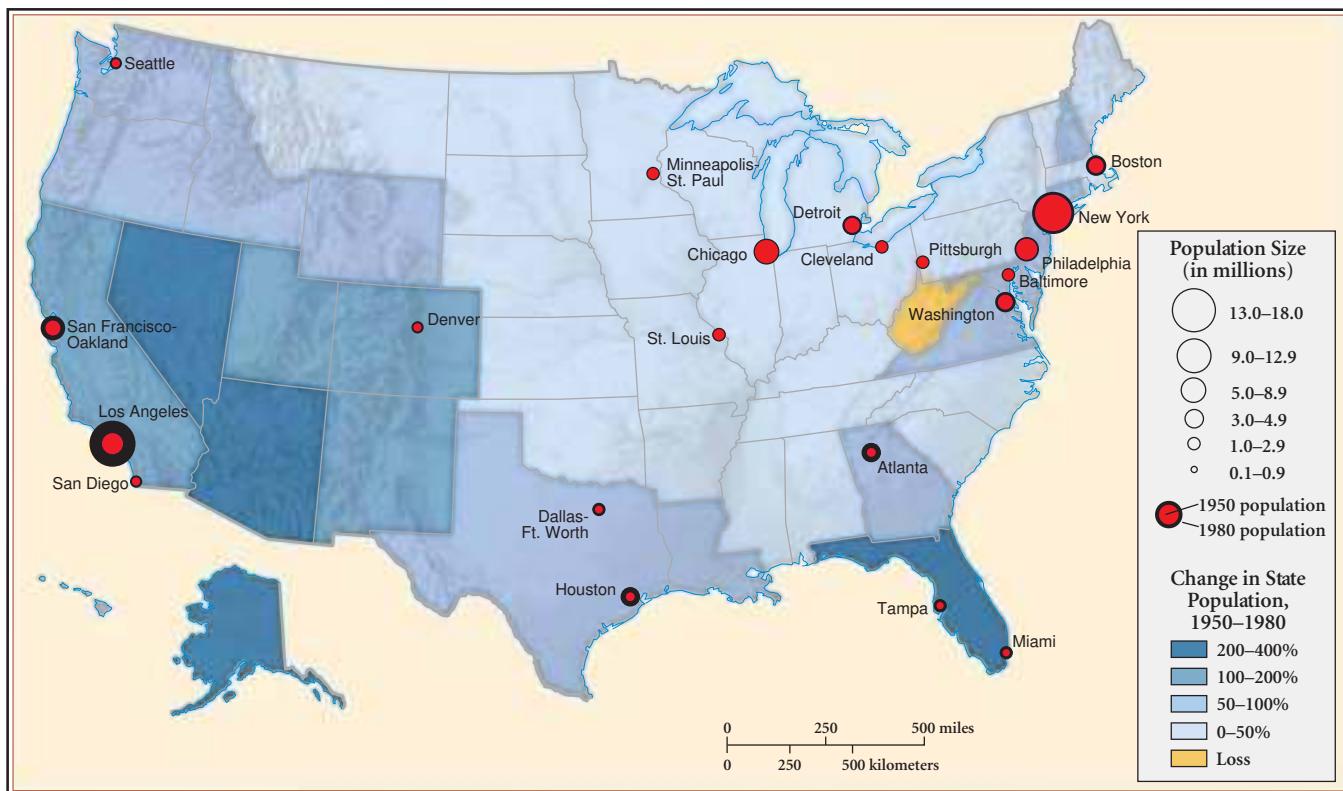
staple of the American diet in the subsequent decades. By the year 2000, fast food was a \$100 billion industry, and more children recognized Ronald McDonald, the clown in McDonald's television commercials, than Santa Claus.

Rise of the Sunbelt

Suburban living, although a nationwide phenomenon, was most at home in the **Sunbelt** (the southern and southwestern states), where taxes were low, the climate was mild, and open space allowed for sprawling subdivisions (Map 26.2). Florida added 3.5 million people, many of them retired, between 1940 and 1970. Texas profited from expanding petrochemical and defense industries. Most dramatic was California's growth, spurred especially by the state's booming defense-related aircraft and electronics industries. By 1970,

California contained one-tenth of the nation's population and surpassed New York as the most populous state. At the end of the century, California's economy was among the top ten largest in the world—among nations.

A distinctive feature of Sunbelt suburbanization was its close relationship to the military-industrial complex. Building on World War II expansion, military bases proliferated in the South and Southwest in the postwar decades, especially in Florida, Texas, and California. In some instances, entire metropolitan regions—such as San Diego County, California, and the Houston area in Texas—expanded in tandem with nearby military outposts. Moreover, the aerospace, defense, and electronics industries were based largely in Sunbelt metropolitan regions. With government contracts fueling the economy and military bases providing thousands of jobs, Sunbelt politicians had every



MAP 26.2
Shifting Population Patterns, 1950–1980

This map shows the two major, somewhat overlapping, patterns of population movement between 1950 and 1980. Most striking is the rapid growth of the Sunbelt states. All the states experiencing increases of over 100 percent in that period are in the Southwest, plus Florida. The second pattern involves the growth of metropolitan areas, defined as a central city or urban area and its suburbs. The central cities were themselves mostly not growing, however. The metropolitan growth shown in this map was accounted for by the expanding suburbs. And because Sunbelt growth was primarily suburban growth, that's where we see the most rapid metropolitan growth, with Los Angeles the clear leader.

incentive to support vigorous defense spending by the federal government.

Sunbelt suburbanization was best exemplified by Orange County, California. Southwest of Los Angeles, Orange County was until the 1940s mostly just that—a land of oranges, groves of them. But during World War II, boosters attracted new bases and training facilities for the marines, navy, and air force (at the time the army air corps). Cold War militarization and the Korean War kept those bases humming, and Hughes Aircraft, Ford Aeronautics, and other defense-related manufacturers built new plants in the sunny, sprawling groves. So did subdivision developers, who built so many new homes that the population of the county jumped from 130,760 in 1940 to 703,925 in 1960. Casting his eye on all this development in the early 1950s, an entrepreneurial filmmaker and cartoonist named Walt Disney chose Anaheim in Orange County as the place for a massive new amusement park. Disneyland was to the new generation of suburbanites what Coney Island had been to an earlier generation of urbanites.

Two Societies: Urban and Suburban

While middle-class whites flocked to the suburbs, an opposite stream of working-class migrants, many of them southern African Americans, moved into the cities. In the 1950s, the nation's twelve largest cities lost 3.6 million whites while gaining 4.5 million nonwhites. These urban newcomers inherited a declining economy and a decaying infrastructure. To those enjoying prosperity, the “other America,” as the social critic Michael Harrington called it, remained largely invisible. In 1968, however, a report by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (informally known as the **Kerner Commission** and formed by the president to investigate the causes of the 1967 urban riots), delivered to President Lyndon Johnson, warned that “our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal.”

American cities had long been the home of poverty, slum housing, and the hardships and cultural dislocations brought on by immigration from overseas or migration from rural areas. But postwar American cities, especially those in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, experienced these problems with new intensity. By the 1950s, the manufacturing sector was contracting, and mechanization was eliminating thousands upon thousands of unskilled and semiskilled jobs, the kind traditionally taken up by new urban residents. The disappearing jobs were the ones “in which [African Americans] are disproportionately

concentrated,” noted the civil rights activist Bayard Rustin.

The Urban Crisis The intensification of poverty, the deterioration of older housing stock, and the persistence of racial segregation produced what many at the time called the urban crisis. Unwelcome in the shiny new suburbs built by men such as William J. Levitt, African Americans found low-paying jobs in the city and lived in aging, slumlike apartment buildings. Despite a thriving black middle class—indeed, larger than ever before—for those without resources, upward mobility remained elusive. Racism in institutional forms frustrated African Americans at every turn: housing restrictions, increasingly segregated schools, and an urban infrastructure that stood underfunded and decaying as whites left for the suburbs.

Housing and job discrimination were compounded by the frenzy of urban renewal that hit black neighborhoods in the 1950s and early 1960s. Seeking to revitalize declining city centers, politicians and real estate developers proposed razing blighted neighborhoods to make way for modern construction projects that would appeal to the fleeing middle class. In Boston, almost one-third of the old city—including the historic West End, a long-established Italian neighborhood—was demolished to make way for a new highway, high-rise housing, and government and commercial buildings. In San Francisco, some 4,000 residents of the Western Addition, a predominantly black neighborhood, lost out to an urban renewal program that built luxury housing, a shopping center, and an express boulevard. Between 1949 and 1967, urban renewal nationwide demolished almost 400,000 buildings and displaced 1.4 million people.

The urban experts believed they knew what to do with the dislocated: relocate them to federally funded housing projects, an outgrowth of New Deal housing policy, now much expanded. However well intended, these grim projects too often took the form of cheap high-rises that isolated their inhabitants from surrounding neighborhoods. The impact was felt especially strongly among African Americans, who often found that public housing increased racial segregation and concentrated the poor. The Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago, with twenty-eight buildings of sixteen stories each, housed 20,000 residents, almost all of them black. Despite the planners’ wish to build

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

In what sense was the United States becoming, in the language of the Kerner Commission report, “two societies”?



Urban Crisis

This Pittsburgh neighborhood, photographed in 1955, typified what many came to call the “urban crisis” of the 1950s and 1960s. As suburbanization drew middle-class residents, investment, and jobs away from the core of older cities, those cities began to rot from the inside. Urban neglect left many working-class neighborhoods, increasingly occupied by the nation’s poor, with few jobs, little industry, and dilapidated housing. W. Eugene Smith/Black Star/Stockphoto.com.

decent affordable apartments, the huge complex became a notorious breeding ground for crime and hopelessness.

Urban Immigrants Despite the evident urban crisis, cities continued to attract immigrants from abroad. Since the passage of the National Origins Act of 1924 (Chapter 22), U.S. immigration policy had aimed mainly at keeping foreigners out. But World War II and the Cold War began slowly to change American policy. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 permitted the entry of approximately 415,000 Europeans, many of them Jewish refugees. In a gesture to an important war ally, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943. More far-reaching was the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which ended the exclusion of Japanese, Koreans, and Southeast Asians.

After the national-origins quota system went into effect in 1924, Mexico replaced Eastern and Southern Europe as the nation’s labor reservoir. During World War II, the federal government introduced the Bracero Program to ease wartime labor shortages (Chapter 24) and then revived it in 1951, during the Korean War. The federal government’s ability to force workers to return to Mexico, however, was strictly limited. The Mexican immigrant population continued to grow, and by the time the Bracero Program ended in 1964, many of that group—an estimated 350,000—had settled permanently in the United States. Braceros were joined by other Mexicans from small towns and villages, who immigrated to the United States to escape

poverty or to earn money to return home and purchase land for farming.

As generations of immigrants had before them, Mexicans gravitated to major cities. Mostly, they settled in Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Jose, El Paso, and other southwestern cities. But many also went north, augmenting well-established Mexican American communities in Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, and Denver. Although still important to American agriculture, Mexican Americans were employed in substantial numbers as industrial and service workers by 1960.

Another major group of Spanish-speaking migrants came from Puerto Rico. American citizens since 1917, Puerto Ricans enjoyed an unrestricted right to move to the mainland United States. Migration increased dramatically after World War II, when mechanization of the island’s sugarcane agriculture left many Puerto Ricans jobless. Airlines began to offer cheap direct flights between San Juan and New York City. With the fare at about \$50 (two weeks’ wages), Puerto Ricans became America’s first immigrants to arrive en masse by air. Most Puerto Ricans went to New York, where they settled first in East (“Spanish”) Harlem and then scattered in neighborhoods across the city’s five boroughs. This massive migration, which increased the Puerto Rican population to 613,000 by 1960, transformed the ethnic composition of the city. More Puerto Ricans now lived in New York City than in San Juan.

Cuban refugees constituted the third-largest group of Spanish-speaking immigrants. In the six years after Fidel Castro’s seizure of power in 1959 (Chapter 25), an

estimated 180,000 people fled Cuba for the United States. The Cuban refugee community grew so quickly that it turned Miami into a cosmopolitan, bilingual city almost overnight. Unlike other urban migrants, Miami's Cubans quickly prospered, in large part because they had arrived with money and middle-class skills.

Spanish-speaking immigrants—whether Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban—created huge barrios in major American cities, where bilingualism flourished, the Catholic Church shaped religious life, and families sought to join the economic mainstream. Though distinct from one another, these Spanish-speaking communities remained largely segregated from white, or Anglo, neighborhoods and suburbs as well as from African American districts.

SUMMARY

We have explored how, at the same time it became mired in the Cold War, the United States entered an unparalleled era of prosperity in which a new middle class came into being. Indeed, the Cold War was one of the engines of prosperity. The postwar economy was

marked by the dominance of big corporations and defense spending.

After years of depression and war-induced insecurity, Americans turned inward toward religion, home, and family. Postwar couples married young, had several children, and—if they were white and middle class—raised their children in a climate of suburban comfort and consumerism. The profamily orientation of the 1950s celebrated traditional gender roles, even though millions of women entered the workforce in those years. Not everyone, however, shared in the postwar prosperity. Postwar cities increasingly became places of last resort for the nation's poor. Black migrants, unlike earlier immigrants, encountered an urban economy that had little use for them. Without opportunity, and faced with pervasive racism, many of them were on their way to becoming an American underclass, even as sparkling new suburbs emerged outside cities to house the new middle class. Many of the smoldering contradictions of the postwar period—Cold War anxiety in the midst of suburban domesticity, tensions in women's lives, economic and racial inequality—helped spur the protest movements of the 1960s.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- kitchen debate (p. 838)
 - Bretton Woods (p. 840)
 - World Bank (p. 840)
 - International Monetary Fund (IMF) (p. 840)
 - military-industrial complex (p. 841)
 - Sputnik* (p. 842)
 - National Defense Education Act (p. 842)
 - The Affluent Society* (p. 843)
 - The Other America* (p. 843)
- Veterans Administration (p. 843)
 - collective bargaining (p. 844)
 - teenager (p. 847)
 - Beats (p. 849)
 - baby boom (p. 850)
 - Shelley v. Kraemer* (p. 857)
 - National Interstate and Defense Highways Act (p. 857)
 - Sunbelt (p. 862)
 - Kerner Commission (p. 863)

Key People

- Dwight D. Eisenhower (p. 841)
- Miles Davis (p. 849)
- Allen Ginsberg (p. 849)
- Jack Kerouac (p. 849)
- Billy Graham (p. 849)
- Dr. Benjamin Spock (p. 851)
- William J. Levitt (p. 857)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What factors led to the economic prosperity of the postwar era?
2. Why did the suburbs become so significant for Americans in the 1950s? How was suburban life related to middle-class consumption?
3. Who were the people left out of the postwar boom? How do you account for their exclusion?
4. **THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events listed under “America in the World” and “Work, Exchange, and Technology” for the period 1930–1945 on the thematic timeline on page 671 and for 1945–1960 on page 803. Explain how the United States began the 1930s in deep depression with unemployment near 25 percent and ended the 1950s with an expanded middle class and a consumption-driven economy.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. **ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Think back to earlier chapters that discussed gender roles, marriage, and American family life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Chapters 18, 19, 22, 24). How had the American family changed by the 1950s? What aspects of family life remained similar across many decades? For example, how did the working-class immigrant family of the 1890s differ from the middle-class family of the 1950s?
2. **VISUAL EVIDENCE** Examine the Motorola TV advertisement featured on page 847. What different types of appeals does this advertisement make, and what do they suggest about family and gender roles in this period? How many distinct themes from the chapter can you explain using this image?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003). An important interpretation of the United States as a consumer society.

James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (2005). An engaging account of cultural figures from the 1950s, including Billy Graham and John Wayne.

David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (1993). An engaging and accessible introduction to postwar American society.

Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen on TV* (1996). An insightful explanation of the impact of television.

Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound* (1988). The classic introduction to postwar family life.

Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (1996). The best account of the urban crisis.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1944	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Bretton Woods economic conferenceWorld Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) foundedGI Bill (Servicemen's Readjustment Act)
1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none">First edition of Dr. Spock's <i>Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care</i>
1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none">First Levittown built
1948	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Beginning of network television<i>Shelley v. Kraemer</i>Alfred Kinsey's <i>Sexual Behavior in the Human Male</i> published
1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Billy Graham revival in Los Angeles
1951	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Bracero Program revivedMattachine Society founded
1952	<ul style="list-style-type: none">McCarran-Walter Act
1953	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Kinsey's <i>Sexual Behavior of the Human Female</i> published
1954	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Ray Kroc buys the first McDonald's franchise
1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Daughters of Bilitis founded
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none">National Interstate and Defense Highways ActElvis Presley's breakthrough recordsAllen Ginsberg's poem "Howl" published
1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Peak of postwar baby boom
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Eisenhower warns nation against military-industrial complex
1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i>

KEY TURNING POINTS: What were the major turning points in the creation of postwar suburbia?

27

CHAPTER

Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement

1941–1973

THE EMERGING CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE, 1941–1957

- Life Under Jim Crow
- Origins of the Civil Rights Movement
- World War II: The Beginnings
- Cold War Civil Rights
- Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans
- Fighting for Equality Before the Law

FORGING A PROTEST MOVEMENT, 1955–1965

- Nonviolent Direct Action
- Legislating Civil Rights, 1963–1965

BEYOND CIVIL RIGHTS, 1966–1973

- Black Nationalism
- Poverty and Urban Violence
- Rise of the Chicano Movement
- The American Indian Movement

In June 1945, as World War II was ending, Democratic senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi stood on the floor of the U.S. Senate and brashly told his colleagues that “the Negro race is an inferior race.” Raising his arms, his tie askew from vigorous gesturing, Eastland ridiculed black troops. “The Negro soldier was an utter and dismal failure in combat,” he said.

Eastland’s assertions were untrue. Black soldiers had served honorably; many won medals for bravery in combat. All-black units, such as the 761st “Black Panther” Tank Battalion and the famous Tuskegee Airmen, were widely praised by military commanders. But segregationists like Eastland were a nearly unassailable force in Congress, able to block civil rights legislation and shape national opinion.

In the 1940s, two generations after W. E. B. Du Bois famously wrote that “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line,” few white Americans believed wholeheartedly in racial equality. Racial segregation remained entrenched across the country. Much of the Deep South, like Eastland’s Mississippi, was a “closed society”: black people had no political rights and lived on the margins of white society, impoverished and exploited. Northern cities proved more hospitable to African Americans, but schools, neighborhoods, and many businesses remained segregated and unequal in the North as well.

Across the nation, however, winds of change were gathering. Between World War II and the 1970s, slowly at first, and then with greater urgency in the 1960s, the civil rights movement swept aside systematic racial segregation. It could not sweep away racial inequality completely, but the movement constituted a “second Reconstruction” in which African American activism reshaped the nation’s laws and practices. Civil rights was the paradigmatic social movement of the twentieth century. Its model of nonviolent protest and its calls for self-determination inspired the New Left, feminism, the Chicano movement, the gay rights movement, the American Indian movement, and many others.

The black-led civil rights movement, joined at key moments by Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, redefined *liberalism*. In the 1930s, New Deal liberalism had established a welfare state to protect citizens from economic hardship. The civil rights movement forged a new **rights liberalism**: the notion that individuals require state protection from discrimination. This version of liberalism focused on identities—such as race or sex—rather than general social welfare, and as such would prove to be both a necessary expansion of the nation’s ideals and a divisive force that produced political backlash. Indeed, the quest for racial justice would contribute to a crisis of liberalism itself.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

How did the civil rights movement evolve over time, and how did competing ideas and political alliances affect its growth and that of other social movements?



The March from Selma to Montgomery, 1965 Leading a throng of 25,000 marchers, Martin Luther King Jr. holds the hand of his wife, Coretta Scott King, as they enter downtown Montgomery, Alabama, at the end of the Selma to Montgomery march. Bob Adelman/Magnum Photos, Inc.

The Emerging Civil Rights Struggle, 1941–1957

As it took shape during World War II and the early Cold War, the battle against racial injustice proceeded along two tracks: at the grass roots and in governing institutions—federal courts, state legislatures, and ultimately the U.S. Congress. Labor unions, churches, and protest organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) inspired hundreds of thousands of ordinary citizens to join the movement. But grassroots struggle was not African Americans' only weapon. They also had the Bill of Rights and the Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution. Civil rights lived in those documents—especially in the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed equal protection under the law to all U.S. citizens, and in the Fifteenth, which guaranteed the right to vote regardless of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude”—but had been ignored or violated for nearly a century. The task was to restore the Constitution's legal force. Neither track—grassroots or legal/legislative—was entirely independent of the other. Together, they were the

foundation of the fight for racial equality in the postwar decades.

Life Under Jim Crow

Racial segregation and economic exploitation defined the lives of the majority of African Americans in the postwar decades. Numbering 15 million in 1950, African Americans were approximately 10 percent of the U.S. population. In the South, however, they constituted between 30 and 50 percent of the population of several states, such as South Carolina and Mississippi. Segregation, commonly known as **Jim Crow** (Chapter 18), prevailed in every aspect of life in the southern states, where two-thirds of all African Americans lived in 1950. African Americans could not eat in restaurants patronized by whites or use the same waiting rooms at bus stations. All forms of public transportation were rigidly segregated by custom or by law. Public parks and libraries were segregated. Even drinking fountains were labeled “White” and “Colored.”

This system of segregation underlay economic and political structures that further marginalized and disempowered black citizens. Virtually no African



Segregation in Mobile, 1956

As the law of the land in most southern states, racial segregation (known as Jim Crow) required the complete separation of blacks and whites in most public spaces. The “white only” drinking fountain shown in this 1956 photograph in Mobile, Alabama, was typical. Everything from waiting areas to libraries, public parks, schools, restrooms, and even cola vending machines was subject to strict racial segregation. Gordon Parks, courtesy of the Gordon Parks Foundation.

American could work for city or state government, and the best jobs in the private sector were reserved for whites. Black workers labored “in the back,” cleaning, cooking, stocking shelves, and loading trucks for the lowest wages. Rural African Americans labored in a sharecropping system that kept them stuck in poverty, often prevented them from obtaining an education, and offered virtually no avenue of escape. Politically, less than 20 percent of eligible black voters were allowed to vote, the result of poll taxes, literacy tests, intimidation, fraud, and the “white primary” (elections in which only whites could vote). This near-total disenfranchisement gave whites power disproportionate to their numbers—black people were one-third of the residents of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia but had virtually no political voice in those states.

In the North, racial segregation in everyday life was less acute but equally tangible. Northern segregation took the form of a spatial system in which whites increasingly lived in suburbs or on the outskirts of cities, while African Americans were concentrated in declining downtown neighborhoods. The result was what many called ghettos: all-black districts characterized by high rents, low wages, and inadequate city services. Employment discrimination and lack of adequate training left many African Americans without any means of support. Few jobs other than the most menial were open to African Americans; journalists, accountants, engineers, and other highly educated men from all-black colleges and universities often labored as railroad porters or cooks because jobs commensurate with their skills remained for whites only. These conditions produced a self-perpetuating cycle that kept far too many black citizens trapped on the social margins.

To be certain, African Americans found greater freedom in the North and West than in the South. They could vote, participate in politics, and, at least after the early 1960s, enjoy equal access to public accommodations. But we err in thinking that racial segregation was only a southern problem or that poverty and racial discrimination were not also deeply entrenched in the North and West. In northern cities such as Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia, for instance, white home owners in the 1950s used various tactics—from police harassment to thrown bricks, burning crosses, bombs, and mob violence—to keep African Americans from living near them. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 26, Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and bank redlining excluded African American home buyers from the all-white suburbs emerging around major cities. Racial segregation was a national, not regional, problem.

Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Since racial discrimination had been part of American life for hundreds of years, why did the civil rights movement arise when it did? After all, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909, had begun challenging racial segregation in a series of court cases in the 1930s. And other organizations, such as Marcus Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association in the 1920s, had attracted significant popular support. These precedents were important, but several factors came together in the middle of the twentieth century to make a broad movement possible.

An important influence was World War II. “The Jewish people and the Negro people both know the meaning of Nordic supremacy,” wrote the African American poet Langston Hughes in 1945. In the war against fascism, the Allies sought to discredit racist Nazi ideology. Committed to fighting racism abroad, Americans increasingly condemned racism at home. The Cold War placed added pressure on U.S. officials. “More and more we are learning how closely our democracy is under observation,” President Harry S. Truman commented in 1947. To inspire other nations in the global standoff with the Soviet Union, Truman explained, “we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy.”

Among the most consequential factors was the growth of the urban black middle class. Historically small, the black middle class experienced robust growth after World War II. Its ranks produced most of the civil rights leaders: ministers, teachers, trade unionists, attorneys, and other professionals. Churches, for centuries a sanctuary for black Americans, were especially important. Moreover, in the 1960s African American college students—part of the largest expansion of college enrollment in U.S. history—joined the movement, adding new energy and fresh ideas (Table 27.1). With access to education, media, and institutions, this new middle class had more resources than ever before. Less dependent on white patronage, and therefore less vulnerable to white retaliation, middle-class African Americans were in a position to lead a movement for change.

Still other influences assisted the movement. White labor leaders were generally more equality-minded than the rank and file, but the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, and the Communications Workers of America, among many other trade unions,

IDENTIFY CAUSES

How did the growth of the black middle class assist the civil rights movement?

TABLE 27.1**African American College Enrollment**

Year	Number of African Americans Enrolled (rounded to nearest thousand)
1940	60,000
1950	110,000
1960	185,000
1970	430,000
1980	1.4 million
1990	3.6 million

were reliable allies at the national level. The new medium of television, too, played a crucial role. When television networks covered early desegregation struggles, such as the 1957 integration of Little Rock High School, Americans across the country saw the

violence of white supremacy firsthand. None of these factors alone was decisive. None ensured an easy path. The civil rights movement faced enormous resistance and required countless courage and sacrifice from thousands upon thousands of activists for more than three decades. Ultimately, however, the movement changed the nation for the better and improved the lives of millions of Americans.

World War II: The Beginnings

During the war fought “to make the world safe for democracy,” the United States was far from ready to extend full equality to its own black citizens. Black workers faced discrimination in wartime employment, and the more than one million black troops who served in World War II were placed in segregated units commanded by whites. Both at home and abroad, World War II “immeasurably magnified the Negro’s awareness of the disparity between the American profession



Postwar Desegregation

Picketers outside the July 1948 Democratic National Convention demand that the party include equal rights and anti-Jim Crow planks in its official platform and desegregate the armed services. Leading the pickets is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph headed the March on Washington Movement that pressured President Roosevelt to desegregate defense employment during World War II, and he led the committee that convinced President Truman to desegregate the armed forces in 1948. © Bettmann/Corbis.

and practice of democracy,” NAACP president Walter White observed.

Executive Order 8802 On the home front, activists pushed two strategies. First, A. Philip Randolph, whose **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters** was the most prominent black trade union, called for a march on Washington in early 1941. Randolph planned to bring 100,000 protesters to the nation’s capital if African Americans were not given equal opportunity in war jobs—then just beginning to expand with President Franklin Roosevelt’s pledge to supply the Allies with materiel. To avoid a divisive protest, FDR issued Executive Order 8802 in June of that year, prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries, and Randolph agreed to cancel the march. The resulting Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) had few enforcement powers, but it set an important precedent: federal action. Randolph’s efforts showed that white leaders and institutions could be swayed by concerted African American action. It would be a critical lesson for the movement.

The Double V Campaign A second strategy jumped from the pages of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the foremost African American newspapers of the era. It was the brainchild of an ordinary cafeteria worker from Kansas. In a 1942 letter to the editor, James G. Thompson urged that “colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory”—victory over fascism abroad and victory over racism at home. Edgar Rouzeau, editor of the paper’s New York office, agreed: “Black America must fight two wars and win in both.” Instantly dubbed the Double V Campaign, Thompson’s notion, with Rouzeau’s backing, spread like wildfire through black communities across the country. African Americans would demonstrate their loyalty and citizenship by fighting the Axis powers. But they would also demand, peacefully but emphatically, the defeat of racism at home. “The suffering and privation may be great,” Rouzeau told his readers, “but the rewards loom even greater.”

The Double V efforts met considerable resistance. In war industries, factories periodically shut down in Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities because of “hate strikes”: the refusal of white workers to labor alongside black workers. Detroit was especially tense. Referring to the potential for racial strife, *Life* magazine reported in 1942 that “Detroit is Dynamite. . . . It can either blow up Hitler or blow up America.” In 1943, it nearly did the latter. On a hot summer day, whites from the city’s ethnic neighborhoods



Wartime Workers

During World War II, hundreds of thousands of black migrants left the South, bound for large cities in the North and West. There, they found jobs such as the welding work done by these African American women at the Landers, Frary, and Clark plant in New Britain, Connecticut. Fighting employment discrimination during the war represented one of the earliest phases in the long struggle against racial segregation in the United States. Library of Congress.

taunted and beat African Americans in a local park. Three days of rioting ensued in which thirty-four people were killed, twenty-five of them black. Federal troops were called in to restore order.

Despite and because of such incidents, a generation was spurred into action during the war years. In New York City, employment discrimination on the city’s transit lines prompted one of the first bus boycotts in the nation’s history, led in 1941 by Harlem minister Adam Clayton Powell Jr. In Chicago, James Farmer and three other members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a nonviolent peace organization, founded the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** in 1942. FOR and CORE adopted the philosophy of nonviolent direct action espoused by Mahatma Gandhi of India. Another FOR member in New York, Bayard Rustin, was equally instrumental in promoting direct action; he led one of

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

Why did World War II play such a critical role in the civil rights movement?

the earliest challenges to southern segregation, the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation. Meanwhile, after the war, hundreds of thousands of African American veterans used the GI Bill to go to college, trade school, or graduate school, placing themselves in a position to push against segregation. At the war's end, Powell affirmed that "the black man . . . is ready to throw himself into the struggle to make the dream of America become flesh and blood, bread and butter."

Cold War Civil Rights

Demands for justice persisted in the early years of the Cold War. African American efforts were propelled by symbolic victories—as when Jackie Robinson broke through the color line in major league baseball by

joining the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947—but the growing black vote in northern cities proved more decisive. During World War II, more than a million African Americans migrated to northern and western cities, where they joined the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal (Map 27.1). This newfound political leverage awakened northern liberals, many of whom became allies of civil rights advocates. Ultimately, the Cold War produced mixed results, as the nation's commitment to anticommunism opened some avenues for civil rights while closing others.

Civil Rights and the New Deal Coalition African American leaders were uncertain what to expect from President Truman, inheritor of the New Deal coalition but not opposed to using racist language himself.



MAP 27.1

Internal Migrations

The migration of African Americans from the South to other regions of the country produced one of the most remarkable demographic shifts of the mid-twentieth century. Between World War I—which marked the start of the Great Migration—and the 1970s, more than 6 million African Americans left the South. Where they settled in the North and West, they helped change the politics of entire cities and even states. Seeking black votes, which had become a key to victory in major cities, liberal Democrats and Republicans alike in New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania, for instance, increasingly made civil rights part of their platform. In this way, migration advanced the political cause of black equality.

Though he did not immediately support social equality for African Americans, Truman supported civil rights because he believed in equality before the law. Moreover, he understood the growing importance of the small but often decisive black vote in key northern states such as New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Civil rights activists Randolph and Powell—along with vocal white liberals such as Hubert Humphrey, the mayor of Minneapolis, and members of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a liberal organization—pressed Truman to act.

With no support for civil rights in Congress, Truman turned to executive action. In 1946, he appointed the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights, whose 1947 report, **"To Secure These Rights,"** called for robust federal action to ensure equality for African Americans. With the report fresh in his mind, in 1948 Truman issued an executive order desegregating employment in federal agencies and, under pressure from Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service, desegregated the armed forces. Truman then sent a message to Congress asking that all of the report's recommendations—including the abolition of poll taxes and the restoration of the Fair Employment Practices Commission—be made into law. It was the most aggressive, and politically bold, call for racial equality by the leader of a major political party since Reconstruction.

Truman's boldness was too much for southern Democrats. Under the leadership of Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, white Democrats from the South formed the **States' Rights Democratic Party**, known popularly as the Dixiecrats, for the 1948 election (Chapter 25). This brought into focus an internal struggle developing within the Democratic Party and its still-formidable New Deal coalition. Would the civil rights aims of the party's liberal wing alienate southern white Democrats, as well as many suburban whites in the North? It was the first hint of the discord that would eventually divide the Democratic Party in the 1960s.

Race and Anticommunism The Cold War shaped civil rights in both positive and negative terms. In a time of growing fear of communist expansionism, Truman worried about America's image in the world. He reminded Americans that when whites and blacks "fail to live together in peace," that failure hurt "the cause of democracy itself in the whole world." Indeed, the Soviet Union used American racism as a means of discrediting the United States abroad. "We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics," the Committee on Civil Rights

wrote. International tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union thus appeared to strengthen the hand of civil rights leaders, because America needed to demonstrate to the rest of the world that its race relations were improving (*America Compared*, p. 876).

However, the Cold War strengthened one hand while weakening the other. McCarthyism and the hunt for subversives at home held the civil rights movement back. Civil rights opponents charged that racial integration was "communistic," and the NAACP was banned in many southern states as an "anti-American" organization. Black Americans who spoke favorably of the Soviet Union, such as the actor and singer Paul Robeson, or had been "fellow travelers" in the 1930s, such as the pacifist Bayard Rustin, were persecuted. Robeson, whose career was destroyed by such accusations, told House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) interrogators, "My father was a slave, and my people died to build this country, and I am going to . . . have a part of it just like you." The fate of people like Robeson showed that the Cold War could work *against* the civil rights cause just as easily as for it.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

How did the Cold War work in the favor of civil rights? How did it work against the movement?

Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans

African Americans were the most prominent, but not the only, group in American society to organize against racial injustice in the 1940s. In the Southwest, from Texas to California, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans endured a "caste" system not unlike the Jim Crow system in the South. In Texas, for instance, poll taxes kept most Mexican American citizens from voting. Decades of discrimination by employers in agriculture and manufacturing—made possible by the constant supply of cheap labor from across the border—suppressed wages and kept the majority of Mexican Americans barely above poverty. Many lived in *colonias* or barrios, neighborhoods separated from Anglos and often lacking sidewalks, reliable electricity and water, and public services.

Developments within the Mexican American community set the stage for fresh challenges to these conditions in the 1940s. Labor activism in the 1930s and 1940s, especially in Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions with large numbers of Mexican Americans, improved wages and working conditions in some industries and produced a new generation of



Freedom in the United States and Africa

Hailou Wolde-Giorghis

Hailou Wolde-Giorghis was an Ethiopian student who visited the United States at the invitation of the State Department in the early 1960s.

"Negroes are dirty," say the whites, but in nearly all restaurants I saw Negro waiters and cooks. "They're lazy": I noticed that it is the Negro who does the hardest manual work. They are said to be uncultivated and are therefore denied access to culture. As George Bernard Shaw said, "The haughty American nation makes the Negro shine its shoes, and then demonstrates his physical and mental inferiority by the fact that he is a shoe-cleaner." . . .

What is known as integration in the South is the ability of a Negro to enter a shop and buy a record, or the fact that, of ten thousand students enrolled in a university, two of them are Negroes. "A miracle!" they cry. Real integration, however, does not exist, not even in the North, and by real integration I mean interracial communication, complete equality in the strict sense of the word. Still another example drawn from the South: the manager of a television studio told me in frigid terms that he would not hire Negroes; there would be a scandal and all his sponsors would protest.

Source: Hailou Wolde-Giorghis, "My Encounters with Racism in the United States," in *Views of America*, ed. Alan F. Westin et al. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1966), 228–231.

Martin Luther King Jr.

Here, the American civil rights leader celebrates the independence of the African nation of Ghana in 1957.

And it's a beautiful thing, isn't it that . . . [Ghana] is now free and is free without rising up with arms and ammunition. It is free through nonviolent means. Because of that the British Empire will not have the bitterness for Ghana that she has for China, so to speak. Because of that when the British Empire leaves Ghana she leaves with a different attitude than she would have left with if she had been driven out by armies. We've got to revolt in such a way

that after revolt is over we can live with people as their brothers and sisters.

Source: Martin Luther King Jr., "The Birth of a New Nation," *Liberation* 28 (April 1957).

Kwame Nkrumah

Kwame Nkrumah was the first president of the independent nation of Ghana. In the 1930s and 1940s, Nkrumah studied in the United States, earning degrees at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania.

The "wind of change" has become a raging hurricane, sweeping away the old colonialist Africa. The year 1960 was Africa's year. In that year alone, seventeen African States emerged as proud and independent sovereign nations. Now the ultimate freedom of the whole of Africa can no more be in doubt.

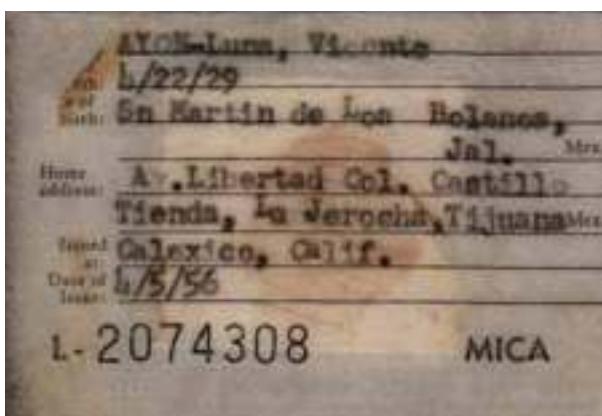
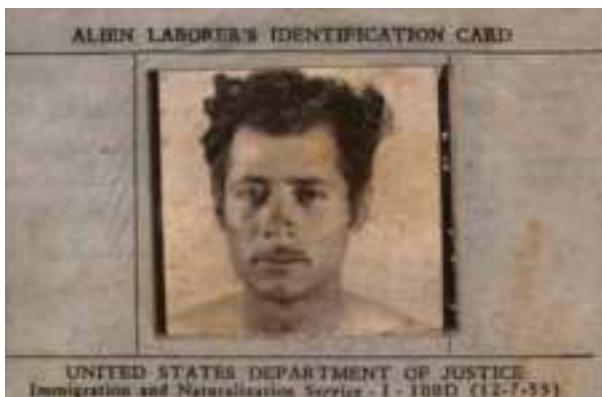
For centuries, Europeans dominated the African continent. The white man arrogated to himself the right to rule and to be obeyed by the non-white. . . .

All this makes a sad story, but now we must be prepared to bury the past with its unpleasant memories and look to the future. All we ask of the former colonial powers is their goodwill and cooperation to remedy past mistakes and injustices and to grant independence to the colonies in Africa.

Source: Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (New York: Praeger, 1961), ix.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Wolde-Giorghis is especially critical of southern "integration." As an African, what kind of perspective would he bring to this question?
2. What values and goals do King and Nkrumah seem to share? How were their circumstances and goals different?
3. Compare the circumstances of African Americans in the United States and Africans in nations colonized by Europeans. What were the similarities and differences?



Bracero Worker Card

In the Southwest, Mexican immigrants and many Mexican Americans encountered a caste system not unlike Jim Crow segregation. Most of the hardest, lowest-paying work in states such as Texas, Arizona, and California was performed by people of Mexican descent. Under a government program, braceros, or migrant Mexican workers, were allowed into the United States for a limited time to harvest a variety of fruit and vegetable crops. A worker card issued to one such bracero is pictured here. National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Behring Center.

leaders. More than 400,000 Mexican Americans also served in World War II. Having fought for their country, many returned to the United States determined to challenge their second-class citizenship. Additionally, a new Mexican American middle class began to take shape in major cities such as Los Angeles, San Antonio, El Paso, and Chicago, which, like the African American middle class, gave leaders and resources to the cause.

In Texas and California, Mexican Americans created new civil rights organizations in the postwar years. In Corpus Christi, Texas, World War II veterans founded the **American GI Forum** in 1948 to protest the poor treatment of Mexican American soldiers and veterans. Activists in Los Angeles created the Community Service Organization (CSO) the same year.

Both groups arose to address specific local injustices (such as the segregation of military cemeteries), but they quickly broadened their scope to encompass political and economic justice for the larger community. Among the first young activists to work for the CSO were Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, who would later found the United Farm Workers (UFW) and inspire the Chicano movement of the 1960s.

Activists also pushed for legal change. In 1947, five Mexican American fathers in California sued a local school district for placing their children in separate “Mexican” schools. The case, *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, never made it to the U.S. Supreme Court. But the Ninth Circuit Court ruled such segregation unconstitutional, laying the legal groundwork for broader challenges to racial inequality. Among those filing briefs in the case was the NAACP’s Thurgood Marshall, who was then developing the legal strategy to strike at racial segregation in the South. In another significant legal victory, the Supreme Court ruled in 1954—just two weeks before the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision—that Mexican Americans constituted a “distinct class” that could claim protection from discrimination.

Also on the West Coast, Japanese Americans accelerated their legal challenge to discrimination. Undeterred by rulings in the *Hirabayashi* (1943) and *Korematsu* (1944) cases upholding wartime imprisonment (Chapter 24), the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) filed lawsuits in the late 1940s to regain property lost during the war. The JACL also challenged the constitutionality of California’s Alien Land Law, which prohibited Japanese immigrants from owning land, and successfully lobbied Congress to enable those same immigrants to become citizens—a right they were denied for fifty years. These efforts by Mexican and Japanese Americans enlarged the sphere of civil rights and laid the foundation for a broader notion of racial equality in the postwar years.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How were the circumstances facing Mexican and Japanese Americans similar to those facing African Americans? How were they different?

Fighting for Equality Before the Law

With civil rights legislation blocked in Congress by southern Democrats throughout the 1950s, activists looked in two different directions for a breakthrough: to northern state legislatures and to the federal courts. School segregation remained a stubborn problem in northern states, but the biggest obstacle to black

progress there was persistent job and housing discrimination. The states with the largest African American populations, and hence the largest share of black Democratic Party voters, became testing grounds for state legislation to end such discriminatory practices.

Winning antidiscrimination legislation depended on coalition politics. African American activists forged alliances with trade unions and liberal organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee (a Quaker group), among many others. Progress was slow and often occurred only after long periods of unglamorous struggle to win votes in state capitals such as Albany, New York; Springfield, Illinois; and Lansing, Michigan. The first fair employment laws had come in New York and New Jersey in 1945. A decade passed, however, before other states with significant black populations passed similar legislation. Antidiscrimination laws in housing were even more difficult to pass, with most progress not coming until the 1960s. These legislative campaigns in northern states received little national attention, but they were instrumental in laying the groundwork for legal equality outside the South.

Thurgood Marshall Because the vast majority of southern African Americans were prohibited from voting, state legislatures there were closed to the kind of organized political pressure possible in the North. Thus activists also looked to federal courts for leverage. In the late 1930s, NAACP lawyers Thurgood Marshall, Charles Hamilton Houston, and William Hastie had begun preparing the legal ground in a series of cases challenging racial discrimination. The key was prodding the U.S. Supreme Court to use the Fourteenth Amendment's "equal protection" clause to overturn its 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which upheld racial segregation under the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Marshall was the great-grandson of slaves. Of modest origins, his parents instilled in him a faith in law and the Constitution. After his 1930 graduation from Lincoln University, a prestigious African American institution near Philadelphia, Marshall applied to the University of Maryland Law School. Denied admission because the school did not accept black applicants, he enrolled at all-black Howard University. There Marshall met Houston, a law school dean, and the two forged a

friendship and intellectual partnership that would change the face of American legal history. Marshall, with Houston's and Hastie's critical strategic input, would argue most of the NAACP's landmark cases. In the late 1960s,

President Johnson appointed Marshall to the Supreme Court—the first African American to have that honor.

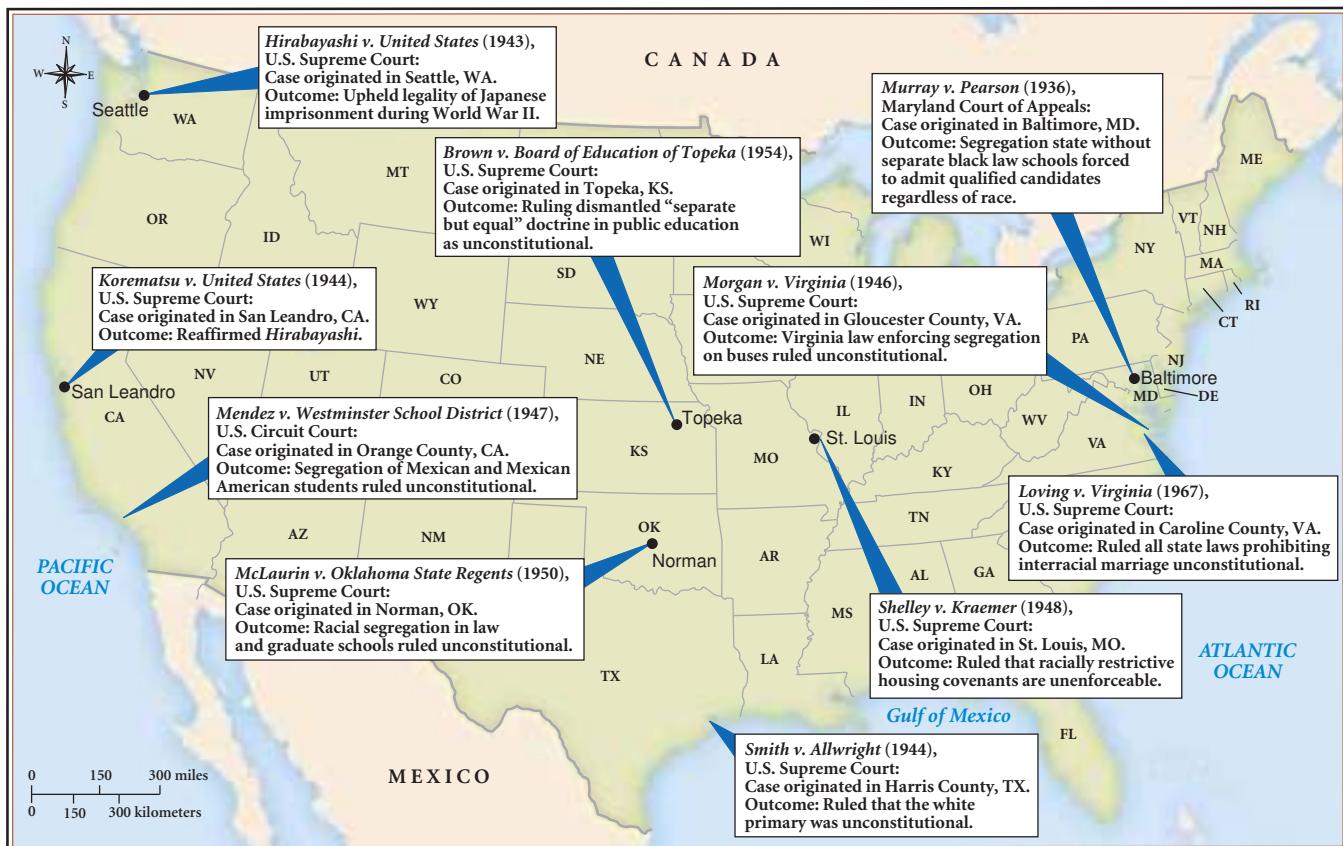
Marshall, Houston, Hastie, and six other attorneys filed suit after suit, deliberately selecting each one from dozens of possibilities. The strategy was slow and time-consuming, but progress came. In 1936, Marshall and Hamilton won a state case that forced the University of Maryland Law School to admit qualified African Americans—a ruling of obvious significance to Marshall. Eight years later, in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), Marshall convinced the U.S. Supreme Court that all-white primaries were unconstitutional. In 1950, with Marshall once again arguing the case, the Supreme Court ruled in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* that universities could not segregate black students from others on campus. None of these cases produced swift changes in the daily lives of most African Americans, but they confirmed that civil rights attorneys were on the right track.

Brown v. Board of Education The NAACP's legal strategy achieved its ultimate validation in a case involving Linda Brown, a black pupil in Topeka, Kansas, who had been forced to attend a distant segregated school rather than the nearby white elementary school. In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), Marshall argued that such segregation was unconstitutional because it denied Linda Brown the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment (Map 27.2). In a unanimous decision on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court agreed, overturning the "separate but equal" doctrine at last. Writing for the Court, the new chief justice, Earl Warren, wrote: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." In an implementing 1955 decision known as *Brown II*, the Court declared simply that integration should proceed "with all deliberate speed."

In the South, however, Virginia senator Harry F. Byrd issued a call for "massive resistance." Calling May 17 "Black Monday," the Mississippi segregationist Tom P. Brady invoked the language of the Cold War to discredit the decision, assailing the "totalitarian government" that had rendered the decision in the name of "socialism and communism." That year, half a million southerners joined White Citizens' Councils dedicated to blocking school integration. Some whites revived the old tactics of violence and intimidation, swelling the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan to levels not seen since the 1920s. The "Southern Manifesto," signed in 1956 by 101 members of Congress, denounced the

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the NAACP go about developing a legal strategy to attack racial segregation?

**MAP 27.2****Desegregation Court Cases**

Desegregation court battles were not limited to the South. Note the important California cases regarding Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans. Two seminal decisions, the 1948 housing decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* and the 1954 school decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, originated in Missouri and Kansas, respectively. This map helps show that racial segregation and discrimination were a national, not simply a southern, problem.

Brown decision as “a clear abuse of judicial power” and encouraged local officials to defy it. The white South had declared all-out war on *Brown*.

Enforcement of the Supreme Court’s decision was complicated further by Dwight Eisenhower’s presence in the White House—the president was no champion of civil rights. Eisenhower accepted the *Brown* decision as the law of the land, but he thought it a mistake. Ike was especially unhappy about the prospect of committing federal power to enforce the decision. A crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, finally forced his hand. In September 1957, when nine black students attempted to enroll at the all-white Central High School, Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to bar them. Angry white mobs appeared daily to taunt the students, chanting “Go back to the jungle.” As the vicious scenes played out on television night after night, Eisenhower finally acted. He sent 1,000 federal

troops to Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard, ordering them to protect the black students. Eisenhower thus became the first president since Reconstruction to use federal troops to enforce the rights of African Americans. But Little Rock also showed that southern officials had more loyalty to local custom than to the law—a repeated problem in the post-*Brown* era.

Forging a Protest Movement, 1955–1965

Declaring racial segregation integral to the South’s “habits, traditions, and way of life,” the Southern Manifesto signaled that many whites would not accept African American equality readily. As Americans had



The Legal Strategy

On the steps of the Supreme Court, on the day in 1954 that *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* was decided, are the architects of the NAACP legal strategy in the *Brown* case and dozens of others. Together (from left to right), George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit pursued cases that undermined the constitutional foundation of racial segregation. Their efforts were not enough to destroy Jim Crow, however—that would take marches, protests, and sacrifices from ordinary citizens. AP Images.

witnessed in Little Rock, the unwillingness of local officials to enforce *Brown* could render the decision invalid in practice. If legal victories would not be enough, citizens themselves, black and white, would have to take to the streets and demand justice. Following the *Brown* decision, they did just that, forging a protest movement unique in the history of the United States.

Nonviolent Direct Action

Brown had been the law of the land for barely a year when a single act of violence struck at the heart of black America. A fourteen-year-old African American from the South Side of Chicago, Emmett Till, was visiting relatives in Mississippi in the summer of 1955. Seen talking to a white woman in a grocery store, Till was tortured and murdered under cover of night. His mutilated body was found at the bottom of a river, tied with barbed wire to a heavy steel cotton gin fan. Photos of

Till's body in *Jet* magazine brought national attention to the heinous crime.

Two white men were arrested for Till's murder. During the trial, followed closely in African American communities across the country, the lone witness to Till's kidnapping—his uncle, Mose Wright—identified both killers. Feeling “the blood boil in hundreds of white people as they sat glaring in the courtroom,” Wright said, “it was the first time in my life I had the courage to accuse a white man of a crime.” Despite Wright’s eyewitness testimony, the all-white jury found the defendants innocent. This miscarriage of justice—later, the killers even admitted their guilt in a *Look* magazine article—galvanized an entire generation of African Americans; no one who lived through the Till case ever forgot it.

Montgomery Bus Boycott In the wake of the Till case, civil rights advocates needed some good news.



School Desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas

Less well known than the crisis at Little Rock's Central High School the same year, the circumstances at North Little Rock were nonetheless strikingly similar: white resistance to the enrollment of a handful of black students. In this photograph, white students block the doors of North Little Rock High School, preventing six African American students from entering on September 9, 1957. This photograph is noteworthy because it shows a striking new feature of southern racial politics: the presence of film and television cameras that broadcast these images to the nation and the world. AP Images.

They received it three months later, as southern black leaders embraced an old tactic put to new ends: nonviolent protest. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a civil rights activist in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. She was arrested and charged with violating a local segregation ordinance. Parks's act was not the spur-of-the-moment decision that it seemed: a woman of sterling reputation and a longtime NAACP member, she had been contemplating such an act for some time. Middle-aged and unassuming, Rosa Parks fit the bill perfectly for the NAACP's challenge against segregated buses.

Once the die was cast, the black community turned for leadership to the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., the recently appointed pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Street Baptist Church. The son of a prominent Atlanta minister, King embraced the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Working closely, but behind the scenes, with Bayard Rustin, King studied nonviolent philosophy, which Rustin and others in the Fellowship of

Reconciliation had first used in the 1940s. After Rosa Parks's arrest, King endorsed a plan proposed by a local black women's organization to boycott Montgomery's bus system. The **Montgomery Bus Boycott** was inspired by similar boycotts that had taken place in Harlem in 1941 and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1953.

For the next 381 days, Montgomery's African Americans formed car pools or walked to work. "Darling, it's empty!" Coretta Scott King exclaimed to her husband as a bus normally filled with black riders rolled by their living room window on the first day of the boycott. The transit company neared bankruptcy, and downtown stores complained about the loss of business. But only after the Supreme Court ruled in November 1956 that bus segregation was unconstitutional did the city of Montgomery finally comply. "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested," said one woman boycotter.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott catapulted King to national prominence. In 1957, along with the Reverend

Ralph Abernathy and dozens of black ministers from across the South, he founded the Atlanta-based **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**. The black church, long the center of African American social and cultural life, now lent its moral and organizational strength to the civil rights movement. Black churchwomen were a tower of strength, transferring the skills they had honed during years of church work to the fight for civil rights. The SCLC quickly joined the NAACP at the leading edge of the movement for racial justice.

Greensboro Sit-Ins The battle for civil rights entered a new phase in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when four black college students took seats at the whites-only lunch counter at the local Woolworth's five-and-dime store. This simple act was entirely the brainchild of the four students, who had discussed it in their dorm rooms over several preceding nights. A New York-based spokesman for Woolworth's said the chain would "abide by local custom," which meant refusing to serve African Americans at the lunch counter. The students were determined to "sit in" until they were served. For three weeks, hundreds of students inspired by the original foursome took turns sitting at the counters, quietly eating, doing homework, or reading. Taunted by groups of whites, pelted with food and other debris, the black students—often occupying more than sixty of the sixty-six seats—held strong. Although many were arrested, the tactic worked: the Woolworth's lunch counter was desegregated, and sit-ins quickly spread to other southern cities (American Voices, p. 884).

Ella Baker and SNCC Inspired by the developments in Greensboro and elsewhere, Ella Baker, an administrator with the SCLC, helped organize the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**, pronounced "Snick") in 1960 to facilitate student sit-ins. Rolling like a great wave across the Upper South, from North Carolina into Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee, by the end of the year students had launched sit-ins in 126 cities. More than 50,000 people participated, and 3,600 were jailed. The sit-ins drew African American college students into the movement in significant numbers for the first time. Northern students formed solidarity committees and raised money for bail. SNCC quickly emerged as the most important student protest organization in the country and inspired a generation of students on college campuses across the nation.

Baker took a special interest in these students, because she found them receptive to her notion of



Ella Baker

Born in Virginia and educated at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, Ella Baker was one of the foremost theorists of grassroots, participatory democracy in the United States. Active all her life in the black freedom movement, in 1960 Baker cofounded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Her advocacy of leadership by ordinary, nonelite people often led her to disagree with the top-down movement strategy of Martin Luther King Jr. and other ministers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). AP Images.

participatory democracy. The granddaughter of slaves, Baker had moved to Harlem in the 1930s, where she worked for New Deal agencies and then the NAACP. She believed in nurturing leaders from the grass roots, encouraging ordinary people to stand up for their rights rather than to depend on charismatic figureheads. "My theory is, strong people don't need strong leaders," she once said. Nonetheless, Baker nurtured a generation of young activists in SNCC, including Stokely Carmichael, Anne Moody, John Lewis, and Diane Nash, who went on to become some of the most important civil rights leaders in the United States.

Freedom Rides Emboldened by SNCC's sit-in tactics, in 1961 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized a series of what were called Freedom Rides

on interstate bus lines throughout the South. The aim was to call attention to blatant violations of recent Supreme Court rulings against segregation in interstate commerce. The activists who signed on—mostly young, both black and white—knew that they were taking their lives in their hands. They found courage in song, as civil rights activists had begun to do across the country, with lyrics such as “I’m taking a ride on the Greyhound bus line. . . . Hallelujah, I’m traveling down freedom’s main line!”

Courage they needed. Club-wielding Klansmen attacked the buses when they stopped in small towns. Outside Anniston, Alabama, one bus was firebombed; the Freedom Riders escaped only moments before it exploded. Some riders were then brutally beaten. Freedom Riders and news reporters were also viciously attacked by Klansmen in Birmingham and Montgomery. Despite the violence, state authorities refused to intervene. “I cannot guarantee protection for this bunch of rabble rousers,” declared Governor John Patterson of Alabama.

Once again, local officials’ refusal to enforce the law left the fate of the Freedom Riders in Washington’s hands. The new president, John F. Kennedy, was cautious about civil rights. Despite a campaign commitment, he failed to deliver on a civil rights bill. Elected by a thin margin, Kennedy believed that he could ill afford to lose the support of powerful southern senators. But civil rights was unlike other domestic issues. Its fate was going to be decided not in the halls of Congress, but on the streets of southern cities. Although President Kennedy discouraged the Freedom Rides, beatings shown on the nightly news forced Attorney General Robert Kennedy to dispatch federal marshals. Civil rights activists thus learned the value of nonviolent protest that provoked violent white resistance.

The victories so far had been limited, but the groundwork had been laid for a civil rights offensive that would transform the nation. The NAACP’s legal strategy had been followed closely by the emergence of a major protest movement. And now civil rights leaders focused their attention on Congress.

Legislating Civil Rights, 1963–1965

The first civil rights law in the nation’s history came in 1866 just after the Civil War. Its provisions were long ignored (Chapter 15). A second law was passed during Reconstruction in 1875, but it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. For nearly ninety years, new civil rights legislation was blocked or filibustered

by southern Democrats in Congress. Only a weak, largely symbolic act was passed in 1957 during the Eisenhower administration. But by the early 1960s, with legal precedents in their favor and nonviolent protest awakening the nation, civil rights leaders believed the time had come for a serious civil rights bill. The challenge was getting one through a still-reluctant Congress.

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

What lessons did activists learn from the evolution of the civil rights movement between 1957 and 1961?

The Battle for Birmingham The road to such a bill began when Martin Luther King Jr. called for demonstrations in “the most segregated city in the United States”: Birmingham, Alabama. King and the SCLC needed a concrete victory in Birmingham to validate their strategy of nonviolent protest. In May 1963, thousands of black marchers tried to picket Birmingham’s department stores. Eugene “Bull” Connor, the city’s public safety commissioner, ordered the city’s police troops to meet the marchers with violent force: snarling dogs, electric cattle prods, and high-pressure fire hoses. Television cameras captured the scene for the evening news.

While serving a jail sentence for leading the march, King, scribbling in pencil on any paper he could find, composed one of the classic documents of nonviolent direct action: “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” “Why direct action?” King asked. “There is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth.” The civil rights movement sought, he continued, “to create such a crisis and establish such a creative tension.” Grounding his actions in equal parts Christian brotherhood and democratic liberalism, King argued that Americans confronted a moral choice: they could “preserve the evil system of segregation” or take the side of “those great wells of democracy . . . the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.”

Outraged by the brutality in Birmingham and embarrassed by King’s imprisonment for leading a nonviolent march, President Kennedy decided that it was time to act. On June 11, 1963, after newly elected Alabama governor George Wallace barred two black students from the state university, Kennedy denounced racism on national television and promised a new civil rights bill. Many black leaders felt Kennedy’s action was long overdue, but they nonetheless hailed this “Second Emancipation Proclamation.” That night, Medgar Evers, president of the Mississippi chapter of the NAACP, was shot in the back in his driveway in



Challenging White Supremacy

Among the many challenges historians face is figuring out the processes by which long-oppressed ordinary people finally rise up and demand justice. During the 1950s, a liberating process was quietly under way among southern blacks, bursting forth dramatically in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 and then, by the end of the decade, emerging across the South. Here are excerpts of the testimony of two individuals who stepped forward and took the lead in those struggles.

Franklin McCain Desegregating Lunch Counters

Franklin McCain was one of the four African American students at North Carolina A&T College in Greensboro, North Carolina, who sat down at the Woolworth's lunch counter on February 1, 1960, setting off a wave of student sit-ins that rocked the South and helped initiate a national civil rights movement. In the following interview, McCain describes how he and his friends took that momentous step.

The planning process was on a Sunday night, I remember it quite well. I think it was Joseph who said, "It's time that we take some action now. We've been getting together, and we've been, up to this point, still like most people we've talked about for the past few weeks or so—that is, people who talk a lot but, in fact, make very little action." After selecting the technique, then we said, "Let's go down and just ask for service." It certainly wasn't titled a "sit-in" or "sit-down" at that time. "Let's just go down to Woolworth's tomorrow and ask for service, and the tactic is going to be simply this: we'll just stay there."

... Once getting there . . . we did make purchases of school supplies and took the patience and time to get receipts for our purchases, and Joseph and myself went over to the counter and asked to be served coffee and doughnuts. As anticipated, the reply was, "I'm sorry, we don't serve you here." And of course we said, "We just beg to disagree with you. We've in fact already been served." . . . The attendant or waitress was a little bit dumbfounded, just didn't know what to say under circumstances like that. . . .

At that point there was a policeman who had walked in off the street, who was pacing the aisle . . . behind us, where we were seated, with his club in his hand, just sort of knocking it in his hand, and just looking mean and red and a little bit upset and a little bit disgusted. And you had the feeling that he didn't know what the hell to do. . . . Usually his defense is offense, and we've provoked him, yes, but we haven't provoked outwardly enough for

him to resort to violence. And I think this is just killing him; you can see it all over him.

If it's possible to know what it means to have your soul cleansed—I felt pretty clean at that time. I probably felt better on that day than I've ever felt in my life. Seems like a lot of feelings of guilt or what-have-you suddenly left me, and I felt as though I had gained my manhood. . . . Not Franklin McCain only as an individual, but I felt as though the manhood of a number of other black persons had been restored and had gotten some respect from just that one day.

The movement started out as a movement of nonviolence and a Christian movement. . . . It was a movement that was seeking justice more than anything else and not a movement to start a war. . . . We knew that probably the most powerful and potent weapon that people have literally no defense for is love, kindness. That is, whip the enemy with something that he doesn't understand. . . . The individual who had probably the most influence on us was Gandhi. . . . Yes, Martin Luther King's name was well-known when the sit-in movement was in effect, but . . . no, he was not the individual we had upmost in mind when we started the sit-in movement.

Source: *My Soul Is Rested* by Howell Raines, copyright 1977 Howell Raines. Used by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, a division of Penguin Group (USA) Inc. and Russell & Volkening as agents for the author.

John McFerren Demanding the Right to Vote

In this interview, given about ten years after the events he describes, John McFerren tells of the battle he undertook in 1959 to gain the vote for the blacks of Fayette County, Tennessee. By the time of the interview, McFerren had risen in life and become a grocery-store owner and property holder, thanks, he says, to the economic boycott imposed on him by angry whites. Unlike Greensboro, the struggle in Fayette County never made national headlines. It was just one of many local struggles that signaled the beginning of a new day in the South.

My name is John McFerren. I'm forty-six years old. I'm a Negro was born and raised in West Tennessee, the county of Fayette, District 1. My foreparents was brought here from North Carolina five years before the Civil War . . . because the rumor got out among the slaveholders that West Tennessee was still goin to be a slaveholdin state. And my people was brought over here and sold. And after the Civil War my people settled in West Tennessee. That's why Fayette and Haywood counties have a great number of Negroes.

Back in 1957 and '58 there was a Negro man accused of killin a deputy sheriff. This was Burton Dodson. He was brought back after he'd been gone twenty years. J. F. Estes was the lawyer defendin him. Myself and him both was in the army together. And the stimulation from the trial got me interested in the way justice was bein used. The only way to bring justice would be through the ballot box.

In 1959 we got out a charter called the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League. Fourteen of us started out in that charter. We tried to support a white liberal candidate that was named L. T. Redfearn in the sheriff election and the local Democrat party refused to let Negroes vote.

We brought a suit against the Democrat party and I went to Washington for a civil-rights hearing. Myself and Estes and Harpman Jameson made the trip. It took us twenty-two hours steady drivin. . . . I was lookin all up — lotsa big, tall buildins. I had never seen old, tall buildins like that before. After talkin to [John Doar] we come on back to the Justice Department building and we sat out in the hall while he had a meetin inside the attorney general's office. And when they come out they told us they was gonna indict the landowners who kept us from voting. . . .

Just after that, in 1960, in January, we organized a thousand Negroes to line up at the courthouse to register to vote. We started pourin in with big numbers — in this county it was 72 percent Negroes — when we started to register to vote to change the situation.

In the followin . . . October and November they started puttin our people offa the land. Once you registered you had to move. Once you registered they took your job. Then after they done that, in November, we had three hundred people forced to live in tents on Shepard Towles's land. And when we started puttin em in tents,

then that's when the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan started shootin in the tents to run us out.

Tent City was parta an economic squeeze. The local merchants run me outa the stores and said I went to Washington and caused this mess to start. . . . They had a blacklist . . . And they had the list sent around to all merchants. Once you registered you couldn't buy for credit or cash. But the best thing in the world was when they run me outa them stores. It started me thinkin for myself. . . .

The southern white has a slogan: "Keep em niggers happy and keep em singin in the schools." And the biggest mistake of the past is that the Negro has not been teached economics and the value of a dollar. . . . Back at one time we had a teacher . . . from Mississippi — and he pulled up and left the county because he was teachin the Negroes to buy land, and own land, and work it for hisself, and the county Board of Education didn't want that taught in the county.

And they told him, "Keep em niggers singin and keep em happy and don't teach em nothin." . . . You cannot be free when you're beggin the man for bread. But when you've got the dollar in your pocket and then got the vote in your pocket, that's the only way to be free. . . . And I have been successful and made good progress because I could see the only way I could survive is to stay independent.

. . . The Negro is no longer goin back. He's goin forward.

Source: From *Looking for America*, second edition, 2 volumes, edited by Stanley I. Kutler (New York: Norton, 1979). Reprinted with permission of Stanley Kutler.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. McCain took a stand on segregated lunch counters. McFerren took a stand on the right to vote. How did these targets represent two different goals of the civil rights movement?
2. McCain speaks of the sense of "manhood" he felt as he sat at that Woolworth's counter. What does his personal feeling suggest about the civil rights movement as a whole?
3. Almost certainly, McCain and McFerren never met. Suppose they had. What would they have had in common? Would what they had in common have been more important than what separated them?
4. McCain speaks knowingly of the figures and ideas that influenced him. Why do you suppose McFerren is silent about such matters?



The Battle of Birmingham

One of the hardest-fought desegregation struggles of the early 1960s took place in April and May 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama. In response to the daily rallies and peaceful protests, authorities cracked down, arresting hundreds. They also employed tactics such as those shown here, turning fire hoses on young, nonviolent student demonstrators and using police dogs to intimidate peaceful marchers. These protests, led by Martin Luther King Jr. and broadcast on television news, prompted President Kennedy to introduce a civil rights bill in Congress in June 1963. © Bob Adelman/Corbis.

Jackson by a white supremacist. Evers's martyrdom became a spur to further action (Map 27.3).

The March on Washington and the Civil Rights Act

To marshal support for Kennedy's bill, civil rights leaders adopted a tactic that A. Philip Randolph had first advanced in 1941: a massive demonstration in Washington. Under the leadership of Randolph and Bayard Rustin, thousands of volunteers across the country coordinated car pools, "freedom buses," and "freedom trains," and on August 28, 1963, delivered a quarter of a million people to the Lincoln Memorial for the officially named **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 888).

Although other people did the planning, Martin Luther King Jr. was the public face of the march. It was King's dramatic "I Have a Dream" speech, beginning with his admonition that too many black people lived "on a lonely island of poverty" and ending with the exclamation from a traditional black spiritual—"Free

at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!"—that captured the nation's imagination. The sight of 250,000 blacks and whites marching solemnly together marked the high point of the civil rights movement and confirmed King's position as the leading spokesperson for the cause.

To have any chance of getting the civil rights bill through Congress, King, Randolph, and Rustin knew they had to sustain this broad coalition of blacks and whites. They could afford to alienate no one. Reflecting a younger, more militant set of activists, however, SNCC member John Lewis had prepared a more provocative speech for that afternoon. Lewis wrote, "The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the Heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did." Signaling a growing restlessness among black youth, Lewis warned: "We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together again in the image of democracy." Fearing the speech would



alienate white supporters, Rustin and others implored Lewis to tone down his rhetoric. With only minutes to spare before he stepped up to the podium, Lewis agreed. He delivered a more conciliatory speech, but his conflict with march organizers signaled an emerging rift in the movement.

Although the March on Washington galvanized public opinion, it changed few congressional votes. Southern senators continued to block Kennedy's

legislation. Georgia senator Richard Russell, a leader of the opposition, refused to support any bill that would "bring about social equality and intermingling and amalgamation of the races." Then, suddenly, tragedies piled up, one on another. In September, white supremacists bombed a Baptist church in Birmingham, killing four black girls in Sunday school. Less than two months later, Kennedy himself lay dead, the victim of assassination.



Civil Rights and Black Power: Strategy and Ideology

The documents collected below reveal the range of perspectives and ideas at work within the broad civil rights, or “black freedom,” struggle in the 1960s.

1. **Martin Luther King Jr., "If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins" speech, 1962.** King, speaking to a meeting of the nation's trade union leaders, explained the economic objectives of the black freedom struggle.

If we do not advance, the crushing burden of centuries of neglect and economic deprivation will destroy our will, our spirits and our hopes. In this way labor's historic tradition of moving forward to create vital people as consumers and citizens has become our own tradition, and for the same reasons.

This unity of purpose is not an historical coincidence. Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. . . .

The two most dynamic and cohesive liberal forces in the country are the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement. Together we can be architects of democracy in a South now rapidly industrializing.

2. **Police in Birmingham, Alabama, use trained German shepherds against peaceful African American protesters, 1963.**



Bill Hudson / AP Images.

3. **Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics," Commentary, February 1965.**

. . . it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly-industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable — in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. . . . At issue, after all, is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions.

4. **James Farmer, Freedom, When?, 1965.**

“But when will the demonstrations end?” The perpetual question. And a serious question. Actually, it is several questions, for the meaning of the question differs, depending upon who asks it.

Coming from those whose dominant consideration is peace — public peace and peace of mind — the question means: “When are you going to stop tempting violence and rioting?” Some put it more strongly: “When are you going to stop sponsoring violence?” Assumed is the necessary connection between demonstration and violence. . . .

“Isn’t the patience of the white majority wearing thin? Why nourish the displeasure of 90 percent of the population with provocative demonstrations? Remember, you need allies.” And the assumptions of these Cassandras of the backlash is that freedom and equality are, in the last analysis, wholly gifts in the white man’s power to bestow. . . .

What the public must realize is that in a demonstration more things are happening, at more levels of human activity, than meets the eye. Demonstrations in the last

few years have provided literally millions of Negroes with their first taste of self-determination and political self-expression.

5. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, 1967.

Black people must redefine themselves, and only they can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history, their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness. There is a growing resentment of the word "Negro," for example, because this term is the invention of our oppressor; it is his image of us that he describes. . . .

The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society.

6. Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Tommie Smith and John Carlos (right) won gold and bronze medals in the 200 meters. The silver medalist, Australian Peter Norman (left), is wearing an Olympic Project for Human Rights badge to show his support.

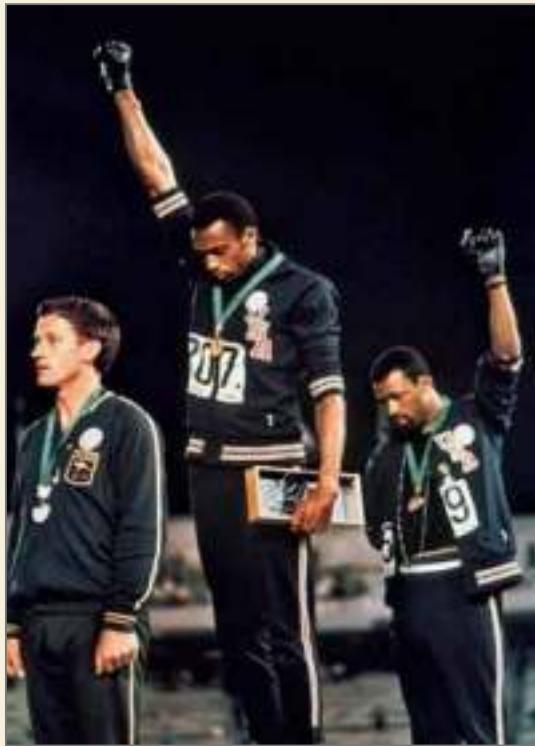
Sources: (1) "If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins," by Martin Luther King delivered February 12, 1962. Reprinted by arrangement with the Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor, New York, NY. Copyright © 1962 Martin Luther King Jr. Copyright renewed 1991 Coretta Scott King; (3) *Commentary*, February 1965; (4) James Farmer, *Freedom, When?* (New York: Random House, 1965), 25–27, 42–47; (5) Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Vintage, 1992, orig. 1967), 37, 44.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 1 and 3. What does Rustin mean when he says that ending segregation in public accommodations has not affected the "fundamental conditions" of African American life? How does King's point in document 1 address such issues?
2. Examine the two photographs. What do they reveal about different kinds of protest? About different perspectives among African Americans?
3. What does "self-determination" mean for Farmer and Carmichael and Hamilton?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Compose an essay in which you use the documents above, in addition to your reading of the chapter, to explore and explain different approaches to African American rights in the 1960s. In particular, think about how all of the documents come from a single movement, yet each expresses a distinct viewpoint and a distinct way of conceiving what "the struggle" is about. How do these approaches compare to the tactics of earlier struggles for civil rights?



AP Images.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

In what ways did white resistance hinder the civil rights movement? In what ways did it help?

On assuming the presidency, Lyndon Johnson made passing the civil rights bill a priority. A southerner and former Senate majority leader, Johnson was renowned for his fierce persuasive style and tough political bargaining.

Using equal parts moral leverage, the memory of the slain JFK, and his own brand of hardball politics, Johnson overcame the filibuster. In June 1964, Congress approved the most far-reaching civil rights law since Reconstruction. The keystone of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, Title VII, outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, national origin, and sex. Another section guaranteed equal access to public accommodations and schools. The law granted new enforcement powers to the U.S. attorney general and established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to implement the prohibition against job discrimination.

Freedom Summer The Civil Rights Act was a law with real teeth, but it left untouched the obstacles to black voting rights. So protesters went back into the streets. In 1964, in what came to be known as Freedom Summer, black organizations mounted a major campaign in Mississippi. The effort drew several thousand volunteers from across the country, including nearly one thousand white college students from the North. Led by the charismatic SNCC activist Robert Moses, the four major civil rights organizations (SNCC, CORE, NAACP, and SCLC) spread out across the state. They established freedom schools for black children and conducted a major voter registration drive. Yet so determined was the opposition that only about twelve hundred black voters were registered that summer, at a cost of four murdered civil rights workers and thirty-seven black churches bombed or burned.

The murders strengthened the resolve of the **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party** (MFDP), which had been founded during Freedom Summer. Banned



Women in the Movement

Though often overshadowed by men in the public spotlight, women were crucial to the black freedom movement. Here, protesting at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, are (left to right) Fannie Lou Hamer, Eleanor Holmes, and Ella Baker. The men are (left to right) Emory Harris, Stokely Carmichael, and Sam Block. Hamer had been a sharecropper before she became a leader under Baker's tutelage, and Holmes was a Yale University-trained lawyer who went on to become the first female chair of the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. © 1976 George Ballis/Take Stock/The Image Works.

from the “whites only” Mississippi Democratic Party, MFDP leaders were determined to attend the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, as the legitimate representatives of their state. Inspired by Fannie Lou Hamer, a former sharecropper turned civil rights activist, the MFDP challenged the most powerful figures in the Democratic Party, including Lyndon Johnson, the Democrats’ presidential nominee. “Is this America?” Hamer asked party officials when she demanded that the MFDP, and not the all-white Mississippi delegation, be recognized by the convention. Democratic leaders, however, seated the white Mississippi delegation and refused to recognize the MFDP. Demoralized and convinced that the Democratic Party would not change, Moses told television reporters: “I will have nothing to do with the political system any longer.”

Selma and the Voting Rights Act Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC did not share Moses’s skepticism. They believed that another confrontation with southern injustice could provoke further congressional action. In March 1965, James Bevel of the SCLC called for a march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital, Montgomery, to protest the murder of a voting-rights activist. As soon as the six hundred marchers left Selma, crossing over the Edmund Pettus Bridge, mounted state troopers attacked them with tear gas and clubs. The scene was shown on national television that night, and the day became known as Bloody Sunday. Calling the episode “an American tragedy,” President Johnson went back to Congress.

The **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which was signed by President Johnson on August 6, outlawed the literacy

tests and other devices that prevented African Americans from registering to vote, and authorized the attorney general to send federal examiners to register voters in any county where registration was less than 50 percent. Together with the Twenty-fourth Amendment (1964), which outlawed the poll tax in federal elections, the Voting Rights Act enabled millions of African Americans to vote for the first time since the Reconstruction era.

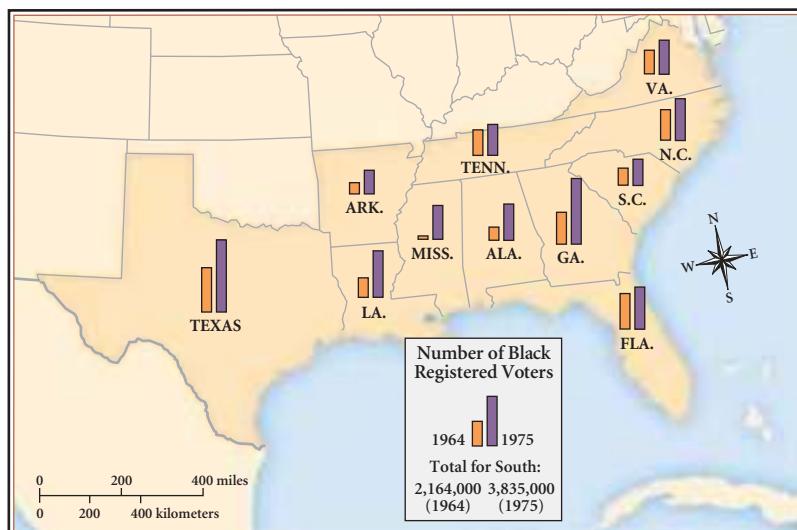
In the South, the results were stunning. In 1960, only 20 percent of black citizens had been registered to vote; by 1971, registration reached 62 percent (Map 27.4). Moreover, across the nation the number of black elected officials began to climb, quadrupling from 1,400 to 4,900 between 1970 and 1980 and doubling again by the early 1990s. Most of those elected held local offices—from sheriff to county commissioner—but nonetheless embodied a shift in political representation nearly unimaginable a generation earlier. As Hartman Turnbow, a Mississippi farmer who risked his life to register in 1964, later declared, “It won’t never go back where it was.”

Something else would never go back either: the liberal New Deal coalition. By the second half of the 1960s, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party had won its battle with the conservative, segregationist wing. Democrats had embraced the civil rights movement and made African American equality a cornerstone of a new “rights” liberalism. But over the next generation, between the 1960s and the 1980s, southern whites and many conservative northern whites would respond by switching to the Republican Party. Strom Thurmond, the segregationist senator from South Carolina, symbolically led the revolt by renouncing the

MAP 27.4

Black Voter Registration in the South, 1964 and 1975

After passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, black registration in the South increased dramatically. The bars on the map show the number of African Americans registered in 1964, before the act was passed, and in 1975, after it had been in effect for ten years. States in the Deep South, such as Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, had the biggest increases.



Democrats and becoming a Republican in 1964. The New Deal coalition—which had joined working-class whites, northern African Americans, urban professionals, and white southern segregationists together in a fragile political alliance since the 1930s—was beginning to crumble.

Beyond Civil Rights, 1966–1973

Activists had long known that Supreme Court decisions and new laws do not automatically produce changes in society. But in the mid-1960s, civil rights advocates confronted a more profound issue: perhaps even protests were not enough. In 1965, Bayard Rustin wrote of the need to move “from protest to politics” in order to build institutional black power. Some black leaders, such as the young SNCC activists Stokely Carmichael, Frances Beal, and John Lewis, grew frustrated with the slow pace of reform and the stubborn resistance of whites. Still others believed that addressing black poverty and economic disadvantage remained the most important objective. Neither new laws nor long marches appeared capable of meeting these varied and complex challenges.

The conviction that civil rights alone were incapable of guaranteeing equality took hold in many minority communities in this period. African Americans were joined by Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. They came at the problem of inequality from different perspectives, but each group asked a similar question: As crucial as legal equality was, how much did it matter if most people of color remained in or close to poverty, if white society still regarded nonwhites as inferior, and if the major social and political institutions in the country were run by whites? Black leaders and representatives of other non-white communities increasingly asked themselves this question as they searched for ways to build on the achievements of the civil rights decade of 1954–1965.

Black Nationalism

Seeking answers to these questions led many African Americans to embrace **black nationalism**. The philosophy of black nationalism signified many things in the 1960s. It could mean anything from pride in one’s community to total separatism, from building African American-owned businesses to wearing dashikis in honor of African traditions. Historically, nationalism

had emphasized the differences between blacks and whites as well as black people’s power (and right) to shape their own destiny. In the late nineteenth century, nationalists founded the Back to Africa movement, and in the 1920s the nationalist Marcus Garvey inspired African Americans to take pride in their racial heritage (Chapter 22).

In the early 1960s, the leading exponent of black nationalism was the **Nation of Islam**, which fused a rejection of Christianity with a strong philosophy of self-improvement. Black Muslims, as they were known, adhered to a strict code of personal behavior; men were recognizable by their dark suits, white shirts, and ties, women by their long dresses and head coverings. Black Muslims preached an apocalyptic brand of Islam, anticipating the day when Allah would banish the white “devils” and give the black nation justice. Although its full converts numbered only about ten thousand, the Nation of Islam had a wide popular following among African Americans in northern cities.

Malcolm X The most charismatic Black Muslim was Malcolm X (the X stood for his African family name, lost under slavery). A spellbinding speaker, Malcolm X preached a philosophy of militant separatism, although he advocated violence only for self-defense. Hostile to mainstream civil rights organizations, he caustically referred to the 1963 March on Washington as the “Farce on Washington.” Malcolm X said plainly, “I believe in the brotherhood of man, all men, but I don’t believe in brotherhood with anybody who doesn’t want brotherhood with me.” Malcolm X had little interest in changing the minds of hostile whites. Strengthening the black community, he believed, represented a surer path to freedom and equality.

In 1964, after a power struggle with founder Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam. While he remained a black nationalist, he moderated his antiwhite views and began to talk of a class struggle uniting poor whites and blacks. Following an inspiring trip to the Middle East, where he saw Muslims of all races worshipping together, Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity to promote black pride and to work with traditional civil rights groups. But he got no further. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated while delivering a speech in Harlem. Three Black Muslims were later convicted of his murder.

Black Power A more secular brand of black nationalism emerged in 1966 when SNCC and CORE activists, following the lead of Stokely Carmichael, began to

Malcolm X

Until his murder in 1965, Malcolm X was the leading proponent of black nationalism in the United States. A brilliant and dynamic orator, Malcolm had been a minister in the Nation of Islam for nearly thirteen years, until he broke with the Nation in 1964. His emphasis on black pride and self-help and his unrelenting criticism of white supremacy made him one of the freedom movement's most inspirational figures, both in life and well after his death. ©Topham/The Image Works.



call for black self-reliance under the banner of Black Power. Advocates of Black Power asked fundamental questions: If alliances with whites were necessary to achieve racial justice, as King believed they were, did that make African Americans dependent on the good intentions of whites? If so, could black people trust those good intentions in the long run? Increasingly, those inclined toward Black Power believed that African Americans should build economic and political power in their own communities. Such power would translate into a less dependent relationship with white America. “For once,” Carmichael wrote, “black people are going to use the words they want to use—not the words whites want to hear.”

Spurred by the Black Power slogan, African American activists turned their attention to the poverty and social injustice faced by so many black people. President Johnson had declared the War on Poverty, and black organizers joined, setting up day care centers, running community job training programs, and working to improve housing and health care in urban neighborhoods. In major cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, activists sought to

open jobs in police and fire departments and in construction and transportation to black workers, who had been excluded from these occupations for decades. Others worked to end police harassment—a major problem in urban black communities—and to help black entrepreneurs to receive small-business loans. CORE leader Floyd McKissick explained, “Black Power is not Black Supremacy; it is a united Black Voice reflecting racial pride.”

The attention to racial pride led some African Americans to reject white society and to pursue more authentic cultural forms. In addition to focusing on economic disadvantage, Black Power emphasized black pride and self-determination. Those subscribing to these beliefs wore African clothing, chose natural hairstyles, and celebrated black history, art, and literature. The Black Arts movement thrived, and musical tastes shifted from the crossover sounds of Motown to the soul music of Philadelphia, Memphis, and Chicago.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

Why were Black Power and black nationalism compelling to many African Americans?

Black Panther Party One of the most radical nationalist groups was the **Black Panther Party**, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by two college students, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. A militant organization dedicated to protecting African Americans from police violence, the Panthers took their cue from the slain Malcolm X. They vehemently opposed the Vietnam War and declared their affinity for Third World revolutionary movements and armed struggle (Map 27.5). In their manifesto, “What We Want, What We Believe,” the Panthers outlined their Ten Point Program for black liberation.

The Panthers’ organization spread to other cities in the late 1960s, where members undertook a wide range of community-organizing projects. Their free breakfast program for children and their testing program for sickle-cell anemia, an inherited disease with a high incidence among African Americans, were especially popular. However, the Panthers’ radicalism and belief in armed self-defense resulted in violent clashes with police. Newton was charged with murdering a police

officer, several Panthers were killed by police, and dozens went to prison. Moreover, under its domestic counterintelligence program, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had begun disrupting party activities.

Young Lords Among those inspired by the Black Panthers were Puerto Ricans in New York. Their vehicle was the **Young Lords Organization** (YLO), later renamed the Young Lords Party. Like the Black Panthers, YLO activists sought self-determination for Puerto Ricans, both those in the United States and those on the island in the Caribbean. In practical terms, the YLO focused on improving neighborhood conditions: city garbage collection was notoriously poor in East Harlem, where most Puerto Ricans lived, and slumlords had allowed the housing to become squalid. Women in the YLO were especially active, protesting sterilization campaigns against Puerto Rican women and fighting to improve access to health care. As was true of so many nationalist groups, immediate victories for the YLO were few, but their dedicated community



The Black Panther Party

One of the most radical organizations of the 1960s, the Black Panther Party was founded in 1966 by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton (shown together in the photograph on the left) in Oakland, California. Its members carried weapons, advocated socialism, and fought police brutality in black communities, but they also ran into their own trouble with the law. Nevertheless, the party had great success in reaching ordinary people, often with programs targeted at the poor. On the right, party members distribute free hot dogs to the public in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1969. LEFT: Bruno Barbey/Magnum Photos. RIGHT: Photo by David Fenton/Getty Images.



MAP 27.5

Decolonization and the Third World, 1943–1990

In the decades after World War II, African nations threw off the yoke of European colonialism. Some new nations, such as Ghana, the former British colony of Gold Coast, achieved independence rather peacefully. Others, such as Algeria and Mozambique, did so only after bloody anticolonial wars. American civil rights activists watched African decolonization with great enthusiasm, seeing the two struggles as linked. “Sure we identified with the blacks in Africa,” civil rights leader John Lewis said. “Here were black people, talking of freedom and liberation and independence thousands of miles away.” In 1960 alone, the year that student sit-ins swept across the American South, more than a dozen African nations gained independence.

organizing produced a generation of leaders (many of whom later went into politics) and awakened community consciousness.

The New Urban Politics Black Power also inspired African Americans to work within the political system. By the mid-1960s, black residents neared 50 percent of the population in several major American cities — such as Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. Black Power in these cities was not abstract; it counted in real votes. Residents of Gary, Indiana, and Cleveland, Ohio, elected the first black mayors of large cities in 1967. Richard Hatcher in Gary and Carl Stokes in Cleveland helped forge a new urban politics in the United States. Their campaign teams registered thousands of black voters and made alliances with enough whites to create a working majority. Many saw Stokes’s victory, in particular, as heralding a new day. As one of Stokes’s campaign staffers said: “If Carl Stokes could run for mayor in the eighth largest city in America, then maybe who knows. We could be senators. We could be anything we wanted.”

Having met with some political success, black leaders gathered in Gary for the 1972 National Black Political Convention. In a meeting that brought together radicals, liberals, and centrists, debate centered on whether to form a third political party. Hatcher recalled that many in attendance believed that “there was going to be a black third party.” In the end, however, delegates decided to “give the Democratic Party one more chance.” Instead of creating a third party, the convention issued the National Black Political Agenda, which included calls for community control of schools in black neighborhoods, national health insurance, and the elimination of the death penalty.

Democrats failed to enact the National Black Political Agenda, but African Americans were increasingly integrated into American political institutions. By the end of the century, black elected officials had become commonplace in major American cities. There were forty-seven African American big-city mayors by the 1990s, and blacks had led most of the nation’s most prominent cities: Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

These politicians had translated black power not into a wholesale rejection of white society but into a revitalized liberalism that would remain an indelible feature of urban politics for the rest of the century.

Poverty and Urban Violence

Black Power was not, fundamentally, a violent political ideology. But violence did play a decisive role in the politics of black liberation in the mid-1960s. Too many Americans, white and black, had little knowledge or understanding of the rage that existed just below the surface in many poor northern black neighborhoods. That rage boiled over in a wave of riots that struck the nation's cities in mid-decade. The first "long hot summer" began in July 1964 in New York City when police shot a black criminal suspect in Harlem. Angry youths looted and rioted there for a week. Over the next four years, the volatile issue of police brutality set off riots in dozens of cities.

In August 1965, the arrest of a young black motorist in the Watts section of Los Angeles sparked six days of rioting that left thirty-four people dead. "There is a different type of Negro emerging," one riot participant told investigators. "They are not going to wait for the evolutionary process for their rights to be a man." The riots of 1967, however, were the most serious, engulfing twenty-two cities in July and August. Forty-three people were killed in Detroit alone, nearly all of them black, and \$50 million worth of property was destroyed. President Johnson called in the National Guard and U.S. Army troops, many of them having just returned from Vietnam, to restore order.

Johnson, who believed that the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act had immeasurably helped African Americans, was stunned by the rioting. Despondent at the news from Watts, "he refused to look at the cables from Los Angeles," recalled one aide. Virtually all black leaders condemned the rioting, though they understood its origins in poverty and deprivation. At a meeting in Watts, Martin Luther King Jr. admitted that he had "failed to take the civil rights movement to the masses of the people," such as those in the Los Angeles ghetto. His appearance appeased few. "We don't need your dreams; we need jobs!" one heckler shouted at King.

Following the gut-wrenching riots in Detroit and Newark in 1967, Johnson appointed a presidential commission, headed by Illinois governor Otto Kerner, to investigate the causes of the violence. Released in 1968, the Kerner Commission Report was a searing look at race in America, the most honest and forthright government document about race since the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights' 1947 report "To Secure

These Rights." "Our nation is moving toward two societies," the Kerner Commission Report concluded, "one black, one white—separate and unequal." The report did not excuse the brick-throwing, firebombing, and looting of the previous summers, but it placed the riots in sociological context. Shut out of white-dominated society, impoverished African Americans felt they had no stake in the social order.

Stirred by turmoil in the cities, and seeing the limitations of his civil rights achievements, Martin Luther King Jr. began to expand his vision beyond civil rights to confront the deep-seated problems of poverty and racism in America as a whole. He criticized President Johnson and Congress for prioritizing the war in Vietnam over the fight against poverty at home, and he planned a massive movement called the Poor People's Campaign to fight economic injustice. To advance that cause, he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike by predominantly black sanitation workers. There, on April 4, 1968, he was assassinated by escaped white convict James Earl Ray. King's death set off a further round of urban rioting, with major violence breaking out in more than a hundred cities.

Tragically, King was murdered before achieving the transformations he sought: an end to racial injustice and a solution to poverty. The civil rights movement had helped set in motion permanent, indeed revolutionary, changes in American race relations. Jim Crow segregation ended, federal legislation ensured black Americans' most basic civil rights, and the white monopoly on political power in the South was broken. However, by 1968, the fight over civil rights had also divided the nation. The Democratic Party was splitting, and a new conservatism was gaining strength. Many whites felt that the issue of civil rights was receiving too much attention, to the detriment of other national concerns. The riots of 1965, 1967, and 1968 further alienated many whites, who blamed the violence on the inability of Democratic officials to maintain law and order.

Rise of the Chicano Movement

Mexican Americans had something of a counterpart to Martin Luther King: Cesar Chavez. In Chavez's case, however, economic struggle in community organizations and the labor movement had shaped his approach to mobilizing society's disadvantaged. He and Dolores Huerta had worked for the Community Service Organization (CSO), a California group founded in the 1950s to promote Mexican political participation and civil rights. Leaving that organization in 1962, Chavez concentrated on the agricultural region around Delano,

California. With Huerta, he organized the **United Farm Workers (UFW)**, a union for migrant workers.

Huerta was a brilliant organizer, but the deeply spiritual and ascetic Chavez embodied the moral force behind what was popularly called *La Causa*. A 1965 grape pickers' strike led the UFW to call a nationwide boycott of table grapes, bringing Chavez huge publicity and backing from the AFL-CIO. In a bid for attention to the struggle, Chavez staged a hunger strike in 1968, which ended dramatically after twenty-eight days with Senator Robert F. Kennedy at his side to break the fast. Victory came in 1970 when California grape growers signed contracts recognizing the UFW.

Mexican Americans shared some civil rights concerns with African Americans—especially access to jobs—but they also had unique concerns: the status of the Spanish language in schools, for instance, and immigration policy. Mexican Americans had been politically active since the 1940s, aiming to surmount factors that obstructed their political involvement: poverty, language barriers, and discrimination. Their efforts began to pay off in the 1960s, when the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) mobilized support for John F. Kennedy and worked successfully with other organizations to elect Mexican American candidates such as Edward Roybal of California and Henry González of Texas to Congress. Two other organizations, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDF) and the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, carried the fight against discrimination to Washington, D.C., and mobilized Mexican Americans into an increasingly powerful voting bloc.

Cesar Chavez

Influenced equally by the Catholic Church and Mahatma Gandhi, Cesar Chavez was one of the leading Mexican American civil rights and social justice activists of the 1960s. With Dolores Huerta, he cofounded the United Farm Workers (UFW), a union of primarily Mexican American agricultural laborers in California. Here he speaks at a rally in support of the grape boycott, an attempt by the UFW to force the nation's grape growers—and, by extension, the larger agriculture industry—to improve wages and working conditions and to bargain in good faith with the union. © Jason Laure/The Image Works.

Younger Mexican Americans grew impatient with civil rights groups such as MAPA and MALDF, however. The barrios of Los Angeles and other western cities produced the militant Brown Berets, modeled on the Black Panthers (who wore black berets). Rejecting their elders' assimilationist approach (that is, a belief in adapting to Anglo society), fifteen hundred Mexican American students met in Denver in 1969 to hammer out a new political and cultural agenda. They proclaimed a new term, *Chicano* (and its feminine form, *Chicana*), to replace *Mexican American*, and later organized a political party, La Raza Unida (The United Race), to promote Chicano interests. Young Chicana feminists formed a number of organizations, including Las Hijas (The Daughters), which organized women both on college campuses and in the barrios. In California and many southwestern states, students staged demonstrations to press for bilingual education, the hiring of more Chicano teachers, and the creation of Chicano studies programs. By the 1970s, dozens of such programs were offered at universities throughout the region.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

What did the Chicano and American Indian movements have in common with the black freedom movement?

The American Indian Movement

American Indians, inspired by the Black Power and Chicano movements, organized to address their unique circumstances. Numbering nearly 800,000 in the 1960s, native people were exceedingly diverse—divided by



language, tribal history, region, and degree of integration into American life. As a group, they shared a staggering unemployment rate—ten times the national average—and were the worst off in housing, disease rates, and access to education. Native people also had an often troubling relationship with the federal government. In the 1960s, the prevailing spirit of protest swept through Indian communities. Young militants challenged their elders in the National Congress of American Indians. Beginning in 1960, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), under the slogan “For a Greater Indian America,” promoted the ideal of Native Americans as a single ethnic group. The effort to both unite Indians and celebrate individual tribal culture proved a difficult balancing act.

The NIYC had substantial influence within tribal communities, but two other organizations, the militant Indians of All Tribes (IAT) and the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**, attracted more attention in the larger society. These groups embraced the concept of Red Power, and beginning in 1968 they staged escalating protests to draw attention to Indian concerns, especially the concerns of urban Indians, many of whom had been encouraged, or forced, to leave reservations by the federal government in earlier decades. In 1969, members of the IAT occupied the deserted federal penitentiary on

Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and proclaimed: “We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man’s purchase of a similar island [Manhattan] about 300 years ago.” In 1972, AIM members joined the Trail of Broken Treaties, a march sponsored by a number of Indian groups. When AIM activists seized the headquarters of the hated Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., and ransacked the building, older tribal leaders denounced them.



To see a longer excerpt of the “Proclamation To the Great White Father and All His People,” along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America’s History*.

However, AIM managed to focus national media attention on Native American issues with a siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in February 1973. The site of the infamous 1890 massacre of the Sioux, Wounded Knee was situated on the Pine Ridge Reservation, where young AIM activists had cultivated ties to sympathetic elders. For more than two months, AIM members occupied a small collection of buildings, surrounded by a cordon of FBI agents and U.S. marshals. Several gun battles left two dead, and the siege was finally brought to a negotiated end. Although upsetting



Native American Activism

In November 1969, a group of Native Americans, united under the name *Indians of All Tribes*, occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. They claimed the land under a nineteenth-century treaty, but their larger objective was to force the federal government—which owned the island—to address the long-standing grievances of native peoples, including widespread poverty on reservations. Shown here is the view along the gunwale of the boat carrying Tim Williams, a chief of the Klamath River Hurek tribe in full ceremonial regalia, to the island. Ralph Crane/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

to many white onlookers and Indian elders alike, AIM protests attracted widespread mainstream media coverage and spurred government action on tribal issues.

SUMMARY

African Americans and others who fought for civil rights from World War II through the early 1970s sought equal rights and economic opportunity. That quest was also inspired by various forms of nationalism that called for self-determination for minority groups. For most of the first half of the twentieth century, African Americans faced a harsh Jim Crow system in the South and a segregated, though more open, society in the North. Segregation was maintained by a widespread belief in black inferiority and by a southern political system that denied African Americans the vote. In the Southwest and West, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and Americans of Asian descent faced discriminatory laws and social practices that marginalized them.

The civil rights movement attacked racial inequality in three ways. First, the movement sought equality

under the law for all Americans, regardless of race. This required patient work through the judicial system and the more arduous task of winning congressional legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Second, grassroots activists, using nonviolent protest, pushed all levels of government (from city to federal) to abide by Supreme Court decisions (such as *Brown v. Board of Education*) and civil rights laws. Third, the movement worked to open economic opportunity for minority populations. This was embodied in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Ultimately, the civil rights movement successfully established the principle of legal equality, but it faced more difficult problems in fighting poverty and creating widespread economic opportunity.

The limitations of the civil rights model led black activists—along with Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and others—to adopt a more nationalist stance after 1966. Nationalism stressed the creation of political and economic power in communities of color, the celebration of racial heritage, and the rejection of white cultural standards.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- rights liberalism (p. 868)
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) (p. 870)
- Jim Crow (p. 870)
- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (p. 873)
- "To Secure These Rights" (p. 875)
- States' Rights Democratic Party (p. 875)
- American GI Forum (p. 877)
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (p. 878)
- Montgomery Bus Boycott (p. 881)
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (p. 882)
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (p. 882)
- March on Washington (p. 886)
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 890)
- Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (p. 890)
- Voting Rights Act of 1965 (p. 891)
- black nationalism (p. 892)
- Nation of Islam (p. 892)
- Black Panther Party (p. 894)
- Young Lords Organization (p. 894)
- United Farm Workers (UFW) (p. 897)
- American Indian Movement (AIM) (p. 898)

Key People

- A. Philip Randolph (p. 873)
- James Farmer (p. 873)
- Cesar Chavez (p. 877)
- Dolores Huerta (p. 877)
- Thurgood Marshall (p. 877)
- Rosa Parks (p. 881)
- Martin Luther King Jr. (p. 881)
- Malcolm X (p. 892)
- Stokely Carmichael (p. 892)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- 1.** Why did the civil rights movement begin when it did?
- 2.** How would you explain the rise of the protest movement after 1955? How did nonviolent tactics help the movement?
- 3.** How did the civil rights movement create a crisis in liberalism and in the Democratic Party?
- 4.** How did the civil rights movement and other activist groups cause changes to government and society?
- 5. THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** One of the most significant themes of the period from 1945 to the 1980s is the growth of the power of the federal government. (See “Politics and Power” and “Identity” on the thematic timeline on p. 803.) In what ways is the civil rights movement also part of that story?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Why is the decade of the 1960s often referred to as the “second Reconstruction”? Think broadly about the century between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. What are the key turning points in African American history in that long period?
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** Examine the photograph of a confrontation at North Little Rock High School on page 881. How does this photograph reveal the role that the media played in the civil rights struggle? Can you find similar evidence in other photographs from this chapter?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Peniel Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (2006). An important history of Black Power.

Ian F. Haney López, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice* (2003). An exceptional case study of the Chicano movement in Los Angeles.

Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (1995). A detailed case study that provides a local view of movement activism.

Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement* (2003). A powerful biography of a key activist.

Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (2008). A significant, readable overview of the civil rights movement.

The Civil Rights in Mississippi Digital Archive, at digilib.usm.edu/crmda.php, offers 150 oral histories relating to Mississippi.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A. Philip Randolph proposes march on Washington• Roosevelt issues Executive Order 8802
1942	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Double V Campaign launched• Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) founded
1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• "To Secure These Rights" published• Jackie Robinson integrates major league baseball• <i>Mendez v. Westminster School District</i>
1948	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• States' Rights Democratic Party (Dixiecrats) founded
1954	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i>
1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Emmett Till murdered (August)• Montgomery Bus Boycott (December)
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Southern Manifesto issued against <i>Brown</i> ruling
1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Integration of Little Rock High School• Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) founded
1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins (February)• Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) founded
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Freedom Rides (May)
1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama• March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Civil Rights Act passed by Congress• Freedom Summer
1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Voting Rights Act passed by Congress• Malcolm X assassinated (February 21)• Riot in Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles (August)
1966	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Black Panther Party founded
1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Riots in Detroit and Newark
1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated (April 4)
1969	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Young Lords founded• Occupation of Alcatraz
1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National Black Political Convention• "Trail of Broken Treaties" protest

KEY TURNING POINTS: The history of the civil rights movement is more than a list of significant events. Pick two or three events from this timeline and explain how their timing and the broader historical context contributed to the precise role each played in the movement as a whole.

28

CHAPTER

Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth 1961–1972

LIBERALISM AT HIGH TIDE

- John F. Kennedy's Promise
- Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society
- Rebirth of the Women's Movement

THE VIETNAM WAR BEGINS

- Escalation Under Johnson
- Public Opinion and the War
- Rise of the Student Movement

DAYS OF RAGE, 1968–1972

- War Abroad, Tragedy at Home
- The Antiwar Movement and the 1968 Election
- The Nationalist Turn
- Women's Liberation
- Stonewall and Gay Liberation

RICHARD NIXON AND THE POLITICS OF THE SILENT MAJORITY

- Nixon in Vietnam
- The Silent Majority Speaks Out
- The 1972 Election

The civil rights movement stirred American liberals and pushed them to initiate bold new government policies to advance racial equality. That progressive spirit inspired an even broader reform agenda that came to include women's rights, new social programs for the poor and the aged, job training, environmental laws, and other educational and social benefits for the middle class. All told, Congress passed more liberal legislation between 1964 and 1972 than in any period since the 1930s. The great bulk of it came during the 1965–1966 legislative session, one of the most active in American history. Liberalism was at high tide.

It did not stay there long. Liberals quickly came under assault from two directions. First, young activists became frustrated with slow progress on civil rights and rebelled against the Vietnam War. At the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, police teargassed and clubbed antiwar demonstrators, who chanted (as the TV cameras rolled), "The whole world is watching!" Some of them had been among the young idealists inspired by Kennedy's inaugural address and the civil rights movement. Now they rejected everything that Cold War liberalism stood for. Inside the convention hall, the proceedings were chaotic, the atmosphere poisonous, the delegates bitterly divided over Vietnam.

A second assault on liberalism came from conservatives, who found their footing after being marginalized during the 1950s. Conservatives opposed the dramatic expansion of the federal government under President Lyndon B. Johnson and disdained the "permissive society" they believed liberalism had unleashed. Advocating law and order, belittling welfare, and resisting key civil rights reforms, conservatives leaped back to political life in the late sixties. Their champion was Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona, who warned that "a government big enough to give you everything you want is also big enough to take away everything you have."

The clashing of left, right, and center made the decade between the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy in 1961 and the 1972 landslide reelection of Richard Nixon one of the most contentious, complicated, and explosive eras in American history. There were thousands of marches and demonstrations; massive new federal programs aimed at achieving civil rights, ending poverty, and extending the welfare state; and new voices among women, African Americans, and Latinos demanding to be heard. With heated, vitriolic rhetoric on all sides, these developments overlapped with political assassinations and violence both overseas and at home. In this chapter, we undertake to explain how the rekindling of liberal reform under the twin auspices of the civil rights movement and the leadership of President Johnson gave way to a profound liberal crisis and the resurgence of conservatism.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

What were liberalism's social and political achievements in the 1960s, and how did debates over liberal values contribute to conflict at home and reflect tension abroad?



I WANT OUT

"I Want Out" Protest movements of all kinds shook the foundations of American society and national politics in the 1960s. No issue was more controversial and divisive than the war in Vietnam. Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library.

Liberalism at High Tide

In May 1964, Lyndon Johnson, president for barely six months, delivered the commencement address at the University of Michigan. Johnson offered his audience a grand and inspirational vision of a new liberal age. “We have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society,” Johnson continued, “but upward to the **Great Society**.” As the sun-baked graduates listened, Johnson spelled out what he meant: “The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice.” Even this, Johnson declared, was just the beginning. He would push to renew American education, rebuild the cities, and restore the natural environment. Ambitious—even audacious—Johnson’s vision was a New Deal for a new era. From that day forward, the president would harness his considerable political skills to make that vision a reality. A tragic irony, however, was that he held the presidency at all.



To see a longer excerpt of Johnson’s commencement address, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America’s History*.

John F. Kennedy’s Promise

In 1961, three years before Johnson’s Great Society speech, John F. Kennedy declared at his inauguration: “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.” He challenged his fellow citizens to “ask what you can do for your country,” a call to service that inspired many Americans. The British journalist Henry Fairley called Kennedy’s activism “the politics of expectation.” Over time, the expectations Kennedy embodied, combined with his ability to inspire a younger generation, laid the groundwork for an era of liberal reform.

Kennedy’s legislative record did not live up to his promising image. This was not entirely his fault; congressional partisanship and resistance stymied many presidents in the twentieth century. Kennedy’s domestic advisors devised bold plans for health insurance for the aged, a new antipoverty program, and a tax cut. After enormous pressure from Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders—and pushed by the demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963—they added a civil rights bill. None of these initiatives went anywhere in the Senate, where powerful conservative interests practiced an old legislative art: delay,

delay, delay. All Kennedy’s bills were at a virtual standstill when tragedy struck.

On November 22, 1963, Kennedy was in Dallas, Texas, on a political trip. As he and his wife, Jacqueline, rode in an open car past the Texas School Book Depository, he was shot through the head and neck by a sniper. He died within the hour. (The accused killer, twenty-four-year-old Lee Harvey Oswald, was himself killed while in custody a few days later by an assassin, a Dallas nightclub owner named Jack Ruby.) Before Air Force One left Dallas to take the president’s body back to Washington, a grim-faced Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as Kennedy’s successor.

Kennedy’s youthful image, the trauma of his assassination, and the nation’s sense of loss contributed to a powerful Kennedy mystique. His canonization after death capped what had been an extraordinarily stage-managed presidency. An admiring country saw in Jack and Jackie Kennedy an ideal American marriage (though JFK was, in fact, an obsessive womanizer); in Kennedy the epitome of robust good health (though he was actually afflicted by Addison’s disease); and in the Kennedy White House a glamorous world of high fashion and celebrity. No other presidency ever matched the Kennedy aura, but every president after him embraced the idea that image mattered as much as reality in conducting a politically effective presidency.

Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society

In many ways, Lyndon Johnson was the opposite of Kennedy. A seasoned Texas politician and longtime Senate leader, Johnson was most at home in the back rooms of power. He was a rough-edged character who had scrambled his way up, with few scruples, to wealth and political eminence. But he never forgot his modest, hill-country origins or lost his sympathy for the down-trodden. Johnson lacked Kennedy’s style, but he rose to the political challenge after Kennedy’s assassination, applying his astonishing energy and negotiating skills to revive several of Kennedy’s stalled programs, and many more of his own, in the ambitious Great Society.

On assuming the presidency, Johnson promptly pushed for civil rights legislation as a memorial to his slain predecessor (Chapter 27). His motives were complex. As a southerner who had previously opposed civil rights for African Americans, Johnson wished to prove that he was more than a regional figure—he would be the president of all the people. He also wanted to make a mark on history, telling Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders to lace up their sneakers

The Great Society

President Lyndon Johnson toured poverty-stricken regions of the country in 1964. Here he visits with Tom Fletcher, a father of eight children in Martin County, Kentucky. Johnson envisioned a dramatic expansion of liberal social programs, both to assist the needy and to strengthen the middle class, that he called the Great Society. © Bettmann/Corbis.



because he would move so fast on civil rights they would be running to catch up. Politically, the choice was risky. Johnson would please the Democratic Party's liberal wing, but because most northern African Americans already voted Democratic, the party would gain few additional votes. Moreover, southern white Democrats would likely revolt, dividing the party at a time when Johnson's legislative agenda most required unanimity. But Johnson pushed ahead, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act stands, in part, as a testament to the president's political risk-taking.

More than civil rights, what drove Johnson hardest was his determination to "end poverty in our time." The president called it a national disgrace that in the midst of plenty, one-fifth of all Americans—hidden from most people's sight in Appalachia, urban ghettos, migrant labor camps, and Indian reservations—lived in poverty. But, Johnson declared, "for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty."

The **Economic Opportunity Act** of 1964, which created a series of programs to reach these Americans, was the president's answer—what he called the War on Poverty. This legislation included several different initiatives. Head Start provided free nursery schools to prepare disadvantaged preschoolers for kindergarten. The Job Corps and Upward Bound provided young people with training and employment. Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), modeled on the Peace Corps, offered technical assistance to the urban and rural poor. An array of regional development programs

focused on spurring economic growth in impoverished areas. On balance, the 1964 legislation provided services to the poor rather than jobs, leading some critics to charge the War on Poverty with doing too little.

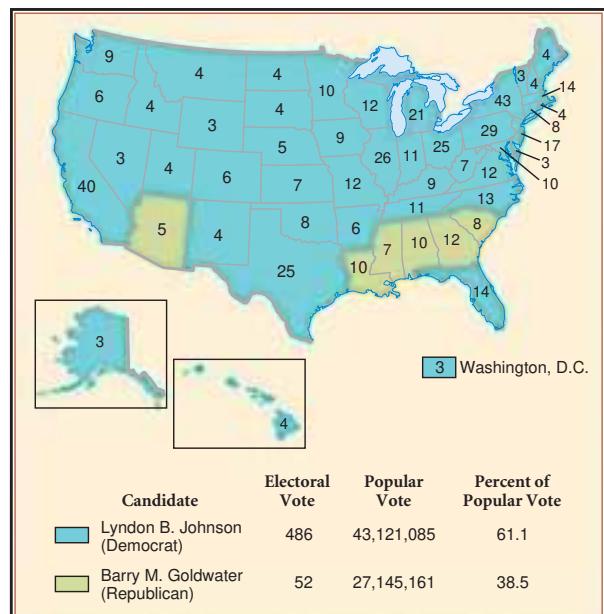
The 1964 Election With the Civil Rights Act passed and his War on Poverty initiatives off the ground, Johnson turned his attention to the upcoming presidential election. Not content to govern in Kennedy's shadow, he wanted a national mandate of his own. Privately, Johnson cast himself less like Kennedy than as the heir of Franklin Roosevelt and the expansive liberalism of the 1930s. Johnson had come to Congress for the first time in 1937 and had long admired FDR's political skills. He reminded his advisors never to forget "the meek and the humble and the lowly," because "President Roosevelt never did."

In the 1964 election, Johnson faced Republican Barry Goldwater of Arizona. An archconservative, Goldwater ran on an anticommunist, antigovernment platform, offering "a choice, not an echo"—meaning he represented a genuinely conservative alternative to liberalism rather than the echo of liberalism offered by the moderate wing of the Republican Party (Chapter 25). Goldwater campaigned against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and promised a more vigorous Cold War foreign policy. Among those supporting him was former actor Ronald Reagan, whose speech on behalf of Goldwater at the Republican convention, called "A

Time for Choosing,” made him a rising star in the party.

But Goldwater’s strident foreign policy alienated voters. “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice,” he told Republicans at the convention. Moreover, there remained strong national sentiment for Kennedy. Telling Americans that he was running to fulfill Kennedy’s legacy, Johnson and his running mate, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, won in a landslide (Map 28.1). In the long run, Goldwater’s candidacy marked the beginning of a grassroots conservative revolt that would eventually transform the Republican Party. In the short run, however, Johnson’s sweeping victory gave him a popular mandate and, equally important, congressional majorities that rivaled FDR’s in 1935—just what he needed to push the Great Society forward (Table 28.1).

Great Society Initiatives One of Johnson’s first successes was breaking a congressional deadlock on education and health care. Passed in April 1965, the



MAP 28.1

The Presidential Election of 1964

This map reveals how one-sided was the victory of Lyndon Johnson over Barry Goldwater in 1964. Except for Arizona, his home state, Goldwater won only five states in the Deep South—not of much immediate consolation to him, but a sure indicator that the South was cutting its historic ties to the Democratic Party. Moreover, although soundly rejected in 1964, Goldwater’s far right critique of “big government” laid the foundation for a Republican resurgence in the 1980s.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorized \$1 billion in federal funds for teacher training and other educational programs. Standing in his old Texas schoolhouse, Johnson, a former teacher, said: “I believe no law I have signed or will ever sign means more to the future of America.” Six months later, Johnson signed the Higher Education Act, providing federal scholarships for college students. Johnson also had the votes he needed to achieve some form of national health insurance. That year, he also won passage of two new programs: **Medicare**, a health plan for the elderly funded by a surcharge on Social Security payroll taxes, and **Medicaid**, a health plan for the poor paid for by general tax revenues and administered by the states.

The Great Society’s agenda included environmental reform as well: an expanded national park system, improvement of the nation’s air and water, protection for endangered species, stronger land-use planning, and highway beautification. Hardly pausing for breath, Johnson oversaw the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); won funding for hundreds of thousands of units of public housing; made new investments in urban rapid transit such as the new Washington, D.C., Metro and the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system in San Francisco; ushered new child safety and consumer protection laws through Congress; and helped create the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities to support the work of artists, writers, and scholars.

It even became possible, at this moment of reform zeal, to tackle the nation’s discriminatory immigration policy. The Immigration Act of 1965 abandoned the quota system that favored northern Europeans, replacing it with numerical limits that did not discriminate among nations. To promote family reunification, the law also stipulated that close relatives of legal residents in the United States could be admitted outside the numerical limits, an exception that especially benefitted Asian and Latin American immigrants. Since 1965, as a result, immigrants from those regions have become increasingly visible in American society (Chapter 31).

Assessing the Great Society The Great Society enjoyed mixed results. The proportion of Americans living below the poverty line dropped from 20 percent to 13 percent between 1963 and 1968 (Figure 28.1). Medicare and Medicaid, the most enduring of the Great Society programs, helped millions of elderly and poor citizens afford necessary health care. Further, as millions of African Americans moved into the middle

TABLE 28.1**Major Great Society Legislation**

Civil Rights		
1964	Twenty-fourth Amendment	Outlawed poll tax in federal elections
	Civil Rights Act	Banned discrimination in employment and public accommodations on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin
Social Welfare		
1964	Economic Opportunity Act	Created Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to administer War on Poverty programs such as Head Start, Job Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)
1965	Medical Care Act	Provided medical care for the poor (Medicaid) and the elderly (Medicare)
1966	Minimum Wage Act	Raised hourly minimum wage from \$1.25 to \$1.40 and expanded coverage to new groups
Education		
1965	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Granted federal aid for education of poor children
	National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities	Provided federal funding and support for artists and scholars
	Higher Education Act	Provided federal scholarships for postsecondary education
Housing and Urban Development		
1964	Urban Mass Transportation Act	Provided federal aid to urban mass transit
	Omnibus Housing Act	Provided federal funds for public housing and rent subsidies for low-income families
1965	Housing and Urban Development Act	Created Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
1966	Metropolitan Area Redevelopment and Demonstration Cities Acts	Designated 150 “model cities” for combined programs of public housing, social services, and job training
Environment		
1964	Wilderness Preservation Act	Designated 9.1 million acres of federal lands as “wilderness areas,” barring future roads, buildings, or commercial use
1965	Air and Water Quality Acts	Set tougher air quality standards; required states to enforce water quality standards for interstate waters
Miscellaneous		
1964	Tax Reduction Act	Reduced personal and corporate income tax rates
1965	Immigration Act	Abandoned national quotas of 1924 law, allowing more non-European immigration
	Appalachian Regional and Development Act	Provided federal funding for roads, health clinics, and other public works projects in economically depressed regions

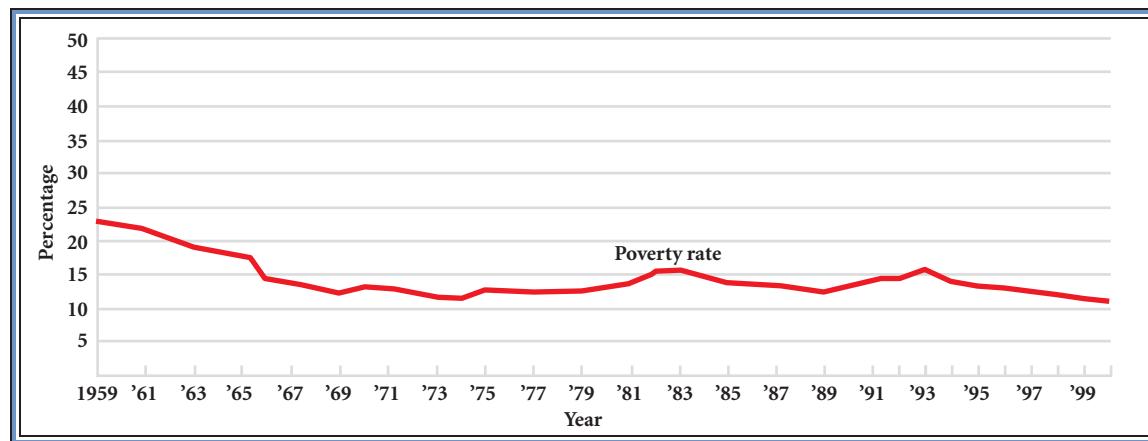


FIGURE 28.1
Americans in Poverty, 1959–2000

Between 1959 and 1973 the poverty rate among American families dropped by more than half—from 23 percent to 11 percent. There was, however, sharp disagreement about the reasons for that notable decline. Liberals credited the War on Poverty, while conservatives favored the high-performing economy, with the significant poverty dip of 1965–1966 caused by military spending, not Johnson's domestic programs.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What new roles did the federal government assume under Great Society initiatives, and how did they extend the New Deal tradition?

als of believing that every social problem could be solved with a government program. In the final analysis, the Great Society dramatically improved the financial situation of the elderly, reached millions of children, and increased the racial diversity of American society and workplaces. However, entrenched poverty remained, racial segregation in the largest cities worsened, and the national distribution of wealth remained highly skewed. In relative terms, the bottom 20 percent remained as far behind as ever. In these arenas, the Great Society made little progress.

Rebirth of the Women's Movement

The new era of liberal reform reawakened the American women's movement. Inspired by the civil rights movement and legislative advances under the Great Society, but frustrated by the lack of attention both gave to women, feminists entered the political fray and demanded not simply inclusion, but a rethinking of national priorities.

class, the black poverty rate fell by half. Liberals believed they were on the right track.

Conservatives, however, gave more credit for these changes to the decade's booming economy than to government programs. Indeed, conservative critics accused Johnson and other liber-

Labor Feminists The women's movement had not languished entirely in the postwar years. Feminist concerns were kept alive in the 1950s and early 1960s by working women, who campaigned for such things as maternity leave and equal pay for equal work. One historian has called these women "labor feminists," because they belonged to unions and fought for equality and dignity in the workplace. "It became apparent to me why so many employers could legally discriminate against women — because it was written right into the law," said one female labor activist. Trade union women were especially critical in pushing for, and winning, congressional passage of the 1963 **Equal Pay Act**, which established the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Labor feminists were responding to the times. More women — including married women (40 percent by 1970) and mothers with young children (30 percent by 1970) — were working outside the home than ever before. But they faced a labor market that undervalued their contributions. Moreover, most working women faced the "double day": they were expected to earn a paycheck and then return home to domestic labor. One woman put the problem succinctly: "The working mother has no 'wife' to care for her children."

Betty Friedan and the National Organization for Women When Betty Friedan's indictment of suburban domesticity, *The Feminine Mystique*, appeared in 1963, it targeted a different audience: college-educated,

middle-class women who found themselves not working for wages but rather stifled by their domestic routine. Tens of thousands of women read Friedan's book and thought, "She's talking about me." *The Feminine Mystique* became a runaway best-seller. Friedan persuaded middle-class women that they needed more than the convenience foods, improved diapers, and better laundry detergents that magazines and television urged them to buy. To live rich and fulfilling lives, they needed education and work outside the home.

Paradoxically, the domesticity described in *The Feminine Mystique* was already crumbling. After the postwar baby boom, women were again having fewer children, aided now by the birth control pill, first marketed in 1960. And as states liberalized divorce laws, more women were divorcing. Educational levels were also rising: by 1970, women made up 42 percent of the college population. All of these changes undermined traditional gender roles and enabled many women to embrace *The Feminine Mystique*'s liberating prescriptions.

Government action also made a difference. In 1961, Kennedy appointed the **Presidential Commission on the Status of Women**, which issued a 1963 report documenting job and educational discrimination. A bigger breakthrough came when Congress added the word *sex* to the categories protected against discrimination

in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Women suddenly had a powerful legal tool for fighting sex discrimination.

To force compliance with the new act, Friedan and others, including many labor feminists from around the country, founded the **National Organization for Women (NOW)** in 1966. Modeled on the NAACP, NOW intended to be a civil rights organization for women, with the aim of bringing "women into full participation in . . . American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men." Under Friedan's leadership, membership grew to fifteen thousand by 1971, and NOW became, like the NAACP, a powerful voice for equal rights.

One of the ironies of the 1960s was the enormous strain that all of this liberal activism placed on the New Deal coalition. Faced with often competing demands from the civil rights movement, feminists, the poor, labor unions, conservative southern Democrats, the suburban middle class, and urban political machines, the old Rooseveltian coalition had begun to fray. Johnson hoped that the New Deal coalition was strong enough to negotiate competing demands among its own constituents while simultaneously resisting conservative attacks. In 1965, that still seemed possible. It would not remain so for long.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What factors accounted for the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s?

National Organization for Women

Kathryn F. Clarenbach (left) and Betty Friedan (right) announced a "Bill of Rights for Women in 1968" to be presented to candidates in that election year. Clarenbach was the first chairwoman of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and Friedan the organization's first president. NOW became a fixture of the women's movement and the leading liberal voice for women's legal and social equality. © Bettmann/Corbis.



The Vietnam War Begins

As the accelerating rights revolution placed strain on the Democratic coalition, the war in Vietnam divided the country. In a CBS interview before his death, Kennedy remarked that it was up to the South Vietnamese whether “their war” would be won or lost. But the young president had already placed the United States on a course that would make retreat difficult. Like other presidents, Kennedy believed that giving up in Vietnam would weaken America’s “credibility.” Withdrawal “would be a great mistake,” he said.

It is impossible to know how JFK would have managed Vietnam had he lived. What is known is that in the fall of 1963, Kennedy had lost patience with Ngo Dinh Diem, the dictatorial head of South Vietnam whom the United States had supported since 1955. The president let it be known in Saigon that the United States would support a military coup. Kennedy’s hope was that if Diem, reviled throughout the South because of his brutal repression of political opponents, could be replaced by a popular general or other military figure, a stable government would emerge—one strong

enough to repel the South Vietnam National Liberation Front (NLF), or Vietcong. But when Diem was overthrown on November 1, the South Vietnamese generals went further than Kennedy’s team had anticipated and assassinated both Diem and his brother. This made the coup look less like an organic uprising and more like an American plot.

South Vietnam fell into a period of chaos marked by several coups and defined by the increasing ungovernability of both the cities and countryside. Kennedy himself was assassinated in late November and would not live to see the grim results of Diem’s murder: American engagement in a long and costly civil conflict in the name of fighting communism.

Escalation Under Johnson

Just as Kennedy had inherited Vietnam from Eisenhower, so Lyndon Johnson inherited Vietnam from Kennedy. Johnson’s inheritance was more burdensome, however, for by now only massive American intervention could prevent the collapse of South Vietnam (Map 28.2). Johnson, like Kennedy, was a subscriber to the Cold War tenets of global containment.



"I am not going to lose Vietnam," he vowed on taking office. "I am not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went" (Chapter 25).

Gulf of Tonkin It did not take long for Johnson to place his stamp on the war. During the summer of 1964, the president got reports that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had fired on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin. In the first attack, on August 2, the damage inflicted was limited to a single bullet hole; a second attack, on August 4, later proved to be only misread radar sightings. To Johnson, it didn't matter if the attack was real or imagined; the president believed a wider war was inevitable and issued a call to arms, sending his national approval rating from 42 to 72 percent. In the entire Congress, only two senators voted against his request for authorization to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." The **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**, as it became known, gave Johnson the freedom to conduct operations in Vietnam as he saw fit.

Despite his congressional mandate, Johnson was initially cautious about revealing his plans to the American people. "I had no choice but to keep my foreign policy in the wings . . .," Johnson later said. "I knew that the day it exploded into a major debate on the war, that day would be the beginning of the end of the Great Society." So he ran in 1964 on the pledge that there would be no escalation—no American boys fighting Vietnam's fight. Privately, he doubted the pledge could be kept.

The New American Presence With the 1964 election safely behind him, Johnson began an American

takeover of the war in Vietnam (American Voices, p. 912). The escalation, beginning in the early months of 1965, took two forms: deployment of American ground troops and the intensification of bombing against North Vietnam.

On March 8, 1965, the first marines waded ashore at Da Nang. By 1966, more than 380,000 American soldiers were stationed in Vietnam; by 1967, 485,000; and by 1968, 536,000 (Figure 28.2). The escalating demands of General William Westmoreland, the commander of U.S. forces, and Robert McNamara, the secretary of defense, pushed Johnson to Americanize the ground war in an attempt to stabilize South Vietnam. "I can't run and pull a Chamberlain at Munich," Johnson privately told a reporter in early March 1965, referring to the British prime minister who had appeased Hitler in 1938.

Meanwhile, Johnson authorized **Operation Rolling Thunder**, a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam in 1965. Over the entire course of the war, the United States dropped twice as many tons of bombs on Vietnam as the Allies had dropped in both Europe and the Pacific during the whole of World War II. To McNamara's surprise, the bombing had little effect on the Vietcong's ability to wage war in the South. The North Vietnamese quickly rebuilt roads and bridges and moved munitions plants underground. Instead of destroying the morale of the North Vietnamese, Operation Rolling Thunder hardened their will to fight. The massive commitment of troops and air power devastated Vietnam's countryside, however. After one harsh but not unusual engagement, a commanding officer reported that "it became necessary to destroy

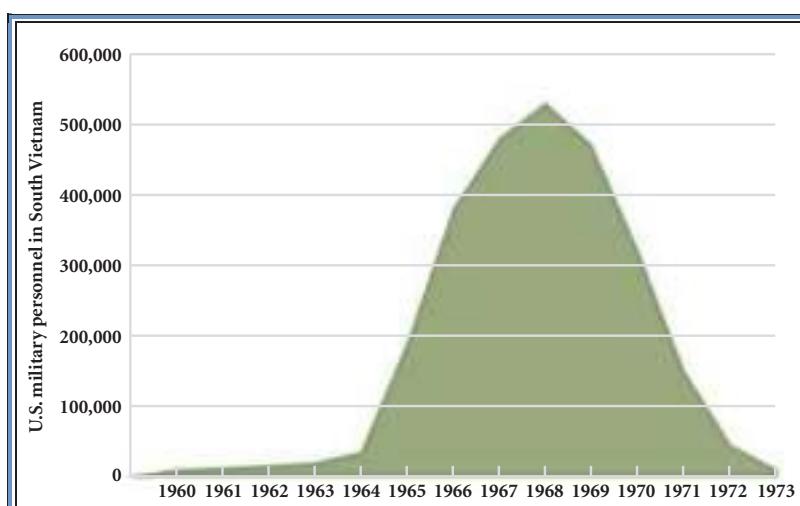
UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

In what larger context did President Johnson view the Vietnam conflict, and why was he determined to support South Vietnam?

FIGURE 28.2

U.S. Troops in Vietnam, 1960–1973

This figure graphically tracks America's involvement in Vietnam. After Lyndon Johnson decided on escalation in 1964, troop levels jumped from 23,300 to a peak of 543,000 personnel in 1968. Under Richard Nixon's Vietnamization program, beginning in the summer of 1969, levels drastically declined; the last U.S. military forces left South Vietnam on March 29, 1973.





The Toll of War

The Vietnam War produced a rich and graphic literature: novels, journalists' reports, interviews, and personal letters. These brief selections suggest the war's profound impact on those Americans who experienced it firsthand.

Donald Whitfield

Donald L. Whitfield was a draftee from Alabama who was interviewed some years after the war.

I'm gonna be honest with you. I had heard some about Vietnam in 1968, but I was a poor fellow and I didn't keep up with it. I was working at a Standard Oil station making eight dollars a day. I pumped gas and tinkered a little with cars. I had a girl I saw every now and then, but I still spent most of my time with a car. When I got my letter from the draft lady, I appealed it on the reason it was just me and my sister at home. We were a poor family and they needed me at home, but it did no good.

My company did a lot of patrolling. We got the roughest damn deal. Shit, I thought I was going to get killed every night. I was terrified the whole time. We didn't have no trouble with the blacks. I saw movies that said we done the blacks wrong, but it wasn't like that where I was. Let's put it like this: they make pretty good soldiers, but they're not what we are. White Americans, can't nobody whip our ass. We're the baddest son of a bitches on the face of this earth. You can take a hundred Russians and twenty-five Americans, and we'll whip their ass. . . .

I fly the Rebel flag because this is the South, Bubba. The American flag represents the whole fifty states. That flag represents the southern part. I'm a Confederate, I'm a Southerner. . . .

I feel cheated about Vietnam, I sure do. Political restrictions — we won every goddamned battle we was in, but didn't win the whole goddamn little country. . . . Before I die, the Democratic-controlled Congress of this country — and I blame it on 'em — they gonna goddamn apologize to the Vietnam veterans.

Source: From "Donald L. Whitfield" in *Landing Zones: Southern Veterans Remember Vietnam*, by James R. Wilson, pp. 202–211. Copyright 1990, Duke University Press. All rights reserved. Republished by permission of the copyright holder, www.dukepress.edu.

George Olsen

George Olsen served in Vietnam from August 1969 to March 1970, when he was killed in action. He wrote this letter to a close female friend.

31 Aug '69

Dear Red,

Last Monday I went on my first hunter-killer operation. . . . The frightening thing about it all is that it is so very easy to kill in war. There's no remorse, no theatrical "washing of the hands" to get rid of nonexistent blood, not even any regrets. When it happens, you are more afraid than you've ever been in your life — my hands shook so much I had trouble reloading. . . . You're scared, really scared, and there's no thinking about it. You kill because that little SOB is doing his best to kill you and you desperately want to live, to go home, to get drunk or walk down the street on a date again. And suddenly the grenades aren't going off any more, the weapons stop and, unbelievably fast it seems, it's all over. . . .

I have truly come to envy the honest pacifist who honestly believes that no killing is permissible and can, with a clear conscience, stay home and not take part in these conflicts. I wish I could do the same, but I can't see letting another take my place and my risks over here. . . . The only reason pacifists such as the Amish can even live in an orderly society is because someone — be they police or soldiers — is taking risks to keep the wolves away. . . . I guess that's why I'm over here, why I fought so hard to come here, and why, even though I'm scared most of the time, I'm content to be here.

Source: From *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam*, edited by Bernard Edelman for the New York Vietnam Veterans Memorial Commission, published by W.W. Norton & Company, 1985.

Arthur E. Woodley Jr.

Special Forces Ranger Arthur E. Woodley Jr. gave this interview a decade after his return.

You had to fight to survive where I grew up. Lower east Baltimore. . . . It was a mixed-up neighborhood of Puerto Ricans, Indians, Italians, and blacks. Being that I'm lightskinned, curly hair, I wasn't readily accepted in the black community. I was more accepted by Puerto Ricans and some rednecks. They didn't ask what my

race classification was. I went with them to white movies, white restaurants, and so forth. But after I got older, I came to the realization that I was what I am and came to deal with my black peers. . . .

I figured I was just what my country needed. A black patriot who could do any physical job they could come up with. Six feet, one hundred and ninety pounds, and healthy. . . .

I didn't ask no questions about the war. I thought communism was spreading, and as an American citizen, it was my part to do as much as I could to defeat the Communist from coming here. Whatever America states is correct was the tradition that I was brought up in. And I thought the only way I could possibly make it out of the ghetto was to be the best soldier I possibly could. . . .

Then came the second week of February of '69. . . . We recon this area, and we came across this fella, a white guy, who was staked to the ground. His arms and legs tied down to stakes. . . . He had numerous scars on his face where he might have been beaten and mutilated. And he had been peeled from his upper part of chest to down to his waist.

Skinned. Like they slit your skin with a knife. And they take a pair of pliers or a instrument similar, and they just peel the skin off your body and expose it to the elements. . . .

And he start to cryin', beggin' to die.

He said, "I can't go back like this. I can't live like this. I'm dying. You can't leave me here like this dying." . . .

It took me somewhere close to 20 minutes to get my mind together. Not because I was squeamish about killing someone, because I had at that time numerous body counts. Killing someone wasn't the issue. It was killing another American citizen, another GI. . . . We buried him. We buried him. Very deep. Then I cried. . . .

When we first started going into the fields, I would not wear a finger, ear, or mutilate another person's body. Until I had the misfortune to come upon those American soldiers who were castrated. Then it got to be a game between the Communists and ourselves to see how many fingers and ears that we could capture from each other. After a kill we would cut his finger or ear off as a trophy, stuff our unit patch in his mouth, and let him die.

With 89 days left in country, I came out of the field. What I now felt was emptiness. . . . I started seeing the atrocities that we caused each other as human beings. I came to the realization that I was committing crimes against humanity and myself. That I really didn't believe in these things I was doin'. I changed.

Source: Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans* (New York: Ballantine, 1984), 243–263.

Gayle Smith

Gayle Smith was a nurse in a surgical unit in Vietnam in 1970–1971 and gave this interview a few years later.

I objected to the war and I got the idea into my head of going there to bring people back. I started thinking about it in 1966 and knew that I would eventually go when I felt I was prepared enough. . . .

Boy, I remember how they came in all torn up. It was incredible. The first time a medevac came in, I got right into it. I didn't have a lot of feeling at that time. It was later on that I began to have a lot of feeling about it, after I'd seen it over and over and over again. . . . I turned that pain into anger and hatred and placed it onto the Vietnamese. . . . I did not consider the Vietnamese to be people. They were human, but they weren't people. They weren't like us, so it was okay to kill them. It was okay to hate them. . . .

I would have dreams about putting a .45 to someone's head and see it blow away over and over again. And for a long time I swore that if the Vietnamese ever came to this country I'd kill them.

It was in a Vietnam veterans group that I realized that all my hatred for the Vietnamese and my wanting to kill them was really a reflection of all the pain that I had felt for seeing all those young men die and hurt. . . . I would stand there and look at them and think to myself, "You've just lost your leg for no reason at all." Or "You're going to die and it's for nothing." For nothing. I would never, never say that to them, but they knew it.

Source: Albert Santoli, ed., *Everything We Had* (New York: Random House, 1981), 141–148.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did these four young people end up in Vietnam? How are their reasons for going to war similar and different?
2. How would you describe their experiences there?
3. What are their attitudes about the war, and how were they changed by it? What do their reflections suggest about Vietnam's impact on American society?

the town in order to save it”—a statement that came to symbolize the terrible logic of the war.

The Johnson administration gambled that American superiority in personnel and weaponry would ultimately triumph. This strategy was inextricably tied to political considerations. For domestic reasons, policymakers searched for an elusive middle ground between all-out invasion of North Vietnam, which included the possibility of war with China, and disengagement. “In effect, we are fighting a war of attrition,” said General Westmoreland. “The only alternative is a war of annihilation.”

Public Opinion and the War

Johnson gradually grew more confident that his Vietnam policy had the support of the American people. Both Democrats and Republicans approved Johnson’s escalation in Vietnam, and so did public opinion polls in 1965 and 1966. But then opinion began to shift (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 916).

Every night, Americans saw the carnage of war on their television screens, including images of dead and wounded Americans. One such incident occurred in the first months of fighting in 1965. Television reporter Morley Safer witnessed a marine unit burning the village of Cam Ne to the ground. “Today’s operation is the frustration of Vietnam in miniature,” Safer explained. America can “win a military victory here, but to a Vietnamese peasant whose home is [destroyed] it will take more than presidential promises to convince him that we are on his side.”

With such firsthand knowledge of the war, journalists began to write about a “credibility gap.” The Johnson administration, they charged, was concealing bad news about the war’s progress. In February 1966, television coverage of hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (chaired by J. William Fulbright, an outspoken critic of the war) raised further questions about the administration’s policy. Johnson complained to his staff in 1966 that “our people can’t stand firm in the face of heavy losses, and they can bring down the government.” Economic problems put Johnson even more on the defensive. The Vietnam War cost taxpayers \$27 billion in 1967, pushing the federal deficit from \$9.8 billion to \$23 billion. By then, military spending had set in motion the inflationary spiral that would plague the U.S. economy throughout the 1970s.

Out of these troubling developments, an antiwar movement began to crystallize. Its core, in addition to long-standing pacifist groups, comprised a new generation of peace activists such as SANE (the National

Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), which in the 1950s had protested atmospheric nuclear testing. After the escalation in 1965, the activist groups were joined by students, clergy, civil rights advocates, and even Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose book on child care had helped raise many of the younger activists. Despite their diversity, these opponents of the war shared a skepticism about U.S. policy in Vietnam. They charged variously that intervention was antithetical to American ideals; that an independent, anticommunist South Vietnam was unattainable; and that no American objective justified the suffering that was being inflicted on the Vietnamese people.

Rise of the Student Movement

College students, many of them inspired by the civil rights movement, had begun to organize and agitate for social change. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, they founded **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)** in 1960. Two years later, forty students from Big Ten and Ivy League universities held the first national SDS convention in Port Huron, Michigan. Tom Hayden penned a manifesto, the **Port Huron Statement**, expressing students’ disillusionment with the nation’s consumer culture and the gulf between rich and poor. “We are people of this generation,” Hayden wrote, “bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.” These students rejected Cold War foreign policy, including the war in Vietnam.

The New Left The founders of SDS referred to their movement as the **New Left** to distinguish themselves from the Old Left—communists and socialists of the 1930s and 1940s. As New Left influence spread, it hit major university towns first—places such as Madison, Wisconsin, and Berkeley, California. One of the first major demonstrations erupted in the fall of 1964 at the University of California at Berkeley after administrators banned student political activity on university grounds. In protest, student organizations formed the Free Speech Movement and organized a sit-in at the administration building. Some students had just returned from Freedom Summer in Mississippi, radicalized by their experience. Mario Savio spoke for many when he compared the conflict in Berkeley to the civil rights struggle in the South: “The same rights are at stake in both places—the right to participate as citizens in a democratic society and to struggle against the same enemy.” Emboldened by the Berkeley movement, students across the nation were soon protesting their



Free Speech at Berkeley, 1964

Students at the University of California's Berkeley campus protested the administration's decision to ban political activity in the school plaza. Free speech demonstrators, many of them active in the civil rights movement, relied on the tactics and arguments that they learned during that struggle. Dr. Jim Jumblatt, Free Speech Movement Archive.

universities' academic policies and then, more passionately, the Vietnam War.

One spur to student protest was the military's Selective Service System, which in 1967 abolished automatic student deferments. To avoid the draft, some young men enlisted in the National Guard or applied for conscientious objector status; others avoided the draft by leaving the country, most often for Canada or Sweden. In public demonstrations, opponents of the war burned their draft cards, picketed induction centers, and on a few occasions broke into Selective Service offices and destroyed records. Antiwar demonstrators numbered in the tens or, at most, hundreds of thousands—a small fraction of American youth—but they were vocal, visible, and determined.

Students were on the front lines as the campaign against the war escalated. The 1967 Mobilization to End the War brought 100,000 protesters into the streets of San Francisco, while more than a quarter million followed Martin Luther King Jr. from Central Park to

the United Nations in New York. Another 100,000 marched on the Pentagon. President Johnson absorbed the blows and counterpunched—"The enemy's hope for victory . . . is in our division, our weariness, our uncertainty," he proclaimed—but it had become clear that Johnson's war, as many began calling it, was no longer uniting the country.

Young Americans for Freedom The New Left was not the only political force on college campuses. Conservative students were less noisy but more numerous. For them, the 1960s was not about protesting the war, staging student strikes, and idolizing Black Power. Inspired by the group **Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)**, conservative students asserted their faith in "God-given free will" and their fear that the federal government "accumulates power which tends

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

Contrast the political views of the SDS, the YAF, and the counterculture. How would you explain the differences?



Debating the War in Vietnam

The war in Vietnam divided Americans and ultimately divided world opinion. A product of the Cold War policy of containment, the war led many to question the application of that policy to Southeast Asia. Yet every American president from Truman to Nixon believed that opposing the unification of Vietnam under communist rule was essential. Historians continue to research, and debate, what led to the war and what effects the war had on both Vietnam and the United States. The following documents help us to consider different views of the war.

1. President Dwight Eisenhower's "Domino Theory" speech, April 7, 1954.

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences. . . .

But when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following, now you begin to talk about areas that not only multiply the disadvantages that you would suffer through loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you're talking about millions and millions and millions of people.

2. Manifesto of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NLF), 1968.

Over the past hundred years the Vietnamese people repeatedly rose up to fight against foreign aggression for the independence and freedom of their fatherland. In 1945, the people throughout the country surged up in an armed uprising, overthrew the Japanese and French domination, and seized power. . . .

However, the American imperialists, who had in the past helped the French colonialists to massacre our people, have now replaced the French in enslaving the southern part of our country through a disguised colonial regime. They have been using their stooge—the Ngo Dinh Diem administration—in their downright repression and exploitation of our compatriots, in their maneuvers to permanently divide our country and to turn its southern part into a base in preparation for war in Southeast Asia.

3. President Lyndon Johnson, Johns Hopkins University speech, April 7, 1965.

Over this war—and all Asia—is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peiping [Peiking]. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes.

4. James Fallows, "What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?" *Washington Monthly*, October 1975. The journalist Fallows highlighted the economic unfairness of the Vietnam-era draft.

The children of the bright, good parents were spared the more immediate sort of suffering that our inferiors were undergoing. And because of that, when our parents were opposed to the war, they were opposed in a bloodless, theoretical fashion, as they might be opposed to political corruption or racism in South Africa. As long as the little gold stars [sent to parents whose son was killed in war] kept going to homes in Chelsea [a working-class part of Boston] and the backwoods of West Virginia, the mothers of Beverly Hills and Chevy Chase and Great Neck and Belmont [all affluent suburbs] were not on the telephone to their congressman screaming, "You killed my boy." . . . It is clear by now that if the men of Harvard had wanted to do the very most they could to help shorten the war, they should have been drafted or imprisoned en masse.

5. Students for a Democratic Society, Call for a March on Washington to End the War, 1965.

The current war in Vietnam is being waged on behalf of a succession of unpopular South Vietnamese dictatorships, not in behalf of freedom. No American-supported South Vietnamese regime in the past few years has gained the support of its people, for the simple reason that the people overwhelmingly want peace, self-determination, and the opportunity for development. American prosecution of the war has deprived them of all three.

The war is fundamentally a *civil* war. . . .

It is a *losing* war. . . .

It is a *self-defeating* war. . . .

It is a *dangerous* war. . . .

It is a war never declared by Congress. . . .

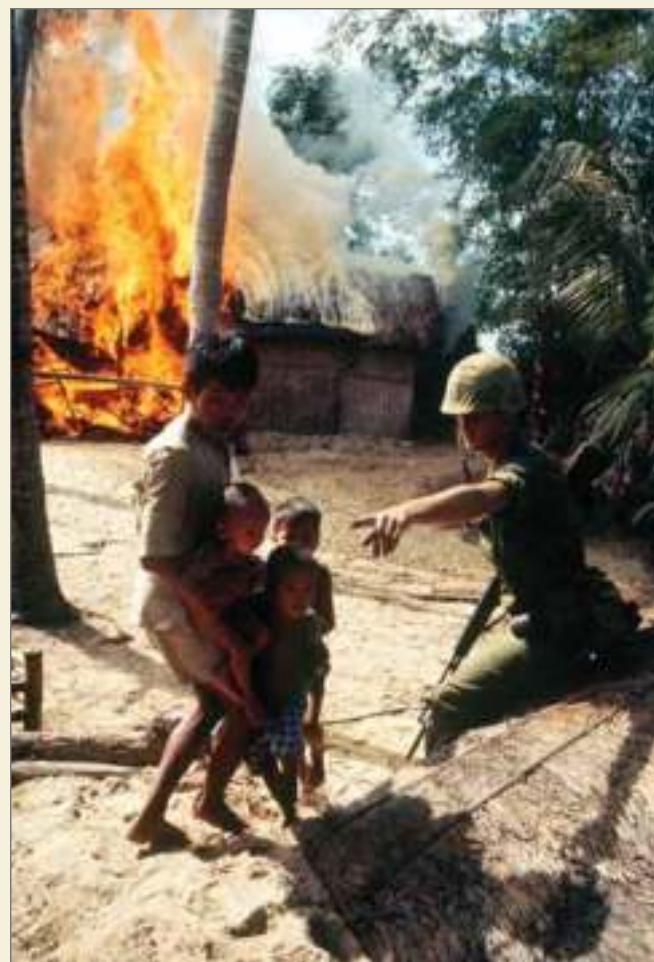
It is a hideously *immoral* war.

6. Richard Nixon, address to the nation on the Vietnam War, November 3, 1969.

... President Eisenhower sent economic aid and military equipment to assist the people of South Vietnam in their efforts to prevent a Communist takeover. Seven years ago, President Kennedy sent 16,000 military personnel to Vietnam as combat advisors. Four years ago, President Johnson sent American combat forces to South Vietnam. . . .

For these reasons, I reject the recommendation that I should end the war by immediately withdrawing all our forces. I choose instead to change American policy on both the negotiating front and the battlefield. . . .

7. Evacuation of Vietnamese civilians in a burning village, c. 1965.



Source: Photo by Dominique BERETTY/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images.

Sources: (1) George Katsiaficas, ed., *Vietnam Documents: American and Vietnamese Views of the War* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1992), pp. 120–121. Used by permission of the author; (2) Katsiaficas, 43–44; (3) John Clark Pratt, *Vietnam Voices: Perspectives on the War Years, 1941–1982* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 201; (4) *The Washington Monthly*, October 1975, 5–19; (5) Katsiaficas, 120–121; (6) Katsiaficas, 147.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Three of the sources (1, 3, and 6) feature remarks by U.S. presidents. What common feature do they share? Are there differences among the comments? Source 2 is also an attempt by a political figure to persuade. How should historians evaluate such documents?
2. In source 4, which Americans does the author believe have sacrificed the most in fighting the war in Vietnam?
3. Compare sources 2 and 5. What is the intended audience of each? What common features do they share?
4. Journalists and electronic media (photography and television) played an important role in the war. How would

images, such as that in source 7, shape opinion about the war both in the United States and globally?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

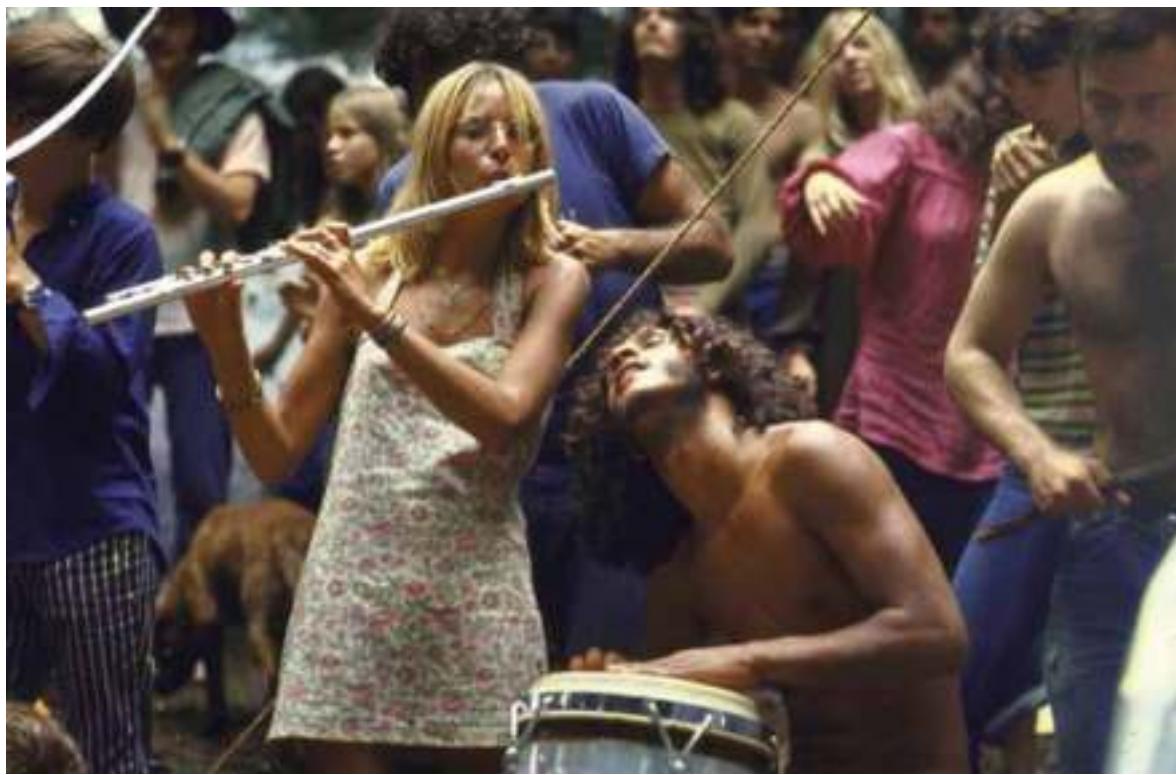
Using the knowledge you have gained from this chapter, analyze the documents above to construct an essay in which you explore the Vietnam War's causes and effects, both domestic and international. Choose at least one domestic and one international theme and use the documents to provide evidence for your conclusions.

to diminish order and liberty.” The YAF, the largest student political organization in the country, defended free enterprise and supported the war in Vietnam. Its founding principles were outlined in “The **Sharon Statement**,” drafted (in Sharon, Connecticut) two years before the Port Huron Statement, and inspired young conservatives, many of whom would play important roles in the Reagan administration in the 1980s.

The Counterculture While the New Left organized against the political and economic system and the YAF defended it, many other young Americans embarked on a general revolt against authority and middle-class respectability. The “hippie”—identified by ragged blue jeans or army fatigues, tie-dyed T-shirts, beads, and long unkempt hair—symbolized the new **counterculture**. With roots in the 1950s Beat culture of New York’s Greenwich Village and San Francisco’s North Beach, the 1960s counterculture initially turned to folk

music for its inspiration. Pete Seeger set the tone for the era’s idealism with songs such as the 1961 antiwar ballad “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” In 1963, the year of the civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham and President Kennedy’s assassination, Bob Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind” reflected the impatience of people whose faith in America was wearing thin. Joan Baez emerged alongside Dylan and pioneered a folk sound that inspired a generation of female musicians.

By the mid-1960s, other winds of change in popular music came from the Beatles, four working-class Brits whose awe-inspiring music—by turns lyrical and driving—spawned a commercial and cultural phenomenon known as Beatlemania. American youths’ embrace of the Beatles—as well as even more rebellious bands such as the Rolling Stones, the Who, and the Doors—deepened the generational divide between young people and their elders. So did the recreational



The Counterculture

The three-day outdoor Woodstock concert in August 1969 was a defining moment in the rise of the counterculture. The event attracted 400,000 young people, like those pictured here, to Bethel, New York, for a weekend of music, drugs, and sex. The counterculture was distinct from the New Left and was less a political movement than a shifting set of cultural styles, attitudes, and practices. It rejected conformity of all kinds and placed rebellion and contrariness among its highest values. Another concept held dear by the counterculture was, simply, “love.” In an era of military violence abroad and police violence at home, many in the counterculture hoped that “peace and love” would prevail instead. Bill Eppridge/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

use of drugs—especially marijuana and the hallucinogen popularly known as LSD or acid—which was celebrated in popular music in the second half of the 1960s.

For a brief time, adherents of the counterculture believed that a new age was dawning. In 1967, the “world’s first Human Be-In” drew 20,000 people to Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. That summer—called the Summer of Love—San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury, New York’s East Village, Chicago’s Uptown neighborhoods, and the Sunset Strip in Los Angeles swelled with young dropouts, drifters, and teenage runaways whom the media dubbed “flower children.” Although most young people had little interest in all-out revolt, media coverage made it seem as though all of American youth was rejecting the nation’s social and cultural norms.

Days of Rage, 1968–1972

By 1968, a sense of crisis gripped the country. Riots in the cities, campus unrest, and a nose-thumbing counterculture escalated into a general youth rebellion that seemed on the verge of tearing America apart. Calling 1968 “the watershed year for a generation,” SDS founder Tom Hayden wrote that it “started with legendary events, then raised hopes, only to end by immersing innocence in tragedy.” It was perhaps the most shocking year in all the postwar decades. Violent clashes both in Vietnam and back home in the United States combined with political assassinations to produce a palpable sense of despair and hopelessness (*America Compared*, p. 920).

War Abroad, Tragedy at Home

President Johnson had gambled in 1965 on a quick victory in Vietnam, before the political cost of escalation came due. But there was no quick victory. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces fought on, the South Vietnamese government repeatedly collapsed, and American casualties mounted. By early 1968, the death rate of U.S. troops had reached several hundred a week. Johnson and his generals kept insisting that there was “light at the end of the tunnel.” Facts on the ground showed otherwise.

The Tet Offensive On January 30, 1968, the Vietcong unleashed a massive, well-coordinated assault in South Vietnam. Timed to coincide with Tet, the Vietnamese new year, the offensive struck thirty-six

provincial capitals and five of the six major cities, including Saigon, where the Vietcong nearly overran the U.S. embassy. In strictly military terms, the Tet offensive was a failure, with very heavy Vietcong losses. But psychologically, the effect was devastating.

Television brought into American homes shocking live images: the American embassy under siege and the Saigon police chief placing a pistol to the head of a Vietcong suspect and executing him.

The **Tet offensive** made a mockery of official pronouncements that the United States was winning the war. How could an enemy on the run manage such a large-scale, complex, and coordinated attack? Just before Tet, a Gallup poll found that 56 percent of Americans considered themselves “hawks” (supporters of the war), while only 28 percent identified with the “doves” (war opponents). Three months later, doves outnumbered hawks 42 to 41 percent. Without embracing the peace movement, many Americans simply concluded that the war was unwinnable.

The Tet offensive undermined Johnson and discredited his war policies. When the 1968 presidential primary season got under way in March, antiwar senators Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota and Robert Kennedy of New York, JFK’s brother, challenged Johnson for the Democratic nomination. Discouraged, perhaps even physically exhausted, on March 31 Johnson stunned the nation by announcing that he would not seek reelection.

Political Assassinations Americans had barely adjusted to the news that a sitting president would not stand for reelection when, on April 4, James Earl Ray shot and killed Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis. Riots erupted in more than a hundred cities. The worst of them, in Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., left dozens dead and hundreds of millions of dollars in property damaged or destroyed. The violence on the streets of Saigon had found an eerie parallel on the streets of the United States.

One city that did not erupt was Indianapolis. There, Robert Kennedy, in town campaigning in the Indiana primary, gave a quiet, somber speech to the black community on the night of King’s assassination. Americans could continue to move toward “greater polarization,” Kennedy said, “black people amongst blacks, white amongst whites,” or “we can replace that violence . . . with an effort to understand, compassion and love.” Kennedy sympathized with African

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

What changed between 1965 and 1968, and how did these developments affect national political life?



The Global Protests of 1968

Nineteen sixty-eight was a year of youthful protest, political unrest, and violence across the globe. The year of massive antiwar protests at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago as well as the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy saw equal or greater turmoil around the world. Half of Italy's universities were occupied; a massive student strike in France turned into a violent confrontation with police; prodemocracy students in Mexico City led huge protests that drew police gunfire; and protests and street battles with police took place in Prague, Berlin, Tokyo, Rome, and London.

René Bourrigaud, French Student

My most vivid memory of May '68? The new-found ability for everyone to speak—to speak of anything with anyone. In that month of talking during May you learnt more than in the whole of your five years of studying.

Source: Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 9.

The "Two Thousand Words" Manifesto, June 27, 1968, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Throughout the spring and summer of 1968, the government of Czechoslovakia, under new communist leadership, pursued reforms pushed by students and other protesters. In August, the Soviet Union invaded and put an end to the new openness.

This spring a great opportunity was given to us once again, as it was at the end of the war [World War II]. Again we have the chance to take into our own hands our common cause, which for working purposes we will call socialism, and give it a form more appropriate to our once-good reputation and to the fairly good opinion we used to have of ourselves.

Source: Jaromír Navrátil, *The Prague Spring 1968: A National Security Archive Documents Reader* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), 181.

Interview with Participants in 1968 Protests in Mexico City

During the summer of 1968, hundreds of thousands of students protested against Mexico's authoritarian national government and brutal police repression.

Americans' outrage at whites, but he begged them not to strike back in retribution. Impromptu and heartfelt, Kennedy's speech was a plea to follow King's nonviolent example, even as the nation descended into greater violence.

Sergio Aguayo: It was, in a symbolic way, the clash of a new Mexico and an old Mexico.

Antonio Azuela: You have a middle class with eyes closed and a group of students saying, this was not a democracy. And this is not working.

Marcela Fernandez de Violante: And so we were together hundred and hundreds and hundreds. We had these big, big meetings at the campus crowded, crowded. And people singing, Que Vivan los Estudiantes . . . ta-ri-ra-ra-ra-ra.

Marcela Fernandez de Violante: We were very young, very naive. But for the first time, you had this notion that this country was going to be changed by the power of our convictions.

Miguel Breseda: You would get in a bus and give a speech and inform the people. Because newspaper wouldn't publish anything. And people would give you money, they would congratulate you and they would say, "We are with you young people. . . ."

Source: Produced by Radio Diaries (radiodiaries.org) and originally broadcast on NPR's *All Things Considered*. To hear the entire documentary, visit radiodiaries.org. Used by permission of Radio Diaries.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did free speech figure so prominently in the protests of the 1960s?
2. What do all of these activists seem to be struggling for, or against? How do their struggles seem similar to—or different from—those occurring simultaneously in the United States?

But two months later, having emerged as the frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination, Kennedy, too, would be gone. On June 5, as he was celebrating his victory in the California primary over Eugene McCarthy, Kennedy was shot dead by a young

Robert Kennedy

After the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and with President Johnson out of the presidential race, Robert Kennedy emerged in 1968 as the leading liberal figure in the nation. A critic of the Vietnam War, a strong supporter of civil rights, and committed to fighting poverty, Kennedy (the brother of the late President John Kennedy) ran a progressive campaign for president. In this photograph he is shown shaking hands with supporters in Detroit in May 1968. However, less than three weeks after this picture was taken, Kennedy, too, was dead, the victim of yet another assassination. Andrew Sacks/Getty Images.



Palestinian named Sirhan Sirhan. Amid the national mourning for yet another political murder, one newspaper columnist declared that “the country does not work anymore.” *Newsweek* asked, “Has violence become a way of life?” Kennedy’s assassination was a calamity for the Democratic Party because only he had seemed able to surmount the party’s fissures over Vietnam. In the space of eight weeks, American liberals had lost two of their most important national figures, King and Kennedy. A third, Johnson, was unpopular and politically damaged. Without these unifying leaders, the crisis of liberalism had become unmanageable.

The Antiwar Movement and the 1968 Election

Before their deaths, Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy had spoken eloquently against the Vietnam War. To antiwar activists, however, bold speeches and marches had not produced the desired effect. “We are no longer interested in merely protesting the war,” declared one. “We are out to stop it.” They sought nothing short of an immediate American withdrawal. Their anger at Johnson and the Democratic Party—fueled by news of the Tet offensive, the murders of King and Kennedy, and the general youth rebellion—had radicalized the movement.

Democratic Convention In August, at the **1968 Democratic National Convention** in Chicago, the political divisions generated by the war consumed the party. Thousands of protesters descended on the city. The most visible group, led by Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, a remarkable pair of troublemakers, claimed to represent the Youth International Party. To mock those inside the convention hall, these “Yippies” nominated a pig, Pegasus, for president. The Yippies’ stunts were geared toward maximum media exposure. But a far larger and more serious group of activists had come to Chicago to demonstrate against the war as well—and they staged what many came to call the Siege of Chicago.

Democratic mayor Richard J. Daley ordered the police to break up the demonstrations. Several nights of skirmishes between protesters and police culminated on the evening of the nominations. In what an official report later described as a “police riot,” police officers attacked protesters with tear gas and clubs. As the nominating speeches proceeded, television networks broadcast scenes of the riot, cementing a popular impression of the Democrats as the party of disorder. “They are going to be spending the next four years picking up the pieces,” one Republican said gleefully. Inside the hall, the party dispiritedly nominated Hubert H. Humphrey, Johnson’s vice president. The delegates approved a middle-of-the-road platform that endorsed

continued fighting in Vietnam while urging a diplomatic solution to the conflict.

Richard Nixon On the Republican side, Richard Nixon had engineered a remarkable political comeback. After losing the presidential campaign in 1960 and the California gubernatorial race in 1962, he won the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Sensing Democratic weakness, Nixon and his advisors believed there were two groups of voters ready to switch sides: northern working-class voters and southern whites.

Tired of the antiwar movement, the counterculture, and urban riots, northern blue-collar voters, especially Catholics, had drifted away from the Democratic Party. Growing up in the Great Depression, these families were admirers of FDR and perhaps even had his picture on their living-room wall. But times had changed over three decades. To show how much they had changed, the social scientists Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard Scammon profiled blue-collar workers in their study *The Real Majority* (1970). Wattenberg and Scammon asked their readers to consider people such as a forty-seven-year-old machinist's wife from Dayton, Ohio:

[She] is afraid to walk the streets alone at night. . . . She has a mixed view about blacks and civil rights." Moreover, they wrote, "she is deeply distressed that her son is going to a community junior college where LSD was found on campus." Such northern blue-collar

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

Why might a Democratic supporter of FDR in the 1940s have decided to vote for Republican Richard Nixon in 1968?

families were once reliable Democratic voters, but their political loyalties were increasingly up for grabs—a fact Republicans knew well.

George Wallace Working-class anxieties over student protests and urban riots were first exploited by the controversial governor of Alabama, George C. Wallace. Running in 1968 as a third-party presidential candidate, Wallace traded on his fame as a segregationist governor. He had tried to stop the federal government from desegregating the University of Alabama in 1963, and he was equally obstructive during the Selma crisis of 1965. Appealing to whites in both the North and the South, Wallace called for "law and order" and claimed that mothers on public assistance were, thanks to Johnson's Great Society, "breeding children as a cash crop."

Wallace's hope was that by carrying the South, he could deny a major candidate an electoral majority and force the election into the House of Representatives. That strategy failed, as Wallace finished with just 13.5 percent of the popular vote. But he had defined hot-button issues—liberal elitism, welfare policies, and law and order—that became hallmarks for the next generation of mainstream conservatives.

Nixon's Strategy Nixon offered a subtler version of Wallace's populism in a two-pronged approach to the campaign. He adopted what his advisors called the "southern strategy," which aimed at attracting southern white voters still smarting over the civil rights gains by



George Wallace

George Wallace had become famous as the segregationist governor who stood "in the schoolhouse door" to prevent black students from enrolling at the University of Alabama in 1963 (though after being confronted by federal marshals, he stepped aside). In 1968, he campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination on a populist "law and order" platform that appealed to many blue-collar voters concerned about antiwar protests, urban riots, and the rise of the counterculture. In this 1968 photograph, Wallace greets supporters on the campaign trail. Lee Balterman/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

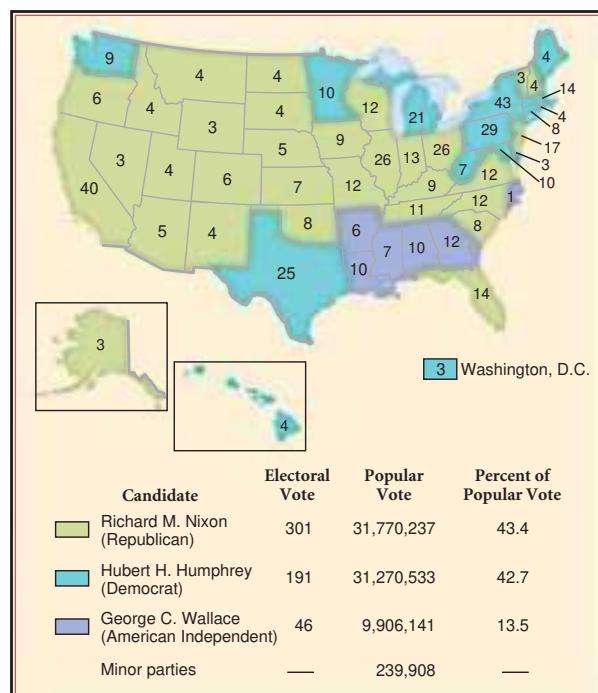
African Americans. Nixon won over the key southerner, Democrat-turned-Republican senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the 1948 Dixiecrat presidential nominee. Nixon informed Thurmond that while formally he had to support civil rights, his administration would go easy on enforcement. He also campaigned against the antiwar movement, urban riots, and protests, calling for a strict adherence to “law and order.” He pledged to represent the “quiet voice” of the “great majority of Americans, the forgotten Americans, the nonshouters, the nondemonstrators.” Here Nixon was speaking not just to the South, but to the many millions of suburban voters across the country who worried that social disorder had gripped the nation.

These strategies—southern and suburban—worked. Nixon received 43.4 percent of the vote to Humphrey’s 42.7 percent, defeating him by a scant 500,000 votes out of the 73 million that were cast (Map 28.3). But the numerical closeness of the race could not disguise the devastating blow to the Democrats. Humphrey received almost 12 million fewer votes than Johnson had in 1964. The white South largely abandoned the Democratic Party, an exodus that would accelerate in the 1970s. In the North, Nixon and Wallace made significant inroads among traditionally Democratic voters. New Deal Democrats lost the unity of purpose that had served them for thirty years. A nation exhausted by months of turmoil and violence had chosen a new direction. Nixon’s victory in 1968 foreshadowed—and helped propel—a national electoral realignment in the coming decade.

The Nationalist Turn

Vietnam and the increasingly radical youth rebellion intersected with the turn toward racial and ethnic nationalism by young African American and Chicano activists. As we saw in Chapter 27, the Black Power and Chicano movements broke with the liberal “rights” politics of an older generation of leaders. These new activists expressed fury at the poverty and white racism that were beyond the reach of civil rights laws; they also saw Vietnam as an unjust war against other people of color.

In this spirit, the **Chicano Moratorium Committee** organized demonstrations against the war. Chanting “Viva la Raza, Afuera Vietnam” (“Long live the Chicano people, Get out of Vietnam”), 20,000 Mexican Americans marched in Los Angeles in August 1970. At another rally, Cesar Chavez said: “For the poor it is a terrible irony that they should rise out of their misery to do battle against other poor people.” He and other



MAP 28.3

The Presidential Election of 1968

With Lyndon B. Johnson’s surprise withdrawal and the assassination of the party’s most charismatic contender, Robert Kennedy, the Democrats faced the election of 1968 in disarray. Governor George Wallace of Alabama, who left the Democrats to run as a third-party candidate, campaigned on the backlash against the civil rights movement. As late as mid-September Wallace held the support of 21 percent of the voters. But in November he received only 13.5 percent of the vote, winning five southern states. Republican Richard M. Nixon, who like Wallace emphasized “law and order” in his campaign, defeated Hubert H. Humphrey with only 43.4 percent of the popular vote, but it was now clear, given that Wallace’s southern support would otherwise have gone to Nixon, that the South had shifted decisively to the Republican side.

Mexican American activists charged that the draft was biased against the poor—like most wars in history, Vietnam was, in the words of one retired army colonel, “a poor boy’s fight.”

Among African Americans, the Black Panther Party and the National Black Antiwar Antidraft League spoke out against the war. “Black Americans are considered to be the world’s biggest fools,” Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party wrote in his typically acerbic style, “to go to another country to fight for something they don’t have for themselves.” Muhammad Ali, the most famous boxer in the world, refused his army induction. Sentenced to prison, Ali was eventually acquitted on appeal. But his action cost him his heavyweight



Muhammad Ali Refuses Army Induction

On April 28, 1967, heavyweight champion boxer Muhammad Ali refused to be drafted into the U.S. Army, claiming that the war in Vietnam was immoral and that as a member of the Nation of Islam he was a conscientious objector. In this photograph, Ali stands outside the U.S. Army induction center in Houston, Texas. Ali's refusal, which was applauded by the anti-war movement, led to a five-year prison sentence. Though that conviction was overturned in 1971 after numerous appeals, Ali's stand against the war cost him his heavyweight boxing title. © Bettmann/Corbis.

title, and for years he was not allowed to box professionally in the United States.

Women's Liberation

Among women, 1968 also marked a break with the past. The late 1960s spawned a new brand of feminism: **women's liberation**. These feminists were primarily younger, college-educated women fresh from the New Left, antiwar, and civil rights movements. Those movements' male leaders, they discovered, considered women little more than pretty helpers who typed memos and fetched coffee. Women who tried to raise feminist issues at civil rights and antiwar events were shouted off the platform with jeers such as "Move on, little girl,

we have more important issues to talk about here than women's liberation."

Fed up with second-class status, and well versed in the tactics of organization and protest, women radicals broke away and organized on their own. Unlike

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

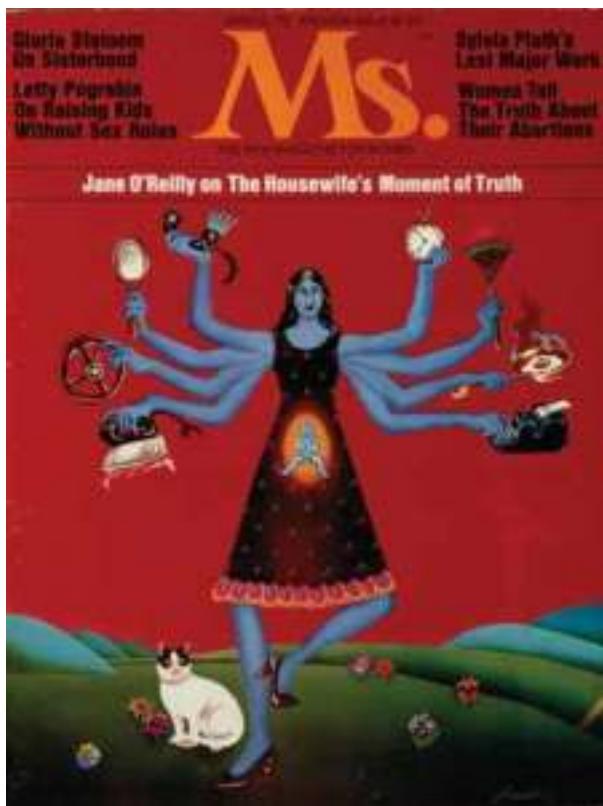
How did women's liberation after 1968 differ from the women's movement of the early 1960s?

the National Organization for Women (NOW), the women's liberation movement was loosely structured, comprising an alliance of collectives in New York, San Francisco, Boston, and other big cities and college towns. "Women's lib," as it was dubbed by a skeptical media, went public in 1968 at the Miss America pageant. Demonstrators carried posters of women's bodies labeled as slabs of beef—implying that society treated them as meat. Mirroring the identity politics of Black

Power activists and the self-dramatization of the counterculture, women's liberation sought an end to the denigration and exploitation of women. "Sisterhood is powerful!" read one women's liberationist manifesto. The national Women's Strike for Equality in August 1970 brought hundreds of thousands of women into the streets of the nation's cities for marches and demonstrations.

By that year, new terms such as *sexism* and *male chauvinism* had become part of the national vocabulary. As converts flooded in, the two branches of the women's movement began to converge. Radical women realized that key feminist goals—child care, equal pay, and reproduction rights—could best be achieved in the political arena. At the same time, more traditional activists, exemplified by Betty Friedan, developed a broader view of women's oppression. They came to understand that women required more than equal opportunity: the culture that regarded women as nothing more than sexual objects and helpmates to men had to change as well. Although still largely white and middle class, feminists began to think of themselves as part of a broad social crusade.

"Sisterhood" did not unite all women, however. Rather than joining white-led women's liberation organizations, African American and Latina women continued to work within the larger framework of the civil rights movement. New groups such as the Combahee River Collective and the National Black Feminist Organization arose to speak for the concerns of African American women. They criticized sexism but were reluctant to break completely with black men and the



Ms. Magazine

Cofounded by the feminist Gloria Steinem, *Ms.* magazine made its initial appearance in 1972. Steinem and her cofounders believed that American women needed an explicitly feminist magazine distinct from the slew of available female-focused "lifestyle" magazines, such as *McCall's* and *Redbook*. *Ms.* would take on crucial, but neglected, issues relevant to women: reproductive rights, child care, employment and educational equality, sexual harassment, and marriage and relations between men and women. Inspired by women's liberation, *Ms.* has remained an important forum for feminist opinion and debate down to the present. Reprinted by permission of *Ms.* magazine, © 1972.

struggle for racial equality. Chicana feminists came from Catholic backgrounds in which motherhood and family were held in high regard. "We want to walk hand in hand with the Chicano brothers, with our children, our *viejitos* [elders], our Familia de la Raza," one Chicana feminist wrote. Black and Chicana feminists embraced the larger movement for women's rights but carried on their own struggles to address specific needs in their communities.

One of the most important contributions of women's liberation was to raise awareness about what feminist Kate Millett called sexual politics. Liberationists argued that unless women had control over their own bodies, they could not freely shape their destinies. They campaigned for reproductive rights, especially

access to abortion, and railed against a culture that blamed women in cases of sexual assault and turned a blind eye to sexual harassment in the workplace.

Meanwhile, women's opportunities expanded dramatically in higher education. Dozens of formerly all-male bastions such as Yale, Princeton, and the U.S. military academies admitted women undergraduates for the first time. Colleges started women's studies programs, which eventually numbered in the hundreds, and the proportion of women attending graduate and professional schools rose markedly. With the adoption of **Title IX** in 1972, Congress broadened the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include educational institutions, prohibiting colleges and universities that received federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. By requiring comparable funding for sports programs, Title IX made women's athletics a real presence on college campuses.

Women also became increasingly visible in public life. Congresswomen Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm joined Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, the founder of *Ms.* magazine, to create the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971. Abzug and Chisholm, both from New York, joined Congresswoman Patsy Mink from Hawaii and Martha Griffiths from Michigan to sponsor equal rights legislation. Congress authorized child-care tax deductions for working parents in 1972 and in 1974 passed the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, which enabled married women to get credit, including credit cards and mortgages, in their own names.

Antiwar activists, black and Chicano nationalists, and women's liberationists had each challenged the Cold War liberalism of the Democratic Party. In doing so, they helped build on the "rights liberalism" forged first by the African American-led civil rights movement. But they also created rifts among competing parts of the former liberal consensus. Many Catholics, for instance, opposed abortion rights and other freedoms sought by women's liberationists. Still other Democrats, many of them blue-collar trade unionists, believed that antiwar protesters were unpatriotic and that supporting one's government in time of war was a citizen's duty. The antiwar movement and the evolving rights liberalism of the sixties had made the old Democratic coalition increasingly unworkable.

Stonewall and Gay Liberation

The liberationist impulse transformed the gay rights movement as well. Homophile activists in the 1960s (Chapter 26) had pursued rights by protesting, but they adopted the respectable dress and behavior they knew



A Lesbian and Gay Rights Protest in Greenwich Village, New York City, 1970

Building on the momentum of the Black Power and women's liberation movements of the late 1960s, a gay liberation movement had emerged by the early 1970s. Its history was longer than most Americans recognized, dating to the homophile movement of the 1950s, but the struggle for gay and lesbian rights and freedoms gained new adherents after the Stonewall riots of 1969. Under the banner of "coming out," lesbian and gay Americans refused to accept second-class citizenship. Rue des Archives/The Granger Collection, NYC.

straight society demanded. Meanwhile, the vast majority of gay men and lesbians remained "in the closet." So many were closeted because homosexuality was considered immoral and was even illegal in the vast majority of states—sodomy statutes outlawed same-sex relations, and police used other morals laws to harass and arrest gay men and lesbians. In the late 1960s, however, inspired by the Black Power and women's movements, gay activists increasingly demanded immediate and unconditional recognition of their

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did the antiwar movement, women's liberation, and gay liberation break with an earlier liberal politics?

rights. A gay newspaper in New York bore the title *Come Out!*

The new gay liberation found multiple expressions in major cities across the country, but a defining event occurred in New York's Greenwich Village. Police had raided gay bars for decades, making arrests, publicizing the names of patrons, and harassing customers simply for being gay. When a local gay bar called the **Stonewall Inn** was raided by police in the summer of 1969, however, its patrons rioted for two days, burning the bar and battling with police in the narrow streets of the Village. Decades of police repression had taken their toll. Few commentators excused the violence, and the Stonewall riots were not repeated, but activists celebrated them as a symbolic demand for full citizenship. The gay liberation movement grew quickly after Stonewall. Local gay and lesbian organizations proliferated, and activists began pushing for nondiscrimination ordinances and consensual sex laws at the state level. By 1975, the National Gay Task Force and other national organizations lobbied Congress, served as media watchdogs, and advanced suits in the courts. Despite all the activity, progress was slow; in most arenas of American life, gays and lesbians did not enjoy the same legal protections and rights as other Americans.

Richard Nixon and the Politics of the Silent Majority

Vietnam abroad and the antiwar movement and the counterculture at home tore at the fabric of the Democratic coalition and proved too difficult for Lyndon Johnson to navigate. Richard Nixon, in contrast, showed himself adept at taking advantage of the nation's unrest through carefully timed speeches and displays of moral outrage. A centrist by nature and temperament, Nixon was not part of the conservative Goldwater wing of the Republican Party. Though he was an ardent anticommunist like Goldwater, Nixon also shared some of Eisenhower's traits, including a basic acceptance of government's role in economic matters. Nixon is thus most profitably viewed as a transitional figure, a national politician who formed a bridge between the liberal postwar era and the much more conservative decades that followed the 1970s.

In late 1969, following a massive antiwar rally in Washington, President Nixon gave a televised speech in which he referred to his supporters as the **silent majority**. It was classic Nixonian rhetoric. In a single phrase, he summed up a generational and cultural

struggle, placing himself on the side of ordinary Americans against the rabble-rousers and troublemakers. It was an oversimplification, but the label *silent majority* stuck, and Nixon had defined a political phenomenon. For the remainder of his presidency, Nixon cultivated the impression that he was the defender of a reasonable middle ground under assault from the radical left.

Nixon in Vietnam

On the war in Vietnam, Nixon picked up where Johnson had left off. Cold War assumptions continued to dictate presidential policy. Abandoning Vietnam, Nixon insisted, would damage America's "credibility" and make the country seem "a pitiful, helpless giant." Nixon wanted peace, but only "peace with honor." The North Vietnamese were not about to oblige him. The only outcome acceptable to them was a unified Vietnam under their control.

Vietnamization and Cambodia To neutralize criticism at home, Nixon began delegating the ground

fighting to the South Vietnamese. Under this new policy of **Vietnamization**, American troop levels dropped from 543,000 in 1968 to 334,000 in 1971 to barely 24,000 by early 1973. American casualties dropped correspondingly. But the killing in Vietnam continued. As Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, noted cynically, it was just a matter of changing "the color of the bodies."

Far from abating, however, the antiwar movement intensified. In November 1969, half a million demonstrators staged a huge protest in Washington called the Vietnam Moratorium. On April 30, 1970, as part of a secret bombing campaign against Vietcong supply lines, American troops destroyed enemy bases in neutral Cambodia.

When news of the invasion of Cambodia came out, American campuses exploded in outrage—and, for the first time, students died. On May 4, 1970, at Kent State University in Ohio, panicky National Guardsmen fired into an antiwar rally, wounding eleven students

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How was President Nixon's Vietnam policy different from President Johnson's?



Richard Nixon

Richard Nixon completed one of the more remarkable political rehabilitations in modern times. He had lost the 1960 presidential election and the 1962 California gubernatorial election. But he came back strong in 1968 to ride—and help direct—a growing wave of reaction among conservative Americans against Great Society liberalism, the antiwar movement, civil rights, and the counterculture. In this photograph, President Nixon greets supporters in June 1969, just a few months after his inauguration. © Wally McNamee/Corbis.



Prowar Rally

Under a sea of American flags, construction workers in New York City march in support of the Vietnam War. Wearing hard hats, tens of thousands of marchers jammed Broadway for four blocks opposite City Hall, and the overflow crammed the side streets. Working-class patriotism became a main source of support for Nixon's war. Paul Fusco/Magnum Photos, Inc.

and killing four. Less than two weeks later, at Jackson State College in Mississippi, Guardsmen stormed a dormitory, killing two black students. More than 450 colleges closed in protest. Across the country, the spring semester was essentially canceled.

My Lai Massacre Meanwhile, one of the worst atrocities of the war had become public. In 1968, U.S. Army troops had executed nearly five hundred people in the South Vietnamese village of **My Lai**, including a large number of women and children. The massacre was known only within the military until 1969, when journalist Seymour Hersh broke the story and photos of the massacre appeared in *Life* magazine, discrediting the United States around the world. Americans, *Time* observed, "must stand in the larger dock of guilt and human conscience." Although high-ranking officers participated in the My Lai massacre and its cover-up,

only one soldier, a low-ranking second lieutenant named William Calley, was convicted.

Believing that Calley had been made a fall guy for official U.S. policies that inevitably brought death to innocent civilians, a group called Vietnam Veterans Against the War publicized other atrocities committed by U.S. troops. In a controversial protest in 1971, they returned their combat medals at demonstrations outside the U.S. Capitol, literally hurling them onto the Capitol steps. "Here's my merit badge for murder," one vet said. Supporters of the war called these veterans cowardly and un-American, but their heartfelt antiwar protest exposed the deep personal torment that Vietnam had caused many soldiers.

Détente As protests continued at home, Nixon pursued two strategies to achieve his declared "peace with honor," one diplomatic and the other brutal. First, he

sought **détente** (a lessening of tensions) with the Soviet Union and a new openness with China. In a series of meetings between 1970 and 1972, Nixon and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev resolved tensions over Cuba and Berlin and signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), the latter a symbolic step toward ending the Cold War arms race. Heavily influenced by his national security advisor, the Harvard professor Henry Kissinger, Nixon believed that he could break the Cold War impasse that had kept the United States from productive dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Then, in 1972, Nixon visited China, becoming the first sitting U.S. president to do so. In a televised week-long trip, the president pledged better relations with China and declared that the two nations—one capitalist, the other communist—could peacefully coexist. This was the man who had risen to prominence in the 1950s by railing against the Democrats for “losing” China and by hounding communists and fellow travelers. Indeed, the president’s impeccable anticommunist credentials gave him the political cover to travel to Beijing. He remarked genially to Mao: “Those on the right can do what those on the left only talk about.” Praised for his efforts to lessen Cold War tensions, Nixon also had tactical objectives in mind. He hoped that by befriending both the Soviet Union and China, he could play one against the other and strike a better deal over Vietnam at the ongoing peace talks in Paris. His second strategy, however, would prove less praiseworthy and cost more lives.

Exit America In April 1972, in an attempt to strengthen his negotiating position, Nixon ordered B-52 bombing raids against North Vietnam. A month later, he approved the mining of North Vietnamese ports, something Johnson had never dared to do. The North Vietnamese were not isolated, however: supplies from China and the Soviet Union continued, and the Vietcong fought on.

With the 1972 presidential election approaching, Nixon sent Kissinger back to the Paris peace talks, which had been initiated under Johnson. In a key concession, Kissinger accepted the presence of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. North Vietnam then agreed to an interim arrangement whereby the South Vietnamese government in Saigon would stay in power while a special commission arranged a final settlement. With Kissinger’s announcement that “peace is at hand,” Nixon got the election lift he wanted, but the agreement was then sabotaged by General Nguyen Van Thieu, the South Vietnamese president. So Nixon,

in one final spasm of bloodletting, unleashed the two-week “Christmas bombing,” the most intense of the entire war. On January 27, 1973, the two sides signed the Paris Peace Accords.

Nixon hoped that with massive U.S. aid, the Thieu regime might survive. But Congress was in revolt. It refused appropriations for bombing Cambodia after August 15, 1973, and gradually cut back aid to South Vietnam. In March 1975, North Vietnamese forces launched a final offensive, and on April 30, Vietnam was reunited. Saigon, the South Vietnamese capital, was renamed Ho Chi Minh City, after the founding father of the communist regime.

The collapse of South Vietnam in 1975 produced a powerful, and tragic, historical irony: an outcome little different from what would likely have resulted from the unification vote in 1954 (Chapter 25). In other words, America’s most disastrous military adventure of the twentieth century barely altered the geopolitical realities in Southeast Asia. The Hanoi regime called itself communist but never intended to be a satellite of any country, least of all China, Vietnam’s ancient enemy.

Many paid a steep price for the Vietnam War. America’s Vietnamese friends lost jobs and property, spent years in “reeducation” camps, or had to flee the country. Millions of Vietnamese had died in a decade of war, which included some of the most intensive aerial bombing of the twentieth century. In bordering Cambodia, the maniacal Khmer Rouge, followers of Cambodia’s ruling Communist Party, took power and murdered 1.7 million people in bloody purges. And in the United States, more than 58,000 Americans had sacrificed their lives, and 300,000 had been wounded. On top of the war’s \$150 billion price tag, slow-to-heal internal wounds divided the country, and Americans increasingly lost confidence in their political leaders.

The Silent Majority Speaks Out

Nixon placed himself on the side of what he called “the nonshouters, the nondemonstrators.” But moderate and conservative Americans increasingly spoke out. They were not in the mood to simply remain silent. During Nixon’s first presidential term, those opposed to the direction liberalism had taken since the early 1960s focused their discontent on what they believed were the excesses of the “rights revolution”—the enormous changes in American law and society initiated by the civil rights movement and advanced by feminists and others thereafter.



The Fall of Saigon

After the 1973 U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, the South Vietnamese government lasted another two years. In March 1975, the North Vietnamese forces launched a final offensive; by April, they had surrounded the capital, Saigon. As seen here, many Vietnamese, some of them associated with the fallen South Vietnamese regime, sought sanctuary at the U.S. embassy compound. Thousands of Vietnamese and Americans were evacuated before the last helicopter left the embassy on April 30. Nik Wheeler/Sipa/AP/Wide World Photos.

Law and Order and the Supreme Court The rights revolution found an ally in an unexpected place: the U.S. Supreme Court. The decision that stood as a landmark in the civil rights movement, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), triggered a larger judicial revolution. Following *Brown*, the Court increasingly agreed to hear human rights and civil liberties cases—as opposed to its previous focus on property-related suits. Surprisingly, this shift was led by the man whom President Dwight Eisenhower had appointed chief justice in 1953: Earl Warren. A popular Republican governor of California, Warren surprised many, including Eisenhower himself, with his robust advocacy of civil rights and civil liberties. The **Warren Court** lasted from 1954 until 1969 and established some of the most far-reaching liberal jurisprudence in U.S. history.

Right-wing activists fiercely opposed the Warren Court, which they accused of “legislating from the bench” and contributing to social breakdown. They pointed, for instance, to the Court’s rulings that people who are arrested have a constitutional right to counsel

(1963, 1964) and, in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), that arrestees have to be informed by police of their right to remain silent. Compounding conservatives’ frustration was a series of decisions that liberalized restrictions on pornography. Trying to walk the fine line between censorship and obscenity, the Court ruled in *Roth v. United States* (1957) that obscene material had to be “utterly without redeeming social importance” to be banned. The “social importance” test, however, proved nearly impossible to define and left wide latitude for pornography to flourish.

That measure was finally abandoned in 1972, when the Court ruled in *Miller v. California* that “contemporary community standards” were the rightful measure of obscenity. But *Miller*, too, had little effect on the pornographic magazines, films, and peep shows proliferating in the 1970s. Conservatives found these decisions especially distasteful, since the Court had also ruled that religious ritual of any kind in public schools—including prayers and Bible reading—violated the constitutional separation of church and state. To many

religious Americans, the Court had taken the side of immorality over Christian values.

Supreme Court critics blamed rising crime rates and social breakdown on the Warren Court's liberal judicial record. Every category of crime was up in the 1970s, but especially disconcerting was the doubling of the murder rate since the 1950s and the 76 percent increase in burglary and theft between 1967 and 1976. Sensational crimes had always grabbed headlines, but now "crime" itself preoccupied politicians, the media, and the public. However, no one could establish a direct causal link between increases in crime and Supreme Court decisions, given a myriad of other social factors, including drugs, income inequality, enhanced statistical record-keeping, and the proliferation of guns. But when many Americans looked at their cities in the 1970s, they saw pornographic theaters, X-rated bookstores, and rising crime rates. Where, they wondered, was law and order?

Busing Another major civil rights objective—desegregating schools—produced even more controversy and fireworks. For fifteen years, southern states, by a variety of stratagems, had fended off court directives that they desegregate "with all deliberate speed." In 1968, only about one-third of all black children in the South attended schools with whites. At that point, the federal courts got serious and, in a series of stiff decisions, ordered an end to "dual school systems."

Where schools remained highly segregated, the courts increasingly endorsed the strategy of busing students to achieve integration. Plans differed across the country. In some states, black children rode buses from their neighborhoods to attend previously all-white schools. In others, white children were bused to black

or Latino neighborhoods. In an important 1971 decision, the Supreme Court upheld a countywide busing plan for Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a North Carolina school district. Despite local opposition, desegregation proceeded, and many cities in the South followed suit. By the mid-1970s, 86 percent of southern black children were attending school with whites. (In recent years, this trend has reversed.)

In the North, where segregated schooling was also a fact of life—arising from suburban residential patterns—busing orders proved less effective. Detroit dramatized the problem. To integrate Detroit schools would have required merging city and suburban school districts. A lower court ordered just such a merger in 1971, but in *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), the Supreme Court reversed the ruling, requiring busing plans to remain within the boundaries of a single school district. Without including the largely white suburbs in busing efforts, however, achieving racial balance in Detroit, and other major northern cities, was all but impossible. Postwar suburbanization had produced in the North what law had mandated in the South: entrenched racial segregation of schools.

As the 1972 election approached, President Nixon took advantage of rising discontent over "law and order" and busing. He was the political beneficiary of a growing reaction against liberalism that had begun to take hold between 1968 and the early 1970s.

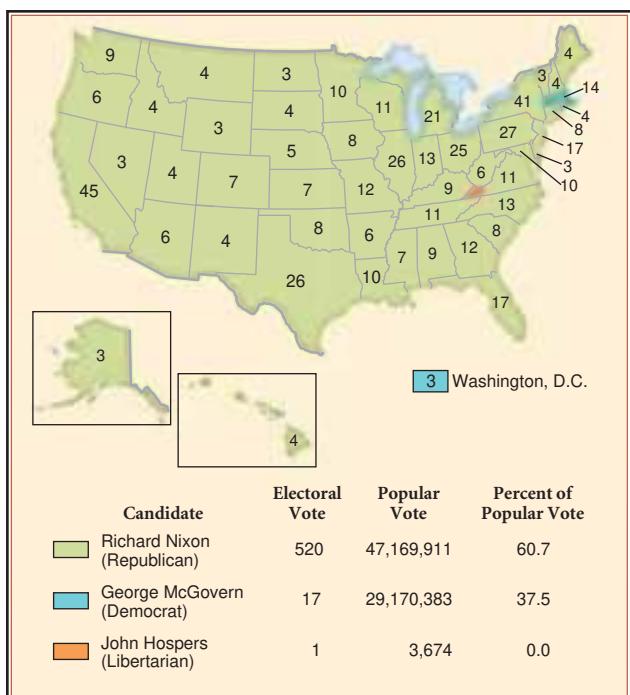
The 1972 Election

Political realignments have been infrequent in American history. One occurred between 1932 and 1936, when many Republicans, despairing over the Great Depression, had switched sides and voted for FDR. The

An Antibusing Confrontation in Boston

Where busing was implemented, it often faced stiff resistance. Many white communities resented judges dictating which children would attend which neighborhood school. In working-class Irish South Boston, mobs attacked African American students bused in from Roxbury in 1974. A police presence was required to keep South Boston High School open. When lawyer and civil rights activist Ted Landsmark tried to enter Boston's city hall during a 1976 antibusing demonstration, he was assaulted. Stanley Forman's Pulitzer Prize-winning photo for the Boston *Herald-American*—titled *The Soiling of Old Glory*—shows Joseph Rakes lunging at Landsmark with an American flag. Busing also had the perverse effect of speeding up "white flight" to city suburbs. Pulitzer Prize, 1977, www.stanleyformanphotos.com.





MAP 28.4

The Presidential Election of 1972

In one of the most lopsided presidential elections of the twentieth century, Republican Richard Nixon defeated Democrat George McGovern in a landslide in 1972. It was a reversal of the 1964 election, just eight years before, in which Republican Barry Goldwater had been defeated by a similar margin. Nixon hoped that his victory signaled what Kevin Phillips called “the emerging Republican majority,” but the president’s missteps and criminal actions in the Watergate scandal would soon bring an end to his tenure in office.

years between 1968 and 1972 were another such pivotal moment. This time, Democrats were the ones who abandoned their party.

After the 1968 elections, the Democrats fell into disarray. Bent on sweeping away the party’s old guard, reformers took over, adopting new rules that granted women, African Americans, and young people delegate seats “in reasonable relation to their presence in the population.” In the past, an alliance of urban machines, labor unions, and white ethnic groups—the heart of the New Deal coalition—dominated the nominating process. But at the 1972 convention, few of the party faithful qualified as delegates under the changed rules. The crowning insult came when the convention rejected the credentials of Chicago mayor Richard Daley and his delegation, seating instead an Illinois delegation led by Jesse Jackson, a firebrand young black minister and former aide to Martin Luther King Jr.

Capturing the party was one thing; beating the Republicans was quite another. These party reforms opened the door for George McGovern, a liberal South Dakota senator and favorite of the antiwar and women’s movements, to capture the nomination. But McGovern took a number of missteps, including failing to mollify key party backers such as the AFL-CIO, which, for the first time in memory, refused to endorse the Democratic ticket. A weak campaigner, McGovern was also no match for Nixon, who pulled out all the stops. Using

the advantages of incumbency, Nixon gave the economy a well-timed lift and proclaimed (prematurely) a cease-fire in Vietnam. Nixon’s appeal to the “silent majority”—people who “care about a strong United States, about patriotism, about moral and spiritual values”—was by now well honed.

Nixon won in a landslide, receiving nearly 61 percent of the popular vote and carrying every state except Massachusetts and the District of Columbia (Map 28.4). The returns revealed how fractured traditional Democratic voting blocs had become. McGovern received only 38 percent of the big-city Catholic vote and lost 42 percent of self-identified Democrats overall. The 1972 election marked a pivotal moment in the country’s shift to the right. Yet observers legitimately wondered whether the 1972 election results proved the popularity of conservatism or merely showed that the country had grown weary of liberalism and the changes it had wrought in national life.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we saw that the combined pressures of the Vietnam War and racial and cultural conflict fractured and split the New Deal coalition. Following John Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, Lyndon Johnson

advanced the most ambitious liberal reform program since the New Deal, securing not only civil rights legislation but also many programs in education, medical care, transportation, environmental protection, and, above all, his War on Poverty. But the Great Society fell short of its promise as Johnson escalated American involvement in Vietnam.

The war bitterly divided Americans. Galvanized by the carnage of war and the draft, the antiwar movement spread rapidly among young people, and the spirit of rebellion spilled beyond the war. The New Left took the lead among college students, while the more apolitical counterculture preached liberation through sex, drugs, music, and personal transformation. Women's liberationists broke from the New Left and raised new concerns about society's sexism. Conservative

students rallied in support of the war and on behalf of conservative principles, but they were often drowned out by the more vocal and demonstrative liberals and radicals.

In 1968, the nation was rocked by the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy, as well as by a wave of urban riots, fueling a growing popular desire for law and order. Adding to the national disquiet was the Democratic National Convention that summer, divided by the Vietnam War and besieged by street riots outside. The stage was set for a new wave of conservatism to take hold of the country, and a resurgence of the Republican Party under Richard Nixon between 1968 and 1972. President Nixon ended the war in Vietnam, but only after five more years and many more casualties.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

Go to [LearningCurve](#) to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Great Society (p. 904)
 - Economic Opportunity Act (p. 905)
 - Medicare (p. 906)
 - Medicaid (p. 906)
 - Equal Pay Act (p. 908)
 - The Feminine Mystique* (p. 908)
 - Presidential Commission on the Status of Women (p. 909)
 - National Organization for Women (NOW) (p. 909)
 - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (p. 911)
 - Operation Rolling Thunder (p. 911)
 - Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (p. 914)
 - Port Huron Statement (p. 914)
 - New Left (p. 914)
- Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) (p. 915)
 - Sharon Statement (p. 918)
 - counterculture (p. 918)
 - Tet offensive (p. 919)
 - 1968 Democratic National Convention (p. 921)
 - Chicano Moratorium Committee (p. 923)
 - women's liberation (p. 924)
 - Title IX (p. 925)
 - Stonewall Inn (p. 926)
 - silent majority (p. 926)
 - Vietnamization (p. 927)
 - My Lai (p. 928)
 - détente (p. 929)
 - Warren Court (p. 930)

Key People

- Lyndon B. Johnson (p. 904)
- Barry Goldwater (p. 905)
- Betty Friedan (p. 908)
- Ngo Dinh Diem (p. 910)
- Robert Kennedy (p. 919)
- Richard M. Nixon (p. 922)
- George C. Wallace (p. 922)
- Henry Kissinger (p. 929)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How do you explain the liberal resurgence in the first half of the 1960s?
2. What were the main elements of Johnson's Great Society?
3. How did the debates over civil liberties, particularly with respect to Supreme Court decisions under Chief Justice Earl Warren, influence political life in the 1960s and 1970s?
4. In what ways was the Vietnam War part of the Cold War? How did the antiwar movement represent a break with Cold War assumptions?
5. **THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Look at the events listed under "America in the World" on the thematic timeline on page 803. American global leadership is a major theme of Part 8. How did the global role of the United States shift in the 1960s?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. **ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** In what ways was the Great Society an extension of the New Deal? In what ways was it different? What factors made the period between 1932 and 1972 a "liberal" era in American politics? What events and developments would you use to explain your answer?
2. **VISUAL EVIDENCE** Compare the photographs of the prowar rally (p. 928) and the counterculture (p. 918). Why did clothing and appearance become so important to many social movements in the 1960s—the women's movement, the Black Power movement, the antiwar movement, and others? How are these visual images historical evidence?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Robert Dallek, *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961–1973* (1998). An engaging biography of Johnson and an account of his era.

Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (1999). A vivid account of dissent in the 1960s.

G. Calvin Mackenzie and Robert Weisbrot, *The Liberal Hour: Washington and the Politics of Change in the 1960s* (2008). A thoughtful account of the Great Society.

Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open* (2000). An accessible exploration of the women's movement and feminism.

Bruce Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (2001). A thoughtful explanation of Nixon and political realignment.

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945–1990* (1991). An excellent history of the decades-long conflict in Vietnam.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• John F. Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson assumes presidency
1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Civil Rights Act• Economic Opportunity Act inaugurates War on Poverty• Free Speech Movement at Berkeley• Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Immigration Act abolishes national quota system• Medicare and Medicaid programs established• Operation Rolling Thunder escalates bombing campaign (March)• First U.S. combat troops arrive in Vietnam
1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hippie counterculture's "Summer of Love"• 100,000 march in antiwar protest in Washington, D.C. (October)
1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tet offensive begins (January)• Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy assassinated• Women's liberation protest at Miss America pageant• Riot at Democratic National Convention in Chicago (August)• Richard Nixon elected president
1969	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Stonewall riots (June)
1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National Women's Strike for Equality
1971	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Swan v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg</i> approves countywide busing
1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Nixon visits China (February)• Nixon wins a second term (November 7)
1973	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Paris Peace Accords end Vietnam War
1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Milliken v. Bradley</i> limits busing to school district boundaries
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Vietnam reunified under Communist rule

KEY TURNING POINTS: Which specific developments from this timeline made the years 1964, 1965, and 1968 turning points in politics, foreign policy, and culture and why?

29

CHAPTER

The Search for Order in an Era of Limits 1973–1980

AN ERA OF LIMITS

- Energy Crisis
- Environmentalism
- Economic Transformation
- Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt

POLITICS IN FLUX, 1973–1980

- Watergate and the Fall of a President
- Jimmy Carter: The Outsider as President

REFORM AND REACTION IN THE 1970S

- Civil Rights in a New Era
- The Women's Movement and Gay Rights
- After the Warren Court

THE AMERICAN FAMILY ON TRIAL

- Working Families in the Age of Deindustrialization
- Navigating the Sexual Revolution
- Religion in the 1970s: The Fourth Great Awakening

Early in 1971, a new fictional character appeared on national television. Archie Bunker was a gruff blue-collar worker who berated his wife and bemoaned his daughter's marriage to a bearded hippie. Prone to bigoted and insensitive remarks, Archie and his wife Edith sang "Those Were the Days" at the opening of each episode of *All in the Family*, a half-hour comedy. The song celebrated a bygone era, when "girls were girls and men were men." Disdainful of the liberal social movements of the 1960s, Archie professed a conservative, hardscrabble view of the world.

Archie Bunker became a folk hero to many conservative Americans in the 1970s; he said what they felt. But his significance went beyond his politics. *All in the Family* gave voice to a national search for order. His feminist daughter, liberal son-in-law, and black neighbors brought that changing world into Archie's modest home in Queens, New York. Not all Americans were as resistant to change as Archie. Most were ordinary, middle-of-the-road people confronting the aftermath of the tumultuous late 1960s and early 1970s. The liberalism of those years challenged Americans to think in new ways about race, gender roles, sexual morality, and the family. Vietnam and the Watergate scandal had compounded matters by producing a crisis of political authority. An "old order" had seemingly collapsed. But what would take its place was not yet clear.

Alongside cultural dislocation and political alienation, the country confronted economic setbacks. In 1973, inflation began to climb at a pace unprecedented in the post-World War II decades, and economic growth slowed. An energy crisis, aggravated by U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, produced fuel shortages. Foreign competition in manufacturing brought less expensive, and often more reliable, goods into the U.S. market from nations such as Japan and West Germany. As a result, more American plants closed. The great economic ride enjoyed by the United States since World War II was over.

What distinguishes the period between the energy crisis (1973) and the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency (1980) is the collective national search for order in the midst of economic crisis, political realignment, and rapid social change. Virtually all the verities and touchstones of the postwar decades—Cold War liberalism, rising living standards, and the nuclear family—had come under question, and most agreed on the urgency to act. For some, this search demanded new forms of liberal experimentation. For others, it led instead to the conservatism of the emerging New Right.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

How did the legacy of social changes—such as shifting gender roles, civil rights, and challenges to the family—in the 1960s continue to reverberate in the 1970s, leading to both new opportunities and political disagreement?



Shifting Gender Roles As American society underwent dramatic changes in the 1970s, women seized new opportunities and expanded their role in national life. Donna Wright, shown here on break from her work at the Blue Ribbon Mine, was the only woman working at the mine in 1979. Photo by Kit Miniciler/The Denver Post via Getty Images.

An Era of Limits

The economic downturn of the early 1970s was the deepest slump since the Great Depression. Every major economic indicator—employment, productivity, growth—turned negative, and by 1973 the economy was in a tailspin. Inflation, brought on in part by military spending in Vietnam, proved especially difficult to control. When a Middle East embargo cut oil supplies in 1973, prices climbed even more. Unemployment remained high and productivity growth low until 1982. Overall, the 1970s represented the worst economic decade of the postwar period—what California governor Jerry Brown called an “era of limits.” In this time of distress, Americans were forced to consider other limits to the growth and expansion that had long been markers of national progress. The environmental movement brought attention to the toxic effects of modern industrial capitalism on the natural world. As the urban crisis grew worse, several major cities verged on bankruptcy. Finally, political limits were reached as well: None of the presidents of the 1970s could reverse the nation’s economic slide, though each spent years trying.

Energy Crisis

Modern economies run on oil. If the oil supply is drastically reduced, woe follows. Something like that happened to the United States in the 1970s. Once the

world's leading oil producer, the United States had become heavily dependent on inexpensive imported oil, mostly from the Persian Gulf (Figure 29.1). American and European oil companies had discovered and developed the Middle Eastern fields early in the twentieth century, when much of the region was ruled by the British and French empires. When Middle Eastern states threw off the remnants of European colonialism, they demanded concessions for access to the fields. Foreign companies still extracted the oil, but now they did so under profit-sharing agreements with the Persian Gulf states. In 1960, these nations and other oil-rich developing countries formed a cartel (a business association formed to control prices), the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**.

Conflict between Israel and the neighboring Arab states of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan prompted OPEC to take political sides between 1967 and 1973. Following Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War, Israeli-Arab tensions in the region grew closer to boiling over with each passing year. In the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Egypt and Syria invaded Israel to regain territory lost in the 1967 conflict. Israel prevailed, but only after being resupplied by an emergency American airlift. In response to U.S. support for Israel, the Arab states in OPEC declared an oil embargo in October 1973. Gas prices in the United States quickly jumped by 40 percent and heating oil prices by 30 percent. Demand outpaced supply, and Americans found themselves parked for

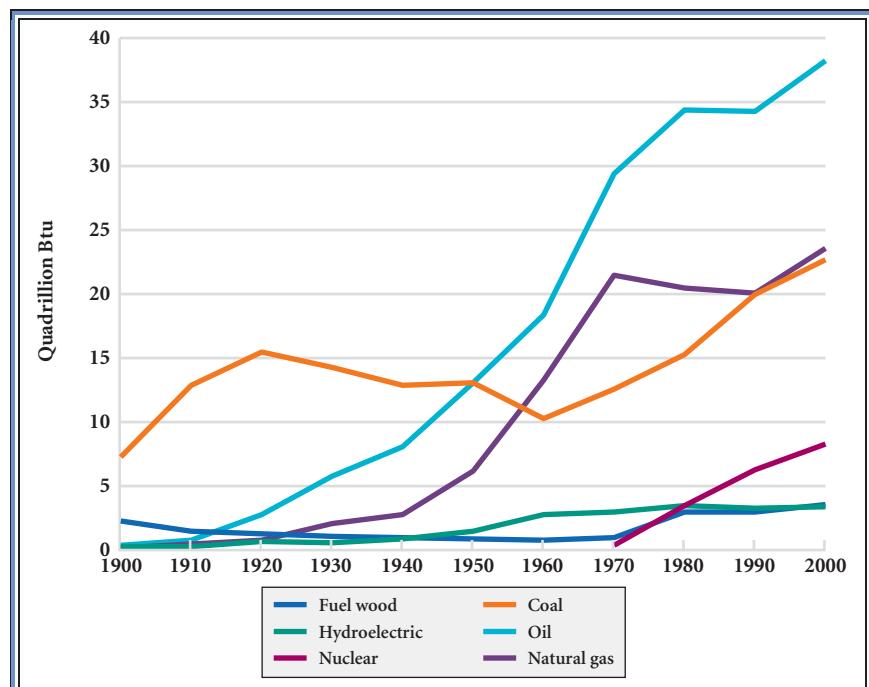


FIGURE 29.1
U.S. Energy Consumption, 1900–2000

Coal was the nation's primary source of energy until the 1950s, when it was surpassed by oil and natural gas. The revival of coal consumption after 1960 stemmed from new open-pit mining in the West that provided cheaper fuel for power plants. The decline in oil consumption in 1980 reflects the nation's response to the oil crisis of the 1970s, including, most notably, fuel-efficient automobiles. Nuclear energy became an important new fuel source, but after 1990 its contribution leveled off as a result of the safety concerns triggered by the Three Mile Island incident.

hours in mile-long lines at gasoline stations for much of the winter of 1973–1974. Oil had become a political weapon, and the West's vulnerability stood revealed.

The United States scrambled to meet its energy needs in the face of the oil shortage. Just two months after the OPEC embargo began, Congress imposed a national speed limit of 55 miles per hour to conserve fuel. Americans began to buy smaller, more fuel-efficient cars such as Volkswagens, Toyotas, and Datsuns (later Nissans)—while sales of Detroit-made cars (now nicknamed “gas guzzlers”) slumped. With one of every six jobs in the country generated directly or indirectly by the auto industry, the effects rippled across the economy. Compounding the distress was the raging inflation set off by the oil shortage; prices of basic necessities, such as bread, milk, and canned goods, rose by nearly 20 percent in 1974 alone. “THINGS WILL GET WORSE,” one newspaper headline warned, “BEFORE THEY GET WORSE.”

Environmentalism

The **energy crisis** drove home the realization that the earth’s resources are not limitless. Such a notion was also at the heart of the era’s revival of **environmentalism**. The environmental movement was an offshoot of sixties activism, but it had numerous historical precedents: the preservationist, conservationist, and wilderness movements of the late nineteenth century; the conservationist ethos of the New Deal; and anxiety about nuclear weapons and overpopulation in the 1940s. Three of the nation’s leading environmental organizations—the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, and the Natural Resources Council—were founded in 1892, 1935, and 1942, respectively. Environmental activists in the 1970s extended the movement’s historical roots through renewed efforts to ensure a healthy environment and access to unspoiled nature (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 940).

The movement had received a hefty boost back in 1962 when biologist Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, a stunning analysis of the pesticide DDT’s toxic impact on the human and natural food chains. A succession of galvanizing developments followed in the late 1960s. The Sierra Club successfully fought two dams in 1966 that would have flooded the Grand Canyon. And in 1969, three major events spurred the movement: an offshore drilling rig spilled millions of gallons of oil off the coast of Santa Barbara; the Cuyahoga River near Cleveland burst into flames because of the accumulation of flammable chemicals on its surface; and Friends of the Everglades opposed an airport that threatened



Earth Day, 1970

No single event better encapsulated the growing environmental awareness of Americans than the nationwide celebration of the first Earth Day on April 22, 1970. In this photograph, college students in California release a balloon as part of that day’s activities. Julian Wasser/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images.

plants and wildlife in Florida. With these events serving as catalysts, environmentalism became a certifiable mass movement on the first **Earth Day**, April 22, 1970, when 20 million citizens gathered in communities across the country to express their support for a cleaner, healthier planet.

Environmental Protection Agency Earlier that year, on the heels of the Santa Barbara oil spill, Congress passed the National Environmental Policy Act, which created the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)**. A bipartisan bill with broad support, including that of President Nixon, the law required developers to file environmental impact statements assessing the effect of their projects on ecosystems. A

IDENTIFY CAUSES

What major factors led to the birth of the environmental movement in the 1970s?



The Environmental Movement: Reimagining the Human-Earth Relationship

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of the environmental movement in the United States. Environmentalism took a variety of forms and initially was embraced by politicians across the political spectrum, including Republican president Richard Nixon, who signed the National Environmental Policy Act in 1970. Yet environmentalism also proved to be politically divisive. The following documents provide a range of perspectives on an important social and political movement discussed in this chapter.

1. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 1962.

For the first time in the history of the world, every human being is now subjected to contact with dangerous chemicals, from the moment of conception until death. In the less than two decades of their use, synthetic pesticides have been so thoroughly distributed throughout the animate and inanimate world that they occur virtually everywhere. They have been recovered from most of the major river systems and even from streams of groundwater flowing unseen through the earth.

2. Ralph Nader, foreword to *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club Handbook for Environmental Activists*, 1970.

In the Sierra Club's guide to environmental activism, environmental and consumer rights activist Nader discusses "environmental violence."

Pollution is violence and environmental pollution is environmental violence. It is a violence that has different impacts, styles and time factors than the more primitive kinds of violence such as crime in the streets. Yet in the size of the population exposed and the seriousness of the harm done, environmental violence far exceeds that of street crime. . . .

To deal with a system of oppression and suppression, which characterizes the environmental violence in this country, the first priority is to deprive the polluters of their unfounded legitimacy.

3. President Richard Nixon, State of the Union Address, January 22, 1970.

I shall propose to this Congress a \$10 billion nationwide clean waters program to put modern municipal waste treatment plants in every place in America where they are needed to make our waters clean again, and do it now. . . .

As our cities and suburbs relentlessly expand [.] . . priceless open spaces needed for recreation areas accessible to their people are swallowed up—often forever. Unless we preserve these spaces while they are available,

we will have none to preserve. Therefore, I shall propose new financing methods for purchasing open space and parklands now, before they are lost to us.

The automobile is our worst polluter of the air. Adequate control requires further advances in engine design and fuel composition. We shall intensify our research, set increasingly strict standards, and strengthen enforcement procedures—and we shall do it now.

We can no longer afford to consider air and water common property, free to be abused by anyone without regard to the consequences. Instead, we should begin now to treat them as scarce resources, which we are no more free to contaminate than we are free to throw garbage into our neighbor's yard.

4. "Earthrise" over the moon's surface, December 24, 1968. Photo taken by Apollo 8 crewmember Bill Anders, as the Apollo spacecraft orbited the moon.



NASA.

5. Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, 1969. A best-selling book that warned of a coming global overpopulation straining the world's resources.

Nothing could be more misleading to our children than our present affluent society. They will inherit a totally different world, a world in which the standards, politics, and economics of the 1960s are dead. As the most powerful nation in the world today, and its largest consumer, the United States cannot stand isolated. We are today involved in the events leading to famine; tomorrow we may be destroyed by its consequences.

Our position requires that we take immediate action at home and promote effective action world-wide. We must have population control at home, hopefully through a system of incentives and penalties, but by compulsion if voluntary methods fail. We must use our political power to push other countries into programs which combine agricultural development and population control. And while this is being done we must take action to reverse the deterioration of our environment before population pressure permanently ruins our planet.

6. President Ronald Reagan, speech at the Republican National Convention, July 17, 1980.

Make no mistake. We will not permit the safety of our people or our environmental heritage to be jeopardized, but we are going to reaffirm that the economic prosperity of our people is a fundamental part of our environment.

Our problems are both acute and chronic, yet all we hear from those in positions of leadership are the same tired proposals for more government tinkering, more meddling, and more control—all of which led us to this state in the first place.

7. "Waste Produced by a Typical Family in a Year."



© Martyn Goddard/Corbis.

Sources: (1) Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Mariner Books, 2002), 15; (2) John G. Mitchell and Constance L. Hastings, eds., *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club Handbook for Environmental Activists* (New York: Trident Press, 1970), 13–15; (3 & 6) Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, presidency.ucsb.edu; (5) Louis Warren, ed., *American Environmental History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 296.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7. What are the different ways the environmental threat was understood and characterized? What kinds of solutions were proposed?
2. Source 4 is one of the first ever photographs of the earth taken from space. How would this visual perspective encourage viewers to think of the earth's resources as finite?
3. How does source 6 help us understand the opposition that developed to environmentalism? Why did some Americans oppose the environmental movement?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using what you have learned about the environmental movement in this chapter and the documents above, construct an essay in which you make a historical argument about the origins of the movement, the issues that it raised, and the opposition that developed. How did the movement shape politics in the 1970s?

spate of new laws followed: the Clean Air Act (1970), the Occupational Health and Safety Act (1970), the Water Pollution Control Act (1972), and the Endangered Species Act (1973).

The Democratic majority in Congress and the Republican president generally found common ground on these issues, and *Time* magazine wondered if the environment was “the gut issue that can unify a polarized nation.” Despite the broad popularity of the movement, however, *Time*’s prediction was not borne out. Corporations opposed environmental regulations, as did many of their workers, who believed that tightened standards threatened their jobs. “IF YOU’RE HUNGRY AND OUT OF WORK, EAT AN ENVIRONMENTALIST,” read one labor union bumper sticker. By the 1980s, environmentalism starkly divided Americans, with proponents of unfettered economic growth on one side and environmental activists preaching limits on the other.

Nuclear Power An early foreshadowing of those divisions came in the brewing controversy over nuclear power. Electricity from the atom—what could be better? That was how Americans had greeted the arrival of power-generating nuclear technology in the 1950s. By 1974, U.S. utility companies were operating forty-two nuclear power plants, with a hundred more planned. Given the oil crisis, nuclear energy might have seemed a godsend; unlike coal- or oil-driven plants, nuclear operations produced no air pollutants.

Environmentalists, however, publicized the dangers of nuclear power plants: a reactor meltdown would be catastrophic, and so, in slow motion, would the dumping of the radioactive waste, which would generate toxic levels of radioactivity for hundreds of years. These fears seemed to be confirmed in March 1979, when the reactor core at the **Three Mile Island** nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, came close to meltdown. More than 100,000 people fled their homes. A prompt shutdown saved the plant, but the near catastrophe enabled environmentalists to win the battle over nuclear energy. After the incident at Three Mile Island, no new nuclear plants were authorized, though a handful with existing authorization were built in the 1980s. Today, nuclear reactors account for 20 percent of all U.S. power generation—substantially less than several European nations, but still fourth in the world.

Economic Transformation

In addition to the energy crisis, the economy was beset by a host of longer-term problems. Government spending on the Vietnam War and the Great Society made

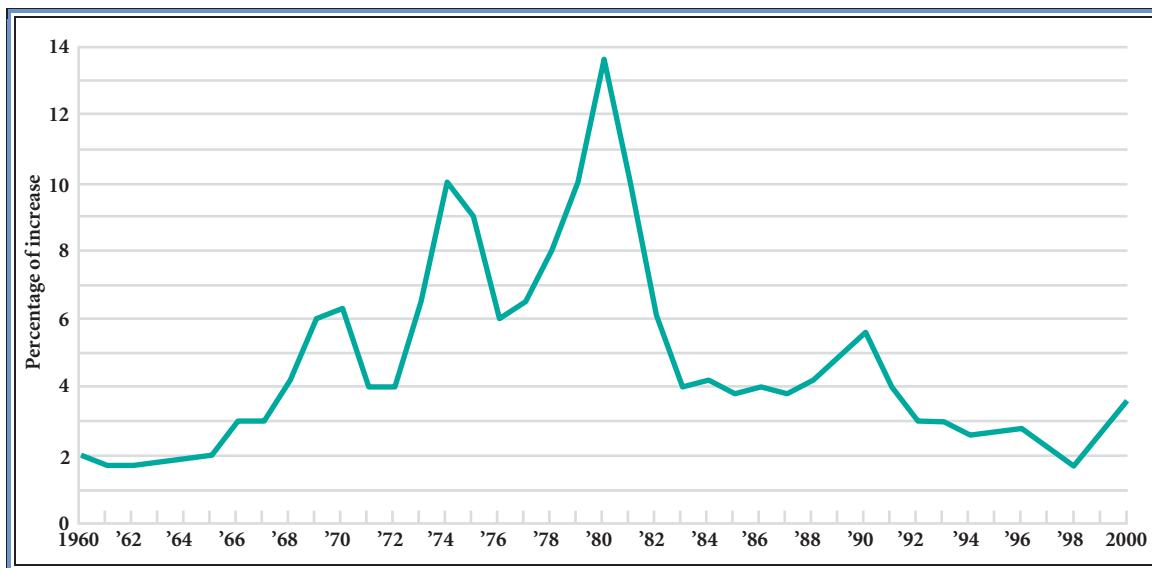
for a growing federal deficit and spiraling inflation. In the industrial sector, the country faced more robust competition from West Germany and Japan. America’s share of world trade dropped from 32 percent in 1955 to 18 percent in 1970 and was headed downward. As a result, in a blow to national pride, nine Western European countries had surpassed the United States in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) by 1980.

Many of these economic woes highlighted a broader, multigenerational transformation in the United States: from an industrial-manufacturing economy to a postindustrial-service one. That transformation, which continues to this day, meant that the United States began to produce fewer automobiles, appliances, and televisions and more financial services, health-care services, and management consulting services—not to mention many millions of low-paying jobs in the restaurant, retail, and tourist industries.

In the 1970s, the U.S. economy was hit simultaneously by unemployment, stagnant consumer demand, and inflation—a combination called **stagflation**—which contradicted a basic principle taught by economists: prices were not supposed to rise in a stagnant economy (Figure 29.2). For ordinary Americans, stagflation meant a noticeable decline in purchasing power, as discretionary income per worker dropped 18 percent between 1973 and 1982. None of the three presidents of the decade—Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter—had much luck tackling stagflation. Nixon’s New Economic Policy was perhaps the most radical attempt. Nixon imposed temporary price and wage controls in 1971 in an effort to curb inflation. Then he took an even bolder step: removing the United States from the gold standard, which allowed the dollar to float in international currency markets and effectively ended the Bretton Woods monetary system established after World War II.

The underlying weaknesses in the U.S. economy remained, however. Ford, too, had little success. His Whip Inflation Now (WIN) campaign urged Americans to cut food waste and do more with less, a noble but deeply unpopular idea among the American public. Carter’s policies, considered in a subsequent section of this chapter, were similarly ineffective. The fruitless search for a new economic order was a hallmark of 1970s politics.

Deindustrialization America’s economic woes struck hardest at the industrial sector, which suddenly—shockingly—began to be dismantled. Worst hit was the steel industry, which for seventy-five years had been the economy’s crown jewel. Unscathed by World

**FIGURE 29.2****The Inflation Rate, 1960–2000**

The impact of the oil crisis of 1973 on the inflation rate appears all too graphically in this figure. The dip in 1974 reflects the sharp recession that began that year, after which the inflation rate zoomed up to a staggering 14 percent in 1980. The return to normal levels after 1980 stemmed from very harsh measures by the Federal Reserve Board, which, while they succeeded, came at the cost of a painful slowdown in the economy.

War II, U.S. steel producers had enjoyed an open, hugely profitable market. But lack of serious competition left them without incentives to replace outdated plants and equipment. When West Germany and Japan rebuilt their steel industries, these facilities incorporated the latest technology. Foreign steel flooded into the United States during the 1970s, and the American industry was simply overwhelmed. Formerly titanic steel companies began a massive dismantling; virtually the entire Pittsburgh region, once a national hub of steel production, lost its heavy industry in a single generation. By the mid-1980s, downsizing, automation, and investment in new technologies made the American steel industry competitive again—but it was

**Deindustrialization**

Increasing economic competition from overseas created hard times for American industry in the 1970s and 1980s. Many of the nation's once-proud core industries, such as steel, declined precipitously in these decades. This photo shows a steel mill in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, being demolished in 1982. Once the center of American steel production, Pittsburgh suffered hard times in the 1970s and 1980s. The result of such closures was the creation of the so-called Rust Belt in the Northeast and Midwest (Map 29.1). Lynn Johnson/National Geographic/Getty Images.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What major developments shaped the American economy in the 1970s and contributed to its transformation?

a shadow of its former self, and it continues to struggle to this day.

The steel industry was the prime example of what became known as **deindustrialization**. The country was in the throes of an economic transformation that left it largely stripped of its industrial base. Steel was hardly alone. A swath of the Northeast and Midwest, the country's manufacturing heartland, became the nation's **Rust Belt** (Map 29.1), strewn with abandoned plants and distressed communities. The automobile, tire, textile, and other consumer durable industries (appliances, electronics, furniture, and the like) all started shrinking in the

1970s. In 1980, *Business Week* bemoaned "plant closings across the continent" and called for the "reindustrialization of America."

Organized Labor in Decline Deindustrialization threw many tens of thousands of blue-collar workers out of well-paid union jobs. One study followed 4,100 steelworkers left jobless by the 1977 shutdown of the Campbell Works of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. Two years later, 35 percent had retired early at half pay; 10 percent had moved; 15 percent were still jobless, with unemployment benefits long gone; and 40 percent had found local work, but mostly in low-paying, service-sector jobs. In another instance, between 1978 and 1981, eight Los Angeles companies—including



MAP 29.1

From Rust Belt to Sunbelt, 1940–2000

One of the most significant developments of the post-World War II era was the growth of the Sunbelt. Sparked by federal spending for military bases, the defense industry, and the space program, states of the South and Southwest experienced an economic boom in the 1950s. This growth was further enhanced in the 1970s, as the heavily industrialized regions of the Northeast and Midwest declined and migrants from what was quickly dubbed the Rust Belt headed to the South and West in search of jobs.

such giants as Ford, Uniroyal, and U.S. Steel—closed factories employing 18,000 workers. These Ohio and California workers, like hundreds of thousands of their counterparts across the nation, had fallen from their perch in the middle class (*America Compared*, p. 946).

Deindustrialization dealt an especially harsh blow to the labor movement, which had facilitated the post-war expansion of that middle class. In the early 1970s, as inflation hit, the number of strikes surged; 2.4 million workers participated in work stoppages in 1970 alone. However, industry argued that it could no longer afford union demands, and labor's bargaining power produced fewer and fewer concrete results. In these hard years, the much-vaunted labor-management accord of the 1950s, which raised profits and wages by passing costs on to consumers, went bust. Instead of seeking higher wages, unions now mainly fought to save jobs. Union membership went into steep decline, and by the mid-1980s organized labor represented less than 18 percent of American workers, the lowest level since the 1920s. The impact on liberal politics was huge. With labor's decline, a main buttress of the New Deal coalition was coming undone.

Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt

The economic downturn pushed already struggling American cities to the brink of fiscal collapse. Middle-class flight to the suburbs continued apace, and the

"urban crisis" of the 1960s spilled into the "era of limits." Facing huge price inflation and mounting piles of debt—to finance social services for the poor and to replace disappearing tax revenue—nearly every major American city struggled to pay its bills in the 1970s. Surrounded by prosperous postwar suburbs, central cities seemingly could not catch a break.

New York, the nation's financial capital and its largest city, fared the worst. Its annual budget was in the billions, larger than that of most states. Unable to borrow on the tightening international bond market, New York neared collapse in the summer of 1975; bankruptcy was a real possibility. When Mayor Abraham Beame appealed to the federal government for assistance, President Ford refused. "Ford to City: Drop Dead" read the headline in the *New York Daily News*. Fresh appeals ultimately produced a solution: the federal government would lend New York money, and banks would declare a three-year moratorium on municipal debt. The arrangement saved the city from defaulting, but the mayor was forced to cut city services, freeze wages, and lay off workers. One pessimistic observer declared that "the banks have been saved, and the city has been condemned."

Cities faced declining fortunes in these years for many reasons, but one key was the continued loss of

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

How did cities and suburbs experience the "era of limits" differently, and why?

"Ford to City: Drop Dead"

In the summer of 1975, New York City nearly went bankrupt. When Mayor Abraham Beame appealed to President Gerald Ford for assistance, these newspaper headlines captured the chief executive's response. Though it was ultimately saved from financial ruin, the city's brush with insolvency symbolized the larger problems facing the nation: economic stagnation, high inflation, and unemployment. Hard times had seemingly spared no one. AP Images.



Economic Malaise in the Seventies

Most major economic indicators in the United States turned downward in the 1970s, as the long postwar expansion ground to an unmistakable halt. The figures below offer evidence of how developments in the United States compared with other industrialized countries.

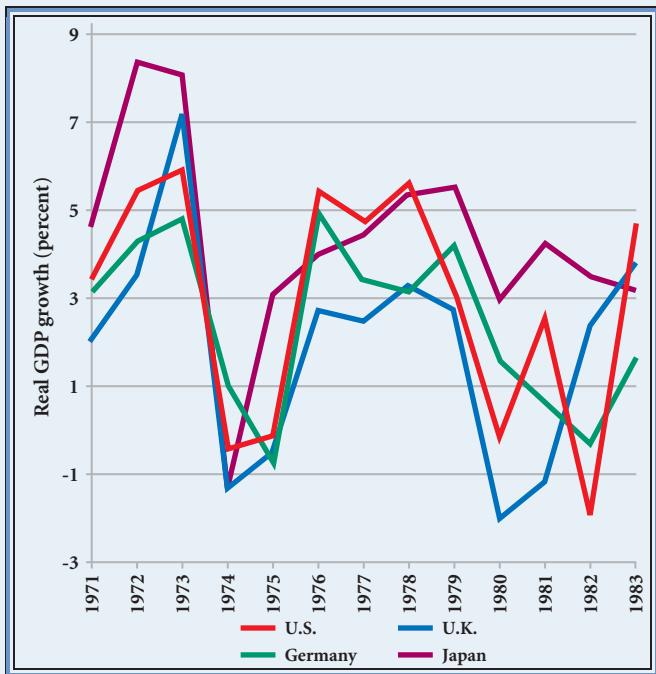


FIGURE 29.3
Falling Gross Domestic Product

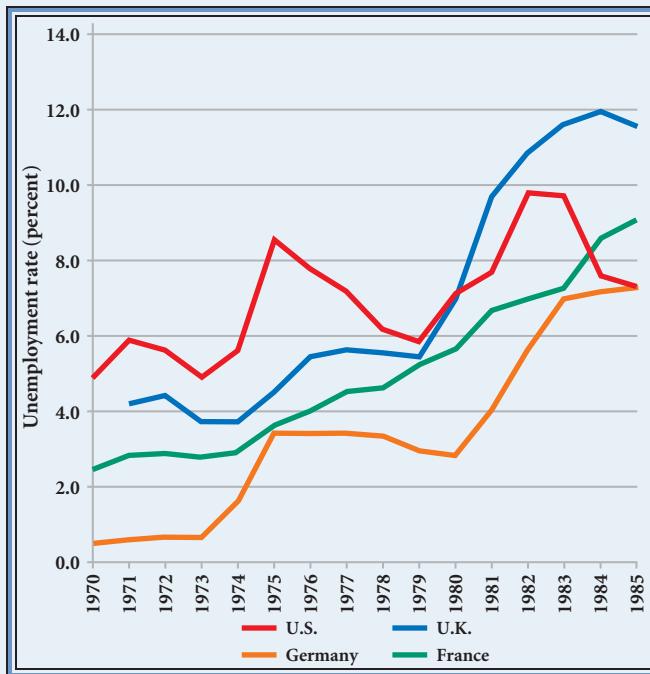


FIGURE 29.4
Rising Unemployment

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- In what ways do these figures demonstrate an integrated global economy?
- What does the GDP graph indicate about how global economic integration affected the U.S. economy? Notice that Japan's GDP growth remained strong in the late 1970s and early 1980s. With what historical development within the U.S. does that correspond?

residents and businesses to nearby suburbs. In the 1970s alone, 13 million people (6 percent of the total U.S. population) moved to the suburbs. New suburban shopping centers opened weekly across the country, and other businesses—such as banks, insurance companies, and technology firms—increasingly sought suburban locations. More and more, people lived *and* worked in suburbs. In the San Francisco Bay area, 75 percent of all daily commutes were suburb-to-suburb, and 78 percent of New York's suburban

residents worked in nearby suburbs. The 1950s “organization man,” commuting downtown from his suburban home, had been replaced by the engineer, teacher, nurse, student, and carpenter who lived in one suburb and worked in another.

Beyond city limits, suburbanization and the economic crisis combined powerfully in what became known as the **tax revolt**, a dramatic reversal of the postwar spirit of generous public investment. The premier example was California. Inflation pushed real

estate values upward, and property taxes skyrocketed. Hardest hit were suburban property owners, along with retirees and others on fixed incomes, who suddenly faced unaffordable tax bills. Into this dire situation stepped Howard Jarvis, a conservative anti-New Dealer and a genius at mobilizing grassroots discontent. In 1978, Jarvis proposed **Proposition 13**, an initiative that would roll back property taxes, cap future increases for present owners, and require that all tax measures have a two-thirds majority in the legislature. Despite opposition by virtually the entire state leadership, including politicians from both parties, Californians voted overwhelmingly for Jarvis's measure.

Proposition 13 hobbled public spending in the nation's most populous state. Per capita funding of California public schools, once the envy of the nation, plunged from the top tier to the bottom, where it was second only to Mississippi. Moreover, Proposition 13's complicated formula benefitted middle-class and wealthy home owners at the expense of less-well-off citizens, especially those who depended heavily on public services. Businesses, too, came out ahead, because commercial property got the same protection as residential property. More broadly, Proposition 13 inspired tax revolts across the country and helped conservatives define an enduring issue: low taxes.

In addition to public investment, another cardinal marker of New Deal and Great Society liberalism had been a remarkable decline in income inequality. In the 1970s, that trend reversed, and the wealthiest Americans, those among the top 10 percent, began to pull ahead again. As corporations restructured to boost profits during the 1970s slump, they increasingly laid off high-wage workers, paid the remaining workers less, and relocated overseas. Thus upper-class Americans benefitted, while blue-collar families who had been lifted into the middle class during the postwar boom increasingly lost out. An unmistakable trend was apparent by the end of the 1970s. The U.S. labor market was dividing in two: a vast, low-wage market at the bottom and a much narrower high-wage market at the top, with the middle squeezed smaller and smaller.

Politics in Flux, 1973–1980

A search for order characterized national politics in the 1970s as well. It began with a scandal. Misbehavior is endemic to politics. Yet what became known as the Watergate affair—or simply **Watergate**—implicated President Richard Nixon in illegal behavior severe enough to bring down his presidency. Liberals

benefitted from Nixon's fall in the short term, but their long-term retreat continued. Politics remained in flux because while liberals were on the defensive, conservatives had not yet put forth a clear alternative.

Watergate and the Fall of a President

On June 17, 1972, something strange happened at Washington's Watergate office/apartment/hotel complex. Early that morning, five men carrying wiretapping equipment were apprehended there attempting to break into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Queried by the press, a White House spokesman dismissed the episode as "a third-rate burglary attempt." Pressed further, Nixon himself denied any White House involvement in "this very bizarre incident." In fact, the two masterminds of the break-in, G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, were former FBI and CIA agents currently working for Nixon's Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP).

The Watergate burglary was no isolated incident. It was part of a broad pattern of abuse of power by a White House obsessed with its enemies. Liddy and Hunt were on the White House payroll, part of a clandestine squad hired to stop leaks to the press. But they were soon arranging illegal wiretaps at DNC headquarters, part of a campaign of "dirty tricks" against the Democrats. Nixon's siege mentality best explains his fatal misstep. He could have dissociated himself from the break-in by firing his guilty aides or even just by letting justice take its course. But it was election time, and Nixon did not trust his political future to such a strategy. Instead, he arranged hush money for the burglars and instructed the CIA to stop an FBI investigation into the affair. This was obstruction of justice, a criminal offense.

Nixon kept the lid on until after the election, but in early 1973, one of the Watergate burglars began to talk. In the meantime, two reporters at the *Washington Post*, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, uncovered CREEP's links to key White House aides. In May 1973, a Senate investigating committee began holding nationally televised hearings, at which administration officials implicated Nixon in the illegal cover-up. The president kept investigators at bay for a year, but in June 1974, the House Judiciary Committee began to consider articles of impeachment. Certain of being convicted by the Senate, Nixon became, on August 9, 1974, the first U.S. president to resign his office. The next day, Vice President Gerald Ford was sworn in as president. Ford, the Republican minority leader in the House of Representatives, had replaced Vice President Spiro Agnew,

who had himself resigned in 1973 for accepting kickbacks while governor of Maryland. A month after he took office, Ford stunned the nation by granting Nixon a “full, free, and absolute” pardon.

Congress pushed back, passing a raft of laws against the abuses of the Nixon administration: the **War Powers Act** (1973), which reined in the president’s ability to deploy U.S. forces without congressional approval; amendments strengthening the **Freedom of Information Act** (1974), which gave citizens access to federal records; the **Ethics in Government Act** (1978); and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (1978), which prohibited domestic wiretapping without a warrant.

Popular disdain for politicians, evident in declining voter turnout, deepened with Nixon’s resignation in 1974. “Don’t vote,” read one bumper sticker in 1976. “It only encourages them.” Watergate not only damaged short-term Republican prospects but also shifted the party’s balance to the right. Despite mastering the populist appeal to the “silent majority,” the moderate Nixon was never beloved by conservatives. His relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union and his visit to communist China, in particular, won him no friends on the right. His disgraceful exit benefitted the more conservative Republicans, who proceeded to reshape the party in their image.

Watergate Babies As for the Democrats, Watergate granted them a reprieve, a second chance at recapturing their eroding base. Backed by a public deeply disenchanted with politicians, especially scandal-tainted Republicans, congressional Democrats had an opportunity to repair the party’s image. Ford’s pardon of Nixon saved the nation a prolonged and agonizing trial, which was Ford’s rationale, but it was decidedly unpopular among the public. Pollster Louis Harris remarked that should a politician “defend that pardon in any part of this country, North or South, [he] is almost literally going to have his head handed to him.” Democratic candidates in the 1974 midterm elections made Watergate and Ford’s pardon their top issues. It worked. Seventy-five new Democratic members of the House came to Washington in 1975, many of them under the age of forty-five, and the press dubbed them Watergate babies.

Young and reform-minded, the Watergate babies solidified huge Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress and quickly set to work. They eliminated the House Un-American

Activities Committee (HUAC), which had investigated alleged Communists in the 1940s and 1950s and anti-war activists in the 1960s. In the Senate, Democrats reduced the number of votes needed to end a filibuster from 67 to 60—a move intended to weaken the power of the minority to block legislation. In both houses, Democrats dismantled the existing committee structure, which had entrenched power in the hands of a few elite committee chairs. And in 1978, the Ethics in Government Act forced political candidates to disclose financial contributions and limited the lobbying activities of former elected officials. Overall, the Watergate babies helped to decentralize power in Washington and bring greater transparency to American government.

In one of the great ironies of American political history, however, the post-Watergate reforms made government *less* efficient and *more* susceptible to special interests—the opposite of what had been intended. Under the new committee structure, smaller subcommittees proliferated, and the size of the congressional staff doubled to more than 20,000. A diffuse power structure actually gave lobbyists more places to exert influence. As the power of committee chairs weakened, influence shifted to party leaders, such as the Speaker of the House and the Senate majority leader. With little incentive to compromise, the parties grew more rigid, and bipartisanship became rare. Finally, filibustering, a seldom-used tactic largely employed by anti-civil rights southerners, increased in frequency. The Congress that we have come to know today—with its partisan rancor, its army of lobbyists, and its slow-moving response to public needs—came into being in the 1970s.

Political Realignment Despite Democratic gains in 1974, the electoral realignment that had begun with Richard Nixon’s presidential victories in 1968 and 1972 continued. As liberalism proved unable to stop runaway inflation or speed up economic growth, conservatism gained greater traction with the public. The postwar liberal economic formula—sometimes known as the Keynesian consensus—consisted of micro-adjustments to the money supply coupled with federal spending. When that formula failed to restart the economy in the mid-1970s, conservatives in Congress used this opening to articulate alternatives, especially economic deregulation and tax cuts.

On a grander scale, deindustrialization in the Northeast and Midwest and continued population growth in the Sunbelt was changing the political geography of the country. Power was shifting, incrementally but perceptibly, toward the West and South (Table 29.1). As states with strong trade unions at the center of the postwar

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What changed and what remained the same in American politics as a result of the Watergate scandal?

TABLE 29.1

Political Realignment: Congressional Seats		
State	Apportionment	
	1940	1990
Rust Belt		
Massachusetts	14	10
Connecticut	6	6
New York	45	31
New Jersey	14	13
Pennsylvania	33	21
Ohio	23	19
Illinois	26	20
Indiana	11	10
Michigan	17	16
Wisconsin	10	9
Total	199	155
Sunbelt		
California	23	52
Arizona	2	6
Nevada	1	2
Colorado	4	6
New Mexico	2	3
Texas	21	30
Georgia	10	11
North Carolina	12	12
Virginia	9	11
Florida	6	23
Total	90	156

In the fifty years between 1940 and 1990, the Rust Belt states lost political clout, while the Sunbelt states gained it—measured here in congressional seats (which are apportioned based on population). Sunbelt states gained 66 seats, with the Rust Belt losing 44. This shifting political geography helped undermine the liberal coalition, which was strongest in industrial states with large labor unions, and paved the way for the rise of the conservative coalition, which was strongest in southern and Bible Belt states, as well as California. Source: Office of the Clerk of the House, clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/congApp/bystate.html.

liberal political coalition—such as New York, Illinois, and Michigan—lost industry, jobs, and people, states with traditions of libertarian conservatism—such as

California, Arizona, Florida, and Texas—gained greater political clout. The full impact of this shifting political geography would not be felt until the 1980s and 1990s, but its effects had become apparent by the mid-1970s.

Jimmy Carter: The Outsider as President

“Jimmy who?” was how journalists first responded when James Earl Carter, who had been a naval officer, a peanut farmer, and the governor of Georgia, emerged from the pack to win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976. When Carter told his mother that he intended to run for president, she had asked, “President of what?” Trading on Watergate and his down-home image, Carter pledged to restore morality to the White House. “I will never lie to you,” he promised voters. Carter played up his credentials as a Washington outsider, although he selected Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate, to ensure his ties to traditional Democratic voting blocs. Ford still might have prevailed, but his pardon of Nixon likely cost him enough votes in key states to swing the election to the Democratic candidate. Carter won with 50 percent of the popular vote to Ford’s 48 percent.

For a time, Carter got some mileage as an outsider—the common man who walked to the White House after the inauguration and delivered fireside chats in a cardigan sweater. The fact that he was a born-again Christian also played well. But Carter’s inexperience began to show. He responded to feminists, an important Democratic constituency, by establishing a new women’s commission in his administration. But later he dismissed the commission’s concerns and became embroiled in a public fight with prominent women’s advocates. Most consequentially, his outsider strategy made for chilly relations with congressional leaders. Disdainful of the Democratic establishment, Carter relied heavily on inexperienced advisors from Georgia. And as a detail-oriented micromanager, he exhausted himself over the fine points of policy better left to his aides.

On the domestic front, Carter’s big challenge was managing the economy. The problems that he faced defied easy solution. Most confounding was stagflation. If the government focused on inflation—forcing prices down by raising interest rates—unemployment became worse. If the government tried to stimulate employment, inflation became worse. None of the levers of government economic policy seemed to work. At heart, Carter was an economic conservative. He



Jimmy Carter

President Jimmy Carter is seen here at a family picnic in his hometown of Plains, Georgia, just after he received the Democratic nomination for president in 1976. Carter was content to portray himself as a political outsider, an ordinary American who could restore trust to Washington after the Watergate scandal. A thoughtful man and a born-again Christian, Carter nonetheless proved unable to solve the complex economic problems, especially high inflation, and international challenges of the late 1970s. © Owen Franken/Corbis.

toyed with the idea of an “industrial policy” to bail out the ailing manufacturing sector, but he moved instead in a free-market direction by lifting the New Deal-era regulation of the airline, trucking, and railroad industries. **Deregulation** stimulated competition and cut prices, but it also drove firms out of business and hurt unionized workers.

The president’s efforts failed to reignite economic growth. Then, the Iranian Revolution curtailed oil supplies, and gas prices jumped again. In a major TV address,

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

What kind of president did Jimmy Carter hope to be, and how successful was he at implementing his agenda?

Carter lectured Americans about the nation’s “crisis of the spirit.” He called energy conservation “the moral equivalent of war”—or, in the media’s shorthand, “MEOW,” which aptly captured the nation’s assessment of Carter’s sermonizing. By then, his approval rating had fallen below 30 percent. And it was no wonder, given an inflation rate over 11 percent, failing industries, and long lines at the pumps. It seemed the worst of all possible economic worlds, and the first-term president could not help but worry about the political costs to him and his party.



To see a longer excerpt of Carter’s TV address, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America’s History*.

Reform and Reaction in the 1970s

Having lived through a decade of profound social and political upheaval—the Vietnam War, protests, riots, Watergate, recession—many Americans were exhausted and cynical by the mid-1970s. But while some retreated to private concerns, others took reform in new directions. Civil rights battles continued, the women’s movement achieved some of its most far-reaching aims, and gay rights blossomed. These movements pushed the “rights revolution” of the 1960s deeper into American life. Others, however, pushed back. Social conservatives responded by forming their own organizations and resisting the emergence of what they saw as a permissive society.

Civil Rights in a New Era

When Congress banned job discrimination in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the law required only that employers hire without regard to “race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.” But after centuries of slavery and decades of segregation, would nondiscrimination bring African Americans into the economic mainstream? Many liberals thought not. They believed that government, universities, and private employers needed to take positive steps to open their doors to a wider, more diverse range of Americans—including other minority groups and women.

Among the most significant efforts to address the legacy of exclusion was **affirmative action**—procedures designed to take into account the disadvantaged position of minority groups after centuries



March for Affirmative Action

Following the Supreme Court's 1978 Bakke decision, Americans grew even more divided over the policy of affirmative action. For many people, such as African Americans and Latinos, affirmative action promised that groups who faced historical discrimination would have equal opportunity in jobs and education. For many whites, affirmative action looked like "reverse discrimination," and they fought its implementation. AP/Wide World Photos.

of discrimination. First advanced by the Kennedy administration in 1961, affirmative action received a boost under President Lyndon Johnson, whose Labor Department fashioned a series of plans in the late 1960s to encourage government contractors to recruit underrepresented racial minorities. Women were added under the last of these plans, when pressure from the women's movement highlighted the problem of sex discrimination. By the early 1970s, affirmative action had been refined by court rulings that identified acceptable procedures: hiring and enrollment goals, special recruitment and training programs, and set-asides (specially reserved slots) for both racial minority groups and women.

Affirmative action, however, did not please many whites, who felt that the deck was being stacked against them. Much of the dissent came from conservative groups that had opposed civil rights all along. They charged affirmative action advocates with "reverse discrimination." Legal challenges abounded, as employees, students, and university applicants went to court to object to these new procedures. Some liberal groups sought a middle position. In a widely publicized 1972 letter, Jewish organizations, seared by the memory of

quotas that once kept Jewish students out of elite colleges, came out against all racial quotas but nonetheless endorsed "rectifying the imbalances resulting from past discrimination."

A major shift in affirmative action policy came in 1978. Allan Bakke, a white man, sued the University of California at Davis Medical School for rejecting him in favor of less-qualified minority-group candidates. Headlines across the country sparked anti-affirmative action protest marches on college campuses and vigorous discussion on television and radio and in the White House. Ultimately, the Supreme Court rejected the medical school's quota system, which set aside 16 of 100 places for "disadvantaged" students. The Court ordered Bakke admitted but indicated that a more flexible affirmative action plan, in which race could be considered along with other factors, would still pass constitutional muster. *Bakke v. University of California* thus upheld affirmative action but, by rejecting a quota system, also called it into question. Future court rulings and state referenda, in the 1990s and 2000s, would further limit

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did affirmative action evolve between 1961 and 1978?

the scope of affirmative action. In particular, California voters passed Proposition 209 in 1996, prohibiting public institutions from using affirmative action to increase diversity in employment and education.

The Women's Movement and Gay Rights

Unlike the civil rights movement, whose signal achievements came in the 1960s, the women's and gay rights movements flourished in the 1970s. With three influential wings—radical, liberal, and “Third World”—the women's movement inspired both grassroots activism and legislative action across the nation. For their

part, gay activists had further to go: they needed to convince Americans that same-sex relationships were natural and that gay men and lesbians deserved the same protection of the law as all other citizens. Neither move-

ment achieved all of its aims in this era, but each laid a strong foundation for the future.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did the idea of civil rights expand during the 1970s?

Women's Activism In the first half of the 1970s, the women's liberation movement reached its historic peak. Taking a dizzying array of forms—from lobbying legislatures to marching in the streets and establishing all-female collectives—women's liberation produced activism on the scale of the earlier black-led civil rights movement. Women's centers, as well as women-run child-care facilities, began to spring up in cities and towns. A feminist art and poetry movement flourished. Women challenged the admissions policies of all-male colleges and universities—opening such prestigious universities as Yale and Columbia and nearly bringing an end to male-only institutions of higher education. Female scholars began to transform higher education: by studying women's history, by increasing the number of women on college and university faculties, and by founding women's studies programs.

Much of women's liberation activism focused on the female body. Inspired by the Boston collective that first published *Our Bodies, Ourselves*—a groundbreaking book on women's health—the women's health movement founded dozens of medical clinics, encouraged women to become physicians, and educated millions of women about their bodies. To reform antiabortion laws, activists pushed for remedies in more than thirty state legislatures. Women's liberationists founded the antirape movement, established rape crisis centers around the nation, and lobbied state legislatures and

Congress to reform rape laws. Many of these endeavors and movements began as shoestring operations in living rooms and kitchens: *Our Bodies, Ourselves* was first published as a 35-cent mimeographed booklet, and the antirape movement began in small consciousness-raising groups that met in churches and community centers. By the end of the decade, however, all of these causes had national organizations and touched the lives of millions of American women.

Equal Rights Amendment Buoyed by this flourishing of activism, the women's movement renewed the fight for an **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** to the Constitution. First introduced in 1923, the ERA stated, in its entirety, “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on the basis of sex.” Vocal congressional women, such as Patsy Mink (Democrat, Hawaii), Bella Abzug



Phyllis Schlafly

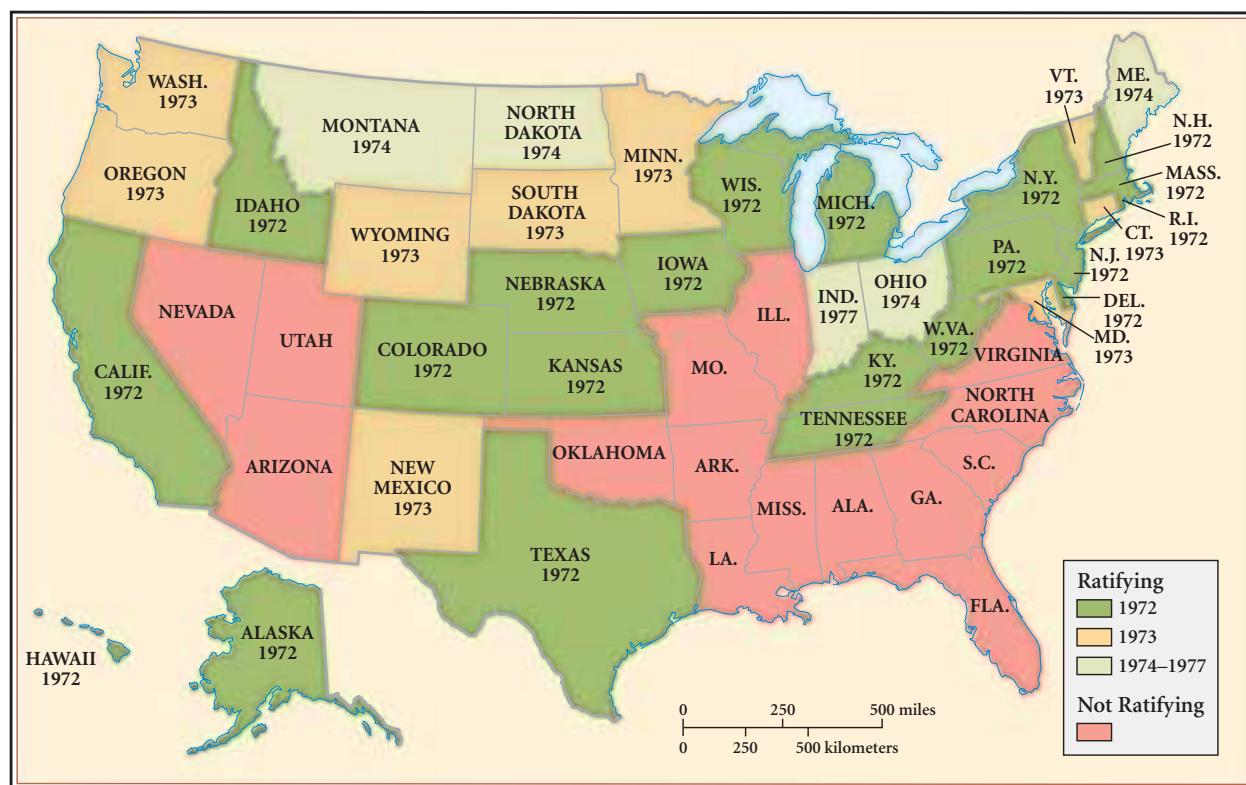
Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the organization STOP ERA, talks with reporters during a rally at the Illinois State Capitol on March 4, 1975, at a time when the state legislature was considering whether to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Schlafly described herself as a housewife and called her strenuous political career a hobby. © Bettmann/Corbis.

(Democrat, New York), and Shirley Chisholm (Democrat, New York), found enthusiastic male allies — among both Democrats and Republicans — and Congress adopted the amendment in 1972. Within just two years, thirty-four of the necessary thirty-eight states had ratified it, and the ERA appeared headed for adoption. But then, progress abruptly halted (Map 29.2).

Credit for putting the brakes on ERA ratification goes chiefly to a remarkable woman: Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer long active in conservative causes. Despite her own flourishing career, Schlafly advocated traditional roles for women. The ERA, she proclaimed, would create an unnatural “unisex society,” with women drafted into the army and forced to use single-sex toilets. Abortion, she alleged, could never be prohibited by law. Led by Schlafly’s organization, **STOP ERA** (founded in 1972), thousands of women mobilized, showing up at statehouses with home-baked bread and apple pies. As labels on baked goods at one anti-ERA rally

expressed it: “My heart and hand went into this dough / For the sake of the family please vote no.” It was a message that resonated widely, especially among those troubled by the rapid pace of social change (*American Voices*, p. 954). The ERA never was ratified, despite a congressional extension of the deadline to June 30, 1982.

Roe v. Wade In addition to the ERA, the women’s movement had identified another major goal: winning reproductive rights. Activists pursued two tracks: legislative and judicial. In the early 1960s, abortion was illegal in virtually every state. A decade later, thanks to intensive lobbying by women’s organizations, liberal ministers, and physicians, a handful of states, such as New York, Hawaii, California, and Colorado, adopted laws making legal abortions easier to obtain. But progress after that was slow, and women’s advocates turned to the courts. There was reason to be optimistic. The



MAP 29.2

States Ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment, 1972–1977

The ratifying process for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) went smoothly in 1972 and 1973 but then stalled. The turning point came in 1976, when ERA advocates lobbied extensively, particularly in Florida, North Carolina, and Illinois, but failed to sway the conservative legislatures in those states. After Indiana ratified in 1977, the amendment still lacked three votes toward the three-fourths majority needed for adoption. Efforts to revive the ERA in the 1980s were unsuccessful, and it became a dead issue.



Debating the Equal Rights Amendment

Fifty years after its introduction, the Equal Rights Amendment ("Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex") finally met congressional approval in 1972 and was sent to the states for ratification. The amendment set off a furious debate, especially in the South and Midwest, and fell short of ratification. Following are four of the voices in that debate.

Phyllis Schlafly

Lawyer and political activist Phyllis Schlafly was the most prominent opponent of the ERA. Her organization, STOP ERA, campaigned against the amendment in critical states and helped to halt ratification.

Women's magazines, the women's pages of newspapers, and television and radio talk shows have been filled for months with a strident advocacy of the "rights" of women to be treated on an equal basis with men in all walks of life. But what about the rights of the woman who doesn't want to compete on an equal basis with men? Does she have the right to be treated as a woman — by her family, by society, and by the law? . . .

The laws of every one of our 50 states now guarantee the right to be a woman — protected and provided for in her career as a woman, wife, and mother. The proposed Equal Rights Amendment will wipe out all our laws which — through rights, benefits, and exemptions — guarantee this right to be a woman. . . . Is this what American women want? Is this what American men want?

The laws of every one of the 50 states now require the husband to support his wife and children — and to provide a home for them to live in. In other words, the law protects a woman's right to be a full-time wife and mother, her right not to take a job outside the home, her right to care for her own baby in her own home while being financially supported by her husband. . . .

There are two very different types of women lobbying for the Equal Rights Amendment. One group is the women's liberationists. Their motive is totally radical. They hate men, marriage, and children. They are out to destroy morality and the family. . . . There is another type of woman supporting the Equal Rights Amendment from the most sincere motives. It is easy to see why the business and professional women are supporting the Equal Rights Amendment — many of them have felt the keen edge of discrimination in their employment.

Source: From *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, November 1972. Reprinted by permission.

Jerry Falwell

Jerry Falwell was a fundamentalist Baptist preacher in Virginia, a television evangelist, and the founder of the political lobbying organization known as the Moral Majority.

I believe that at the foundation of the women's liberation movement there is a minority core of women who were once bored with life, whose real problems are spiritual problems. Many women have never accepted their God-given roles. . . . God Almighty created men and women biologically different and with differing needs and roles. He made men and women to complement each other and to love each other. . . . Women who work should be respected and accorded dignity and equal rewards for equal work. But this is not what the present feminist movement and equal rights movement are all about.

The Equal Rights Amendment is a delusion. I believe that women deserve more than equal rights. And, in families and in nations where the Bible is believed, Christian women are honored above men. Only in places where the Bible is believed and practiced do women receive more than equal rights. Men and women have differing strengths. The Equal Rights Amendment can never do for women what needs to be done for them. Women need to know Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior and be under His Lordship. They need a man who knows Jesus Christ as his Lord and Savior, and they need to be part of a home where their husband is a godly leader and where there is a Christian family. . . .

ERA is not merely a political issue, but a moral issue as well. A definite violation of holy Scripture, ERA defies the mandate that "the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church" (Ep. 5:23). In 1 Peter 3:7 we read that husbands are to give their wives honor as unto the weaker vessel, that they are both heirs together of the grace of life. Because a woman is weaker does not mean that she is less important.

Source: Excerpt from *Listen America!* by Jerry Falwell, copyright © 1980 by Jerry Falwell. Used by permission of Doubleday, an imprint of the Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, a division of Random House LLC. All rights reserved. Any third party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited. Interested parties must apply directly to Random House LLC for permission.

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz was a distinguished educator and the first black woman to head the National Education Association and the U.S. Women's Bureau. At the time she made this statement at state legislative hearings on the ERA in 1977, she was assistant state superintendent for public instruction in North Carolina.

A short time ago I had the misfortune to break my foot. . . . The pain . . . did not hurt me as much as when I went into the emergency room and the young woman upon asking me my name, the nature of my ailment, then asked me for my husband's social security number and his hospitalization number. I asked her what did that have to do with my emergency.

And she said, "We have to be sure of who is going to pay your bill." I said, "Suppose I'm not married, then." And she said, "Then give me your father's name." I did not go through that twenty years ago when I was denied the use of that emergency room because of my color.

I went through that because there is an underlying assumption that all women in our society are protected, dependent, cared for by somebody who's got a social security number and hospitalization insurance. Never once did she assume I might be a woman who might be caring for my husband, instead of him by me, because of some illness. She did not take into account the fact that one out of almost eight women heading families in poverty today [is] in the same condition as men in families and poverty. . . .

My greater concern is that so many women today . . . oppose the passage of the ERA very sincerely and . . . tell you without batting an eye, "I don't want to see women treated that way." And I speak up, "What way is that?" . . . Women themselves have been a bit misguided. We have mistaken present practice for law, and women have . . . assumed too many times that their present condition cannot change. The rate of divorce, the rate of desertion, the rate of separation, and the death rate of male supporters is enough for us to say: "Let us remove all legal barriers to women and girls making their choices — this state cannot afford it."

Source: William A. Link and Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, eds., *The South in the History of the Nation* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 295–296.

Caroline Bird

Caroline Bird was the lead author of *What Women Want*, a report produced by women's rights advocates following the 1977 National Women's Conference, held in Houston, Texas.

The Declaration of Independence, signed in 1776, stated that "all Men are created equal" and that governments derive their powers "from the Consent of the Governed." Women were not included in either concept. The original American Constitution of 1787 was founded on English common law, which did not recognize women as citizens or as individuals with legal rights. A woman was expected to obey her husband or nearest male kin, and if she was married her person and her property were owned by her husband. . . .

It has been argued that the ERA is not necessary because the Fourteenth Amendment, passed after the Civil War, guarantees that no state shall deny to "any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." . . .

Aside from the fact that women have been subjected to varying, inconsistent, and often unfavorable decisions under the Fourteenth Amendment, the Equal Rights Amendment is a more immediate and effective remedy to sex discrimination in Federal and State laws than case-by-case interpretation under the Fourteenth Amendment could ever be.

Source: Caroline Bird, *What Women Want* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978), 120–121.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Schlafly and Koontz have different notions of what it means to be a woman. Explain what these differences are and how they inform the authors' distinct views of the ERA.
2. Why does Schlafly believe that women will be harmed by the ERA?
3. Schlafly and Falwell argue that women need the protection and support of men. Are they right? How would Koontz likely respond?
4. How do each of the four authors define women's roles and responsibilities in society?

Supreme Court had first addressed reproductive rights in a 1965 case, *Griswold v. Connecticut*. *Griswold* struck down an 1879 state law prohibiting the possession of contraception as a violation of married couples' constitutional "right of privacy." Following the logic articulated in *Griswold*, the Court gradually expanded the right of privacy in a series of cases in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Those cases culminated in *Roe v. Wade* (1973). In that landmark decision, the justices nullified a Texas law that prohibited abortion under any circumstances, even when the woman's health was at risk, and laid out a new national standard: Abortions performed during the first trimester were protected by the right of privacy. At the time and afterward, some legal authorities questioned whether the Constitution recognized any such privacy right and criticized the Court's seemingly arbitrary first-trimester timeline. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court chose to move forward, transforming a traditionally state-regulated policy into a national, constitutionally protected right.

For the women's movement, *Roe v. Wade* represented a triumph. For evangelical and fundamentalist Christians, Catholics, and conservatives generally, it was a bitter pill. In their view, abortion was, unequivocally, the taking of a human life. These Americans, represented by groups such as the National Right to Life Committee, did not believe that something they regarded as immoral and sinful could be the basis for

women's equality. Women's advocates responded that illegal abortions—common prior to *Roe*—were often unsafe procedures, which resulted in physical harm to women and even death. *Roe* polarized what was already a sharply divided public and mobilized conservatives to seek a Supreme Court reversal or, short of that, to pursue legislation that would strictly limit the conditions under which abortions could be performed. In 1976, they convinced Congress to deny Medicaid funds for abortions, an opening round in a campaign against *Roe v. Wade* that continues today.

Harvey Milk The gay rights movement had achieved notable victories as well. These, too, proved controversial. More than a dozen cities had passed gay rights ordinances by the mid-1970s, protecting gay men and lesbians from employment and housing discrimination. One such ordinance in Dade County (Miami), Florida, sparked a protest led by Anita Bryant, a conservative Baptist and a television celebrity. Her "Save Our Children" campaign in 1977, which garnered national media attention, resulted in the repeal of the ordinance and symbolized the emergence of a conservative religious movement opposed to gay rights.

Across the country from Miami, developments in San Francisco looked promising for gay rights advocates, then turned tragic. No one embodied the combination of gay liberation and hard-nosed politics better than a San Francisco camera-shop owner named



Harvey Milk

In November 1977, Harvey Milk became the first openly gay man to be elected to public office in the United States, when he won a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Shockingly, almost exactly a year from the day of his election, Milk was assassinated.

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Harvey Milk. A closeted businessman in New York until he was forty, Milk arrived in San Francisco in 1972 and threw himself into city politics. Fiercely independent, he ran as an openly gay candidate for city supervisor (city council) twice and the state assembly once, both times unsuccessfully.

By mobilizing the “gay vote” into a powerful bloc, Milk finally won a supervisor seat in 1977. He was not the first openly gay elected official in the country—Kathy Kozachenko of Michigan and Elaine Noble of Massachusetts share that distinction—but he became a national symbol of emerging gay political power. Tragically, after he helped to win passage of a gay rights ordinance in San Francisco, he was assassinated in 1978—along with the city’s mayor, George Moscone—by a disgruntled former supervisor named Dan White. When White was convicted of manslaughter rather than murder, five thousand gays and lesbians in San Francisco marched on city hall.

After the Warren Court

In response to what conservatives considered the liberal judicial revolution under the Warren Court, President Nixon came into the presidency promising to appoint “strict constructionists” (conservative-minded justices) to the bench. In three short years, between 1969 and 1972, he was able to appoint four new justices to the Supreme Court, including the new chief justice, Warren Burger. Surprisingly, despite the conservative credentials of its new members, the Burger Court refused to scale back the liberal precedents set under Warren. Most prominently, in *Roe v. Wade* the Burger Court extended the “right of privacy” developed under Warren to include women’s access to abortion. As we saw above, few Supreme Court decisions in the twentieth century have disappointed conservatives more.

In a variety of cases, the Burger Court either confirmed previous liberal rulings or chose a centrist course. In 1972, for instance, the Court deepened its intervention in criminal procedure by striking down all existing capital punishment laws, in *Furman v. Georgia*. In response, Los Angeles police chief Ed Davis accused the Court of establishing a “legal oligarchy” that had ignored the “perspective of the average citizen.” He and other conservatives vowed a nationwide campaign to bring back the death penalty—which was in fact shortly restored, in *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976). Other decisions advanced women’s rights. In 1976, the Court ruled that arbitrary distinctions based on sex in the workplace and other arenas were unconstitutional, and in 1986 that sexual harassment violated the Civil

Rights Act. These rulings helped women break employment barriers in the subsequent decades.

In all of their rulings on privacy rights, however, the Burger Court was reluctant to move ahead of public attitudes toward homosexuality. Gay men and lesbians still had no legal recourse if state laws prohibited same-sex relations. In a controversial 1986 case, *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the Supreme Court upheld a Georgia sodomy statute that criminalized same-sex sexual acts. The majority opinion held that homosexuality was contrary to “ordered liberty” and that extending sexual privacy to gays and lesbians “would be to cast aside millennia of moral teaching.” Not until 2003 (*Lawrence v. Texas*) would the Court overturn that decision, recognizing for all Americans the right to sexual privacy.

The American Family on Trial

In 1973, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) aired a twelve-part television series that followed the life of a real American family. Producers wanted the show, called simply *An American Family*, to document how a middle-class white family coped with the stresses of a changing society. They did not anticipate that the family would dissolve in front of their cameras. Tensions and arguments raged, and in the final episode, Bill, the husband and father (who had had numerous extramarital affairs), moved out. By the time the show aired, the couple was divorced and Pat, the former wife, had become a single working mother with five children.

An American Family captured a traumatic moment in the twentieth-century history of the family. Between 1965 and 1985, the divorce rate doubled, and children born in the 1970s had a 40 percent chance of spending part of their youth in a single-parent household. As wages stagnated and inflation pushed prices up, more and more families depended on two incomes for survival. Furthermore, the women’s movement and the counterculture had called into question traditional sex roles—father as provider and mother as homemaker—and middle-class baby boomers rebelled against what they saw as the puritanical sexual values of their parents’ generation. In the midst of such rapid change, where did the family stand?

Working Families in the Age of Deindustrialization

One of the most striking developments of the 1970s and 1980s was the relative stagnation of wages. After World War II, hourly wages had grown steadily ahead

of inflation, giving workers more buying power with each passing decade. By 1973, that trend had stopped in its tracks. The decline of organized labor, the loss of manufacturing jobs, and runaway inflation all played a role in the reversal. Hardest hit were blue-collar and pink-collar workers and those without college degrees.

Women Enter the Workforce Millions of wives and mothers had worked for wages for decades. But many Americans still believed in the “family wage”: a breadwinner income, earned by men, sufficient to support a family. After 1973, fewer and fewer Americans had access to that luxury. Between 1973 and the early 1990s, every major income group except the top 10 percent saw their real earnings (accounting for inflation) either remain the same or decline. Over this period, the typical worker saw a 10 percent drop in real wages. To keep their families from falling behind, women streamed into the workforce.

Between 1950 and 1994, the proportion of women ages 25 to 54 working for pay increased from 37 to 75 percent. Much of that increase occurred in the 1970s.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

Why did the struggles of working families become more prominent in the 1970s, and what social and economic concerns did those families have?

Americans were fast becoming dependent on the two-income household (Figure 29.5).

The numbers tell two different stories of American life in these decades. On the one hand, the trends unmistakably show that women, especially in blue-collar and pink-collar families, *had* to work for wages to sustain their family’s standard of living: to buy a car, pay for college, afford medical bills, support an aging parent, or simply pay the rent. Moreover, the number of single women raising children nearly doubled between 1965 and 1990. Women’s paid labor was making up for the declining earning power or the absence of men in American households. On the other hand, women’s real income overall grew during the same period. This increase reflected the opening of professional and skilled jobs to educated baby-boomer women. As older barriers began to fall, women poured into law and medicine, business and government, and, though more slowly, the sciences and engineering. Beneficiaries of feminism, these women pursued careers of which their mothers had only dreamed.

Workers in the National Spotlight For a brief period in the 1970s, the trials of working men and women made a distinct imprint on national culture.

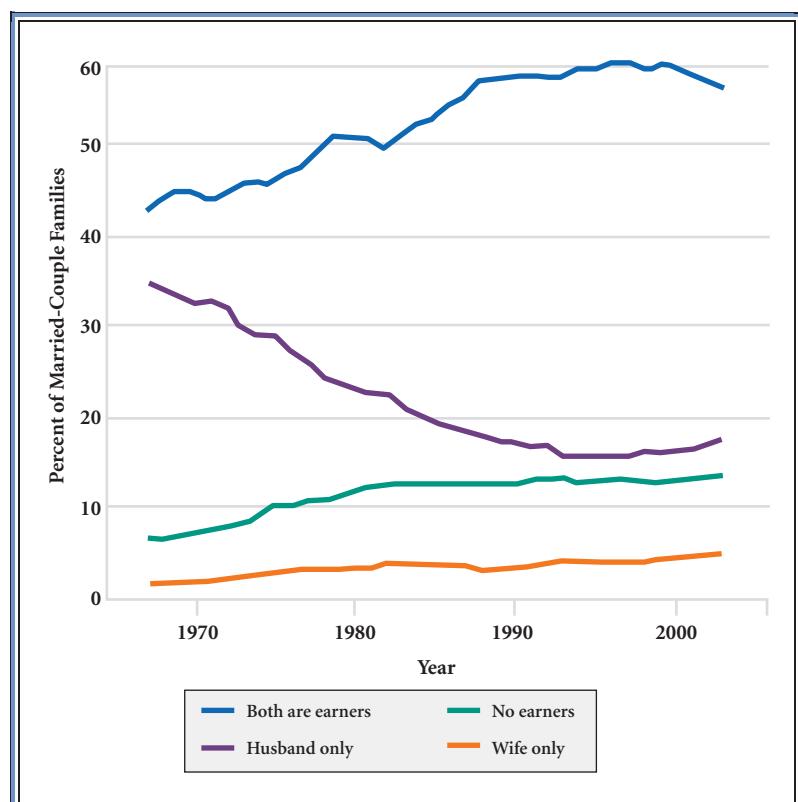


FIGURE 29.5

The Increase in Two-Worker Families

In 1968, about 43 percent of married couples sent both the husband and the wife into the workforce; thirty years later, 60 percent were two-earner families. The percentage of families in which the wife alone worked increased from 3 to 5 percent during these years, while those with no earners (welfare recipients and, increasingly, retired couples) rose from 8 to 13 percent. Because these figures do not include unmarried persons and most illegal immigrants, they do not give a complete picture of the American workplace. But there is no doubt that women now play a major role in the workforce.

Blue-Collar Blues

Unemployment in the 1970s affected blue-collar workers most, with many factories closing and new construction at a standstill. In many cities, joblessness among construction workers stood between 20 and 30 percent. In this 1976 photo, an unemployed carpenter in Cleveland, Ohio, files for unemployment insurance. The “blue-collar blues” caused by long unemployment lines, high inflation, and difficult economic times hit American workers hard in the late 1970s. © 1976 Settle/The New York Times Company. Reprinted with Permission.



Reporters wrote of the “blue-collar blues” associated with plant closings and the hard-fought strikes of the decade. A 1972 strike at the Lordstown, Ohio, General Motors plant captivated the nation. Holding out not for higher wages but for better working conditions—the plant had the most complex assembly line in the nation—Lordstown strikers spoke out against what they saw as an inhumane industrial system. Across the nation, the number of union-led strikes surged, even as the number of Americans in the labor movement continued to decline. In Lordstown and most other sites of

strikes and industrial conflict, workers won a measure of public attention but typically gained little economic ground.

When Americans turned on their televisions in the mid-1970s, the most popular shows reflected the “blue-collar blues” of struggling families. *All in the Family* was joined by *The Waltons*, set during the Great Depression. *Good Times*, *Welcome Back, Kotter*, and *Sanford and Son* dealt with poverty in the inner city. *The Jeffersons* featured an upwardly mobile black couple. *Laverne and Shirley* focused on young working women

Good Times

The popular 1970s sitcom *Good Times* examined how the “blue-collar blues” affected a working-class black family struggling to make ends meet in tough economic times. The show’s theme song spoke of “temporary layoffs . . . easy credit ripoffs . . . scratchin’ and surviving.” Its actors, many of them classically trained, brought a realistic portrait of working-class African American life to television.
© Bettmann/Corbis.



in the 1950s and *One Day at a Time* on working women in the 1970s making do after divorce. The most-watched television series of the decade, 1977's eight-part *Roots*, explored the history of slavery and the survival of African American culture and family roots despite the oppressive labor system. Not since the 1930s had American culture paid such close attention to working-class life.

The decade also saw the rise of musicians such as Bruce Springsteen, Johnny Paycheck, and John Cougar (Mellencamp), who became stars by turning the hard-scrabble lives of people in small towns and working-class communities into rock anthems that filled arenas. Springsteen wrote songs about characters who "sweat it out in the streets of a runaway American dream," and, to the delight of his audience, Paycheck famously sang, "Take this job and shove it!" Meanwhile, on the streets of Harlem and the South Bronx in New York, young working-class African American men experimenting with dance and musical forms invented break dancing and rap music—styles that expressed both the hardship and the creativity of working-class black life in the deindustrialized American city.

Navigating the Sexual Revolution

The economic downturn was not the only force that placed stress on American families in this era. Another such force was what many came to call the "sexual revolution." Hardly revolutionary, sexual attitudes in the 1970s were, in many ways, a logical evolution of developments in the first half of the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1910s, Americans increasingly viewed sex as a component of personal happiness, distinct from reproduction. Attitudes toward sex grew even more lenient in the postwar decades, a fact reflected in the Kinsey studies of the 1940s and 1950s. By the 1960s, sex before marriage had grown more socially acceptable—an especially profound change for women—and frank discussions of sex in the media and popular culture had grown more common.

In that decade, three developments dramatically accelerated this process: the introduction of the birth control pill, the rise of the baby-boomer-led counterculture, and the influence of feminism. First made

available in the United States in 1960, the birth control pill gave women an unprecedented degree of control over reproduction. By 1965, more than 6 million American women were taking advantage of this pharmaceutical advance.

Rapid shifts in attitude accompanied the technological breakthrough. Middle-class baby boomers embraced a sexual ethic of greater freedom and, in many cases, a more casual approach to sex outside marriage. "I just feel I am expressing myself the way I feel at that moment in the most natural way," a female California college student, explaining her sex life, told a reporter in 1966. The rebellious counterculture encouraged this attitudinal shift by associating a puritanical view of sex with their parents' generation.

Finally, women's rights activists reacted to the new emphasis on sexual freedom in at least two distinct ways. Many feminists felt that the sexual revolution was by and for men: the emphasis on casual sex seemed to perpetuate male privilege—the old double standard; sexual harassment was all too common in the workplace; and the proliferation of pornography continued to commercialize women as sex objects. On the other hand, they remained optimistic that the new sexual ethic could free women from those older moral constraints. They called for a revolution in sexual *values*, not simply behavior, that would end exploitation and grant women the freedom to explore their sexuality on equal terms with men.

Sex and Popular Culture In the 1970s, popular culture was suffused with discussions of the sexual revolution. Mass-market books with titles such as *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex*, *Human Sexual Response*, and *The Sensuous Man* shot up the best-seller list. William Masters and Virginia Johnson became the most famous sex researchers since Alfred Kinsey by studying couples in the act of lovemaking. In 1972, English physician Alex Comfort published *The Joy of Sex*, a guidebook for couples that became one of the most popular books of the decade. Comfort made certain to distinguish his writing from pornographic exploitation. "Sex is the one place where we today can learn to treat people as people," he wrote.

Hollywood took advantage of the new sexual ethic by making films with explicit erotic content that pushed the boundaries of middle-class taste. Films such as *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), *Carnal Knowledge* (1971), and *Shampoo* (1974), the latter starring Hollywood's leading ladies' man, Warren Beatty, led the way. Throughout the decade, and into the 1980s, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) scrambled to keep its guide for parents—the system of rating pictures G, PG, R, and X (and, after 1984, PG-13)—in tune with Hollywood's advancing sexual revolution.

On television, the popularity of social problem shows, such as *All in the Family*, and the fear of losing

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What were three major consequences of the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s?



Midnight Cowboy

In the mid-1970s, the movie industry embraced the “sexual revolution” and pushed the boundaries of middle-class taste. Movies such as *Midnight Cowboy* (1975)—starring Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight—were part of a larger shift in American culture in which frank sexual discussions and the portrayal of sexual situations in various media grew more acceptable. John Springer Collection/Corbis.

advertising revenue moderated the portrayal of sex in the early 1970s. However, in the second half of the decade networks both exploited and criticized the new sexual ethic. In frivolous, lighthearted shows such as the popular *Charlie’s Angels*, *Three’s Company*, and *The Love Boat*, heterosexual couples explored the often confusing, and usually comical, landscape of sexual morality. At the same time, between 1974 and 1981, the major networks produced more than a dozen made-for-TV movies about children in sexual danger—a sensationalized warning to parents of the potential threats to children posed by a less strict sexual morality.

Middle-Class Marriage Many Americans worried that the sexual revolution threatened marriage itself. The notion of marriage as romantic companionship had defined middle-class norms since the late nineteenth century. It was also quite common throughout most of the twentieth century for Americans to see sexual satisfaction as a healthy part of the marriage bond.

But what defined a healthy marriage in an age of rising divorce rates, changing sexual values, and feminist critiques of the nuclear family? Only a small minority of Americans rejected marriage outright; most continued to create monogamous relationships codified in marriage. But many came to believe that they needed help as marriage came under a variety of economic and psychological stresses.

A therapeutic industry arose in response. Churches and secular groups alike established marriage seminars and counseling services to assist couples in sustaining a healthy marriage. A popular form of 1960s psychotherapy, the “encounter group,” was adapted to marriage counseling: couples met in large groups to explore new methods of communicating. One of the most successful of these organizations, *Marriage Encounter*, was founded by the Catholic Church. It expanded into Protestant and Jewish communities in the 1970s and became one of the nation’s largest counseling organizations. Such groups embodied another long-term shift in how middle-class Americans understood marriage. Spurred by both feminism and psychotherapeutic models that stressed self-improvement, Americans increasingly defined marriage not simply by companionship and sexual fidelity but also by the deeply felt emotional connection between two people.

Religion in the 1970s: The Fourth Great Awakening

For three centuries, American society has been punctuated by intense periods of religious revival—what historians have called Great Awakenings (Chapters 4 and 8). These periods have seen a rise in church membership, the appearance of charismatic religious leaders, and the increasing influence of religion, usually of the evangelical variety, on society and politics. One such awakening, the fourth in U.S. history, took shape in the 1970s and 1980s. It had many elements, but one of its central features was a growing concern with the family.

In the 1950s and 1960s, many mainstream Protestants had embraced the reform spirit of the age. Some of the most visible Protestant leaders were social activists who condemned racism and opposed the Vietnam War. Organizations such as the National Council of Churches—along with many progressive Catholics and Jews—joined with Martin Luther King Jr. and other African American ministers in the long battle for civil rights. Many mainline Protestant churches, among them the Episcopal, Methodist, and Congregationalist denominations, practiced a version

of the “Social Gospel,” the reform-minded Christianity of the early twentieth century.

Evangelical Resurgence Meanwhile, **evangelicalism** survived at the grass roots. Evangelical Protestant churches emphasized an intimate, personal salvation

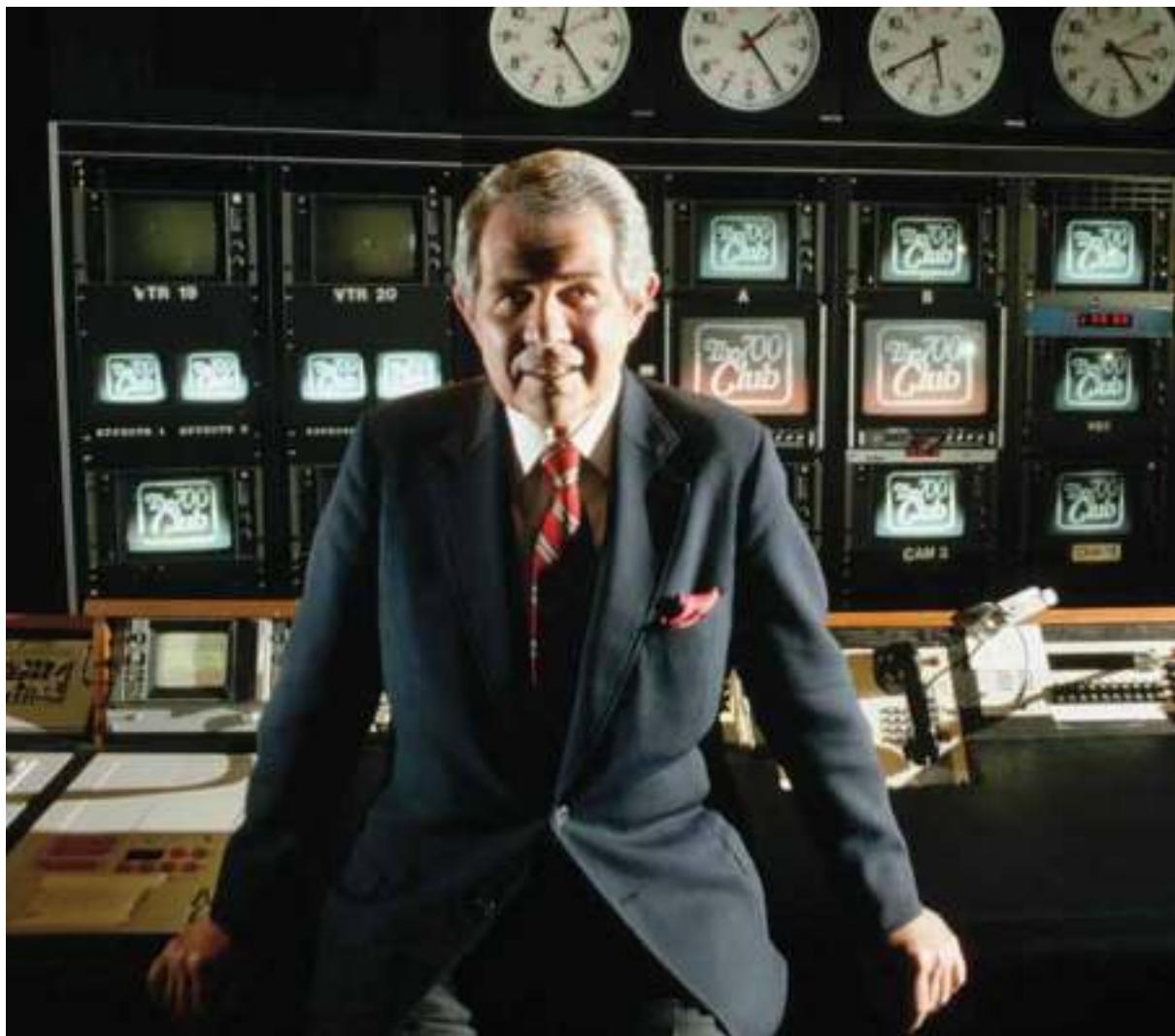
(being “born again”); focused on a literal interpretation of the Bible; and regarded the death and resurrection of Jesus as the central message of Christianity. These tenets distinguished evangelicals

from mainline Protestants as well as from Catholics and Jews, and they flourished in a handful of evangelical colleges, Bible schools, and seminaries in the post-war decades.

No one did more to keep the evangelical fire burning than Billy Graham. A graduate of the evangelical Wheaton College in Illinois, Graham cofounded Youth for Christ in 1945 and then toured the United States and Europe preaching the gospel. Following a stunning 1949 tent revival in Los Angeles that lasted eight weeks, Graham shot to national fame. His success in Los Angeles led to a popular radio program, but

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did evangelical Christianity influence American society in the 1970s?



Televangelism

Television minister (“televangelist”) and conservative political activist Pat Robertson, shown here in the control room of his *700 Club* TV show, was a leading figure in the resurgence of evangelical Christianity in the 1970s and 1980s. Reaching millions of viewers through their television ministries, men such as Robertson built huge churches and large popular followings. © Wally McNamee/CORBIS

he continued to travel relentlessly, conducting old-fashioned revival meetings he called crusades. A massive sixteen-week 1957 crusade held in New York City's Madison Square Garden made Graham, along with the conservative Catholic priest Fulton Sheen, one of the nation's most visible religious leaders.

Graham and other evangelicals in the 1950s and 1960s laid the groundwork for the Fourth Great Awakening. But it was a startling combination of events in the late 1960s and early 1970s that sparked the evangelical revival. First, rising divorce rates, social unrest, and challenges to prevailing values led people to seek the stability of faith. Second, many Americans regarded feminism, the counterculture, sexual freedom, homosexuality, pornography, and legalized abortion not as distinct issues, but as a collective sign of moral decay in society. To seek answers and find order, more and more people turned to evangelical ministries, especially Southern Baptist, Pentecostal, and Assemblies of God churches.

Numbers tell part of the story. As mainline churches lost about 15 percent of their membership between 1970 and 1985, evangelical church membership soared. The Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant denomination, grew by 23 percent, while the Assemblies of God grew by an astounding 300 percent. *Newsweek* magazine declared 1976 "The Year of the Evangelical," and that November the nation made Jimmy Carter the nation's first evangelical president. In a national Gallup poll, 34 percent of Americans answered yes when asked, "Would you describe yourself as a 'born again' or evangelical Christian?"

Much of this astonishing growth came from the creative use of television. Graham had pounded the pavement and worn out shoe leather to reach his converts. But a new generation of preachers brought religious conversion directly into Americans' living rooms through television. These so-called televangelists built huge media empires through small donations from millions of avid viewers—not to mention advertising. Jerry Falwell's *Old Time Gospel Hour*, Pat Robertson's *700 Club*, and Jim and Tammy Bakker's *PTL (Praise the Lord) Club* were the leading pioneers in this televised race for American souls, but another half dozen—including Oral Roberts and Jimmy Swaggart—followed them onto the airwaves. Together, they made the 1970s and 1980s the era of Christian broadcasting.

Religion and the Family Of primary concern to evangelical Christians was the family. Drawing on selected Bible passages, evangelicals believed that the

nuclear family, and not the individual, represented the fundamental unit of society. The family itself was organized along paternalist lines: father was breadwinner and disciplinarian; mother was nurturer and supporter. "Motherhood is the highest form of femininity," the evangelical author Beverly LaHaye wrote in an influential book on Christian women. Another popular Christian author declared, "A church, a family, a nation is only as strong as its men."

Evangelicals spread their message about the Christian family through more than the pulpit and television. They founded publishing houses, wrote books, established foundations, and offered seminars. Helen B. Andelin, for instance, a California housewife, produced a homemade book called *Fascinating Womanhood* that eventually sold more than 2 million copies. She used the book as the basis for her classes, which by the early 1970s had been attended by 400,000 women and boasted 11,000 trained teachers. *Fascinating Womanhood* led evangelical women in the opposite direction of feminism. Whereas the latter encouraged women to be independent and to seek equality with men, Andelin taught that "submissiveness will bring a strange but righteous power over your man." Andelin was but one of dozens of evangelical authors and educators who encouraged women to defer to men.

Evangelical Christians held that strict gender roles in the family would ward off the influences of an immoral society. Christian activists were especially concerned with sex education in public schools, the proliferation of pornography, legalized abortion, and the rising divorce rate. For them, the answer was to strengthen what they called "traditional" family structures. By the early 1980s, Christians could choose from among hundreds of evangelical books, take classes on how to save a marriage or how to be a Christian parent, attend evangelical churches and Bible study courses, watch evangelical ministers on television, and donate to foundations that promoted "Christian values" in state legislatures and the U.S. Congress.

Wherever one looked in the 1970s and early 1980s, American families were under strain. Nearly everyone agreed that the waves of social liberalism and economic transformation that swept over the nation in the 1960s and 1970s had destabilized society and, especially, family relationships. But Americans did not agree about how to restabilize families. Indeed, different approaches to the family would further divide the country in the 1980s and 1990s, as the New Right would increasingly make "family values" a political issue.



"Family Values"

During the 1980 presidential campaign, the Reverend Jerry Falwell, pictured here with Phyllis Schlafly, supported Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party with "I Love America" rallies around the country. Falwell, head of the Moral Majority, helped to bring a new focus on "family values" to American politics in the late 1970s. This was a conservative version of the emphasis on male-breadwinner nuclear families that had long been characteristic of American values. AP/Wide World Photos.

SUMMARY

For much of the 1970s, Americans struggled with economic problems, including inflation, energy shortages, income stagnation, and deindustrialization. These challenges highlighted the limits of postwar prosperity and forced Americans to consider lowering their economic expectations. A movement for environmental protection, widely supported, led to new laws and an awareness of nature's limits, and the energy crisis highlighted the nation's dependence on resources from abroad, especially oil.

In the midst of this gloomy economic climate, Americans also sought political and cultural resolutions to the upheavals of the 1960s. In politics, the

Watergate scandal led to a brief period of political reform. Meanwhile, the battle for civil rights entered a second stage, expanding to encompass women's rights, gay rights, and the rights of alleged criminals and prisoners and, in the realm of racial justice, focusing on the problem of producing concrete results rather than legislation. Many liberals cheered these developments, but another effect was to strengthen a new, more conservative social mood that began to challenge liberal values in politics and society more generally. Finally, we considered the multiple challenges faced by the American family in the 1970s and how a perception that the family was in trouble helped to spur an evangelical religious revival that would shape American society for decades to come.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK Go to **LearningCurve** to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (p. 938)
energy crisis (p. 939)
environmentalism (p. 939)
Silent Spring (p. 939)
Earth Day (p. 939)
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (p. 939)
Three Mile Island (p. 942)
stagflation (p. 942)
deindustrialization (p. 944)
Rust Belt (p. 944)
tax revolt (p. 946)
Proposition 13 (p. 947)
- Watergate (p. 947)
War Powers Act (p. 948)
Freedom of Information Act (p. 948)
Ethics in Government Act (p. 948)
deregulation (p. 950)
affirmative action (p. 950)
Bakke v. University of California (p. 951)
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) (p. 952)
STOP ERA (p. 953)
Roe v. Wade (p. 956)
evangelicalism (p. 962)

Key People

- Rachel Carson (p. 939)
Gerald Ford (p. 947)
Howard Jarvis (p. 947)
Jimmy Carter (p. 949)
Phyllis Schlafly (p. 953)
Harvey Milk (p. 956)
Billy Graham (p. 962)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. Why did the U.S. economy struggle in the 1970s? How was the period after 1973 different from 1945–1972?
2. How was the “rights liberalism” of this era different from the “welfare liberalism” of the 1930s and 1940s?
3. How was the American family of the 1970s different from that of the 1950s? Without romanticizing either period, how would you account for the differences?
4. **THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Examine the category “Work, Exchange, and Technology” on the thematic timeline on page 803. How did economic developments in the 1970s reverse the course the national economy had been on since World War II? More broadly, can you identify events in each of the timeline categories that made the 1970s a decade of important historical transition?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Consider the history of the American economy in the twentieth century. Compare the 1970s with other eras: the Great Depression of the 1930s, the industrial boom of the World War II years, and the growth and rising wages in the 1950s and 1960s. Using these comparisons, construct a historical narrative of the period from the 1920s through the 1970s.
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** Study the photographs on pages 943 and 959 and the map on page 944. How did the economic downturn of the 1970s affect the lives of ordinary Americans and American culture broadly? What connections can you draw between the two photographs and developments in the global economy and the rise of the Sunbelt?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Jeffrey Hadden and Anson Shupe, *Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier* (1988). A thought-provoking analysis of Christian broadcasting.

Daniel Horowitz, *Jimmy Carter and the Energy Crisis of the 1970s* (2005). Analysis and documents.

N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer, *Roe v. Wade: The Abortion Rights Controversy in American History* (2001). A sweeping treatment of the controversial decision.

Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America* (2008). An excellent overview of the era.

Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962–1992* (1993). A balanced account of environmentalism.

The Oyez Project at Northwestern University, at oyez.org/oyez/frontpage, is an invaluable resource for more than one thousand Supreme Court cases, with audio transcripts, voting records, and summaries.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Earth Day first observed• Environmental Protection Agency established
1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Equal Rights Amendment passed by Congress• Phyllis Schlafly founds STOP ERA• <i>Furman v. Georgia</i> outlaws death penalty• Watergate break-in (June)
1973	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Roe v. Wade</i> legalizes abortion• Endangered Species Act• OPEC oil embargo; gas shortages• Period of high inflation begins• War Powers Act
1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Nixon resigns over Watergate• Congress imposes 55 miles-per-hour speed limit
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• New York nears bankruptcy• “Watergate babies” begin congressional reform
1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jimmy Carter elected president
1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Proposition 13 reduces California property taxes• <i>Bakke v. University of California</i> limits affirmative action• Harvey Milk assassinated in San Francisco
1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Three Mile Island nuclear accident

KEY TURNING POINTS: Based on this timeline, what were the three or four major political turning points of the 1970s? Defend your answer by explaining the impact of the changes.

9

P A R T

CHAPTER 30
**Conservative America
in the Ascent,
1980–1991**

CHAPTER 31
**Confronting Global
and National Dilemmas,
1989 to the Present**

Global Capitalism and the End of the American Century

1980 to the Present

For historians, the recent past can be a challenge to evaluate and assess. Insufficient time has passed for scholars to weigh the significance of events and to determine which developments will have a lasting effect and which are more fleeting. Nevertheless, the period between the early 1980s and our own day has begun to emerge in the minds of historians with some clarity. Scholars generally agree on the era's three most significant developments: the resurgence of political conservatism, the end of the Cold War, and the globalization of communications and the economy. What *Time* magazine publisher Henry Luce had named the American Century—in his call for the United States to assume global leadership in the decades after World War II—came decisively to an end in the last quarter of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first. The United States lost its role as the world's dominant economy, faced rising competition from a united Europe and a surging China, and experienced a wide-ranging and divisive internal debate over its own values and priorities. Part 9 remains necessarily a work-in-progress as events continue to unfold; however, through equal parts conflict, struggle, and ingenuity, Americans collectively created a new era in national history after the 1980s, which we consider in terms of the aforementioned three developments:



Conservative Ascendancy

The 1980s constituted a crucial period in which the forthright conservatism of Ronald Reagan and the New Right was consolidated in the Republican Party and challenged the aggressive liberalism of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Under Reagan, the conservative agenda reduced the regulatory power of the federal government, shrank the welfare state created by liberal Democrats during the New Deal and the Great Society, and expanded the military. Evangelical Christians and conservative lawmakers challenged abortion rights, feminism, and gay rights, setting off a "culture war" that sharply divided Americans.

Even as the Reagan coalition brought an end to decades of liberal government activism, much of the legacy of the New Deal was preserved, and in some instances expanded. Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security survived and grew as a proportion of the federal budget. Conservatives put a stamp on U.S. foreign policy, however, dramatically increasing the defense budget and, under George W. Bush, asserting a new doctrine of "preemptive war" that led to a decades-long war in Iraq. By the presidential election of 2012, national politics seemed as divided as ever. Americans reelected Barack Obama but returned a conservative majority to the House of Representatives. Polls showed that Americans embraced a moderate liberalism on such issues as gay rights and taxes, but the national political system remained mired in stalemate.

End of the Cold War and Rising Conflict in the Middle East

Under Ronald Reagan, between 1981 and 1989 the United States increased government military spending and returned to the sharp Cold War rhetoric of earlier decades. Yet during the second half of the 1980s, as internal reforms swept through the Soviet Union, Reagan softened his stance measuredly and engaged in productive dialogue with the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Then, between 1989 and 1991, the four-decade Cold War came to a stunning halt. The Soviet Union and its satellite communist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed. The result was, in the words of President George H. W. Bush, a "new world order." Without a credible rival, the United States emerged in the 1990s as the lone military "superpower" in the world. In the absence of a clear Cold War enemy, it intervened in civil wars, worked to disrupt terrorist activities, and provided humanitarian aid—but on a case-by-case basis, guided more by pragmatism than by principle.

The foremost region that occupied U.S. attention was the Middle East, where strategic interest in oil supplies remained paramount. Between 1991 and 2011, U.S. armed forces fought three wars in the region—two in Iraq and one in Afghanistan—and became even more deeply embedded in its politics. The end of the Cold War thus brought a dramatic expansion of the U.S. role in the Middle East and renewed debates at home about the proper American role in the world.



Globalization and Increasing Social Inequality

The post–World War II expansion of the American economy had ended by the early 1970s. Wages stagnated. Inflation skyrocketed. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, productivity increased, military spending boosted production, and new industries—such as computer technology—emerged. These developments led to renewed economic growth. More and more, though, the economy produced services rather than goods, which Americans increasingly bought from overseas.

The fall of communism and the end of the Cold War had made possible this global expansion of capitalism, as multinational corporations moved production to low-wage countries and international trade increased. Governments across the world facilitated this process by deregulating financial markets and by creating new trading zones such as the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Conservative tax policies, deindustrialization, the decline of unions, and globalization all contributed to a widening inequality between the wealthiest Americans and the middle class and poor. Between 2007 and 2010, the negative side of global market deregulation became apparent, as Europe and much of North America suffered the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression. Globalization thus brought new economic opportunities and interconnections as well as the potential for renewed economic insecurity.

Global Capitalism and the End of the American Century 1980 to the Present

Thematic Understanding

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes. Consider the entries under “Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture” and “Peopling.” What were the major events of the “culture wars,” and how did American attitudes and public policy change over the decades between the 1980s and the 2010s? >

	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	POLITICS AND POWER	IDEAS, BELIEFS, AND CULTURE	PEOPLING	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ronald Reagan begins arms buildup United States arms Contras in Nicaragua Berlin Wall comes down (1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Right helps elect Ronald Reagan president Iran-Contra scandal (1985–1987) George H. W. Bush elected president (1988) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HIV/AIDS crisis prompts national conversation about homosexuality Renewed emphasis on material success and the “rich and famous” <i>Webster v. Reproductive Health Services</i> (1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rise in Latino and Asian immigration Californians vote to establish English as official language (1986) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recession (1981–1982) followed by strong growth (1982–1987) Reagan tax cut (1981) Apple personal computer introduced (1983) National debt triples (1981–1989)
1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) USSR breaks apart; end of Cold War Al Qaeda bombs World Trade Center (1993) UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia (1992–1995) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Clinton elected president (1992) Republican resurgence (1994) Welfare reform (1996) Clinton impeached and acquitted (1998–1999) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pat Buchanan declares “culture war” (1992) Proposition 209 ends affirmative action in California universities Defense of Marriage Act (1998) WTO protests in Seattle (1999) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Backlash against “multiculturalism” California bans bilingual education in public schools (1998) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internet gains in popularity Recession (1990–1991) NAFTA ratified (1993) Debt reduction under Bill Clinton
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Al Qaeda attacks World Trade Center and Pentagon (2001) United States and allies invade Afghanistan (2002) United States invades Iraq (2003) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> George W. Bush wins presidency in contested election (2000) USA PATRIOT Act (2002) Barack Obama elected first African American president (2008) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Lawrence v. Texas</i> (2003) Massachusetts becomes first state to legalize same-sex marriage (2004); nine states follow by 2012 “War on terror” becomes fixture in American discourse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New scrutiny of airport passengers after 9/11 California, Texas, Hawaii, and New Mexico become “majority-minority” states (where the majority of the population is composed of minorities) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crisis in newspaper industry Great Recession (2007–2010) President Bush asks for and receives bank bailout from Congress (2008) Unemployment hits 10 percent
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arab Spring (2010–2012) Osama bin Laden killed (2011) Last combat troops withdrawn from Iraq (2011) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health-care reform (2010) Tea Party helps Republicans regain control of House of Representatives Barack Obama reelected president (2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Congress and President Obama end “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in U.S. military (2011) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obama’s 2012 electoral coalition heavily African American, Hispanic, Asian American, female, and young 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Financial industry accounts for largest share of GDP among all industry sectors

30

CHAPTER

Conservative America in the Ascent 1980–1991

THE RISE OF THE NEW RIGHT

- Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan: Champions of the Right
- Free-Market Economics and Religious Conservatism
- The Carter Presidency

THE DAWNING OF THE CONSERVATIVE AGE

- The Reagan Coalition
- Conservatives in Power
- Morning in America

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

- U.S.-Soviet Relations in a New Era
- A New Political Order at Home and Abroad

The decade of the 1970s saw Americans divided by the Vietnam War, wearied by social unrest, and unmoored by economic drift. As a result, many ordinary citizens developed a deep distrust of the muscular Great Society liberalism of the 1960s. Seizing political advantage amid the trauma and divisions, a revived Republican Party, led by the New Right, offered the nation a fresh way forward: economic deregulation, low taxes, Christian morality, and a reenergized Cold War foreign policy. The election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980 symbolized the ascendancy of this new political formula, and the president himself helped shape the era.

The New Right revived confidence in “free markets” and called for a smaller government role in economic regulation and social welfare. Reagan famously said, “Government is not the solution to our problem; government *is* the problem.” Like the New Right generally, Reagan was profoundly skeptical of the liberal ideology that had informed American public policy since Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal. His presidency combined an economically conservative domestic agenda with aggressive anticommunism abroad. Reagan’s foreign policy brought an end to détente—a lessening of tensions—with the Soviet Union (which had begun with Richard Nixon) and then, unexpectedly, a sudden thawing of U.S.-Soviet relations, laying the groundwork for the end of the Cold War.

Reagan defined the conservative ascendancy of the 1980s, but he did not create the New Right groundswell that brought him into office. Grassroots conservative activists in the 1960s and 1970s built a formidable right-wing movement that awaited an opportune political moment to challenge for national power. That moment came in 1980, when Democratic president Jimmy Carter’s popularity plummeted as a result of his mismanagement of two national crises. Raging inflation and the Iranian seizure of U.S. hostages in Tehran undid Carter and provided an opening for the New Right, which would shape the nation’s politics for the remainder of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

What factors made the rise of the New Right possible, and what ideas about freedom and citizenship did conservatives articulate in the 1980s?



1984 Republican National Convention Ronald Reagan delivers his acceptance speech in this photo from the 1984 Republican National Convention. Reagan's political rise captured the spirit of conservative politics in the late 1970s and 1980s. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library.

The Rise of the New Right

The Great Depression and World War II discredited the traditional conservative program of limited government at home and diplomatic isolationism abroad. Nevertheless, a right-wing faction survived within the Republican Party. Its adherents continued to oppose the New Deal but reversed their earlier isolationism. In the postwar decades, conservatives pushed for military interventions against communism in Europe, Asia, and the developing world while calling for the broadest possible investigation of subversives at home (Chapter 25).

However, conservatives failed to devise policies that could win the allegiance of American voters in the two decades after World War II. Republicans by and large continued to favor party moderates, such as Dwight Eisenhower, Thomas Dewey, and Nelson Rockefeller. These were politicians, often called liberal Republicans, who supported much of the New Deal, endorsed the containment policy overseas, and steered a middle course through the volatile social and political changes of the postwar era. The conservative faction held out hope, however, that it might one day win the loyalty of a majority of Republicans and remake the party in its image. In the 1960s and 1970s, these conservatives invested their hopes for national resurgence in two dynamic figures: Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. Together, the two carried the conservative banner until the national mood grew more receptive to right-wing appeals.

Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan: Champions of the Right

The personal odyssey of Ronald Reagan embodies the story of New Right Republican conservatism. Before World War II, Reagan was a well-known movie actor as well as a New Deal Democrat and admirer of Roosevelt. However, he turned away from liberalism, partly from self-interest (he disliked paying high taxes) and partly on principle. As head of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1952, Reagan had to deal with its Communi-

nist members, who formed the extreme left wing of the American labor movement. Dismayed by their hard-line tactics and goals, he became a militant anticommunist. After nearly a decade as a spokesperson for the General Electric Corporation, Reagan joined



Barry Goldwater

Barry Goldwater was a three-term senator from Arizona before he ran for the presidency in 1964 (this photo was taken during the campaign). Goldwater's conservative influence on the Republican Party was considerable and laid the political groundwork for the rise of Ronald Reagan a decade and a half later. © Everett Collection Inc./Alamy.

the Republican Party in the early 1960s and began speaking for conservative causes and candidates.

One of those candidates was archconservative Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona. Confident in their power, centrist Republicans did not anticipate that grassroots conservatives could challenge the party's old guard and nominate one of their own for president: Goldwater himself. Understanding how they did so in 1964 brings us closer to comprehending the forces that propelled Reagan to the presidency a decade and a half later. Indeed, Reagan the politician came to national attention in 1964 with a televised speech at the Republican convention supporting Goldwater for the presidency. In a dramatic speech titled "A Time for Choosing," Reagan warned that if we "trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state," the nation would "take the first step into a thousand years of darkness."

The Conscience of a Conservative Like Reagan, Goldwater came from the Sunbelt, where citizens

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

Why was the New Right disappointed with the Republican Party in the decades after World War II?

embraced a libertarian spirit of limited government and great personal freedom. His 1960 book, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, set forth an uncompromising conservatism. In direct and accessible prose, Goldwater attacked the New Deal state, arguing that “the natural tendency of government [is] to expand in the direction of absolutism.” The problem with the Republican Party, as he saw it, was that Eisenhower had been too accommodating to liberalism. When Ike told reporters that he was “liberal when it comes to human problems,” Goldwater privately fumed.

The Conscience of a Conservative spurred a Republican grassroots movement in support of Goldwater. By distributing his book widely and mobilizing activists at state party conventions, conservatives hoped to create such a groundswell of support that Goldwater could be “drafted” to run for president in 1964, something he reportedly did not wish to do. Meanwhile, Goldwater further enchanted conservatives with another book, *Why Not Victory?*, in which he criticized the containment policy—the strategy of preventing the spread of communism followed by both Democrats and Republicans since 1947 (Chapter 25). It was, he complained, a policy of “timidly refusing to draw our own lines against aggression . . . unmarked by pride or the prospect of victory.” Here was a politician saying exactly what conservatives wanted to hear.

Grassroots Conservatives Because moderates dominated the Republican Party leadership, winning the 1964 nomination for Goldwater required conservative activists to build their campaign from the bottom up. They found thousands upon thousands of Americans willing to wear down shoe leather for their political hero. Organizations such as the John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom, and the Liberty Lobby supplied an army of eager volunteers. They came from such conservative strongholds as Orange County, California, and the fast-growing suburbs of Phoenix, Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, and other Sunbelt metropolises. A critical boost came in the early spring of 1964, when conservatives outmaneuvered moderates at the state convention of the California Republican Party, which then enthusiastically endorsed Goldwater. The fight had been bruising, and one moderate Republican warned that “sinister forces are at work to take over the whole Republican apparatus in California.”

Another spur to Goldwater backers was the appearance of a book by Phyllis Schlafly, who was then a relatively unknown conservative activist from the Midwest. Like Goldwater’s own book, Schlafly’s *A Choice Not an Echo* accused moderate Republicans of being

Democrats in disguise (that is, an “echo” of Democrats). Schlafly, who reappeared in the national spotlight in the early 1970s to help halt the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, denounced the “Rockefeller Republicans” of the Northeast and encouraged the party to embrace a defiant conservatism. Contrasting Goldwater’s “grassroots Republicans” with Rockefeller’s “kingmakers,” Schlafly hoped to “forestall another defeat like 1940, 1944, 1948, and 1960,” Democratic victories all.

The conservative groundswell won the Republican nomination for Goldwater. However, his strident tone and militarist foreign policy were too much for a nation mourning the death of John F. Kennedy and still committed to liberalism. Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson defeated Goldwater in a historic landslide (Chapter 28). Many believed that Goldwater conservatism would wither and die, but instead the nearly four million volunteers who had campaigned for the Arizona senator swung their support to Ronald Reagan and built toward the future. Skilled conservative political operatives such as Richard Viguerie, a Louisiana-born Catholic and antiabortion activist, applied new computer technology to political campaigning. Viguerie took a list of 12,000 Goldwater contributors and used computerized mailing lists to solicit campaign funds, rally support for conservative causes, and get out the vote on election day. Conservatism was down but not out.

Backed financially by wealthy southern Californians and supported by Goldwaterites, Reagan won California’s governorship in 1966 and again in 1970. His impassioned rhetoric supporting limited government and law and order—he vowed to “clean up the mess in Berkeley,” referring to campus radicals—won broad support among citizens of the nation’s most populous state. More significantly, it made him a force in national politics. His supporters believed that he was in line to succeed Nixon as the next Republican president. The Watergate scandal intervened, however, discrediting Nixon and making Gerald Ford the incumbent. After narrowly losing a campaign against Ford for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, Reagan was forced to bide his time. When Ford lost to Carter in that year’s election, as the party’s brightest star Reagan was a near lock to be the nominee in 1980.

Free-Market Economics and Religious Conservatism

The last phase of Reagan’s rise was the product of several additional developments within the New Right. The burgeoning conservative movement increasingly

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

What was the “three-legged stool” of the New Right, and how did each leg develop within the context of the Cold War?

demanded strong government action to implement their faith-based agenda, while economic conservatives favored limited government and free markets. Both groups, however, were ardent anticommunists—free marketeers loathed the state-directed Soviet economy, and religious conservatives despised the “godless” secularism of the Soviet state. In the end, the success of the New Right would come to depend on balancing the interests of economic and moral conservatives.

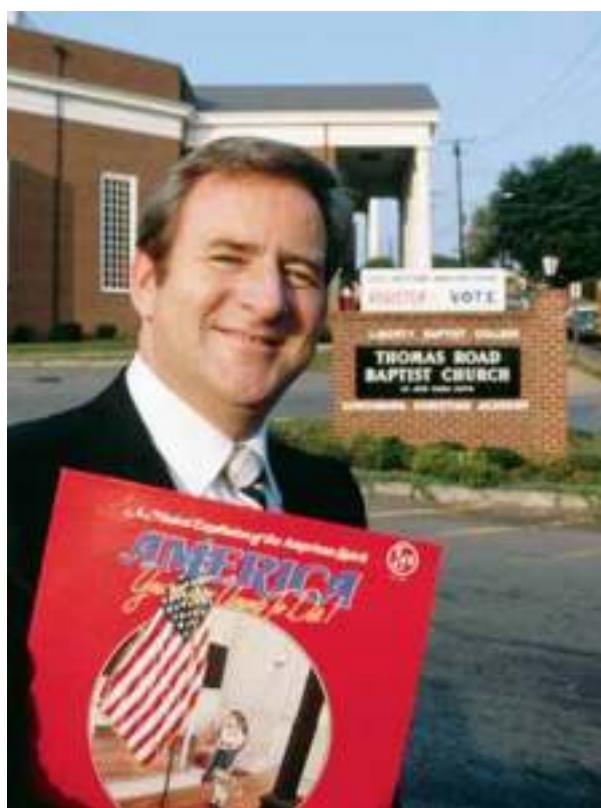
Since the 1950s, William F. Buckley, the founder and editor of the conservative magazine *National Review*, and Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist at the University of Chicago, had been the most prominent conservative intellectuals. Convinced that “the growth of government must be fought relentlessly,” Buckley used the *National Review* to criticize liberal policy. For his part, Friedman became a national conservative icon with the publication of *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), in which he argued that “economic freedom is . . . an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom.” Friedman’s free-market ideology, along with that of Friedrich von Hayek, another University of Chicago economist, was taken up by wealthy conservatives, who funded think tanks during the 1980s to disseminate market-based public policy ideas. The Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute issued policy proposals and attacked liberal legislation and the stranglehold of economic regulation they believed it exerted. Followers of Buckley and Friedman envisioned themselves as crusaders, working against what one conservative called “the despotic aspects of egalitarianism.”

The most striking addition to the conservative coalition was the **Religious Right**. Until the 1970s, politics was an earthly concern of secondary interest to most fundamentalist and evangelical Protestants. But the perception that American society had become immoral, combined with the influence of a new generation of popular ministers, made politics relevant. Conservative Protestants and Catholics joined together in a tentative alliance, as the Religious Right condemned divorce, abortion, premarital sex, and feminism. The route to a moral life and to “peace, pardon,

resembled a three-legged stool. Each leg represented an ideological position and a popular constituency: anticommunism, free-market economics, and religious traditionalism. Uniting all three in a political coalition was no easy feat. Religious traditionalists

purpose, and power,” as one evangelical activist said, was “to plug yourself into the One, the Only One [God].”

Charismatic televangelists such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell emerged as the champions of a morality-based political agenda during the late 1970s. Falwell, founder of Liberty University and host of the *Old Time Gospel Hour* television program, established the Moral Majority in 1979. With 400,000 members and \$1.5 million in contributions in its first year, it would be the organizational vehicle for transforming the Fourth Great Awakening into a religious political movement. Falwell made no secret of his views: “If you want to know where I am politically,” he told reporters, “I thought Goldwater was too liberal.” Falwell was not alone. Phyllis Schlafly’s STOP ERA, which became Eagle Forum in 1975, continued to advocate for conservative public policy; Focus on the Family was



Jerry Falwell

The resurgence of evangelical religion in the 1970s was accompanied by a conservative movement in politics known as the Religious Right. Founded in 1979 by televangelist Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority was one of the earliest Religious Right groups, committed to promoting “family values” and (as the title to the record album he is holding in this photo suggests) patriotism in American society and politics. Wally McNamee/Corbis.

founded in 1977; and a succession of conservative organizations would emerge in the 1980s, including the Family Research Council.

The conservative message preached by Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan had appealed to few American voters in 1964. Then came the series of events that undermined support for the liberal agenda of the Democratic Party: the failed war in Vietnam; a judiciary that legalized abortion and pornography, enforced school busing, and curtailed public expression of religion; urban riots; and a stagnating economy. By the late 1970s, the New Right had developed a conservative message that commanded much greater popular support than Goldwater's program had. Religious and free-market conservatives joined with traditional anticommunist hard-liners—alongside whites opposed to black civil rights, affirmative action, and busing—in a broad coalition that attacked welfare-state liberalism, social permissiveness, and an allegedly weak and defensive foreign policy. Ronald Reagan expertly appealed to all of these conservative constituencies and captured the Republican presidential nomination in 1980 (American Voices, p. 978). It had taken almost two decades, but the New Right appeared on the verge of winning the presidency.

The Carter Presidency

First, the Republican Party had to defeat incumbent president Jimmy Carter. Carter's outsider status and his disdain for professional politicians had made him the ideal post-Watergate president. But his ineffectiveness and missteps as an executive also made him the perfect foil for Ronald Reagan.

Carter had an idealistic vision of American leadership in world affairs. He presented himself as the anti-Nixon, a world leader who rejected Henry Kissinger's "realism" in favor of human rights and peacemaking. "Human rights is the soul of our foreign policy," Carter asserted, "because human rights is the very soul of our sense of nationhood." He established the Office of Human Rights in the State Department and withdrew economic and military aid from repressive regimes in Argentina, Uruguay, and Ethiopia—although, in realist fashion, he still funded equally repressive U.S. allies such as the Philippines, South Africa, and Iran. In Latin America, Carter eliminated a decades-old symbol of Yankee imperialism by signing a treaty on September 7, 1977, turning control of the Panama Canal over to Panama (effective December 31, 1999). Carter's most important efforts came in forging an enduring, although in retrospect limited, peace in the intractable

Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1978, he invited Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat to Camp David, where they crafted a "framework for peace," under which Egypt recognized Israel and received back the Sinai Peninsula, which Israel had occupied since 1967.

Carter deplored what he called the "inordinate fear of communism," but his efforts at improving relations with the Soviet Union foundered. His criticism of the Kremlin's record on human rights offended Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and slowed arms reduction negotiations. When, in 1979, Carter finally signed the second Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT II), limiting bombers and missiles, Senate hawks objected. Then, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan that December, Carter suddenly endorsed the hawks' position and treated the invasion as the "gravest threat to world peace since World War II." After ordering an embargo on wheat shipments to the Soviet Union and withdrawing SALT II from Senate consideration, Carter called for increased defense spending and declared an American boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. In a fateful decision, he and Congress began providing covert assistance to anti-Soviet fighters in Afghanistan, some of whom, including Osama bin Laden, would metamorphose into anti-American Islamic radicals decades later.

Hostage Crisis Carter's ultimate undoing came in Iran, however. The United States had long counted Iran as a faithful ally, a bulwark against Soviet expansion into the Middle East and a steady source of oil. Since the 1940s, Iran had been ruled by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Ousted by a democratically elected parliament in the early 1950s, the shah (king) sought and received the assistance of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which helped him reclaim power in 1953. American intervention soured Iranian views of the United States for decades. Early in 1979, a revolution drove the shah into exile and brought a fundamentalist Shiite cleric, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to power (Shiites represent one branch of Islam, Sunnis the other). When the United States admitted the deposed shah into the country for cancer treatment, Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking sixty-six Americans hostage. The captors demanded that the shah be returned to Iran for trial. Carter refused. Instead, he suspended arms sales to Iran and froze Iranian assets in American banks.

For the next fourteen months, the **hostage crisis** paralyzed Carter's presidency. Night after night, humiliating pictures of blindfolded American hostages



Christianity and Public Life

President Ronald Reagan

"The Rule of Law Under God"

Reagan's candidacy was strongly supported by Christian conservatives. He delivered these remarks to the National Association of American Evangelicals in 1983.

I want you to know that this administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities—the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now, I don't have to tell you that this puts us in opposition to, or at least out of step with, a prevailing attitude of many who have turned to a modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our very civilization is based. No matter how well intentioned, their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. And while they proclaim that they're freeing us from superstitions of the past, they've taken upon themselves the job of superintending us by government rule and regulation. Sometimes their voices are louder than ours, but they are not yet a majority. . . .

Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged. When our Founding Fathers passed the First Amendment, they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never intended to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself.

Last year, I sent the Congress a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. Already this session, there's growing bipartisan support for the amendment, and I am calling on the Congress to act speedily to pass it and to let our children pray.

Source: Reprinted with the permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc. from *Speaking My Mind* by Ronald Reagan. Copyright © 1989 Ronald W. Reagan.

Modern social-welfare liberalism embodies an ethic of moral pluralism and favors the separation of church and state. Conservative Christians challenge the legitimacy of pluralism and secularism and seek, through political agitation and legal action, to make religion an integral part of public life.

Donald E. Wildmon

Network Television as a Moral Danger

Wildmon was a Christian minister, a grassroots religious activist, and the founder of the American Family Association.

One night during the Christmas holidays of 1976, I decided to watch television with my family. . . . Not far into the program was a scene of adultery. I reacted to the situation in the manner as I had been taught. I asked one of the children to change channels. Getting involved in the second program, we were shocked with some crude profanity. . . .

As I sat in my den that night, I became angry. I had been disturbed by the deterioration of morals I had witnessed in the media and society during the previous twenty-five years.

This was accompanied by a dramatic rise in crime, a proliferation of pornography, increasingly explicit sexual lyrics in music, increasing numbers of broken homes, a rise in drug and alcohol use among the youth, and various other negative factors. . . .

Realizing that these changes were being brought into the sanctity of my home, I decided I could and would no longer remain silent. . . .

This great struggle is one of values, particularly which ones will be the standard for our society and a base for our system of justice in the years to come. For 200 years our country has based its morals, its sense of right and wrong, on the Christian view of man. The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount have been our solid foundation. . . .

Television is the most pervasive and persuasive medium we have. At times it is larger than life. It is our only true national medium. Network television is the greatest educator we have. . . .

It is teaching that adultery is an acceptable and approved lifestyle. . . . It is teaching that hardly anyone goes to church, that very few people in our society are Christian or live by Christian principles. How? By simply censoring Christian characters, Christian values, and Christian culture from the programs.

Source: From Donald E. Wildmon, *Home Invaders* (Elgin, IL: Victor Books, 1985). Copyright © 1985. Reprinted by permission of the author.

A. Bartlett Giamatti

The Moral Majority as a Threat to Liberty

A. Bartlett Giamatti was the president of Yale University (1978–1986) and subsequently commissioner of Major League Baseball. He offered these remarks to the entering class of Yale undergraduates in 1981.

A self-proclaimed “Moral Majority,” and its satellite or client groups, cunning in the use of a native blend of old intimidation and new technology, threaten the values [of pluralism and freedom]. . . .

From the maw of this “morality” come those who presume to know what justice for all is; come those who presume to know which books are fit to read, which television programs are fit to watch. . . . From the maw of this “morality” rise the tax-exempt Savonarolas who believe they, and they alone, possess the “truth.” There is no debate, no discussion, no dissent. They know. . . .

What nonsense.

What dangerous, malicious nonsense. . . .

We should be concerned that so much of our political and religious leadership acts intimidated for the moment and will not say with clarity that this most recent denial of the legitimacy of differentness is a radical assault on the very pluralism of peoples, political beliefs, values, forms of merit and systems of religion our country was founded to welcome and foster.

Liberty protects the person from unwarranted government intrusions into a dwelling or other private places. In our tradition the State is not omnipresent in the home. And there are other spheres of our lives and existence, outside the home, where the State should not be a dominant presence.

Freedom extends beyond spatial bounds. Liberty presumes an autonomy of self that includes freedom of thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct.

Source: From Speeches and Articles by and about Presidents of Yale University (RU 65). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Used by permission of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

Anthony Kennedy

The Constitution Protects Privacy

Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, was named to the Supreme Court by Ronald Reagan in 1988. In *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), which challenged a state antisodomy law, he wrote the opinion for five of the six justices in the majority; Sandra Day O’Connor wrote a concurring opinion.

The question before the Court is the validity of a Texas statute making it a crime for two persons of the same sex to engage in certain intimate sexual conduct.

In Houston, Texas, officers of the Harris County Police Department were dispatched to a private residence in response to a reported weapons disturbance. They entered an apartment where one of the petitioners, John Geddes Lawrence, resided. . . . The officers observed Lawrence and another man, Tyron Garner, engaging in a sexual act. The two petitioners were arrested, held in custody over night, and charged and convicted before a Justice of the Peace.

The complaints described their crime as “deviate sexual intercourse, namely [. . .] sex, with a member of the same sex (man).” . . .

We conclude the case should be resolved by determining whether the petitioners were free as adults to engage in the private conduct in the exercise of their liberty under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

[The Texas statute in question seeks] to control a personal relationship that, whether or not entitled to formal recognition in the law, is within the liberty of persons to choose without being punished as criminals. . . . The liberty protected by the Constitution allows homosexual persons the right to make this choice. . . .

. . . The petitioners are entitled to respect for their private lives. The State cannot demean their existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime. Their right to liberty under the Due Process Clause gives them the full right to engage in their conduct without intervention of the government. “It is a promise of the Constitution that there is a realm of personal liberty which the government may not enter.”

Source: *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558, 562–563, 567, 571, 579 (2003).

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare the Ronald Reagan and Anthony Kennedy documents. What would Reagan think of the opinion written by Justice Kennedy, his appointee? Given his condemnation of those intent on “subordinating us to government rule and regulation,” do you think he would agree with it? Why or why not?
2. According to Wildmon, what should be shown on television, and who should make those decisions? How would Giamatti answer that same question?
3. Consider the different points of view presented here. According to these sources, when should the government police private conduct?



American Hostages in Iran

Images of blindfolded, handcuffed American hostages seized by Iranian militants at the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979 shocked the nation and created a foreign policy crisis that eventually cost President Carter his chance for reelection. Alain Mingam/Gamma/Zuma Press.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

In terms of presidential politics and policy, how successful was Jimmy Carter's term, coming between two Republicans (Nixon and Reagan)?

officially because of a dispute over deep-water ports but also to prevent the Shiite-led Iranian Revolution from spreading across the border into Sunni-run Iraq. Desperate to focus his nation's attention on Iraq's invasion, Khomeini began to talk with the United States about releasing the hostages. Difficult negotiations dragged on past the American presidential election in November 1980, and the hostages were finally released the day after Carter left office—a final indignity endured by a well-intentioned but ineffectual president.

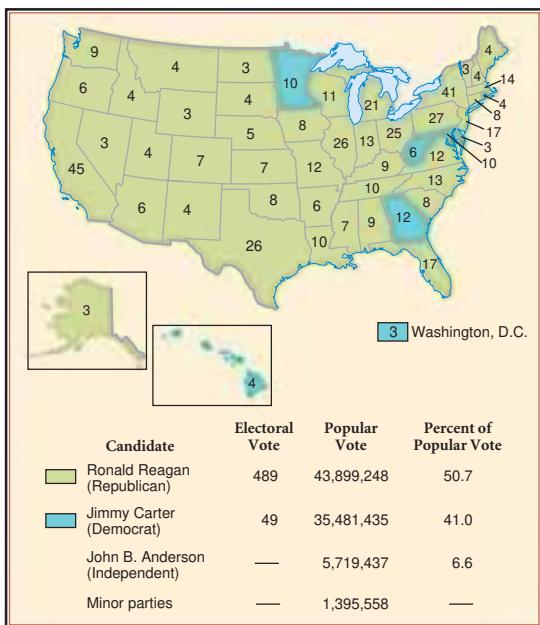
The Election of 1980 President Carter's sinking popularity hurt his bid for reelection. When the Democrats barely renominated him over his liberal challenger, Edward (Ted) Kennedy of Massachusetts, Carter's approval rating was historically low: a mere 21 percent of Americans believed that he was an effective president. The reasons were clear. Economically, millions of citizens were feeling the pinch from stagnant wages, high inflation, crippling mortgage rates,

appeared on television newscasts. An attempt to mount a military rescue in April 1980 had to be aborted because of equipment failures in the desert. Several months later, however, a stunning development changed the calculus on both sides: Iraq, led by Saddam Hussein, invaded Iran,

and an unemployment rate of nearly 8 percent. In international affairs, the nation blamed Carter for his weak response to Soviet expansion and the Iranians' seizure of American diplomats.

With Carter on the defensive, Reagan remained upbeat and decisive. "This is the greatest country in the world," Reagan reassured the nation in his warm baritone voice. "We have the talent, we have the drive. . . . All we need is the leadership." To emphasize his intention to be a formidable international leader, Reagan hinted that he would take strong action to win the hostages' return. To signal his rejection of liberal policies, he declared his opposition to affirmative action and forced busing and promised to "get the government off our backs." Most important, Reagan effectively appealed to the many Americans who felt financially insecure. In a televised debate with Carter, Reagan emphasized the hardships facing working- and middle-class Americans in an era of stagflation and asked them: "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?"

In November, the voters gave a clear answer. They repudiated Carter, giving him only 41.0 percent of the vote. Independent candidate John Anderson garnered 6.6 percent (with a few minor candidates receiving fractions of a percent), and Reagan won with 50.7 percent of the popular vote (Map 30.1). Moreover, the Republicans elected thirty-three new members of the House of Representatives and twelve new senators,

**MAP 30.1****The Presidential Election of 1980**

Ronald Reagan easily defeated Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter, taking 50.7 percent of the popular vote to Carter's 41.0 percent and winning the electoral vote in all but six states and the District of Columbia. Reagan cut deeply into the traditional Democratic coalition by wooing many southern whites, urban ethnics, and blue-collar workers. More than five million Americans expressed their discontent with Carter's ineffectiveness and Reagan's conservatism by voting for Independent candidate John Anderson, a longtime Republican member of the House of Representatives.

which gave them control of the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1954. The New Right's long road to national power had culminated in an election victory that signaled a new political alignment in the country.

The Dawning of the Conservative Age

By the time Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, conservatism commanded wider popular support than at any time since the 1920s. As the New Deal Democratic coalition continued to fragment, the Republican Party accelerated the realignment of the American electorate that had begun during the 1960s. Conservatism's ascendancy did more than realign the nation politically. Its emphasis on free markets, low taxes, and individual success shaped the nation's culture and inaugurated a conservative era. Reagan exhorted Americans, "Let

the men and women of the marketplace decide what they want."

The Reagan Coalition

Reagan's decades in public life, especially his years working for General Electric, had equipped him to articulate conservative ideas in easily understandable aphorisms. Speaking against the growing size and influence of government, Reagan said, "Concentrated power has always been the enemy of liberty." Under his leadership, the core of the Republican Party remained the relatively affluent, white, Protestant voters who supported balanced budgets, opposed government activism, feared communism, and believed in a strong national defense. Reagan Republicanism also attracted middle-class suburbanites and migrants to the Sunbelt states who endorsed the conservative agenda of combating crime and limiting social-welfare spending. Suburban growth in particular, a phenomenon that reshaped metropolitan areas across the country in the 1960s and 1970s, benefitted conservatives politically. Suburban traditions of privatization and racial homogeneity, combined with the amenities of middle-class comfort, made the residents of suburban cities more inclined to support conservative public policies.

This emerging **Reagan coalition** was joined by a large and electorally key group of former Democrats that had been gradually moving toward the Republican Party since 1964: southern whites. Reagan capitalized on the "southern strategy" developed by Richard Nixon's advisors in the late 1960s. Many southern whites had lost confidence in the Democratic Party for a wide range of reasons, but one factor stood out: the party's support for civil rights. When Reagan came to Philadelphia, Mississippi, to deliver his first official speech as the Republican presidential nominee, his ringing endorsement of "states' rights" sent a clear message: he validated twenty-five years of southern opposition to federal civil rights legislation. Some of Reagan's advisors had warned him not to go to Philadelphia, the site of the tragic murder of three civil rights workers in 1964, but Reagan believed the opportunity to launch his campaign on a "states' rights" note too important. After 1980, southern whites would remain a cornerstone of the Republican coalition.

The Religious Right proved crucial to the Republican victory as well. Falwell's **Moral Majority** claimed that it had registered

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

What different constituencies made up the Reagan coalition, and how would you characterize their regional, geographic, class, and racial composition?



President Reagan at His Ranch in Southern California

Images of Reagan quickly became vital for the White House to deliver its message of conservative reform to the American people. This photo was taken by a White House photographer. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library.

two million new voters for the 1980 election, and the Republican Party's platform reflected its influence. That platform called for a constitutional ban on abortion, voluntary prayer in public schools, and a mandatory death penalty for certain crimes. Republicans also demanded an end to court-mandated busing to achieve racial integration in schools, and, for the first time in forty years, opposed the Equal Rights Amendment. Within the Republican Party, conservatism had triumphed.

Reagan's broad coalition attracted the allegiance of another group dissatisfied with the direction of liberalism in the 1970s: blue-collar voters, a high number of Catholics among them, alarmed by antiwar protesters and rising welfare expenditures and hostile to feminist demands. Some observers saw these voters, which many called **Reagan Democrats**, as coming from the "silent majority" that Nixon had swung into the Republican fold in 1968 and 1972. They lived in heavily industrialized midwestern states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois and had been a core part of the Democratic coalition for three decades. Reagan's victory in the 1980s thus hinged on both a revival of right-wing conservative activism and broad dissatisfaction with liberal Democrats—a dissatisfaction that had been building since 1968 but had been interrupted by the post-Watergate backlash against the Republican Party.

Conservatives in Power

The new president kept his political message clear and simple. "What I want to see above all," he remarked, "is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich." Standing in the way, Reagan believed, was government. In his first year in office, Reagan and his chief advisor, James A. Baker III, quickly set new governmental priorities. To roll back the expanded liberal state, they launched a three-pronged assault on federal taxes, social-welfare spending, and the regulatory bureaucracy. To prosecute the Cold War, they advocated a vast increase in defense spending and an end to détente with the Soviet Union. And to match the resurgent economies of Germany and Japan, they set out to restore American leadership of the world's capitalist societies and to inspire renewed faith in "free markets."

Reaganomics To achieve its economic objectives, the new administration advanced a set of policies, quickly dubbed **Reaganomics**, to increase the production (and thus the supply) of goods. The theory underlying **supply-side economics**, as this approach was called, emphasized investment in productive enterprises. According to supply-side theorists, the best way to bolster investment was to reduce the taxes paid by

corporations and wealthy Americans, who could then use these funds to expand production.

Supply-siders maintained that the resulting economic expansion would increase government revenues and offset the loss of tax dollars stemming from the original tax cuts. Meanwhile, the increasing supply would generate its own demand, as consumers stepped forward to buy ever more goods. Supply-side theory presumed—in fact, gambled—that future tax revenues would make up for present tax cuts. The idea had a growing list of supporters in Congress, led by an ex-professional football player from Buffalo named Jack Kemp. Kemp praised supply-side economics as “an alternative to the slow-growth, recession-oriented policies of the [Carter] administration.”

Reagan took advantage of Republican control of the Senate, as well as high-profile allies such as Kemp, to win congressional approval of the 1981 **Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA)**, a massive tax cut that embodied supply-side principles. The act reduced income tax rates for most Americans by 23 percent over three years. For the wealthiest Americans—those with millions to invest—the highest marginal tax rate dropped from 70 to 50 percent. The act also slashed estate taxes, levies on inheritances instituted during the Progressive Era to prevent the transmission of huge fortunes from one generation to the next. Finally, the new legislation trimmed the taxes paid by business corporations by \$150 billion over a period of five years. As a result of ERTA, by 1986 the annual revenue of the federal government had been cut by \$200 billion (nearly half a trillion in 2010 dollars).

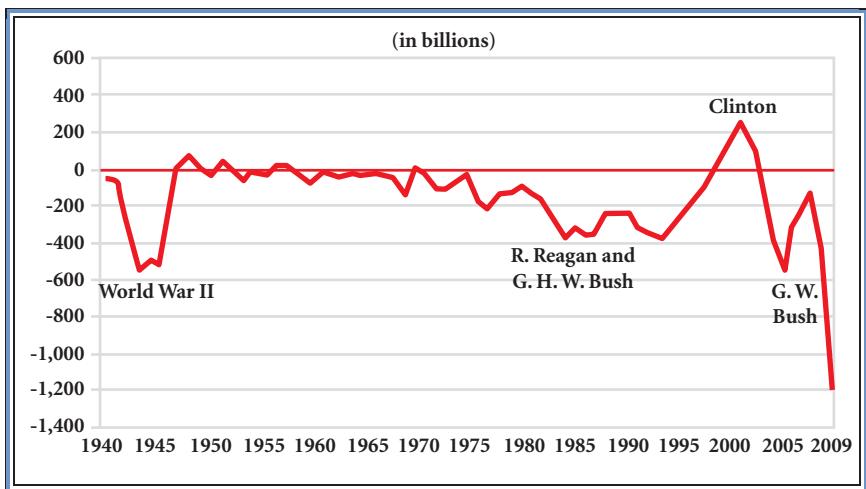
David Stockman, Reagan’s budget director, hoped to match this reduction in tax revenue with a comparable cutback in federal expenditures. To meet this ambitious goal, he proposed substantial cuts in Social Security and Medicare. But Congress, and even the president himself, rejected his idea; they were not willing to antagonize middle-class and elderly voters who viewed these government entitlements as sacred. As conservative columnist George Will noted ironically, “Americans are conservative. What they want to conserve is the New Deal.” After defense spending, Social Security and Medicare were by far the nation’s largest budget items; reductions in other programs would not achieve the savings the administration desired. This contradiction between New Right Republican ideology and political reality would continue to frustrate the party into the twenty-first century.

A more immediate embarrassment confronted conservatives, however. In a 1982 *Atlantic* article, Stockman admitted that supply-side theory was based

on faith, not economics. To produce optimistic projections of higher tax revenue in future years, Stockman had manipulated the figures. Worse, Stockman told the *Atlantic* reporter candidly that supply-side theory was based on a long-discredited idea: the “trickle-down” notion that helping the rich would eventually benefit the lower and middle classes. Stockman had drawn back the curtain, much to Republicans’ consternation, on the flawed reasoning of supply-side theory. But it was too late. The plan had passed Congress, and since Stockman could not cut major programs such as Social Security and Medicare, he had few options to balance the budget.

As the administration’s spending cuts fell short, the federal budget deficit increased dramatically. Military spending contributed a large share of the growing **national debt**. But President Reagan remained undaunted. “Defense is not a budget item,” he declared. “You spend what you need.” To “make America number one again,” Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger pushed through Congress a five-year, \$1.2 trillion military spending program in 1981. During Reagan’s presidency, military spending accounted for one-fourth of all federal expenditures and contributed to rising annual budget deficits (the amount overspent by the government in a single year) and a skyrocketing national debt (the cumulative total of all budget deficits). By the time Reagan left office, the total federal debt had tripled, rising from \$930 billion in 1981 to \$2.8 trillion in 1989. The rising annual deficits of the 1980s contradicted Reagan’s pledge of fiscal conservatism (Figure 30.1).

Deregulation Advocates of Reaganomics asserted that excessive regulation by federal agencies impeded economic growth. **Deregulation** of prices in the trucking, airline, and railroad industries had begun under President Carter in the late 1970s, but Reagan expanded the mandate to include cutting back on government protections of consumers, workers, and the environment. Some of the targeted federal bureaucracies, such as the U.S. Department of Labor, had risen to prominence during the New Deal; others, such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), had been created during the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Although these agencies provided many services to business corporations, they also increased their costs—by protecting the rights of workers, mandating safety improvements in factories, and requiring expensive equipment to limit the release of toxic chemicals into the environment. To reduce the

**FIGURE 30.1**
The Annual Federal Budget Deficit (or Surplus), 1940–2009

During World War II, the federal government incurred an enormous budget deficit. But between 1946 and 1965, it ran either an annual budget surplus or incurred a relatively small debt. The annual deficits rose significantly during the Vietnam War and the stagflation of the 1970s, but they really exploded between 1982 and 1994, in the budgets devised by the Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations, and again between 2002 and 2005, in those prepared by George W. Bush. The Republican presidents increased military spending while cutting taxes, an enjoy-it-now philosophy that transferred costs to future generations of Americans.

reach of federal regulatory agencies, the Reagan administration in 1981 cut their budgets, by an average of 12 percent.

Reagan also rendered regulatory agencies less effective by staffing them with leaders who were opposed to the agencies' missions. James Watt, an outspoken conservative who headed the Department of the Interior, attacked environmentalism as "a left-wing cult." Acting on his free-enterprise principles, Watt opened public lands for use by private businesses—oil and coal corporations, large-scale ranchers, and timber companies. Anne Gorsuch Burford, whom Reagan appointed to head the EPA, likewise disparaged environmentalists and refused to cooperate with Congress to clean up toxic waste sites under a program known as the Superfund. The Sierra Club and other environmental groups aroused enough public outrage about these appointees that the administration changed its position. During President Reagan's second term, he significantly increased the EPA's budget and added acreage to the National Wilderness Preservation System and animals and plants to the endangered species lists.

Ultimately, as these adjustments demonstrate, politics in the United States remained "the art of the possible." Savvy politicians know when to advance and when to retreat. Having attained two of his prime

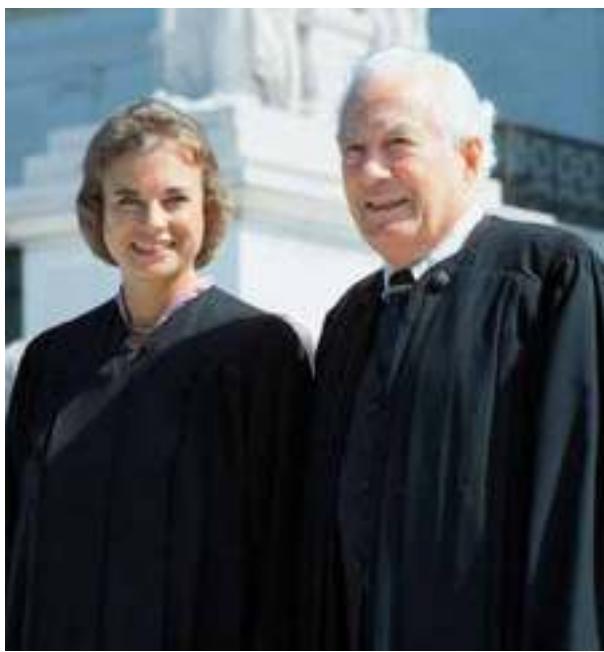
the gross domestic product (GDP) and federal taxes at 19 percent of GDP, both virtually the same as in 1981. In the meantime, though, the federal debt had tripled in size, and the number of government workers had increased from 2.9 to 3.1 million. This outcome—because it cut against the president's rhetoric about balancing budgets and downsizing government—elicited harsh criticism from some conservative commentators. "There was no Reagan Revolution," one conservative noted. A former Reagan aide offered a more balanced assessment: "Ronald Reagan did far less than he had hoped . . . and a hell of a lot more than people thought he would."

Remaking the Judiciary Even if he did not achieve everything many of his supporters desired, Reagan left an indelible imprint on politics, public policy, and American culture. One place this imprint was felt in far-reaching ways was the judiciary, where Reagan and his attorney general, Edwin Meese, aimed at reversing the liberal judicial philosophy that had prevailed since the late 1950s. During his two terms, Reagan appointed 368 federal court judges—most of them with conservative credentials—and three Supreme Court justices: Sandra Day O'Connor (1981), Antonin Scalia (1986), and Anthony Kennedy (1988). Ironically, O'Connor and Kennedy turned out to be far less devoted to New Right conservatism than Reagan and his supporters imagined. O'Connor, the first woman to serve on the Court, shaped its decision making as a swing vote between liberals and conservatives. Kennedy also emerged as a judicial moderate, leaving Scalia as Reagan's only genuinely conservative appointee.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

Why was Reagan unable to reduce federal expenditures as much as many of his supporters had hoped?

goals—a major tax cut and a dramatic increase in defense spending—Reagan did not seriously attempt to scale back big government and the welfare state. When he left office in 1989, federal spending stood at 22.1 percent of



Another Barrier Falls

In 1981, Sandra Day O'Connor, shown here with Chief Justice Warren Burger, was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Ronald Reagan, the first woman to serve on that body. In 1993, she was joined by Ruth Bader Ginsburg, an appointee of President Bill Clinton. O'Connor emerged as a leader of the moderate bloc on the Court during the 1990s; she retired in 2006. Black Star/Stockphoto.com.

But Reagan also elevated Justice William Rehnquist, a conservative Nixon appointee, to the position of chief justice. Under Rehnquist's leadership (1986–2005), the Court's conservatives took an activist stance, limiting the reach of federal laws, ending court-ordered busing, and endorsing constitutional protection of property rights. However, on controversial issues such as individual liberties, abortion rights, affirmative action, and the rights of criminal defendants, the presence of O'Connor enabled the Court to resist the rightward drift and to maintain a moderate position. As a result, the justices scaled back, but did not usually overturn, the liberal rulings of the Warren and Burger Courts. In the controversial *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989), for instance, Scalia pushed for the justices to overturn the abortion-rights decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973). O'Connor refused, but she nonetheless approved the constitutional validity of state laws that limited the use of public funds and facilities for abortions. A more conservative federal judiciary would remain a significant institutional legacy of the Reagan presidency.

HIV/AIDS Another conservative legacy was the slow national response to one of the worst disease epidemics of the postwar decades. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), a deadly (though slow-acting) pathogen, developed in Africa when a chimpanzee virus jumped to humans; immigrants carried it to Haiti and then to the United States during the 1970s. In 1981, American physicians identified HIV as a new virus—one that caused a disease known as acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Hundreds of gay men, who were prominent among the earliest carriers of the virus, were dying of AIDS. Within two decades, **HIV/AIDS** had spread worldwide, infected more than 50 million people of both sexes, and killed more than 20 million.

Within the United States, AIDS took nearly a hundred thousand lives in the 1980s—more than were lost in the Korean and Vietnam Wars combined. However, because its most prominent early victims were gay men, President Reagan, emboldened by New Right conservatives, hesitated in declaring a national health emergency. Some of Reagan's advisors asserted that this "gay disease" might even be God's punishment of homosexuals. Between 1981 and 1986, as the epidemic spread, the Reagan administration took little action—worse, it prevented the surgeon general, C. Everett Koop, from speaking forthrightly to the nation about the disease. Pressed by gay activists and prominent health officials from across the country, in Reagan's last years in office the administration finally began to devote federal resources to treatment for HIV and AIDS patients and research into possible vaccines. But the delay had proved costly, inhumane, and embarrassing.

Morning in America

During his first run for governor of California in 1966, Reagan held a revelatory conversation with a campaign consultant. "Politics is just like the movies," Reagan told him. "You have a hell of an opening, coast for a while, and then have a hell of a close." Reagan indeed had a "hell of an opening": one of the most lavish and expensive presidential inaugurations in American history in 1981 (and another in 1985), showing that he was unafraid to celebrate luxury and opulence, even with millions of Americans unemployed.

Following his spectacular inauguration, Reagan quickly won passage of his tax reduction bill and launched his plan to bolster the Pentagon. But then a long "coasting" period descended on his presidency, during which he retreated on tax cuts and navigated a major foreign policy scandal. Finally, toward the end of his two-term presidency, Reagan found his "hell of



HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS epidemic hit the United States in the early 1980s and remained a major social and political issue throughout the decade. Here, AIDS patients and their supporters participate in the 1987 March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights, demanding that the Reagan administration commit more federal resources to finding a cure for the deadly disease. © Bettmann/Corbis.

a close,” leaving office as major reforms—which he encouraged from afar—had begun to tear apart the Soviet Union and bring an end to the Cold War. Through all the ups and downs, Reagan remained a master of the politics of symbolism, championing a resurgent American economy and reassuring the country that the pursuit of wealth was noble and that he had the reins of the nation firmly in hand.

Reagan’s tax cuts had barely taken effect when he was forced to reverse course. High interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board had cut the runaway inflation of the Carter years. But these rates—as high as 18 percent—sent the economy into a recession in 1981–1982 that put 10 million Americans out of work and shuttered 17,000 businesses. Unemployment neared 10 percent, the highest rate since the Great Depression. These troubles, combined with the booming deficit, forced Reagan to negotiate a tax increase with Congress in 1982—to the loud complaints of supply-side diehards. The president’s job rating plummeted, and in the 1982 midterm elections Democrats picked up twenty-six seats in the House of Representatives and seven state governorships.

Election of 1984 Fortunately for Reagan, the economy had recovered by 1983, restoring the president’s job approval rating just in time for the 1984 presidential

election. During the campaign, Reagan emphasized the economic resurgence, touring the country promoting his tax policies and the nation’s new prosperity. The Democrats nominated former vice president Walter Mondale of Minnesota. With strong ties to labor unions, ethnic and racial minority groups, and party leaders, Mondale epitomized the New Deal coalition. He selected Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York as his running mate—the first woman to run on the presidential ticket of a major political party. Neither Ferraro’s presence nor Mondale’s credentials made a difference, however: Reagan won a landslide victory, losing only Minnesota and the District of Columbia. Still, Democrats retained their majority in the House and, in 1986, regained control of the Senate.

Reagan’s 1984 campaign slogan, “It’s Morning in America,” projected the image of a new day dawning on a confident people. In Reagan mythology, the United States was an optimistic nation of small towns, close-knit families, and kindly neighbors. “The success story of America,” he once said, “is neighbor helping neighbor.” The mythology may not have reflected the *actual* nation—which was overwhelmingly urban and suburban, and in which the hard knocks of capitalism held down more than opportunity elevated—but that mattered little. Reagan’s remarkable ability to produce



GEORGE FISHER
Courtesy Arkansas Gazette

positive associations and feelings, alongside robust economic growth after the 1981–1982 recession, helped make the 1980s a decade characterized by both backward-looking nostalgia and aggressive capitalism.

Return to Prosperity Between 1945 and the 1970s, the United States was the world's leading exporter of agricultural products, manufactured goods, and investment capital. Then American manufacturers lost market share, undercut by cheaper and better-designed products from West Germany and Japan. By 1985, for the first time since 1915, the United States registered a negative balance of international payments. It now imported more goods and capital than it exported. The country became a debtor (rather than a creditor) nation. The rapid ascent of the Japanese economy to become the world's second largest was a key factor in this historic reversal (*America Compared*, p. 988). More than one-third of the American annual trade deficit of \$138 billion in the 1980s was from trade with Japan, whose corporations exported huge quantities of electronic goods and made nearly one-quarter of all cars bought in the United States.

Meanwhile, American businesses grappled with a worrisome decline in productivity. Between 1973 and 1992, American productivity (the amount of goods or services per hour of work) grew at the meager rate of 1 percent a year—a far cry from the post-World War II rate of 3 percent. Because managers wanted to cut costs, the wages of most employees stagnated. Further, because of foreign competition, the

Presidential Landscaping

As the cartoon published by the *Arkansas Gazette* illustrates, powerful imagery was also wielded by Reagan's political opponents. Used with permission/*Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, 1984.

number of high-paying, union-protected manufacturing jobs shrank. By 1985, more people in the United States worked for McDonald's slinging Big Macs than rolled out rails, girders, and sheet steel in the nation's steel industry.

A brief return to competitiveness in the second half of the 1980s masked the steady long-term transformation of the economy that had begun in the 1970s. The nation's heavy industries—steel, autos, chemicals—continued to lose market share to global competitors. Nevertheless, the U.S. economy grew at the impressive average rate of 2 to 3 percent per year for much of the late 1980s and 1990s (with a short recession in 1990–1991). What had changed was the direction of growth and its beneficiaries. Increasingly, financial services, medical services, and computer technology—service industries, broadly speaking—were the leading sectors of growth. This shift in the underlying foundation of the American economy, from manufacturing to service, from making *things* to producing *services*, would have long-term consequences for the global competitiveness of U.S. industries and the value of the dollar.

Culture of Success The economic growth of the second half of the 1980s popularized the materialistic values championed by the free marketeers. Every era has its capitalist heroes, but Americans in the 1980s celebrated wealth accumulation in ways unseen since the 1920s. When the president christened self-made entrepreneurs “the heroes for the eighties,” he probably had people like Lee Iacocca in mind. Born to Italian



Yoichi Funabashi

"Japan and America: Global Partners"

As Japan struggled to rebuild itself after World War II, the charismatic Shigeru Yoshida, prime minister during the critical years of 1948 to 1952, called on the country to be a good loser. The Japanese have lost the war, he said, but they must not lose heart. Japan must cooperate with the United States, and pull itself out of misery and disgrace. The Japanese did indeed cooperate willingly with the Allied occupation—with the American (and British) “devils” whom they had been taught for years to despise to the very core of their souls. . . .

Postwar Japan went on to prove that it could indeed be a good loser. Under the new constitution promulgated under the guidance of the occupation, it has developed into a democratic country with a relatively moderate disparity between rich and poor and a stable, smoothly functioning political system. . . .

The Japanese-U.S. relationship has thus come to occupy a truly unique position in world history. Never before has a multiethnic, contract-based society and a homogenous, traditional society joined together to form such a powerful team. As global powers, Japan and the United States combined have a decisive impact on world politics; it follows that their future relations will largely determine the blueprints of multilateral cooperation and world stability in the coming century. . . .

Potential sources of bilateral friction are as numerous as ever: the trade imbalance, market liberalization, growing Japanese investment in the United States, heavy U.S. dependence on Japanese technology, and so on. Occasional outbursts of economic nationalism, or “revisionist” thinking are probably inevitable as the debate over these issues unfolds. . . .

Of far greater concern, however, is that Japanese-U.S. relations now face their gravest challenge since

Educated at the University of Tokyo and Keio University, Yoichi Funabashi is a prize-winning journalist who specializes in the U.S.-Japan economic relationship. During the 1980s, he lived in the United States as a columnist (and later bureau chief) for the *Asahi Shimbun*, one of Japan’s most important daily newspapers.

1945. The end of the Cold War has drastically altered the global geopolitical and geoeconomic context that shaped Japanese-U.S. relations. Both countries now face the urgent need to redefine their relationship to suit the new context. . . .

Before they can build a strong bilateral relationship, Americans and Japanese must outgrow their obsession with being Number One. This psychological adjustment is absolutely necessary for both peoples. Projecting the nature of its own hierarchical society, Japan tends to view the rest of the world, it is said, in terms of ranking. This inclination fosters behavior patterns that are oriented more toward what to *be* than what to *do*. Japan is also overly conscious of itself as a late-starter, having entered modern international society only in the mid-nineteenth century, and this history has made catching up with and outpacing other countries a sort of national pastime. . . . It may be even more difficult for the United States, which dominated the free world during the Cold War, to make the psychological adjustments required to enter into a partnership with Japan that is truly equal.

Source: Yoichi Funabashi, “Japan and America: Global Partners,” *Foreign Policy* 86 (Spring 1992): 24–39.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Among the “sources of bilateral friction” Funabashi lists the trade imbalance and Japanese investment in the United States. Why would these cause friction?
2. How had the U.S.-Japan relationship changed between 1945 and the 1980s?

immigrants and trained as an engineer, Iacocca rose through the ranks to become president of the Ford Motor Corporation. In 1978, he took over the ailing Chrysler Corporation and made it profitable again—by securing a crucial \$1.5 billion loan from the U.S.

government, pushing the development of new cars, and selling them on TV. His patriotic commercials in the 1980s echoed Reagan’s rhetoric: “Let’s make America mean something again.” Iacocca’s restoration would not endure, however: in 2009, Chrysler

declared bankruptcy and was forced to sell a majority stake to the Italian company Fiat.

If Iacocca symbolized a resurgent corporate America, high-profile financial wheeler-dealers also captured Americans' imagination. One was Ivan Boesky, a white-collar criminal convicted of insider trading (buying or selling stock based on information from corporate insiders). "I think greed is healthy," Boesky told a business school graduating class. Boesky inspired the fictional film character Gordon Gekko, who proclaimed "Greed is good!" in 1987's *Wall Street*. A new generation of Wall Street executives, of which Boesky was one example, pioneered the leveraged buy-out (LBO). In a typical LBO, a financier used heavily leveraged (borrowed) capital to buy a company, quickly restructured that company to make it appear spectacularly profitable, and then sold it at a higher price.



To see a movie still from *Wall Street*, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Americans had not set aside the traditional work ethic, but the Reagan-era public was fascinated with money and celebrity. (The documentary television show *Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous* began its run in 1984.) One of the most enthralling of the era's money moguls was Donald Trump, a real estate developer who craved publicity. In 1983, the flamboyant Trump built the equally flamboyant Trump Towers in New York City. At the entrance of the \$200 million apartment building stood two enormous bronze T's, a display of self-promotion reinforced by the media. Calling him "The Donald," a nickname used by Trump's first wife, TV reporters and magazines commented relentlessly on his marriages, divorces, and glitzy lifestyle.

The Computer Revolution While Trump grabbed headlines and made splashy real estate investments, a handful of quieter, less flashy entrepreneurs was busy changing the face of the American economy. Bill Gates, Paul Allen, Steve Jobs, and Steve Wozniak were four entrepreneurs who pioneered the computer revolution in the late 1970s and 1980s (Thinking Like a Historian, p. 990). They took a technology that had been used exclusively for large-scale enterprises—the military and multinational corporations—and made it accessible to individual consumers. Scientists had devised the first computers for military purposes during World War II. Cold War military research subsequently funded the construction of large mainframe computers. But government and private-sector

first-generation computers were bulky, cumbersome machines that had to be placed in large air-conditioned rooms.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s, concluding with the development of the microprocessor in 1971, each generation of computers grew faster and smaller. By the mid-1970s, a few microchips the size of the letter O on this page provided as much processing power as a World War II-era computer. The day of the personal computer (PC) had arrived. Working in the San Francisco Bay Area, Jobs and Wozniak founded Apple Computers in 1976 and within a year were producing small, individual computers that could be easily used by a single person. When Apple enjoyed success, other companies scrambled to get into the market. International Business Machines (IBM) offered its first personal computer in 1981, but Apple Corporation's 1984 Macintosh computer (later shortened to "Mac") became the first runaway commercial success for a personal computer.

Meanwhile, two former high school classmates, Gates, age nineteen, and Allen, age twenty-one, had set a goal in the early 1970s of putting "a personal computer on every desk and in every home." They recognized that software was the key. In 1975, they founded the Microsoft Corporation, whose MS-DOS and Windows operating systems soon dominated the software industry. By 2000, the company's products ran nine out of every ten personal computers in the United States and a majority of those around the world. Gates and Allen became billionaires, and Microsoft exploded into a huge company with 57,000 employees and annual revenues of \$38 billion. In three decades, the computer had moved from a few military research centers to thousands of corporate offices and then to millions of people's homes. Ironically, in an age that celebrated free-market capitalism, government research and government funding had played an enormous role in the development of the most important technology since television.

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

In what ways did American society embrace economic success and individualism in the 1980s?

The End of the Cold War

Ronald Reagan entered office determined to confront the Soviet Union diplomatically and militarily. Backed by Republican and Democratic hard-liners alike, Reagan unleashed some of the harshest Cold War rhetoric since the 1950s, labeling the Soviet Union an "evil



Personal Computing: A Technological Revolution

Considered historically, computers are a strikingly new phenomenon. The ancestors of the first computers were developed in the 1940s using vacuum tubes and transistors. Integrated circuits were introduced in the 1950s and the first microprocessor in the 1970s. Prior to the decade of the 1980s, only the federal government and large corporations and institutions used computers, which were massive in size and expensive to purchase. In the 1980s, inventors and entrepreneurs developed the first “personal” computers, which could fit on desks or tables and were soon within the price range of ordinary families. The computers we know today date from that decade. Another enormous change came in the mid-1990s, when the Internet, whose forerunner was a U.S. Defense Department computer network, became widely available to the public for the first time.

- 1. Moore's law, 1965.** *In 1965, the electronics engineer Gordon Moore calculated that the number of transistors on an integrated circuit doubled roughly every two years, meaning that the power of computers was increasing at that rate.*

The complexity for minimum component costs has increased at a rate of roughly a factor of two per year. Certainly over the short term this rate can be expected to continue, if not increase. . . . That means by 1975, the number of components per integrated circuit for minimum cost will be 65,000.

I believe that such a large circuit can be built on a single wafer.

- 2. Scene from *2001: A Space Odyssey*, 1968.** *In this scene from an acclaimed science fiction film, a space station's computer system, named HAL, defends itself against an astronaut who is determined to shut down the computer.*

Dave Bowman: Hello, HAL. Do you read me, HAL?

HAL: Affirmative, Dave. I read you.

DB: Open the pod bay doors, HAL.

HAL: I'm sorry, Dave. I'm afraid I can't do that.

DB: What's the problem?

HAL: I think you know what the problem is just as well as I do.

DB: What are you talking about, HAL?

HAL: This mission is too important for me to allow you to jeopardize it.

DB: I don't know what you're talking about, HAL.

HAL: I know that you and Frank were planning to disconnect me, and I'm afraid that's something I cannot allow to happen.

DB: Where the hell did you get that idea, HAL?

HAL: Dave, although you took very thorough precautions in the pod against my hearing you, I could see your lips move.

DB: Alright, HAL. I'll go in through the emergency airlock.

HAL: Without your space helmet, Dave? You're going to find that rather difficult.

DB: HAL, I won't argue with you anymore! Open the door!

HAL: Dave, this conversation can serve no purpose anymore. Goodbye.

- 3. Neil Ardley, *World of Tomorrow: School, Work, and Play*, 1981.** *In this book written for teenagers, Neil Ardley speculated about the future of computers.*

Imagine you are living in the future, and are doing a project on Halley's comet. It's quite some time since it last appeared in 1986, and you want to find out when it will again be seen from Earth. You also want to know the results of a space mission to the comet, and find out what the comet is made of.

In the days when the last comet appeared, you would have had to look up Halley's comet in an encyclopedia or a book on astronomy. If you didn't possess these books, you would have gone to the library to get the information. . . .

People still collect books as valuable antiques or for a hobby, but you get virtually all the information you need from the viewscreen of your home computer. The computer is linked to a library—not a library of books but an electronic library where information on every subject is stored in computer memory banks. . . .

Computers will make the world of tomorrow a much safer place. They will do away with cash, so that you need

no longer fear being attacked for your money. In addition, you need not worry that your home will be burgled or your car stolen. The computers in your home and car will guard them, allowing only yourself to enter or someone with your permission.

4. Scene from *Terminator*, 1984. A national defense computer network called Skynet decides to exterminate humanity in the film *Terminator*.

Reese: There was a war. A few years from now. Nuclear war. The whole thing. All this—[His gesture includes the car, the city, the world.]—everything is gone. Just gone. There were survivors. Here. There. Nobody knew who started it. (pause) It was the machines.

Sarah: I don't understand. . . .

Reese: Defense network computer. New. Powerful. Hooked into everything. Trusted to run it all. They say it got smart . . . a new order of intelligence. Then it saw all people as a threat, not just the ones on the other side. Decided our fate in a microsecond . . . extermination.

5. Interview with Steve Jobs, February 1, 1985. Apple founder Steve Jobs, one of the pioneers of the personal computer, discusses the future of computers and computer networks.

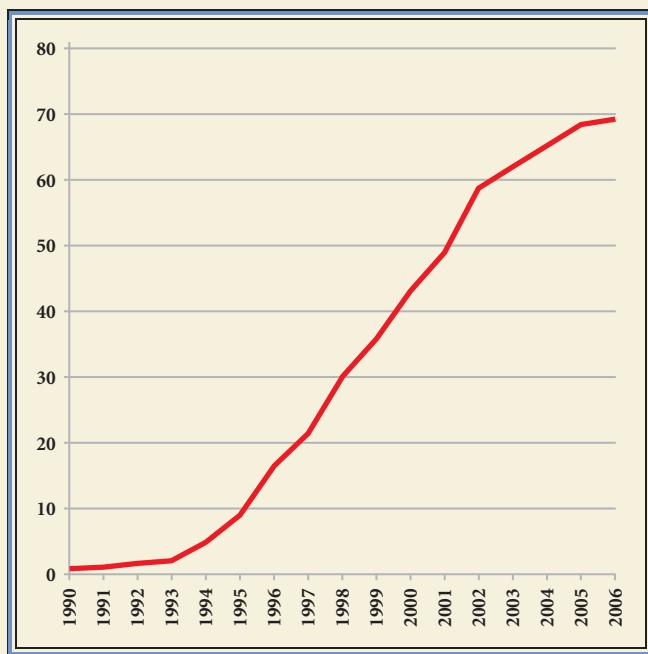
Question: Why should a person buy a computer?

Steve Jobs: There are different answers for different people. In business, that question is easy to answer: You can really prepare documents much faster and at a higher quality level, and you can do many things to increase office productivity. A computer frees people from much of the menial work. . . . Remember computers are tools. Tools help us do our work better. In education, computers are the first thing to come along since books that will sit there and interact with you endlessly, without judgment. . . .

Question: What will change?

Steve Jobs: The most compelling reason for most people to buy a computer for the home [in the future] will be to link it into a nationwide communications network. We're just in the beginning stages of what will be a truly remarkable breakthrough for most people—as remarkable as the telephone.

6. Percentage of Americans using the Internet.



Sources: (1) G. E. Moore, "Cramming More Components onto Integrated Circuits," *Electronics*, April 19, 1965, 114; (2) *2001: A Space Odyssey*, Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick and Arthur C. Clarke (Hawk Films Ltd. and MGM Studios, 1967); (3) Neil Ardley, *World of Tomorrow: School, Work, and Play* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 20–27; (4) *Terminator*, Screenplay by James Cameron and Gale Anne Hurd, Fifth Draft (Pacific Western Productions, Inc., March 11, 1984), 134; (5) *Playboy*, February 1, 1985, 52.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 2 and 4. Anxiety about the extraordinary power of computers has been a regular feature of science fiction, both in writing and in film, since the late 1950s. What do the scenes from these two films tell us about the cultural reactions to computers early in their development?
2. How does source 3 offer a different vision of a future with computers? Why do you think cultural responses to computers tend to swing between extreme anxiety and equally extreme optimism?
3. How does Steve Jobs's assessment of computers in source 5 compare with those in the other documents? Should we trust his judgment more because he is closer to their actual development? Why or why not?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Drawing on the history of personal computers discussed in this chapter, as well as on the documents above, write an essay in which you assess the origin of the personal computer. What cultural reactions and predictions surrounded the computer's birth? What economic and social transformations did it have the potential to unleash? You might also consider a comparison of the Industrial Revolution of the second half of the nineteenth century and the "computer revolution" of the late twentieth century. Are there parallels in how each development transformed American society?

empire” and vowing that it would end up “on the ash heap of history.” In a remarkable turnaround, however, by his second term Reagan had decided that this goal would be best achieved by actively cooperating with Mikhail Gorbachev, the reform-minded Russian Communist leader. The downfall of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the nearly fifty-year-long Cold War, but a new set of foreign challenges quickly emerged.

U.S.-Soviet Relations in a New Era

When Reagan assumed the presidency in 1981, he broke with his immediate predecessors—Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter—in Cold War strategy. Nixon regarded himself as a “realist” in foreign affairs. That meant, above all, advancing the national interest without regard to ideology. Nixon’s policy of détente with the Soviet Union and China embodied this realist view. President Carter endorsed détente and continued to push for relaxing Cold War tensions. This worked for a time, but the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan empowered hard-liners in the U.S. Congress and forced Carter to take a tougher line—which he did with the Olympic boycott and grain embargo. This was the relationship Reagan inherited in 1981: a decade of détente that had produced a noticeable relaxation of tensions with the communist world, followed by a year of tense standoffs over Soviet advances into Central Asia, which threatened U.S. interests in the Middle East.

Reagan’s Cold War Revival Conservatives did not believe in détente. Neither did they believe in the containment policy that had guided U.S. Cold War strategy since 1947. Reagan and his advisors wanted to *defeat*, not merely contain, the Soviet Union. His administration pursued a two-pronged strategy toward that end. First, it abandoned détente and set about rearming America. Reagan’s military budgets authorized new weapons systems, dramatically expanded military bases, and significantly expanded the nation’s nuclear arsenal. This buildup in American military strength, reasoned Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, would force the Soviets into an arms race that would strain their economy and cause domestic unrest. One of the most controversial aspects of the buildup was Reagan’s proposal for a Strategic Defense Initiative—popularly known as “Star Wars”—a satellite-based system that would, theoretically, destroy nuclear missiles in flight. Scientists doubted its viability, and it was never built. The Reagan administration also proposed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks

(START) with the Soviet Union, in which the United States put forward a plan calculated to increase American advantage in sea- and air-based nuclear systems over the Soviet’s ground-based system.

Second, the president supported CIA initiatives to roll back Soviet influence in the developing world by funding anticommunist movements in Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, and Central America. To accomplish this objective, Reagan supported repressive, right-wing regimes. Nowhere was this more conspicuous in the 1980s than in the Central American countries of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Conditions were unique in each country but held to a pattern: the United States sided with military dictatorships and oligarchies if democratically elected governments or left-wing movements sought support from the Soviet Union. In Guatemala, this approach produced a brutal military rule—thousands of opponents of the government were executed or kidnapped. In Nicaragua, Reagan actively encouraged a coup against the left-wing Sandinista government, which had overthrown the U.S.-backed strongman Anastasio Somoza. And in El Salvador, the U.S.-backed government maintained secret “death squads,” which murdered members of the opposition. In each case, Reagan blocked Soviet influence, but the damage done to local communities and to the international reputation of the United States, as in Vietnam, was great.

Iran-Contra Reagan’s determination to oppose left-wing movements in Central America engulfed his administration in a major scandal during the president’s second term. For years, Reagan had denounced Iran as an “outlaw state” and a supporter of terrorism. But in 1985, he wanted its help. To win Iran’s assistance in freeing two dozen American hostages held by Hezbollah, a pro-Iranian Shiite group in Lebanon, the administration sold arms to Iran without public or congressional knowledge. While this secret arms deal was diplomatically and politically controversial, the use of the resulting profits in Nicaragua was explicitly illegal. To overthrow the democratically elected **Sandinistas**, whom the president accused of threatening U.S. business interests, Reagan ordered the CIA to assist an armed opposition group called the **Contras** (Map 30.2). Although Reagan praised the Contras as “freedom fighters,” Congress worried that the president and other executive branch agencies were assuming war-making powers that the Constitution reserved to the legislature. In 1984, Congress banned the CIA and all other government agencies from providing any military support to the Contras.

Iran-Contra

The 1987 Iran-Contra congressional hearings, which lasted more than a month and were broadcast on live television, helped to uncover a secret and illegal White House scheme to provide arms to the Nicaraguan Contras. Though Lt. Col. Oliver North (shown here during his testimony before Congress) concocted much of the scheme and was convicted of three felonies, he never served prison time and emerged from the hearings as a populist hero among American conservatives, who saw him as a patriot. © Bettmann/Corbis.



Oliver North, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marines and an aide to the National Security Council, defied that ban. With the tacit or explicit consent of high-ranking administration officials, including the president, North used the profits from the Iranian arms deal to assist the Contras. When asked whether he knew of North's illegal actions, Reagan replied, "I don't remember." The **Iran-Contra affair** not only resulted in the prosecution of North and several other officials but also weakened Reagan domestically—he proposed no bold domestic policy initiatives in his last two years. But the president remained steadfastly engaged in international affairs, where events were unfolding that would bring a dramatic close to the Cold War.

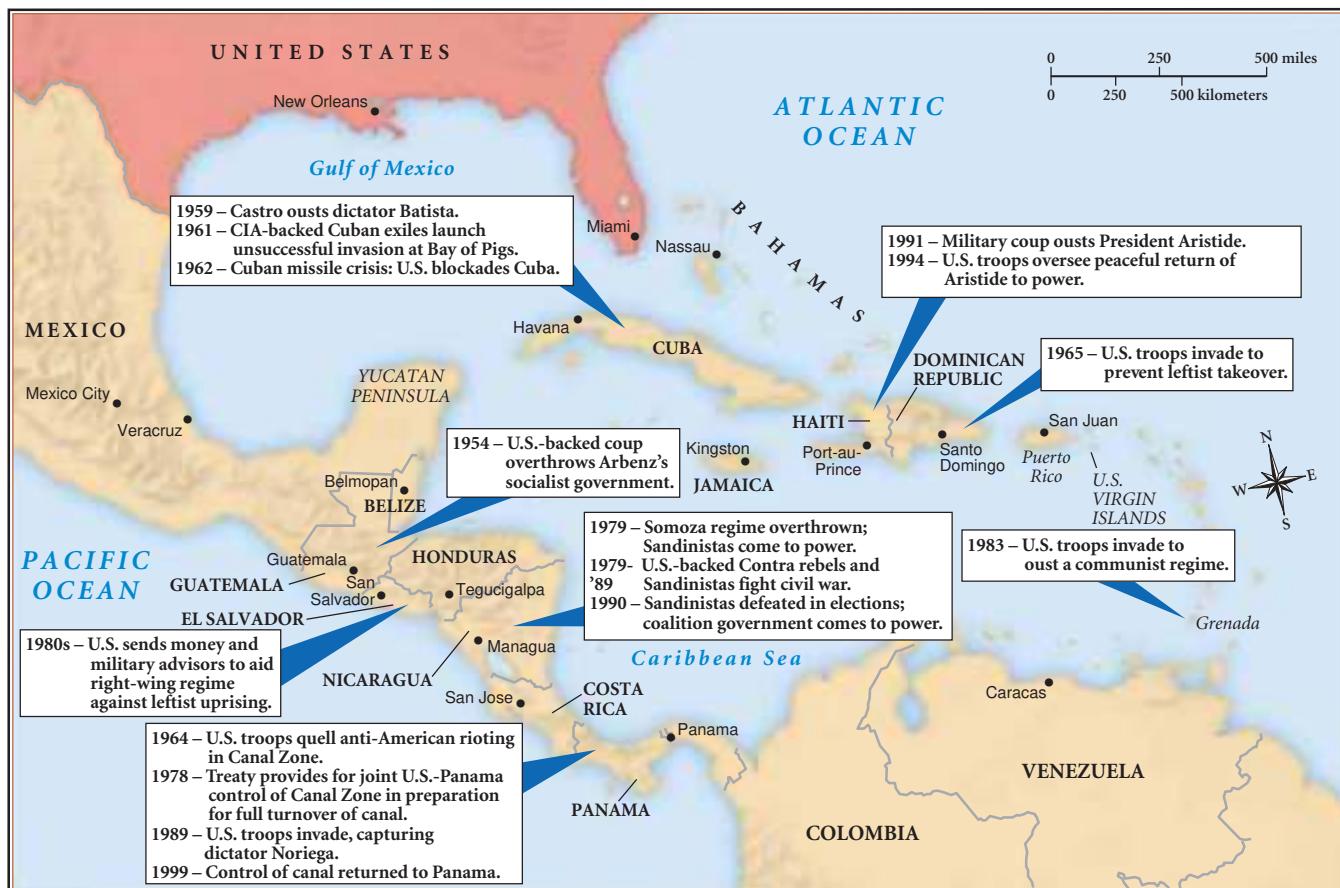
Gorbachev and Soviet Reform The Soviet system of state socialism and central economic planning had transformed Russia from an agricultural to an industrial society between 1917 and the 1950s. But it had done so inefficiently. Lacking the incentives of a market economy, most enterprises hoarded raw materials, employed too many workers, and did not develop new products. Except in military weaponry and space technology, the Russian economy fell further and further behind those of capitalist societies, and most people in the Soviet bloc endured a low standard of living. Moreover, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979,

like the American war in Vietnam, turned out to be a major blunder—an unwinnable war that cost vast amounts of money, destroyed military morale, and undermined popular support of the government.

Mikhail Gorbachev, a relatively young Russian leader who became general secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, recognized the need for internal economic reform and an end to the war in Afghanistan. An iconoclast in Soviet terms, Gorbachev introduced policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (economic restructuring), which encouraged widespread criticism of the rigid institutions and authoritarian controls of the Communist regime. To lessen tensions with the United States, Gorbachev met with Reagan in 1985, and the two leaders established a warm personal rapport. By 1987, they had agreed to eliminate all intermediate-range nuclear missiles based in Europe. A year later, Gorbachev ordered Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, and Reagan replaced many of his hard-line advisors with policymakers who favored a renewal of détente. Reagan's sudden reversal with regard to the Soviet Union remains one of the most intriguing aspects of his presidency. Many conservatives worried that their cowboy-hero president had been duped by a duplicitous Gorbachev, but Reagan's gamble paid off: the

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did Reagan's approach to the Soviet Union change between 1981 and 1989?



MAP 30.2

U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–2000

Ever since the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the United States has claimed a special interest in Latin America. During the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy throughout Latin America focused on containing instability and the appeal of communism in a region plagued by poverty and military dictatorships. Providing foreign aid was one approach to addressing social and economic needs, but the United States frequently intervened with military forces (or by supporting military coups) to remove unfriendly or socialist governments. The Reagan administration's support of the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, some of which was contrary to U.S. law, was one of those interventions.

easing of tensions with the United States allowed the Soviet leader to press forward with his domestic reforms.

As Gorbachev's efforts revealed the flaws of the Soviet system, the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe demanded the ouster of their Communist governments. In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church and its pope—Polish-born John Paul II—joined with Solidarity, the trade union movement, to overthrow the pro-Soviet regime. In 1956 and 1964, Russian troops had quashed similar popular uprisings in Hungary and East Germany. Now they did not intervene, and a series of peaceful uprisings—"Velvet Revolutions"—created a new political order throughout the region. The destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 symbolized the end of Communist rule in Central

Europe. Millions of television viewers worldwide watched jubilant Germans knock down the hated wall that had divided the city since 1961—a vivid symbol of communist repression and the Cold War division of Europe. A new geopolitical order in Europe was in the making.

Alarmed by the reforms, Soviet military leaders seized power in August 1991 and arrested Gorbachev. But widespread popular opposition led by Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Republic, thwarted their efforts to oust Gorbachev from office. This failure broke the dominance of the Communist Party. On December 25, 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formally dissolved to make way for an eleven-member Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The Russian Republic assumed leadership of the CIS, but

Reagan and Gorbachev: Fellow Political Revolutionaries

Both Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev changed the political outlook of their nations. As Reagan undermined social-welfare liberalism in the United States, Gorbachev challenged the rigidity of the Communist Party and state socialism in the Soviet Union. Although they remained ideological adversaries, by the mid-1980s the two leaders had established a personal rapport, which helped facilitate agreement on a series of arms reduction measures.

© Bettmann/Corbis.



the Soviet Union was no more (Map 30.3). The collapse of the Soviet Union was the result of internal weaknesses of the Communist economy. External pressure from the United States played an important, though secondary, role.

“Nobody—no country, no party, no person—‘won’ the cold war,” concluded George Kennan, the architect in 1947 of the American policy of containment. The Cold War’s cost was enormous, and both sides benefited greatly from its end. For more than forty years, the United States had fought a bitter economic and ideological battle against that communist foe, a struggle that exerted an enormous impact on American society. Taxpayers had spent some \$4 trillion on nuclear weapons and trillions more on conventional arms, placing the United States on a permanent war footing and creating a massive military-industrial complex. The physical and psychological costs were equally high:

radiation from atomic weapons tests, anticommunist witch-hunts, and a constant fear of nuclear annihilation. Of course, most Americans had no qualms about proclaiming victory, and advocates of free-market capitalism, particularly conservative Republicans, celebrated the outcome. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself, they argued, demonstrated that they had been right all along.

A New Political Order at Home and Abroad

Ronald Reagan’s role in facilitating the end of the Cold War was among his most important achievements. Overall, his presidency left a mixed legacy. Despite his pledge to get the federal government “off our backs,” he could not ultimately reduce its size or scope. Social



The Wall Comes Down

As the Communist government of East Germany collapsed, West Berliners showed their contempt for the wall dividing Berlin by defacing it with graffiti. Then, in November 1989, East and West Berliners destroyed huge sections of the wall with sledgehammers, an act of psychic liberation that symbolized the end of the Cold War. Alexandria Avakian/Woodfin Camp & Associates.

Security and other entitlement programs remained untouched, and enormous military spending outweighed cuts in other programs. Determined not to divide the country, Reagan did not actively push controversial policies espoused by the Religious Right. He called for tax credits for private religious schools, restrictions on abortions, and a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools, but he did not expend his political capital to secure these measures.

While Reagan failed to roll back the social welfare and regulatory state of the New Deal-Great Society era, he changed the dynamic of American politics. The Reagan presidency restored popular belief that America—and individual Americans—could enjoy increasing prosperity. And his antigovernment rhetoric won many adherents, as did his bold and fiscally aggressive tax cuts. Social-welfare liberalism, ascendant since 1933, remained intact but was now on the defensive—led by Reagan, conservatives had changed the political conversation.

Election of 1988 George H. W. Bush, Reagan's vice president and successor, was not beloved by conservatives, who did not see him as one of their own. But he possessed an insider's familiarity with government and a long list of powerful allies, accumulated over three decades of public service. Bush's route to the White House reflected the post-Reagan alignments in American politics. In the primaries, he faced a spirited challenge from Pat Robertson, the archconservative televangelist whose influence and profile had grown during Reagan's two terms. After securing the presidential nomination, which he won largely because of his fierce loyalty to Reagan, Bush felt compelled to select as his vice-presidential running mate an unknown and inexperienced Indiana senator, Dan Quayle. Bush hoped that Quayle would help secure the Christian "family values" vote upholding the traditional nuclear family and Christian morality. Robertson's challenge and Quayle's selection showed that the Religious Right had become a major force in Republican politics.

On the Democratic side, Jesse Jackson became the first African American to challenge for a major-party nomination, winning eleven states in primary and caucus voting. However, the much less charismatic Massachusetts governor, Michael Dukakis, emerged as the Democratic nominee. Dukakis, a liberal from the Northeast, proved unable to win back the constituencies Democrats had lost in the 1970s: southern whites, midwestern blue-collar Catholics, and middle-class suburbanites. Indeed, Bush's campaign manager, Lee Atwater, baited Dukakis by calling him a "card-carrying liberal," a not-so-subtle reference to J. Edgar Hoover's 1958 phrase "card-carrying communist." Bush won with 53 percent of the vote, a larger margin of victory than Reagan's in 1980. The election confirmed a new pattern in presidential politics that would last through the turn of the twenty-first century: every four years, Americans would refight the battles of the 1960s, with liberals on one side and conservatives on the other.

Middle East The end of the Cold War left the United States as the world's only military superpower and raised the prospect of what President Bush called a "new world order" dominated by the United States and its European and Asian allies. American officials and diplomats presumed that U.S. interests should prevail in this new environment, but they now confronted an array of regional, religious, and ethnic conflicts that defied easy solutions. None were more pressing or more complex than those in the Middle East—the oil-rich lands stretching from Iran to Algeria. Middle Eastern conflicts would dominate the foreign policy of

**MAP 30.3****The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Creation of Independent States, 1989–1991**

The collapse of Soviet communism dramatically altered the political landscape of Central Europe and Central Asia. The Warsaw Pact, the USSR's answer to NATO, vanished. West and East Germany reunited, and the nations created by the Versailles treaty of 1919—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia—reasserted their independence or split into smaller, ethnically defined nations. The Soviet republics bordering Russia, from Belarus in the west to Kyrgyzstan in the east, also became independent states, while remaining loosely bound with Russia in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

the United States for the next two decades, replacing the Cold War at the center of American geopolitics.

After Carter's success negotiating the 1979 Egypt-Israel treaty at Camp David, there were few bright spots in U.S. Middle Eastern diplomacy. In 1982, the Reagan administration supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon, a military operation intended to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But when Lebanese militants, angered at U.S. intervention on behalf of Israel, killed 241 American marines, Reagan abruptly withdrew the forces. Three years later, Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip and along the West Bank of the Jordan River—territories occupied by Israel since 1967—mounted an intifada, a civilian uprising against Israeli authority. In response, American diplomats stepped up their efforts to persuade the PLO and Arab nations to accept the legitimacy of Israel and to convince the Israelis to allow the creation of a Palestinian state. Neither initiative met with much success. Unable, or unwilling, to solve the region's most intractable

problems and burdened by a history of support for undemocratic regimes in Middle Eastern countries, the United States was not seen by residents of the region as an honest broker.

Persian Gulf War American interest in a reliable supply of oil from the region led the United States into a short but consequential war in the Persian Gulf in the early 1990s. Ten years earlier, in September 1980, the revolutionary Shiite Islamic nation of Iran, headed by Ayatollah Khomeini, came under attack from Iraq, a secular state headed by the dictator Saddam Hussein. The fighting was intense and long lasting—a war of attrition that claimed a million casualties. Reagan supported Hussein with military intelligence and other aid—in order to maintain supplies of Iraqi oil, undermine Iran, and preserve a balance of power in the Middle East. Finally, in 1988, an armistice ended the inconclusive war, with both sides still claiming the territory that sparked the conflict.



Men—and Women—at War

Women played visible roles in the Persian Gulf War, comprising approximately 10 percent of the American troops. In the last decades of the twentieth century, increasing numbers of women chose military careers and, although prohibited from most fighting roles, were increasingly assigned to combat zones. Luc Delahaye/Sipa Press.

Two years later, in August 1990, Hussein went to war to expand Iraq's boundaries and oil supply. Believing (erroneously) that he still had the support of the United States, Hussein sent in troops and quickly conquered Kuwait, Iraq's small, oil-rich neighbor, and threatened Saudi Arabia, the site of one-fifth of the world's known oil reserves and an informal ally of the United States. To preserve Western access to oil, President George H. W. Bush sponsored a series of resolutions in the United Nations Security Council calling

for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. When Hussein refused, Bush successfully prodded the UN to authorize the use of force, and the president organized a military coalition of thirty-four nations.

Dividing mostly along party lines, the Republican-led House of Representatives authorized American participation by a vote of 252 to 182, and the Democratic-led Senate agreed by the close margin of 52 to 47.

The coalition forces led by the United States quickly won the **Persian Gulf War** for the “liberation of Kuwait.” To avoid a protracted struggle and retain French and Russian support for the UN coalition, Bush decided against occupying Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein

from power. Instead, he won passage of UN Resolution 687, which imposed economic sanctions against Iraq unless it allowed unfettered inspection of its weapons systems, destroyed all biological and chemical arms, and unconditionally pledged not to develop nuclear weapons. The military victory, the low incidence of American casualties, and the quick withdrawal produced a euphoric reaction at home. “By God, we’ve kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all,” Bush announced, and his approval rating shot up precipitously. But Saddam Hussein remained a formidable power in the region, and in March 2003, he would become the pretext for Bush’s son, President George W. Bush, to initiate another war in Iraq—one that would be much more protracted, expensive, and bloody for Americans and Iraqis alike (Chapter 31).

Thus the end of the Cold War brought not peace, but a new American presence in the Middle East. For half a century, the United States and the Soviet Union had tried to divide the world into two rival economic and ideological blocs: communist and capitalist. The next decades promised a new set of struggles, one of them between a Western-led agenda of economic and cultural globalization and an anti-Western ideology of Muslim and Arab regionalism. Still more post–Cold War shifts were coming into view as well. One was the

IDENTIFY CAUSES

Why did the United States intervene in the conflicts between Iraq and Iran and between Iraq and Kuwait?

spectacular emergence of the European Union as a massive united trading bloc, economic engine, and global political force. Another was the equally spectacular economic growth in China, which was just beginning to take off in the early 1990s. The post–Cold War world promised to be a *multipolar* one, with great centers of power in Europe, the United States, and East Asia, and seemingly intractable conflict in the Middle East.

SUMMARY

This chapter examined two central developments of the years 1980–1991: the rise of the New Right in U.S. politics and the end of the Cold War. Each development set the stage for a new era in American life, one that stretches to our own day. Domestically, the New Right, which had been building in strength since the mid-1960s, criticized the liberalism of the Great Society and the permissiveness that conservative activists associated with feminism and the sexual revolution. Shifting their allegiance from Barry Goldwater to Ronald Reagan, right-wing Americans built a conservative

movement from the ground up and in 1980 elected Reagan president. Advocating free-market economics, lower taxes, and fewer government regulations, Reagan became a champion of the New Right. His record as president was more mixed than his rhetoric would suggest, however. Reagan's initial tax cuts were followed by tax hikes. Moreover, he frequently dismayed the Christian Right by not pursuing their interests forcefully enough—especially regarding abortion and school prayer.

Reagan played a role in the ending of the Cold War. His massive military buildup in the early 1980s strained an already overstretched Soviet economy, which struggled to keep pace. Reagan then agreed to meet with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in several summits between 1985 and 1987. More important than Reagan's actions, however, were inefficiencies and contradictions in the Soviet economic structure itself. Combined with the forced military buildup and the disastrous war in Afghanistan, these strains led Gorbachev to institute the first significant reforms in Soviet society in half a century. The reforms stirred popular criticism of the Soviet Union, which formally collapsed in 1991.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK Go to [LearningCurve](#) to retain what you've read.



TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- The Conscience of a Conservative** (p. 975)
National Review (p. 976)
Religious Right (p. 976)
hostage crisis (p. 977)
Reagan coalition (p. 981)
Moral Majority (p. 981)
Reagan Democrats (p. 982)
supply-side economics (*Reaganomics*) (p. 982)
Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) (p. 983)
- national debt** (p. 983)
deregulation (p. 983)
HIV/AIDS (p. 985)
service industries (p. 987)
Sandinistas (p. 992)
Contras (p. 992)
Iran-Contra affair (p. 993)
glasnost (p. 993)
perestroika (p. 993)
family values (p. 996)
Persian Gulf War (p. 998)

Key People

- Barry Goldwater** (p. 974)
Ronald Reagan (p. 974)
William F. Buckley (p. 976)
Milton Friedman (p. 976)
David Stockman (p. 983)
Sandra Day O'Connor (p. 984)
Mikhail Gorbachev (p. 993)
George H. W. Bush (p. 996)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- 1.** In what ways were the “three-legged stool” components of New Right conservatism compatible? Incompatible?
- 2.** How would you assess the historical importance of Ronald Reagan? What were his most significant legacies, domestically and internationally? Why?
- 3.** Why did the Cold War come to an end when it did? What were the contributing factors?
- 4. THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events listed on the thematic timeline on page 971. In what ways was the New Right “reactive,” responding to liberalism, and in what ways was it “proactive,” asserting its own agenda?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** Compare the two major periods of liberal legislative accomplishment—the New Deal in the 1930s (Chapter 23) and the Great Society in the 1960s (Chapter 28)—with the Reagan era in the 1980s. Did Reagan undo the legislative gains of those earlier eras? What conservative objectives was he able to accomplish, and what limits or obstacles did he encounter?
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** Examine the images of Reagan in this chapter (pp. 982, 987, 995). What message do these images convey about Reagan as a person? About his policies? Together, what do they tell us about the image and reality of the Reagan presidency? Do you think that cartoons or photographs are a more accurate source of information for understanding the historical meaning of a particular president and his administration? Why or why not?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (2000). A valuable overview of the Reagan presidency.

William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* (1996).

Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (2001). Explores the rise of the New Right.

James T. Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore* (2005). Provides a solid analysis of the 1980s and 1990s.

On foreign policy, consult Richard A. Melanson, *American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War* (2005), and Raymond Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War* (1994).

Two fine Web sites that document various Cold War incidents are the National Security Archive, at gwu.edu/~nsarchiv, and the Cold War International History Project, at wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic_id=1409.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ronald Reagan becomes president • Republicans gain control of Senate • Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) cuts taxes • Military expenditures increase sharply • Reagan cuts budgets of regulatory agencies • Sandra Day O'Connor appointed to the Supreme Court
1981–1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National debt triples • Emergence of New Right think tanks: Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute • United States assists Iraq in war against Iran (1980–1988)
1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mikhail Gorbachev takes power in Soviet Union
1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iran-Contra scandal weakens Reagan presidency • William Rehnquist named chief justice
1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United States and USSR agree to limit missiles in Europe
1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • George H. W. Bush elected president
1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction of Berlin Wall • “Velvet Revolutions” in Eastern Europe • <i>Webster v. Reproductive Health Services</i> limits abortion services
1990–1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persian Gulf War
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissolution of Soviet Union ends Cold War

KEY TURNING POINTS: Identify some of the key moments in the decline and then end of the Cold War. What part did the United States play in these events, and how did this affect the U.S. role in world affairs more broadly?

31

CHAPTER

AMERICA IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

- The Rise of the European Union and China
- An Era of Globalization
- Revolutions in Technology

POLITICS AND PARTISANSHIP IN A NEW ERA

- An Increasingly Plural Society
- Clashes over "Family Values"
- The Clinton Presidency, 1993–2001
- Post–Cold War Foreign Policy

INTO A NEW CENTURY

- The Ascendance of George W. Bush
- Violence Abroad and Economic Collapse at Home
- The Obama Presidency

Confronting Global and National Dilemmas 1989 to the Present

On the morning of September 11, 2001, two commercial airliners were deliberately flown into the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan. Millions of Americans, and many more people worldwide, watched live on television and the Internet as the towers burned and collapsed. Simultaneously, a third plane was flown into the Pentagon, and a fourth hijacked plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania. It took Federal Bureau of Investigation officials only a few hours to determine the identity of most of the hijackers, as well as the organization behind the murderous attacks—Al Qaeda.

The attacks were made possible by the new era of globalization. Of the nineteen terrorists involved in the hijackings, fifteen were from Saudi Arabia, two were from the United Arab Emirates, one was from Egypt, and one was from Lebanon. Many had trained in Afghanistan, in guerrilla warfare camps operated by Osama bin Laden. Four had gone to flight school in the United States itself. Several had lived and studied in Germany. They communicated with one another and with planners in Afghanistan through e-mail, Web sites, and cell phones. Al Qaeda sympathizers could be found among Muslims from Indonesia to Algeria. The most conspicuous crime of the twenty-first century, which left 2,900 people dead and sent waves of shock and anxiety through the American public, would have been impossible without the openness and interconnectivity that are central features of globalization.

Messages of sympathy and support poured into the United States from nearly every nation. Citizens of fifty-three different countries had perished in the World Trade Center, itself a symbol of the global financial industries. The world, quite literally, stood in shock. The emergence in the Middle East of a radical Muslim movement willing to use terrorism to inflict major damage on the United States and the West testified to the altered realities of global politics. The simple Cold War duality—communism versus capitalism—had for decades obscured regional, ethnic, and religious loyalties and conflicts. Those loyalties and conflicts moved to center stage in an era of globalization.

For Americans, the period between the end of the Cold War and our own day has been defined by twin dilemmas. The first relates to globalization. How would the United States engage in global trade and commerce? How would it relate to emerging nations? How should it confront radical terrorists? The second dilemma relates to domestic politics and the economy. In an era of conservative political dominance, how would the nation manage its cultural conflicts and ensure economic opportunity and security for its citizens? As "profound and powerful forces" shook the world, these were, as the chapter title suggests, Americans' dilemmas in a global society.

IDENTIFY THE BIG IDEA

How has globalization affected American politics, economics, and society?



Energy and the Environment At the dawn of the twenty-first century, few issues were more critical, in the United States and across the globe, than energy and the environment. This wind farm is an example of the search for non-fossil sources of new energy, a search that is among the many challenges facing the globalized world of our century. Raphael GAILLARDE/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images.

America in the Global Economy

On November 30, 1999, more than 50,000 protesters took to the streets of Seattle, Washington, immobilizing a wide swath of the city's downtown. Police, armed with pepper spray and arrayed in riot gear, worked feverishly to clear the clogged streets, get traffic moving, and usher well-dressed government ministers from around the world into a conference hall. Protesters jeered, chanted, and held hundreds of signs and banners aloft. A radical contingent joined the otherwise peaceful march, and a handful of them began breaking the windows of the chain stores they saw as symbols of global capitalism: Starbucks, Gap, Old Navy.

What had aroused such passion in the so-called Battle of Seattle? **Globalization**. The vast majority of Americans never surged into the streets, as had the Seattle protesters who tried to shut down this 1999 meeting of the **World Trade Organization (WTO)**, but no American by the late 1990s could deny that developments in the global economy reverberated at home. In that decade, Americans rediscovered a long-standing truth: the United States was not an island, but was linked in countless different ways to a global economy and society. Economic prosperity in the post-World War II decades had obscured for Americans this fundamental reality (Figure 31.1).

Globalization saw the rapid spread of capitalism around the world, huge increases in global trade and commerce, and a diffusion of communications technology, including the Internet, that linked the world's

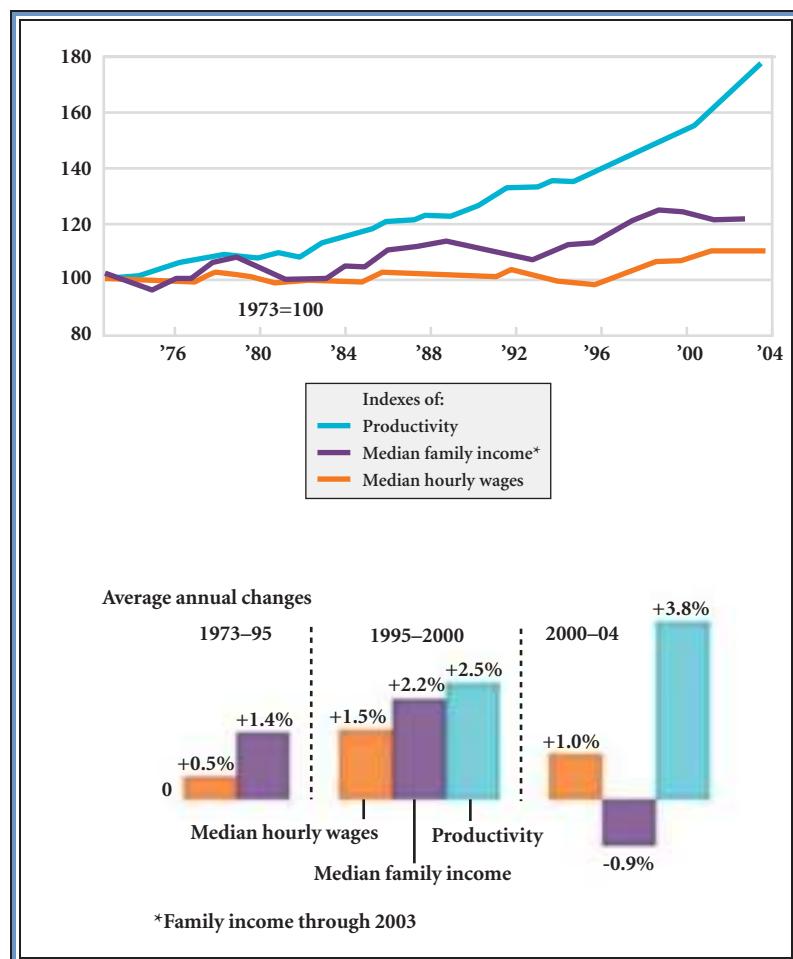


WTO Demonstration, Seattle, 1999

In November 1999, an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 people from many states and foreign nations staged an effective protest at a World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle. The goals of the protesters were diffuse; many feared that the trend toward a system of free (capitalist-run) trade would primarily benefit multinational corporations and would hurt both developing nations and the working classes in the industrialized world. Protests have continued at subsequent meetings of the WTO and the World Bank. Hector Mata/AFP/Getty Images.

FIGURE 31.1**Productivity, Family Income, and Wages, 1970–2004**

This chart tells a complex and not altogether happy story. The median hourly wages of American workers (adjusted for inflation) stagnated between 1970 and 1995. The rise in median family income reflected the increasing proportion of two-earner families, as more married women entered the workforce. The dramatic increases in productivity did not lead to higher wages for workers. Rather, businesses used those gains either to cut prices to compete in the global marketplace or to reward owners, shareholders, and, particularly, corporate executives.



people to one another in ways unimaginable a generation earlier (*Thinking Like a Historian*, p. 1006). Suddenly, the United States faced a dizzying array of opportunities and challenges, both at home and abroad. “Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world,” said a young President Bill Clinton in his first inaugural address in 1993. “The urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy.”

An additional question remained, however. In whose interest was the global economy structured? Many of the Seattle activists took inspiration from the five-point “Declaration for Global Democracy” issued by the human rights organization Global Exchange during the WTO’s Seattle meeting. “Global trade and investment,” the declaration demanded, “must not be ends in themselves but rather the instruments for achieving equitable and sustainable development, including protections for workers and the environment.” The declaration also addressed inequality among nations, calling attention to who benefitted from globalization and who did not.

The Rise of the European Union and China

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union dominated the global balance of power. These two superpowers oversaw what observers called a bipolar world—two powerful poles, one capitalist and the other communist, around which global geopolitics were organized. Since the early 1990s, however, a multipolar world has emerged—with centers of power in Europe, Japan, China, and the United States, along with rising regional powers such as India and Brazil (*America Compared*, p. 1008).

In 1992, the nations of Western Europe created the European Union (EU) and moved toward the creation of a single federal state, somewhat like the United States. By the end of the 1990s, the European Union embraced more than twenty countries and 450 million people—the third-largest population in the world, behind China and India—and accounted for a fifth of all global imports and exports. In 2002, the EU introduced a single currency, the euro, which soon rivaled



Globalization: Its Proponents and Its Discontents

Globalization is perhaps one of the most commonly used, yet least understood, concepts in our modern vocabulary. This chapter has explored how, while there has long been an international, or global, dimension to trade, migration, and other economic activity, there is nevertheless something distinct about the post-Cold War global order. Economic integration and communication networking have created new opportunities for millions of people. Yet those same processes may not benefit all equally. The following documents offer different perspectives on the broad process called globalization.

- 1. Interview with Petra Mata, Mexican immigrant to the United States, 2003.** *An immigrant from a low-wage country who was “insourced,” Mata worked as a low-paid garment worker until she lost her job in the United States because it was outsourced—sent abroad to workers paid even less.*

My name is Petra Mata. I was born in Mexico. I have completed no more than the sixth grade in school. In 1969, my husband and I came to the U.S. believing we would find better opportunities for our children and ourselves. We first arrived without documents, then became legal, and finally became citizens. For years I moved from job to job until I was employed in 1976 by the most popular company in the market, Levi Strauss & Company. I earned \$9.73 an hour and also had vacation and sick leave. Levi's provided me and my family with a stable situation, and in return I was a loyal employee and worked there for fourteen years.

On January 16, 1990, Levi's closed its plant in San Antonio, Texas, where I had been working, leaving 1,150 workers unemployed, a majority of whom were Mexican-American women. The company moved its factory to Costa Rica. . . .

As a result of being laid off, I personally lost my house, my method of transportation, and the tranquility of my home. My family and I had to face new problems. My husband was forced to look for a second job on top of the one he already had. He worked from seven in the morning to six at night. Our reality was very difficult. At that time, I had not the slightest idea what free trade was or meant. . . .

Our governments make agreements behind closed doors without participation from the working persons who are most affected by these decisions—decisions that to my knowledge only benefit large corporations and those in positions of power.

- 2. iPhone global supply chain figure, 2011.**

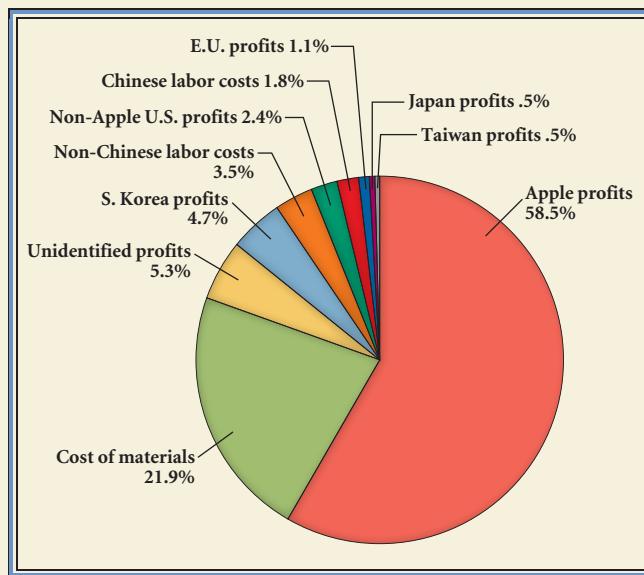


FIGURE 31.2

- 3. Seattle Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, “Bringing in an Undemocratic Institution Brings an Undemocratic Response,” 2000.**

Many of the businesses that most promote the WTO [World Trade Organization] and its allied institutions rely on undemocratic practices to promote their business interest. In recent years these policies have included not only monopolistic business practices but also outright interference with local governments. Frequently, to promote the interests of business, a militaristic type of government is either promoted, or even created. The effects these governments and their policies have on the citizenry of these nations are disastrous. Farms and forests are ruined and denuded. Low cost toxic waste dumps are created near population centers to service skyrocketing debts. . . .

The WTO was nominally chartered as a dispute resolution organization. The problem is it is an organization with no real oversight or accountability, and a process that favors the most powerful corporations.

4. World Trade Organization press release, 2000.

- Extreme poverty is a huge problem. 1.2 billion people survive on less than a dollar a day. A further 1.6 billion, more than a quarter of the world's population, make do with one to two dollars a day.
- To alleviate poverty, developing economies need to grow faster, and the poor need to benefit from this growth. Trade can play an important part in reducing poverty, because it boosts economic growth and the poor tend to benefit from that faster growth.
- The study finds that, in general, living standards in developing countries are not catching up with those in developed countries. But some developing countries are catching up. What distinguishes them is their openness to trade. The countries that are catching up with rich ones are those that are open to trade; and the more open they are, the faster they are converging.

5. Stuart Carlson, political cartoon from the Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, 2005.



Stuart Carlson © 2005 Milwaukee Sentinel. Reprinted with permission of UNIVERSAL UCLICK. All rights reserved.

6. Former president Bill Clinton, speech at Guildhall, London, 2006.

I spent a lot of time working on globalization when I was president, coming to terms with the fundamental fact of interdependence that goes far beyond economics: open border, easy travel, easy immigration, free flow of money as well as people, products, and services. I tried to figure out how to maximize the dynamism of global interdependence and still broaden its impact in terms of economics and opportunity. The one thing that I am quite sure of is that interdependence is not a choice, it's not a policy, it is the inevitable condition of our time. So, divorce is not an option. . . .

Therefore, the mission of the moment clearly is to build up the positive and reduce the negative forces of global interdependence in a way that enables us to keep score in the right way. Are people going to be better off, will our children have a better chance, will we be more united than divided?

Sources: (1) From *Shafted: Free Trade and America's Working Poor*, by Christine Ahn (Food First Books, 2003). Reprinted by permission of the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 398 60th Street, Oakland, CA 94618.; (2) Kenneth L. Kraemer, Greg Linden, and Jason Dedrick, "Capturing Value in Global Networks: Apple's iPad and iPhone" (Paul Merage School of Business, University of California, Irvine, July 2011). Used by permission of the authors; (3) Seattle Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, "Bringing in an Undemocratic Institution Brings an Undemocratic Response," July 5, 2000, ii, 5; (4) WTO press release, June 13, 2000, quoting a WTO Special Study No. 5, "Trade, Income Disparity, and Poverty," June 2000. Used by permission of the World Trade Organization; (6) collegeofpublicspeaking.co.uk/Clinton-London-2006.html.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Free trade means that goods can move between countries without restriction or taxation (such as tariffs or duties). Compare sources 1, 3, 5, and 6. How do these different sources explain the effects of free trade across the globe? How would you interpret the WTO's optimism about free trade alongside Petra Mata's personal experience of displacement?
2. How is increased global communication important to the trade relationships described in source 2? According to source 4, what are some other effects associated with the trade relationships shown here?
3. What tension in globalization is the cartoonist in source 5 attempting to capture? What kind of change over time has the cartoonist identified?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Based on this chapter's discussion of globalization, and using the above documents, write an essay in which you examine the economic effects of recent global integration. In particular, use your essay to define globalization and to outline some of its potential positive and negative effects.

Global Trade, 1960–2009

One of the major consequences of economic globalization is an increase in trade among nations. The figures below show imports and exports for four of the world's largest economies.

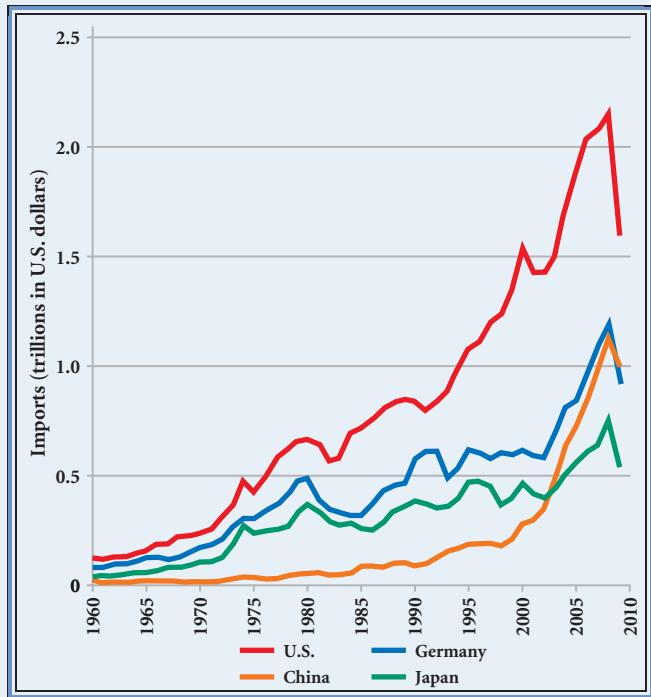


FIGURE 31.3
Imports, 1960–2009

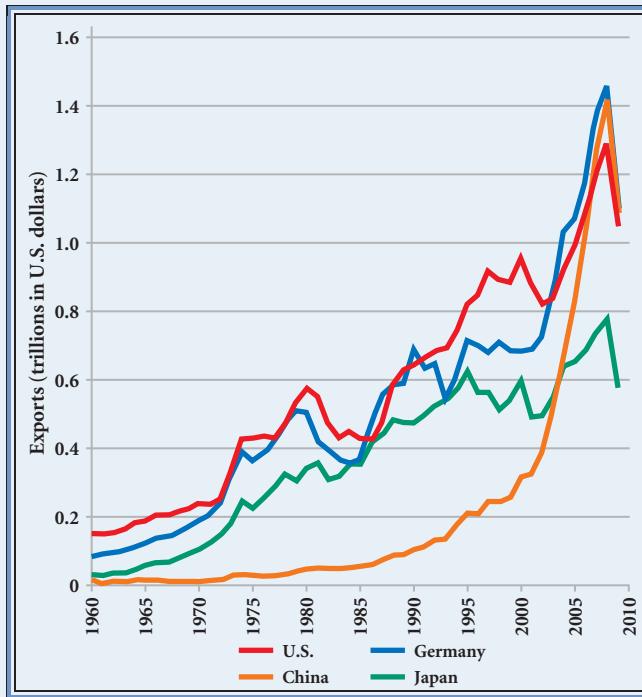


FIGURE 31.4
Exports, 1960–2009

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- Notice how U.S. imports rose at roughly the same rate as those of other countries until the 1970s. What accounts for the acceleration of U.S. imports thereafter?
- China's exports rose spectacularly after the 1990s. Germany increased its exports in this period dramatically as well. What evidence do you see here for increasing competition for the United States in a globalizing economy?

the dollar and the Japanese yen as a major international currency (Map 31.1). Militarily, however, the EU remained a secondary power. An economic juggernaut and trading rival with a suspicion of warfare, the EU presented a number of new dilemmas for American officials.

So did China, a vast nation of 1.3 billion people that was the world's fastest-rising economic power in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Between 2000 and 2008, China *quadrupled* its gross domestic product (GDP). Economic growth rates during those years were consistently near 10 percent—higher than the United States achieved during its periods of

furious economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Although still governed by the Communist Party, China embraced capitalism, and its factories produced inexpensive products for export, which Americans eagerly purchased—everything from children's toys and television sets to clothing, household appliances, and video games. To maintain this symbiotic relationship, China deliberately kept its currency weak against the American dollar, ensuring that its exports remained cheap in the United States.

Beneficial to American consumers in the short run, the implications of this relationship for the future may be less promising. Two such implications stand out.

MAP 31.1

Growth of the European Community, 1951–2005

The European Community (EU) began in the 1950s as a loose organization of Western European nations. Over the course of the following decades, it created stronger common institutions, such as the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the EU Commission in Brussels, and the Court of Justice in Luxembourg. With the collapse of communism, the EU has expanded to include the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. It now includes twenty-eight nations and over 500 million people.



First, as more and more goods that Americans buy are produced in China, the manufacturing base in the United States continues to shrink, costing jobs and adversely affecting communities. Second, China has kept its currency low against the dollar primarily by purchasing American debt. China now owns nearly 25 percent of total U.S. debt, more than any other nation. Many economists believe that it is unwise to allow a single country to wield so much influence over the U.S. currency supply. Should this relationship continue unchanged, Americans may find their manufacturing sector contracting even more severely in the coming decades.

An Era of Globalization

Americans have long depended on foreign markets to which they export their goods and have long received imported products and immigrants from other countries. But the *intensity* of international exchange has varied over time. The end of the Cold War shattered barriers that had restrained international trade and impeded capitalist development of vast areas of the world. New communications systems—satellites, fiber-optic cables, global positioning networks—were shrinking the world's physical spaces to a degree

unimaginable at the beginning of the twentieth century. Perhaps most important, global financial markets became integrated to an unprecedented extent, allowing investment capital to “flow” into and out of nations and around the world in a matter of moments.

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

What were the major consequences for the United States of the economic rise of China and the European Union?

International Organizations and Corporations

International organizations, many of them created in the wake of World War II, set the rules for capitalism's worldwide expansion. During the final decades of the Cold War, the leading capitalist industrial nations formed the Group of Seven (G7) to manage global economic policy. Russia joined in 1997, creating the **Group of Eight (G8)**. The G8 nations—the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, and Russia—largely controlled the major international financial organizations: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In 1995, GATT evolved into the World Trade Organization (WTO), with nearly 150 participating nations that regulate and formalize trade agreements with member states.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

What were the potential benefits and risks of globalization to the United States and other countries?

As globalization accelerated, so did the integration of regional economies. To offset the economic clout of the European bloc, in 1993 the United States, Canada, and Mexico signed the **North American Free Trade Agreement**

(NAFTA). This treaty, as ratified by the U.S. Congress, envisioned the eventual creation of a free-trade zone covering all of North America. In East Asia, the capitalist nations of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore consulted on economic policy; as China developed a quasi-capitalist economy and became a major exporter of manufactures, its Communist-led government joined their deliberations.

International organizations set the rules, but globalization was made possible by the proliferation of **multinational corporations** (MNCs). In 1970, there

were 7,000 corporations with offices and factories in multiple countries; by 2000, the number had exploded to 63,000. Many of the most powerful MNCs were, and continue to be, based in the United States. Walmart, the biggest American retailer, is also one of the world's largest corporations, with 1,200 stores in other nations and more than \$400 billion in sales. Apple, maker of the iPhone and iPad, grew spectacularly in the 2000s and now has more than \$60 billion annually in global sales. The McDonald's restaurant chain had 1,000 outlets outside the United States in 1980; twenty years later, there were nearly 13,000, and "McWorld" had become a popular shorthand term for globalization.

Globalization was driven by more than a quest for new markets. Corporations also sought ever-cheaper sources of labor. Many American MNCs closed their factories in the United States and outsourced manufacturing jobs to plants in Mexico, Eastern Europe,



A Nike Factory in China

In 2005, Nike produced its shoes and sportswear at 124 plants in China; additional factories were located in other low-wage countries. Most of the Chinese plants were run by subcontractors, who housed the workers—mostly women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five—in crowded dormitories. The wages were low, about \$3 a day, but more than the women could earn if they remained in their rural villages. AP Images.

and especially Asia. The athletic sportswear firm Nike was a prime example. By 2005, Nike had established 700 factories worldwide that employed more than 650,000 workers, most of whom received low wages, endured harsh working conditions, and had no health or pension benefits. Highly skilled jobs were outsourced as well.

Financial Deregulation One of the principal differences between this new era of globalization and previous eras has been the opening of national financial and currency markets to investment from around the world. The United States and Britain led the way. Both countries came under the sway of powerful political forces in the 1980s calling for the total deregulation of banks, brokerage houses, investment firms, and financial markets—letting the free market replace government oversight. Together, the United States and Britain led a quiet revolution in which investment markets around the world were gradually set free.

Financial deregulation led to spectacular profits for investors but produced a more fragile, crash-prone global economy. On the profit side, financial-industry profits in the United States rose from less than

10 percent of total business profits in the 1950s to more than 40 percent beginning in the 1990s. But the costs were becoming clear as well: the bankruptcy of the American savings and loan industry in the 1980s; the “lost decade” in Japan in the 1990s; the near bankruptcy of Russia in the late 1990s and of Argentina in 2001; the 1997 Asian financial crisis, centered in Thailand and Indonesia; and the collapse of nearly the entire global economy in 2008 (p. 1030). These and other episodes dramatized the extraordinary risks that financial globalization has introduced.

Revolutions in Technology

The technological advances of the 1980s and 1990s changed the character of everyday life for millions of Americans, linking them with a global information and media environment unprecedented in world history. Not since television was introduced to American homes in the years following World War II had technology so profoundly changed the way people lived their lives. Personal computers, cell phones and smartphones, the Internet and the World Wide Web, and other electronic devices and systems altered



Internet Versus Newspapers

Between 2000 and 2010, dozens of large and medium-sized newspapers went out of business, their once-robust readership drained away by the convenience of news available for free on the Internet. In 2009, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* newspaper ceased print publication and became an online-only news source. In this photo, the paper’s news-boxes sit empty, an ominous sign of the struggling newspaper business in the early 2000s. © Bettmann/Corbis.

work, leisure, and access to knowledge in stunning ways. Like unimpeded trade, these advances in communications and personal technologies enhanced globalization.

During the 1990s, personal computers, which had emerged in the late 1970s, grew even more significant with the spread of the Internet and the World Wide Web. Like the computer itself, the Internet was the product of military-based research. During the late 1960s, the U.S. Department of Defense, in conjunction with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, began developing a decentralized computer network, the **Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET)**. The Internet, which grew out of the ARPANET, was soon used by government scientists, academic specialists, and military contractors to exchange data, information, and electronic mail (e-mail). By the 1980s, the Internet had spread to universities, businesses, and the general public.

The debut in 1991 of the graphics-based **World Wide Web**—a collection of servers that allowed access to millions of documents, pictures, and other materials—enhanced the popular appeal and commercial possibilities of the Internet. By 2011, 78 percent of all Americans and more than two billion people worldwide used the Internet to send messages and view information. Businesses used the World Wide Web to sell their products and services; e-commerce transactions totaled \$114 billion in 2003, \$172 billion in 2005, and neared

\$500 billion in 2010. The Web proved instantly democratic, providing ordinary people with easy access to knowledge.

Politics and Partisanship in a New Era

Standing at the podium at the 1992 Republican National Convention, his supporters cheering by the thousands, Patrick Buchanan did not mince words. Buchanan was a former speechwriter for President Richard Nixon and a White House aide to President Ronald Reagan, and despite having lost the nomination for president, he still hoped to shape the party's message to voters. This election, he told the audience—including millions watching on television—"is about what we stand for as Americans." Citing Democratic support for abortion rights and the rights of lesbians and gay men, Buchanan claimed there was "a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America." It was, he emphasized, "a culture war."

Buchanan's war was another name for a long-standing political struggle, dating to the 1920s, between religious traditionalists and secular liberals (Chapter 22). This time, however, Americans struggled over these questions in the long shadow of the sixties, which had taken on an exaggerated meaning in the nation's



New Immigrants

In the early years of the 2000s, more immigrants lived in the United States than at any time since the first decades of the twentieth century. Most came from Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Many, like those pictured here, started small businesses that helped revive the economies of urban and suburban neighborhoods across the country.

© Bettmann/Corbis.

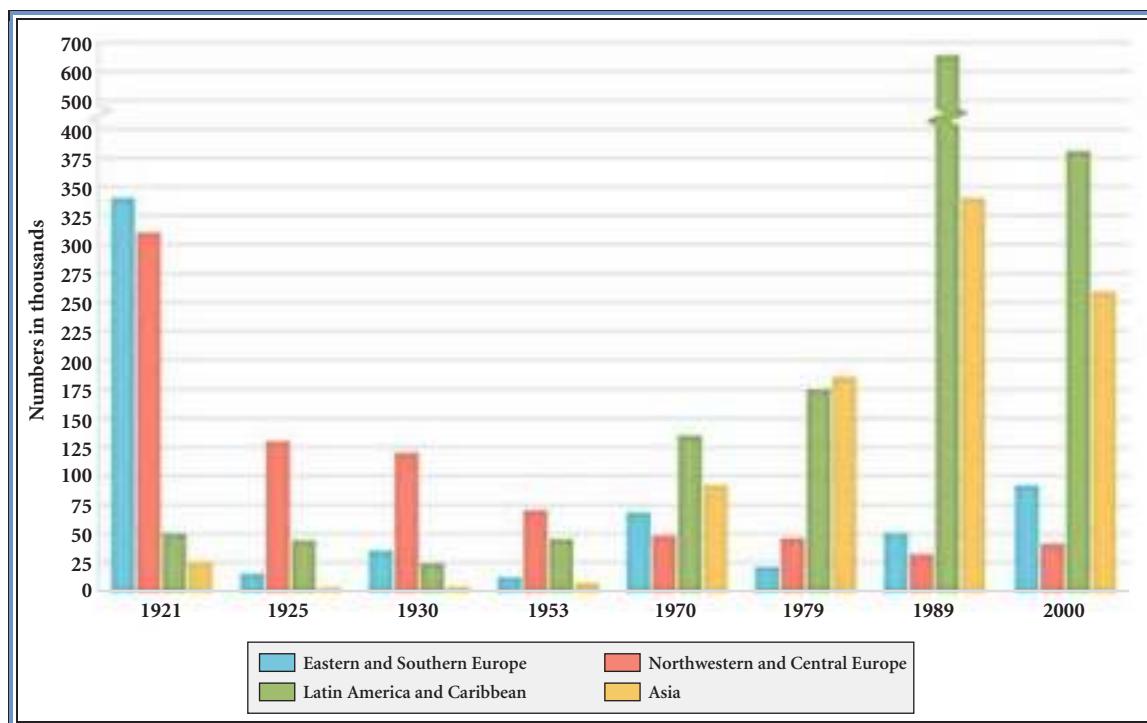


FIGURE 31.5
American Immigration, 1920–2000

Legislation inspired by nativism slowed the influx of immigrants after 1920, as did the dislocations brought on by economic depression and war in the 1930s and 1940s. Note the high rate of non-European immigration since the 1970s, the result of new eligibility rules in the Immigration Act of 1965 (Chapter 28). The dramatic increase since 1980 in the number of migrants from Latin America and Asia reflects American economic prosperity, traditionally a magnet for migrants, and the rapid acceleration of illegal immigration.

politics. Against the backdrop of globalization, American politics in the 1990s and early 2000s careened back and forth between contests over divisive social issues and concern over the nation's economic future.

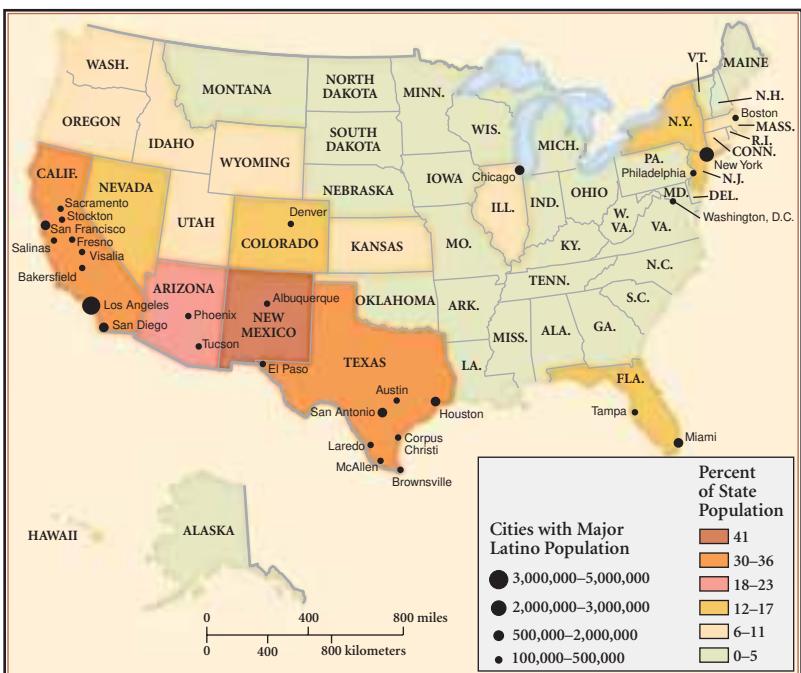
An Increasingly Plural Society

Exact estimates vary, but demographers predict that at some point between 2040 and 2050 the United States will become a “majority-minority” nation: No single ethnic or racial group will be in the numerical majority. This is already the case in California, where in 2010 African Americans, Latinos, and Asians together constituted a majority of the state’s residents. As this unmistakable trend became apparent in the 1990s, it fueled renewed debates over ethnic and racial identity and over public policies such as affirmative action.

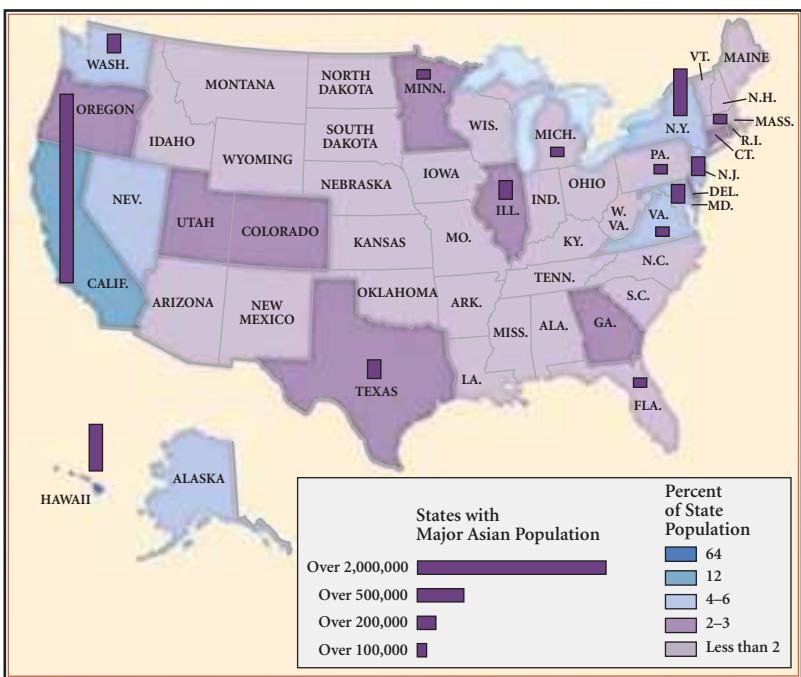
New Immigrants According to the Census Bureau, the population of the United States grew from 203 million in 1970 to 280 million in 2000 (American Voices, p. 1016). Of that 77-million-person increase, immigrants accounted for 28 million, with legal entrants

numbering 21 million and illegal entrants adding another 7 million (Figure 31.5). As a result, by 2000, 26 percent of California’s population was foreign-born, as was 20 percent of New York’s and 17 percent each of New Jersey’s and Florida’s. Relatively few immigrants came from Europe, which had dominated immigration to the United States between 1880 and 1924. The overwhelming majority—some 25 million—now came from Latin America (16 million) and East Asia (9 million) (Map 31.2).

This extraordinary inflow of immigrants was the unintended result of the **Immigration and Nationality Act** of 1965, one of the less well-known but most influential pieces of Great Society legislation. Known as the Hart-Celler Act, the legislation eliminated the 1924 quota system, which had favored Northern Europe. In its place, Congress created a more equal playing field among nations and a slightly higher total limit on immigration. The legislation also included provisions that eased the entry of immigrants who possessed skills in high demand in the United States. Finally, a provision with far-reaching implications was included in the new law: immediate family members of those already

**MAP 31.2****Hispanic and Asian Populations, 2000**

In 2000, people of Hispanic descent made up more than 11 percent of the American population, and they now outnumber African Americans as the largest minority group. Asian Americans accounted for an additional 4 percent of the population. Demographers predict that by the year 2050 only about half of the U.S. population will be composed of non-Hispanic whites. Note the high percentage of Hispanics and Asians in California and certain other states.



legally resident in the United States were admitted outside of the total numerical limit.

American residents from Latin America and the Caribbean were best positioned to take advantage of the family provision. Millions of Mexicans came to the United States to join their families, and U.S. residents from El Salvador and Guatemala—tens of thousands of whom had arrived seeking sanctuary or asylum

during the civil wars of the 1980s—and the Dominican Republic now brought their families to join them. Nationally, there were now more Latinos than African Americans. Many of these immigrants profoundly shaped the emerging global economy by sending substantial portions of their earnings, called remittances, back to family members in their home countries. In 2006, for instance, workers in the United States sent

\$23 billion to Mexico, a massive remittance flow that constituted Mexico's third-largest source of foreign exchange.

Asian immigrants came largely from China, the Philippines, South Korea, India, and Pakistan. In addition, 700,000 refugees came to the United States from Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) after the Vietnam War. This immigration signaled more than new flows of people into the United States. Throughout much of its history, the United States had oriented itself toward the Atlantic. Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, American secretary of state John Hay observed, "The Mediterranean is the ocean of the past; the Atlantic the ocean of the present." He added, presciently, "The Pacific [is] the ocean of the future." By the last decades of the twentieth century, Hay's future had arrived. As immigration from Asia increased, as Japan and China grew more influential economically, and as more and more transnational trade crossed the Pacific, commentators on both sides of the ocean began speaking of the Pacific Rim as an important new region.

Multiculturalism and Its Critics Most new immigrants arrived under the terms of the 1965 law. But those who entered without legal documentation stirred political controversy. After twenty years under the new law, there were three to five million immigrants without legal status. In 1986, to remedy this situation, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The law granted citizenship to many of those who had arrived illegally, provided incentives for employers not to hire undocumented immigrants, and increased surveillance along the border with Mexico. Immigration critics persisted, however. In 1992, Patrick Buchanan, then campaigning for the Republican presidential nomination, warned Americans that their country was "undergoing the greatest invasion in its history, a migration of millions of illegal aliens a year from Mexico." Many states took immigration matters into their own hands. In 1994, for instance, Californians approved Proposition 187, a ballot initiative that barred illegal aliens from public schools, nonemergency care at public health clinics, and all other state social services. The proposed law declared that U.S. citizens have a "right to the protection of their government from any person or persons entering this country unlawfully," but after five years in federal court, the controversial measure was ruled unconstitutional.



To see a longer excerpt of Proposition 187, along with other primary sources from this period, see *Sources for America's History*.

Debates over post-1965 immigration looked a great deal like conflicts in the early decades of the century. Then, many native-born white Protestants worried that the largely Jewish and Catholic immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, along with African American migrants leaving the South, could not assimilate and threatened the "purity" of the nation. Although the conflicts looked the same, the cultural paradigm had shifted. In the earlier era, the *melting pot*—a term borrowed from the title of a 1908 play—became the metaphor for how American society would accommodate its newfound diversity. Some native-born Americans found solace in the melting-pot concept because it implied that a single "American" culture would predominate. In the 1990s, however, a different concept, **multiculturalism**, emerged to define social diversity. Americans, this concept suggested, were not a single people into whom others melted; rather, they comprised a diverse set of ethnic and racial groups living and working together. A shared set of public values held the multicultural society together, even as different groups maintained unique practices and traditions.

Critics, however, charged that multiculturalism perpetuated ethnic chauvinism and conferred preferential treatment on minority groups. Many government policies, as well as a large number of private employers, for instance, continued to support affirmative action programs designed to bring African Americans and Latinos into public- and private-sector jobs and universities in larger numbers. Conservatives argued that such governmental programs were deeply flawed because they promoted "reverse discrimination" against white men and women and resulted in the selection and promotion of less qualified applicants for jobs and educational advancement.

California stood at the center of the debate. In 1995, under pressure from Republican governor Pete Wilson, the regents of the University of California scrapped their twenty-year-old policy of affirmative action. A year later, California voters approved **Proposition 209**, which outlawed affirmative action in state employment and public education. At the height of the 1995 controversy, President Bill Clinton delivered a major speech defending affirmative action. He reminded Americans that Richard Nixon, a Republican president, had endorsed affirmative action, and he concluded by saying the nation should "mend it," not "end it." However, as in the *Bakke* decision of the 1970s (Chapter 29), it was the U.S. Supreme Court that spoke loudest on the subject. In two parallel 2003 cases, the Court invalidated one affirmative action plan at the University of



Immigration After 1965: Its Defenders and Critics

John F. Kennedy

A Nation of Immigrants, 1964

This selection is from a revised, and posthumously published, version of a book Kennedy originally published in 1958.

Immigration policy should be generous; it should be fair; it should be flexible. With such a policy we can turn to the world, and to our own past with clean hands and a clean conscience. Such a policy would be a reaffirmation of old principles. It would be an expression of our agreement with George Washington that “The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.”

Source: Nicholas Capaldi, ed., *Immigration: Debating the Issues* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1997), 128.

Roy Beck

“A Nation of (Too Many) Immigrants?” 1996

Boy Beck is a former journalist who became an activist for immigration reduction.

Since 1970, more than 30 million foreign citizens and their descendants have been added to the local communities and labor pools of the United States. It is the numerical equivalent of having relocated within our borders the entire present population of all Central American countries.

Demographic change on such a massive scale — primarily caused by the increased admission of *legal* immigrants — inevitably has created winners and losers among Americans. Based on opinion polls, it appears that most Americans consider themselves net losers and believe that the United States has become “a nation of too many immigrants.”

What level of immigration is best for America, and of real help to the world? Although we often hear that

As we have seen in this chapter, the immigration law passed by Congress in 1965 combined with global developments to shift the flows of people seeking entry to the United States. More and more immigrants came from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. Immigration has always been politically controversial, but in the 1990s a renewed, and often polarized, debate over immigration emerged.

the United States is a nation of immigrants, we seldom ask just what that means. It can be difficult to ask tough questions about immigration when we see nostalgic images of Ellis Island, recall our own families’ coming to America, or encounter a new immigrant who is striving admirably to achieve the American dream.

But tough questions about immigration can no longer be avoided as we enter a fourth decade of unprecedentedly high immigration and struggle with its impact on our job markets, on the quality of life and social fabric of our communities, and on the state of the environment. . . .

The task before the nation in setting a fair level of immigration is not about race or some vision of a homogenous white America; it is about protecting and enhancing the United States’ unique experiment in democracy for all Americans, including recent immigrants, regardless of their particular ethnicity. It is time to confront the true costs and benefits of immigration numbers, which have skyrocketed beyond our society’s ability to handle them successfully.

Source: From *The Case Against Immigration: The Moral, Economic, Social, and Environmental Reasons for Reducing U.S. Immigration Back to Traditional Levels*, by Roy H. Beck (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996). Used by permission of the author.

Vernon M. Briggs Jr. and Stephen Moore

“Still an Open Door?” 1994

Two academic policy analysts weigh in on the immigration debate.

Immigrants are certainly not an unmixed blessing. When the newcomers first arrive, they impose short-term costs on the citizenry. Because immigration means more people, they cause more congestion of our highways, a more crowded housing market, and longer waiting lines in stores and hospitals. In states such as California, immigrants’ children are heavy users of an already overburdened public school system, and so on. Some immigrants abuse the welfare system, which means that tax dollars from Americans are transferred to immigrant populations. Los Angeles County officials estimate that

immigrants' use of county services costs the local government hundreds of millions of dollars each year. . . .

The benefits of immigration, however, are manifold. Perhaps the most important benefit is that immigrants come to the United States with critically needed talents, energies, and ambitions that serve as an engine for economic progress and help the United States retain economic and geopolitical leadership. Because for most of the world's immigrants, America is their first choice, the United States is in a unique position to select the most brilliant and inventive minds from the United Kingdom, Canada, China, Korea, India, Ireland, Mexico, Philippines, Russia, Taiwan, and other nations. Because most immigrants are not poor, tired, huddled masses, but rather are above the average of their compatriots in skill and education levels, the immigration process has a highly beneficial self-selection component, a skimming of the cream of the best workers and top brainpower from the rest of the world.

Source: Vernon M. Briggs Jr. and Stephen Moore, *Still an Open Door? U.S. Immigration Policy and the American Economy* (Washington, DC: The American University Press, 1994).

President Barack Obama

June 15, 2012, Announcement at the White House Rose Garden

In 2012 the president announced a new policy allowing many immigrants to avoid deportation and apply for work authorization.

This morning, Secretary Napolitano [Secretary of Department of Homeland Security] announced new actions my administration will take to mend our nation's immigration policy, to make it more fair, more efficient and more just, specifically for certain young people sometimes called DREAMers.

Now, these are young people who study in our schools, they play in our neighborhoods, they're friends with our kids, they pledge allegiance to our flag. They are Americans in their heart, in their minds, in every single way but one: on paper. They were brought to this country by their parents, sometimes even as infants, and often have no idea that they're undocumented until they apply for a job or a driver's license or a college scholarship.

Put yourself in their shoes. Imagine you've done everything right your entire life, studied hard, worked hard, maybe even graduated at the top of your class, only to suddenly face the threat of deportation to a country that you know nothing about, with a language that you may not even speak.

That's what gave rise to the Dream Act. It says that if your parents brought you here as a child, you've been here for five years and you're willing to go to college or serve in our military, you can one day earn your citizenship. And I've said time and time again to Congress that — send me the Dream Act, put it on my desk, and I will sign it right away. . . .

Source: *New York Times*, June 15, 2012.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare and contrast the different views on immigration presented here. What are the pros and cons of immigration?
2. Does the debate over immigration depend on whether immigrants are pictured as skilled and educated or unskilled and poor? Explain why it should or shouldn't.
3. The Dream Act that President Obama mentions was stalled in Congress in 2012. What kinds of appeals does he make on behalf of immigrants? How do they compare with Kennedy's remarks?



English Only

Not everyone was pleased with the new influx of immigrants. Anti-immigrant movements arose in various states, especially those along the Mexican border. In 1998, conservative activist Ron Unz sponsored Proposition 227 in California. The measure, which banned bilingual education in public schools, passed by a wide margin. In this photo, Unz delivers a speech supporting Proposition 227 to an audience in Los Angeles. AP Images.

Michigan but allowed racial preference policies that promoted a “diverse” student body. Thus diversity became the law of the land, the constitutionally acceptable basis for affirmative action. The policy had been narrowed but preserved.

Additional anxieties about a multicultural nation centered on language. In 1998, Silicon Valley software entrepreneur Ron Unz sponsored a California initiative calling for an end to bilingual education in public schools. Unz argued that bilingual education had failed because it did not adequately prepare Spanish-speaking students to succeed in an English-speaking society. The state’s white, Anglo residents largely approved

of the measure; most Mexican American, Asian American, and civil rights organizations opposed it. When Unz’s measure, Proposition 227, passed with a healthy 61 percent majority, it seemed to confirm the limits of multiculturalism in the nation’s most diverse state.

TRACE CHANGE OVER TIME

How did anti-immigrant sentiment increase between the 1960s and the 1990s, and what sorts of actions were taken by those opposed to immigration?

“abrasive experiments of two liberal decades,” as a Reagan administration report put it, had eroded respect for marriage and what they had called, since the 1970s, “family values.” They pointed to the 40 percent rate of divorce among whites and the nearly 60 percent rate of out-of-wedlock pregnancies among African Americans. To conservatives, there was a wide range of culprits: legislators who enacted liberal divorce laws, funded child care, and allowed welfare payments to unmarried mothers, as well as judges who condoned abortion and banished religious instruction from public schools.

Abortion Abortion was central to the battles between feminists and religious conservatives and a defining issue between Democrats and Republicans. Feminists who described themselves as prochoice viewed the issue from the perspective of the pregnant woman; they argued that the right to a legal, safe abortion was crucial to her control over her body and life. Conversely, religious conservatives, who pronounced themselves prolife, viewed abortion from the perspective of the unborn fetus and claimed that its rights trumped those of the mother. That is where the debate had stood since the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade*.

By the 1980s, fundamentalist Protestants had assumed leadership of the antiabortion movement,

Clashes over “Family Values”

If the promise of a multicultural nation was one contested political issue, another was the state of American families. New Right conservatives charged that the



Activists Protesting Outside the Supreme Court in 2002

In 2002 the Supreme Court considered a case in which the National Organization for Women (NOW) had challenged the legality of abortion clinic protests, such as those undertaken by Operation Rescue. The activists, and the case itself, demonstrated that the question of abortion remained far from settled, and Americans on all sides of the issue continued to hold passionate opinions. Photo by Mark Wilson/Getty Images.

which became increasingly confrontational and politically powerful. In 1987, the religious activist Randall Terry founded **Operation Rescue**, which mounted protests outside abortion clinics and harassed their staffs and clients. While such vocal protests took shape outside clinics, antiabortion activists also won state laws that limited public funding for abortions, required parental notification before minors could obtain abortions, and mandated waiting periods before any woman could undergo an abortion procedure. Such laws further restricted women's reproductive choices.

Gay Rights The issue of homosexuality stirred equally deep passions. As more gay men and women came out of the closet in the years after Stonewall (Chapter 28), they demanded legal protections from discrimination in housing, education, and employment. Public opinion about these demands varied by region, but by the 1990s, many cities and states had banned discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Gay

rights groups also sought legal rights for same-sex couples—such as the eligibility for workplace health-care coverage—that were akin to those enjoyed by married heterosexuals. Many of the most prominent national gay rights organizations, such as the Human Rights Campaign, focused on full marriage equality: a legal recognition of same-sex marriage that was on par with opposite-sex marriages.

The Religious Right had long condemned homosexuality as morally wrong, and public opinion remained sharply divided. In 1992, Colorado voters approved an amendment to the state constitution that prevented local governments from enacting ordinances protecting gays and lesbians—a measure that the Supreme Court subsequently overturned as unconstitutional. That same year, however, Oregon voters defeated a more radical initiative that would have

EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES

How did clashes over "family values" alter American politics in the 1990s?

prevented the state from using any funds “to promote, encourage or facilitate” homosexuality. In 1998, Congress entered the fray by enacting the **Defense of Marriage Act**, which allowed states to refuse to recognize gay marriages or civil unions formed in other jurisdictions. More recently, gay marriage has been legalized in eleven states: California, Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, Washington, and Rhode Island.

Culture Wars and the Supreme Court Divisive rights issues increasingly came before the U.S. Supreme Court. Abortion led the way, with abortion rights activists challenging the constitutionality of the new state laws limiting access to the procedure. In *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989), the Supreme Court upheld the authority of state governments to limit the use of public funds and facilities for abortions. Then, in the important case of *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992), the Court upheld a law requiring a twenty-four-hour waiting period prior to an abortion. Surveying these and other decisions, a reporter suggested that 1989 was “the year the Court turned right,” with a conservative majority ready and willing to limit or invalidate liberal legislation and legal precedents.

This observation was only partly correct. The Court was not yet firmly conservative. Although the *Casey* decision upheld certain restrictions on abortions, it affirmed the “essential holding” in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) that women had a constitutional right to control their reproduction. Justice David Souter, appointed to the Court by President George H. W. Bush in 1990, voted with Reagan appointees Sandra Day O’Connor and Anthony Kennedy to uphold *Roe*. Souter, like O’Connor, emerged as an ideologically moderate justice on a range of issues. Moreover, in a landmark decision, *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), the Supreme Court limited the power of states to prohibit private homosexual activity between consenting adults and, more recently, in *Windsor v. United States* (2013) declared the Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutional. The Court had crept incrementally, rather than lurched, to the right while signaling its continued desire to remain within the broad mainstream of American public opinion.

The Clinton Presidency, 1993–2001

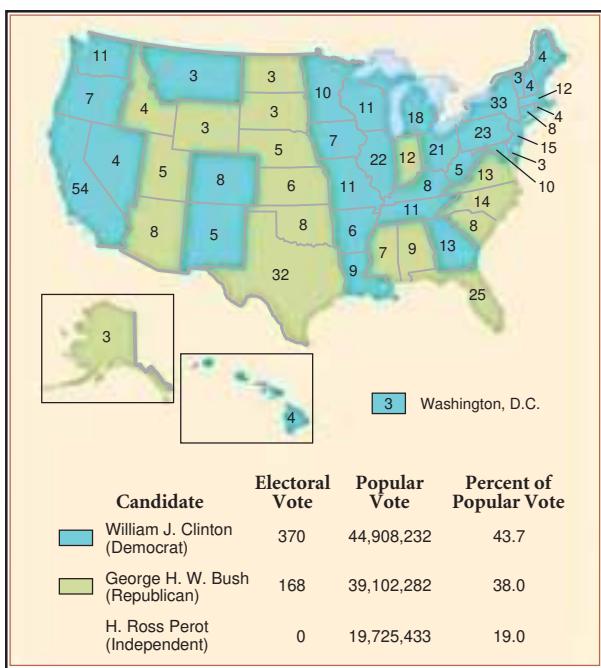
The culture wars contributed to a new, divisive partisanship in national politics. Rarely in the twentieth century had the two major parties so adamantly refused

to work together. Also rare was the vitriolic rhetoric that politicians used to describe their opponents. The fractious partisanship was filtered through—or, many would argue, created by—the new twenty-four-hour cable news television networks, such as Fox News and CNN. Commentators on these channels, finding that nothing drew viewers like aggressive partisanship, increasingly abandoned their roles as conveyors of information and became entertainers and provocateurs.

That divisiveness was a hallmark of the presidency of William Jefferson Clinton. In 1992, Clinton, the governor of Arkansas, styled himself a New Democrat who would bring Reagan Democrats and middle-class voters back to the party. Only forty-six, he was an energetic, ambitious policy wonk—extraordinarily well informed about the details of public policy. To win the Democratic nomination in 1992, Clinton had to survive charges that he embodied the permissive social values conservatives associated with the 1960s: namely, that he dodged the draft to avoid service in Vietnam, smoked marijuana, and cheated repeatedly on his wife. The charges were damaging, but Clinton adroitly talked his way into the presidential nomination: he had charisma and a way with words. For his running mate, he chose Albert A. Gore, a senator from Tennessee. Gore was about the same age as Clinton, making them the first baby-boom national ticket as well as the nation’s first all-southern major-party ticket.

President George H. W. Bush won renomination over his lone opponent, the conservative columnist Pat Buchanan. The Democrats mounted an aggressive campaign that focused on Clinton’s domestic agenda: he promised a tax cut for the middle class, universal health insurance, and a reduction of the huge Republican budget deficit. It was an audacious combination of traditional social-welfare liberalism and fiscal conservatism. For his part, Bush could not overcome voters’ discontent with the weak economy and conservatives’ disgust at his tax hikes. He received only 38.0 percent of the popular vote as millions of Republicans cast their ballots for independent businessman Ross Perot, who won more votes (19.0 percent) than any independent candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. With 43.7 percent of the vote, Clinton won the election (Map 31.3). Still, there were reasons for him to worry. Among all post–World War II presidents, only Richard Nixon (in 1969) entered the White House with a comparably small share of the national vote.

New Democrats and Public Policy Clinton tried to steer a middle course through the nation’s increasingly



MAP 31.3
The Presidential Election of 1992

The first national election after the end of the Cold War focused on the economy, which had fallen into a recession in 1991. The first-ever all-southern Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton (Arkansas) and Al Gore (Tennessee) won support across the country but won the election with only 43.7 percent of the popular vote. The Republican candidate, President George H. W. Bush, ran strongly in his home state of Texas and the South, an emerging Republican stronghold. Independent candidate H. Ross Perot, a wealthy technology entrepreneur, polled an impressive 19.0 percent of the popular vote by capitalizing on voter dissatisfaction with the huge federal deficits of the Reagan-Bush administrations.

divisive partisanship. On his left was the Democratic Party's weakened but still vocal liberal wing. On his right were party moderates influenced by Reagan-era notions of reducing government regulation and the welfare state. Clinton's "third way," as he dubbed it, called for the new president to tailor his proposals to satisfy these two quite different—and often antagonistic—political constituencies. Clinton had notable successes as well as spectacular failures pursuing this course.

The spectacular failure came first. Clinton's most ambitious social-welfare goal was to provide a system of health care that would cover all Americans and reduce the burden of health-care costs on the larger economy. Although the United States spent a higher percentage of its gross national product (GNP) on medical care than any other nation, it was the only

major industrialized country that did not provide government-guaranteed health insurance to all citizens. It was an objective that had eluded every Democratic president since Harry Truman.

Recognizing the potency of Reagan's attack on "big government," Clinton's health-care task

force—led by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton—proposed a system of "managed competition." Private insurance companies and market forces were to rein in health-care expenditures. The cost of this system would fall heavily on employers, and many smaller businesses campaigned strongly against it. So did the health insurance industry and the American Medical Association, powerful lobbies with considerable influence in Washington. By mid-1994, Democratic leaders in Congress declared that the Clintons' universal health-care proposal was dead. Forty million Americans, or 15 percent of the population, remained without health insurance coverage.

More successful was Clinton's plan to reduce the budget deficits of the Reagan-Bush presidencies. In 1993, Clinton secured a five-year budget package that would reduce the federal deficit by \$500 billion. Republicans unanimously opposed the proposal because it raised taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals, and liberal Democrats complained because it limited social spending. But shared sacrifice led to shared rewards. By 1998, Clinton's fiscal policies had balanced the federal budget and begun to pay down the federal debt—at a rate of \$156 billion a year between 1999 and 2001. As fiscal sanity returned to Washington, the economy boomed, thanks in part to the low interest rates stemming from deficit reduction.

The Republican Resurgence The midterm election of 1994 confirmed that the Clinton presidency had not produced an electoral realignment: conservatives still had a working majority. In a well-organized campaign, in which grassroots appeals to the New Right dominated, Republicans gained fifty-two seats in the House of Representatives, giving them a majority for the first time since 1954. They also retook control of the Senate and captured eleven governorships. Leading the Republican charge was Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who revived calls for significant tax cuts, reductions in welfare programs, anticrime initiatives, and cutbacks in federal regulations. These initiatives, which Gingrich promoted under the banner of a "Contract with America," had been central components

UNDERSTAND POINTS OF VIEW

What made President Clinton a "New Democrat," and how much did his proposals differ from traditional liberal objectives?



An Influential First Lady and Senator

Hillary Clinton was the most influential First Lady since Eleanor Roosevelt. But she had ambitions beyond being a political spouse. In 2000, and again in 2006, she won election to the U.S. Senate from New York. In 2008, she nearly captured the Democratic nomination for president, and in 2009 she was appointed secretary of state by the man who defeated her in the Democratic primaries (and who went on to win the presidency), Barack Obama. Here she is shown with a group of her supporters in one of her Senate campaigns.

Photo by David Handschuh/NY Daily News Archive via Getty Images.

of the conservative-backed Reagan Revolution of the 1980s, but Gingrich believed that under the presidency of George H. W. Bush Republicans had not emphasized them enough.

In response to the massive Democratic losses in 1994, Clinton moved to the right. Claiming in 1996 that “the era of big government is over,” he avoided expansive social-welfare proposals for the remainder of his presidency and sought Republican support for a centrist New Democrat program. The signal piece of that program was reforming the welfare system, a measure that saved relatively little money but carried a big ideological message. Many taxpaying Americans believed—with some supporting evidence—that the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program encouraged female recipients to remain on welfare rather than seek employment. In August 1996, the federal government abolished AFDC, achieving a long-standing goal of conservatives when Clinton signed the **Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act**. Liberals were furious with the president.

Clinton’s Impeachment Following a relatively easy victory in the 1996 election, Clinton’s second term unraveled when a sex scandal led to his impeachment. Clinton denied having had a sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky, a former White House intern. Independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr, a conservative Republican, concluded that Clinton had committed perjury and obstructed justice and that these actions were grounds

for impeachment. Viewed historically, Americans have usually defined “high crimes and misdemeanors”—the constitutional standard for impeachment—as involving a serious abuse of public trust that endangered the republic. In 1998, conservative Republicans favored a much lower standard because they did not accept Clinton’s legitimacy as president. They vowed to oust him from office for lying about an extramarital affair.

On December 19, the House of Representatives narrowly approved two articles of impeachment. Only a minority of Americans supported the House’s action; according to a CBS News poll, 38 percent favored impeachment while 58 percent opposed it. Lacking public support, in early 1999 Republicans in the Senate fell well short of the two-thirds majority they needed to remove the president. But like Andrew Johnson, the only other president to be tried by the Senate, Clinton and the Democratic Party paid a high price for his acquittal. Preoccupied with defending himself, the president was unable to fashion a Democratic alternative to the Republicans’ domestic agenda. The American public also paid a high price, because the Republicans’ vendetta against Clinton drew attention away from pressing national problems.

Post–Cold War Foreign Policy

Politically weakened domestically after 1994, Clinton believed he could nonetheless make a difference on the international stage. There, post–Cold War developments

Bill Clinton

President William (Bill) Clinton returned the Democratic Party to the White House after twelve years under Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. Clinton was best known politically for what he called the *third way*, a phrase that described his efforts to craft policies that appealed to both liberals and moderates in his party. Here he signs the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 (officially the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act), which brought an end to the federal AFDC program that Democrats had created in 1935. AP Images.



gave him historic opportunities. The 1990s was a decade of stunning change in Europe and Central Asia. A great arc of newly independent states emerged as the Soviet empire collapsed. The majority of the 142 million people living in the former Soviet states were poor, but the region had a sizable middle class and was rich in natural resources, especially oil and natural gas.

Among the challenges for the United States was the question of whether to support the admission of some of the new states into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Chapter 25). Many observers believed, with some justification, that extending the NATO alliance into Eastern Europe, right up to Russia's western border, would damage U.S.-Russian relations. However, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary were also eager to become NATO members—an outcome that would draw into the Western alliance three nations that Stalin had decisively placed in the Soviet sphere of influence at the close of World War II. Clinton encouraged NATO admission for those three countries but stopped short of advocating a broader expansion of the alliance during his terms in office. Nonetheless, by 2010, twelve new nations—most of them in Eastern Europe—had been admitted to the NATO alliance. Nothing symbolized the end of the Cold War more than the fact that ten of those nations were former members of the Warsaw Pact.

The Breakup of Yugoslavia Two of the new NATO states, Slovenia and Croatia, emerged from an intrac-

table set of conflicts that led to the dissolution of the communist nation of Yugoslavia. In 1992, the heavily Muslim province of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence, but its substantial Serbian population refused to live in a Muslim-run multiethnic state. Slobodan Milosevic, an uncompromising Serbian nationalist, launched a ruthless campaign of “ethnic cleansing” to create a Serbian state. In November 1995, Clinton organized a NATO-led bombing campaign and peacekeeping effort, backed by 20,000 American troops, that ended the Serbs’ vicious expansionist drive. Four years later, a new crisis emerged in Kosovo, another province of the Serbian-dominated Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Again led by the United States, NATO intervened with air strikes and military forces to preserve Kosovo’s autonomy. By 2008, seven independent nations had emerged from the wreckage of Yugoslavia.

PLACE EVENTS IN CONTEXT

In what specific ways were foreign policy developments during the Clinton presidency evidence of the end of the Cold War?

America and the Middle East No post–Cold War development proved more challenging than the emergence of radical Islamic movements in the Middle East. Muslim nations there had a long list of grievances against the West. Colonialism—both British and French—in the early decades of the twentieth century had been ruthless. A U.S.-sponsored overthrow of Iran’s government in 1953—and twenty-five years of

American support for the Iranian shah—was also a sore point. America's support for Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur War and its near-unconditional backing of Israel in the 1980s were particularly galling to Muslims. The region's religious and secular moderates complained about these injustices, but many of them had political and economic ties to the West, which constrained their criticism.

This situation left an opening for radical Islamic fundamentalists to build a movement based on fanatical opposition to Western imperialism and consumer culture. These groups interpreted the American presence in Saudi Arabia as signaling new U.S. colonial ambitions in the region. Clinton had inherited from President George H. W. Bush a defeated Iraq and a sizable military force—about 4,000 Air Force personnel—in Saudi Arabia. American fighter jets left Saudi Arabian air bases to fly regular missions over Iraq, enforcing a no-fly zone, where Iraqi planes were

forbidden, and bombing select targets. Clinton also enforced a UN-sanctioned embargo on all trade with Iraq, a policy designed to constrain Saddam Hussein's military that ultimately denied crucial goods to the civilian population. Angered by the continued U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia, Muslim fundamentalists soon began targeting Americans. In 1993, radical Muslim immigrants set off a bomb in a parking garage beneath the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six people and injuring more than a thousand. Terrorists used truck bombs to blow up U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and they bombed the *USS Cole* in the Yemeni port of Aden in 2000.

The Clinton administration knew these attacks were the work of Al Qaeda, a network of radical Islamic terrorists organized by the wealthy Saudi exile Osama bin Laden. In February 1998, bin Laden had issued a call for holy war—a “Jihad against Jews and Crusaders,” in which it was said to be the duty of every Muslim to



Terrorists Bomb USS Cole

On October 12, 2000, a radical Muslim group with ties to Al Qaeda detonated a powerful bomb alongside the *USS Cole*, which was refueling in the port of Aden in Yemen. The explosion tore a large hole in the ship's hull, killing seventeen American sailors and injuring thirty-seven others. After repairs costing \$250 million, the *USS Cole* returned to active duty in April 2002. AFP/Getty Images.

kill Americans and their allies. After the embassy attacks, Clinton ordered air strikes on Al Qaeda bases in Afghanistan, where an estimated 15,000 radical operatives had been trained since 1990. The strikes failed to disrupt this growing terrorist network, and when Clinton left office, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the State Department, and the Pentagon were well aware of the potential threat posed by bin Laden's followers. That was where things stood on September 10, 2001.

Into a New Century

In the second decade of the new century, Americans can reflect on two significant developments that have profoundly shaped their own day: the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001, and the election of the nation's first African American president, Barack Obama, on November 4, 2008. Too little time has passed for us to assess whether either event will be remembered as helping to define the twenty-first century. But both have indelibly marked our present. And both had distinct antecedents and still have profound implications.

The Ascendance of George W. Bush

The 2000 presidential election briefly offered the promise of a break with the intense partisanship of the final Clinton years. The Republican nominee, George W. Bush, the son of President George H. W. Bush, pre-

sented himself as an outsider, deplored Washington partisanship and casting himself as a “uniter, not a divider.” His opponent, Al Gore—Clinton’s vice president—was a liberal policy specialist. The election of 2000 would join those of 1876 and 1960 as the closest and most contested in American history. Gore won the popular vote, amassing 50.9 million votes to Bush’s 50.4 million, but fell short in the electoral college, 267 to 271. Consumer- and labor-rights activist Ralph Nader ran as the Green Party candidate and drew away precious votes in key states that certainly would have carried Gore to victory.

Late on election night, the vote tally in Florida gave Bush the narrowest of victories. As was their legal prerogative, the Democrats demanded hand recounts in several counties. A month of tumult followed, until the U.S. Supreme Court, voting strictly along conservative/liberal lines, ordered the recount stopped and let Bush’s victory stand. Recounting ballots without a consistent standard to determine “voter intent,” the Court reasoned, violated the rights of Floridian voters under the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. As if acknowledging the frailty of this argument, the Court declared that *Bush v. Gore* was not to be regarded as precedent. But in a dissenting opinion, Justice John Paul Stevens warned that the transparently partisan decision undermined “the Nation’s confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law.”

Although Bush had positioned himself as a moderate, countertendencies drove his administration from the start. His vice president, the uncompromising conservative Richard (Dick) Cheney, became, with Bush’s

The Contested Vote in Florida, 2000

When the vote recount got under way in Palm Beach, Florida, in 2000, both sides brought out supporters to demonstrate outside the Supervisor of Elections Office, in hopes of influencing the officials doing the counting. In this photograph, supporters of George W. Bush clash with supporters of Al Gore after a rally on November 13, 2000, that had been addressed by Jesse Jackson, the dominant African American figure in the Democratic Party. © Reuters/Corbis.



consent, virtually a copresident. Bush also brought into the administration his campaign advisor, Karl Rove, whose advice made for an exceptionally politicized White House. Rove foreclosed the easygoing centrism of Bush the campaigner by arguing that a permanent Republican majority could be built on the party's conservative base. On Capitol Hill, Rove's hard line was reinforced by Tom DeLay, the House majority leader, who in 1995 had declared "all-out war" on the Democrats. To win that war, DeLay pushed congressional Republicans to endorse a fierce partisanship. The Senate, although more collegial, went through a similar hardening process. After 2002, with Republicans in control of both Congress and the White House, bipartisan lawmaking came to an end.

Tax Cuts The domestic issue that most engaged President Bush, as it had Ronald Reagan, was taxes. Bush's **Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act** of 2001 had something for everyone. It slashed income tax rates, extended the earned income credit for the poor, and marked the estate tax to be phased out by 2010. A second round of cuts in 2003 targeted dividend income and capital gains. Bush's signature cuts—those favoring big estates and well-to-do owners of stocks and bonds—skewed the distribution of tax benefits upward

(Table 31.1). Bush had pushed far beyond any other postwar president, even Reagan, in slashing federal taxes.

Critics warned that such massive tax cuts would plunge the federal government into debt. By 2006, federal expenditures had

jumped 33 percent, at a faster clip than under any president since Lyndon Johnson. Huge increases in health-care costs were the main culprit. Two of the largest federal programs, Medicare and Medicaid—health care for the elderly and the poor, respectively—could not contain runaway medical costs. Midway through Bush's second term, the national debt stood at over \$8 trillion—much of it owned by foreign investors, who also financed the nation's huge trade deficit. On top of that, staggering Social Security and Medicare obligations were coming due for retiring baby boomers. It seemed that these burdens would be passed on to future generations (Figure 31.6).

September 11, 2001 How Bush's presidency might have fared in normal times is another of those unanswerable questions of history. As a candidate in 2000, George W. Bush had said little about foreign policy. He had assumed that his administration would rise or fall on his domestic program. But nine months into his presidency, an altogether different political scenario unfolded. On a sunny September morning, nineteen Islamic terrorists from Al Qaeda hijacked four commercial jets and flew two of them into New York City's World Trade Center, destroying its twin towers and killing more than 2,900 people. A third plane crashed into the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C. The fourth, presumably headed for the White House or possibly the U.S. Capitol, crashed in Pennsylvania when the passengers fought back and thwarted the hijackers. As an outburst of patriotism swept the United States in the wake of the September 11 attacks, George W. Bush proclaimed a "war on terror" and vowed to carry the battle to Al Qaeda.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

In what ways was George H. W. Bush a political follower of Ronald Reagan (Chapter 30)? In what ways was he not?

TABLE 31.1

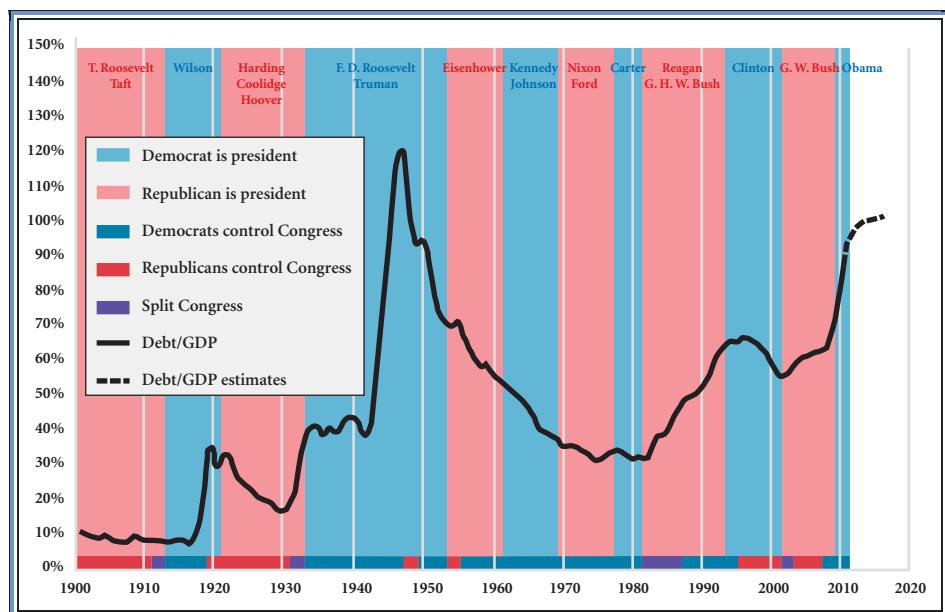
Impact of the Bush Tax Cuts, 2001–2003

Income in 2003	Taxpayers	Gross Income	Total Tax Cut	% Change in Tax Bill	Tax Bill	Tax Rate
Less than \$50,000	92,093,452	\$19,521	\$435	-48%	\$474	2%
\$50,000 to 100,000	26,915,091	70,096	1,656	-21	6,417	9
\$100,000 to 200,000	8,878,643	131,797	3,625	-17	18,281	14
\$200,000 to 500,000	1,999,061	288,296	7,088	-10	60,464	21
\$500,000 to 1,000,000	356,140	677,294	22,479	-12	169,074	25
\$1,000,000 to 10,000,000	175,157	2,146,100	84,666	-13	554,286	26
\$10,000,000 or more	6,126	25,975,532	1,019,369	-15	5,780,926	22

SOURCE: *New York Times*, April 5, 2006.

FIGURE 31.6**Gross Federal Debt as a Percentage of Gross Domestic Product**

Economists argue that the best measure of a nation's debt is its size relative to the overall economy—that is, its percentage of gross domestic product (GDP). The size of the total U.S. debt declined from its World War II high until the 1980s, when it increased dramatically under President Reagan. Since then, the debt has consistently increased as a percentage of GDP, aside from a small decline under President Clinton's deficit-reduction plans in the mid-1990s. Source: dshort.com.



Operating out of Afghanistan, where they had been harbored by the fundamentalist Taliban regime, the elusive Al Qaeda briefly offered a clear target. In October 2001, while Afghani allies carried the ground war, American planes attacked the enemy. By early 2002, this lethal combination had ousted the Taliban, destroyed Al Qaeda's training camps, and killed or captured many of its operatives. However, the big prize, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, had retreated to a

mountain redoubt. Inexplicably, U.S. forces failed to press the attack, and bin Laden escaped over the border into Pakistan.

The Invasion of Iraq On the domestic side, Bush declared the terrorist threat too big to be contained by ordinary law-enforcement means. He wanted the government's powers of domestic surveillance placed on a wartime footing. With little debate, in 2001 Congress

**September 11, 2001**

Photographers at the scene after a plane crashed into the north tower of New York City's World Trade Center on September 11 found themselves recording a defining moment in the nation's history. When a second airliner approached and then slammed into the building's south tower at 9:03 A.M., the nation knew this was no accident. The United States was under attack. Of the 2,843 people killed on that day, 2,617 died at the World Trade Center. Robert Clark/Institute Artist Management.

passed the **USA PATRIOT Act**, granting the administration sweeping authority to monitor citizens and apprehend suspected terrorists. On the international front, Bush used the war on terror as the premise for a new policy of preventive war. Under international law, only an imminent threat justified a nation's right to strike first. Now, under the so-called Bush doctrine, the United States lowered the bar. It reserved for itself the right to act in "anticipatory self-defense." In 2002, President Bush singled out Iran, North Korea, and Iraq—"an axis of evil"—as the targeted states.

Of the three, Iraq was the preferred mark. Officials in the Pentagon regarded Iraq as unfinished business, left over from the Gulf War of 1991. More grandly, they saw in Iraq an opportunity to unveil America's supposed mission to democratize the world. Iraqis, they believed, would abandon the tyrant Saddam Hussein and embrace democracy if given the chance. The democratizing effect would spread across the Middle East, toppling or reforming other unpopular Arab regimes and stabilizing the region. That, in turn, would secure the Middle East's oil supply, whose fragility Saddam's 1990 invasion of Kuwait had made all too clear. It was the oil, in the end, that was of vital interest to the United States (Map 31.4).

None of these considerations, either singly or together, met Bush's declared threshold for preventive war. So the president reluctantly acceded to the demand by America's anxious European allies that the United States go to the UN Security Council, which demanded that Saddam Hussein allow the return of the UN weapons inspectors expelled in 1998. Saddam surprisingly agreed. Nevertheless, anxious to invade Iraq for its own reasons, the Bush administration geared up for war. Insisting that Iraq constituted a "grave and gathering danger" and ignoring its failure to secure a second, legitimizing UN resolution, Bush invaded in March 2003. America's one major ally in the rush to war was Great Britain. Relations with France and Germany became poisonous. Even neighboring Mexico and Canada condemned the invasion, and Turkey, a key military ally, refused transit permission, ruining the army's plan for a northern thrust into Iraq. As for the Arab world, it exploded in anti-American demonstrations.

Within three weeks, American troops had taken the Iraqi capital. The regime collapsed, and its leaders went into hiding (Saddam Hussein was captured nine months later). But despite meticulous military planning, the Pentagon had made no provision for post-conflict operations. Thousands of poor Iraqis looted



MAP 31.4

U.S. Involvement in the Middle East, 1979–2010

The United States has long played an active role in the Middle East, driven by the strategic importance of that region and, most important, by America's need to ensure a reliable supply of oil from the Persian Gulf states. This map shows the highlights of that troubled involvement, from the Tehran embassy hostage taking in 1979 to the invasion and current occupation of both Iraq and Afghanistan.

everything they could get their hands on, shattering the infrastructure of Iraq's cities and leaving them without reliable supplies of electricity and water. In the midst of this turmoil, an insurgency began, sparked by Sunni Muslims who had dominated Iraq under Saddam's Baathist regime.

Iraq's Shiite majority, long oppressed by Saddam, at first welcomed the Americans, but extremist Shiite elements soon turned hostile, and U.S. forces found themselves under fire from both sides. With the borders unguarded, Al Qaeda supporters flocked in from all over the Middle East, eager to do battle with the infidel Americans, bringing along a specialty of the jihad: the suicide bomber.

Blinded by their own nationalism, dominant nations tend to underestimate the strength of nationalism in other people. Lyndon Johnson discovered this in Vietnam. Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev discovered it in Afghanistan. And George W. Bush rediscovered it in Iraq. Although it was hard for Americans to believe, Iraqis of all stripes viewed the U.S. forces as invaders. Moreover, in a war against insurgents, no occupation force comes out with clean hands. In 2004 in Iraq, that painful truth burst forth graphically in photographs showing American guards at Baghdad's **Abu Ghraib prison** abusing and torturing suspected insurgents. The ghastly images shocked the world. For Muslims, they offered final proof of American treachery. At that low point, in 2004, the United States had spent upward of \$100 billion. More than 1,000 American soldiers had died, and 10,000 others had been wounded, many maimed for life. But if the United States pulled out, Iraq would descend into chaos. So, as Bush took to saying, the United States had to "stay the course."

Abu Ghraib

This image of one of the milder forms of torture experienced by inmates at the Abu Ghraib prison was obtained by the Associated Press in 2003. It shows a detainee bent over with his hands through the bars of a cell while being watched by a comfortably seated soldier. This photograph and others showing far worse treatment administered by sometimes jeering military personnel outraged many in the United States and abroad, particularly in the Muslim world. B.K. Bangash/AP Images.

The 2004 Election As the 2004 presidential election approached, Rove, Bush's top advisor, theorized that stirring the culture wars and emphasizing patriotism and Bush's war on terror would mobilize conservatives to vote for Bush. Rove encouraged activists to place antigay initiatives on the ballot in key states to draw conservative voters to the polls; in all, eleven states would pass ballot initiatives that wrote bans on gay marriage equality into state constitutions that year. The Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, was a Vietnam hero, twice wounded and decorated for bravery—in contrast to the president, who had spent the Vietnam years comfortably in the Texas Air National Guard. But when Kerry returned from service in Vietnam, he had joined the antiwar group Vietnam Veterans Against the War and in 1971 had delivered a blistering critique of the war to the Senate Armed Services Committee. In the logic of the culture wars, this made him vulnerable to charges of being weak and unpatriotic.

The Democratic convention in August was a tableau of patriotism, filled with waving flags, retired generals, and Kerry's Vietnam buddies. However, a sudden onslaught of slickly produced television ads by a group calling itself Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, falsely charging that Kerry had lied to win his medals, fatally undercut his advantage. Nor did it help that Kerry, as a three-term senator, had a lengthy record that was easily mined for hard-to-explain votes. Republicans tagged him a "flip-flopper," and the accusation, endlessly repeated, stuck. Nearly 60 percent of eligible voters—the highest percentage since 1968—went to the polls. Bush beat Kerry, with 286 electoral votes to Kerry's 252. In exit polls, Bush did well among voters



for whom moral “values” and national security were top concerns. Voters told interviewers that Bush made them feel “safer.” Bush was no longer a minority president. He had won a clear, if narrow, popular majority.

Violence Abroad and Economic Collapse at Home

George Bush’s second term was defined by crisis management. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina—one of the deadliest hurricanes in the nation’s history—devastated New Orleans. Chaos ensued as floodwaters breached earthen barricades surrounding the city. Many residents remained without food, drinking water, or shelter for days following the storm, and deaths mounted—the final death toll stood at more than 2,000. Initial emergency responses to the catastrophe by federal and local authorities were uncoordinated and inadequate. Because the hardest-hit parts of the city were poor and African American, Katrina had revealed the poverty and vulnerability at the heart of American cities.

The run of crises did not abate after Katrina. Increasing violence and a rising insurgency in Iraq made the war there even more unpopular in the United States. In 2007, changes in U.S. military strategy helped quell some of the worst violence, but the war dragged into its fifth and sixth years under Bush’s watch. A war-weary public grew impatient. Then, in 2008, the American economy began to stumble. By the fall, the Dow Jones Industrial Average had lost half its total value, and major banks, insurance companies, and financial institutions were on the verge of collapse. The entire automobile industry was near bankruptcy. Millions of Americans lost their jobs, and the unemployment rate surged to 10 percent. Housing prices dropped by as much as 40 percent in some parts of the country, and millions of Americans defaulted on their mortgages. The United States had entered the worst economic recession since the 1930s, what soon became known as the Great Recession—technically, the recession had begun in 2007, but its major effects were not felt until the fall of 2008.

The 2008 presidential election took shape in that perilous context. In a historically remarkable primary season, the Democratic nomination was contested between the first woman and the first African American to be viable presidential contenders, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barack Hussein Obama. In a close-fought contest, Obama had emerged by early summer as the nominee.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration confronted an economy in free fall. In September, less than two

months before the election, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Paulson urged Congress to pass the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act, commonly referred to as the bailout of the financial sector. Passed in early October, the act dedicated \$700 billion to rescuing many of the nation’s largest banks and brokerage houses. Between Congress’s actions and the independent efforts of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve, the U.S. government invested close to \$1 trillion in saving the nation’s financial system.

The Obama Presidency

During his campaign for the presidency against Republican senator John McCain, Barack Obama, a Democratic senator from Illinois, established himself as a unique figure in American politics. The son of an African immigrant-student and a young white woman from Kansas, Obama was raised in Hawaii and Indonesia, and he easily connected with an increasingly multiracial and multicultural America. A generation younger than Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, Obama (born in 1961) seemed at once a product of the 1960s, especially civil rights gains, and outside its heated conflicts.

Obama took the oath of office of the presidency on January 21, 2009, amid the deepest economic recession since the Great Depression and with the United States mired in two wars in the Middle East. From the podium, the new president recognized the crises and worried about “a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable.” But Obama also hoped to strike an optimistic tone. Americans, he said, must “begin again the work of remaking America.”

“Remaking America” A nation that a mere two generations ago would not allow black Americans to dine with white Americans had elected a black man to the highest office. Obama himself was less taken with this historic accomplishment—which was also part of his deliberate strategy to downplay race—than with developing a plan to deal with the nation’s innumerable challenges, at home and abroad. With explicit comparisons to Franklin Roosevelt, Obama used the “first hundred days” of his presidency to lay out an ambitious agenda: an economic stimulus package of federal spending to invigorate the economy; plans to draw down the war in Iraq and refocus American military efforts in Afghanistan; a reform of the nation’s health insurance system; and new federal laws to regulate Wall Street.

Remarkably, the president accomplished much of that agenda. The Democratic-controlled Congress

Barack Obama

In 2008, Barack Obama became the first African American president in U.S. history. And in 2012, he was reelected to a second term. Here, President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama walk along Pennsylvania Avenue during his second inauguration.

Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images.



elected alongside Obama passed the **American Recovery and Reinvestment Act**, an economic stimulus bill that provided \$787 billion to state and local governments for schools, hospitals, and transportation projects (roads, bridges, and rail)—one of the largest single packages of government spending in American history. Congress next passed the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, a complex law that added new regulations limiting the financial industry and new consumer protections. Political debate over both measures was heated. Critics on the left argued that Obama and Congress had been too cautious, given the scale of the nation's problems, while those on the right decried both laws as irresponsible government interference in private investment.

Political debate was fiercest, however, over Obama's health insurance reform proposal. Obama encouraged congressional Democrats to put forth their own proposals, while he worked to find Republican allies who might be persuaded to support the first major reform of the nation's health-care system since the introduction of Medicare in 1965. None came forward. Moreover, as debate dragged on, a set of far-right opposition groups, known collectively as the **Tea Party**, emerged. Giving voice to the extreme individualism and antigovernment sentiment traditionally associated with right-wing movements in the United States, the Tea Party rallied Americans against Obama's health-care bill. Despite the opposition, the legislation (officially called the **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act**) passed,

and Obama signed it into law on March 23, 2010. However, political opposition and the powerful lobbying of the private health insurance industry ensured that the new law contained enough compromises that few could predict its long-term impact.

Following the legislative victories of his first two years in office, President Obama faced a divided Congress. Democrats lost control of the House of Representatives in 2010 and failed to regain it in 2012. With the legislative process stalled, Obama used executive authority to advance his broader, cautiously liberal, agenda. In 2011, for instance, the president repealed the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy and ordered that gay men and lesbians be allowed to serve openly in the armed forces. And he made two appointments to the Supreme Court: Sonia Sotomayor in 2009, the first Latina to serve on the high court, and Elena Kagan in 2010. Both Sotomayor and Kagan are committed liberals, though they serve on a Court that has shifted to the right under Chief Justice John Roberts, a George W. Bush appointee.

IDENTIFY CAUSES

As the nation's first African American president, what kinds of unique challenges did Barack Obama face, and how did these issues impact his presidency?

War and Instability in the Middle East Even as he pursued an ambitious domestic agenda, Obama faced two wars in the Middle East that he inherited from his predecessor. Determined to end American occupation of Iraq, the president began in 2010 to draw down

troops stationed there, and the last convoy of U.S. soldiers departed in late 2011. The nine-year war in Iraq, begun to find alleged weapons of mass destruction, had followed a long and bloody arc to its end. Disengaging from Afghanistan proved more difficult. Early in his first term, the president ordered an additional 30,000 American troops to parts of the country where the Taliban had regained control—a “surge” he believed necessary to avoid further Taliban victories. Securing long-term political stability in this fractious nation, however, has eluded Obama. Leaving with the least damage done was his only viable option, and he pledged to withdraw all U.S. troops by 2014.

Meanwhile, a host of events in the Middle East deepened the region's volatility. In late 2010, a series of multicountry demonstrations and protests, dubbed the Arab Spring, began to topple some of the region's autocratic rulers. Leaders in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen were forced from power by mass movements calling for greater democracy. These movements, which the Obama administration has cautiously supported, continue to reverberate in more than a dozen nations in the Middle East. Not long after the Arab Spring was under way, in May 2011, U.S. Special Forces found and killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan, where he had been hiding for many years. Obama received much praise for the tactics that led to the discovery of bin Laden. More controversial has been the president's use of “drone” strikes to assassinate Al Qaeda leaders and other U.S. enemies in the region.

Climate Change American wars and other involvement in the Middle East hinged on the region's centrality to global oil production. Oil is important in another sense, however: its role in climate change. Scientists have known for decades that the production of energy through the burning of carbon-based substances (especially petroleum and coal) increases the presence of so-called greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, warming the earth. Increasing temperatures will produce dramatically new weather patterns and rising sea levels, developments that threaten agriculture, the global distributions of plant and animal life, and whole cities and regions at or near the current sea level. How to halt, or at least mitigate, climate change has been one of the most pressing issues of the twenty-first century.

Arriving at a scientific consensus on climate change has proven easier than developing government policies to address it. This has been especially true in the United States, where oil company lobbyists, defenders of free-market capitalism, and conservatives who deny global warming altogether have been instrumental in

blocking action. For instance, the United States is not a signatory to the major international treaty—the so-called Kyoto Protocol—that is designed to reduce carbon emissions. Legislative proposals have not fared better. Cap-and-trade legislation, so named because it places a cap on individual polluters' emissions but allows those companies to trade for more emission allowances from low polluters, has stalled in Congress. Another proposal, a tax on carbon emissions, has likewise gained little political support. There is little doubt, however, that global climate change, and the role of the United States in both causing and mitigating it, will remain among the most critical questions of the next decades.

Electoral Shifts It remains to be seen how the Obama presidency will affect American politics. From one vantage point, Obama looks like the beneficiary of an electoral shift in a liberal direction. Since 1992, Democrats have won the popular vote in five of the last six presidential elections, and in 2008 Obama won a greater share of the popular vote (nearly 53 percent) than either Clinton (who won 43 percent in 1992 and 49 percent in 1996) or Gore (48 percent in 2000). In his bid for reelection in 2012 against Republican nominee Mitt Romney, Obama won a lower percentage of the popular vote (51 percent) but still won by a comfortable margin of nearly 5 million votes. He won the support of 93 percent of African Americans, 71 percent of Hispanics, 73 percent of Asian Americans, 55 percent of women, and 60 percent of Americans under the age of thirty. His coalition was multiracial, heavily female, and young.

From another vantage point, any electoral shift toward liberalism appears contingent and fragile. Even with Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress that rivaled Franklin Roosevelt's in 1937 and Lyndon Johnson's in 1965, Obama in 2009–2010 was not able to generate political momentum for the kind of legislative advances achieved by those presidential forerunners. The history of Obama's presidency, and of the early twenty-first century more broadly, continues to unfold.

SUMMARY

This chapter has stressed how globalization—the worldwide flow of capital, goods, and people—entered a new phase after the end of the Cold War. The number of multinational corporations, many of them based in the United States, increased dramatically, and people, goods, and investment capital moved easily across

political boundaries. Financial markets, in particular, grew increasingly open and interconnected across the globe. Technological innovations strengthened the American economy and transformed daily life. The computer revolution and the spread of the Internet changed the ways in which Americans shopped, worked, learned, and stayed in touch with family and friends. Globalization facilitated the immigration of millions of Asians and Latin Americans into the United States.

In the decades since 1989, American life has been characterized by the dilemmas presented by the twin issues of globalization and divisive cultural politics. Conservatives spoke out strongly, and with increasing effectiveness, against multiculturalism and what they viewed as serious threats to “family values.” Debates

over access to abortion, affirmative action, and the legal rights of homosexuals intensified. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, diverted attention from this increasingly bitter partisanship, but that partisanship was revived after President Bush’s decision to invade Iraq (a nation not involved in the events of 9/11) in 2003 led to a protracted war. When Barack Obama was elected in 2008, the first African American president in the nation’s history, he inherited two wars and the Great Recession, the most significant economic collapse since the 1930s. His, and the nation’s, efforts to address these and other pressing issues—including the national debt and global climate change—remain ongoing, unfinished business after Obama’s reelection in 2012.

CHAPTER REVIEW

MAKE IT STICK

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TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

- Al Qaeda (p. 1002)
 - globalization (p. 1004)
 - World Trade Organization (WTO) (p. 1004)
 - Group of Eight (G8) (p. 1009)
 - North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (p. 1010)
 - multinational corporations (p. 1010)
 - Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) (p. 1012)
 - World Wide Web (p. 1012)
 - culture war (p. 1012)
 - Immigration and Nationality Act (p. 1012)
 - multiculturalism (p. 1015)
 - Proposition 209 (p. 1015)
 - Operation Rescue (p. 1019)
 - Defense of Marriage Act (p. 1020)
- Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (p. 1020)
 - Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (p. 1020)
 - Lawrence v. Texas* (p. 1020)
 - Contract with America (p. 1021)
 - Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (p. 1023)
 - Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act (p. 1026)
 - USA PATRIOT Act (p. 1028)
 - Abu Ghraib prison (p. 1029)
 - American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (p. 1031)
 - Tea Party (p. 1031)
 - Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (p. 1031)

Key People

- Osama bin Laden (p. 1024)
- William (Bill) Clinton (p. 1020)
- Hillary Rodham Clinton (p. 1022)
- Newt Gingrich (p. 1021)
- Monica Lewinsky (p. 1023)
- George W. Bush (p. 1025)
- Saddam Hussein (p. 1028)
- Barack Obama (p. 1030)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

- 1.** What connections do you see between globalization and the “culture wars” of the 1990s?
- 2.** In what ways has the United States’s role in the world changed since the end of the Cold War? In what ways has it remained the same?
- 3.** How did immigration to the United States in the last two decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first benefit the American economy but produce political backlash?
- 4. THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING** Review the events included on the thematic timeline on page 971. In what ways does the period between 1992 (Bill Clinton’s election) and 2012 (Barack Obama’s reelection) suggest a postliberal era in American politics? In what ways was the conservative resurgence under Reagan preserved, and in what ways was it not?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

- 1. ACROSS TIME AND PLACE** How would you compare the Iraq War with previous wars in U.S. history? Compare in particular the reasons for entering the war, support for the war abroad and at home, and the outcome of the conflict.
- 2. VISUAL EVIDENCE** What does the photograph on page 1011 convey about the technological and social changes that the digital revolution has wrought on American life?

MORE TO EXPLORE

Start here to learn more about the events discussed in this chapter.

William Berman, *From the Center to the Edge: The Politics and Policies of the Clinton Presidency* (2001). An in-depth exploration of Clinton’s politics and policies.

Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror* (2004). A critique of the war on terror from President Clinton’s former chief counterterrorism advisor.

Alfred Eckes Jr. and Thomas Zeilin, *Globalization and the American Century* (2003). Shows that globalization for the United States has a long history, at least to 1898.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *One Nation, Two Cultures* (1999). A compelling explanation of the divisive politics of the 1990s.

Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (1995). The president’s first memoir makes compelling reading.

See the September 11 Digital Archive at 911digitalarchive.org/ for oral histories and both still and moving images from September 11.

TIMELINE Ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democratic moderate Bill Clinton elected president <i>Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey</i>
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Clinton budget plan balances federal budget and begins to pay down federal debt
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clinton health insurance reform effort fails Republicans gain control of Congress
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> U.S. troops enforce peace in Bosnia
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act reforms welfare system
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Clinton impeached by House of Representatives Defense of Marriage Act
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clinton acquitted by Senate World Trade Organization (WTO) protests
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> George W. Bush wins contested presidential election
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bush tax cuts September 11: Al Qaeda terrorists attack World Trade Center and Pentagon Congress passes USA PATRIOT Act
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> United States unseats Taliban in Afghanistan President Bush declares Iran, North Korea, and Iraq an “axis of evil”
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> United States invades Iraq in March
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Torture at Abu Ghraib prison becomes public President Bush wins reelection
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Great Recession begins
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barack Obama elected president American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” military policy on homosexuality ended
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Osama bin Laden killed by U.S. forces Last U.S. combat troops withdrawn from Iraq
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued drawdown of U.S. forces in Afghanistan toward planned full exit by 2014

KEY TURNING POINTS: Based on the timeline, what were the major domestic and foreign policy challenges between the 1990s and 2013?

Documents

The Declaration of Independence

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.— Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:
 For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by jury:
 For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock

Button Gwinnett	George Wythe
Lyman Hall	Richard Henry Lee
Geo. Walton	Th. Jefferson
Wm. Hooper	Benja. Harrison
Joseph Hewes	Thos. Nelson, Jr.
John Penn	Francis Lightfoot Lee
Edward Rutledge	Carter Braxton
Thos. Heyward, Junr.	Robt. Morris
Thomas Lynch, Junr.	Benjamin Rush
Arthur Middleton	Benja. Franklin
Samuel Chase	John Morton
Wm. Paca	Geo. Clymer
Thos. Stone	Jas. Smith
Charles Carroll of Carrollton	Geo. Taylor

James Wilson	Josiah Bartlett
Geo. Ross	Wm. Whipple
Caesar Rodney	Matthew Thornton
Geo. Read	Saml. Adams
Thos. M'Kean	John Adams
Wm. Floyd	Robt. Treat Paine
Phil. Livingston	Elbridge Gerry
Frans. Lewis	Step. Hopkins
Lewis Morris	William Ellery
Richd. Stockton	Roger Sherman
John Witherspoon	Sam'l Huntington
Fras. Hopkinson	Wm. Williams
John Hart	Oliver Wolcott
Abra. Clark	

The Constitution of the United States of America

**Agreed to by Philadelphia Convention, September 17, 1787
Implemented March 4, 1789**

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, *which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.** The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and *until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.*

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

Note: The Constitution became effective March 4, 1789. Provisions in italics are no longer relevant or have been changed by constitutional amendment.
*Changed by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the Legislature thereof,*† for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.‡

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

†Changed by Section 1 of the Seventeenth Amendment.

‡Changed by Clause 2 of the Seventeenth Amendment.

Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting *shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.**

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties, as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one-fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law,

be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and the House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

*Changed by Section 2 of the Twentieth Amendment.

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

*No capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.**

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

*Changed by the Sixteenth Amendment.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by

*Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.**

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, *and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.*†

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:— “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; — to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; — to Controversies between two or more States; — *between a State and Citizens of another State;*‡ — between Citizens of different States; — between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under

*Superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

†Modified by the Twenty-fifth Amendment.

‡Restricted by the Eleventh Amendment.

Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records, and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

*No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.**

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; *Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.*

Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

*Superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment.

Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year

of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

Go. Washington
President and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire

John Langdon

Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham

Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson

Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil. Livingston

David Brearley

Wm. Paterson

Jona. Dayton

Pennsylvania

B. Franklin

Thomas Mifflin

Robt. Morris

Geo. Clymer

Thos. FitzSimons

Jared Ingersoll

James Wilson

Gouv. Morris

Delaware

Geo. Read

Gunning Bedford jun

John Dickinson

Richard Bassett

Jaco. Broom

Maryland

James McHenry

Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer

Danl. Carroll

Virginia

John Blair

James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina

Wm. Blount

Richd. Dobbs Spaight

Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge

Charles Cotesworth

Pinckney

Pierce Butler

Georgia

William Few

Abr. Baldwin

Amendments to the Constitution (Including the Six Unratified Amendments)

Amendment I [1791]*

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

nesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment II [1791]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

Amendment VII [1791]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the Rules of the common law.

Amendment III [1791]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment VIII [1791]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IV [1791]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment IX [1791]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment V [1791]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment X [1791]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Unratified Amendment

Reapportionment Amendment (proposed by Congress September 25, 1789, along with the Bill of Rights)

After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

Amendment VI [1791]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the wit-

Amendment XI [1798]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

*The dates in brackets indicate when the amendment was ratified.

Amendment XII [1804]

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before *the fourth day of March* next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.*—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Unratified Amendment

Titles of Nobility Amendment (proposed by Congress May 1, 1810)

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive or retain any title of nobility or honor or shall, without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension,

*Superseded by Section 3 of the Twentieth Amendment.

office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

Unratified Amendment

Corwin Amendment (proposed by Congress March 2, 1861)

No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

Amendment XIII [1865]

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV [1868]

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the *male* inhabitants of such State, being *twenty-one* years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such *male* citizens shall bear to the whole number of *male* citizens *twenty-one* years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the

United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV [1870]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude —

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XVI [1913]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII [1913]

Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of [voters for] the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII [1919; repealed 1933 by Amendment XXI]

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation

thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XIX [1920]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Unratified Amendment

Child Labor Amendment

(proposed by Congress June 2, 1924)

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress.

Amendment XX [1933]

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI [1933]

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII [1951]

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII [1961]

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct: A number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be

entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV [1964]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV [1967]

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice-President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice-President, the President shall nominate a Vice-President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department[s] or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that

the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI [1971]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Unratified Amendment

Equal Rights Amendment (proposed by Congress March 22, 1972; seven-year deadline for ratification extended to June 30, 1982)

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

Unratified Amendment

District of Columbia Statehood Amendment (proposed by Congress August 22, 1978)

Section 1. For purposes of representation in the Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and article V of this Constitution, the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall be treated as though it were a State.

Section 2. The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the people of the District constituting the seat of government, and as shall be provided by Congress.

Section 3. The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 4. This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXVII [1992]

No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Appendix

The American Nation

Admission of States into the Union					
State	Date of Admission	State	Date of Admission	State	Date of Admission
1. Delaware	December 7, 1787	18. Louisiana	April 30, 1812	35. West Virginia	June 20, 1863
2. Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	19. Indiana	December 11, 1816	36. Nevada	October 31, 1864
3. New Jersey	December 18, 1787	20. Mississippi	December 10, 1817	37. Nebraska	March 1, 1867
4. Georgia	January 2, 1788	21. Illinois	December 3, 1818	38. Colorado	August 1, 1876
5. Connecticut	January 9, 1788	22. Alabama	December 14, 1819	39. North Dakota	November 2, 1889
6. Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	23. Maine	March 15, 1820	40. South Dakota	November 2, 1889
7. Maryland	April 28, 1788	24. Missouri	August 10, 1821	41. Montana	November 8, 1889
8. South Carolina	May 23, 1788	25. Arkansas	June 15, 1836	42. Washington	November 11, 1889
9. New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	26. Michigan	January 26, 1837	43. Idaho	July 3, 1890
10. Virginia	June 25, 1788	27. Florida	March 3, 1845	44. Wyoming	July 10, 1890
11. New York	July 26, 1788	28. Texas	December 29, 1845	45. Utah	January 4, 1896
12. North Carolina	November 21, 1789	29. Iowa	December 28, 1846	46. Oklahoma	November 16, 1907
13. Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	30. Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	47. New Mexico	January 6, 1912
14. Vermont	March 4, 1791	31. California	September 9, 1850	48. Arizona	February 14, 1912
15. Kentucky	June 1, 1792	32. Minnesota	May 11, 1858	49. Alaska	January 3, 1959
16. Tennessee	June 1, 1796	33. Oregon	February 14, 1859	50. Hawaii	August 21, 1959
17. Ohio	March 1, 1803	34. Kansas	January 29, 1861		

Presidential Elections				
Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote*	Electoral Vote
1789	George Washington John Adams [†] Other candidates	No party designations	69 34 35	
1792	George Washington John Adams George Clinton Other candidates	No party designations	132 77 50 5	

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1975); *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2001; Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2006.*

*Prior to 1824, most presidential electors were chosen by state legislators rather than by popular vote. For elections after 1824, candidates receiving less than 1.0 percent of the popular vote have been omitted from this chart. Hence the popular vote does not total 100 percent for all elections.

[†]Before the Twelfth Amendment was passed in 1804, the electoral college voted for two presidential candidates; the runner-up became vice president.

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1796	John Adams Thomas Jefferson Thomas Pinckney Aaron Burr Other candidates	Federalist Democratic-Republican Federalist Democratic-Republican		71 68 59 30 48
1800	Thomas Jefferson Aaron Burr John Adams Charles C. Pinckney John Jay	Democratic-Republican Democratic-Republican Federalist Federalist Federalist		73 73 65 64 1
1804	Thomas Jefferson Charles C. Pinckney	Democratic-Republican Federalist		162 14
1808	James Madison Charles C. Pinckney George Clinton	Democratic-Republican Federalist Democratic-Republican		122 47 6
1812	James Madison DeWitt Clinton	Democratic-Republican Federalist		128 89
1816	James Monroe Rufus King	Democratic-Republican Federalist		183 34
1820	James Monroe John Quincy Adams	Democratic-Republican Independent Republican		231 1
1824	John Quincy Adams Andrew Jackson Henry Clay William H. Crawford	Democratic-Republican Democratic-Republican Democratic-Republican Democratic-Republican	30.5 43.1 13.2 13.1	84 99 37 41
1828	Andrew Jackson John Quincy Adams	Democratic National Republican	56.0 44.0	178 83
1832	Andrew Jackson Henry Clay William Wirt John Floyd	Democratic National Republican Anti-Masonic Democratic	54.5 37.5 8.0 ‡	219 49 7 11
1836	Martin Van Buren William H. Harrison Hugh L. White Daniel Webster W. P. Mangum	Democratic Whig Whig Whig Whig	50.9 49.1 	170 73 26 14 11
1840	William H. Harrison Martin Van Buren	Whig Democratic	53.1 46.9	234 60
1844	James K. Polk Henry Clay James G. Birney	Democratic Whig Liberty	49.6 48.1 2.3	170 105
1848	Zachary Taylor Lewis Cass Martin Van Buren	Whig Democratic Free Soil	47.4 42.5 10.1	163 127

‡Independent Democrat John Floyd received the 11 electoral votes of South Carolina; that state's presidential electors were still chosen by its legislature, not by popular vote.

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1852	Franklin Pierce Winfield Scott John P. Hale	Democratic Whig Free Soil	50.9 44.1 5.0	254 42
1856	James Buchanan John C. Frémont Millard Fillmore	Democratic Republican American	45.3 33.1 21.6	174 114 8
1860	Abraham Lincoln Stephen A. Douglas John C. Breckinridge John Bell	Republican Democratic Democratic Constitutional Union	39.8 29.5 18.1 12.6	180 12 72 39
1864	Abraham Lincoln George B. McClellan	Republican Democratic	55.0 45.0	212 21
1868	Ulysses S. Grant Horatio Seymour	Republican Democratic	52.7 47.3	214 80
1872	Ulysses S. Grant Horace Greeley	Republican Democratic	55.6 43.9	286
1876	Rutherford B. Hayes Samuel J. Tilden	Republican Democratic	48.0 51.0	185 184
1880	James A. Garfield Winfield S. Hancock James B. Weaver	Republican Democratic Greenback-Labor	48.5 48.1 3.4	214 155
1884	Grover Cleveland James G. Blaine Benjamin F. Butler John P. St. John	Democratic Republican Greenback-Labor Prohibition	48.5 48.2 1.8 1.5	219 182
1888	Benjamin Harrison Grover Cleveland Clinton P. Fisk Anson J. Streeter	Republican Democratic Prohibition Union Labor	47.9 48.6 2.2 1.3	233 168
1892	Grover Cleveland Benjamin Harrison James B. Weaver John Bidwell	Democratic Republican People's Prohibition	46.1 43.0 8.5 2.2	277 145 22
1896	William McKinley William J. Bryan	Republican Democratic	51.1 47.7	271 176
1900	William McKinley William J. Bryan John C. Wooley	Republican Democratic; Populist Prohibition	51.7 45.5 1.5	292 155
1904	Theodore Roosevelt Alton B. Parker Eugene V. Debs Silas C. Swallow	Republican Democratic Socialist Prohibition	57.4 37.6 3.0 1.9	336 140
1908	William H. Taft William J. Bryan Eugene V. Debs Eugene W. Chafin	Republican Democratic Socialist Prohibition	51.6 43.1 2.8 1.7	321 162

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1912	Woodrow Wilson Theodore Roosevelt William H. Taft Eugene V. Debs Eugene W. Chafin	Democratic Progressive Republican Socialist Prohibition	41.9 27.4 23.2 6.0 1.4	435 88 8
1916	Woodrow Wilson Charles E. Hughes A. L. Benson J. Frank Hanly	Democratic Republican Socialist Prohibition	49.4 46.2 3.2 1.2	277 254
1920	Warren G. Harding James M. Cox Eugene V. Debs P. P. Christensen	Republican Democratic Socialist Farmer-Labor	60.4 34.2 3.4 1.0	404 127
1924	Calvin Coolidge John W. Davis Robert M. La Follette	Republican Democratic Progressive	54.0 28.8 16.6	382 136 13
1928	Herbert C. Hoover Alfred E. Smith	Republican Democratic	58.2 40.9	444 87
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt Herbert C. Hoover Norman Thomas	Democratic Republican Socialist	57.4 39.7 2.2	472 59
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt Alfred M. Landon William Lemke	Democratic Republican Union	60.8 36.5 1.9	523 8
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt Wendell L. Willkie	Democratic Republican	54.8 44.8	449 82
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt Thomas E. Dewey	Democratic Republican	53.5 46.0	432 99
1948	Harry S. Truman Thomas E. Dewey J. Strom Thurmond Henry Wallace	Democratic Republican States' Rights Progressive	49.6 45.1 2.4 2.4	303 189
1952	Dwight D. Eisenhower Adlai E. Stevenson	Republican Democratic	55.1 44.4	442 89
1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower Adlai E. Stevenson	Republican Democratic	57.6 42.1	457 73
1960	John F. Kennedy Richard M. Nixon	Democratic Republican	49.7 49.5	303 219
1964	Lyndon B. Johnson Barry M. Goldwater	Democratic Republican	61.1 38.5	486 52
1968	Richard M. Nixon Hubert H. Humphrey George C. Wallace	Republican Democratic American Independent	43.4 42.7 13.5	301 191 46

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1972	Richard M. Nixon George S. McGovern John G. Schmitz	Republican Democratic American	60.7 37.5 1.4	520 17
1976	Jimmy Carter Gerald R. Ford	Democratic Republican	50.1 48.0	297 240
1980	Ronald W. Reagan Jimmy Carter John B. Anderson Ed Clark	Republican Democratic Independent Libertarian	50.7 41.0 6.6 1.1	489 49 0
1984	Ronald W. Reagan Walter F. Mondale	Republican Democratic	58.4 41.6	525 13
1988	George H. W. Bush Michael Dukakis	Republican Democratic	53.4 45.6	426 111*
1992	Bill Clinton George H. W. Bush H. Ross Perot	Democratic Republican Independent	43.7 38.0 19.0	370 168 0
1996	Bill Clinton Robert J. Dole H. Ross Perot	Democratic Republican Reform	49 41 8	379 159 0
2000	George W. Bush Albert Gore Ralph Nader	Republican Democratic Green	47.8 48.4 2.7	271 267 0
2004	George W. Bush John Kerry	Republican Democratic	50.7 48.3	286 252
2008	Barack Obama John McCain	Democratic Republican	52.9 45.7	365 173
2012	Barack Obama Mitt Romney	Democratic Republican	51 41.2	332 206

*One Dukakis elector cast a vote for Lloyd Bentsen.

Population Growth*					
Year	Population	Percentage Increase	Year	Population	Percentage Increase
1610	350	—	1820	9,638,453	33.1
1620	2,300	557.1	1830	12,866,020	33.5
1630	4,600	100.0	1840	17,069,453	32.7
1640	26,600	478.3	1850	23,191,876	35.9
1650	50,400	90.8	1860	31,443,321	35.6
1660	75,100	49.0	1870	39,818,449	26.6
1670	111,900	49.0	1880	50,155,783	26.0
1680	151,500	35.4	1890	62,947,714	25.5
1690	210,400	38.9	1900	75,994,575	20.7
1700	250,900	19.2	1910	91,972,266	21.0
1710	331,700	32.2	1920	105,710,620	14.9
1720	466,200	40.5	1930	122,775,046	16.1
1730	629,400	35.0	1940	131,669,275	7.2
1740	905,600	43.9	1950	150,697,361	14.5
1750	1,170,800	29.3	1960	179,323,175	19.0
1760	1,593,600	36.1	1970	203,235,298	13.3
1770	2,148,100	34.8	1980	226,545,805	11.5
1780	2,780,400	29.4	1990	248,709,873	9.8
1790	3,929,214	41.3	2000	281,421,906	13.2
1800	5,308,483	35.1	2010	308,745,538	9.7
1810	7,239,881	36.4			

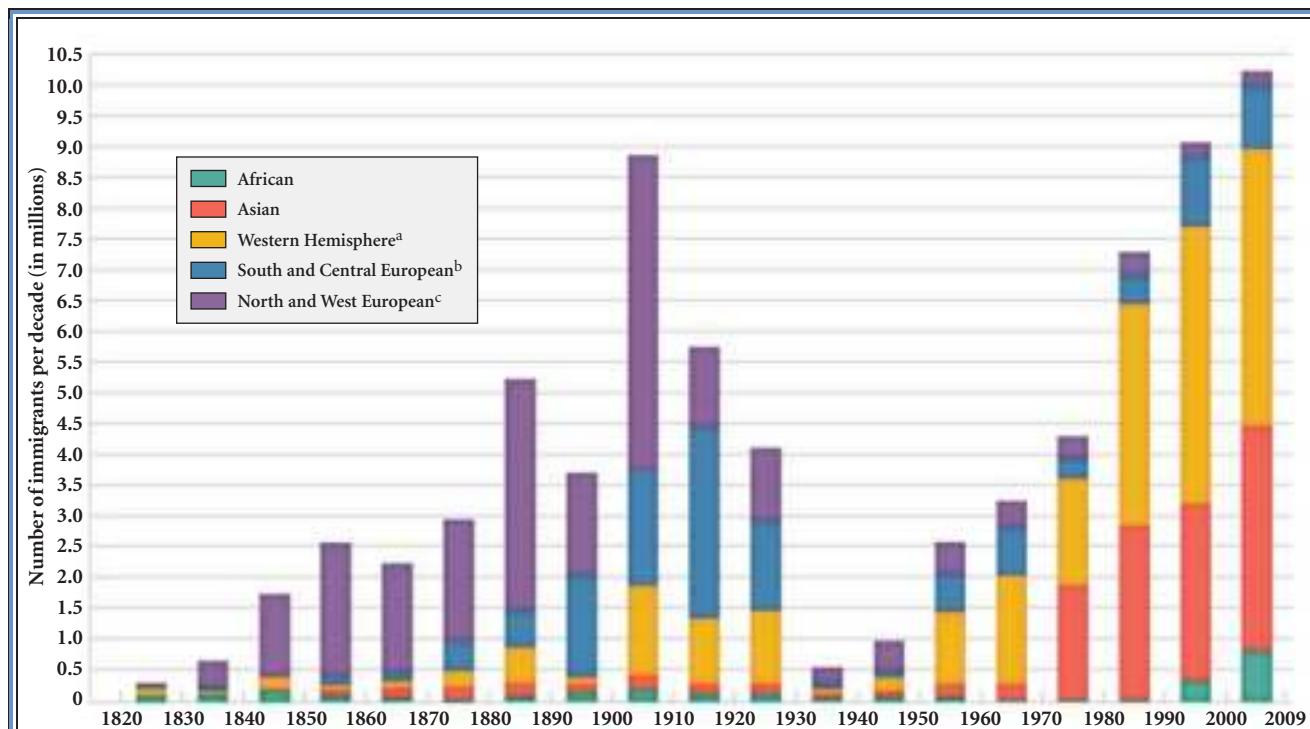
SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1975); *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2010*.

*Note: Until 1890, census takers never made any effort to count the Native American people who lived outside their reserved political areas and compiled only casual and incomplete enumerations of those living within their jurisdictions. In 1890, the federal government attempted a full count of the Indian population: the Census found 125,719 Indians in 1890, compared with only 12,543 in 1870 and 33,985 in 1880.

Immigration by Decade					
Year	Number	Immigrants During this Decade as a Percentage of Total Population	Year	Number	Immigrants During this Decade as a Percentage of Total Population
1821–1830	151,824	1.6	1921–1930	4,107,209	3.9
1831–1840	599,125	4.6	1931–1940	528,431	0.4
1841–1850	1,713,251	10.0	1941–1950	1,035,039	0.7
1851–1860	2,598,214	11.2	1951–1960	2,515,479	1.6
1861–1870	2,314,824	7.4	1961–1970	3,321,677	1.8
1871–1880	2,812,191	7.1	1971–1980	4,493,000	2.2
1881–1890	5,246,613	10.5	1981–1990	7,338,000	3.0
1891–1900	3,687,546	5.8	1991–2000	9,095,083	3.7
1901–1910	8,795,386	11.6	Total	32,433,918	
1911–1920	5,735,811	6.2			
Total	33,654,785		1821–2000		
				GRAND TOTAL	66,088,703

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1975), part 1, 105–106; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 2001.

Regional Origins



^a Canada and all countries in South America and Central America.

^b Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Germany (Austria included, 1938–1945), Poland, former Czechoslovakia (since 1920), former Yugoslavia (since 1920), Hungary (since 1861), Austria (since 1861, except 1938–1945), former USSR (excludes Asian USSR) (includes Turkey from 1931 and 1963), Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey (in Europe), and other European countries not classified elsewhere.

^c Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, France.

Sources: Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980), 480; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1991; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, 2009.

Glossary

abolitionism: The social reform movement to end slavery immediately and without compensation that began in the United States in the 1830s. (p. 357)

Abu Ghraib prison: A prison just outside Baghdad, Iraq, where American guards were photographed during the Iraq War abusing and torturing suspected insurgents. (p. 1029)

Adams-Onís Treaty: An 1819 treaty in which John Quincy Adams persuaded Spain to cede the Florida territory to the United States. In return, the American government accepted Spain's claim to Texas and agreed to a compromise on the western boundary for the state of Louisiana. (p. 243)

Adkins v. Children's Hospital: The 1923 Supreme Court case that voided a minimum wage for women workers in the District of Columbia, reversing many of the gains that had been achieved through the groundbreaking decision in *Muller v. Oregon*. (p. 707)

Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET): A decentralized computer network developed in the late 1960s by the U.S. Department of Defense in conjunction with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Internet grew out of the ARPANET. (p. 1012)

affirmative action: Policies established in the 1960s and 1970s by governments, businesses, universities, and other institutions to overcome the effects of past discrimination against specific groups such as racial and ethnic minorities and women. Measures to ensure equal opportunity include setting goals for the admission, hiring, and promotion of minorities; considering minority status when allocating resources; and actively encouraging victims of past discrimination to apply for jobs and other resources. (p. 950)

The Affluent Society: A 1958 book by John Kenneth Galbraith that analyzed the nation's successful middle class and argued that the poor were only an "afterthought" in the minds of economists and politicians. (p. 843)

Agricultural Adjustment Act: New Deal legislation passed in May 1933 that aimed at cutting agricultural production to raise crop prices and thus farmers' income. (p. 741)

Al Qaeda: A network of radical Islamic terrorists organized by Osama bin Laden, who issued a call for holy war against Americans and their allies. Members of Al Qaeda were responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. (p. 1002)

Alamo: The 1836 defeat by the Mexican army of the Texan garrison defending the Alamo in San Antonio. Newspapers urged Americans to "Remember the Alamo," and American adventurers, lured by offers of land grants, flocked to Texas to join the rebel forces. (p. 391)

amalgamation: A term for racial mixing and intermarriage, almost universally opposed by whites in the nineteenth-century United States. (p. 364)

America First Committee: A committee organized by isolationists in 1940 to oppose the entrance of the United States into World War II. The membership of the committee included senators, journalists, and publishers and such well-respected figures as the aviator Charles Lindbergh. (p. 771)

American, or Know-Nothing, Party: A political party formed in 1851 that drew on the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic movements of the 1840s. In 1854, the party gained control of the state governments of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. (p. 432)

American Civil Liberties Union: An organization formed during the Red Scare to protect free speech rights. (p. 713)

American Colonization Society: A society founded by Henry Clay and other prominent citizens in 1817. The society argued that slaves had to be freed and then resettled, in Africa or elsewhere. (p. 267)

American exceptionalism: The idea that the United States has a unique destiny to foster democracy and civilization on the world stage. (p. 674)

American Federation of Labor: Organization created by Samuel Gompers in 1886 that coordinated the activities of craft unions and called for direct negotiation with employers in order to achieve benefits for skilled workers. (p. 570)

American GI Forum: A group founded by World War II veterans in Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1948 to protest the poor treatment of Mexican American soldiers and veterans. (p. 877)

American Indian Movement (AIM): Organization established in 1968 to address the problems Indians faced in American cities, including poverty and police harassment. AIM organized Indians to end relocation and termination policies and to win greater control over their cultures and communities. (p. 898)

American Protective Association: A powerful political organization of militant Protestants, which for a brief period in the 1890s counted more than two million members. In its virulent anti-Catholicism and calls for restrictions on immigrants, the APA prefigured the revived Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. (p. 600)

American Recovery and Reinvestment Act: An economic stimulus bill passed in 2009, in response to the Great Recession, that provided \$787 billion to state and local governments for schools, hospitals, and transportation projects. It was one of the largest single packages of government spending in American history. (p. 1031)

American Renaissance: A literary explosion during the 1840s inspired in part by Emerson's ideas on the liberation of the individual. (p. 346)

American System: The mercantilist system of national economic development advocated by Henry Clay and adopted by John Quincy Adams, with a national bank to manage the nation's

financial system; protective tariffs to provide revenue and encourage industry; and a nationally funded network of roads, canals, and railroads. (p. 319)

American Temperance Society: A society invigorated by evangelical Protestants in 1832 that set out to curb the consumption of alcoholic beverages. (p. 310)

American Woman Suffrage Association: A women's suffrage organization led by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and others who remained loyal to the Republican Party, despite its failure to include women's voting rights in the Reconstruction Amendments. Stressing the urgency of voting rights for African American men, AWSA leaders held out hope that once Reconstruction had been settled, it would be women's turn. (p. 486)

anarchism: The advocacy of a stateless society achieved by revolutionary means. Feared for their views, anarchists became scapegoats for the 1886 Haymarket Square bombing. (p. 568)

animism: Spiritual beliefs that center on the natural world. Animists do not worship a supernatural God; instead, they pay homage to spirits and spiritual forces that they believe dwell in the natural world. (p. 17)

Antifederalists: Opponents of ratification of the Constitution. Antifederalists feared that a powerful and distant central government would be out of touch with the needs of citizens. They also complained that it failed to guarantee individual liberties in a bill of rights. (p. 207)

Articles of Confederation: The written document defining the structure of the government from 1781 to 1788, under which the Union was a confederation of equal states, with no executive and limited powers, existing mainly to foster a common defense. (p. 200)

artisan republicanism: An ideology that celebrated small-scale producers, men and women who owned their own shops (or farms). It defined the ideal republican society as one constituted by, and dedicated to the welfare of, independent workers and citizens. (p. 291)

associated state: A system of voluntary business cooperation with government. The Commerce Department helped create two thousand trade associations representing companies in almost every major industry. (p. 710)

Atlanta Compromise: An 1895 address by Booker T. Washington that urged whites and African Americans to work together for the progress of all. Delivered at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, the speech was widely interpreted as approving racial segregation. (p. 587)

Atlantic Charter: A press release by President Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill in August 1941 calling for economic cooperation, national self-determination, and guarantees of political stability after the war. (p. 772)

baby boom: The surge in the American birthrate between 1945 and 1965, which peaked in 1957 with 4.3 million births. (p. 850)

Bakke v. University of California: 1978 Supreme Court ruling that limited affirmative action by rejecting a quota system. (p. 951)

Bank of the United States: A bank chartered in 1790 and jointly owned by private stockholders and the national government.

Alexander Hamilton argued that the bank would provide stability to the specie-starved American economy by making loans to merchants, handling government funds, and issuing bills of credit. (p. 218)

Battle of Little Big Horn: The 1876 battle begun when American cavalry under George Armstrong Custer attacked an encampment of Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne Indians who resisted removal to a reservation. Custer's force was annihilated, but with whites calling for U.S. soldiers to retaliate, the Native American military victory was short-lived. (p. 533)

Battle of Long Island (1776): First major engagement of the new Continental army, defending against 32,000 British troops outside of New York City. (p. 184)

Battle of Saratoga (1777): A multistage battle in New York ending with the surrender of British general John Burgoyne. The victory ensured the diplomatic success of American representatives in Paris, who won a military alliance with France. (p. 187)

Battle of Tippecanoe: An attack on Shawnee Indians at Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River in 1811 by American forces headed by William Henry Harrison, Indiana's territorial governor. The governor's troops traded heavy casualties with the confederacy's warriors and then destroyed the holy village. (p. 236)

Battle of Yorktown (1781): A battle in which French and American troops and a French fleet trapped the British army under the command of General Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia. The Franco-American victory broke the resolve of the British government. (p. 195)

Bay of Pigs: A failed U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1961 by anti-Castro forces who planned to overthrow Fidel Castro's government. (p. 830)

Beats: A small group of literary figures based in New York City and San Francisco in the 1950s who rejected mainstream culture and instead celebrated personal freedom, which often included drug consumption and casual sex. (p. 849)

Benevolent Empire: A broad-ranging campaign of moral and institutional reforms inspired by evangelical Christian ideals and endorsed by upper-middle-class men and women in the 1820s and 1830s. (p. 305)

benevolent masters: Slave owners who considered themselves committed to the welfare of their slaves. (p. 382)

Bill of Rights: The first ten amendments to the Constitution, officially ratified by 1791. The amendments safeguarded fundamental personal rights, including freedom of speech and religion, and mandated legal procedures, such as trial by jury. (p. 216)

Black Codes: Laws passed by southern states after the Civil War that denied ex-slaves the civil rights enjoyed by whites, punished vague crimes such as "vagrancy" or failing to have a labor contract, and tried to force African Americans back to plantation labor systems that closely mirrored those in slavery times. (p. 481)

black nationalism: a major strain of African American thought that emphasized black racial pride and autonomy. Present in black communities for centuries, it periodically came to the fore, as in Marcus Garvey's pan-Africanist movement in the early

twentieth century and in various organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party. (p. 892)

Black Panther Party: A militant organization dedicated to protecting African Americans from police violence, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. In the late 1960s the organization spread to other cities, where members undertook a wide range of community-organizing projects, but the Panthers' radicalism and belief in armed self-defense resulted in violent clashes with police. (p. 894)

black Protestantism: A form of Protestantism that was devised by Christian slaves in the Chesapeake and spread to the Cotton South as a result of the domestic slave trade. It emphasized the evangelical message of emotional conversion, ritual baptism, communal spirituality, and the idea that blacks were "children of God" and should be treated accordingly. (p. 395)

"Bleeding Kansas": Term for the bloody struggle between pro-slavery and antislavery factions in Kansas following its organization as a territory in the fall of 1854. (p. 433)

blues: A form of American music that originated in the Deep South, especially from the black workers in the cotton fields of the Mississippi Delta. (p. 618)

Bonus Army: A group of 15,000 unemployed World War I veterans who set up camps near the Capitol building in 1932 to demand immediate payment of pension awards due to be paid in 1945. (p. 738)

Bretton Woods: An international conference in New Hampshire in July 1944 that established the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). (p. 840)

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: A prominent black trade union of railroad car porters working for the Pullman Company. (p. 873)

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka: Supreme Court ruling that overturned the "separate but equal" precedent established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. The Court declared that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal and thus violated the Fourteenth Amendment. (p. 878)

Burlingame Treaty: An 1868 treaty that guaranteed the rights of U.S. missionaries in China and set official terms for the emigration of Chinese laborers to work in the United States. (p. 511)

Californios: The elite Mexican ranchers in the province of California. (p. 415)

carpetbaggers: A derisive name given by ex-Confederates to northerners who, motivated by idealism or the search for personal opportunity or profit, moved to the South during Reconstruction. (p. 493)

caucus: A meeting held by a political party to choose candidates, make policies, and enforce party discipline. (p. 318)

chattel principle: A system of bondage in which a slave has the legal status of property and so can be bought and sold. (p. 381)

chattel slavery: A system of bondage in which a slave has the legal status of property and so can be bought and sold like property. (p. 40)

Chicago school: A school of architecture dedicated to the design of buildings whose form expressed, rather than masked, their structure and function. (p. 608)

Chicano Moratorium Committee: Group founded by activist Latinos to protest the Vietnam War. (p. 923)

Chinese Exclusion Act: The 1882 law that barred Chinese laborers from entering the United States. It continued in effect until the 1940s. (p. 561)

Christianity: A religion that holds the belief that Jesus Christ was himself divine. For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church was the great unifying institution in Western Europe, and it was from Europe that Christianity spread to the Americas. (p. 21)

"City Beautiful" movement: A turn-of-the-twentieth-century movement that advocated landscape beautification, playgrounds, and more and better urban parks. (p. 626)

civic humanism: The belief that individuals owe a service to their community and its government. During the Renaissance, political theorists argued that selfless service to the polity was of critical importance in a self-governing republic. (p. 20)

Civil Rights Act of 1866: Legislation passed by Congress that nullified the Black Codes and affirmed that African Americans should have equal benefit of the law. (p. 481)

Civil Rights Act of 1875: A law that required "full and equal" access to jury service and to transportation and public accommodations, irrespective of race. (p. 496)

Civil Rights Act of 1964: Law that responded to demands of the civil rights movement by making discrimination in employment, education, and public accommodations illegal. It was the strongest such measure since Reconstruction and included a ban on sex discrimination in employment. (p. 890)

Civil Rights Cases: A series of 1883 Supreme Court decisions that struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, rolling back key Reconstruction laws and paving the way for later decisions that sanctioned segregation. (p. 500)

Civilian Conservation Corps: Federal relief program that provided jobs to millions of unemployed young men who built thousands of bridges, roads, trails, and other structures in state and national parks, bolstering the national infrastructure. (p. 741)

classical liberalism, or laissez-faire: The principle that the less government does, the better, particularly in reference to the economy. (p. 332)

classical liberalism: The political ideology of individual liberty, private property, a competitive market economy, free trade, and limited government. The idea being that the less government does, the better, particularly in reference to economic policies such as tariffs and incentives for industrial development. Attacking corruption and defending private property, late-nineteenth-century liberals generally called for elite governance and questioned the advisability of full democratic participation. (p. 498)

Clayton Antitrust Act: A 1914 law that strengthened federal definitions of "monopoly" and gave more power to the Justice Department to pursue antitrust cases; it also specified that labor

unions could not generally be prosecuted for “restraint of trade,” ensuring that antitrust laws would apply to corporations rather than unions. (p. 662)

closed shop: A workplace in which a job seeker had to be a union member to gain employment. The closed shop was advocated by craft unions as a method of keeping out lower-wage workers and strengthening the unions’ bargaining position with employers. (p. 570)

coastal trade: The domestic slave trade with routes along the Atlantic coast that sent thousands of slaves to sugar plantations in Louisiana and cotton plantations in the Mississippi Valley. (p. 380)

code talkers: Native American soldiers trained to use native languages to send messages in battle during World War II. Neither the Japanese nor the Germans could decipher the codes used by these Navajo, Comanche, Choctaw, and Cherokee speakers, and the messages they sent gave the Allies great advantage in the battle of Iwo Jima, among many others. (p. 776)

Coercive Acts: Four British acts of 1774 meant to punish Massachusetts for the destruction of three shiploads of tea. Known in America as the Intolerable Acts, they led to open rebellion in the northern colonies. (p. 168)

Cold War liberalism: A combination of moderate liberal policies that preserved the programs of the New Deal welfare state and forthright anticommunism that vilified the Soviet Union abroad and radicalism at home. Adopted by President Truman and the Democratic Party during the late 1940s and early 1950s. (p. 818)

collective bargaining: A process of negotiation between labor unions and employers, which after World War II translated into rising wages, expanding benefits, and an increasing rate of home ownership. (p. 844)

Columbian Exchange: The massive global exchange of living things, including people, animals, plants, and diseases, between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres that began after the voyages of Columbus. (p. 43)

Committee on Public Information: An organization set up by President Woodrow Wilson during World War I to increase support for America’s participation in the war. The CPI was a national propaganda machine that helped create a political climate intolerant of dissent. (p. 690)

Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies: A group of interventionists who believed in engaging with, rather than withdrawing from, international developments. Interventionists became increasingly vocal in 1940 as war escalated in Europe. (p. 771)

committees of correspondence: A communications network established among towns in the colonies, and among colonial assemblies, between 1772 and 1773 to provide for rapid dissemination of news about important political developments. (p. 168)

Commonwealth System: The republican system of political economy created by state governments by 1820, whereby states funneled aid to private businesses whose projects would improve the general welfare. (p. 256)

companionate marriage: A marriage based on the republican values of equality and mutual respect. Although husbands in these marriages retained significant legal power, they increasingly came to see their wives as loving partners rather than as inferiors or dependents. (p. 258)

competency: The ability of a family to keep a household solvent and independent and to pass that ability on to the next generation. (p. 117)

Compromise of 1850: Laws passed in 1850 that were meant to resolve the dispute over the status of slavery in the territories. Key elements included the admission of California as a free state and the Fugitive Slave Act. (p. 429)

Comstock Act: An 1873 law that prohibited circulation of “obscene literature,” defined as including most information on sex, reproduction, and birth control. (p. 585)

Comstock Lode: Immense silver ore deposit discovered in 1859 in Nevada that touched off a mining rush, bringing a diverse population into the region and leading to the establishment of boomtowns. (p. 516)

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE): Civil rights organization founded in 1942 in Chicago by James Farmer and other members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) that espoused nonviolent direct action. In 1961 CORE organized a series of what were called Freedom Rides on interstate bus lines throughout the South to call attention to blatant violations of recent Supreme Court rulings against segregation in interstate commerce. (p. 870)

The Conscience of a Conservative: A 1960 book that set forth an uncompromising conservatism and inspired a Republican grassroots movement in support of its author, Barry Goldwater. (p. 975)

conscience Whigs: Whig politicians who opposed the Mexican War (1846–1848) on moral grounds, maintaining that the purpose of the war was to expand and perpetuate control of the national government. (p. 421)

“consolidated government”: A term meaning a powerful and potentially oppressive national government. (p. 320)

constitutional monarchy: A monarchy limited in its rule by a constitution. (p. 87)

consumer credit: New forms of borrowing, such as auto loans and installment plans, that flourished in the 1920s but helped trigger the Great Depression. (p. 725)

consumer revolution: An increase in consumption in English manufactures in Britain and the British colonies fueled by the Industrial Revolution. Although the consumer revolution raised living standards, it landed many consumers—and the colonies as a whole—in debt. (p. 141)

containment: The basic U.S. policy of the Cold War, which sought to contain communism within its existing geographic boundaries. Initially, containment focused on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but in the 1950s it came to include China, North Korea, and other parts of the developing world. (p. 808)

Continental Association: An association established in 1774 by the First Continental Congress to enforce a boycott of British goods. (p. 171)

Continental Congress: September 1774 gathering of colonial delegates in Philadelphia to discuss the crisis precipitated by the Coercive Acts. The Congress produced a declaration of rights and an agreement to impose a limited boycott of trade with Britain. (p. 169)

"contrabands": Slaves who fled plantations and sought protection behind Union lines during the Civil War. (p. 463)

Contract with America: Initiatives by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia for significant tax cuts, reductions in welfare programs, anticrime measures, and cutbacks in federal regulations. (p. 1021)

Contras: An opposition group in Nicaragua that President Reagan ordered the CIA to assist. While Congress banned the CIA and all other government agencies from providing any military support to the Contras, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marines, Oliver North, used the profits from the Iranian arms deal to assist the Contras, resulting in the Iran-Contra affair. (p. 992)

convict leasing: Notorious system, begun during Reconstruction, whereby southern state officials allowed private companies to hire out prisoners to labor under brutal conditions in mines and other industries. (p. 495)

corrupt bargain: A term used by Andrew Jackson's supporters for the appointment by President John Quincy Adams of Henry Clay as his secretary of state, the traditional stepping-stone to the presidency. Clay had used his influence as Speaker of the House to elect Adams rather than Jackson in the election in 1824. (p. 319)

counterculture: A culture embracing values or lifestyles opposing those of the mainstream culture. Became synonymous with hippies, people who opposed and rejected conventional standards of society and advocated extreme liberalism in their sociopolitical attitudes and lifestyles. (p. 918)

Counter-Reformation: A reaction in the Catholic Church triggered by the Reformation that sought change from within and created new monastic and missionary orders, including the Jesuits (founded in 1540), who saw themselves as soldiers of Christ. (p. 22)

Covenant Chain: The alliance of the Iroquois, first with the colony of New York, then with the British Empire and its other colonies. The Covenant Chain became a model for relations between the British Empire and other Native American peoples. (p. 89)

covenant of grace: The Christian idea that God's elect are granted salvation as a pure gift of grace. This doctrine holds that nothing people do can erase their sins or earn them a place in heaven. (p. 62)

covenant of works: The Christian idea that God's elect must do good works in their earthly lives to earn their salvation. (p. 62)

Crédit Mobilier: A sham corporation set up by shareholders in the Union Pacific Railroad to secure government grants at an enor-

mous profit. Organizers of the scheme protected it from investigation by providing gifts of its stock to powerful members of Congress. (p. 498)

Crime of 1873: A term used by those critical of an 1873 law directing the U.S. Treasury to cease minting silver dollars, retire Civil War-era greenbacks, and replace them with notes backed by the gold standard from an expanded system of national banks. (p. 515)

Crittenden Compromise: A plan proposed by Senator John J. Crittenden for a constitutional amendment to protect slavery from federal interference in any state where it already existed and for the westward extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the California border. (p. 446)

Crusades: A series of wars undertaken by Christian armies between A.D. 1096 and 1291 to reverse the Muslim advance in Europe and win back the holy lands where Christ had lived. (p. 22)

Cuban missile crisis: The 1962 nuclear standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States when the Soviets attempted to deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba. (p. 831)

culture war: A term used by Patrick Buchanan in 1992 to describe a long-standing political struggle, dating to the 1920s, between religious traditionalists and secular liberals. Social issues such as abortion rights and the rights of lesbians and gay men divided these groups. (p. 1012)

currency tax: A hidden tax on the farmers and artisans who accepted Continental bills in payment for supplies and on the thousands of soldiers who took them as pay. Because of rampant inflation, Continental currency lost much of its value during the war; thus, the implicit tax on those who accepted it as payment. (p. 196)

Dawes Severalty Act: The 1887 law that gave Native Americans severalty (individual ownership of land) by dividing reservations into homesteads. The law was a disaster for native peoples, resulting over several decades in the loss of 66 percent of lands held by Indians at the time of the law's passage. (p. 532)

D-Day: June 6, 1944, the date of the Allied invasion of northern France. D-Day was the largest amphibious assault in world history. The invasion opened a second front against the Germans and moved the Allies closer to victory in Europe. (p. 790)

Declaration of Independence: A document containing philosophical principles and a list of grievances that declared separation from Britain. Adopted by the Second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776, it ended a period of intense debate with moderates still hoping to reconcile with Britain. (p. 178)

Declaratory Act of 1766: Law issued by Parliament to assert Parliament's unassailable right to legislate for its British colonies "in all cases whatsoever," putting Americans on notice that the simultaneous repeal of the Stamp Act changed nothing in the imperial powers of Britain. (p. 160)

Defense of Marriage Act: A law enacted by Congress in 1998 that allowed states to refuse to recognize gay marriages or civil unions formed in other jurisdictions. The Supreme Court ruled that DOMA was unconstitutional in 2013. (p. 1020)

deindustrialization: The dismantling of manufacturing—especially in the automobile, steel, and consumer-goods industries—in the decades after World War II, representing a reversal of the process of industrialization that had dominated the American economy from the 1870s through the 1940s. (p. 944)

deism: The Enlightenment-influenced belief that the Christian God created the universe and then left it to run according to natural laws. (p. 128)

demographic transition: The sharp decline in birthrate in the United States beginning in the 1790s that was caused by changes in cultural behavior, including the use of birth control. The migration of thousands of young men to the trans-Appalachian west was also a factor in this decline. (p. 259)

deregulation: The limiting of regulation by federal agencies. Deregulation of prices in the trucking, airline, and railroad industries had begun under President Carter in the late 1970s, and Reagan expanded it to include cutting back on government protections of consumers, workers, and the environment. (p. 950)

deskilling: The elimination of skilled labor under a new system of mechanized manufacturing, in which workers completed discrete, small-scale tasks rather than crafting an entire product. With deskilling, employers found they could pay workers less and replace them more easily. (p. 551)

détente: The easing of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Nixon administration, which was achieved by focusing on issues of common concern, such as arms control and trade. (p. 929)

division of labor: A system of manufacture that divides production into a series of distinct and repetitive tasks performed by machines or workers. (p. 286)

dollar diplomacy: Policy emphasizing the connection between America's economic and political interests overseas. Business would gain from diplomatic efforts in its behalf, while the strengthened American economic presence overseas would give added leverage to American diplomacy. (p. 711)

domestic slavery: A term referring to the assertion by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other female abolitionists that traditional gender roles and legal restrictions created a form of slavery for married women. (p. 370)

Dominion of New England: A royal province created by King James II in 1686 that would have absorbed Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New York, and New Jersey into a single, vast colony and eliminated their assemblies and other chartered rights. James's plan was canceled by the Glorious Revolution in 1688, which removed him from the throne. (p. 85)

domino theory: President Eisenhower's theory of containment, which warned that the fall of a non-Communist government to communism in Southeast Asia would trigger the spread of communism to neighboring countries. (p. 828)

draft (conscription): The system for selecting individuals for conscription, or compulsory military service, first implemented during the Civil War. (p. 452)

Dred Scott v. Sandford: The 1857 Supreme Court decision that ruled the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. The Court ruled against slave Dred Scott, who claimed that travels with his master into free states and territories made him and his family free. The decision also denied the federal government the right to exclude slavery from the territories and declared that African Americans were not citizens. (p. 433)

Dunmore's War: A 1774 war led by Virginia's royal governor, the Earl of Dunmore, against the Ohio Shawnees, who had a long-standing claim to Kentucky as a hunting ground. The Shawnees were defeated and Dunmore and his militia forces claimed Kentucky as their own. (p. 175)

dust bowl: A series of dust storms from 1930 to 1941 during which a severe drought afflicted the semiarid states of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, and Kansas. (p. 759)

Earth Day: An annual event honoring the environment that was first celebrated on April 22, 1970, when 20 million citizens gathered in communities across the country to express their support for a cleaner, healthier planet. (p. 939)

Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act: Legislation introduced by President George W. Bush and passed by Congress in 2001 that slashed income tax rates, extended the earned income credit for the poor, and marked the estate tax to be phased out by 2010. (p. 1026)

Economic Opportunity Act: 1964 act which created a series of programs, including Head Start to prepare disadvantaged preschoolers for kindergarten and the Job Corps and Upward Bound to provide young people with training and employment, aimed at alleviating poverty and spurring economic growth in impoverished areas. (p. 905)

Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA): Legislation introduced by President Reagan and passed by Congress in 1981 that authorized the largest reduction in taxes in the nation's history. (p. 983)

Eisenhower Doctrine: President Eisenhower's 1957 declaration that the United States would actively combat communism in the Middle East. (p. 829)

Emancipation Proclamation: President Abraham Lincoln's proclamation issued on January 1, 1863, that legally abolished slavery in all states that remained out of the Union. While the Emancipation Proclamation did not immediately free a single slave, it signaled an end to the institution of slavery. (p. 464)

Embargo Act of 1807: An act of Congress that prohibited U.S. ships from traveling to foreign ports and effectively banned overseas trade in an attempt to deter Britain from halting U.S. ships at sea. The embargo caused grave hardships for Americans engaged in overseas commerce. (p. 234)

encomienda: A grant of Indian labor in Spanish America given in the sixteenth century by the Spanish kings to prominent men. *Encomenderos* extracted tribute from these Indians in exchange for granting them protection and Christian instruction. (p. 234)

energy crisis: A period of fuel shortages in the United States after the Arab states in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting

Countries (OPEC) declared an oil embargo in October 1973. (p. 939)

Enforcement Laws: Acts passed in Congress in 1870 and signed by President U. S. Grant that were designed to protect freedmen's rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Authorizing federal prosecutions, military intervention, and martial law to suppress terrorist activity, the Enforcement Laws largely succeeded in shutting down Klan activities. (p. 499)

English common law: The centuries-old body of legal rules and procedures that protected the lives and property of the British monarch's subjects. (p. 159)

Enlightenment: An eighteenth-century philosophical movement that emphasized the use of reason to reevaluate previously accepted doctrines and traditions and the power of reason to understand and shape the world. (p. 126)

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA): Federal agency created by Congress and President Nixon in 1970 to enforce environmental laws, conduct environmental research, and reduce human health and environmental risks from pollutants. (p. 939)

environmentalism: Activist movement begun in the 1960s that was concerned with protecting the environment through activities such as conservation, pollution control measures, and public awareness campaigns. In response to the new environmental consciousness, the federal government staked out a broad role in environmental regulation in the 1960s and 1970s. (p. 939)

Equal Pay Act (1963): Law that established the principle of equal pay for equal work. Trade union women were especially critical in pushing for, and winning, congressional passage of the law. (p. 908)

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA): Constitutional amendment passed by Congress in 1972 that would require equal treatment of men and women under federal and state law. Facing fierce opposition from the New Right and the Republican Party, the ERA was defeated as time ran out for state ratification in 1982. (p. 952)

Erie Canal: A 364-mile waterway connecting the Hudson River and Lake Erie. The Erie Canal brought prosperity to the entire Great Lakes region, and its benefits prompted civic and business leaders in Philadelphia and Baltimore to propose canals to link their cities to the Midwest. (p. 293)

established church: A church given privileged legal status by the government. Historically, such established churches in Europe and America were supported by public taxes and were often the only legally permitted religious institutions. (p. 270)

Ethics in Government Act: Passed in the wake of the Watergate scandal, the 1978 act forced political candidates to disclose financial contributions and limited the lobbying activities of former elected officials. (p. 948)

ethnocultural politics: Refers to the fact that the political allegiance of many American voters was determined less by party policy than by their membership in a specific ethnic or religious group. (p. 340)

eugenics: An emerging "science" of human breeding in the late nineteenth century that argued that mentally deficient people should be prevented from reproducing. (p. 594)

evangelicalism: The trend in Protestant Christianity that stresses salvation through conversion, repentance of sin, and adherence to scripture; it also stresses the importance of preaching over ritual. (p. 962)

Executive Order 8802: An order signed by President Roosevelt in 1941 that prohibited "discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). (p. 780)

Executive Order 9066: An order signed by President Roosevelt in 1941 that authorized the War Department to force Japanese Americans from their West Coast homes and hold them in relocation camps for the rest of the war. (p. 787)

Exodusters: African Americans who walked or rode out of the Deep South following the Civil War, many settling on farms in Kansas in hopes of finding peace and prosperity. (p. 520)

Fair Deal: The domestic policy agenda announced by President Harry S. Truman in 1949. Including civil rights, health care, and education reform, Truman's initiative was only partially successful in Congress. (p. 820)

family values: Values promoted by the Religious Right, including support for the traditional nuclear family and opposition to same-sex marriage and abortion. (p. 996)

Farmers' Alliance: A rural movement founded in Texas during the depression of the 1870s that spread across the plains states and the South. The Farmers' Alliance advocated cooperative stores and exchanges that would circumvent middlemen, and it called for greater government aid to farmers and stricter regulation of railroads. (p. 568)

fascism: An authoritarian system of government characterized by dictatorial rule, extreme nationalism, disdain for civil society, and a conviction that imperialism and warfare are the principal means by which nations attain greatness. The United States went to war against fascism when it faced Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler and Italy under Benito Mussolini during World War II. (p. 768)

Federal Housing Administration: An agency established by the Federal Housing Act of 1934 that refinanced home mortgages for mortgage holders facing possible foreclosure. (p. 744)

Federal Reserve Act: The central bank system of the United States, created in 1913. The Federal Reserve helps set the money supply level, thus influencing the rate of growth of the U.S. economy, and seeks to ensure the stability of the U.S. monetary system. (p. 661)

Federalist No. 10: An essay by James Madison in *The Federalist* (1787–1788) that challenged the view that republican governments only worked in small polities; it argued that a geographically expansive national government would better protect republican liberty. (p. 210)

Federalists: Supporters of the Constitution of 1787, which created a strong central government; their opponents, the Antifederalists,

feared that a strong central government would corrupt the nation's newly won liberty. (p. 207)

The Feminine Mystique: The title of an influential book written in 1963 by Betty Friedan critiquing the ideal whereby women were encouraged to confine themselves to roles within the domestic sphere. (p. 908)

feminism: The ideology that women should enter the public sphere not only to work on behalf of others, but also for their own equal rights and advancement. Feminists moved beyond advocacy of women's voting rights to seek greater autonomy in professional careers, property rights, and personal relationships. (p. 592)

Fetterman massacre: A massacre in December 1866 in which 1,500 Sioux warriors lured Captain William Fetterman and 80 soldiers from a Wyoming fort and attacked them. With the Fetterman massacre the Sioux succeeded in closing the Bozeman Trail, the main route into Montana. (p. 528)

Fifteenth Amendment: Constitutional amendment ratified in 1869 that forbade states to deny citizens the right to vote on grounds of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude." (p. 485)

"Fifty-four forty or fight!": Democratic candidate Governor James K. Polk's slogan in the election of 1844 calling for American sovereignty over the entire Oregon Country, stretching from California to Russian-occupied Alaska and presently shared with Great Britain. (p. 418)

fireside chats: A series of informal radio addresses Franklin Roosevelt made to the nation in which he explained New Deal initiatives. (p. 740)

flapper: A young woman of the 1920s who defied conventional standards of conduct by wearing short skirts and makeup, freely spending the money she earned on the latest fashions, dancing to jazz, and flaunting her liberated lifestyle. (p. 726)

forty-niners: The more than 80,000 settlers who arrived in California in 1849 as part of that territory's gold rush. (p. 425)

Four Freedoms: Identified by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as the most basic human rights: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. The president used these ideas of freedom to justify support for England during World War II, which in turn pulled the United States into the war. (p. 771)

Four-Minute Men: Name given to thousands of volunteers enlisted by the Committee on Public Information to deliver short prowar speeches at movie theaters, as part of an effort to galvanize public support for the war and suppress dissent. (p. 690)

Fourteen Points: Principles for a new world order proposed in 1919 by President Woodrow Wilson as a basis for peace negotiations at Versailles. Among them were open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free trade, territorial integrity, arms reduction, national self-determination, and creation of the League of Nations. (p. 696)

Fourteenth Amendment: Constitutional amendment ratified in 1868 that made all native-born or naturalized persons U.S. citizens and prohibited states from abridging the rights of national citizens, thus giving primacy to national rather than state citizenship. (p. 481)

franchise: The right to vote. Between 1820 and 1860, most states revised their constitutions to extend the vote to all adult white males. Black adult men gained the right to vote with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868). The Nineteenth Amendment (1920) granted adult women the right to vote. (p. 316)

free silver: A policy of loosening the money supply by expanding federal coinage to include silver as well as gold. Advocates of the policy thought it would encourage borrowing and stimulate industry, but the defeat of Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan ended the "free silver" movement and gave Republicans power to retain the gold standard. (p. 645)

Freedmen's Bureau: Government organization created in March 1865 to aid displaced blacks and other war refugees. Active until the early 1870s, it was the first federal agency in history that provided direct payments to assist those in poverty and to foster social welfare. (p. 481)

Freedman's Savings and Trust Company: A private bank founded in 1865 that had worked closely with the Freedmen's Bureau and Union army across the South. In June 1874, when the bank failed, Congress refused to compensate its 61,000 depositors, including many African Americans. (p. 497)

Freedom of Information Act: Passed in the wake of the Watergate scandal, the 1974 act gave citizens access to federal records. (p. 948)

freeholds: Land owned in its entirety, without feudal dues or landlord obligations. Freeholders had the legal right to improve, transfer, or sell their landed property. (p. 53)

Freeport Doctrine: The argument presented by Senator Stephen A. Douglas that a territory's residents could exclude slavery by not adopting laws to protect it. (p. 438)

free-soil movement: A political movement that opposed the expansion of slavery. In 1848 the free-soilers organized the Free-Soil Party, which depicted slavery as a threat to republicanism and to the Jeffersonian ideal of a freeholder society, arguments that won broad support among aspiring white farmers. (p. 421)

French Revolution: A 1789 revolution in France that was initially welcomed by most Americans because it abolished feudalism and established a constitutional monarchy, but eventually came to seem too radical to many. (p. 219)

fundamentalism: A term adopted by Protestants, between the 1890s and the 1910s, who rejected modernism and historical interpretations of scripture and asserted the literal truth of the Bible. Fundamentalists have historically seen secularism and religious relativism as markers of sin that will be punished by God. (p. 602)

Gadsden Purchase: A small slice of land (now part of Arizona and New Mexico) purchased by President Franklin Pierce in 1853 for the purpose of building a transcontinental rail line from New Orleans to Los Angeles. (p. 431)

gag rule: A procedure in the House of Representatives from 1836 to 1844 by which antislavery petitions were automatically tabled when they were received so that they could not become the subject of debate. (p. 365)

gang-labor system: A system of work discipline used on southern cotton plantations in the mid-nineteenth century in which white overseers or black drivers supervised gangs of enslaved laborers to achieve greater productivity. (p. 388)

gentility: A refined style of living and elaborate manners that came to be highly prized among well-to-do English families after 1600 and strongly influenced leading colonists after 1700. (p. 102)

Ghost Dance movement: Religion of the late 1880s and early 1890s that combined elements of Christianity and traditional Native American religion. It fostered Plains Indians' hope that they could, through sacred dances, resurrect the great bison herds and call up a storm to drive whites back across the Atlantic. (p. 534)

Gilded Age: A term invented in the 1920s describing the late nineteenth century as a period of ostentatious displays of wealth, growing poverty, and government inaction in the face of income inequality. Commentators suggested that this era had been followed by a "Progressive Era" in which citizens mobilized for reform. The chronological line between the "Gilded Age" and the "Progressive Era" remains unclear, since the 1870s and 1880s witnessed mass movements of farmers, industrial laborers, and middle-class women for reform. Historians generally agree, however, that the era after 1900 brought about more laws to address industrial poverty, working conditions, and the power of monopolies and trusts. (p. 638)

glasnost: The policy introduced by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1980s that involved greater openness and freedom of expression and that contributed, unintentionally, to the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. (p. 993)

Glass-Steagall Act: A 1933 law that created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which insured deposits up to \$2,500 (and now up to \$250,000). The act also prohibited banks from making risky, unsecured investments with customers' deposits. (p. 740)

globalization: The spread of political, cultural, and economic influences and connections among countries, businesses, and individuals around the world through trade, immigration, communication, and other means. (p. 1004)

Glorious Revolution: A quick and nearly bloodless coup in 1688 in which James II of England was overthrown by William of Orange. Whig politicians forced the new King William and Queen Mary to accept the Declaration of Rights, creating a constitutional monarchy that enhanced the powers of the House of Commons at the expense of the crown. (p. 86)

gold standard: The practice of backing a country's currency with its reserves of gold. In 1873 the United States, following Great Britain and other European nations, began converting to the gold standard. (p. 515)

Granger laws: Economic regulatory laws passed in some midwestern states in the late 1870s, triggered by pressure from farmers and the Greenback-Labor Party. (p. 566)

Great Migration: The migration of over 400,000 African Americans from the rural South to the industrial cities of the North during and after World War I. (p. 694)

Great Railroad Strike of 1877: A nationwide strike of thousands of railroad workers and labor allies, who protested the growing power of railroad corporations and the steep wage cuts imposed by railroad managers amid a severe economic depression that had begun in 1873. (p. 565)

Great Society: President Lyndon B. Johnson's domestic program, which included civil rights legislation, antipoverty programs, government subsidy of medical care, federal aid to education, consumer protection, and aid to the arts and humanities. (p. 904)

Greenback-Labor Party: A national political movement calling on the government to increase the money supply in order to assist borrowers and foster economic growth; "Greenbackers" also called for greater regulation of corporations and laws enforcing an eight-hour workday. (p. 565)

greenbacks: Paper money issued by the U.S. Treasury during the Civil War to finance the war effort. (p. 460)

Group of Eight (G8): An international organization of the leading capitalist industrial nations: the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, and Russia. The G8 largely controlled the world's major international financial organizations: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). (p. 1009)

guilds: Organizations of skilled workers in medieval and early modern Europe that regulated the entry into, and the practice of, a trade. (p. 20)

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution: Resolution passed by Congress in 1964 in the wake of a naval confrontation in the Gulf of Tonkin between the United States and North Vietnam. It gave the president virtually unlimited authority in conducting the Vietnam War. The Senate terminated the resolution in 1971 following outrage over the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. (p. 911)

habeas corpus: A legal writ forcing government authorities to justify their arrest and detention of an individual. During the Civil War, Lincoln suspended habeas corpus to stop protests against the draft and other anti-Union activities. (p. 454)

Haitian Revolution: The 1791 conflict involving diverse Haitian participants and armies from three European countries. At its end, Haiti became a free, independent nation in which former slaves were citizens. (p. 222)

"hard war": The philosophy and tactics used by Union general William Tecumseh Sherman, by which he treated civilians as combatants. (p. 470)

Harlem Renaissance: A flourishing of African American artists, writers, intellectuals, and social leaders in the 1920s, centered in the neighborhoods of Harlem, New York City. (p. 718)

Haymarket Square: The May 4, 1886, conflict in Chicago in which both workers and policemen were killed or wounded during a labor demonstration called by local anarchists. The incident created a backlash against all labor organizations, including the Knights of Labor. (p. 568)

headright system: A system of land distribution, pioneered in Virginia and used in several other colonies, that granted land —

usually 50 acres—to anyone who paid the passage of a new arrival. By this means, large planters amassed huge landholdings as they imported large numbers of servants and slaves. (p. 54)

heresy: A religious doctrine that is inconsistent with the teachings of a church. (p. 22)

herrenvolk republic: A republic based on the principle of rule by a master race. To preserve their privileged social position, southern leaders restricted individual liberty and legal equality to whites. (p. 266)

HIV/AIDS: A deadly disease that killed nearly a hundred thousand people in the United States in the 1980s. (p. 985)

Hollywood: City in the Los Angeles area of California where, by the 1920s, nearly 90 percent of all films in the world were produced. (p. 726)

Holocaust: Germany's campaign during World War II to exterminate all Jews living in German-controlled lands, along with other groups the Nazis deemed "undesirable." In all, some 11 million people were killed in the Holocaust, most of them Jews. (p. 792)

Homestead Act: The 1862 act that gave 160 acres of free western land to any applicant who occupied and improved the property. This policy led to the rapid development of the American West after the Civil War; facing arid conditions in the West, however, many homesteaders found themselves unable to live on their land. (p. 516)

Homestead lockout: The 1892 lockout of workers at the Homestead, Pennsylvania, steel mill after Andrew Carnegie refused to renew the union contract. Union supporters attacked the guards hired to close them out and protect strikebreakers who had been employed by the mill, but the National Guard soon suppressed this resistance and Homestead, like other steel plants, became a non-union mill. (p. 544)

horizontal integration: A business concept invented in the late nineteenth century to pressure competitors and force rivals to merge their companies into a conglomerate. John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil pioneered this business model. (p. 548)

hostage crisis: Crisis that began in 1979 after the deposed shah of Iran was allowed into the United States following the Iranian revolution. Iranians broke into the U.S. embassy in Teheran and took sixty-six Americans hostage. The hostage crisis lasted 444 days and contributed to President Carter's reelection defeat. (p. 977)

House of Burgesses: Organ of government in colonial Virginia made up of an assembly of representatives elected by the colony's inhabitants. (p. 52)

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC): Congressional committee especially prominent during the early years of the Cold War that investigated Americans who might be disloyal to the government or might have associated with communists or other radicals. (p. 821)

household mode of production: The system of exchanging goods and labor that helped eighteenth-century New England free-holders survive on ever-shrinking farms as available land became more scarce. (p. 120)

Hull House: One of the first and most famous social settlements, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and her companion Ellen Gates Starr in an impoverished, largely Italian immigrant neighborhood on Chicago's West Side. (p. 627)

Hundred Days: A legendary session during the first few months of Franklin Roosevelt's administration in which Congress enacted fifteen major bills that focused primarily on four problems: banking failures, agricultural overproduction, the business slump, and soaring unemployment. (p. 740)

Immigration and Nationality Act: A 1965 law that eliminated the discriminatory 1924 nationality quotas, established a slightly higher total limit on immigration, included provisions to ease the entry of immigrants with skills in high demand, and allowed immediate family members of legal residents in the United States to be admitted outside of the total numerical limit. (p. 1013)

indentured servitude: Workers contracted for service for a specified period. In exchange for agreeing to work for four or five years (or more) without wages in the colonies, indentured workers received passage across the Atlantic, room and board, and status as a free person at the end of the contract period. (p. 54)

Indian Removal Act of 1830: Act that directed the mandatory relocation of eastern tribes to territory west of the Mississippi. Jackson insisted that his goal was to save the Indians and their culture. Indians resisted the controversial act, but in the end most were forced to comply. (p. 327)

Indian Reorganization Act: A 1934 law that reversed the Dawes Act of 1887. Through the law, Indians won a greater degree of religious freedom, and tribal governments regained their status as semisovereign dependent nations. (p. 756)

individualism: Word coined by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 to describe Americans as people no longer bound by social attachments to classes, castes, associations, and families. (p. 346)

Industrial Revolution: A burst of major inventions and economic expansion based on water and steam power and the use of machine technology that transformed certain industries, such as cotton textiles and iron, between 1790 and 1860. (p. 286)

Industrial Workers of the World: An umbrella union and radical political group founded in 1905, dedicated to organizing unskilled workers to oppose capitalism. Nicknamed the Wobblies, it advocated direct action by workers, including sabotage and general strikes. (p. 655)

inland system: The slave trade system in the interior of the country that fed slaves to the Cotton South. (p. 380)

Insular Cases: A set of Supreme Court rulings in 1901 that declared that the U.S. Constitution did not automatically extend citizenship to people in acquired territories; only Congress could decide whether to grant citizenship. (p. 678)

internal improvements: Public works such as roads and canals. (p. 319)

International Monetary Fund (IMF): A fund established to stabilize currencies and provide a predictable monetary environment for trade, with the U.S. dollar serving as the benchmark. (p. 840)

Interstate Commerce Act: An 1887 act that created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), a federal regulatory agency designed to oversee the railroad industry and prevent collusion and unfair rates. (p. 569)

Iran-Contra affair: Reagan administration scandal that involved the sale of arms to Iran in exchange for its efforts to secure the release of hostages held in Lebanon and the redirection—illegal because banned by American law—of the proceeds of those sales to the Nicaraguan Contras. (p. 993)

Islam: A religion that considers Muhammad to be God's last prophet. Following the death of Muhammad in A.D. 632, the newly converted Arab peoples of North Africa used force and fervor to spread the Muslim faith into sub-Saharan Africa, India, Indonesia, Spain, and the Balkan regions of Europe. (p. 22)

Jacobins: A political faction in the French Revolution. Many Americans embraced the democratic ideology of the radical Jacobins and, like them, formed political clubs and began to address one another as “citizen.” (p. 219)

Jay’s Treaty: A 1795 treaty between the United States and Britain, negotiated by John Jay. The treaty accepted Britain’s right to stop neutral ships. In return, it allowed Americans to submit claims for illegal seizures and required the British to remove their troops and Indian agents from the Northwest Territory. (p. 222)

jazz: Unique American musical form, developed in New Orleans and other parts of the South before World War I. Jazz musicians developed an ensemble improvisational style. (p. 718)

Jim Crow: System of racial segregation in the South that lasted a century, from after the Civil War until the 1960s. (p. 870)

joint-stock corporation: A financial organization devised by English merchants around 1550 that facilitated the colonization of North America. In these companies, a number of investors pooled their capital and received shares of stock in the enterprise in proportion to their share of the total investment. (p. 62)

Judiciary Act of 1789: Act that established a federal district court in each state and three circuit courts to hear appeals from the districts, with the Supreme Court having the final say. (p. 216)

Kansas-Nebraska Act: A controversial 1854 law that divided Indian Territory into Kansas and Nebraska, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and left the new territories to decide the issue of slavery on the basis of popular sovereignty. (p. 432)

Kerner Commission: Informal name for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, formed by the president to investigate the causes of the 1967 urban riots. Its 1968 report warned that “our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal.” (p. 863)

Keynesian economics: The theory, developed by British economist John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s, that purposeful government intervention in the economy (through lowering or raising taxes, interest rates, and government spending) can affect the level of overall economic activity and thereby prevent severe depressions and runaway inflation. (p. 751)

King Cotton: The Confederate belief during the Civil War that their cotton was so important to the British and French economies

that those governments would recognize the South as an independent nation and supply it with loans and arms. (p. 456)

kitchen debate: A 1959 debate over the merits of their rival systems between U.S. vice president Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev at the opening of an American exhibition in Moscow. (p. 838)

Knights of Labor: The first mass labor organization created among America’s working class. Founded in 1869 and peaking in strength in the mid-1880s, the Knights of Labor attempted to bridge boundaries of ethnicity, gender, ideology, race, and occupation to build a “universal brotherhood” of all workers. (p. 567)

Ku Klux Klan: Secret society that first undertook violence against African Americans in the South after the Civil War but was reborn in 1915 to fight the perceived threats posed by African Americans, immigrants, radicals, feminists, Catholics, and Jews. (p. 499)

labor theory of value: The belief that human labor produces economic value. Adherents argued that the price of a product should be determined not by the market (supply and demand) but by the amount of work required to make it, and that most of the price should be paid to the person who produced it. (p. 292)

laissez faire: French for “let do” or “leave alone.” A doctrine espoused by classical liberals that the less the government does, the better, particularly in reference to the economy. (p. 498)

land banks: An institution, established by a colonial legislature, that printed paper money and lent it to farmers, taking a lien on their land to ensure repayment. (p. 107)

land-grant colleges: Public universities founded to broaden educational opportunities and foster technical and scientific expertise. These universities were funded by the Morrill Act, which authorized the sale of federal lands to raise money for higher education. (p. 516)

Lawrence v. Texas: A 2003 landmark decision by the Supreme Court that limited the power of states to prohibit private homosexual activity between consenting adults. (p. 1020)

League of Nations: The international organization bringing together world governments to prevent future hostilities, proposed by President Woodrow Wilson in the aftermath of World War I. Although the League of Nations did form, the United States never became a member state. (p. 697)

Lend-Lease Act: Legislation in 1941 that enabled Britain to obtain arms from the United States without cash but with the promise to reimburse the United States when the war ended. The act reflected Roosevelt’s desire to assist the British in any way possible, short of war. (p. 771)

liberal arts: A form of education pioneered by President Charles W. Eliot at Harvard University, whereby students chose from a range of electives, shaping their own curricula as they developed skills in research, critical thinking, and leadership. (p. 587)

Liberty League: A group of Republican business leaders and conservative Democrats who banded together to fight what they called the “reckless spending” and “socialist” reforms of the New Deal. (p. 746)

Lochner v. New York: A 1905 Supreme Court ruling that New York State could not limit bakers' workday to ten hours because that violated bakers' rights to make contracts. (p. 649)

Lodge Bill: Also known as the Federal Elections Bill of 1890, a bill proposing that whenever 100 citizens in any district appealed for intervention, a bipartisan federal board could investigate and seat the rightful winner. The defeat of the bill was a blow to those seeking to defend African American voting rights and to ensure full participation in politics. (p. 642)

Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: A 1903 Supreme Court ruling that Congress could make whatever Indian policies it chose, ignoring all existing treaties. (p. 532)

Long Drive: Facilitated by the completion of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1865, a system by which cowboys herded cattle hundreds of miles north from Texas to Dodge City and the other cow towns of Kansas. (p. 519)

Lost Generation: The phrase coined by writer Gertrude Stein to refer to young artists and writers who had suffered through World War I and felt alienated from America's mass-culture society in the 1920s. (p. 720)

Louisiana Purchase: The 1803 purchase of French territory west of the Mississippi River that stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. The Louisiana Purchase nearly doubled the size of the United States and opened the way for future American expansion west. The purchase required President Thomas Jefferson to exercise powers not explicitly granted to him by the Constitution. (p. 233)

Loyalty-Security Program: A program created in 1947 by President Truman that permitted officials to investigate any employee of the federal government for "subversive" activities. (p. 821)

machine tools: Cutting, boring, and drilling machines used to produce standardized metal parts, which were then assembled into products such as textile looms and sewing machines. The rapid development of machine tools by American inventors in the early nineteenth century was a factor in the rapid spread of industrialization. (p. 290)

management revolution: An internal management structure adopted by many large, complex corporations that distinguished top executives from those responsible for day-to-day operations and departmentalized operations by function. (p. 546)

Manhattan Project: Top-secret project authorized by Franklin Roosevelt in 1942 to develop an atomic bomb ahead of the Germans. The Americans who worked on the project at Los Alamos, New Mexico (among other highly secretive sites around the country), succeeded in producing a successful atomic bomb by July 1945. (p. 793)

Manifest Destiny: A term coined by John L. O'Sullivan in 1845 to express the idea that Euro-Americans were fated by God to settle the North American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. (p. 412)

manumission: The legal act of relinquishing property rights in slaves. Worried that a large free black population would threaten the institution of slavery, the Virginia assembly repealed Virginia's 1782 manumission law in 1792. (p. 265)

Marbury v. Madison (1803): A Supreme Court case that established the principle of judicial review in finding that parts of the Judiciary Act of 1789 were in conflict with the Constitution. For the first time, the Supreme Court assumed legal authority to overrule acts of other branches of the government. (p. 231)

March on Washington: Officially named the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, on August 28, 1963, a quarter of a million people marched to the Lincoln Memorial to demand that Congress end Jim Crow racial discrimination and launch a major jobs program to bring needed employment to black communities. (p. 886)

March to the Sea: Military campaign from September through December 1864 in which Union forces under General Sherman marched from Atlanta, Georgia, to the coast at Savannah. Carving a path of destruction as it progressed, Sherman's army aimed at destroying white southerners' will to continue the war. (p. 470)

Market Revolution: The dramatic increase between 1820 and 1850 in the exchange of goods and services in market transactions. The Market Revolution reflected the increased output of farms and factories, the entrepreneurial activities of traders and merchants, and the creation of a transportation network of roads, canals, and railroads. (p. 293)

married women's property laws: Laws enacted between 1839 and 1860 in New York and other states that permitted married women to own, inherit, and bequeath property. (p. 371)

Marshall Plan: Aid program begun in 1948 to help European economies recover from World War II. (p. 809)

mass production: A phrase coined by Henry Ford, who helped to invent a system of mass production of goods based on assembly of standardized parts. This system accompanied the continued deskilling of industrial labor. (p. 551)

maternalism: The belief that women should contribute to civic and political life through their special talents as mothers, Christians, and moral guides. Maternalists put this ideology into action by creating dozens of social reform organizations. (p. 589)

matriarchy: A gendered power structure in which social identity and property descend through the female line. (p. 15)

McCulloch v. Maryland (1819): A Supreme Court case that asserted the dominance of national over state statutes. (p. 241)

mechanics: A term used in the nineteenth century to refer to skilled craftsmen and inventors who built and improved machinery and machine tools for industry. (p. 287)

Medicaid: A health plan for the poor passed in 1965 and paid for by general tax revenues and administered by the states. (p. 906)

Medicare: A health plan for the elderly passed in 1965 and funded by a surcharge on Social Security payroll taxes. (p. 906)

mercantilism: A system of political economy based on government regulation. Beginning in 1650, Britain enacted Navigation Acts that controlled colonial commerce and manufacturing for the enrichment of Britain. (p. 45)

middle class: An economic group of prosperous farmers, artisans, and traders that emerged in the early nineteenth century. Its rise reflected a dramatic increase in prosperity. This surge in income,

along with an abundance of inexpensive mass-produced goods, fostered a distinct middle-class urban culture. (p. 302)

Middle Passage: The brutal sea voyage from Africa to the Americas that took the lives of nearly two million enslaved Africans. (p. 94)

military-industrial complex: A term President Eisenhower used to refer to the military establishment and defense contractors who, he warned, exercised undue influence over the national government. (p. 841)

mineral-based economy: An economy based on coal and metal that began to emerge in the 1830s, as manufacturers increasingly ran machinery fashioned from metal with coal-burning stationary steam engines rather than with water power. (p. 287)

Minor v. Happersett: A Supreme Court decision in 1875 that ruled that suffrage rights were not inherent in citizenship and had not been granted by the Fourteenth Amendment, as some women's rights advocates argued. Women were citizens, the Court ruled, but state legislatures could deny women the vote if they wished. (p. 486)

minstrelsy: Popular theatrical entertainment begun around 1830, in which white actors in blackface presented comic routines that combined racist caricature and social criticism. (p. 356)

Minutemen: Colonial militiamen who stood ready to mobilize on short notice during the imperial crisis of the 1770s. These volunteers formed the core of the citizens' army that met British troops at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. (p. 175)

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party: Party founded in Mississippi during the Freedom Summer of 1964. Its members attempted to attend the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, as the legitimate representatives of their state, but Democratic leaders refused to recognize the party. (p. 890)

Missouri Compromise: A series of political agreements devised by Speaker of the House Henry Clay. Maine entered the Union as a free state in 1820 and Missouri followed as a slave state in 1821, preserving a balance in the Senate between North and South and setting a precedent for future admissions to the Union. Most importantly, this bargain set the northern boundary of slavery in the lands of the Louisiana Purchase at the southern boundary of Missouri, with the exception of that state. (p. 269)

mixed government: John Adams's theory from *Thoughts on Government* (1776), which called for three branches of government, each representing one function: executive, legislative, and judicial. This system of dispersed authority was devised to maintain a balance of power and ensure the legitimacy of governmental procedures. (p. 198)

modernism: A movement that questioned the ideals of progress and order, rejected realism, and emphasized new cultural forms. Modernism became the first great literary and artistic movement of the twentieth century and remains influential today. (p. 595)

Monroe Doctrine: The 1823 declaration by President James Monroe that the Western Hemisphere was closed to any further colonization or interference by European powers. In exchange, Monroe pledged that the United States would not become involved in European struggles. (p. 244)

Montgomery Bus Boycott: Yearlong boycott of Montgomery's segregated bus system in 1955–1956 by the city's African American population. The boycott brought Martin Luther King Jr. to national prominence and ended in victory when the Supreme Court declared segregated seating on public transportation unconstitutional. (p. 881)

moral free agency: The doctrine of free will that was the central message of Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney. It was particularly attractive to members of the new middle class, who had accepted personal responsibility for their lives, improved their material condition, and welcomed Finney's assurance that heaven was also within their grasp. (p. 306)

Moral Majority: A political organization established by evangelist Jerry Falwell in 1979 to mobilize conservative Christian voters on behalf of Ronald Reagan's campaign for president. (p. 981)

Mormonism: The religion of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded by Joseph Smith in 1830. After Smith's death at the hands of an angry mob, Brigham Young led many followers of Mormonism to lands in present-day Utah in 1846. (p. 352)

Morrill Act: An 1862 act that set aside 140 million federal acres that states could sell to raise money for public universities. (p. 516)

muckrakers: A critical term, first applied by Theodore Roosevelt, for investigative journalists who published exposés of political scandals and industrial abuses. (p. 619)

Mugwumps: A late-nineteenth-century branch of reform-minded Republicans who left their party in 1884 to support Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland. Many Mugwumps were classical liberals who denounced corruption and advocated a reduction in government powers and civil service reform. (p. 639)

Muller v. Oregon: A 1908 Supreme Court case that upheld an Oregon law limiting women's workday to ten hours, based on the need to protect women's health for motherhood. *Muller* complicated the earlier decision in *Lochner v. New York*, laying out grounds on which states could intervene to protect workers. It divided women's rights activists, however, because some saw its provisions as discriminatory. (p. 652)

multiculturalism: The promotion of diversity in gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual preference. This political and social policy became increasingly popular in the United States during the 1980s post-civil rights era. (p. 1015)

multinational corporations: Corporations with offices and factories in multiple countries, which expanded to find new markets and cheaper sources of labor. Globalization was made possible by the proliferation of these multinational corporations. (p. 1010)

Munich Conference: A conference in Munich held in September 1938 during which Britain and France agreed to allow Germany to annex the Sudetenland — a German-speaking border area of Czechoslovakia — in return for Hitler's pledge to seek no more territory. (p. 770)

Munn v. Illinois: An 1877 Supreme Court case that affirmed that states could regulate key businesses, such as railroads and grain elevators, if those businesses were "clothed in the public interest." (p. 514)

mutual aid society: An urban aid society that served members of an ethnic immigrant group, usually those from a particular province or town. The societies functioned as fraternal clubs that collected dues from members in order to pay support in case of death or disability. (p. 612)

My Lai: The 1968 execution by U.S. Army troops of nearly five hundred people in the South Vietnamese village of My Lai, including a large number of women and children. (p. 928)

Nation of Islam: A religion founded in the United States that became a leading source of black nationalist thought in the 1960s. Black Muslims preached an apocalyptic brand of Islam, anticipating the day when Allah would banish the white “devils” and give the black nation justice. (p. 892)

National American Woman Suffrage Association: Women’s suffrage organization created in 1890 by the union of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. Up to national ratification of suffrage in 1920, the NAWSA played a central role in campaigning for women’s right to vote. (p. 592)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP): An organization founded in 1910 by leading African American reformers and white allies as a vehicle for advocating equal rights for African Americans, especially through the courts. (p. 655)

National Association of Colored Women: An organization created in 1896 by African American women to provide community support. Through its local clubs, the NACW arranged for the care of orphans, founded homes for the elderly, advocated temperance, and undertook public health campaigns. (p. 591)

National Association of Manufacturers: An association of industrialists and business leaders opposed to government regulation. In the era of the New Deal, the group promoted free enterprise and capitalism through a publicity campaign of radio programs, motion pictures, billboards, and direct mail. (p. 746)

National Audubon Society: Named in honor of antebellum naturalist John James Audubon, a national organization formed in 1901 that advocated for broader government protections for wildlife. (p. 583)

National Child Labor Committee: A reform organization that worked (unsuccessfully) to win a federal law banning child labor. The NCLC hired photographer Lewis Hine to record brutal conditions in mines and mills where thousands of children worked. (p. 652)

National Consumers’ League: Begun in New York, a national progressive organization that encouraged women, through their shopping decisions, to support fair wages and working conditions for industrial laborers. (p. 629)

national debt: The cumulative total of all budget deficits. (p. 983)

National Defense Education Act: A 1958 act, passed in response to the Soviet launching of the *Sputnik* satellite, that funneled millions of dollars into American universities, helping institutions such as the University of California at Berkeley and the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, among others, become the leading research centers in the world. (p. 842)

National Interstate and Defense Highways Act: A 1956 law authorizing the construction of a national highway system. (p. 857)

National Municipal League: A political reform organization that advised cities to elect small councils and hire professional city managers who would direct operations like a corporate executive. (p. 624)

National Organization for Women (NOW): Women’s civil rights organization formed in 1966. Initially, NOW focused on eliminating gender discrimination in public institutions and the workplace, but by the 1970s it also embraced many of the issues raised by more radical feminists. (p. 909)

National Origins Act: A 1924 law limiting annual immigration from each country to no more than 2 percent of that nationality’s percentage of the U.S. population as it had stood in 1890. The law severely limited immigration, especially from Southern and Eastern Europe. (p. 713)

National Park Service: A federal agency founded in 1916 that provided comprehensive oversight of the growing system of national parks. (p. 583)

National Recovery Administration: Federal agency established in June 1933 to promote industrial recovery during the Great Depression. It encouraged industrialists to voluntarily adopt codes that defined fair working conditions, set prices, and minimized competition. (p. 741)

National Review: A conservative magazine founded by editor William F. Buckley in 1955, who used it to criticize liberal policy. (p. 976)

National Socialist (Nazi) Party: German political party led by Adolf Hitler, who became chancellor of Germany in 1933. The party’s ascent was fueled by huge World War I reparation payments, economic depression, fear of communism, labor unrest, and rising unemployment. (p. 768)

National War Labor Board: A federal agency founded in 1918 that established an eight-hour day for war workers (with time-and-a-half pay for overtime), endorsed equal pay for women, and supported workers’ right to organize. (p. 689)

National Woman Suffrage Association: A suffrage group headed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony that stressed the need for women to lead organizations on their own behalf. The NWSA focused exclusively on women’s rights — sometimes denigrating men of color, in the process — and took up the battle for a federal women’s suffrage amendment. (p. 486)

National Woman’s Party: A political party founded in 1916 that fought for an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in the early twentieth century. (p. 695)

nativist movements: Antiforeign sentiment in the United States that fueled anti-immigrant and immigration-restriction policies against the Irish and Germans in the 1840s and the 1850s and against other ethnic immigrants in subsequent decades. (p. 310)

natural rights: The rights to life, liberty, and property. According to the English philosopher John Locke in *Two Treatises of*

Government (1690), political authority was not given by God to monarchs. Instead, it derived from social compacts that people made to preserve their natural rights. (p. 127)

natural selection: Charles Darwin's theory that when individual members of a species are born with random genetic mutations that better suit them for their environment—for example, camouflage coloring for a moth—these characteristics, since they are genetically transmissible, become dominant in future generations. (p. 594)

naturalism: A literary movement that suggested that human beings were not so much rational agents and shapers of their own destinies as blind victims of forces beyond their control. (p. 594)

Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts: Three laws passed in 1798 that limited individual rights and threatened the fledgling party system. The Naturalization Act lengthened the residency requirement for citizenship, the Alien Act authorized the deportation of foreigners, and the Sedition Act prohibited the publication of insults or malicious attacks on the president or members of Congress. (p. 224)

Navigation Acts: English laws passed, beginning in the 1650s and 1660s, requiring that certain English colonial goods be shipped through English ports on English ships manned primarily by English sailors in order to benefit English merchants, shippers, and seamen. (p. 83)

Negro Leagues: All-African American professional baseball teams where black men could showcase athletic ability and race pride. The leagues thrived until the desegregation of baseball after World War II. (p. 581)

neo-Europeans: Term for colonies in which colonists sought to replicate, or at least approximate, economies and social structures they knew at home. (p. 40)

"neomercantilist": A system of government-assisted economic development embraced by republican state legislatures throughout the nation, especially in the Northeast. This system of activist government encouraged private entrepreneurs to seek individual opportunity and the public welfare through market exchange. (p. 250)

Neutrality Act of 1935: Legislation that sought to avoid entanglement in foreign wars while protecting trade. It imposed an embargo on selling arms to warring countries and declared that Americans traveling on the ships of belligerent nations did so at their own risk. (p. 769)

New Jersey Plan: Alternative to the Virginia Plan drafted by delegates from small states, retaining the confederation's single-house congress with one vote per state. It shared with the Virginia Plan enhanced congressional powers to raise revenue, control commerce, and make binding requisitions on the states. (p. 206)

New Left: A term applied to radical students of the 1960s and 1970s, distinguishing their activism from the Old Left—the communists and socialists of the 1930s and 1940s who tended to focus on economic and labor questions rather than cultural issues. (p. 914)

New Lights: Evangelical preachers, many of them influenced by John Wesley, the founder of English Methodism, and George

Whitefield, the charismatic itinerant preacher who brought his message to Britain's American colonies. They decried a Christian faith that was merely intellectual and emphasized the importance of a spiritual rebirth. (p. 132)

"New Look": The defense policy of the Eisenhower administration that stepped up production of the hydrogen bomb and developed long-range bombing capabilities. (p. 826)

New Nationalism: In a 1910 speech, Theodore Roosevelt called for a "New Nationalism" that promoted government intervention to enhance public welfare, including a federal child labor law, more recognition of labor rights, a national minimum wage for women, women's suffrage, and curbs on the power of federal courts to stop reform. (p. 656)

Newlands Reclamation Act: A 1902 law, supported by President Theodore Roosevelt, that allowed the federal government to sell public lands to raise money for irrigation projects that expanded agriculture on arid lands. (p. 651)

1968 Democratic National Convention: A 1968 convention held in Chicago during which numerous antiwar demonstrators outside the convention hall were tear-gassed and clubbed by police. Inside the convention hall, the delegates were bitterly divided over Vietnam. (p. 921)

nonimportation movement: Colonists attempted nonimportation agreements three times: in 1766, in response to the Stamp Act; in 1768, in response to the Townshend duties; and in 1774, in response to the Coercive Acts. In each case, colonial radicals pressured merchants to stop importing British goods. In 1774 nonimportation was adopted by the First Continental Congress and enforced by the Continental Association. American women became crucial to the movement by reducing their households' consumption of imported goods and producing large quantities of homespun cloth. (p. 161)

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA): A 1993 treaty that eliminated all tariffs and trade barriers among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. (p. 1010)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): Military alliance formed in 1949 among the United States, Canada, and Western European nations to counter any possible Soviet threat. (p. 812)

Northwest Ordinance of 1787: A land act that provided for orderly settlement and established a process by which settled territories would become the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It also banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. (p. 201)

notables: Northern landlords, slave-owning planters, and seaport merchants who dominated the political system of the early nineteenth century. (p. 316)

NSC-68: Top-secret government report of April 1950 warning that national survival in the face of Soviet communism required a massive military buildup. (p. 813)

nullification: The constitutional argument advanced by John C. Calhoun that a state legislature or convention could void a law passed by Congress. (p. 324)

Old Lights: Conservative ministers opposed to the passion displayed by evangelical preachers; they preferred to emphasize the importance of cultivating a virtuous Christian life. (p. 132)

Omaha Platform: An 1892 statement by the Populists calling for stronger government to protect ordinary Americans. (p. 643)

open door policy: A claim put forth by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay that all nations seeking to do business in China should have equal trade access. (p. 679)

Operation Rescue: A movement founded by religious activist Randall Terry in 1987 that mounted protests outside abortion clinics and harassed their staffs and clients. (p. 1019)

Operation Rolling Thunder: Massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam authorized by President Johnson in 1965; against expectations, it ended up hardening the will of the North Vietnamese to continue fighting. (p. 911)

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): A cartel formed in 1960 by the Persian Gulf states and other oil-rich developing countries that allowed its members to exert greater control over the price of oil. (p. 938)

Ostend Manifesto: An 1854 manifesto that urged President Franklin Pierce to seize the slave-owning province of Cuba from Spain. Northern Democrats denounced this aggressive initiative, and the plan was scuttled. (p. 431)

The Other America: A 1962 book by left-wing social critic Michael Harrington, chronicling “the economic underworld of American life.” His study made it clear that in economic terms the bottom class remained far behind. (p. 843)

outwork: A system of manufacturing, also known as putting out, used extensively in the English woolen industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Merchants bought wool and then hired landless peasants who lived in small cottages to spin and weave it into cloth, which the merchants would sell in English and foreign markets. (p. 45)

Palmer raids: A series of raids led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on radical organizations that peaked in January 1920, when federal agents arrested six thousand citizens and aliens and denied them access to legal counsel. (p. 709)

pan-Africanism: The idea that people of African descent, in all parts of the world, have a common heritage and destiny and should cooperate in political action. (p. 720)

Panama Canal: A canal across the Isthmus of Panama connecting trade between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and opened in 1914, the canal gave U.S. naval vessels quick access to the Pacific and provided the United States with a commanding position in the Western Hemisphere. (p. 682)

Panic of 1819: First major economic crisis of the United States. Farmers and planters faced an abrupt 30 percent drop in world agricultural prices, and as farmers' income declined, they could not pay debts owed to stores and banks, many of which went bankrupt. (p. 251)

Panic of 1837: Second major economic crisis of the United States, which led to hard times from 1837 to 1843. (p. 334)

Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act: Sweeping 2010 health-care reform bill championed by President Obama that established nearly universal health insurance by providing subsidies and compelling larger businesses to offer coverage to employees. (p. 1031)

patriarchy: A gendered power structure in which social identity and property descend through the male line and male heads of family rule over women and children. (p. 18)

patronage: The power of elected officials to grant government jobs and favors to their supporters; also the jobs and favors themselves. (p. 106)

Peace Corps: Program launched by President Kennedy in 1961 through which young American volunteers helped with education, health, and other projects in developing countries around the world. (p. 832)

Pearl Harbor: A naval base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, that was attacked by Japanese bombers on December 7, 1941; more than 2,400 Americans were killed. The following day, President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. (p. 773)

peasants: The traditional term for farmworkers in Europe. Some peasants owned land, while others leased or rented small plots from landlords. (p. 18)

Pendleton Act: An 1883 law establishing a nonpartisan Civil Service Commission to fill federal jobs by examination. The Pendleton Act dealt a major blow to the “spoils system” and sought to ensure that government positions were filled by trained, professional employees. (p. 638)

Pennsylvania constitution of 1776: A constitution that granted all taxpaying men the right to vote and hold office and created a unicameral (one-house) legislature with complete power; there was no governor to exercise a veto. Other provisions mandated a system of elementary education and protected citizens from imprisonment for debt. (p. 198)

perestroika: The economic restructuring policy introduced by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1980s that contributed, unintentionally, to the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. (p. 993)

perfectionism: Christian movement of the 1830s that believed people could achieve moral perfection in their earthly lives because the Second Coming of Christ had already occurred. (p. 352)

Persian Gulf War: The 1991 war between Iraq and a U.S.-led international coalition that was sparked by the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. A forty-day bombing campaign against Iraq followed by coalition troops storming into Kuwait brought a quick coalition victory. (p. 998)

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act: Legislation signed by President Clinton in 1996 that replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the major welfare program dating to the New Deal era, with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, which provided grants to the states to assist the poor and which limited welfare payments to two years, with a lifetime maximum of five years. (p. 1022)

personal-liberty laws: Laws enacted in many northern states that guaranteed to all residents, including alleged fugitives, the right to a jury trial. (p. 431)

Philipsburg Proclamation: A 1779 proclamation that declared that any slave who deserted a rebel master would receive protection, freedom, and land from Great Britain. (p. 190)

Pietism: A Christian revival moment characterized by Bible study, the conversion experience, and the individual's personal relationship with God. It began as an effort to reform the German Lutheran Church in the mid-seventeenth century and became widely influential in Britain and its colonies in the eighteenth century. (p. 126)

Pilgrims: One of the first Protestant groups to come to America, seeking a separation from the Church of England. They founded Plymouth, the first permanent community in New England, in 1620. (p. 60)

Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey: A 1992 Supreme Court case that upheld a law requiring a twenty-four-hour waiting period prior to an abortion. Although the decision upheld certain restrictions on abortions, it affirmed the "essential holding" in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) that women had a constitutional right to control their reproduction. (p. 1020)

Platt Amendment: A 1902 amendment to the Cuban constitution that blocked Cuba from making a treaty with any country except the United States and gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs. The amendment was a condition for U.S. withdrawal from the newly independent island. (p. 678)

Plessy v. Ferguson: An 1896 Supreme Court case that ruled that racially segregated railroad cars and other public facilities, if they claimed to be "separate but equal," were permissible according to the Fourteenth Amendment. (p. 577)

political machine: A complex, hierarchical party organization such as New York's Tammany Hall, whose candidates remained in office on the strength of their political organization and their personal relationship with voters, especially working-class immigrants who had little alternative access to political power. (p. 619)

political machine: A highly organized group of insiders that directs a political party. As the power of notables waned in the 1820s, disciplined political parties usually run by professional politicians appeared in a number of states. (p. 317)

Popular Front: A small but vocal group of Americans who pushed for greater U.S. involvement in Europe. American Communist Party members, African American civil rights activists, and trade unionists, among other members of the Popular Front coalition, encouraged Roosevelt to take a stronger stand against European fascism. (p. 770)

popular sovereignty: The principle that ultimate power lies in the hands of the electorate. (p. 179)

Port Huron Statement: A 1962 manifesto by Students for a Democratic Society from its first national convention in Port Huron, Michigan, expressing students' disillusionment with the nation's consumer culture and the gulf between rich and poor, as well as a rejection of Cold War foreign policy, including the war in Vietnam. (p. 914)

"positive good" argument: An argument in the 1830s that the institution of slavery was a "positive good" because it subsidized an elegant lifestyle for the white elite and provided tutelage for genetically inferior Africans. (p. 386)

Potsdam Conference: The July 1945 conference in which American officials convinced the Soviet Union leader Joseph Stalin to accept German reparations only from the Soviet zone, or far eastern part of Germany. The agreement paved the way for the division of Germany into East and West. (p. 807)

predestination: The Protestant Christian belief that God chooses certain people for salvation before they are born. Sixteenth-century theologian John Calvin was the main proponent of this doctrine, which became a fundamental tenet of Puritan theology. (p. 22)

Presidential Commission on the Status of Women: Commission appointed by President Kennedy in 1961, which issued a 1963 report documenting job and educational discrimination. (p. 909)

primogeniture: The practice of passing family land, by will or by custom, to the eldest son. (p. 18)

Proclamation of Neutrality: A proclamation issued by President George Washington in 1793, allowing U.S. citizens to trade with all belligerents in the war between France and Great Britain. (p. 219)

producerism: The argument that real economic wealth is created by workers who make their living by physical labor, such as farmers and craftsmen, and that merchants, lawyers, bankers, and other middlemen unfairly gain their wealth from such "producers." (p. 566)

progressivism: A loose term for political reformers—especially those from the elite and middle classes—who worked to improve the political system, fight poverty, conserve environmental resources, and increase government involvement in the economy. Giving their name to the "Progressive Era," such reformers were often prompted to act by fear that mass, radical protests by workers and farmers would spread, as well as by their desire to enhance social welfare and social justice. (p. 624)

prohibition: The ban on the manufacture and sale of alcohol that went into effect in January 1920 with the Eighteenth Amendment. Prohibition was repealed in 1933. (p. 712)

Proposition 13: A measure passed overwhelmingly by Californians to roll back property taxes, cap future increases for present owners, and require that all tax measures have a two-thirds majority in the legislature. Proposition 13 inspired "tax revolts" across the country and helped conservatives define an enduring issue: low taxes. (p. 947)

Proposition 209: A proposition approved by California voters in 1996 that outlawed affirmative action in state employment and public education. (p. 1015)

proprietorship: A colony created through a grant of land from the English monarch to an individual or group, who then set up a form of government largely independent from royal control. (p. 82)

protective tariff: A tax or duty on foreign producers of goods coming into or imported into the United States; tariffs gave U.S.

manufacturers a competitive advantage in America's gigantic domestic market. (p. 510)

Protestant Reformation: The reform movement that began in 1517 with Martin Luther's critiques of the Roman Catholic Church and that precipitated an enduring schism that divided Protestants from Catholics. (p. 22)

Public Works Administration: A New Deal construction program established by Congress in 1933. Designed to put people back to work, the PWA built the Boulder Dam (renamed Hoover Dam) and Grand Coulee Dam, among other large public works projects. (p. 741)

Pure Food and Drug Act: A 1906 law regulating the conditions in the food and drug industries to ensure a safe supply of food and medicine. (p. 629)

Puritans: Dissenters from the Church of England who wanted a genuine Reformation rather than the partial Reformation sought by Henry VIII. The Puritans' religious principles emphasized the importance of an individual's relationship with God developed through Bible study, prayer, and introspection. (p. 61)

Quakers: Epithet for members of the Society of Friends. Their belief that God spoke directly to each individual through an "inner light" and that neither ministers nor the Bible was essential to discovering God's Word put them in conflict with both the Church of England and orthodox Puritans. (p. 82)

Quartering Act of 1765: A British law passed by Parliament at the request of General Thomas Gage, the British military commander in America, that required colonial governments to provide barracks and food for British troops. (p. 157)

race riot: A term for an attack on African Americans by white mobs, triggered by political conflicts, street altercations, or rumors of crime. In some cases, such "riots" were not spontaneous but planned in advance by a group of leaders seeking to enforce white supremacy. (p. 614)

Radical Republicans: The members of the Republican Party who were bitterly opposed to slavery and to southern slave owners since the mid-1850s. With the Confiscation Act in 1861, Radical Republicans began to use wartime legislation to destroy slavery. (p. 463)

ragtime: A form of music, apparently named for its "ragged rhythm," that became wildly popular in the early twentieth century among audiences of all classes and races and that ushered in an urban dance craze. Ragtime was an important form of "cross-over" music, borrowed from working-class African Americans by enthusiasts who were white and middle class. (p. 617)

"rain follows the plow": An unfounded theory that settlement of the Great Plains caused an increase in rainfall. (p. 519)

Reagan coalition: A coalition supporting Ronald Reagan that included the traditional core of Republican Party voters, middle-class suburbanites and migrants to the Sunbelt states, blue-collar Catholics, and a large contingent of southern whites, an electorally key group of former Democrats that had been gradually moving toward the Republican Party since 1964. (p. 981)

Reagan Democrats: Blue-collar Catholics from industrialized mid-western states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois who were

dissatisfied with the direction of liberalism in the 1970s and left the Democratic Party for the Republicans. (p. 982)

realism: A movement that called for writers and artists to picture daily life as precisely and truly as possible. (p. 594)

recall: A pioneering progressive idea, enacted in Wisconsin, Oregon, California, and other states, that gave citizens the right to remove unpopular politicians from office through a vote. (p. 652)

reconquista: The campaign by Spanish Catholics to drive North African Moors (Muslim Arabs) from the European mainland. After a centuries-long effort to recover their lands, the Spaniards defeated the Moors at Granada in 1492 and secured control of all of Spain. (p. 31)

Reconstruction Act of 1867: An act that divided the conquered South into five military districts, each under the command of a U.S. general. To reenter the Union, former Confederate states had to grant the vote to freedmen and deny it to leading ex-Confederates. (p. 482)

Red Scare: A term for anticommunist hysteria that swept the United States, first after World War I, and led to a series of government raids on alleged subversives and a suppression of civil liberties. (p. 708)

"Redemption": A term used by southern Democrats for the overthrow of elected governments that ended Reconstruction in many parts of the South. So-called Redeemers terrorized Republicans, especially in districts with large proportions of black voters, and killed and intimidated their opponents to regain power. (p. 498)

redemptioner: A common type of indentured servant in the Middle colonies in the eighteenth century. Unlike other indentured servants, redemptioners did not sign a contract before leaving Europe. Instead, they found employers after arriving in America. (p. 124)

referendum: The process of voting directly on a proposed policy measure rather than leaving it in the hands of elected legislators; a progressive reform. (p. 652)

Regulators: Landowning protestors who organized in North and South Carolina in the 1760s and 1770s to demand that the eastern-controlled government provide western districts with more courts, fairer taxation, and greater representation in the assembly. (p. 142)

Religious Right: Politically active religious conservatives, especially Catholics and evangelical Christians, who became particularly vocal in the 1980s against feminism, abortion, and homosexuality and who promoted "family values." (p. 976)

"Remember the Maine": After the U.S. battle cruiser *Maine* exploded in Havana harbor, the *New York Journal* rallied its readers to "Remember the *Maine*," galvanizing popular support for the U.S. war against Spain. Evidence of Spanish complicity in the explosion was not found; the likely cause was later found to have been internal to the ship. (p. 675)

Renaissance: A cultural transformation in the arts and learning that began in Italy in the fourteenth century and spread through

much of Europe. Its ideals reshaped art and architecture and gave rise to civic humanism. (p. 20)

Report on Manufactures: A proposal by treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton in 1791 calling for the federal government to urge the expansion of American manufacturing while imposing tariffs on foreign imports. (p. 218)

Report on the Public Credit: Alexander Hamilton's 1790 report recommending that the federal government should assume all state debts and fund the national debt—that is, offer interest on it rather than repaying it—at full value. Hamilton's goal was to make the new country creditworthy, not debt-free. (p. 216)

republic: A state without a monarch or prince that is governed by representatives of the people. (p. 19)

republican aristocracy: The Old South gentry that built impressive mansions, adopted the manners and values of the English landed gentry, and feared federal government interference with their slave property. (p. 386)

republican motherhood: The idea that the primary political role of American women was to instill a sense of patriotic duty and republican virtue in their children and mold them into exemplary republican citizens. (p. 259)

Revenue Act (1942): An act that expanded the number of people paying income taxes from 3.9 million to 42.6 million. These taxes on personal incomes and business profits paid half the cost of World War II. (p. 775)

revival: A renewal of religious enthusiasm in a Christian congregation. In the eighteenth century, revivals were often inspired by evangelical preachers who urged their listeners to experience a rebirth. (p. 129)

rights liberalism: The conviction that individuals require government protection from discrimination. This version of liberalism was promoted by the civil rights and women's movements and focused on identities—such as race or gender—rather than the general social welfare of New Deal liberalism. (p. 868)

Roe v. Wade: The 1973 Supreme Court ruling that the Constitution protects the right to abortion, which states cannot prohibit in the early stages of pregnancy. The decision galvanized social conservatives and made abortion a controversial policy issue for decades to come. (p. 956)

Rome-Berlin Axis: A political and military alliance formed in 1936 between German dictator Adolf Hitler and the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. (p. 769)

Roosevelt Corollary: The 1904 assertion by President Theodore Roosevelt that the United States would act as a "policeman" in the Caribbean region and intervene in the affairs of nations that were guilty of "wrongdoing or impotence" in order to protect U.S. interests in Latin America. (p. 683)

Roosevelt recession: A recession from 1937 to 1938 that occurred after President Roosevelt cut the federal budget. (p. 751)

Root-Takahira Agreement: A 1908 agreement between the United States and Japan confirming principles of free oceanic commerce and recognizing Japan's authority over Manchuria. (p. 682)

royal colony: In the English system, a royal colony was chartered by the crown. The colony's governor was appointed by the crown and served according to the instructions of the Board of Trade. (p. 52)

Rural Electrification Administration: An agency established in 1935 to promote nonprofit farm cooperatives that offered loans to farmers to install power lines. (p. 760)

Rust Belt: The once heavily industrialized regions of the Northeast and Midwest that went into decline after deindustrialization. By the 1970s and 1980s, these regions were full of abandoned plants and distressed communities. (p. 944)

Sabbatarian movement: A movement to preserve the Sabbath as a holy day. These reformers believed that declining observance by Christians of the Sabbath (Sunday) was the greatest threat to religion in the United States. (p. 306)

salutary neglect: A term used to describe British colonial policy during the reigns of George I (r. 1714–1727) and George II (r. 1727–1760). By relaxing their supervision of internal colonial affairs, royal bureaucrats inadvertently assisted the rise of self-government in North America. (p. 106)

Sand Creek massacre: The November 29, 1864, massacre of more than a hundred peaceful Cheyennes, largely women and children, by John M. Chivington's Colorado militia. (p. 527)

Sandinistas: The democratically elected group in Nicaragua that President Reagan accused of threatening U.S. business interests. Reagan attempted to overthrow them by ordering the CIA to assist an armed opposition group called the Contras. (p. 992)

scalawags: Southern whites who supported Republican Reconstruction and were ridiculed by ex-Confederates as worthless traitors. (p. 493)

scientific management: A system of organizing work developed by Frederick W. Taylor in the late nineteenth century. It was designed to coax maximum output from the individual worker, increase efficiency, and reduce production costs. (p. 552)

Scopes trial: The 1925 trial of John Scopes, a biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, for violating his state's ban on teaching evolution. The trial created a nationwide media frenzy and came to be seen as a showdown between urban and rural values. (p. 713)

scorched-earth campaign: A campaign in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia by Union general Philip H. Sheridan's troops. The troops destroyed grain, barns, and other useful resources to punish farmers who had aided Confederate raiders. (p. 468)

Second Bank of the United States: National bank with multiple branches chartered in 1816 for twenty years. Intended to help regulate the economy, the bank became a major issue in Andrew Jackson's reelection campaign in 1832. (p. 325)

Second Continental Congress: Legislative body that governed the United States from May 1775 through the war's duration. It established an army, created its own money, and declared independence once all hope for a peaceful reconciliation with Britain was gone. (p. 176)

Second Great Awakening: Unprecedented religious revival that swept the nation between 1790 and 1850; it also proved to be a major impetus for the reform movements of the era. (p. 271)

Second Hundred Years' War: An era of warfare beginning with the War of the League of Augsburg in 1689 and lasting until the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. In that time, England fought in seven major wars; the longest era of peace lasted only twenty-six years. (p. 88)

secret ballot: Form of voting that allows the voter to enter a choice in privacy without having to submit a recognizable ballot or to voice the choice out loud to others. (p. 393)

Securities and Exchange Commission: A commission established by Congress in 1934 to regulate the stock market. The commission had broad powers to determine how stocks and bonds were sold to the public, to set rules for margin (credit) transactions, and to prevent stock sales by those with inside information about corporate plans. (p. 745)

Sedition Act of 1918: Wartime law that prohibited any words or behavior that might promote resistance to the United States or help in the cause of its enemies. (p. 691)

self-made man: A nineteenth-century ideal that celebrated men who rose to wealth or social prominence from humble origins through self-discipline, hard work, and temperate habits. (p. 304)

Seneca Falls Convention: The first women's rights convention in the United States. Held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, it resulted in a manifesto extending to women the egalitarian republican ideology of the Declaration of Independence. (p. 371)

sentimentalism: A way of experiencing the world that emphasized emotions and a sensuous appreciation of God, nature, and people. Part of the Romantic movement, it spread to the United States from Europe in the late eighteenth century. (p. 258)

separate sphere: A term used by historians to describe the nineteenth-century view that men and women have different gender-defined characteristics and, consequently, that men should dominate the public sphere of politics and economics, while women should manage the private sphere of home and family. (p. 367)

service industries: Term that includes food, beverage, and tourist industries, financial and medical service industries, and computer technology industries, which were the leading sectors of U.S. growth in the second half of the 1980s. This pattern represented a shift from reliance on the heavy industries of steel, autos, and chemicals. (p. 987)

Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944): Popularly known as the GI Bill, legislation authorizing the government to provide World War II veterans with funds for education, housing, and health care, as well as loans to start businesses and buy homes. (p. 781)

sharecropping: The labor system by which landowners and impoverished southern farmworkers, particularly African Americans, divided the proceeds from crops harvested on the landowner's property. With local merchants providing supplies—in exchange for a lien on the crop—sharecropping pushed farmers into

cash-crop production and often trapped them in long-term debt. (p. 491)

Sharon Statement: Drafted by founding members of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), this manifesto outlined the group's principles and inspired young conservatives who would play important roles in the Reagan administration in the 1980s. (p. 918)

Shays's Rebellion: A 1786–1787 uprising led by dissident farmers in western Massachusetts, many of them Revolutionary War veterans, protesting the taxation policies of the eastern elites who controlled the state's government. (p. 204)

Shelley v. Kraemer: A 1948 Supreme Court decision that outlawed restrictive covenants on the occupancy of housing developments by African Americans, Asian Americans, and other minorities. Because the Court decision did not actually prohibit racial discrimination in housing, unfair practices against minority groups continued until passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968. (p. 857)

Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act: The first federally funded health-care legislation that provided federal funds for medical clinics, prenatal education programs, and visiting nurses. (p. 709)

Sherman Antitrust Act: Landmark 1890 act that forbade anticompetitive business activities, requiring the federal government to investigate trusts and any companies operating in violation of the act. (p. 642)

Sierra Club: An organization founded in 1892 that was dedicated to the enjoyment and preservation of America's great mountains (including the Sierra Nevadas) and wilderness environments. Encouraged by such groups, national and state governments began to set aside more public lands for preservation and recreation. (p. 583)

silent majority: Term derived from the title of a book by Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard Scammon (called *The Real Majority*) and used by Nixon in a 1969 speech to describe those who supported his positions but did not publicly assert their voices, in contrast to those involved in the antiwar, civil rights, and women's movements. (p. 926)

Silent Spring: Book published in 1962 by biologist Rachel Carson. Its analysis of the pesticide DDT's toxic impact on the human and natural food chains galvanized environmental activists. (p. 939)

Slaughter-House Cases: A group of decisions begun in 1873 in which the Court began to undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect African American rights. (p. 500)

slave society: A society in which the institution of slavery affects all aspects of life. (p. 388)

"slavery follows the flag": The assertion by John C. Calhoun that planters could by right take their slave property into newly opened territories. (p. 428)

Smoot-Hawley Tariff: A high tariff enacted in 1930 during the Great Depression. By taxing imported goods, Congress hoped to stimulate American manufacturing, but the tariff triggered

- retaliatory tariffs in other countries, which further hindered global trade and led to greater economic contraction. (p. 736)
- Social Darwinism:** An idea, actually formulated not by Charles Darwin but by British philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer, that human society advanced through ruthless competition and the “survival of the fittest.” (p. 594)
- Social Gospel:** A movement to renew religious faith through dedication to public welfare and social justice, reforming both society and the self through Christian service. (p. 600)
- Social Security Act:** A 1935 act with three main provisions: old-age pensions for workers; a joint federal-state system of compensation for unemployed workers; and a program of payments to widowed mothers and the blind, deaf, and disabled. (p. 747)
- social settlement:** A community welfare center that investigated the plight of the urban poor, raised funds to address urgent needs, and helped neighborhood residents advocate on their own behalf. Social settlements became a nationally recognized reform strategy during the Progressive Era. (p. 627)
- socialism:** A system of social and economic organization based on the common ownership of goods or state control of the economy. (p. 351)
- soft power:** The exercise of popular cultural influence abroad, as American radio and movies became popular around the world in the 1920s, transmitting American cultural ideals overseas. (p. 726)
- “Solid South”:** The post-Reconstruction goal—achieved by the early twentieth century—of almost complete electoral control of the South by the Democratic Party. (p. 646)
- Sons of Liberty:** Colonists—primarily middling merchants and artisans—who banded together to protest the Stamp Act and other imperial reforms of the 1760s. The group originated in Boston in 1765 but soon spread to all the colonies. (p. 158)
- South Atlantic System:** A new agricultural and commercial order that produced sugar, tobacco, rice, and other tropical and subtropical products for an international market. Its plantation societies were ruled by European planter-merchants and worked by hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans. (p. 90)
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC):** After the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders formed the SCLC in 1957 to coordinate civil rights activity in the South. (p. 882)
- Specie Circular:** An executive order in 1836 that required the Treasury Department to accept only gold and silver in payment for lands in the national domain. (p. 338)
- spoils system:** The widespread award of public jobs to political supporters after an electoral victory. In 1829, Andrew Jackson instituted the system on the national level, arguing that the rotation of officeholders was preferable to a permanent group of bureaucrats. (p. 318)
- Sputnik:** The world’s first satellite, launched by the Soviet Union in 1957. After its launch, the United States funded research and education to catch up in the Cold War space competition. (p. 842)
- squatter:** Someone who settles on land he or she does not own or rent. Many eighteenth-century settlers established themselves on land before it was surveyed and entered for sale, requesting the first right to purchase the land when sales began. (p. 121)
- squatter sovereignty:** A plan promoted by Democratic candidate Senator Lewis Cass under which Congress would allow settlers in each territory to determine its status as free or slave. (p. 424)
- stagflation:** An economic term coined in the 1970s to describe the condition in which inflation and unemployment rise at the same time. (p. 942)
- Stamp Act Congress:** A congress of delegates from nine assemblies that met in New York City in October 1765 to protest the loss of American “rights and liberties,” especially the right to trial by jury. The congress challenged the constitutionality of both the Stamp and Sugar Acts by declaring that only the colonists’ elected representatives could tax them. (p. 158)
- Stamp Act of 1765:** British law imposing a tax on all paper used in the colonies. Widespread resistance to the Stamp Act prevented it from taking effect and led to its repeal in 1766. (p. 157)
- states’ rights:** An interpretation of the Constitution that exalts the sovereignty of the states and circumscribes the authority of the national government. (p. 324)
- States’ Rights Democratic Party (Dixiecrats):** A breakaway party of white Democrats from the South, formed for the 1948 election. Its formation shed light on an internal struggle between the civil rights aims of the party’s liberal wing and southern white Democrats. (p. 875)
- Stonewall Inn:** A two-day riot by Stonewall Inn patrons after the police raided the gay bar in New York’s Greenwich Village in 1969; the event contributed to the rapid rise of a gay liberation movement. (p. 926)
- Stono Rebellion:** Slave uprising in 1739 along the Stono River in South Carolina in which a group of slaves armed themselves, plundered six plantations, and killed more than twenty colonists. Colonists quickly suppressed the rebellion. (p. 101)
- STOP ERA:** An organization founded by Phyllis Schlafly in 1972 to fight the Equal Rights Amendment. (p. 953)
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC):** A student civil rights group founded in 1960 under the mentorship of activist Ella Baker. SNCC initially embraced an interracial and nonhierarchical structure that encouraged leadership at the grassroots level and practiced the civil disobedience principles of Martin Luther King Jr. As violence toward civil rights activists escalated nationwide in the 1960s, SNCC expelled nonblack members and promoted “black power” and the teachings of Malcolm X. (p. 882)
- Students for a Democratic Society (SDS):** An organization for social change founded by college students in 1960. (p. 914)
- Sugar Act of 1764:** British law that decreased the duty on French molasses, making it more attractive for shippers to obey the law, and at the same time raised penalties for smuggling. The act enraged New England merchants, who opposed both the tax

and the fact that prosecuted merchants would be tried by British-appointed judges in a vice-admiralty court. (p. 155)

Sunbelt: Name applied to the Southwest and South, which grew rapidly after World War II as a center of defense industries and nonunionized labor. (p. 862)

supply-side economics (Reaganomics): Economic theory that tax cuts for individuals and businesses encourage investment and production (supply) and stimulate consumption (demand) because individuals can keep more of their earnings. In reality, supply-side economics created a massive federal budget deficit. (p. 982)

Taft-Hartley Act: Law passed by the Republican-controlled Congress in 1947 that overhauled the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, placing restrictions on organized labor that made it more difficult for unions to organize workers. (p. 819)

talented tenth: A term used by Harvard-educated sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois for the top 10 percent of educated African Americans, whom he called on to develop new strategies to advocate for civil rights. (p. 655)

Tariff of Abominations: A tariff enacted in 1828 that raised duties significantly on raw materials, textiles, and iron goods. New York senator Van Buren hoped to win the support of farmers in New York, Ohio, and Kentucky with the tariff, but it enraged the South, which had no industries that needed tariff protection and resented the higher cost of imported dutied goods. (p. 320)

task system: A system of labor common in the rice-growing regions of South Carolina in which a slave was assigned a daily task to complete and allowed to do as he wished upon its completion. (p. 397)

tax revolt: A movement to lower or eliminate taxes. California's Proposition 13, which rolled back property taxes, capped future increases for present owners, and required that all tax measures have a two-thirds majority in the legislature, was the result of one such revolt, inspiring similar movements across the country. (p. 946)

Tea Act of May 1773: British act that lowered the existing tax on tea and granted exemptions to the East India Company to make their tea cheaper in the colonies and entice boycotting Americans to buy it. Resistance to the Tea Act led to the passage of the Coercive Acts and imposition of military rule in Massachusetts. (p. 168)

Tea Party: A set of far-right opposition groups that emerged during President Obama's first term and gave voice to the extreme individualism and antigovernment sentiment traditionally associated with right-wing movements in the United States. (p. 1031)

Teapot Dome: Nickname for scandal in which Interior Secretary Albert Fall accepted \$300,000 in bribes for leasing oil reserves on public land in Teapot Dome, Wyoming. It was part of a larger pattern of corruption that marred Warren G. Harding's presidency. (p. 710)

teenager: A term for a young adult. American youth culture, focused on the spending power of the "teenager," emerged as a cultural phenomenon in the postwar decades. (p. 847)

Teller Amendment: An amendment to the 1898 U.S. declaration of war against Spain disclaiming any intention by the United States to occupy Cuba. The amendment assured the public that the United States would uphold democracy abroad as well as at home. (p. 675)

Ten Percent Plan: A plan proposed by President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, but never implemented, that would have granted amnesty to most ex-Confederates and allowed each rebellious state to return to the Union as soon as 10 percent of its voters had taken a loyalty oath and the state had approved the Thirteenth Amendment. (p. 480)

tenancy: The rental of property. To attract tenants in New York's Hudson River Valley, Dutch and English manorial lords granted long tenancy leases, with the right to sell improvements — houses and barns, for example — to the next tenant. (p. 116)

tenement: A high-density, cheap, five- or six-story housing unit designed for working-class urban populations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tenements became a symbol of urban immigrant poverty. (p. 614)

Tennessee Valley Authority: An agency funded by Congress in 1933 that integrated flood control, reforestation, electricity generation, and agricultural and industrial development in the Tennessee Valley area. (p. 760)

Tet offensive: Major campaign of attacks launched throughout South Vietnam in January 1968 by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong. A major turning point in the war, it exposed the credibility gap between official statements and the war's reality, and it shook Americans' confidence in the government. (p. 919)

Three Mile Island: A nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where a reactor core came close to a meltdown in March 1979. After the incident at Three Mile Island, no new nuclear plants were authorized in the United States, though a handful with existing authorization were built in the 1980s. (p. 942)

Title IX: A law passed by Congress in 1972 that broadened the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include educational institutions, prohibiting colleges and universities that received federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. By requiring comparable funding for sports programs, Title IX made women's athletics a real presence on college campuses. (p. 925)

"To Secure These Rights": The 1947 report by the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights that called for robust federal action to ensure equality for African Americans. President Truman asked Congress to make all of the report's recommendations — including the abolition of poll taxes and the restoration of the Fair Employment Practices Commission — into law, leading to discord in the Democratic Party. (p. 875)

toleration: The allowance of different religious practices. Lord Baltimore persuaded the Maryland assembly to enact the Toleration Act (1649), which granted all Christians the right to follow their beliefs and hold church services. The crown imposed toleration on Massachusetts Bay in its new royal charter of 1691. (p. 62)

total war: A form of warfare that mobilizes all of a society's resources—economic, political, and cultural—in support of the military effort. (p. 452)

town meeting: A system of local government in New England in which all male heads of households met regularly to elect selectmen, levy local taxes, and regulate markets, roads, and schools. (p. 64)

Townsend Plan: A plan proposed by Francis Townsend in 1933 that would give \$200 a month (about \$3,300 today) to citizens over the age of sixty. Townsend Clubs sprang up across the country in support of the plan, mobilizing mass support for old-age pensions. (p. 747)

Townshend Act of 1767: British law that established new duties on tea, glass, lead, paper, and painters' colors imported into the colonies. The Townshend duties led to boycotts and heightened tensions between Britain and the American colonies. (p. 161)

Trail of Tears: Forced westward journey of Cherokees from their lands in Georgia to present-day Oklahoma in 1838. Nearly a quarter of the Cherokees died en route. (p. 331)

transcendentalism: A nineteenth-century intellectual movement that posited the importance of an ideal world of mystical knowledge and harmony beyond the immediate grasp of the senses. Transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau called for the critical examination of society and emphasized individuality, self-reliance, and nonconformity. (p. 346)

transcontinental railroad: The railway line completed on May 10, 1869, that connected the Central Pacific and Union Pacific lines, enabling goods to move by railway from the eastern United States all the way to California. (p. 508)

trans-Saharan trade: The primary avenue of trade for West Africans before European traders connected them to the Atlantic World. Controlled in turn by the Ghana, Mali, and Songhai empires, it carried slaves and gold to North Africa in exchange for salt and other goods. (p. 23)

Treaty of Ghent: The treaty signed on Christmas Eve 1814 that ended the War of 1812. It retained the prewar borders of the United States. (p. 241)

Treaty of Greenville: A 1795 treaty between the United States and various Indian tribes in Ohio. American negotiators acknowledged Indian ownership of the land, and, in return for various payments, the Western Confederacy ceded most of Ohio to the United States. (p. 226)

Treaty of Kanagawa: An 1854 treaty that, in the wake of a show of military force by U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry, allowed American ships to refuel at two ports in Japan. (p. 510)

Treaty of Paris of 1783: The treaty that ended the Revolutionary War. In the treaty, Great Britain formally recognized American independence and relinquished its claims to lands south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. (p. 196)

Treaty of Versailles: The 1919 treaty that ended World War I. The agreement redrew the map of the world, assigned Germany

sole responsibility for the war, and saddled it with a debt of \$33 billion in war damages. Its long-term impact around the globe—including the creation of British and French imperial “mandates”—was catastrophic. (p. 697)

Triangle Shirtwaist Fire: A devastating fire that quickly spread through the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City on March 25, 1911, killing 146 people. In the wake of the tragedy, fifty-six state laws were passed dealing with such issues as fire hazards, unsafe machines, and wages and working hours for women and children. The fire also provided a national impetus for industrial reform. (p. 629)

tribalization: The adaptation of stateless peoples to the demands imposed on them by neighboring states. (p. 88)

tribute: The practice of collecting goods from conquered peoples. The Aztecs and Incas relied on systems of tribute before they were conquered by Spain; after the conquest, Spanish officials adapted indigenous tribute systems to their own needs by binding Indian labor to powerful men through the *encomienda* and *mita* systems. (p. 8)

Truman Doctrine: President Harry S. Truman's commitment to “support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” First applied to Greece and Turkey in 1947, it became the justification for U.S. intervention into several countries during the Cold War. (p. 809)

trust: A small group of associates that hold stock from a group of combined firms, managing them as a single entity. Trusts quickly evolved into other centralized business forms, but progressive critics continued to refer to giant firms like United States Steel and Standard Oil as “trusts.” (p. 548)

U.S. Fisheries Commission: A federal bureau established in 1871 that made recommendations to stem the decline in wild fish. Its creation was an important step toward wildlife conservation and management. (p. 525)

U.S. v. Cruikshank: A decision in which the Supreme Court ruled that voting rights remained a state matter unless the state itself violated those rights. If former slaves' rights were violated by individuals or private groups, that lay beyond federal jurisdiction. Like the *Slaughter-House Cases*, the ruling undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect African American rights. (p. 500)

“unchurched”: Irreligious Americans, who probably constituted a majority of the population in 1800. Evangelical Methodist and Baptist churches were by far the most successful institutions in attracting new members from the unchurched. (p. 270)

Underground Railroad: An informal network of whites and free blacks in the South that assisted fugitive slaves to reach freedom in the North. (p. 362)

Union League: A secret fraternal order in which black and white Republicans joined forces in the late 1860s. The League became a powerful political association that spread through the former Confederacy, pressuring Congress to uphold justice for freedmen. (p. 493)

unions: Organizations of workers that began during the Industrial Revolution to bargain with employers over wages, hours, benefits, and control of the workplace. (p. 291)

United Farm Workers (UFW): A union of farmworkers founded in 1962 by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta that sought to empower the mostly Mexican American migrant farmworkers who faced discrimination and exploitative conditions, especially in the Southwest. (p. 897)

United Nations: An international body agreed upon at the Yalta Conference, and founded at a conference in San Francisco in 1945, consisting of a General Assembly, in which all nations are represented, and a Security Council of the five major Allied powers—the United States, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union—and seven other nations elected on a rotating basis. (p. 807)

Universal Negro Improvement Association: A Harlem-based group, led by charismatic, Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, that arose in the 1920s to mobilize African American workers and champion black separatism. (p. 719)

USA PATRIOT Act: A 2001 law that gave the government new powers to monitor suspected terrorists and their associates, including the ability to access personal information. (p. 1028)

utopias: Communities founded by reformers and transcendentalists to help realize their spiritual and moral potential and to escape from the competition of modern industrial society. (p. 349)

Valley Forge: A military camp in which George Washington's army of 12,000 soldiers and hundreds of camp followers suffered horribly in the winter of 1777–1778. (p. 189)

vaudeville: A professional stage show popular in the 1880s and 1890s that included singing, dancing, and comedy routines; it created a form of family entertainment for the urban masses that deeply influenced later forms, such as radio shows and television sitcoms. (p. 615)

vertical integration: A business model in which a corporation controlled all aspects of production from raw materials to packaged products. “Robber barons” or industrial innovators such as Gustavus Swift and Andrew Carnegie pioneered this business form at the end of the Civil War. (p. 547)

Veterans Administration: A federal agency that assists former soldiers. Following World War II, the VA helped veterans purchase new homes with no down payment, sparking a building boom that created jobs in the construction industry and fueling consumer spending in home appliances and automobiles. (p. 843)

vice-admiralty court: A maritime tribunal presided over by a royally appointed judge, with no jury. (p. 156)

Vietnamization: A new U.S. policy, devised under President Nixon in the early 1970s, of delegating the ground fighting to the South Vietnamese in the Vietnam War. American troop levels dropped and American casualties dropped correspondingly, but the killing in Vietnam continued. (p. 927)

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions: Resolutions of 1798 condemning the Alien and Sedition Acts that were submitted to the

federal government by the Virginia and Kentucky state legislatures. The resolutions tested the idea that state legislatures could judge the constitutionality of federal laws and nullify them. (p. 225)

Virginia Plan: A plan drafted by James Madison that was presented at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention. It designed a powerful three-branch government, with representation in both houses of the congress tied to population; this plan would have eclipsed the voice of small states in the national government. (p. 205)

virtual representation: The claim made by British politicians that the interests of the American colonists were adequately represented in Parliament by merchants who traded with the colonies and by absentee landlords (mostly sugar planters) who owned estates in the West Indies. (p. 157)

voluntarism: The funding of churches by their members. It allowed the laity to control the clergy, while also supporting the republican principle of self-government. (p. 270)

Voting Rights Act of 1965: Law passed during Lyndon Johnson’s administration that empowered the federal government to intervene to ensure minorities’ access to the voting booth. (p. 891)

Wade-Davis Bill: A bill proposed by Congress in July 1864 that required an oath of allegiance by a majority of each state’s adult white men, new governments formed only by those who had never taken up arms against the Union, and permanent disenfranchisement of Confederate leaders. The plan was passed but pocket vetoed by President Abraham Lincoln. (p. 480)

Wagner Act: A 1935 act that upheld the right of industrial workers to join unions and established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), a federal agency with the authority to protect workers from employer coercion and to guarantee collective bargaining. (p. 747)

Waltham-Lowell System: A system of labor using young women recruited from farm families to work in factories in Lowell, Chicopee, and other sites in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The women lived in company boardinghouses with strict rules and curfews and were often required to attend church. (p. 288)

War and Peace Democrats: Members of the Democratic Party that split into two camps over war policy during the Civil War. War Democrats vowed to continue fighting until the rebellion ended, while Peace Democrats called for a constitutional convention to negotiate a peace settlement. (p. 469)

War Industries Board: A federal board established in July 1917 to direct military production, including allocation of resources, conversion of factories to war production, and setting of prices. (p. 688)

War Powers Act (1941): The law that gave President Roosevelt unprecedented control over all aspects of the war effort during World War II. (p. 773)

War Powers Act (1973): A law that limited the president’s ability to deploy U.S. forces without congressional approval. Congress

passed the War Powers Act in 1973 as a series of laws to fight the abuses of the Nixon administration. (p. 948)

Warren Court: The Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953–1969), which expanded the Constitution's promise of equality and civil rights. It issued landmark decisions in the areas of civil rights, criminal rights, reproductive freedom, and separation of church and state. (p. 930)

Warsaw Pact: A military alliance established in Eastern Europe in 1955 to counter the NATO alliance; it included Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. (p. 812)

Watergate: Term referring to the 1972 break-in at Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., by men working for President Nixon's reelection campaign, along with Nixon's efforts to cover it up. The Watergate scandal led to President Nixon's resignation. (p. 947)

"waving the bloody shirt": A term of ridicule used in the 1880s and 1890s to refer to politicians—especially Republicans—who, according to critics, whipped up old animosities from the Civil War era that ought to be set aside. (p. 638)

Webster v. Reproductive Health Services: 1989 Supreme Court ruling that upheld the authority of state governments to limit the use of public funds and facilities for abortions. (p. 1020)

welfare capitalism: A system of labor relations that stressed management's responsibility for employees' well-being. (p. 708)

welfare state: A term applied to industrial democracies that adopt various government-guaranteed social-welfare programs. The creation of Social Security and other measures of the Second New Deal fundamentally changed American society and established a national welfare state for the first time. (p. 747)

Whigs: The second national party, the Whig Party arose in 1834 when a group of congressmen contested Andrew Jackson's policies and conduct. The party identified itself with the pre-Revolutionary American and British parties—also called Whigs—that had opposed the arbitrary actions of British monarchs. (p. 332)

Whiskey Rebellion: A 1794 uprising by farmers in western Pennsylvania in response to enforcement of an unpopular excise tax on whiskey. (p. 219)

Williams v. Mississippi: An 1898 Supreme Court ruling that allowed states to impose poll taxes and literacy tests. By 1908, every southern state had adopted such measures. (p. 645)

Wilmot Proviso: The 1846 proposal by Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania to ban slavery in territory acquired from the Mexican War. (p. 421)

Wisconsin Idea: A policy promoted by Republican governor Robert La Follette of Wisconsin for greater government intervention in the economy, with reliance on experts, particularly progressive economists, for policy recommendations. (p. 652)

Woman's Christian Temperance Union: An organization advocating the prohibition of liquor that spread rapidly after 1879, when charismatic Frances Willard became its leader. Advocating suffrage and a host of reform activities, it launched tens of

thousands of women into public life and was the first nationwide organization to identify and condemn domestic violence. (p. 589)

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: An organization founded by women activists in 1919; its members denounced imperialism, stressed the human suffering caused by militarism, and proposed social justice measures. (p. 710)

women's liberation: A new brand of feminism in the 1960s that attracted primarily younger, college-educated women fresh from the New Left, antiwar, and civil rights movements who sought to end to the denigration and exploitation of women. (p. 924)

Women's Trade Union League: A labor organization for women founded in New York in 1903 that brought elite, middle-class, and working-class women together as allies. The WTUL supported union organizing efforts among garment workers. (p. 629)

Works Progress Administration: Federal New Deal program established in 1935 that provided government-funded public works jobs to millions of unemployed Americans during the Great Depression in areas ranging from construction to the arts. (p. 749)

World Bank: An international bank created to provide loans for the reconstruction of war-torn Europe as well as for the development of former colonized nations in the developing world. (p. 840)

World Trade Organization (WTO): International economic body established in 1995 through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to enforce substantial tariff and import quota reductions. (p. 1004)

World Wide Web: A collection of interlinked computer servers that debuted in 1991, allowing access by millions to documents, pictures, and other materials. (p. 1012)

Wounded Knee: The 1890 massacre of Sioux Indians by American cavalry at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota. Sent to suppress the Ghost Dance, soldiers caught up with fleeing Lakotas and killed as many as 300. (p. 534)

XYZ Affair: A 1797 incident in which American negotiators in France were rebuffed for refusing to pay a substantial bribe. The incident led the United States into an undeclared war that curtailed American trade with the French West Indies. (p. 223)

Yalta Conference: A meeting in Yalta of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Joseph Stalin in February 1945, in which the leaders discussed the treatment of Germany, the status of Poland, the creation of the United Nations, and Russian entry into the war against Japan. (p. 806)

yellow journalism: A derogatory term for newspapers that specialize in sensationalistic reporting. Yellow journalism is associated with the inflammatory reporting by the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers leading up to the Spanish-American War in 1898. (p. 619)

Yellowstone National Park: Established in 1872 by Congress, Yellowstone was the United States's first national park. (p. 525)

Young Americans for Freedom (YAF): The largest student political organization in the country, whose conservative members defended free enterprise and supported the war in Vietnam. (p. 915)

Young Lords Organization: An organization that sought self-determination for Puerto Ricans in the United States and in the Caribbean. Though immediate victories for the YLO were few, their dedicated community organizing produced a generation of leaders and awakened community consciousness. (p. 894)

Young Men's Christian Association: Introduced in Boston in 1851, the YMCA promoted muscular Christianity, combining evangelism with athletic facilities where men could make themselves "clean and strong." (p. 580)

Zimmerman telegram: A 1917 intercepted dispatch in which German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmerman urged Mexico to join the Central Powers and promised that if the United States entered the war, Germany would help Mexico recover Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Published by American newspapers, the telegram outraged the American public and help precipitate the move toward U.S. entry in the war on the Allied side. (p. 686)

zoot suits: Oversized suits of clothing in fashion in the 1940s, particularly among young male African Americans and Mexican Americans. In June 1943, a group of white sailors and soldiers in Los Angeles, seeking revenge for an earlier skirmish with Mexican American youths, attacked anyone they found wearing a zoot suit in what became known as the zoot suit riots. (p. 783)

Index

A note about the index: Names of individuals appear in boldface; biographical dates are included for major historical figures. Letters in parentheses following pages refer to: (f) figures, including charts and graphs; (i) illustrations, including photographs and artifacts; (m) maps; and (t) tables.

Abbott, John, 262
Abbott, Lyman, 596–597
Abel, Mary Hinman, 554–555
Abenaki Indians, 90
Abernathy, Ralph, 882
Abilene, Kansas, 519
Ableman v. Booth (1857), 431
abolition and abolitionism
 by African Americans, 267–268,
 360–361
 emancipation and, 357
 evangelical, 361–363
 Fugitive Slave Act and, 430–431
 in Kansas, 432(i), 433
 in Massachusetts, 159
 opponents of, 363–364
 tactics of, 362–363
 violence against, 364–365
 women and, 362, 365–366, 370–371
Abolitionist Society (England), 94(i)
abortion and abortion rights
 culture wars, Supreme Court, and, 1020
 feminism and, 925
 feminists vs. conservatives on,
 1018–1019
 harassment at clinics, 1019
Roe v. Wade and, 953–956, 1018
 Supreme Court on, 985, 1018, 1019(i)
Abrams v. United States, 691–694
absolutism
 British, 167
 Hobbes on, 86(i)
abstract art, 541
Abu Ghraib prison, 1029, 1029(i)
Abzug, Bella, 925, 952
academies, for women, 260, 276, 367
Acadia (Nova Scotia), 90, 91(m), 137, 189
Acadia National Park (Maine), 583, 584(m)
accommodation
 by native peoples, 528–529
 by slaves, 100–101, 401
 Washington, Booker, T. and, 587–588
acculturation, of Indian children, 528
Acheson, Dean, 810

ACLU. *See American Civil Liberties Union*
Acoma Indians, 16
Act of Union (1707), 76
activism. *See specific groups and movements*
 of African Americans, 720, 870–875,
 877–894, 895–896, 923–924
antiabortion, 1019
Christian, 962–963
conservative, 975
government, 498
of Japanese Americans, 877
labor, 565–571
of Mexican Americans, 875–877,
 896–897, 923–924
of Native Americans, 897–899
peace, 914
of Puerto Ricans, 894–895
by women, 276, 366, 370, 590, 908–909,
 924–925, 952–956
Adams, Abigail, 202, 264
Adams, Charles Francis, 421, 424
Adams, Henry, 462
Adams, John (1735–1826), 258, 275
 on Boylston, 140, 140(i)
 on central government, 204
 on colonial elites, 105
 death of, 248
 Declaration of Independence and, 178
 election of 1796 and, 223, 225(m)
 election of 1800 and, 225–226, 225(m)
 Enlightenment and, 129
 Haitian Revolution and, 223
 on mixed government and
 republicanism, 198
 Olive Branch Petition and, 177
 on Pennsylvania constitution, 198
 Stamp Act protests and, 158
 Thoughts on Government, 198, 210
 on vice-admiralty courts, 156–157
 as vice president, 216
Adams, John Quincy (1767–1848), 207,
 244
 diplomacy of, 243–244
 election of 1824 and, 318–319, 319(m),
 322(f)
 as president (1825–1829), 319–321
 tariffs and, 320
Adams, Samuel, 168, 174, 176, 210
 Constitutional Convention and, 205
 on parliamentary supremacy, 166–167
 on Shays, 204
Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), 243
Adamson Eight-Hour Act (1916), 662(t), 663
Addams, Jane, 622, 627, 628, 656
 anti-imperialism of, 677
 Democracy and Social Ethics, 652
 in peace movement, 710
Address to the Slaves of the United States of America (Garnet), 363
Adena culture, 11, 12(i)
Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 707–708
Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET), 1012
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, The (Twain), 594
Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The (Twain), 594
advertising
 in 1920s, 721
 for Bell Telephone, 579
 consumerism and, 549, 549(i), 575(i)
 of slaves, 98(i), 99
 to teen market, 847
 on television, 846, 847(i)
AEF. *See American Expeditionary Force*
aerospace industry, 862
AFDC. *See Aid to Families with Dependent Children*
affirmative action, 950–952, 951(i)
 opposition to, 1015–1018
 as reverse discrimination, 1015
affluence, 301–302, 622. *See also prosperity; wealth*
Affluent Society, The (Galbraith), 843
Afghanistan
 Al Qaeda and, 1025, 1027
 Obama and, 1032
 Reagan and, 992
 Soviets and, 977, 993
AFL. *See American Federation of Labor*
AFL-CIO, 897, 932
Africa. *See also specific locations*
 Atlantic slave trade and, 90–92, 93(m)
 decolonization in, 895
 empires in, 23
 Europeans and, 6, 28–29
 foods from, 23
 freed slaves in, 378
 freedom in, 876
 gold in, 23
 heritage from, 99–100
 human origins in, 23
 independence movements in, 826
 laborers from, 55–56
 multiple wives in, 94
 Portugal and, 6, 24(m), 25
 religions in, 25

- Africa (*cont.*)
 religious influences from, 272–273, 395–396
 slave culture and, 395–396, 397
 slave trade and, 23, 29–30, 92–96
 trade in, 28
 World War I and, 685
- African Americans, 323. *See also* civil rights movement; free blacks; freedmen; race and racism; race riots; slaves and slavery
 abolitionism and, 267–268
 Alliance movement for, 569
 Atlanta Compromise and, 587
 as Baptists, 134
 in baseball, 581–582
 blues and, 617–618
 break dancing, rap music, and, 960
 children in families of, 398–399, 398(*i*), 399(*i*)
 churches of, 267, 268, 275(*i*), 495
 in cities, 613–614
 Civil War and, 455, 466, 467(*i*), 470
 communities of, 495–496
 community among, 97–102
 in Continental Army, 190
 as cowboys, 518(*i*), 519
 disenfranchisement of, 257, 591, 645–646, 646(*m*)
 draft violence against, 455
 education for, 587
 as elected officials, 891
 as Exodusters, 520
 in Great Depression, 729, 754–756
 Great Migration of, 613, 669, 694, 694(*i*), 706
 in Greenback movement, 566
 Harlem Renaissance and, 718–720
 institutions of, 493, 495–496
 Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 904–905
 juba dancing of, 359
 labor unions and, 570
 in Lower South, 229(*m*)
 as Loyalists, 200
 lynchings of, 591(*i*), 592, 646, 647(*i*), 755
 Mason, Bridget, 434, 435
 as mayors, 895
 in middle class, 871
 migration by, 613, 669, 694, 694(*i*), 706, 874(*m*)
 music of, 849
 nationalism of, 923–924
 Negro Election Day and, 305
 under New Deal, 754–756
 in New York City, 873–874
 Obama and, 1030
 as officeholders, 493–494
 Populists and, 645
 Protestantism of, 135, 272–273, 395–396
- ragtime and, 617
 as railroad waiters and porters, 576(*i*)
 in Revolutionary War, 190, 192–193, 264–265
 rights of, 657
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., and, 874
 school busing and, 931
 Scottsboro defendants and, 755, 756(*i*)
 segregation and, 577–580, 870–871
 separatism for, 719–720
 as sharecroppers and tenant farmers, 492–493
 in South, 393, 493–494, 498, 645–646, 754
 talented tenth of, 655
 on television, 847, 959(*i*)
 theatrical caricatures of, 356
 Truman and, 874–875
 in urban areas, 863
 voting rights for, 257, 362, 479(*i*), 484–485, 642, 645–646, 696, 884–885
 in War of 1898, 676, 677(*i*)
 Wilson and, 663
 women's organizations of, 591–592
 women's rights and, 924–925
 in workforce, 556
 in World War I, 687–688, 694, 695(*i*)
 after World War I, 706–707
 in World War II, 767(*i*), 780, 780(*i*)
 African Lodge of Freemasons, 267
 African Methodist Episcopal Church, 267, 268, 268(*i*), 275(*i*), 401(*i*), 402, 435, 495
Africans. *See also* African Americans; slave trade; slaves and slavery; West Africa
 in Portugal, 30
 slave trade and, 92–96
 in trans-Saharan slave trade, 30
 transit to Americas, 92(*f*)
 Afrika Korps, 790
 afterlife, in Christianity, 21(*i*)
 Age of Progress, 298
 agencies. *See specific agencies*
 aging. *See pensions*
Agnew, Spiro, 947–948
 agrarianism, of Jefferson, 218–219
 Agricultural Adjustment Act (1938), 741, 746, 750(*t*), 755
 agriculture. *See also* crops; farms and farming; rural areas; *specific crops*
 in 1920s, 721
 in Americas, 8
 in Civil War, 460
 corporate, 758(*i*)
 federal funding for, 569
 of freeholds, 53–54
 maize, 10–11, 15
 Mexican workers for, 781
 New Deal and, 741
- prosperity in, 219
 in South, 297, 395, 557(*m*)
 trade and, 28
- Agriculture Department, 516
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 678
 Aid to Dependent Children, 748
 Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 654, 748–749, 1022, 1023(*i*)
 AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). *See* HIV/AIDS
 air pollution, 553
 Air Quality Act (1965), 907(*t*)
 airplanes, in World War I, 685(*i*)
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1748), 107, 110(*i*)
 Akan states, 24
 Al Qaeda, 1002, 1024–1025
 terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, 1026–1027, 1027(*i*)
 Alabama, 201, 229, 327
 civil rights in, 883–884
 politics and voting in, 393
 Reconstruction and, 499
 secession of, 446, 446(*i*)
 slavery in, 267, 378, 430
 voting rights in, 316, 393
Alabama (ship), 466, 510
 Alamance River, Regulators at, 143
 Alamo, siege of, 391, 392
 Alaska
 ancient migration to, 8, 9(*m*)
 U.S. purchase of, 407, 511
 Albany, 90. *See also* Albany Congress; Albany Plan of Union; Orange, Fort (Albany)
 battle at, 187
Albany Argus, 318
 Albany Congress (1754), 135–136, 169
 Albany Plan of Union (Franklin), 137
 Alcatraz Island, Native American occupation of, 898, 898(*i*)
 alcohol and alcoholism. *See also* prohibition; temperance movement
 beer, German American politics, and, 307
 rejection of, 368–369
 after Revolution, 220–221
 wage earners and, 305, 307–310
 WCTU and, 590
 Alcoholics Anonymous, 368
Alcott, Louisa May, *Little Women* excerpt, 554
 Aleut peoples, 8
Alford, Barney, 398
Alger, Horatio, Jr., 580(*i*)
 Algeria, 231, 895
 Algonquian Indians, 59, 60
 Algonquian-speaking peoples, 12, 56
Ali, Muhammad, 923–924, 924(*i*)
Ali, Sonni. *See* Sonni Ali

- Alien Act (1798), 223–224, 231
 Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), 223–224, 231
 alien enemies, in World War I, 692
 Alien Land Law (California), 877
All in the Family (TV show), 936, 959, 960
Allen, Paul, 989
Allen, Richard, 267–268, 268(*i*), 360, 402
Allen, Thomas, 494
 Alliance, Treaty of (1778), 183(*i*), 190, 196
 alliances. *See also specific alliances*
 colonist-Indian, 80
 defense, 827
 with England, 232–233
 with France, 183(*i*), 187, 189–190
 Indian, 66
 Indian-European, 90
 in World War I, 684
 after World War II, 766, 772, 812
 Allies (World War I), 685, 687
 at peace conference, 697, 697(*i*)
 in Russia, 687
 Allies (World War II), 669, 788–789, 792–793, 794
 in United Nations, 807
 almanacs, 357(*i*)
 “alphabet soup” of federal agencies, 740
Alton Observer, 365
 Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, 541
 amalgamation, 364
 amendments. *See also Bill of Rights; Constitution (U.S.); specific amendments*
 Bill of Rights as, 216
 Reconstruction, 486, 504
 Tallmadge, 268, 269
 America(s). *See also Mesoamerica; specific locations*
 African transit to, 92(*f*)
 Columbian Exchange in, 3, 35, 42, 43, 44(*m*)
 emblem of (1800), 215(*i*)
 empires of, 8–18, 31(*m*)
 Enlightenment in, 128–129
 European colonies in, 42(*f*)
 Native Americans in, 8–18
 as new world, 34
 plantation system in, 35, 46–47, 46(*m*)
 Portuguese in, 26
 Puritan migration to, 61(*m*)
 settlement of, 8, 9(*m*)
 silver from, 27(*i*)
 Spanish in, 31–35, 42–46
 America First Committee, 771
 American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 366, 421
 American Anti-Slavery Society, 362, 363, 366
 American Automobile Association, 725
 American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 713
 American Colonization Society, 267, 362, 378
 American Education Society, 275
 American Enterprise Institute, 976
 American Equal Rights Association, 371(*i*)
 American exceptionalism, 674
 American Expeditionary Force (AEF), 686–687, 688(*m*)
American Family (TV show), 957
 American Federation of Labor (AFL), 569–571, 655, 656, 751–754. *See also AFL-CIO; specific unions*
 in World War I, 707
 American Fur Company, 252, 417
 American GI Forum, 877
 American Indian Movement (AIM), 897–899
 American Indians. *See Native Americans*
 American Party. *See Know-Nothing Party*
 American Philosophical Society, 128
American Progress (Gast), 411(*i*)
 American Protective Association (APA), 600
 American Protective League, 691
 American Psychiatric Association, on homosexuality, 856
 American Public Health Association, 554
 American Purity Foundation, 626(*i*)
 American Railway Union (ARU), 657
 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, 1031
 American Red Cross, 456
 American Renaissance, 346
 American Republican Party, 356–357
 American Revolution. *See Revolutionary War (U.S.)*
 “American Scholar, The” (Emerson), 347
American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses, 362
 American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, 305
 American System (Clay), 319, 320, 333, 418
 Adams, John Quincy, and, 319
 Jackson and, 321, 323, 326, 331
American Temperance Magazine, 369
 American Temperance Society, 310
 American Woman Suffrage Association, 486
 Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), 875
Ames, Adelbert, 500
Amos 'n' Andy (TV show), 847
 Amsterdam, 58
 amusement parks, 541, 615–617, 617(*i*)
 anarchism
 Haymarket affair and, 568
 McKinley assassination and, 650
 Sacco-Vanzetti case and, 709
 Anasazi people, 16, 16(*i*)
 ancestors, West African attitudes toward, 25
 ancient humans. *See also Native Americans; specific groups*
 migration to Americas, 8
Andelin, Helen B., 963
Anders, Bill, 940(*i*)
Anderson, John, 980, 981(*m*)
Anderson, Jourdon, 489
 Andes Mountains region, 8
 empires of, 10, 42
 silver in, 42
 Andover, Massachusetts, 65(*m*)
Andrews, Matthew Page, 503
Andros, Edmund, 85, 86
Angelo, Giovanni (Marchese d’Ossoli), 348(*i*)
 Anglican Church. *See Church of England*
 Anglo-Dutch wars, 88(*t*)
 Anglos
 in mining, 517
 in Southwest, 515
 Angola, 97
 Anguilla, 53
 animals. *See also agriculture; cattle; farms and farming; fur trade*
 in ancient Americas, 9(*m*)
 Columbian Exchange and, 3, 43
 animism, 17
 Anishinaabe people, 15
 annexation
 of Hawaii, 510, 676
 of Mexican lands, 378, 421
 Philippines and, 677–678
 of Texas, 378, 392, 407, 412, 417, 418
 Annexation Club (Hawaii), 676
Anschutz, Thomas P., 552(*i*)
 antebellum era. *See also South*
 dance and social identity in, 358–359
 slave quarters in, 400(*i*)
 southern whites in, 383–391
Anthony, Susan B., 344, 371(*i*), 372–373, 486, 523
 anti-Catholicism, 310–311, 432, 600
 anti-immigration sentiment, 310–311, 432
 anti-imperialism, 677–678, 680
 Anti-Masonic Party, 281, 333–334
 Anti-Saloon League, 692(*i*), 714
 anti-Semitism. *See also Jews and Judaism*
 Frank, Leo, and, 714
 isolationism before World War II and, 769
 of Russia, 562
 in United States, 714, 716, 746(*i*), 792
 antislavery alphabet, 361(*i*)
 Anti-Slavery Conventions of American Women, 362
 antiabortion movement, 1018–1019
 anticolonialism, 826, 827–829

- anticommunism. *See also* communism
 Cold War liberalism and, 818
 isolationism before World War II and, 769
 New Right and, 977
 race and, 875
 Reagan and, 992
 Antietam, Battle of, 445(i), 450–451, 450(m), 452, 464
 Antifederalists, 207, 210
 Antigua, 53
 Antilles, 43, 53
 antipoverty program, of Kennedy, John F., 904
 Antiquities Act (1906), 583, 651, 662(t)
 antiradicalism, after World War I, 708–709
 antirape movement, 952
 antislavery movement, 356, 428–429. *See also* abolition and abolitionism
 radicalism in, 438
 women and, 370(m)
 antitrust laws, 642
 in 1920s, 711
 Roosevelt, T., and, 650–651
 Wilson and, 662
 antiunionism, 754
 antiwar activism, during Mexican War, 421
 antiwar movement (Vietnam War), 914–918, 919, 927–928
 1968 election and, 921–923
 Apache Indians, 8, 17, 416, 533
 Apalachee Indians, 12, 90
 Appalachian Mountain Club, 583
 Appalachian Mountains region
 settlement west of, 156(m), 163–166, 170(m)
 southern whites in, 391
 Appalachian Regional and Development Act (1965), 907(t)
 Appalachian Trail, 761
Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World, An (Walker), 360, 360(i)
 appeasement, at Munich Conference, 770
 Apple Computers, 989, 1010
Appleton, Nathan, 287
 appliances, 577, 760
 in 1920s, 721
 advertising of, 721
 after World War II, 845
 Appomattox Court House, Virginia, Lee's surrender at, 469(m), 474
 apprentices, 291
 apprenticeship, Black Codes and, 481
 Arab Spring, 1032
 Arabs and Arab world. *See also* Islam; Middle East; Muslims
 anti-Western ideology in, 998
 Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 977
 Egypt and, 829
 Israel and, 828–829, 938, 997
 Palestine and, 828
 trade and, 19, 29, 29(m)
 World War I peace conference and, 697
 Arapaho Indians, 416, 527, 532, 534
 Arawak people, 31, 34
Arbenz Guzmán, Jacobo, 828
 architecture, skyscrapers and, 608–609, 609(i)
Architecture of Country Houses, The (Downing), 304(i)
Ardley, Neil, 990–991
 Argentina, bankruptcy and, 1011
 Argonne forest, battle in (World War I), 687
 Arikara Indians, 233, 417
 aristocracy
 of capital, 293
 financial, 474
 of Old South, 383–386
 planters as republican, 386
 aristocratic republicanism, 248, 267(i)
 slavery and, 264–269
Aristotle, 347
 Arizona, 16, 431
 Arkansas, 464
 Reconstruction and, 481, 499
 school desegregation in, 879
 secession and, 448
 slaves freed in, 470
 statehood for, 293
Arkwright, Richard, 287
 Armada, Spanish, England and, 45
 armaments. *See weapons*
 armed forces. *See also* Continental army; military; Navy (U.S.); soldiers; specific battles and wars
 African Americans in, 265, 407, 676, 677(i), 687–688, 706
 in Constitution, 207
 Indian resistance and, 527–528
 in Mexican War, 420, 420(i), 421
 in Philippines, 678
 in Revolutionary War, 184, 265
 in War of 1898, 675, 676
 in World War I, 686–687, 687–688
 armistice, in World War I, 687
 Armory Show (New York City), 598
Armour, Philip D., 460
 arms limitation, 977
 arms race, 826, 842
 Reagan administration and, 992, 995, 995(i)
Armstrong, Louis, 719
 Army-McCarthy hearings, 824–825, 824(i)
 Army of Northern Virginia, 465
 Army of the Potomac, 449, 467
 Army of the Tennessee, 470
Arnold, Benedict, 195
 ARPANET. *See* Advanced Research Projects Agency Network
 arranged marriages, colonial, 117
 arsenal of democracy, U.S. as, 771
 art(s). *See also* literature; music; painting; specific arts and artists; specific forms
 in 1920s, 718–720
 abstract, 541
 African American, 403(i)
 expressionism, 727
 Harlem Renaissance and, 718–720
 museums for, 618–619
 in New Deal, 735(i), 761
 realism in, 594, 595–598, 595(i)
 in Renaissance, 20
 support for, 618
 Art Institute (Chicago), 719(i)
 Article X, of League covenant, 697, 699
 Articles of Confederation, 200–201
 finances under, 201
 Philadelphia Convention and, 205–207
 western land claims and, 202(m)
 Articles of Constitution. *See* Constitution (U.S.)
 artisan republicanism, 291, 292, 292(i), 304
 artisans, 251–254, 284, 292(i)
 colonial, 103, 104–105
 craft workers and, 291–292
 division of labor and, 286
 free blacks as, 402
 Asante people, 93
 Ash Can School, 595, 595(i), 606(i)
 Asia. *See also* East Asia; specific locations
 ancient migrants from, 8
 British Empire in, 153(t)
 containment in, 813–818
 financial crisis in, 1011
 independence movements in, 826
 open door policy in, 678–682
 trade with, 251(i)
 World War I and, 685
 World War II and, 766, 772–773
 Asian Americans
 population of (2000), 1014(m)
 restrictive covenants for, 857
 in West, 758–759
 Asian immigrants, exclusion and, 560–564, 713
 Asian people, sentiment against, 792
Aspects of Medicine, Nursing, and the Civil War (Tooker), 459
 assassinations. *See* specific individuals
 assemblies. *See also* legislatures
 colonial, 105–106
 middle classes in, 198(f)
 in Pennsylvania, 125–126
 Assemblies of God, 963
 assembly lines, 287, 547, 547(i)
 assimilation, of Indians, 227, 406, 528–532
 Assiniboine Indians, 417
 associated state, business and government in, 710

- Association for the Advancement of Women, 588
- assumption, of war debts, 217
- Astor, John Jacob** (1763–1848), 250, 252, 253
- astronomy, 127
- Aswan Dam, 829
- Atahualpa** (Inca), 35
- Atchison, David R.**, 433
- Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.
See Santa Fe Railroad
- Atherton, Joshua**, 211
- athletics, women's, 925
- Atlanta
- in Civil War, 469, 470, 471(*m*)
 - race riot in, 614, 615(*i*)
- Atlanta Compromise (Booker T. Washington), 587
- Atlantic Charter (1941), 772, 788, 796
- Atlantic* magazine, 983
- Atlantic Ocean region
- abolition of slave trade from, 267
 - British Empire in, 153(*t*)
 - cities in, 300(*m*)
 - English control of, 80–110
 - land values in, 142
 - planters in, 28
 - population movements in, 77
 - slave trade in, 23–25, 90–92, 93(*m*), 266, 378, 394
 - sugar economy and, 103
- atomic bomb. *See also* nuclear weapons; weapons
- Soviet, 813
 - Truman and, 793–795
 - in World War II, 793–795, 794(*m*), 796(*i*)
- Atwater, Jesse**, 250
- Atwater, Lee**, 996
- auctions, slave, 380
- Audubon, John James**, 583
- Auschwitz, 792
- Austin, Mary**, 583
- Austin, Moses**, 391
- Austin, Stephen F.**, 391
- Australia, 426, 792
- gold rush in, 426, 426(*t*)
- Austria, Nazi annexation of, 770
- Austria-Hungary, 557, 684, 685
- authoritarian child rearing, 262
- authoritarianism
- in 1930s, 768
 - in Dominion of New England, 86
- Autobiography* (Franklin), 128, 304
- automobiles and automobile industry, 669, 860
- economic crisis and, 1030
 - expansion of, 725–726, 725(*i*)
 - fuel-efficient, 939
 - suburban growth and, 725
 - after World War II, 845, 857
- autonomy, of workers, 550–551
- “axis of evil,” Bush, George W., on, 1028
- Axis powers (World War II), 670, 769, 773, 788
- Ayer, N. W., and Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 621
- Ayres, Thomas**, 524(*i*)
- Azore Islands, 25, 30, 46
- Aztecs, 8, 10(*m*)
- Cortés and, 31(*m*), 34–35
 - cosmos of, 11(*i*)
 - counterattack against Spanish, 34(*i*)
 - on Moctezuma, 33
- Babbitt (Lewis)**, 721
- Babcock, Orville**, 498
- baby boom, 843, 845, 850–851
- families and, 957
 - sexual freedom and, 960
 - Social Security and Medicare for, 851
- bachelors, in late 19th century, 618
- Back to Africa movement, 892
- backcountry, 142
- farmers in, 197
 - Lord Dunmore's War and, 175
 - religion in, 114
- Backus, Isaac**, 132, 270
- Bacon, Nathaniel**, and Bacon's Rebellion, 70–71, 71(*i*), 82
- Bad Axe Massacre, 330
- Bahia, sugar mills in, 46
- Baker (Judge)**, 337
- Baker, Ella**, 882, 882(*i*), 890
- Baker, James A., III**, 982
- Baker, Vinny**, 382
- Bakke, Allan**, 951
- Bakke v. University of California* (1978), 951–952, 1015–1016
- Bakker, Jim and Tammy**, 963
- Balboa, Vasco Núñez de**, 34
- Balfour, Arthur**, 698
- Balkan region
- immigrants from, 557
 - World War I and, 684
- Ball, Charles**, 273, 376, 382
- “Ballad for Americans,” 751
- Baltimore (Lords)**. *See* Calvert family
- Baltimore, Maryland, 103, 394, 448
- Baltimore American*, 304
- Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 298
- Baltimore Intelligence*, 403(*i*)
- Baltimore Orioles, 581
- Banca d'Italia, 612
- bank(s) and banking. *See also* economy; Federal Reserve entries; finances
- 1819 Panic and, 251
 - 1837 Panic and, 334–335
 - 1873 depression and, 497–498
 - 1890s depression and, 644, 645
- in 1920s, 721
- Cleveland, Grover, and, 645
- deregulation of, 1011
- in Europe, 19
- farmers and, 565
- financial crisis of 2008 and, 251
- in Great Depression, 728, 736, 739, 741(*t*)
- land banks and, 250
- national system of, 326, 460, 510
- New Deal and, 740
- state, 251, 325, 326
- Wilson and, 662
- in World War I, 688
- bank holiday, 740
- Bank of America, 612
- Bank of England, Panic of 1837 and, 334, 338
- Bank of North America, 250
- Bank of the United States
- First, 218, 250
 - Second, 241–242, 251, 319, 325–326
- Banking Act (1935), 745–746, 750(*t*)
- banknotes, 250, 251, 325, 515
- bankruptcy
- in 1837 panic, 335
 - in 1857 panic, 293
 - in 1890s depression, 644
 - in cities, 938
 - of financial institutions, 1011
 - in Great Depression, 739
 - of Northern Pacific Railroad, 497
 - of railroads, 497
 - after Revolution, 201
- Banneker, Benjamin**, 402
- Bannock Indians, 15
- Banza (Mbanza Kongo), 28(*i*)
- Baptism in Schuylkill River*, 134(*i*)
- Baptists, 134–135, 270–271, 600. *See also* evangelicals and evangelicalism
- African American, 269
 - “Free Will,” 274
 - Great Awakening and, 132
 - in South, 390
 - women as, 276
- Barbados, 53, 57, 90
- disease in, 54
 - slaves in, 55, 91
 - sugar in, 91
- Barbary States, 231
- barbed wire, 519, 519(*i*)
- Barker, Penelope**, 162(*i*)
- Barland, David**, 402
- Barlow, Wilson, Primrose, and West's Mammoth Minstrels, 359(*i*)
- Barnard, Francis**, 157
- Barnum, P. T.**, 356, 577
- barrios, 875, 897
- Barrow Plantation (1860, 1881), 491(*m*)
- Barry, James Buckner**, 390

- Barry, Leonora**, 567
 barter systems, 728
Barton, Clara, 456
Bartov, Hanoch, 860
Baruch, Bernard, 688, 740, 813
 baseball
 desegregation of, 581, 874
 growth of, 581–582
 Bataan “death march,” 792
Batista, Fulgencio, 830
Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas . . ., 451(i)
 “Battle of Seattle,” 1004, 1004(i)
 battles. *See specific battles and wars*
 Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system, 906
 Bay of Pigs, Cuba, 830–831
Bayard, James, 225–226
Baylies, Francis, 410
Beal, Frances, 892
Beals, Melba Patillo, 853
Beame, Abraham, 945, 945(i)
 Bear Flag Republic, 420
Beard, Henry (1811–1893), 390(i)
Beard, Ithamar A., 304
 Beatles, 918
 Beats, 849
Beauregard, P. G. T., 449, 452
 Beauséjour, Fort, 137
Beaver (ship), 168
 Beaver Wars, 60
 bebop, 849
Beck, Roy, 1016
Becker, Joseph, 350(i)
Beckley, John, 235
Beckwith, Abijah, 421
Beecher family. *See also* Stowe, Harriet Beecher
 Catharine, 308, 327, 336, 367, 370
 Henry Ward, 308, 335
 Lyman, 273–274, 305, 308, 368
Beers, David, 853
Begin, Menachem, Camp David accords and, 977
 Beijing, U.S. expeditionary force in, 679, 679(m)
 Belgium
 disintegration of empire, 826
 Nazi invasion of, 771
 in World War I, 684, 685
 in World War II, 791
Bell, Alexander Graham, 550, 577
Bell, John, 439(i)
 Bell Telephone, 548
 advertisement from, 579
Belle, Anne, 456(i)
 Belleau Wood, Battle of, 688(m)
 belligerent power, Confederacy as, 456–457
Bellini, Gentile, 20(i)
Bellow, Saul, 761
Bellows, George, 595, 598
Bellows, Henry W., 344
 Benevolent Empire, 305–306, 316, 336
 benevolent masters, slave owners as, 382, 386
 benevolent reform, 274, 281, 344
Benezet, Anthony, 265
 Benin, 24–25, 27(i), 93
 Bennington, battle at, 185(m), 187
Benton, Thomas Hart, 326, 410
 Bering Strait, land bridge across, 8
 Berkeley, California, Free Speech Movement at, 914, 915(i)
Berkeley, William (Virginia governor), 70
 Berlin
 compared to Chicago, 622
 division of, 812
Berlin, Irving, 618
 Berlin Airlift, 812, 813(i)
 Berlin Wall, 831, 832(i)
 fall of, 994, 996(i)
Bernard, Thomas, 259
Bernhard (Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach), 387
Bernstein, Carl, 947
Berrian, William, 355
 Bethel Church, 268
Bethune, Joanna, 305
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 755, 780
 Bethune-Cookman College, 755
Beulah (TV show), 847
Bevel, James, 891
Beveridge, Albert J., 675
 Bible
 Luther’s translation of, 22
 public school reading of, 930–931
Bible Against Slavery, The (Weld), 362
 Bible Conferences (Niagara Falls), 601
Bible Defence of Slavery (Priest), 362(i)
 Bible Society, 275
 bicameral legislature, Adams, John, on, 198
 bicycling, 583
Biddle, Nicholas, 326
 big business, 543, 546–556, 636
 Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 651(i)
 Big Four, at Versailles, 697(i)
 big government, New Deal and, 734
 Big Three (World War II), 788–789
 at Yalta, 792–793, 795(i), 806–807
 Bight of Benin, 24–25
 bilingual education, 1018(i)
 Bill of Rights, 205(i), 216. *See also* GI Bill of Rights
 “Bill of Rights for Women in 1968,” 909(i)
 bills of credit, 325, 332
 bimetallic standard, 515
bin Laden, Osama, 977, 1002, 1024–1025
 death of, 1032
 terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, and, 1026–1027, 1027(i)
Bingham, Caleb, 263
Bingham, William, 250
 biography, as history, 434–435
- Bird, Caroline**, on Equal Rights Amendment, 955
 Birmingham, Alabama
 church bombing in, 887
 Klan gathering in, 716
 racial violence in, 883, 886(i), 888(i)
Birney, James G., 366, 418
 birth control, 259, 585–586, 728
 in New England, 117
 Sanger and, 628
 birth control pill, 960
Birth of a Nation (movie), 663, 714
 birthrate. *See also* population
 1860–1980, 850(f)
 decline in, 258–259
 Great Depression and, 728
 bison, 12, 15. *See also* buffalo
 decimation of, 518, 525(i)
Black, Hugo, 751
 Black Arts movement, 893
 Black Ball Line, 301
 Black Belt (Chicago), 719(i)
 black belt (South), 379(m)
 black cabinet, of Roosevelt, Franklin, 755
 Black Codes, 481, 494
 Black Death, 18
Black Elk (Sioux), 535
 black English, 397
Black Fox, Joe (Oglala Sioux), 531(i)
Black Hawk (Oglala Sioux chief), 417
Black Hawk (Sauk and Fox Indian chief), 327–330, 327(i)
 Black Hills
 gold discoveries in, 516, 517(m)
 Indian resistance in, 532
Black Joke Al-Ma-Nig, 357(i)
 Black Muslims, 892
 black nationalism, 892–896
 Black Panther Party, 894, 923
 “Black Panther” Tank Battalion, 868
Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (Carmichael and Hamilton), 889
 Black Power movement, 892–896
 civil rights and, 888–889, 888 (i)
 strategy and ideology of, 889, 889(i)
 black Protestantism, 395
Black Reconstruction in America (Du Bois), 504
 “Black Robes,” 56
 black separatism, 719–720
 Black Star Line steamship company, 719–720
Blackboard Jungle (movie), 848
 blackface, 356
 Blackfoot Indians, 417, 757(i)
 blacklist, in Red Scare, 821
 blacks. *See also* African Americans; Africans; slaves and slavery
 color as status measure and, 56

- Blaine, James G.**, 638, 639, 639(*m*)
Blair, Francis Preston, 322
Blanck, Max, 631
Bland, Richard, 156
Bland, Thomas, 528
 Bland-Allison Act (1878), 515
 "Bleeding Kansas," 432–433
 blitzkrieg (lightning war), 766
Block, Sam, 890
 blockade
 in Berlin, 812
 British, 234
 during French Revolution, 219
 in Revolutionary War, 187
 in World War I, 685
 blockade runners, 467(*i*)
Blodget, Samuel Jr., 218
 blood sports, 355–356
Bloomer, Amelia Jenks, 351(*i*)
 blue-collar workers, 549, 550–553, 958, 959, 959(*i*)
 Blue Ridge Parkway, 761
Blues (Motley), 719(*i*)
 blues (music), 617–618
Bly, Nellie (Elizabeth Jane Cochrane), 620–621
 board of customs commissioners, 161
 Board of Trade (England), 87, 106, 137, 152, 161
 boarding schools, for Indian children, 528
Boardman, Elijah (1760–1832), 250(*i*)
Boas, Franz, 718
 Boeing Aircraft Company, 841, 841(*i*)
Boesky, Ivan, 989
 Bolivia, U.S. financial intervention in, 711
 Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 687
 Bolsheviks (Russia), fears of, 707(*i*), 708
 bombs and bombings. *See also specific wars*
 atomic bomb and, 793–795, 813
 hydrogen bomb and, 813, 826
 of Japan, 792
 radicalism and, 568, 644, 708
 of USS *Cole*, 1024, 1024(*i*)
 in Vietnam, 911, 927
 of World Trade Center (1993), 1024
Bonaparte. *See* Napoleon I Bonaparte (France)
Bondra, Virginia J., 785
 bonds, 301
 in Civil War, 460
 government, 335
 Bonus Army, 738–739
 Bonus Bill (1817), 320
Book of Mormon, *The* (Smith), 353
 books. *See* literature; novels; *specific works and authors*
 boom-and-bust cycles, 251, 548
Boone, Daniel, 177, 177(*i*)
 Boonesborough, 177
Booth, John Wilkes, 480
Booth, Junius Brutus, 356
Booth, Nathaniel, 257
 border barons, 712
 border states
 Civil War and, 453(*m*), 454
 emancipation and, 464
 secession and, 448–449
 borders. *See also* boundaries
 expansion of, 148
 of Texas, 419
 Venezuela–British Guiana, 674
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1023
 Bosnian Slavs, 684
 bosses, political, 622, 627
 Boston, 430
 busing in, 931(*i*)
 police strike in, 707
 urban renewal in, 863
 Boston Americans (baseball), 581
Boston Guardian, 655
 Boston Manufacturing Company, 288–290, 300
 Boston massacre (1770), 166, 167(*i*)
 Boston Port Bill (1774), 168
 Boston Tea Party, 168–169, 169(*i*)
Boston Transcript, 293
 "botches" (semitrained workers), 292
 Boulder Dam (Hoover Dam), 760, 762(*i*)
 Navajo and, 757
 boundaries. *See also* borders
 1800–1820, 244(*m*)
 disputes over Texas, 393(*m*), 419
 New Mexico–Texas dispute over, 429
 of Oregon, 417–418
 with Spain, 243
 between white settlements and
 Permanent Indian Territory, 416
 bounties, in Civil War, 454, 455(*i*)
Bourrigaud, René, 920
Bow, Clara, 726
Bowdoin, James, 204
Bowers v. Hardwick (1986), 957
 Bowery, New York City, 355
Bowie, Jim, 392
 Boxers (Chinese nationalists), 679
 boxing, 581
 boycott(s)
 of British goods, 158, 160, 170, 171, 174
 grape, 897, 897(*i*)
 Montgomery bus, 881–882
 of Summer Olympics (1980), 977
 against Townshend Act, 161–162
Boyleston, Thomas, 189
Boylston, Nicholas, 140, 140(*i*)
 boys, education for, 586, 587(*t*)
 Bozeman Trail, 528
 Bracero Program, 781, 864, 877(*i*)
Braddock, Edward, 137, 138(*i*)
Bradford, William, 60
Bradstreet, John, 164
Brady, Tom P., 878
 "Brains Trust," of Roosevelt, Franklin D., 740
Branagan, Thomas, 98(*i*)
 branch banks, 241–242
Brandeis, Louis D., 652, 661–662, 694
 Brandeis brief, 652, 653
 Brandy Station, Battle of, 465(*m*)
 Brandywine Creek, battle at, 187
Brant, Joseph ('Thayendanegea), 187(*i*)
 brass, 287
Brauckmiller, John R., 782(*i*)
Brave and Bold (Alger), 580(*i*)
 Brazil, 736
 African slaves in, 92(*f*)
 Cabral in, 35
 European map of, 36(*i*)
 Portugal and, 35
 South Atlantic System and, 90
 sugar colony in, 46–47
Bread Givers (Yezierska), 722–723
 break dancing, 960
Breckenridge, Mary Marvin, 783
Breckinridge, John C., 438–439, 439(*i*)
Breese, Sidney, 325
 Bretton Woods system, 840–841, 942
Brevard, Keziah, 439
Brewer, David J., 649(*i*)
 breweries, 558(*i*), 692, 712
Brezhnev, Leonid, 818, 929
 Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union, 656
Briggs, Charles, 390(*i*)
Briggs, Vernon M., 1017
Brigham, George Caleb, 315(*i*)
Brisbane, Arthur, Fourierism and, 351
Briscoe v. Bank of Kentucky (1837), 332
 Britain. *See* England (Britain)
 British Empire, 91(*m*). *See also* colonies and colonization; Great War for Empire in Americas (1763), 156(*m*)
 disintegration of, 826
 Second, 289
 British Guiana, 674
 British North America, 82–88, 156(*m*). *See also* colonies and colonization; North America; *specific locations*
 diversification of, 77
Brocke, Frank, 693
Brodie, Stephen, 600(*i*)
Brogan, D. W., 776
Brogan, Denis, 737
 Brook Farm, 347
 Brooklyn, 300(*m*), 301
 Brooklyn Dodgers, 874
Brooklyn Eagle, 348, 423
Brooks, Preston, 481
 brothels, 354, 367, 617, 627
 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Randolph and, 780, 872(*i*), 873

- brotherhoods (trade unions), 569–570
- Brown, Albert G.**, 447
- Brown, Henry B.**, 649(*i*)
- Brown, Jerry**, 938
- Brown, John**
- Harpers Ferry raid by, 438
 - Pottawatomie murders by, 433
- Brown, Joseph**, 454
- Brown, Linda**, 878
- Brown, Moses**, 287
- Brown, Susan**, 288
- Brown Berets, 897
- Brown Fellowship Society, 401(*i*)
- Brown University, 133
- Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), 580, 877, 878–879, 879(*m*), 880, 880(*i*), 930
- Brown II* (1955) and, 878
- Browne, Carl**, 637(*i*)
- Brownlow, William G.**, 499
- Brownson, Orestes**, 334
- defense of Catholicism, 308–309
- Bruce, Blanche K.**, 494
- Brush, Charles F.**, 610(*i*)
- Bryan, William Jennings**
- “Cross of Gold” speech, 647, 648(*i*)
 - election of 1896 and, 646–647, 648(*m*)
 - election of 1900 and, 650, 672, 678
 - election of 1908 and, 652
 - at Scopes trial, 713
 - as secretary of state, 672
 - Treaty of Paris and, 678
- Buchanan, James** (1791–1868), 428, 431
- election of 1856 and, 433
 - Mormons and, 354
 - as president (1857–1861), 433, 436
 - secession and, 446
 - as secretary of state, 410, 418, 421, 422
- Buchanan, Patrick**, 1012, 1015
- Buchenwald, 792
- Buchwald, Art**, 852
- Buckingham, John Silk**, 386, 388
- Buckley, William F.**, 976
- Bucktails, 318
- Buddhists, in Vietnam, 833
- budget. *See also* deficit
- defense spending in, 817–818
 - Roosevelt, Franklin D., and, 751
 - surpluses from tariffs, 513
- Buena Vista, Battle of (1847), 420
- buffalo
- Native Americans and, 415, 416, 417
 - slaughter of, 417
- Buffalo, New York, Klansmen in, 716(*t*)
- Buffalo Bill**. *See* Cody, William F. (Buffalo Bill)
- building. *See also* architecture
- decline in, 736
- Bulge, Battle of the, 791
- Bull Moose Party, 657
- Bull Run
- First Battle of (1861), 449, 450(*m*)
 - Second Battle of (1862), 450, 450(*m*), 463(*i*)
- Bulong Zhongjia (China), 197
- Bundy, McGeorge**, 832
- Bunker, Ellsworth**, 927
- Burbank, J. Maze**, 274(*i*)
- Bureau of Corporations, 650, 662(*t*)
- Bureau of Indian Affairs, 525, 529, 532
- AIM seizure of, 898
 - in New Deal, 756, 757
- Bureau of Reclamation, 760
- bureaucracy
- of corporations, 842
 - federal, 408, 751, 983–984
 - of political parties, 619
 - tax, 152
- Bureaus of Labor Statistics (states), 639
- Burford, Anne Gorsuch**, 984
- Burger, Warren**, and Burger Court, 957, 985, 985(*i*)
- Burgoyne, John** (Gentleman Johnny), 185(*m*), 187
- burial mounds
- Adena, 12(*i*)
 - in Cahokia, 11
- Burlingame Treaty (1868), 511, 560–561
- Burma, in World War II, 792
- Burnett, Peter**, 427
- burnings, Indian, 12, 14
- Burnside, Ambrose E.**, 451–452
- Burr, Aaron**, 218(*i*), 225, 225(*m*), 233
- bus boycott
- in Montgomery, 880–882
 - in New York, 873
- Bush, George H. W.** (1924–)
- deficit and, 984(*f*)
 - election of 1988, 996
 - election of 1992 and, 1020, 1021(*m*)
 - foreign policy of, 996–997
 - Iraq and, 1024, 1027–1028
 - Persian Gulf War and, 998, 998(*i*)
 - as president (1989–1993), 996–999
- Bush, George W.** (1946–)
- election of 2000 and, 1025, 1025(*i*)
 - election of 2004 and, 1029
 - Hurricane Katrina and, 1030
 - Iraq War and, 998
 - second term of, 1030
 - September 11, 2001, attacks and, 1026
 - tax cuts by, 1026, 1026(*t*)
- Bush doctrine, 1028
- Bush v. Gore* (2000), 1025
- business. *See also* big business; commerce; corporations; entrepreneurs; merchants; trade; *specific presidents; specific types*
- e-commerce and, 1012
 - elites in, 301–302
- and government in 1920s, 668, 709, 710–711
- horizontal integration in, 548
- management revolution in, 546
- multinationals as, 291
- New Deal and, 746
- overseas expansion of, 669
- in Progressive Era, 663
- tax cut for, 983
- vertical integration in, 541, 547, 548
- in World War I, 688–689
- business cycles, 251, 751
- Business of Recruiting an Army, The* (*Law*), 455(*i*)
- busing, school, 931, 931(*i*)
- Bute** (Lord), 160(*t*)
- Butler, Andrew P.**, 410
- Butler, Benjamin**, 463
- Butler, Pierce**, 206
- Byrd, William II**, 102
- Byrnes, James F.**, 751, 807
- cabinet (presidential), 216
- of Jackson, 322–323
 - of Roosevelt, Franklin D., 632, 740, 771
 - of Tyler, 339
 - women in, 754
- cable cars, 608
- Cabral, Pedro Alvares**, 35
- Caddo Indians, 15
- Cahan, Abraham**, 599
- Cahokia, 11
- Cajuns, Acadians as, 137
- calendar, Christian, 22
- Calhoun, John C.**, 236, 324(*i*), 333(*i*), 421, 430(*i*)
- election of 1824 and, 318–319, 319(*m*)
 - election of 1828 and, 321
 - nullification and, 324
 - as secretary of state, 418
 - on slavery in territories, 428, 436
 - Whigs and, 332–333
- California, 407, 410. *See also* specific locations
- admission of, 428–429
 - affirmative action and, 1015
 - anti-Asian feelings in, 713
 - Bear Flag Republic in, 420
 - bilingual education in, 1018, 1018(*i*)
 - Chinese Americans in, 758
 - cultural pluralism in, 1012
 - farmworkers in, 758, 758(*i*)
 - foreign-born population in, 1013
 - gold rush in, 425–428, 427(*m*), 518
 - growth of, 862
 - Indians of, 414–415, 426–427, 532
 - Japanese Americans in, 758
 - Japanese removal and, 787–788
 - Mexican and Californio land grants in, 427

- Mexican immigrants in, 558(i)
 Mexican War and, 418, 419–420, 421
 migration to, 413–415, 414(m), 759
 military-industrial complex in, 817(m)
 Mormons in, 434, 435
 population of, 428
 Reagan as governor of, 975
 tax revolt in, 947
 in World War II, 783
- California Crossing, South Platte River**
 (Jackson), 415(i)
- “California Suburbia” (Beers), 853
- California Trail, 413, 414(m), 427(m)
- California Workingmen’s Party, 561
- Californios**, 415, 418, 427, 428(i)
- Calley, William**, 928
- Calvert** family, 41(i), 52, 82
Benedict, 87
Cecil, 41(i)
- Calvin, John**, 22
- Calvinists, 273–274
 as Huguenots, 123
 in Netherlands, 44, 45
 in New England, 346
 as Puritans, 22, 60, 62
 in Spanish Netherlands, 44
- Cambodia**
 Vietnam War and, 910(m), 927, 929
 in World War II, 773
- Camden, battle at, 190–191
- Camden and Amboy Railway, 298
- camel, trade and, 23
- Cameron, James** (1817–1882), 394(i)
- Camp, Walter**, 582
- Camp David accords (1978), 977, 997
- camp followers, in Revolution, 186
- camp meetings
 on frontier, 271, 273(m)
 Trollope on, 272
- Campbell, Helen**, 555
- camping, 583
- Canada, 736. *See also* New France
 African Americans in, 264, 360, 362
 boundary with, 244(m)
 British, 139, 153
 French-English wars in, 90
 Indians of, 15
 in Revolution, 185(m), 187
 war hawks and, 236
 War of 1812 and, 237, 240(m)
- canals, 296, 296(m). *See also* Panama Canal;
 Suez Canal
 across Central America, 682–683
 Erie Canal, 293–295, 295(i), 301
 state investments in, 255, 293, 295, 335,
 393
- Canary Islands, 28
- Canassatego** (Onondaga), 80
- Cane Ridge, Kentucky, camp meeting in,
 271, 273(m)
- Cannon, Martha Hughes**, 521
- Canton (Guangzhou), 251(i)
- cap-and-trade legislation, 1032
- Cape Breton Island, 110(i)
- Cape Cod, settlement in, 60
- Cape of Good Hope, 28–29
- Cape Verde Islands, 28, 30, 46
- capital (money)
 aristocracy of, 293
 during Civil War, 460
 for railroads, 512
- capital city. *See* Washington, D.C.
- capitalism
 expansion of, 970
 globalization and, 1004–1005
 railroads and, 511
 republicanism and, 250–256
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., and, 740, 746, 751
 welfare, 708
- Capitalism and Freedom* (Friedman), 976
- Capitol (U.S.), British burning of, 237
- Capone, Al**, 712
- Capra, Frank**, 782
- Captain Bull** (Delaware), 141
- captives, Indian, 17, 18
- Capturing a Sperm Whale* (Page), 303(i)
- caravan trade, in Africa, 23–24
- caravels, 25
- carbon, taxation on emissions, 1032
- careers. *See* employment; jobs; professions
- Carib people, 31, 53
- Caribbean region
 colonies in, 52–53
 Columbus in, 31–34
 European colonies in, 53
 expansionism and, 431
 immigrants from, 1014
 plantation life in, 53–56
 after Revolutionary War, 196
 Spanish in, 31–34, 31(m)
 United States and, 669, 672, 675, 683,
 683(m)
- Carlisle School, 582(i)
- Carlson, Stuart**, 1007(i)
- Carmichael, Stokely**, 882, 889, 890, 892
- Carnegie, Andrew**, 595
 as anti-imperialist, 677
 “Gospel of Wealth, The,” 546
 philanthropy of, 619
 steel industry and, 544
 World War I and, 685
- Carnegie Steel, 582
 Morgan, J. P., and, 548
- Carolina Indians, 47(i)
- Carolinas, 82. *See also* North Carolina;
 South Carolina
 as colonies, 82
 Fundamental Constitutions of, 82
 Indians in, 89
 in Revolutionary War, 191–194, 194(m)
- Carlos, John**, 889 (i)
 carpetbaggers, 493
- Carranza, Venustiano**, 683, 684(i)
- Carroll, Charles**, 97
- cars. *See* automobiles and automobile
 industry
- Carson, Rachel**, 939, 940
- Cartagena, Colombia, 107
- Carter, Jimmy** (James E., 1924–), 950(i)
 as born-again Christian, 950(i), 963
 economy and, 942, 949–950
 election of 1976 and, 949, 975
 election of 1980 and, 980–981, 981(m)
 foreign policy of, 977–980
 human rights and, 977
 Iranian hostage crisis and, 977–980,
 980(i)
 as president (1977–1981), 949–950
- Carter, Landon**, 134
- Cartier, Jacques**, 56
- cartography, 30(i)
- Cartwright, Peter**, 228
- cash-and-carry policy, 769
- cash crops. *See also* crops; specific crops
 in Caribbean region, 53
 tobacco as, 49–52
- Cass, Lewis**, 424–425, 428, 431
- casta system, in Spanish America, 42
- caste system, American, 403
- Castro, Fidel**, 830, 831(m), 864
- casualties. *See specific battles and wars*
- Catawba Indians, 88
- Catherine of Aragon** (England), 44
- Catherine of Braganza**, 82
- Catholicism
 abortion and, 925
 anti-Catholicism and, 310–311, 432
 Beecher, Lyman, on republicanism and,
 308
 Brownson’s defense of, 308–309
 Canada and, 90
 Counter-Reformation and, 22
 in European society, 21–22
 immigrants and, 281, 308, 310, 356,
 598–599
 in Ireland, 124
 Iroquois and, 60
 James II (England) and, 86
 in Maryland, 52, 87
 Protestant challenge to, 43–46
 in Quebec, 169, 170(m)
 reconquista and, 31
 after Revolution, 270
 of Smith, Alfred E., 715–718
 in Spanish America, 43
 working class and, 600
- “Catholicity Necessary to Sustain Popular
 Liberty” (Brownson), 309
- Catlin, George**, 234(i), 327(i), 416(i)
- Cato Institute, 976

- Catron, John**, 365(*i*)
Catskill Messenger, 255
 Catskill Mountains, tourism in, 584
Catt, Carrie Chapman, 695, 696, 710(*i*)
 cattle. *See also* meat-packing industry
 in California, 415, 428
 longhorn, 518, 519
 in New England, 255
 caucus, party, 318
 cavalry, in Civil War, 468
Caverly, Azariah and Eliza, 366(*i*)
 Cayuga Indians, 13, 80, 226
CCC. *See* Civilian Conservation Corps
 cell phones, 1011
 cemeteries, 347, 456
Cemetery Ridge, 465(*m*)
 censorship, British, 127
 censure, of Jackson, 326, 328–329
 Centennial Exposition (Philadelphia, 1876), 574
CENTO. *See* Central Treaty Organization
 Central Africa, slaves from, 97
 Central America. *See also* America(s); Latin America; South America; specific locations
 canal across, 682–683
 Reagan and, 992
 southern expansionists and, 431
 U.S. interventions in, 683
 Central Asia, 997(*m*)
 Central Committee of the Associative Unions (France), 372
 Central Europe, 994, 997(*m*)
 EU and, 1009(*m*)
 central government, 204, 452. *See also* Constitution (U.S.); Government (U.S.)
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 800
 bin Laden and, 1025
 covert operations by, 828
 Cuba and, 830–831
 Iran-Contra affair and, 992
 Iran hostage crisis and, 977
 Reagan and, 992
 Central Labor Union, 624
 Central Pacific Railroad, 460, 508, 512(*i*)
 Central Park (New York City), 388, 626
 Central Powers (World War I), 685, 687
 Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), 827(*m*)
 Central Union Telephone Company, 551(*i*)
 Chaco Canyon, 16
 chain gang, in South, 646
 Chamber of Commerce, 754
Chamberlain, Neville, 770
Chambers, Whitaker, 821
 Chambersburg, raid on, 468
Champlain, Samuel de, 56
 Chancellorsville, Battle of, 464, 465(*m*)
Chandler, Samuel, 117
Channing, William Ellery, 273
Chaplin, Charlie, 721, 726(*i*)
Chaplin, Thomas B., 381
Charbonneau, Toussaint, 233
 charity, Great Depression and, 728, 739
 charity girls, 618
Charles I (England, r. 1625–1649), 60, 63
Charles II (England, r. 1660–1685), 62, 63, 82, 83
Charles, William, 237(*i*)
Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co. (1837), 331–332
 Charleston, 264
 free blacks in, 401(*i*)
 population of, 103
 Revolutionary battle at, 190, 194(*m*)
 society in, 386
 Spanish attack on, 90
 Charlestown, Massachusetts, riots in, 311
 Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina, busing in, 931
 charters
 for banks, 251, 460
 of Connecticut, 62, 85
 corporate, 256, 512
 for First Bank of the United States, 250
 of Massachusetts, 86–87
 of Massachusetts Bay, 60, 85, 86
 of Rhode Island, 62, 85
 for Second Bank of the United States, 325, 326
 state, after Revolution, 201
 by states, 255, 281, 332
 of Virginia Company, 47, 52
Chase, Salmon P., 429, 438, 460, 463
Chastellux (Marquis de), 266
 Château-Thierry, Battle of, 688(*m*)
Chatham, Earl of. *See* Pitt, William
 Chattanooga, 255
 in Civil War, 467, 471(*m*)
 chattel slavery, 40, 381
Chavez, Cesar, 781, 877, 896–897, 897(*i*), 923
Cheever, John, 761
Cheney, Richard (Dick), 1025–1026
 Cherokee Indians, 89, 90, 230, 326, 327, 464, 776
 removal of, 330–331
 Revolution and, 190, 191(*m*), 196
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831), 330
Cherry family, 614(*i*)
Chesapeake (ship), British attack on, 234
 Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, 577, 591
 Chesapeake region
 Bacon's Rebellion in, 70–71
 colonies in, 47–52, 82
 indentured servitude in, 54–55
 plantation life in, 54–56
 settlers in, 48(*m*), 90
 slavery in, 96, 102, 266, 378–381, 381(*i*)
 society in, 41(*i*)
 tobacco in, 54
Chesnut, Mary, 469
Chew, Benjamin, 220
 Cheyenne Indians, 407, 416, 417, 527, 532
 Chicago, 295
 anti-German sign in, 692(*i*)
 Black Belt in, 719(*i*)
 compared to Berlin, Germany, 622
 Democratic National Convention in (1968), 921–922
 department store in, 575(*i*)
 expansion of (1865–1902), 616(*m*)
 Fellowship of Reconciliation in, 873
 fire of 1871, 619
 growth of, 300
 Haymarket Square incident in, 568
 Hull House in, 627–628, 627(*i*)
 immigrants in, 612, 622–623
 McCormick reaper works in, 287, 567–568
 meat-packing industry in, 460, 547(*i*), 629
 race riot in (1919), 707
 railroads in, 296
 segregated housing in, 871
 skyscrapers in, 608–609
 transportation in, 616(*m*)
 Chicago Bears, 582
 Chicago Columbian Exposition (1893), 592–593, 617
Chicago Daily Tribune, election of 1948 and, 819(*i*)
 Chicago school of architecture, 608–609
Chicago Tribune, 704
 Chicago's World Fair. *See* world's fairs
 Chicano Moratorium Committee, 923
 Chicanos/Chicanas
 feminism and, 925
 movement by, 877, 896–897
 nationalism of, 923
 Chickasaw Indians, 230, 235, 326, 331
 Chicopee, textile industry in, 288
 chief executive. *See* presidency; president
Chief Joseph (Nez Perce), 525, 529
 chief justice. *See* Supreme Court (U.S.); specific individuals
 chieftdoms, of Native Americans, 12–13, 17
Child, Lydia Maria, 274
 child care, 777, 855, 925
 child labor, 254, 305, 621
 industrialization and, 556, 556(*i*)
 laws regulating, 654, 707
 progressives and, 652
 in textile mills, 556
 childbearing, 276, 413, 585
 in Chesapeake region, 54
 in Cold War, 850
 in New England, 117

- child rearing
in New England, 116
for republican children, 262, 276
- children
AFDC and, 748–749
Black Codes and, 481
in black families, 398–399, 398(i), 399(i)
in cities, 625(i), 626, 627(i)
Civil War and, 475(i)
domestic slave trade and, 380, 382
in Europe, 18, 19
on farms, 585
middle-class, 303, 366(i)
naming of slave, 397
Native American, 528, 534
public assistance for, 653
raising and educating, 262–263, 262(i)
in single-parent families, 958
as slaves, 266, 377(i), 382, 385, 397, 398, 399(i)
working-class, 305, 586
after World War II, 802, 845
- Children's Bureau, 652, 662(t)
- Chilkat Tlingit Indians, 17(i)
- Chilocco Indian School, 582(i)
- China. *See also* Nationalist Chinese
American silver in, 42
Boxers (nationalists) in, 679
Burlingame Treaty and, 511
civil war in, 814–815
communism in, 814–815, 815(i)
economy in, 999, 1008–1009, 1010
empire of, 197
Japan and, 678–679, 679–682, 768, 772–773
Korean War and, 816, 817
Nike factory in, 1010(i)
Nixon in, 929
open door policy and, 679
Portugal and, 29
Revolution of 1911 in, 682
spheres of influence in, 678–679, 679(m)
trade with, 251(i)
“China lobby,” 814
China Trade (Chinnery), 251(i)
- Chinatown, in San Francisco, 561
- Chinese Americans, 758
- Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 561–564
repeal of (1943), 561, 758, 864
- Chinese immigrants, 407, 567, 1015
California gold rush and, 425
as labor, 511, 561(i)
racism against, 564(i)
as railroad labor, 512(i)
restrictions on, 541, 560–564, 713
- Chinn, Julia**, 365(i)
- Chinn, Mae**, 744(i)
- Chinnery, George** (1774–1852), 251(i)
- Chinook Indians, 16, 17
- Chippewa Indians, 226, 531
- Chiricahua Apache Indians, 533
- Chisholm, Shirley**, 925, 926
- Chittendon, Ebenezer**, 116
- Chivington, John M.**, 527, 528
- Choctaw Indians, 90, 230, 235, 326, 331, 376
- Choice, Not an Echo, A* (Schlafly), 975
- cholera epidemic, 310, 625
- Christian Evangelist, The*, 307
- Christiana, Pennsylvania, antislavery violence in, 431
- Christianity, 21–22. *See also* evangelicals and evangelicalism; revivals and revivalism
black, 269, 272–273
Enlightenment and, 127
in Europe, 21–22
evolution and, 596–597
First Great Awakening and, 129–133
Fourth Great Awakening and, 961–963, 976
- Indians and, 227
in Kongo, 28(i)
muscular, 580
Pietism and, 126
public life and, 978–979
Quakers and, 83
rational, 127
rise of, 21–22
Second Great Awakening and, 248, 262, 271–276, 273(m)
among slaves, 386–387
social thought in, 270
Third Great Awakening and, 275
trade and, 29(m)
in United States and Japan, 601
- Chrysler Corporation, 988–989
- church(es). *See also* religion; specific churches and religions
African American, 267, 268, 495, 871
Christianity and, 21–22
congregations by denomination (1780 and 1860), 271(f)
established, 270
evangelical, 962–963
growth by denomination (1700–1780), 133(f)
republicanism and, 270–271
women and, 116, 390
- Church, Benjamin**, 69
- church and state, separation of, 147, 270, 930–931
- Church of England (Anglican Church), 44. *See also* Episcopalians
legal status of, 270
in Massachusetts, 87
in Massachusetts Bay, 85
Pilgrims and, 60
Puritans and, 61, 61(m), 63
- in South, 133, 134
- in Virginia, 52
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
See Mormons
- Churchill, Winston**, 766
Atlantic Charter and, 772
in Big Three, 788–789
iron curtain speech of, 807
at Tehran conference, 789
at Yalta, 795(i)
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Cigar Makers Union, 570
- Cincinnati, 255, 256(i), 287
- Cincinnati system, in meat packing, 286–287
- CIO. *See* Congress of Industrial Organizations
- circumnavigation of globe, by Drake, 45
- circus, Barnum and, 577
- cities and towns. *See also* seaports; urban areas; urbanization; specific locations
African Americans in, 613–614, 706–707
in Americas before European contact, 13(i)
- bankruptcies and, 938
- as corporate entity, 622
- culture in, 354–356, 615–619
- Cuzco as Inca capital, 8–10
- decline of, 945–946
- of eastern woodlands Indians, 12
- free blacks in, 402
- garbage in, 623(i)
- gay and lesbian communities in, 786
- growth of, 297–301, 541
- immigrants in, 349, 609–613
- industrialization and, 553, 606, 608–615
- Klan in, 715(m)
- major cities in 1840, 300(m)
- Mexicans in, 864
- migrations to, 349, 606, 609, 694
- outdoor relief system in, 623
- political machines in, 541, 619–623
- politics in (1960s–1970s), 895–896
- populations of, 300, 354, 712
- private enterprise in, 619
- progressivism and, 624
- public health reforms in, 625–626
- race riots in, 614
- racism in, 783
- reform mayors in, 624
- segregation in, 871
- small-town America, 722–723
- in South, 394–395
- suburbs and, 608, 838
- urban renewal in, 863
- wealthy in, 301–302
- in World War II, 783–787
- world's largest cities (1800–2000), 611(t)

- citizens and citizenship. *See also* Fourteenth Amendment; Fifteenth Amendment for African Americans, 406, 408, 436, 481 for Asian Americans, 561, 713, 758 in ceded Spanish territories, 678 for Native Americans, 532 public education and, 336–337 after Revolution, 199 voting rights and, 486 “City Beautiful” movement, 626 city-states, Italian, 19–20 City upon a Hill, Massachusetts Bay as, 61–62 *City’s Perils*, *The* (Groetzing), 626–627 civic humanism, 20 civil defense, in Cold War, 805(i) civil liberties, 771 of Japanese Americans, 788 in World War I, 690–694 civil rights affirmative action and, 950–952 African Americans and, 654–655 black nationalism and, 892–896 Black Power and, 888–889, 888 (i) in Cold War, 874–877 freedpeople and, 481 Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 890, 904–905 legislation for, 883–892, 904 for Mexican Americans, 875–877, 896–897 New Deal coalition and, 874–875 police attacks on protesters, 888(i) Popular Front and, 770 school busing and, 931 strategy and ideology, 888–889 struggle for (1941–1957), 870–879 struggle for (1954–1965), 887(m) Truman and, 819, 875 in World War II, 777–781, 780(i) after World War II, 801 Civil Rights Acts of 1866, 481, 484(t), 883 of 1875, 496, 883 of 1957, 883 of 1964, 496, 890, 905, 925 *Civil Rights Cases* (1883), 500 civil rights movement, 504, 868, 879–892. *See also* African Americans; specific leaders Freedom Summer in, 890 Niagara Principles and, 655 origins of, 871–872 rift in, 887 women in, 890(i) civil service. *See also* bureaucracy discrimination in, 663 reform of, 638–639 Civil Service Commission, 638 Civil War (U.S., 1861–1865), 406, 407, 474(m), 475(i) in 1862–1863, 464–466 in 1864–1865, 466–474, 469(m) African Americans in, 407 casualties in, 444, 445(i), 448, 449, 451, 451(i), 452, 455, 458–459, 465–466, 467, 468(i), 474 Crittenden Compromise and, 446–447 in East, 449–452, 450(m) emancipation and, 462–464 events leading to, 446–447, 447(m) financing of, 460–461 Fort Sumter attack and, 447–448 Lee’s surrender at Appomattox Court House, 469(m), 474 mobilization for, 448, 452–462 in North (1863), 465–466, 465(m) Plains Indians and, 526–527 Sherman’s March, 468, 469, 470–471, 471(m) strategy and objectives in, 449–452, 466–467, 468, 470 as total war, 452, 460 Virginia campaign in, 467, 469(m) war debt and, 461, 461(f) in West, 448–449, 452, 453(m), 466–467 women in, 456, 456(i), 461–462, 472–473 civil wars in China, 814–815 in Greece, 808, 809 in Russia, 687 in Spain, 770 Civil Works Administration (CWA, 1933), 741, 750(t), 754 Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 741–744, 745(m), 754, 755, 757, 761 civilians. *See also* home front; specific wars in Civil War, 462(i), 468, 470 in Philippine-U.S. conflict, 678 civilization(s). *See also* specific civilizations African, 23–25 status of (human development theory), 530(t) clans. *See also* specific groups of North American Indians, 15 Clarenbach, Kathryn F., 909(i) Clark, George Rogers, 191 Clark, Laura, 382 Clark, Lewis, 381 Clark, William, 233–234, 235(m) classes. *See also* elites; middle class; wealth; specific groups in Africa, 94 in cities, 612–613 consumer culture and, 577 industrialization and, 301, 540 ruling, 103 Second Party System and, 332–340 in South, 333 tensions among, 284 classical liberalism, 332, 498, 504, 639, 734 Clay, Henry, 236, 307. *See also* American System (Clay) censure of Jackson and, 326, 328–329 Compromise of 1850 and, 429, 430(i) election of 1824 and, 318–319, 319(m) election of 1832 and, 326 election of 1844 and, 418 Missouri Compromise and, 269 National Republicans and, 244 Second Bank of the United States and, 241, 326 slavery and, 267, 381 on turnpikes, 255 War of 1812 and, 241 Whigs and, 332–333 Clay, Lucius, 812 Clayton Antitrust Act (1914), 662, 662(t) Clean Air Act (1970), 942 “clear and present danger” test, 694 Cleaver, Eldridge, 923 Clemenceau, Georges, 697, 697(i), 698 Clemens, Samuel Langhorne. *See* Twain, Mark clergy. *See also* missions and missionaries; specific religions Great Awakening and, 133 Clermont (steamboat), 295 Cleveland, Frances Folsom, 640(i) Cleveland, Grover (1837–1908), 640(i) banking and, 645 Cuban crisis and, 675 election of 1884 and, 638, 639, 639(m) election of 1888 and, 639(m) election of 1892 and, 642 as president (1885–1889), 569, 639 as president (1893–1897), 644, 645, 674, 676 Pullman strike and, 657 Cleveland, Ohio depression of 1890s in, 624–625 oil refining in, 547–548 climate. *See also* environment in Africa, 23 changes in, 1032 of Oregon, 412 Clinton, Bill (William Jefferson) (1946–) AFDC and, 749 on affirmative action, 1015 balanced budget and, 1021 election of 1992 and, 1020, 1021(m) election of 1996 and, 1023 foreign policy of, 1022–1025 on globalization, 1007 impeachment of, 1022 Iraq and, 1024 as president (1992–1999), 1020–1025 public policy and, 1020–1021 Supreme Court and, 985(i) welfare reform and, 1022, 1023(i) Clinton, De Witt, 236, 293

- Clinton, George**, 109, 207
- Clinton, Henry**, 190, 200(*i*)
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham**, 1021, 1022(*i*), 1030
- Clinton, James**, 191(*m*)
- clocks, interchangeable parts for, 284
- closed shops, 292, 570
- Cloth Merchant, A* (Earl), 250(*i*)
- clothing
- Bloomer and, 351(*i*)
 - fashions of, 585(*i*)
 - of female weavers, 285(*i*)
 - of flappers, 705(*i*)
 - “mourning dresses,” 456
 - sports and women’s, 583
 - of urban youth, 355
- clothing industry
- in New York, 292
 - ready-made, 301
 - women workers in, 305
- Clyde, Lola Gamble**, 693
- coal and coal industry
- as energy source, 287, 546
 - strikes in, 644, 650, 656(*i*), 738
- coaling stations, 408, 676. *See also* refueling stations
- coalition
- conservative, 751
 - Democratic, 781
 - farmer-labor, 569
 - Jeffersonian, 321
 - New Deal, 660, 750, 758, 762–763, 874
 - Reagan, 981–982
 - in World War II, 788–789
- Coast Salish Indians, 16
- coastal trade, of slaves, 380
- Cochrane, Elizabeth Jane**. *See* Bly, Nellie
- Code of Laws (Haiti), 482
- code talkers, in World War II, 776
- codes, slave, 55, 361
- Cody, William F.** (Buffalo Bill), 530, 533, 535
- coeducation, 586, 588
- Coercive Acts (1774), 168, 171(*t*)
- Cofachiqui, Lady of**, 6, 11
- coffles, slave trade and, 380–381
- Cohan, George M.**, 686
- coins, Portuguese gold, 27(*i*)
- Cold Harbor, Battle of, 467, 468(*i*), 469(*m*)
- Cold War, 800, 805(*i*). *See also* Vietnam War (1961–1975)
- 1945–1963, 804–838
 - arms race in, 826
 - Berlin Wall and, 831, 994, 996(*i*)
 - civil rights in, 874–877
 - colonial independence and, 827–829
 - Cuba and, 830–832, 831(*m*)
 - defense treaties in, 827(*m*)
 - end of, 986, 989–995
 - in Europe (1955), 808(*m*)
- events leading to, 795, 806–807
- families in, 850–856
- foreign policy after, 1023–1025
- global, 810–811
- global leadership and, 801
- intervention during, 801
- liberalism in, 818–826
- Middle East after, 996–997
- military-industrial complex in, 817(*m*), 841–842
- multipolar world after, 999
- Nixon and, 838, 929
- nuclear weapons in, 813, 814(*t*)
- Truman and, 809, 810
- Cold Water Army, 307(*i*)
- Colden, Cadwallader**, 159
- Cole, Nathan**, 130
- Cole* (ship), bombing of (2000), 1024, 1024(*i*)
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor**, 346
- Colfax, Louisiana, antiblack violence in, 500
- collective bargaining, 544, 663, 819, 840, 844–845
- collective security, 827(*m*)
- Article X, of League covenant, 697, 699
 - League of Nations and, 768
 - NATO as, 812
- collectivism, Soviet, 768
- Collet, John**, 115(*i*)
- Collier, John**, 756, 757(*i*)
- Collins, R. M.**, 444
- Collins, Samuel W.**, 291
- Colombia, Panama Canal and, 682
- Colón, Jésus**, 694
- colonias* (barrios), 875
- colonies and colonization. *See also* specific locations
- assemblies in, 105–106
 - British North American, 77
 - British power in, 152
 - in Chesapeake region, 54–56
 - England and, 46, 47–52, 82–87, 83(*t*)
 - ethnic and racial diversity in British colonies, 125(*m*)
 - Eurasian trade and, 154(*m*)
 - European in Americas, 42(*f*)
 - by former slaves in Liberia, 267
 - of free blacks in Africa, 264–265, 267, 437
 - German, 697
 - Glorious Revolution and, 86–87
 - Indians of, 15
 - interests in West, 163–166
 - Japan and, 768
 - marriages in, 117
 - mercantilism and, 107–110
 - in Middle East, 1024
 - neo-European, 56–66
 - in New England, 82
 - in North America, 80–110
- plantation, 46–56, 46(*m*)
- Puritans in, 61–62
- Quaker, 121–122
- Reformation and, 22
- rights in, 157
- self-government in, 106, 107–110
- society and, 4
- trade deficit in, 141
- trade in, 152
- transportation in, 126
- of U.S., 669, 678
- in West Indies, 53
- women’s labor in, 118
- in World War I, 685
- after World War I, 672, 697–698, 699
- color of skin, race and, 55
- Colorado
- gay rights in, 1019
 - mining strikes in, 568(*i*)
 - Sand Creek massacre in, 527
 - women’s suffrage in, 592, 593(*m*)
- Colored Farmers’ Alliance, 569
- Colored Orphan Asylum, 455
- Colt, Samuel**, 287
- Columbia, South Carolina, 471, 471(*m*)
- Columbia River region, 412, 412(*m*), 760
- Columbia University, 133
- Columbian Exchange, 3, 35, 42, 44(*m*)
- Columbus, Christopher**, 2, 6, 30(*i*), 31–34
- Columbus, New Mexico, Villa in, 684
- Comanche Indians, 15, 407, 414(*m*), 416, 532, 776
- Comanches Meeting the Dragoons* (Catlin), 416(*i*)
- Combahee River Collective, 924
- combinations, Supreme Court on, 642
- COMECON. *See* Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
- Comfort, Alex**, 960
- comfort women, Korean, 792
- commerce. *See also* trade
- in Constitution, 207, 332
 - consumer culture, 576–580
 - English, 45
 - during French Revolution, 219
 - government control of, 295–296
 - Great Railroad Strike and, 565
 - interstate, 295–296
 - intrastate, 746
 - Napoleonic Wars and, 250, 251
 - railroads and, 296
 - in Renaissance, 20
 - in seaport cities, 103–105
 - South Atlantic System and, 90–92
 - Supreme Court on, 295–296
 - transatlantic, 103
 - in War of 1812, 237
- Commerce Department, in 1920s, 710
- commercial imperialism, British, 106–107
- commercialized sex, 354–355

- Commission, of European Union, 1009(*m*)
 Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service, 875
 Committee on Public Information (CPI), 690–691
 Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 771
 Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), 947
 committees of correspondence, 168
 common law
 colonial resistance and, 159
 combinations in, 292
 common people, politics and, 393
Common Sense (Paine), 177–178
Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (Spock), 851
 commonwealth
 in England, 63, 159
 in New England, 60
 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 994–995, 997(*m*), 1023
 Commonwealth System, 319, 332
 capitalism and, 250–256
 manufacturing and, 286
 public enterprise and, 255–256
Commonwealth v. Hunt (1842), 292
 communal settlements. *See also* utopian communities
 before 1860, 349(*m*)
 rural, 349–354
 Shaker, 349–351
 transcendentalist, 347
 communication(s), global, 1009
 communications technology, 1004–1005
 communism. *See also* McCarthy, Joseph, and McCarthyism
 in Cambodia, 929
 Carter and, 977
 in China, 814–815, 815(*i*)
 in Czechoslovakia, 809
 fall of, 970, 993–995
 Nixon on, 804
 Red Scare and, 708–709, 820–825
 in Russia (1917), 687
 in Vietnam, 828
 after World War II, 807, 808–809
 Communist Labor Party, 708
 Communist Party
 in 1920s, 708
 in Popular Front, 770
 Scottsboro case and, 755
 communities. *See also* communal settlements; utopian communities
 African American, 495–496, 504
 slave, 396–397
 community, African American, 97–100
 community organizing
 by Black Panthers, 894
 by Puerto Ricans, 894–895
 Community Service Organization (CSO), 877, 896
 companionate marriages, 258, 850
 competency, 117
 competition
 Rockefeller and, 548
 Swift and, 547
 trusts and, 661–662
 complex marriage, 352
 Compromise of 1850, 407, 424(*m*), 428–430, 429(*m*), 430–431, 430(*i*), 436(*m*)
 computers. *See also* Internet
 computer revolution and, 842, 989
 personal, 990–991
Comstock, Anthony, 585, 618
 Comstock Act (1873), 585–586
 Comstock lode, 515, 516–517
Comte, Auguste, 597
 concentration camps. *See also* Holocaust in Cuba, 674–675
 Concord, battle at, 175
 condoms, 585
 Conestoga Indians, 142
 Coney Island, 615–617
 confederacies, Native American, 13–15
 Confederacy (U.S., Civil War South). *See also* Civil War (U.S., 1861–1865)
 Confiscation Act and, 463
 debt of, 461
 draft in, 452–454, 471
 economy of, 457(*f*), 460–462
 emancipation and, 449, 464
 enlistment of black soldiers and, 471
 financing of war by, 460–462
 food riots in, 461–462
 “Lost Cause” of, 502–503
 mobilization in, 452–462
 proclamation of, 446
 resources of, 456–460
 secession and, 446, 447–449, 447(*m*)
 women in, 456, 456(*i*), 461–462, 462(*i*), 472–473
 Confederate Congress, 454, 460
 Confederate States of America. *See also* Confederacy (U.S., Civil War South)
Confederate Veteran magazine, 502–503
 Confiscation Acts (1861, 1862), 463
 Congo region, slaves from, 397
 Congregationalism, 62, 270, 271
 New Lights and, 132
 religious beliefs of, 273–274
 women members of, 276
 Congress (U.S.), 206. *See also* Continental Congress; Hundred Days; specific acts
 censure of Jackson by, 326, 328–329
 Eisenhower and, 826
 election of 1980 and, 980–981
 election of 2010 and, 1031
 ex-Confederates in, 481
 First, 216
 vs. Johnson, Andrew, 481–482
 Obama and, 1030–1031
 political realignment in, 949(*t*)
 presidential powers and, 640–641
 Reconstruction and, 481–482, 482–485
 representation in, 638
 slavery in territories and, 428, 436
 Versailles treaty and, 698–699
 Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 751, 781, 786(*i*), 821, 844, 875
 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 780, 870, 873, 882–883
 Congress of Spanish Speaking Peoples, 780–781
 congressional elections. *See* elections
 Connecticut, 65(*m*), 82
 charter of, 62, 85
 colony of, 62
 voting rights in, 316
 western land claims of, 201
 Western Reserve of, 250(*i*)
 Connecticut Land Company, 250(*i*)
Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, A (Twain), 594–595
Connor, Eugene (“Bull”), 883
 conquistadors, 8, 31(*m*), 42. *See also* specific individuals
 conscience, freedom of, 270
Conscience of a Conservative, The (Goldwater), 974–975
 conscience Whigs, 421
 conscription. *See* draft (military)
 conservation
 national monuments and, 583
 in New Deal, 759, 760
 Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 651
 conservatives and conservatism
 1961–1972, 902–933
 1973–1980, 936–963, 964(*i*)
 1980–1991, 969, 972–999
 abortion rights and, 1018–1019
 affirmative action and, 1015–1016
 election of 1980 and, 980–981, 981(*m*)
 family values and, 1018
 grassroots, 975
 New Deal and, 746, 749, 762
 New Right and, 972, 974–981
 political power of, 982–985
 Reagan and, 972, 974, 975–977, 978, 981–989
 religious, 976–977
 on social welfare, 978–979
 Supreme Court and, 930–931, 957
 Young Americans for Freedom and, 915–918
 consolidated government, 320, 323

- Constitution (U.S., 1787), 204–211. *See also* amendments; specific amendments
 contract clause of, 332
 Federalists and Antifederalists on, 207–210
 Great Compromise and, 206
 Jackson and, 323
 Jefferson and, 233
 loose interpretation of, 218
 Madison and, 205(i)
 Marshall and, 241
 Missouri crisis and, 268
 nationalist interpretation of, 324
 nullification and, 324
 privacy and, 979
 ratification of, 207–211, 210(m)
 slavery and, 206–207, 428
 states' rights interpretation of, 324
 strict interpretation of, 218
 constitution(s), 196–198
 of Alabama, 267, 393
 of Confederacy, 446, 449, 454
 of Cuba, 678
 Lecompton, 384, 436
 in Massachusetts (1780), 198
 in New York (1777), 198
 in Pennsylvania (1776), 198
 of Reconstruction governments, 483
 in South Carolina, 198
 state, 257(m), 263, 270, 316, 332, 645
 “Constitution Protects Privacy, The”
 (Anthony Kennedy), 979
 constitutional absolutism, British, 167
 Constitutional Convention (1787), 205–207, 208–209
 constitutional conventions, state, 197
 constitutional monarchy, in England, 87
 Constitutional Union Party, 439(i)
 construction. *See* building
 consumables, taxation of, 152
 consumer credit, 725
 consumer lending, 726
 consumer revolution, 140–141
 consumers and consumerism
 in 1920s, 669
 consumer goods and, 254, 303, 533(i), 550
 culture of, 456, 548–549, 574, 576–580, 669, 721–725
 drop in spending by, 727–728
 retail industry and, 549, 549(i), 575(i)
 World War I and, 699
 after World War II, 843–847
 containment policy, 801, 806–818
 in Asia, 813–818
 domino theory and, 828
 Goldwater on, 975
 in postcolonial world, 826–833
 Continental Army, 184, 186
 African Americans in, 190
- Continental Congress and, 201
 at Valley Forge, 189
 Continental Association (1774), 171
 Continental Congress
 Articles of Confederation and, 200
 finances of, 188–189
 First (1774), 169–170, 171, 175
 Second (1775), 176–177, 184, 196–197
 Continentals (paper money), 188–189, 196
 “contrabands,” 463
 contraception. *See* birth control
 contract(s)
 labor, 844–845
 Supreme Court on, 242
 in World War II, 776
 contract clause, Taney Court and, 332
 Contract with America, 1021–1022
 Contras, 992
Conversations on Common Things (Dix), 367
 conversion. *See also* Christianity; missions and missionaries; specific religious orders
 of African Americans, 134, 273, 395
 of Indians to Christianity, 67
 to Islam, 25
 revivalism and, 271
 in Spain, 31
 convict leasing, 495, 646
Coogan, Jackie, 726(i)
Cook, Alice Sterling, 589(i)
Cooke, Jay, 460, 497
Coolidge, Calvin (1872–1933), 707, 709, 710–711, 720, 729
 election of 1924 and, 711
 on immigration, 713
Cooper, Peregrine F., visiting cards by, 399(i)
Cooper, Thomas, 320
 cooperatives
 Farmers' Alliance and, 569
 Knights of Labor, 567
Copernicus, 127
Copley, John Singleton, 140(i), 199(i)
 copper, 287, 517
 copperheads, 469
 Coral Sea, Battle of the, 792, 793(m)
 Corcoran Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), 618–619
 CORE. *See* Congress of Racial Equality
 corn. *See* maize (corn)
Cornish, Samuel D., 360
Cornwallis, Charles (Lord), 190–191, 194(m), 195
Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers, 707
 corporal punishment, 494
Corporation Take-Over, The (Hacker), 842
- corporations, 663. *See also* business; multinationals
 consolidation of, 721
 contributions to political campaigns, 640
 Jackson and, 321
 multinational, 291, 663, 1010–1011
 outsourcing by, 721, 1010–1011
 in post-Civil War era, 541
 power of, 650, 710, 721, 842
 profits of, 726, 736
 railroads and, 512
 regulation and, 514, 542, 642
 Roosevelt, T., and, 650–651
 technology and, 548
 TV shows sponsored by, 846
 wealth of, 513
 workplace of, 549–550
Corrigan, Michael A., 599
 corrupt bargain, in election of 1824, 319
 corruption
 in democratic politics, 316
 in Grant administration, 497, 498, 501(i)
 under Harding, 710
 in Indian affairs, 526, 529
 in Reconstruction governments, 495, 497
 in urban governments, 619, 622
Cortés, Hernán (1485–1547), 31(m), 32–33, 34–35, 42
 cortisone, 851
Cosmopolitan, 619
 cosmos, Aztec, 11(m)
 cotton and cotton industry, 229–230, 251, 297, 376, 565. *See also* textiles and textile industry
 British emigrants and, 287
 in Civil War, 456–457
 elite planters and, 386
 gang-labor system in, 388
 mechanization in, 290
 production and producers (1800–1860), 378(f)
 Reconstruction and, 487, 492(i)
 sharecropping and, 492
 slavery and, 267, 377(i), 388, 397
 in South, 395
 southern migration and, 229–230
 cotton belt, 294(m)
 cotton gin, 290
 Cotton States Exposition (Atlanta), 587
Coughlin, Charles E., 746(i), 747, 748(m)
 Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), 812
 Counter-Reformation, 22
 counterculture, 918–919, 918(i), 957
 counterrevolution, against Reconstruction, 498–500
 country clubs, 581
 Country Party, in England, 106, 152

- County Courier*, 351(i)
- coups
- in Egypt, 828
 - in Guatemala, 828
 - in Iran, 828
- Court of Justice (EU), 1009(m)
- Court (Kingly) Party, in England, 106
- courts. *See also* Supreme Court (U.S.)
- corporate rights and, 256
 - desegregation cases and, 879(m)
 - economic development and, 514–515
 - federal vs. state, 431
 - juvenile, 628
 - Mexican American land claims and, 515
 - military, in Civil War, 454, 469, 527
 - supremacy of federal, 431
- cousin marriages, 397
- Covenant Chain, 80, 89, 135, 137(i)
- covenant of grace, Hutchinson on, 62
- covenant of works, 62
- covert operations, by CIA, 828
- cowboys, 518(i), 519, 535
- Cowley, Malcolm**, 761
- Cowpens, battle at, 194
- Cox, James M.**, 710
- Coxey, Jacob S.**, 637(i), 645, 737
- Coxey's Army, 637(i), 645
- Crafts, Wilbur**, 704
- craftsmen, 291, 334, 552(i). *See also* artisans
- industrialization and, 290, 291, 541, 550–553
 - trade unions and, 567, 569–570
- Crane, Stephen**, 594, 598
- crash. *See* Great Depression; stock market
- Crawford, William H.**, 318–319, 319(m)
- credibility gap, in Vietnam War, 914
- credit (financial)
- banking and, 250–251, 325
 - consumer, 725
 - for farmers, 391
 - Hamilton on, 216–217
 - Panic of 1837 and, 334
 - for women, 925
- Crédit Mobilier, 498
- Cree-speaking Indians, 56
- Creek Indians, 89–90, 230, 235, 237, 326, 417
- land of, 321, 326–327
 - removal of, 331
- Creoles, 387
- Crèvecœur, J. Hector St. Jean de**, 257
- cricket (sport), 581
- “Crime of 1873,” 515
- criminals, rights of, 930
- Crisis, The* (journal), 655
- Crittenden, John J.**, 446
- Crittenden Compromise, 446–447
- Croatia, 1023
- Crockett, Davy**, 318(i), 392
- Cromwell, Oliver**, 63, 85
- crop-lien laws, 492
- crops. *See also* diet (food); food(s); plants; specific crops
- in Americas, 8
 - on Atlantic islands, 28
 - farm productivity and, 117–120
 - of Great Plains, 521
 - specialty, 757
 - “Cross of Gold” speech (Bryan), 647
- Crow Indians, 15, 16, 417, 531, 532
- crowd actions, colonial, 105–106, 158–159
- Crusades, 22
- Crystal Palace Exhibition (London, 1851), 291
- Cuba, 831(m)
- Bay of Pigs in, 830–831
 - British in, 138
 - expansionism and, 431, 436
 - Platt Amendment and, 678
 - rebellion in (1895), 674–675
 - revolution in (1959), 830
 - in War of 1898, 676, 677
- Cuban missile crisis (1962), 812, 831–832, 833(i)
- Cubans, as refugees, 864–865
- cubism, 598, 598(i)
- Cuffee, Paul**, 402
- cult of mourning, 456
- Cultivator, The*, 291(i)
- cultural conflicts, 669
- cultural diversity. *See* diversity
- cultural pluralism, 632
- culture(s). *See also* art(s); Native Americans; popular culture; specific groups
- African, 23
 - African Americans, 97–100
 - in Atlantic World, 77
 - Cherokee, 327
 - Civil War deaths and, 456
 - consumer, 456, 548–549, 574, 576–580, 669, 721–725
 - contrasts among, 26–27
 - counterculture and, 918–919
 - dissenters in, 848–849
 - Enlightenment and, 126
 - gay subculture and, 618
 - high, 618–619
 - immigration and, 356
 - innovations in, 541
 - masculinity in, 598, 602
 - material success and, 987–989
 - Mesoamerican, 8–10, 9(m)
 - in Middle Atlantic region, 122–124
 - middle-class, 302–303
 - Mississippian, 11–12
 - Native American, 11–16, 416, 528, 534
 - Pietism and, 126
 - of planters, 383–388
 - republican, 248, 256–264
 - Scots-Irish, 124
 - Second Great Awakening and, 280
- Second Party System and, 332–340
- slave, 395–397
- teen, 845
- urban, 281
- in West (1790–1820), 229(m)
- in Western Europe, 19
- working-class, 281
- youth, 618
- culture wars, 712–718, 1012, 1020
- Cumberland, Fort, 138(i)
- Cumberland, Maryland, National Road from, 293
- Cumberland Gap, migration through, 228
- Cumberland River, 452, 453(m)
- Cumming, Kate**, 459
- currency. *See also* money
- bimetallic standard for, 515
 - Chinese vs. U.S., 1009
 - in Civil War, 460
 - colonial, 107–110
 - euro as, 1005–1008
 - Federal Reserve issue of, 662
 - gold standard for, 515
 - paper, 188–189, 189(i)
- Currency Act**
- of 1751, 85(t), 88(t)
 - of 1764, 155
- currency taxes, in Revolutionary War, 196
- curriculum
- fundamentalism and, 713
 - in universities, 587
- Currie, Laughlin**, 820
- Currier, N.**, 307(i)
- Curry, James**, 398
- Curtis, Edward S.**, 529(i), 533(i)
- Custer, George Armstrong**, 532
- customs duties, 152, 155, 161
- Cuyahoga River, pollution of, 939
- Cuzco, as Inca capital, 8–10
- Czechoslovakia, 770, 809, 1023
- Czolgosz, Leon F.**, 650
- D-Day, 451, 789, 789(i), 790–791
- Dachau, 792
- Dahomey, 92–93
- Daily Graphic*, 590(i)
- Dakota Sioux, 526–527, 527(i)
- Dakotas. *See* North Dakota; South Dakota
- Daley, Richard J.**, 921, 932
- dams, 255
- Boulder Dam (Hoover Dam), 757, 760, 762(i)
 - Grand Coulee, 760–761, 762(i)
 - TVA and, 760, 761(m)
- dance
- in African American religion, 395–396
 - in antebellum America, 358–359, 358(i), 359(i)
 - break dancing, 960

- Congo dance, 397
 juba dancing, 359
 Shakers and, 350(*i*)
 social identity and, 358–359
- dance halls, 617
Dancers (Davies), 598(*i*)
 “Danger of High Expectations, The” (Willard), 260
Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry, The (Gilbert Tennent), 133
- Daniel, Jackson**, 464
- Daniels, Lige**, lynching of, 647(*i*)
- Darrow, Clarence**, 606, 713
- Dartmouth** (Lord), 170
Dartmouth (ship), 168
Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819), 242, 332
- Darwin, Charles**, 541
On the Origin of Species, 541, 593–594
- dating (custom), 618
- Daughters of Liberty, 161–162
- Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 591
- Davies, Arthur B.**, 598(*i*)
- Davies, Samuel**, 133
- Davis, David**, 500
- Davis, James H.**, 644
- Davis, Jefferson** (1808–1889)
 as Confederate president, 446, 447, 449, 452, 460, 462, 466, 471
 emancipation and, 464
 expansionism and, 449
 “southern rights” and, 438
- Davis, John W.**, 711
- Davis, Joseph H.**, 345(*i*), 366(*i*)
- Davis, Miles**, 849
- Davis, Robert**, 188
- Dawes, Henry L.**, 532
Dawes Severalty Act (1887), 532, 756
- Dawkins, Henry**, 128(*i*)
 “Days of Rage” (1968–1972), 919–926
- de Grasse** (Admiral), 194(*m*)
- de Kooning, Willem**, 761
- de Lôme, Enrique Dupuy**, 675
- de Soto, Hernando**, 6, 11, 26
- Dearborn Independent*, 714
Death and Life of Great American Cities, The (Jacobs), 859
Death as a Passage to Life (Lippet), 130
 death camps, 792
 death rates. *See* mortality
 debates
 Kennedy-Nixon, 830
 kitchen debate, 838, 840(*i*)
 Lincoln-Douglas, 437–438
 Webster-Hayne (1830), 325(*i*)
- Debs, Eugene V.**
 election of 1912 and, 657–660, 660(*m*)
 Pullman strike and, 657
 World War I and, 691
- debt. *See also* national debt; war debts to Britain, 171
 Chinese ownership of U.S., 1009
 from Civil War, 513
 colonial, 141, 141(*f*)
 consumer, 725
 of farmers, 520
 international, 711
 in North Carolina, 143
 after Revolution, 196, 202
 in sharecropping, 492
 state, 497
 of workers, 305
 debtor nation, 987
 “Declaration for Global Democracy,” 1005
 Declaration of Independence (1776), 178–179, 178(*i*), 197
 Declaration of Rights (England, 1689), 86
 Declaration of Sentiments, 371
 Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms, 176
 Declaratory Act (1766), 160
 decolonization, Third World and (1943–1990), 895(*m*)
 Deep South. *See also* South
 African Americans in, 380
 secession of, 446, 447(*m*)
- Deere, John**, 296
- defense
 alliances for, 827
 Cold War treaties for, 827(*m*)
 Eisenhower and, 826
 in World War II, 775, 783
 defense contractors, 817(*m*)
 Defense Department, 841, 1012
 defense industries, 862
 California growth and, 862
 desegregation of, 872(*i*), 873
 Defense of Marriage Act (1998), 1020
 defense spending, 841–842
 1920–1980, 773(*f*)
 1940–1965, 818(*f*)
 for Korean War, 817–818
 by Reagan, 983
 World War II and, 771
- deficit. *See also* national debt
 Bush, George H. W., and, 984(*f*)
 Clinton and, 1021
 in federal budget, 751, 983, 984(*f*)
 Reagan and, 983, 984(*f*)
- deficit spending. *See also* budget
 Keynesian economics and, 751
 Reagan and, 983
- deflation, 546
- deindustrialization, 942–945
 working families and, 957–960
- deism, 128, 270
- Delaney, Martin**, 402, 479(*i*)
- Delaware, 82, 187, 448, 449
 trusts and, 651
- Delaware (Lenni Lenape) Indians, 13, 83, 89, 135, 142, 190, 191(*m*), 226
- Delaware Iron Works, 296
- Delaware Prophet. *See* Neolin
- Delaware River, in Revolution, 184
- DeLay, Tom**, 1026
- democracy, 314
 Addams on, 652
 Middle East movements for, 1032
 public education and, 336–337
 state constitutions and, 198
 voting rights and, 316
 in Western Europe, 808
 before World War II, 771
 after World War II, 796, 807
- Democracy and Social Ethics* (Addams), 652
- Democracy in America* (Tocqueville), 248, 314, 317, 329
- Democratic National Committee (DNC), headquarters break-in, 947
- Democratic National Convention
 in 1948, 872(*i*)
 in 1964, 890(*i*), 891
 in 1968, 902, 921–922
 in 1972, 932
- Democratic Party, 281, 542. *See also* Democratic National Convention; elections; *specific presidents*
 in 1968, 896
 African Americans and, 657, 755, 874
 in Alabama, 393
 Civil War and, 448, 455, 469
 emancipation and, 464
 expansionism and, 421
 immigrants in, 356, 762
 Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 432
 Ku Klux Klan and, 499
 labor and, 754, 762
 Mexican War and, 421
 New Deal and, 762–763
 Populists and, 646–647
 Reagan Democrats and, 982
 Reconstruction and, 493, 498, 499, 500
 sectionalism in, 431
 slavery in territories and, 429
 in South, 493, 498, 499, 500, 504, 645, 646
 southern Democrats and, 438
- Democratic Republicans (Republicans), 218, 223
 judiciary and, 231
 split in, 241
- Democratic Revolution, 316
- Democrats (Jacksonians), 321, 339–340
 Tyler and, 333
 Whigs and, 332
- demographic transition, 259

- demography
 baby boom and, 850
 Native American population decline and, 35
- demonstrations. *See also* protest(s)
 prowar, 928(i)
 Vietnam Moratorium (1969), 927
 against WTO, 1004, 1004(i)
- Demory House, 124(i)
- Denmark, Nazi invasion of, 771
- Dennison, William**, 448
- department stores, 541, 548–549, 575(i), 577
- departments of government, 216. *See also specific departments*
- deportation
 of Garvey, 720
 of Mexican Americans, 757
 of radicals, 709
- depressions (financial). *See also* Great Depression (1930s); recessions of 1837–1843, 334–335, 335–338 of 1870s, 497–498, 510, 561, 565 of 1890s, 548, 623–624, 637(i), 644–645, 650, 674
 casual laborers in, 304
- deregulation
 under Carter, 950
 financial, 1011
 under Reagan, 983–984
- Deroine, Jeanne**, 372
- desegregation, 496, 581. *See also* integration
 court cases for, 879(m)
 in Little Rock, 881(i)
 of lunch counters, 882, 884
- Deseret, 354
- Desire Under the Elms* (O'Neill), 721
- deskilling, of labor, 551–552
- détente, 928–929, 992
- Detroit
 race riots in, 783, 873, 896
 reform mayor in, 624
 segregated housing in, 871
- Dewey, George**, 675
- Dewey, Thomas E.**, 781, 819, 820(m)
- DeWitt, John**, 787
- Dial, The* (journal), 347
- Diamond, Jack**, 712
- diaphragms, 585
- Dias, Bartholomeu**, 28–29
- diaspora, African, 30
- Díaz, Porfirio**, 683
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal**, 8, 32–33
- Dickens, Charles, on juba dancing, 359
- Dickinson, John**, 152, 177
Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, 159
- dictatorships, in Central America, 992
- Diem, Ngo Dinh**, 828, 833
- Dien Bien Phu, 828
- Dies, Martin**, 821
- diet (food)
 of American Indians, 227
 fast food and, 861–862
 of workers, 554–555
- dime novels, 518(i), 535
- Dinwiddie, Robert**, 135
- diplomacy. *See also* foreign policy; specific presidents
 of Adams, John Quincy, 243–244
 Civil War and, 449, 457–460, 466
 colonial-Iroquois, 80
 dollar, 669, 711–712
 with England, 219
 of Jefferson, 233
 King Cotton, 466
 in Middle East, 997
 Persian Gulf War and, 997–998
 in Revolutionary War, 196
- direct primary, 649
- dirty tricks, in Nixon campaign, 947
- discrimination. *See also* race and racism; specific groups
 against African Americans, 266, 402, 466, 556, 577–580, 687, 694, 877–879
 against Asian Americans, 425, 561–564, 758
 eugenics and, 594
 in gold fields, 425, 516
 in housing, 857, 863
 in jobs, 863
 against Mexican Americans, 780–781
 against non-Protestants, 270
 against women workers, 550, 556
 World War II and, 780
- disease. *See also* specific conditions
 in Chesapeake region, 54
 in cities, 625
 in Civil War, 455–456, 458
 European in Americas, 35, 43, 44(m)
 in gold rush, 425
 Indians and, 60, 416–417, 426, 528
 science and, 127
 slave, 97
 venereal, 687(i)
 in War of 1898, 676
 in World War I, 688
- disenfranchisement. *See also* voting and voting rights
 of African Americans, 257, 591, 645–646, 646(m), 649
 of former Confederates, 480
 of immigrants, 647–648
- Disney, Walt**, 863
- Displaced Persons Act (1948), 864
- dissent
 artistic and intellectual, 720–721
 cultural, 848–849
 laws policing, 669
 religious, 132
 suppression in World War I, 690–694
- Dissertation on the English Language* (Webster), 263
- District of Columbia, 267, 402. *See also Washington, D.C.*
- abolition of slave trade in, 429
 end of slavery in, 463
- diversity
 in English colonies, 77–78, 125(m)
 in Middle Atlantic colonies, 120–126
 multiculturalism and, 1015
 of Native Americans, 3
 in New Netherland, 59
 in Pennsylvania, 83
 religious, 126(m)
 of urban electorate, 632
- divine right of kings, Locke on, 86
- division of labor, 286–287
- divorce, 258, 850, 957
- Dix, Dorothea**, 367, 456
- Dixiecrats, 819, 875
- doctors, in Civil War, 455
- dollar (U.S.), 1008
- dollar diplomacy, in 1920s, 669, 711–712
- Domestic Manners of the Americans* (Trollope), 272, 314
- domestic policy. *See specific presidents and issues*
- domestic servants. *See* servants
- domestic slave trade, 378–383, 397
- domestic slavery, gender roles and, 370–371
- domestic violence, WCTU and, 590
- domesticity
 commercial, 577
Feminine Mystique and, 909
 of freed people, 491
 of middle class, 367, 456, 850, 851
 women and, 854(i)
- Dominican Republic, 31, 711, 1014
- Dominion of New England, 85–86, 85(m), 87
 Leisler's rebellion against, 87
 overthrow of, 106
- domino theory, 828
 Eisenhower on, 916
- Donahue, Barney**, 565
- Donelson, Fort, battle at, 452, 453(m)
- Doniphan, Alfred A.**, 419(m)
- "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, 1031
- Doors (musical group), 918
- Dorr, Retha Childe**, 589
- Dos Passos, John**, 720
- Double V campaign, 780, 873
- doughboys, 687
- Douglas, Helen Gahagan**, 804
- Douglas, Stephen A.** (1813–1861), 439(i), 448
 Compromise of 1850 and, 429, 430(i)
 debates with Lincoln, 437–438
 election of 1852 and, 431
 election of 1860 and, 438–439

- expansionism of, 421
 Freeport Doctrine of, 438
 Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 431–432
 popular sovereignty and, 428
- Douglas, William O.**, 751
- Douglass, Frederick** (1818–1895), 362, 401, 466, 479(*i*)
 emancipation and, 463
 free-soil movement and, 421
 on Fugitive Slave Act, 431
 on voting rights, 485–486
- Douglass, Margaret**, 337
- doves (political), in Vietnam War, 919
- dower, 18
- dower right, 117
- Downing, Alexander**, 304(*i*)
- downsizing, 943
- Doy, John**, 432(*i*)
- draft (military)
 in Civil War, 452–455, 455(*i*), 471
 in Revolution, 186
 for Vietnam War, 915, 916
 in World War I, 686
- Drake, Francis**, 45
- Drake, Mary**, 376
- Drayton, William Henry**, 226
- Drayton** family and Drayton Hall, 267(*i*)
- Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1856), 433–436, 438
- Dreiser, Theodore**, 594, 596
- Dresden, air attack on, 791, 796
- drought, on plains, 535, 759
- drugs
 in 19th century, 398
 miracle drugs, 851
 recreational use of, 919
- drummer (traveling salesman), 549–550
- Drunkard's Progress*, *The*: . . . (Currier), 307(*i*)
- Dry Dock Bank, 334–335
- dry farming, 521
- Du Bois, W. E. B.**, 655(*i*), 663, 697, 718, 721, 780, 868
 civil rights strategies of, 654–655
 on Reconstruction, 504
- due process clause, 514, 649–650
- Duer, William**, 217, 421
- Dukakis, Michael**, 996
- Dulles, Allen**, 828
- Dulles, John Foster**, 811, 826, 827–828
- Dumbarton Oaks conference (1944), 807
- dumbbell tenement, 616(*f*)
- Dunmore** (Earl of), 174–175, 175(*m*), 176, 190, 200(*i*), 264
- Dunmore's Proclamation (1775), 192. *See also* Dunmore (Earl of)
- Dunmore's War, 174–175, 175(*m*)
- DuPont**, 548, 721
- Duquesne, Fort (Fort Pitt), 135, 137, 138, 138(*i*)
- Durán, Diego**, 34(*i*)
- dust bowl, 535, 759–760, 759(*m*)
- Dutch. *See also* Netherlands; New Netherland
 colonies of, 53
 disintegration of empire, 826
 Indians and, 15
 land disputes and, 141
 settlement by, 48(*m*)
 slave trade and, 90
 Spain and, 44, 58
 trade and, 29
- Dutch Reformed Church, 270
 New Lights and, 132
- Dutch Republic (Holland), 44, 45(*i*), 58. *See also* Dutch
- Dutch West India Company, 120
- duties. *See* customs duties; tariffs; taxation
- Dylan, Bob**, 918
- dysentery, 28, 455, 458
- Dyson, Will**, 697(*i*)
- e-commerce, 1012
- Earl, Ralph**, 250(*i*)
- Early, Jubal**, 468
- "Early Culture of Children" (G. M. J.), 399
- Earth Day (April 22, 1970), 939, 939(*i*)
- "Earthrise" photo (1968), 940(*i*)
- East
 Civil War in, 449–452, 450(*m*)
 farm innovation in, 230–231
 land in, 141–142
 War of 1812 in, 237
- East Africa, Portugal and, 29
- East Asia, 999. *See also* specific countries
 economic cooperation in, 1010
 Great Powers in (1898–1910), 678, 679(*m*)
 immigrants from, 1013, 1013(*f*)
 Japan and, 678, 679, 679(*m*), 773
- East Berlin, Khrushchev and, 831
- East Florida, 163
- East Germany, 807, 812, 994. *See also* Germany
- East Harlem, Puerto Ricans in, 864
- East India Company, British, 138–139, 168, 169(*i*)
- East Indies, Dutch and, 58
- East St. Louis, race riot in (1917), 707
- Eastern Europe
 EU and, 1009(*m*)
 fall of communism in, 994–995
 immigrants from, 559, 559(*m*), 599, 713
- Jews in, 792
- NATO in, 1023
 as Soviet sphere of influence, 812–813
 after World War II, 807
- Eastern Front (World War I), 685, 687
- eastern woodlands, peoples of, 8, 12–15
- Eastland, James O.**, 868
- Eastman, Charles (Ohiyesa)**, 534
- Eastman Kodak, 548
- Easton, Hosea**, 360
- Easton, John**, 68
- ecology. *See also* environment
 dust bowl and, 759
 of Great Plains, 415
- Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act (2001), 1026
- Economic Opportunity Act (1964), 905, 907(*t*)
- Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA, 1981), 983
- economics
 free-market, 975–976
 Keynesian, 751
 supply-side, 982–983
- economy. *See also* agriculture; depressions (financial); Great Depression (1930s); recessions; society
 in 1920s, 721–726
 in 1970s, 936, 938–939, 942–945, 946
- auto industry and, 725
- Bretton Woods system and, 840–841
- of California, 862
- canals and, 293–295
- in China, 999
- during Civil War, 456–462, 457(*f*)
- after Civil War, 511–515
- computer revolution and, 989
- corporate power in, 842
- election of 1980 and, 980
- in English colonies, 83–86
- European peasants and, 18
- European Union and, 999
- expansion of, 511–515
- fall in 2008, 1011, 1030
- in fascist countries, 768
- and financial crisis of 2008, 251, 512, 1011, 1030
- GI Bill and, 843–844
- global, 970, 1002, 1004–1012
- government role in, 332
- household, 116–117
- Indian, 17
- industrialists and, 548
- in Italy, 19–20
- in Japan, 987
- materialism in, 987–989
- in Middle Atlantic region, 120–122
- mineral-based, 287
- northern maritime, 103–105
- Panic of 1819 and, 251
- Panic of 1837 and, 334–335
- plantation-based, 90, 376, 389, 394
- ranching and, 415
- Reagan and, 982–983, 986–987
- reforms and, 660–664
- republicanism in, 250–256
- in Revolutionary War, 187–188

- economy (*cont.*)
 rural, 251–255
 service, 942, 987
 slavery in, 90–103
 of South, 393–395, 457(f), 492–493, 494
 in South Atlantic System, 90–92
 transformation of (1800–1860), 280, 281
 two-income families and, 957
 underground slave, 401
 urban, 103, 301
 Vietnam War and, 914
 in World War I, 688–690, 707
 after World War I, 721–726
 in World War II, 668, 670, 773–776,
 777–781
 after World War II, 812, 840, 842–843
 ecumenicism, in Cold War religion, 849
 Edenton Ladies Tea Party, 162(i)
Edison, Thomas A. (1847–1931), 549(i),
 576
 education, 262(i). *See also* higher education;
 schools
 agricultural, 569
 aid to, 263
 for baby boomers, 851
 citizenship and public, 336–337
 government financing of, 843
 in industrial economy, 586–588
 middle class and, 303, 585
 nativism and, 713
 reform of, 367
 in South, 266, 493, 494–495, 587
 for women, 199, 260, 263(i), 276, 495,
 588, 589(i), 851
 working-class, 305
Edwards, Jonathan, 129
 Egypt, 1032
 Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 938
 Middle East role of, 828–829
Ehrlich, Paul, 941
 eight-hour workday, 662, 689
 Eighteenth Amendment (1919), 662(t),
 712
 8th Kansas Volunteer Infantry, 454(i)
 82nd Airborne Division, 772(i)
Einstein, Albert, 793
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1890–1969)
 Brown decision and, 879
 domino theory of, 916
 election of 1952 and, 825, 825(i)
 election of 1956 and, 826
 foreign policy of, 826, 828–829
 interstate highways and, 857
 Korea and, 817
 as president (1953–1961), 826
 research spending by, 842
 Vietnam and, 828
 in World War II, 790
 Eisenhower Doctrine, 829
 ejidos, in New Mexico, 515
 El Salvador, 711
 immigrants from, 1014
 Reagan and, 992
 elderly. *See also* pensions
 Democratic Party and, 762
 programs for, 906
Eleanor (ship), 168
 elected officials
 black, 891
 Mexican American, 897
 elections. *See also specific individuals*
 1788, 216
 1796, 223, 225(m)
 1800, 218(i), 225–226, 225(m)
 1808, 234–235
 1818, 241
 1823, 236
 1824, 318–319, 319(m), 322(f)
 1828, 321, 322(f), 322(m)
 1832, 280, 322(f), 326
 1834, 333
 1836, 322(f), 334, 365(i)
 1840, 322(f), 338–339, 366
 1844, 322(f), 417–418
 1846, 421
 1848, 421, 424–425, 436(m)
 1852, 431
 1856, 433
 1858, 438
 1860, 407, 436(m), 438–440
 1862, 464
 1863, 466
 1863 (Confederate), 466
 1864, 468–469, 480–481
 1866, 481
 1868, 484
 1870, 485
 1872, 498, 639
 1874, 500
 1875 (Mississippi), 500
 1876, 500–501
 1880, 639(m)
 1884, 638, 639, 639(m)
 1888, 639(m)
 1890, 642, 643
 1892, 642, 643, 643(m), 648(m)
 1894, 645
 1896, 640, 646–647, 648(m)
 1900, 650, 672, 678
 1904, 641(i), 650
 1908, 652
 1912, 656–660, 660(m)
 1916, 686
 1920, 710
 1924, 711
 1928, 714–718, 718(m)
 1932, 739
 1936, 749–750
 1940, 771
 1944, 781
 1946, 819
 1948, 819–820, 819(i), 820(m), 875
 1950, 804
 1952, 825, 825(i)
 1956, 826
 1960, 830
 1964, 905–906, 906(m), 975
 1968, 919–923, 923(m)
 1972, 931–932, 932(m)
 1976, 949, 975
 1980, 973(i), 977, 980–981, 981(m)
 1982, 986
 1984, 986
 1988, 996
 1992, 1012, 1020, 1021(m)
 1994, 1021–1022
 1996, 1023
 2000, 1025
 2004, 1029–1030
 2008, 1030
 2010, 1031
 2012, 1031
 democratic after World War II, 807
 direct election of senators, 649
 federal oversight in, 642
 fraud in, 638
 popular, 318
 system of, 205
 electoral college, in 2000, 1025
 electoral commission, for 1876 election,
 500
 electric lighting, 549(i), 609, 610(i)
 electricity, 574
 in cities, 546, 609, 610(i)
 class status and, 577
 dams and, 760, 761(m), 762(i)
 factories and, 546
 Franklin on, 128
 mass transit and, 608
 rural, 760
 electronic devices, 1011–1012
 electronics industries, 862
 Elementary and Secondary Education Act
 (1965), 906, 907(t)
 elementary schools, 263
 elevated railroads (els), 608, 616(m)
 elevator, passenger, 609
Eliot, Andrew, 127
Eliot, Charles W., 587
Eliot, John, 67
 elites
 business, 301–302
 colonial, 105, 316
 consumer culture and, 577
 corporate, 552
 Mexican, in California, 415
 planter, 383–388, 389
 progressive, 663
 after Revolution, 214
 segregation by, 584

- sports and, 581
urban, 281
- Elizabeth I** (England, r. 1558–1603), 44–46, 45(*i*), 47
- Elkins Act (1903), 650, 662(*t*)
- Ellington, Edward** (Duke), 719
- Ellis, Henry**, 152
- Ellis Island, 558, 610
- Ellison, Ralph**, 761
- Elmer Gantry* (Lewis), 721
- Elmina slave fort, 30
- Ely, Ezra Stiles**, 275, 292–293
- emancipation, 357, 403
gradual, 265–266, 361, 401
Lincoln and, 407, 463–464
in South, 449, 462–464, 488
in states, 265–266, 265(*m*)
- Emancipation Proclamation, 463–464, 466, 470
- embalming, 456
- embargo
on arms sales, 769
of Jefferson (1807), 256
oil, 938–939
on wheat to Soviet Russia, 977
- Embargo Act (1807), 234–235
- Emergency Banking Act (1933), 740, 750(*t*)
- Emergency Economic Stabilization Act (2008), 1030
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo**, 284, 332, 346(*i*), 421, 438
literary influence of, 347–349
on slavery, 363
transcendentalism and, 346–347
- emigration. *See also* immigrants and
immigration; migration
- eminent domain, 255, 256
- emissions, carbon, 1032
- Emperor Jones, The* (O'Neill), 721
- empires. *See also* Aztecs; imperialism;
specific empires and rulers
African, 23
in Americas, 8–18
British American (1713), 91(*m*)
British Atlantic and Asian, 153(*t*)
Chinese, 197
colonial, 154(*m*)
costs of (1690–1790), 155(*f*)
disintegration of, 826
Inca, 8–10, 10(*m*), 31(*m*), 35
Japanese, 773
politics of, 105–110
price of, 152
of United States, 674
World War I and, 697–698, 698(*m*), 699
- employees. *See* labor; workers
- employers, unions and, 292, 568, 845
- employment. *See also* labor
in corporations, 842
- discrimination in, 553, 556, 613–614, 780
by government (public), 638, 707
of women, 456, 541, 937(*i*)
- encomiendas*, 42
- encounter groups, 961
- “Encountering Segregation” (Beals), 853
- End Poverty in California, 748(*m*)
- Endangered Species Act (1973), 942
- energy. *See also* specific sources
Carter on, 950
consumption of (1900–2000), 938(*f*)
in England, 140
for industry, 284, 546
for West, 760
- energy crisis, of 1970s, 938–939
- Enforcement Laws, 499
- engineers, in research laboratories, 549
- England (Britain). *See also* Revolutionary War (U.S.)
Act of Union and, 76
Alabama issue and, 466, 510
alliance with, 232–233
Carolinas and, 82
Central America and, 682
Chesapeake colonies of, 47–52
China and, 678–679, 679(*m*)
Civil War (U.S.) and, 457–460
colonies of, 47–52, 80–110
common law in, 159
as commonwealth, 63, 159
constitutional monarchy in, 87
consumer revolution in, 141
Glorious Revolution in, 86
gold standard in, 515
Great Depression in, 736, 737
Holland and, 84
House of Lords in, 18
immigrants from, 310, 560(*f*)
impressment by, 234
independence recognized by, 196
Indians and, 15, 60, 137(*i*)
industrial growth in, 140–141
Ireland and, 45
ministerial instability in (1760–1782), 160(*t*)
naval blockade of French ports, 219
New France conquered by, 138, 139(*m*)
New Netherland and, 59–60, 84
Oregon and, 412, 412(*m*), 417–418, 419
Palestine and, 698
Puritans in, 61–62, 63
restoration in, 82
settlers from, 48(*m*)
in Seven Years’ War, 137–140
slave trade and, 90
slavery and, 190, 323
South as economic colony of, 395
South Atlantic System and, 92
sugar economy and, 103
- textile industry and, 287
trans-Appalachian region and, 226
in Triple Entente, 684
- Venezuela dispute and, 674
- war debt compared with U.S.
(1830–1900), 461, 461(*f*)
- War of 1812 and, 236–241
- War of Jenkins’s Ear (1739–1741) and, 107
- War of the Austrian Succession and, 107
- West Indies and, 53
- western policy of (1763–1774), 170(*m*)
- in World War I, 684, 685
in World War II, 669, 769, 771
after World War II, 796, 809
- English common law, 159
- English language, English-only movement and, 1018(*i*)
- Enlightenment, 114, 126
on African equality, 265
in America, 128–129
child rearing and, 262
in Europe, 127
evangelicalism and, 130–131
Franklin and, 128–129
Philadelphia Hospital and, 128(*i*)
religious toleration and, 270
- Enrollment Act (1863), 454–455
- “Entertaining Passages” (Church), 69
- entertainment. *See also* leisure; movies and
movie industry; radio; television
in cities, 541, 574, 615–619
consumer culture and, 577
popular, 355–356
- entitlement programs, 996
- entrepreneurs
black, 496
computers and, 989
cotton, 388
Edison as, 576
English industry and, 140
industrial, 287
in Midwest, 296
after Revolution, 252–253, 254
Whigs and, 333
- environment. *See also* ecology;
environmentalism
in 1970s, 938
alterations of, 14
canal building and, 294
Columbian Exchange and, 43
of Great Plains, 521–524
industrialization and, 553
Johnson, Lyndon, and, 906
mining and, 516(*i*), 517
in New Deal, 759–761
Reagan and, 984
Roosevelt, Theodore, and conservation of, 651
rural manufacturing effects on, 255

- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 939–942, 983
 Reagan and, 984
- environmentalism
 of Muir, 583
 in 1970s, 939–942
- epidemics. *See also* disease; smallpox
 among immigrants, 310
 influenza (1918–1919), 688
- Episcopalians, 270, 271
- Equal Credit Opportunity Act (1974), 925
- equal economic opportunity, 148
- Equal Employment Opportunity
 Commission, 890
- Equal Pay Act (1963), 908
- equal protection of the laws, 870, 878
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 709, 952–953, 975
 debate over, 954–955
 ratification and (1972–1977), 953(*m*)
- Equal Rights Association, 485
- equality
 for African Americans, 265, 871–875
 black social thought and, 360
 in Fourteenth Amendment, 870
 Jackson on, 321
 for Japanese Americans, 877
 law and, 877–879
 legal, 257
 for Mexican Americans, 875–877
 Truman and, 875
 of whites, 102–103
 for women, 281, 925
- Equiano, Olaudah (Gustavus Vassa), on**
 Middle Passage, 95
"Era of Good Feeling," 244
 Erie Canal, 293–295, 295(*i*), 296(*m*), 301
 Erie Indians, 60
 Erie Railroad, 546
 erosion, on Great Plains, 521
 Eskimos, 8
 Espionage Act (1917), 691
Essay Concerning Human Understanding
 (Locke, 1690), 127
 established church, 270
 Establishing Religious Freedom (Virginia, 1786), 270
 estates, in Hudson River region, 58, 120(*m*)
 Ethics in Government Act (1978), 948
 Ethiopia, Italian invasion of, 768
 Ethiopian Regiment, 176
 ethnic cleansing, in former Yugoslavia, 1023
 ethnic groups, 599. *See also* diversity;
 minorities; slaves and slavery;
specific groups
 in cities, 609–613
 in Middle Atlantic region, 125(*m*)
 nationalism of, 923–924
 in plural society, 1013–1018
 ethnicity, in British North America, 77
- ethnocultural politics, 340
 etiquette, telephone, 579
- EU. *See* European Union
- eugenics, 594
- Eurasia, trade system in (c. 1500), 29(*m*), 59(*m*)
- euro, 1005–1008
- Europe. *See also* immigrants and
 immigration; migration; Protestant
 Reformation; Western Europe;
specific locations
 American movies in, 726, 727
 Christianity in, 21–22
 Cold War in (1955), 808(*m*)
 colonial empires of, 154(*m*)
 Crusades in, 22
 diseases from, 35, 43
 division after World War II, 808–813
 end of Cold War and, 994
 Enlightenment in, 127
 exploration by, 25–35
 Hollywood in, 726
 immigrants from, 557–560, 559(*m*)
 North American spheres of influence
 (1754), 136(*m*)
 peasant society in, 18–19
 Reformation in, 22
 religion and, 20–22
 Second Hundred Years' War in, 78
 society before American contact, 18–22
 trading voyages by, 28
 World War I and, 684–685
 after World War I, 698(*m*)
 World War II and, 789–792, 790(*m*)
- European Community, growth of
 (1951–2005), 1009(*m*)
- European Parliament, 1009(*m*)
- European Recovery Program. *See* Marshall
 Plan
- European Union (EU), 970, 999, 1005–1008
- evangelicals and evangelicalism, 262, 306
 in 1970s, 962–963, 964(*i*)
 abolition and, 361–365
 abortion and, 956
 black Christianity and, 272–273,
 395–396
 Enlightenment rationalism and,
 130–131
 evangelical Protestantism, 849
 Finney and, 306–307, 307(*i*)
 on Indian removal, 327
 missionaries and, 599–600
 republicanism and, 270–271
 revivalism and, 271–276
 slave emancipation and, 265
 in South, 271–272
 televangelists and, 849, 963, 976
 temperance movement and, 310
 Whigs and, 333
 Whitefield and, 271
- Evans, Daniel J.**, 681
- Evans, Hiram Wesley**, editorial by, 717
- Evans, Oliver**, 287
- Evansville, Indiana, 614
- Everett, Edward**, 333
- Evers, Medgar**, 883–886
- evolution, 669
 Christianity and, 596–597
 Darwin's theory of, 541, 592, 593–594
 Scopes trial and, 713
Evolution of Christianity, The (Abbott), 596–597
- Ex Parte Crow Dog* (1903), 532
- excise taxes. *See also* taxation
 of Hamilton, 219
 Jefferson and, 231
- executive, 205
- executive departments, 216
- Executive Orders
 8802, 780, 873
 9066, 787
 9835, 821
 on ten-hour workday (1840), 292
- Exodusters, 520
- expansion and expansionism
 European overseas, 25–35
 as foreign policy, 431
 of Japan, 768
 Manifest Destiny and, 412, 421
 of McKinley, 672
 Mexican War and, 410, 418–419, 421,
 422–423
 of slavery, 378, 407, 446–447
 Soviet, 809
 by United States, 148, 406, 407, 674
 westward, 163–166, 412–415, 674
- "Expenses of the Campaign" (*Springfield Daily Republican*), 641
- exploration. *See also* specific explorers
 European, 25–35
 of Louisiana Territory, 233–234
 maritime, 29(*m*)
 by Marquette, 58
 by Portugal, 25–29
 space, 832, 842
 by Spain, 30–35
- exports, 295, 297. *See also* trade
 boycott of, 170
 British, 92, 140
 embargo and, 234
 from New England, 103
Expose on Polygamy: . . . (Stenhouse), 522
- expressionism, 727
- external taxes, 161
- factions. *See also* political parties; *specific parties*
 Democratic Republicans (Republicans)
 as, 218

- Federalists as, 218
 nationalist, 204–205
 political parties as, 316–317
 factories, 254, 288, 394, 395, 546
 in China, 1010(i)
 closures of, 944–945
 division of labor and, 286–287
 workers in, 541, 550, 553, 556, 556(i), 610
 after World War II, 842
Fair Deal, 820
Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), 780, 873, 875
Fair Housing Act (1968), 857
Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA, 1938), 750(t)
Fairbanks, Douglas, 726
Fairfax (Lord), 142
Fairley, Henry, 904
Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God, A (Edwards), 129
Fall, Albert, 710
 fall line, industrial towns along, 300
 Fallen Timbers, Battle of, 226, 228(i)
Fallows, James, 916
Falwell, Jerry, 954, 963, 964(i), 976, 976(i)
 families. *See also* Moral Majority
 in 1950s, 838
 in 1970s, 957–960
 admittance to U.S. of immigrants and, 1012–1013
 African American, 398–399, 398(i), 399(i), 614(i)
 in Chesapeake region, 54, 102
 child care, credit opportunity, and, 925
 in Cold War, 850–856
 consumer culture and, 724
 elite colonial, 105
 farm, 367
 of freedmen, 491, 504
 on Great Plains, 520(i)
 incomes of, 721, 1005(f)
 in industrial era, 585–586
 in market economy, 255
 in matriarchal societies, 15
 middle-class, 259, 264(i), 366(i), 399, 585, 586(i), 839(i)
 in New England, 60
 in outwork system, 254
 paternal authority in, 258
 of planter elite, 386
 political power and (New Jersey, 1700–1776), 106(f)
 on relief (1933), 739(m)
 religion and, 963
 republican, 258–262, 264(i)
 sharecropping and, 490(i)
 single-parent, 958
 sizes of, 585
 slave, 377(i), 382, 397, 398, 399(i), 463(i)
 two incomes in, 957
 of urban elite, 301, 302(i)
 women and, 851–855
 working, 305, 556, 556(i), 957–960
 in World War II, 782(i)
 after World War II, 802
 of yeomen farmers, 258, 391
Family Research Council, 977
 family rooms, 847(i)
 family values, 964(i), 996
 abortion rights and, 1018–1019
 conflicts over, 1018–1020
 gay rights and, 1019–1020
 famine, in Ireland, 310, 557
Far West. *See* West
 Farewell Address, of Washington (1796), 238
Farewell to Arms, A (Hemingway), 720
Farm Security Administration (FSA, 1937), 750(t)
Farmer, James, 780, 873, 888–889
 Farmers' Alliance, 568–569, 642–643
 Populist Party and, 569
 Farmers' Holiday Association, 738
 farms and farming. *See also* agriculture;
 crops; Populist Party; Populists;
 yeomen; *specific crops*
 Bacon's Rebellion and, 70–71
 blacks in, 755
 in California, 427–428, 757
 corporate farms, 521, 757, 759
 crop-lien system, 492
 dry farming, 521
 dust bowl and, 759–760, 759(m)
 in Europe, 18, 19
 farmworkers and, 757, 758
 federal price supports for, 711
 by free blacks, 401
 Grange and, 565
 Great Depression and, 729(i), 738
 on Great Plains, 519–520, 521
 household mode of production and, 120
 Indians and, 15, 16, 227, 230(i)
 inheritance of property and, 117
 innovation in East, 230–231
 Jefferson and, 218–219
 manufacturing and, 254, 255
 New Deal and, 754–755, 760
 New England and, 64–66, 116–120, 255
 populism and, 644
 sharecropping and, 490(i), 491–493, 491(m), 741, 755
 subsidies for, 741
 tariffs and, 325
 technology for, 287, 291(i), 296–297
 tenant, 383, 390, 401, 741, 754–755
 westward movement and, 226–227, 230, 293, 392(i)
 women and, 367
 worker-farmer alliances, 541, 569
 yeomen, in South, 389–390, 391
Farragut, David G., 452, 453(m)
Fascinating Womanhood (Andelin), 963
 fascism, 768. *See also* World War II
 Popular Front against, 770
 rise of, 669, 768–769
 fast food, 860–862, 861(i)
 father. *See also* families
 duties of, 117, 258
Father Knows Best (TV show), 846
Fatherland, advertisement in, 692
FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
 Feast of the Dead (Huron Indians), 66(i)
 Federal Arts Project, 735(i), 761
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 709
 Black Panthers and, 894
 federal courts, economic development and, 514–515
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 740
Federal Elections Bill (Lodge Bill, 1890), 642
Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, 1933), 741, 750(t)
 federal government. *See* Government (U.S.)
Federal Housing Act (1934), 744
Federal Housing Administration (FHA), 744–745, 857, 858, 871
Federal Music Project, 761
Federal Republic of Germany. *See* West Germany
Federal Reserve Act (1913), 661, 662(t)
Federal Reserve Board, 662, 746
Federal Reserve System, 740, 751
Federal Theatre Project (FTP), 761
Federal Trade Commission (FTC), 662, 711
Federal Writers' Project (FWP), 752, 761
Federalist, The, 207–210, 211
 "No. 10," 210, 321
 Federalists, 207–210, 250, 333
 in 1790s, 216
 Constitution and, 207–211
 courts and, 231
 election of 1788 and, 216
 election of 1800 and, 225–226
 end of, 241, 318
 Jefferson and, 231
 legacy of, 241
 Marshall and, 241
 Naturalization, Alien, Sedition Acts (1798) and, 223–224
 property rights and, 242
 as secessionists, 233
 War of 1812 and, 236, 237–241
Fiske, Robert, 129(i)
Fell, Margaret, 83
 fellow travelers, 875
 Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 873, 881

- Female Anti-Slavery Society, 362
 Female Charitable Society, 259, 307
 Female Moral Reform Society, 357, 367
Feminine Mystique, The (Friedan), 852, 908–909
 feminism, 592
 in 1960s, 908–909, 924–925
 in 1970s, 952
 abortion rights and, 1018–1019
 black and Chicana, 925
 Carter and, 949
 labor, 908
 FEPC. *See* Fair Employment Practices Commission
Ferdinand II of Aragon (Spain, r. 1474–1516), 6, 30–31
Fermi, Enrico, 793
Ferraro, Geraldine, 986
Fetterman, William, 528
 Fetterman massacre, 528
 fictive kinship, of slaves, 397, 398
Field, David Dudley, children of, 344
Field, Stephen J., 649(i)
 Fifteenth Amendment (1869), 479(i), 484–485, 484(t), 486, 504, 870
 Fifth Amendment, 436
 “Fifty-four forty or fight!”, 418, 419
 Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, 466
Filene, William, 577
 filibuster, 948
 filibustering expeditions, to Cuba, 431
 Filipino Americans, 758–759
Fillmore, Millard (1800–1874), 433
 as president (1850–1853), 429
 films. *See* movies and movie industry
 “final solution,” in World War II, 791–792
 finances. *See also* money; panics (financial)
 under Articles of Confederation, 201
 in British consumer revolution, 141
 in Civil War, 460–461
 deregulation of, 1011
 federal funding and, 569
 of federal government, 512–513
 Federalist factions and, 216
 Hamilton and, 216–218
 Jefferson and, 231
 in New York City, 945, 945(i)
 for railroads, 512
 in Revolutionary War, 188–189
 after Seven Years’ War, 152–155
 of state governments, 202–204
 U.S. government investment in (2008), 1030
 in World War II, 773–776
 financial crisis, of 2008, 251, 512, 1011, 1030
 financial depressions. *See* depressions (financial)
 financial industry, deregulation of, 1011
 financial panics. *See* panics (financial)
Financier, The (Dreiser), 596
Finney, Charles Grandison, 306–307, 307(i), 346, 347
 Finney, Fort, 226
Finney, Lydia, 307, 367
 fire-eaters (secessionists), 430, 438, 446
 fires, for forest management, 12, 14
 fireside chats, 740
First, Second and Last Scenes of Mortality, The (Punderson), 116(i)
 First Amendment, freedom of speech in, 224
 First Bank of the United States, 218, 250–251
 First Congress, 216
 First Continental Congress (1774), 169–170, 171, 175
 First French Republic (1792–1804), 219
 First Great Awakening, 129–133
 First National Wildlife Refuge (1903), 662(t)
 First New Deal (1933–1935), 740–745
 First Party System (1794–1815), 241, 320(i)
 first woman’s rights convention, 371
 fiscal policy
 in Civil War, 460
 of Hamilton, 217(f)
Fish, Nathaniel, 64
 Fisher, Fort, capture of, 467(i)
 Fisher and Brother (publishers), 357(i)
 fishing and fishing industry, 47(i), 103, 255, 525
 U.S. rights to, 196
Fisk Jubilee Singers (Havel), 496(i)
 Fisk University, 493, 496(i)
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 719, 721
Fitzpatrick, Benjamin, 389
 Five Forks, Battle of, 469(m)
Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandry (Tusser), 118
 Five Nations (Iroquois), 15, 60
 flappers, 704, 705(i), 726
 Flathead Indians, 531
Fleming, Alexander, 687(i)
Fletcher, Tom, 905(i)
Fletcher v. Peck (1810), 242
 flooding, farm land and, 255
 Florida
 ancient peoples of, 9(m), 12
 British in, 139, 156(m)
 cession to United States, 243
 East and West, 163
 election of 2000 and, 1025, 1025(i)
 English-Creek expedition against, 89–90
 foreign-born population in, 1013
 Franciscans in, 90
 Indians in, 326, 331, 331(i)
 Reconstruction and, 500
 secession of, 446
 slavery and, 378, 401
 Spain and, 34
 in Sunbelt, 862, 862(m)
 war hawks and, 236
 flower children, 919
 flu. *See* influenza
 Focus on the Family, 976–977
 folk music, 761, 918
 food(s). *See also* crops; diet (food); plants
 in Columbian Exchange, 43
 consumer culture and, 574
 of elite, 555
 packaged, 303
 rationing in World War II, 783
 regulation of, 629
 wealth, poverty, and, 554–555
 West African trade and, 23
 of working class, 554–555
 Food Administration, in World War I, 689–690
 food riots, in Confederacy, 461–462
 football, American, 582, 582(i)
 Force Bill (1833), 324
Ford, Gerald R. (1913–2006)
 assumption of presidency, 947
 economy and, 942
 New York City financial crisis and, 945, 945(i)
Ford, Henry, 547(i), 551
 anti-Semitism of, 714
 as peace advocate, 685
 welfare capitalism and, 708
 Ford Motor Company, 548
 River Rouge violence and, 738
 foreclosure, in Great Depression, 744
Foreign Affairs article (Kennan), 809
 foreign aid, 669
 to repressive regimes, 977
 to Vietnam, 828
 after World War II, 809–810
Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States (Morse), 310
 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (1978), 948
 foreign investments, in U.S., 515
 foreign policy. *See also* containment; specific presidents and issues
 expansionist, 431, 768
 of Goldwater, 906
 Munich analogy in, 818
 foreign trade. *See* trade
 forest reserves, 651
 forests
 Indian management of, 12, 14
 national (1872–1980), 584(m)
 rural economy and, 255
Forman, Stanley, 931
Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 498–499
 fort(s). *See also* specific forts
 Dutch, 58
 French, 135

- in Ohio River region, 135
 in Permanent Indian Territory, 416
- Fort Ancient** culture, 12(i)
- Fort Finney**, Treaty of, 226
- Fort McIntosh**, Treaty of, 226
- Fort Stanwix**, Treaty of (1784), 226
- Forten, James**, 360
- forty-niners, 425
- fossil fuels, 546
- Foster, Stephen**, 356
- Four Freedoms, Roosevelt, Franklin D., on, 771
- “Four Indian Kings” (London, 1710), 89(i)
- Four-Minute Men, 690
- 442nd Regimental Combat Team, 788
- Fourier, Charles**, 351
- Fourierism, 351
- Fourteen Points, 668, 696–697
- Fourteenth Amendment (1868), 461, 481, 483, 484(t), 504
 due process in, 514, 649–650
 equal protection in, 478, 870, 878
 Supreme Court and, 500, 514
 woman suffrage and, 486, 486(i)
- Fourth Great Awakening (1970–present), 275, 961–963, 976
- Fowler, Philemon**, 366–367
- Fox, George**, 83
- Fox, Henry**, 335
- Frame of Government (Pennsylvania), 83
- France. *See also* New France
 American Revolution and, 183(i), 187, 189–190, 196
 after American Revolution, 196
 British acquisitions in Canada from, 90, 91(m)
 Caribbean colonies and, 52–53, 53(i)
 China and, 678–679, 679(m)
 Civil War (U.S.) and, 457
 D-Day in, 789(i), 790–791
 Great Depression in, 736
 Haitian Revolution and, 222–223
 Huguenots from, 123
 Indians and, 139
 Indochina and, 697–698
 Mexico and, 510
 neutrality policy toward, 219
 in Ohio River region, 135
 republicanism in, 182
 settlers from, 48(m)
 Treaty of Alliance with, 183(i), 190, 196
 in Triple Entente, 684
 Vietnam and, 828
 War of the Austrian Succession and, 107
 women’s rights in, 372
 in World War I, 684, 685, 687
 in World War II, 769, 789, 789(i), 790(m)
- franchise. *See* voting and voting rights
- Franciscans
 in California, 414
 in Florida, 90
- Franco, Francisco**, 768, 770. *See also* Spain; World War II
- Frank, Leo**, 714
- Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 350(i), 625(i)
- Frankfurter, Felix**, 751
- Franklin, Benjamin** (1706–1790), 129(i), 252
 Albany Plan of Union and, 137
Autobiography of, 128, 304
 on central government, 204
 on Constitution, 207
 Declaration of Independence and, 178
 Enlightenment and, 128–129, 132(i)
 French alliance and, 190
 “Importance of a Virtuous Life, The,” 130–131
 lightning and, 64
 on parliamentary supremacy, 166–167
 Plan of Union, 137
Poor Richard’s Almanack, 128
 on secular work ethic, 304
 on self-discipline, 310
 on taxation, 157, 161
 Townshend Acts and, 162
- Franklin, state of, 201
- Franklin Institute, 290
- Franz Ferdinand** (Austria), 684
- Frazier-Lemke debt relief act, 746
- Fredericksburg, Battle of, 450(m), 452, 464
- free blacks. *See also* African Americans
 citizenship and, 436
 colonization in Africa, 264–265
 Fugitive Slave Act and, 430
 institutions of, 360, 402
 as Loyalists, 264
 in North, 266, 401–402
 as Patriots, 265
 runaway slaves and, 362
 as servants, 264(i)
 in South, 402–403, 402(i), 493
- free labor, vs. slave labor, 384–385
- free-market economics, 975–976
- Free Presbyterian Church, 305
- Free Public School Act (Pennsylvania, 1834), 336
- free silver, 645, 647
- free-soil movement, 421, 433
- Free-Soil Party, 421, 424, 429
- Free Speech Movement, 914, 915(i)
- free state(s), 269(m), 363(m)
 Maine as, 269
 free trade, 840. *See also* globalization
 protests against, 1004, 1004(i)
 tariffs and, 320, 425(i)
- free-trade zone, in North America, 1010
- free will, 274, 306
- Freed, Alan**, 848
- Freedman’s Aid Society, 456
- Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company, 497–498
- freemen (freedpeople)
 Black Codes and, 481
 depression of 1873 and, 497–498
 education for, 493, 494, 495(i)
 freedom and, 487, 488–489, 490–491, 491(m), 495, 504
 institutions of, 495–496
 landownership and, 470, 487
 propaganda against, 498
 after Reconstruction, 504
 schools for, 495(i)
 sharecropping and, 491–493, 504
 in South, 478, 480(i)
 violence against, 481
 voting rights for, 484–485
 wage labor and, 487–490
 women’s work and, 490–491
- Freedmen’s Bureau, 481, 487, 493, 497
- Freedmen’s Bureau bill (1866), 481
- freedom(s)
 in Bill of Rights, 216
 freedmen and, 488–489
 of the press, 224
 of religion, 216, 270
 for slaves, 55, 159–160
 of speech, 216
 in United States and Africa, 876
- Freedom, When?* (Farmer), 888
- “Freedom and Slavery” (*Staunton Spectator*), 385
- Freedom of Information Act (1974), 948
- Freedom Rides, 882–883
- Freedom Summer (1964), 890–891, 914
- Freedom’s Journal*, 360
- freeholders
 in New England, 116–120
 society of, 117–120
 in South, 133
- freeholds, plantations as, 53–54
- Freemasons. *See* Masons
- Freeport Doctrine (Douglas), 438
- Frelinghuysen, Theodore Jacob**, 129
- Frémont, John C.**, 418, 419(m), 420, 433
- French and Indian War (Great War for Empire), 78, 110(i), 135–140, 137–140. *See also* Seven Years’ War
- French-Canadian immigrants, 293, 558–559
- French Empire, disintegration of, 826
- French Indochina. *See* Indochina
- French Republic, First (1792–1804), 219
- French Revolution (1789–1799), 219–222, 250
- French Senegal, British in, 139
- French settlements, New England attacks on, 90

- French West Indies. *See also* West Indies; *specific locations*
 American trade with, 223
 friars. *See* missions and missionaries
- Frick, Henry Clay**, 541
- Friedan, Betty**, 852, 908–909, 909(*i*), 924, 925
- Friedman, Milton**, 976
- Friends of the Everglades, 939
- “From England” (Brogan), 737
- “From Protest to Politics” (Rustin), 888
- “front porch campaigns,” 640
- frontier
 farm life on, 117
 Lord Dunmore’s War and, 174
 slave, 378, 378(*m*)
 Turner’s thesis on, 535
 warfare along, 70
- fuel. *See* energy crisis; *specific types*
- Fuel Administration, 689
- fugitive clause, in Constitution, 206
- Fugitive Slave Act**
 of 1793, 362
 of 1850, 429, 430–431
- fugitive slaves. *See* runaway slaves
- Fulani people, 25
- Fulbright, J. William**, 914
- Fuller, Margaret**, 300, 347–348, 348(*i*), 373
- Fuller, Melville W.**, 649(*i*)
- Fulton, Robert**, 295
- Funabashi, Yoichi**, 988
- Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, 82
- fundamentalists, 601–602
 on abortion rights, 1018–1019
 Christian, 956
 evolution and, 669
 Muslim, 1024
- funeral practices, Civil War and, 456
- fur trade, 56(*i*), 412
 Astor and, 250, 252
 Dutch and, 58, 59
 effects on Indians, 417
 in New France, 56
- Furman v. Georgia* (1972), 957
- Gabriel’s Rebellion. *See* Prosser, Gabriel
- Gachradodon** (Cayuga), 80
- Gadsden, James**, 431
- Gadsden Purchase, 431
- gag rule, for antislavery petitions, 365, 370(*m*)
- Gagarin, Yuri**, 832
- Gage, Thomas**, 170, 174, 175
- Galbraith, John Kenneth**, 843
- Gale, Thomas**, 389
- Gallatin, Albert**, 231, 241
- Galloway, Joseph**, 169, 172–173
- Gálvez, Bernardo de**, 192
- Gama, Vasco da**, 29, 35
- Gambia, 97
- Gambia River region, 23, 24
- game laws, subsistence hunting and, 584
- Gandhi** (Mahatma), 873, 881
- gang-labor system, 388, 397, 487
- gangrene, 459
- Gans, Herbert J.**, 859
- Garfield, James A.** (1831–1881), 564(*i*), 638, 639(*m*)
- Garland, Hamlin**, 594
- Garnet, Henry Highland**, 363
- Garretson, Freeborn**, 267
- Garrison, William Lloyd** (1805–1879), 344, 362, 364, 365, 366, 421
- Garvey, Marcus**, 719–720, 871, 892
- Gary, Elbert H.**, 707
- gaslight, 609
- gasoline
 energy crisis (1973) and, 938–939
 prices of, 857
- Gaspée** affair, 168, 171(*t*)
- Gassaway, Robert**, 182
- Gast, John**, 411(*i*)
- Gates, Bill**, 989
- Gates, Horatio**, 185(*m*), 187, 191, 195
- GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- Gavin, David**, 386
- gays and lesbians, 592, 618
 in armed forces, 1031
 gay rights and, 786–787, 925–926, 926(*i*), 1019–1020
 HIV/AIDS and, 985
 as “homophiles,” 856
 in military, 1031
 Milk, Harvey, and, 956–957, 956(*i*)
 rights of same-sex couples, 1019
 Stonewall riot and, 926
 subculture, 618
 Supreme Court and, 957
 in World War II, 783–784, 792
- Gazette of the United States*, 224
- Gedou Miao** (China), 197
- gender and gender issues. *See also* men; women
 abolitionists and, 365–366
 in Africa, 94
 in Cold War, 850
 evangelical Christians and, 962–963
 female abolitionists and, 367–369
 among homesteaders, 413
 Hutchinson and, 62
 industrialization and, 540, 541
 job options and, 937(*i*)
 mothers’ pensions and, 654
 in Native American society, 12
 in New England, 60
 Noyes and, 351, 352
 religion and, 275–276
 sex roles and, 957
- in South during Civil War, 472–473
 telephone use and, 578–579
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, 1947), 840, 1009
- General Assembly (Pennsylvania), 336
- General Assembly (UN), 807
- General Court
 of Connecticut, 64
 of Massachusetts, 64, 205
- General Dynamics, 841
- General Electric, 548, 708, 721
- General Federation of Women’s Clubs, 589
- General History of the Things of New Spain* (Sahagún), 33
- General Mining Act (1872), 517
- General Motors, 749(*i*), 844–845
- General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath, 305–306
- Generall Historie of Virginia* (Smith), 50
- Geneva, Calvin in, 22
- Geneva Accords (1954), 828
- Genius of Universal Emancipation* (newspaper), 362
- Genoa
 Columbus and, 31
 trade and, 28
- genocide. *See* ethnic cleansing; “final solution”
- gentility, of Chesapeake and southern society, 102–103
- gentlemen’s agreement (1907), 713
- gentry. *See also* elites
 in South, 102–103, 383–386
- George I** (England, r. 1714–1727), 124
- George II** (England, r. 1727–1760), 124
- George III** (England, r. 1760–1820), 153, 160, 167, 176(*i*)
 Boston Tea Party and, 168
 Declaration of Independence and, 178(*i*)
 Henry, Patrick, and, 158
 Olive Branch Petition to, 177
 Revolutionary War and, 190
- George, Henry**, 565, 641
- George Whitefield Preaching* (Collet), 115(*i*)
- Georgia, 266, 430, 499
 Cherokees in, 326, 327, 330–331
 Creek lands in, 321, 326
 Indians in, 230(*i*)
 migration to, 229
 in Revolutionary War, 194(*m*)
 secession of, 446
 Sherman’s march through, 470, 471(*m*)
 subsidizing of, 106–107
- Gerard, James W.**, 693
- Germain, George** (Lord), 186–187
- German Americans
 militia in Civil War, 448
 prohibition and, 712
 in World War I, 685, 690–691, 692–693

- German Democratic Republic. *See* East Germany
 German immigrants, 83, 122, 123–124, 281, 301, 310, 356, 557, 558
 anarchism and, 568
 beer, politics, and, 307
 Catholicism of, 432
 in cities, 609
 in Civil War, 454–455
 major destinations of, 560(f)
 in Midwest, 293
 German Reformed Church, 132
 Germans, as Revolutionary War soldiers, 184
Germany. *See also* East Germany; Nazi Germany; West Germany
 China and, 678–679, 679(m)
 division of, 807
 reparations after World War I, 697, 736
 in Triple Alliance, 684
 War of the Austrian Succession and, 107
 in World War I, 684, 685, 686, 687
 after World War II, 807
Geronimo (Apache chief), 533
Gershoni, Raphael, 562
Gettysburg, Battle of, 444, 465–466, 465(m)
 Ghana, 895
 Ghana Empire, 23
 Ghent, Treaty of, 241
 ghettos, 871
 Ghost Dance movement, 534
 GI Bill of Rights, 781, 843–844
Giamatti, A. Bartlett, 979
Giannini, Amadeo Peter, 612
Gibbons v. Ogden (1824), 242, 296
 Gibraltar, 90, 196
Gibson, Charles Dana, 583
Gibson, Gladys, 737
 Gibson Girl, 583
 Gilded Age, 474
 defining, 638
Gilded Age, The (Twain), 638
Gilman, Caroline Howard, 260
Gilman, Samuel, 260
Gingrich, Newt, 1021
Ginsberg, Allen, 849
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 985(i)
 girls. *See also* women
 education for, 495, 586–587, 587(t)
glasnost, 993
 Glass-Steagall Act (1933), 740, 750(t)
Glidden, Joseph, 519(i)
Glimpses of the Cosmos (Ward), 597
 global economy. *See also* globalization
 Bretton Woods system and, 840–841
 collapse of (2008), 1011, 1030
 Global Exchange, 1005
 global markets, global power and, 674
 global politics, U.S. in, 699
 globalization, 970
 1989–present, 1002–1033
 of Cold War, 810–811
 of economy, 1004–1012
 era of, 1009–1011
 proponents and discontents, 1006–1007
 of trade, 1008(f), 1009–1011
 Glorious Revolution (1688–1689), 85(m), 86–87, 87(i)
Godey, Louis A., 358, 358(i), 367
Godey's Lady's Book, 358, 358(i), 367
Godkin, Edwin L., 498
 gold, 325. *See also* gold standard; wealth
 in Africa, 23, 24(m), 27(i)
 in Americas, 42, 45
 Black Hills discoveries of, 516, 517(m)
 discoveries in West, 425, 426, 426(t), 516, 517(m), 518
 Gold Coast (Africa), 24, 97
 as Ghana, 895
 gold rush
 in California (1849–1857), 425–428, 427(m)
 in United States, 426(t)
 in Victoria, Australia, 426, 426(t)
 gold standard
 Bryan and, 647
 conversion to, 515
 departure from, 942
 vs. free silver, 645
 in Great Depression, 736, 740
Goldbeck, Eugene O., 714(i)
Golden Hind (ship), 45
Goldwater, Barry, 746, 902, 974(i)
 Conscience of a Conservative, The, 974–975
 election of 1964 and, 905–906, 906(m)
 New Right and, 974–975
 Goliad, Texas, 391–392
Gompers, Samuel, 570–571, 570(i), 677
González, Henry, 897
Gooch, William, 124, 134
Good Times (TV show), 959, 959(i)
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 992, 993–995, 995(i)
Gordon (slave), 389(i)
Gordy, Berry, 848(i)
Gore, Albert (Al), Jr., 1020, 1021
 election of 2000 and, 1025, 1025(i)
 Gorras Blancas, 644
 “Gospel of Wealth, The” (Carnegie), 546
Gotzion, Evelyn, 778
Gould, Jay, 651(i)
 government(s). *See also* Government (U.S.); political parties; *specific parties*
 of Cahokia, 11
 Cherokee, 327
 of Confederacy, 446, 449, 454, 460
 of Connecticut, 62
 economic development and, 255–256
 limited, 542, 668, 709, 710
 local, 182
 middle classes in, 198(f)
 Native American, 12–15, 756–757
 in New England, 64–66
 of New York, 82
 progressivism and, 652
 by Puritans, 60
 Reagan on, 972, 982
 Reconstruction, 487, 493–495
 after Revolution, 200
 urban, 619–624
 of Virginia, 52
 Government (U.S.). *See also* Congress (U.S.); courts; government; Supreme Court (U.S.)
 agricultural funding by, 569
 under Articles of Confederation, 200–201
 authority of, 207
 banking and, 460
 and business in 1920s, 668, 709, 710–711
 economic role of, 332, 460
 expansion of, 749
 funding through tariffs, 512–513
 funding through taxes, 660–661
 Hamilton on, 216–218
 industry and, 287, 510
 Jefferson on, 216, 218–219
 nationalist faction and, 204–205
 power over citizens, 498
 railroads and, 565
 slavery and, 267, 378
 spending by, 840
 supremacy of, 205
 after Watergate, 948
 in World War I, 688–690
 government spending. *See also* defense spending; deficit spending; spending in Civil War, 460
 after Civil War, 508
 New Deal and, 751
 stagflation and, 942
 governors. *See specific individuals*
 Grace Baptist, 628
 gradual emancipation statutes, 265–266, 265(m), 361
Graham, Billy, 849, 849(i), 855(i), 962–963
Graham, Frank P., 822–823
Graham, Isabella, 305
 grammar school (high school), 263
 Granada, Spain and, 31
 Grand Canyon, 521, 583, 651
 Grand Coulee Dam, 760–761, 762(i)
 grandfather clause, 645
 Grange, 565
 Granger laws, 566
 grant(s), to Spanish conquistadors, 42
Grant, Charlie, 581
Grant, Jehu (slave), 193
Grant, Sarah, 382

- Grant, Ulysses S.** (1822–1885), 483
 in Civil War, 444, 449, 452, 464, 465,
 466–467, 468(*i*), 469(*m*), 471–474
 election of 1868 and, 484
 election of 1872 and, 498, 639
 Indian policy of, 528–529
 Mexican War and, 419
 as president (1869–1877), 498, 499,
 501(*i*)
 Reconstruction and, 484, 500
- Granville, Lord**, 142
- grape boycott, 897, 897(*i*)
- Grapes of Wrath, The* (Steinbeck), 759
- Graves, Leslie**, 793–794
- Gray, Horace**, 649(*i*)
- Great American Desert, 391, 519
- Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P), 548
- Great Awakening
 First, 129–133
 Fourth (1970–present), 275, 961–963, 976
 print revolution and, 132(*i*)
 Second (1790–1840s), 248, 262, 271–276, 273(*m*), 344
 in South, 271–272
 Third (1880–1900), 275
- Great Britain. *See* Act of Union (1707); England (Britain)
- Great Compromise, 206
- Great Depression (1930s), 734–763. *See also* New Deal; World War II
 causes of, 670, 726–727
 in England, 737
 families on relief in (1933), 739(*m*)
 First New Deal and, 740–747
 onset of (1929–1932), 727–729, 736–739
 Second New Deal and, 747–751
- Great Gatsby, The* (Fitzgerald), 721
- Great Lakes region
 canals to, 294, 296(*m*)
 cities in, 300(*m*)
 farming in, 293
 France and, 56, 58
 free-soil movement in, 421
 Indians of, 15, 17
 migration into, 229(*m*)
 railroads in, 296, 297(*m*)
 after Revolution, 196
 roads and canals in, 296(*m*)
- Great Migration, by African Americans, 613, 669, 706, 874(*m*)
- Great Plains
 climate of, 519
 dust bowl of (1930–1941), 759–760, 759(*m*)
 ecology of, 415
 environment of, 521–524
 homesteaders on, 519–524
 immigrants and, 519, 520
- Indians of, 15–16, 327, 407, 414(*m*), 415–417, 525–534
 marketing of, 519
 railroads and, 519
 wagon trains on, 412–413
 western trails across, 414(*m*)
 wheat on, 520
 “great postal campaign,” of abolitionists, 362
- Great Railroad Strike of 1877, 565
- Great Salt Lake, 353(*m*), 354
- Great Serpent Mound (Adena), 12(*i*)
- Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 761
- Great Society, 762, 904–908, 905(*i*), 907(*t*)
 Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) and, 1013
- Great Wagon Road, 126
- Great War. *See* World War I (1914–1918)
- Great War for Empire (Seven Years’ War, 1756–1763), 135, 137–140
 costs of, 152–155
- Great War on White Slavery, The*, 626(*i*)
- “Great West, The” (promotional poster), 509(*i*)
- Greater Antilles, 53
- Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, 773
- Greece, 559, 808, 809
- Greeley, Horace**, 351, 433, 464, 498
- Green, Anna Maria**, 472–473
- Green, Duff**, 321
- Green Bay Packers, 582
- Green Berets, 833
- Green Corn Ceremony, 17
- Green Party, in 2000, 1025
- Greenback-Labor Party, 565–566, 567
- greenbacks, 515
 in Civil War, 460
- Greene, Nathanael**, 191, 194
- Greensboro, North Carolina, Woolworth’s lunch counter sit-in at, 882
- Greensted, William**, 40
- Greenville, Treaty of (1795), 226–227, 228(*i*)
- Greenwich Village, sexual rebellion in, 592
- Greenwood-Lee family**, 105(*i*)
- Gregg, William**, 395
- Gregg v. Georgia* (1976), 957
- Gregory XVI** (Pope), 308, 310
- Grenville, George**, 155–157, 160, 160(*t*)
- Griffiths, Martha**, 925
- Griffin, James B.**, 452
- Griffith, D. W.**, 726(*i*)
- Griffith, E. H.**, 687(*i*)
- Grignon, Charles**, 164
- Grimes County, Texas, African Americans in, 646
- Grimké sisters, Angelina and Sarah**, 362, 370
- Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), 855, 956
- Groetzinger, Leona Prall**, 626–627
- gross domestic product (GDP)
 between 1929 and 1932, 736
 1930–1972, 843(*f*)
 1938–1945, 774(*f*)
 of China, 1008
 decline in, 942, 946(*f*)
 gross federal debt as percentage of, 1027(*f*)
 military spending in, 841
 national debt and, 461, 461(*f*)
 Reagan and, 984
 after World War II, 842
 worldwide (1938–1945), 774 (*f*)
- Group of Eight (G-8), 1009
- Group of Seven (G-7), 1009
- Grubman, Alex**, 562
- Grund, Francis**, 284
- Guadalcanal Diary* (movie), 782
- Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848), 421, 424(*m*), 427
- Guadeloupe, 53, 139
- Guam, 676, 677, 678, 792
- Guanajuato, mines in, 42
- Guanche people, 28
- Guantánamo, Cuba, U.S. base in, 678
- Guatemala
 CIA-organized coup in, 828
 immigrants from, 1014
 Reagan and, 992
- guerrilla warfare. *See also* Revolutionary War (U.S.)
 in Civil War, 449
 in Kansas, 433
 by Seminoles, 331
 in Vietnam War, 910(*m*)
- guilds, 20
- Guilford Court House, battle at, 194
- Guiteau, Charles**, 638
- Gulf of Mexico region
 Civil War and, 452, 453(*m*)
 states in, 229(*m*)
- Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964), 911
- Gulf War (1991). *See* Persian Gulf War
- Gullah dialect, 397
- Guthrie, Woody**, 761
- Gypsies, in World War II, 792
- habeas corpus
 in Confederacy, 454
 Lincoln and, 454, 469
- haciendas, 42
- Hacker, Andrew**, 842
- Haida Indians, 16
- Haile Selassie**, 768
- Haiti, 31
L’Ouverture in, 223(*i*)
 Napoleon and, 232
 rural labor code in, 482

- slave revolt in, 266, 267
U.S. intervention in, 711, 712
Haitian Revolution, 222–223, 224
Hakluyt, Richard, 45
Haldimand, Frederick, 168
Halifax (Lord), 137, 152
Hall, John H., 290
Hall, Prince, 267, 360
Hamburg, Germany, 791, 796
Hamer, Fannie Lou, 890(*i*), 891
Hamilton, Alexander, 216, 218(*i*)
 Constitutional Convention and, 205
 death of, 233
 election of 1800 and, 225–226
 Federalist and, 207–210
 Federalists and, 218
 financial reports by, 216–218
 fiscal structure of, 217(*f*)
 as secretary of the treasury, 216
Hamilton, Alice, 628
Hamilton, Charles, 889
Hamilton, James, Jr., 328
Hamilton Manufacturing Company, 304
Hammond, James Henry, 383(*i*), 384, 386, 388, 391, 394
Hampton Institute, 493, 628
Han people (China), 197
Hancock, John, 155, 158, 178(*i*), 210
Hancock, Winfield Scott, 564(*i*), 639(*m*)
Handsome Lake (Seneca Indians), 227
Handy, W. C., 617–618
Hanna, Mark, 640, 647
Hanseatic League, 20
hard-war strategy, of Sherman, 470
Harding, Warren G. (1865–1923)
 corruption under, 710
 election of 1920 and, 710
 as president (1921–1923), 710
Harlan County, Kentucky, coal strike in, 738
Harlan John Marshall, I, 649(*i*)
Harlem, violence in, 896
Harlem Renaissance, 718–720
Harmar, Fort, 226
Harpers Ferry, Virginia, Brown's raid on, 438
Harper's Weekly, 480(*i*), 485(*i*), 661(*i*)
Harrington, Michael, 843, 863
Harris, Anna, 382
Harris, David, 471
Harris, Emory, 890
Harris, Isaac, 631
Harris, Jim, 462
Harris, Louis, 948
Harrison, Benjamin (1833–1901), 638
 election of 1888 and, 639(*m*)
 election of 1892 and, 648(*m*)
 “front porch campaign” of, 640
 as president (1889–1893), 642
Harrison, William Henry (1773–1841), 339
 in Canada, 235–236
election of 1836 and, 334
election of 1840 and, 338–339, 338(*i*), 424
 in War of 1812, 237
Hart, Almira, 260
Hart-Celler Act (1965), 1013
Hartford Convention, 237–241
Harvard Business School, 550
Harvard University, 587, 589(*i*)
Harvey, Donna Jean, 778–779
Hashimoto Sadahide, 511
Hastie, William, 878
Hat Act (1732), 85(*t*), 107
Hatch Act (1887), 569, 662(*t*)
Hatcher, Richard, 895
Hausa people, 25, 97
Havana, 43, 90
Havel, Edmund, 496(*i*)
Hawaii
 annexation of, 510, 672, 676
 Pearl Harbor attack and, 773
Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen
 (Liliuokalani), 676(*i*)
hawks (political)
 Carter and, 977
 in Vietnam War, 919
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 294, 348
Hay, John, 679, 1015
Hay-Pauncefote Agreement (1901), 682
Hayakawa, Sessue, 704
Hayden, Tom, 914, 919
Hayes, George E. C., 880(*i*)
Hayes, Rutherford B. (1822–1893), 638
 election of 1876 and, 500–501
 as president (1877–1881), 529
Haymarket Square incident (1886), 568, 644
Hayne, Robert Y., 325(*i*)
Haywood, William (Big Bill), 655
Head Start, 905
headright system, 54
health and health care. *See also* public health
 for baby boomers, 851
 in Civil War, 455–456, 456(*i*), 458–459
 Clinton and, 1021
 federal legislation for, 709
 for same-sex couples, 1019
 in South, 494
 women and, 952
 worker hazards and, 553
health insurance, 708. *See also* national health insurance
 Kennedy, John F. and, 904
 in labor contracts, 845
 Obama and, 1031
Hearst, William Randolph, 619, 620, 675
Heaton, Hannah, 116–117, 129–132
heavy industry, 987
Hedlund family, 586(*i*)
Hefner, Hugh, 856
Heinemann, Otto K. E., 719
Heinz Company, 549
“Hello Ma Baby” (song), 578, 578(*i*)
Helper, Hinton, 446
Hemingway, Ernest, 720
Henri, Robert, 595, 598
Henry VIII (England, r. 1509–1547), 44
Henry, Patrick, 157–158, 166–167, 176, 177, 205, 207, 211
Henry of Portugal (1394–1460), 25–28
Hepburn Act (1906), 651, 662(*t*)
Herblock, 811(*i*)
heresy, 22, 31
Heritage Foundation, 976
herrenvolk (“master race”) republic, 266
Hersh, Seymour, 928
Hessians, in Revolutionary War, 184
Heterodoxy Club, 592
Hexamer, C. J., 692
Heyrick, Elizabeth Coltman, 362
Heyward, Edward Barnell, 488
Hezbollah (Lebanon), 992
Hiawatha (Mohawk), 13–15
Hicks, Mary A., 398
Hicks, Thomas, 348(*i*)
Hidatsa Indians, 15, 233
Hiell, John, 176
hierarchy
 in Christian Church, 21
 in European society, 18
high culture, 618–619
high school, 303, 586–587. *See also*
 education; schools
 girls in, 495
 graduates of (1870–1910), 587(*t*)
higher education. *See also* universities and colleges
 women in, 276, 588, 589(*i*), 925
Higher Education Act (1965), 906, 907(*t*)
highways. *See* roads and highways; *specific roads*
Hill, Fanny Christina (*Tina*), 779
Hill, John William, 295(*i*)
Hillsborough (Lord), 166
Hine, Lewis W., 554(*i*), 621, 621(*i*), 652
hippies, 918
Hirabayashi, Gordon, 788
Hirabayashi v. United States (1943), 788, 877
Hirohito (Japan), 773
Hiroshima, atomic bombing of, 794, 794(*m*), 795, 796, 796(*i*)
Hispanics. *See also* Latinos; *specific groups*
 in conquered Mexican lands, 407
 population of (2000), 1014(*m*)
Hispaniola, 31, 34, 35
Hiss, Alger, 821
Hitchcock, Martha Hunter, 260–261
Hitler, Adolf, 768–769, 769(*i*), 791. *See also*
 Nazi Germany; World War II
 Holocaust and, 791

- HIV/AIDS, 985, 986(*i*)
- Ho Chi Minh**, 697, 804, 828, 833
- Ho Chi Minh City, 929
- Ho Chi Minh Trail, 910(*m*)
- Hoar, George F.**, 677
- Hobbes, Thomas**, 86(*i*)
- Hoff, John**, 251–254
- Hoffman, Abbie**, 921
- Hoffman, Michael**, 332
- Hohokam people, 16
- holding companies, 548
- Holland. *See also* Dutch
- Dutch Republic as, 44
 - England and, 84
 - New Netherland and, 56, 58–60, 84
 - Puritans in, 60
- Holland Land Company, 230
- Hollywood, 726. *See also* movies and movie industry
- Hollywood Ten, 821
- Holmes, Eleanor**, 890
- Holmes, Isaac**, 397
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr.**, 650, 694
- Holocaust, 791–792
- holy war
- by Muslims, 1024–1025
- Holyoke, Mary Vial**, 118
- home front
- in World War I, 688–696, 699
 - in World War II, 781–788, 784(*i*), 785(*i*)
- Home Insurance Building (Chicago), 608
- Home Missionary Society, 275
- Home Owners Loan Corporation, 744
- home rule, for South, 500
- homelessness
- in depression of 1890s, 623
 - in Great Depression, 738(*i*)
- Homestead Act (1862), 232, 460, 516
- Homestead lockout, 544, 644
- homesteads, 230
- on Great Plains, 519–524
- homophiles, 856, 925–926
- homosexuals and homosexuality. *See also* gays and lesbians
- Kinsey on, 856
 - in urban areas, 355, 618
- Hone, Philip** (1780–1851), diary entry by, 252–253, 328
- Honeymooners, The* (TV show), 846–847
- Hong Kong, in World War II, 792
- Hood, John B.**, 469, 471(*m*)
- Hooker, Joseph ("Fighting Joe")**, 452
- Hoover, Herbert** (1874–1964)
- Bonus Army and, 739
 - election of 1928 and, 714–718, 718(*m*)
 - election of 1932 and, 739
 - Food Administration and, 689–690
 - Great Depression and, 734, 736–738
 - on NRA, 746
 - as secretary of commerce, 710
- Hoover, J. Edgar**, 709
- "Hoovervilles," 738, 738(*i*)
- Hopi Indians, 16
- Hopkins, Harry**, 741, 749
- Hopkins, Samuel**, 274
- Hopkins, Stephen**, 155–156
- horizontal integration, 548
- horses
- in Africa, 25(*i*)
 - Indians and, 15, 416
- Horseshoe Bend, Battle of, 237, 240(*m*)
- hospitals, reform of public, 367
- hostage crisis, in Iran, 977–980, 980(*i*)
- "House Divided" speech (Lincoln), 438
- House of Burgesses, 52
- Berkeley and, 70
 - blacks and, 40, 55–56
 - slaves and, 96
 - Spotswood confrontation in, 108–109
- House of Commons (England), Walpole in, 106
- House of Lords (England), 18
- House of Representatives, 206, 333, 365, 483
- election of 1824 and, 319
 - representation in, 638
- House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), 821, 823, 875, 948
- household(s)
- of black women, 491
 - two-income, 958
- household economy, 116–117
- household mode of production, 120
- housing
- antebellum slave quarters as, 400(*i*)
 - colonial, 118(*i*)
 - discrimination in, 857
 - electricity in, 546, 577
 - FHA and VA mortgages for, 857
 - home ownership and, 840
 - in Hoovervilles, 738(*i*)
 - Indian, 230(*i*)
 - middle-class, 303, 304(*i*)
 - New Deal and, 744–745
 - of planters, 376, 383, 383(*i*), 386
 - postwar boom in, 856–863
 - racism in, 857, 863
 - reforms and, 615, 616(*f*)
 - restrictive covenants in, 857
 - of sharecroppers, 491(*m*)
 - in Shenandoah Valley region, 124(*i*)
 - slums as, 305
 - sod, 520(*i*)
 - suburban, 857
 - tenements, 614–615, 616(*f*)
 - of urban elite, 301
 - of wealthy, 608
 - of working class, 305, 614–615
 - after World War II, 843–844, 845
- Housing Act (1937), 745
- Housing and Urban Development, Department of (HUD), 906, 907(*t*)
- housing bubble, in 1920s, 744
- housing codes, 615
- Houston, Charles Hamilton**, 878
- Houston, commerce in, 566(*i*)
- Houston, Sam**, 391, 392, 446
- How to Make Money Although a Woman*, 588
- Howard, Oliver O.**, 487
- Howe, Frederic C.**, 606
- Howe, William**, 151(*i*), 184, 185, 185(*m*), 187
- Howells, William Dean**, 594
- "Howl" (Ginsberg), 849
- HUAC. *See* House Un-American Activities Committee
- Huang Zunxian**, on Chinese immigration, 564
- Hubbard, Elbert**, 252
- Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Business Men*, 252
- HUD. *See* Housing and Urban Development, Department of
- Hudson, Henry**, 58
- Hudson Bay region, British acquisition of, 90
- Hudson River region, 293, 294
- manors in, 58, 120–121, 120(*m*)
 - in Revolution, 184
- Hudson's Bay Company, 412, 417
- Huerta, Dolores**, 781, 877, 896–897, 897(*i*)
- Hughes, Charles Evans**, 686
- Hughes, Langston**, 718, 776, 871
- Hughes, Robert P.**, on Philippines conflict, 681
- Huguenots
- Calvinism of, 123
 - in New France, 57
- huiguan* (district associations), Chinese, 758
- Huitzilopochtli (god), 11(*i*)
- Hull House, 627–628, 627(*i*), 632
- human development theory (Morgan), 530–531, 530(*t*)
- human immunodeficiency virus. *See* HIV/AIDS
- human rights, Carter and, 977
- Human Rights, Office of, 977
- Human Rights Campaign, 1019
- human sacrifice, Aztec, 8, 11(*i*)
- Humane Society (New York City), 274
- humanism, civic, 20
- humans, African origins of, 23
- Humphrey, Hubert H.**, 875
- election of 1948 and, 819
 - election of 1964 and, 906
 - election of 1968 and, 921–922, 923(*m*)
- Hundred Days, in Great Depression, 740
- Hundred Years' War, Second, 78, 88
- Hungarian immigrants, 540
- Hungary, 806, 826, 1023
- Hunt, E. Howard**, 947
- Hunt, Thomas Poage**, 307(*i*)

- Hunter, Robert**, 652
hunter-gatherers, Native Americans as, 8, 15, 16
hunting
 of bison, 518
 game laws and subsistence, 584
 by Native Americans, 416
Huntington, Henry, 608
Huron Confederacy, 66(*i*)
Huron Indians, 56, 60, 66(*i*)
Hurricane Katrina, 1030
Hurston, Zora Neale, 718, 761
Hussein, Saddam, 980, 997–998, 1028
Hussein (Jordan), Eisenhower and, 829
Hussey company, 296
Huston, John, 761
Hutchinson, Anne, 62
Hutchinson, Thomas, 158, 167, 168, 170
Hutchinson Family Singers, 356
Hyde, Orson, on slavery, 434
 hydraulic mining, 516(*i*)
 hydrogen bomb, 813, 826
- “I Have a Dream” speech (King), 886
Iacocca, Lee, 987–989
IBM, 842, 989
Ibn Battuta, 30
 Ibo people, 97
 Ice Age
 human migrations during, 8
 settling of Americas and, 8, 9(*m*)
 iceboxes, 303
Ickes, Harold, 740, 752, 759
 Idaho, 413, 592, 593(*m*), 638
 idealism, of Revolution, 147
 identity
 African American, 97–100
 social, in antebellum America, 358–359
 of whites, 102–103
 ideology. *See also specific groups*
 of individualism, 346
 labor, 292–293
 political, 219
 of resistance, 159
Il Progresso Italo-American, 612
 illegal immigrants, 564, 1013, 1013(*f*), 1015. *See also* immigrants and immigration; *specific groups*
 Illinois, 201, 226, 229, 293, 316
 Indians in, 327–330, 327(*i*)
 Illinois Central Railroad, 553
 imams, 25
 IMF. *See International Monetary Fund*
Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition (Heyrick), 362
 immigrants and immigration, 407. *See also* migration; *specific groups*
 in 1854–1855, 356(*f*)
 1920–2000, 1013(*f*)
- after 1965, 1016–1017
 Asian, 758–759
 British mechanics and, 287
 Catholic, 281, 308, 432, 598–599
 in cities, 301, 609–613
 in Civil War, 454–455
 Constitution on, 206
 cultural conflict and, 310–311
 English-only measure and, 1018(*i*)
 German, 123–124
 on Great Plains, 519, 520
 industrialization and, 540, 556–557
 Jewish refugee, 792
 Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 906
 in Middle Atlantic region, 122–123, 122(*f*)
 nativism and, 310–311, 432, 713
 new immigration, 559(*m*)
 to North American colonies, 77
 origins and destinations of (1881–1915), 560(*f*)
 to Pennsylvania, 122
 policy toward, 864
 political machines and, 541, 622
 politics and, 1013–1018
 in population, 1012(*i*), 1013–1015
 restrictions on, 541, 560–564, 594, 713, 758–759
 sources of European (1871–1910), 559(*m*)
 South and, 395
 temperance and, 590
 transatlantic voyage by, 558
 urban, 864–865
 voting rights for, 647–648
 World War I and, 685
 Immigration Act (1965), 906, 907(*t*)
 Immigration and Nationality Act (1965), 1013, 1013(*f*)
 impeachment
 of Clinton, 1022
 of Johnson, Andrew, 483–484
 Nixon and, 947
 imperialism. *See also* empires; *specific empires and rulers*
 American, 672
 American exceptionalism and, 674
 anti-imperialists and, 677–678
 commercial, 106–107
 racism and, 674
 “Importance of a Virtuous Life, The” (Franklin), 130–131
 imports, 301. *See also* tariffs
 of British goods, 250(*i*)
 duties on, 161
 fees on, 510
 mainland population and, 141(*f*)
 southern objections to tariffs on, 287, 320
 impressment, 234, 266
- “In God We Trust,” on coins, 849–850
In His Steps (Sheldon), 600
In re Debs, 649(*i*)
In re Jacobs (1885), 649
 inaugural address
 of Jefferson (1801), 226
 of Lincoln (1861), 447
 of Lincoln (1865), 474
 of Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1933), 734
 of Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1937), 750
 of Wilson (1913), 660
 inauguration
 of Obama, 1031(*i*)
 of Reagan, 985
 Inca Empire, 8–10, 10(*m*), 31(*m*), 35
 incandescent bulb, 576
 incest taboos, slave marriages and, 397
Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl (Jacobs), 370, 382
 income. *See also* wage(s)
 in 1920s, 721
 drop in, 728
 increase in, 250, 302–303, 546
 inequality of, 842–843
 middle-class, 838
 two-income families and, 957
 income tax
 of 1894, 662(*t*)
 progressive, 660–661
 Supreme Court on, 649
 indentured servants, 284
 in Chesapeake region, 54–55, 55(*f*)
 criminals as, 152
 in Middle Atlantic region, 122
 propertyless sons as, 117
 redemptioner system and, 124
 independence
 in Africa, 895(*m*)
 colonial revolts and, 826, 827–829
 for Cuba, 675, 678
 for Panama, 682
 for Philippines, 678, 759
 of Texas, 391–392
 in Third World, 895(*m*)
 Vietnam and, 828
 independence (U.S.). *See also* Revolutionary War (U.S.)
 British recognition of, 196
 Common Sense and, 178
 declaration of, 178–179, 178(*i*), 184
 events leading to (1771–1776), 168–174
 Independence, Missouri, 412, 413
 Independent Order of Good Templars, 367
 Independent Treasury Act (1840), 338
 India
 British in, 46, 82, 139
 da Gama in, 29
 immigrants from, 1015
 Portugal and, 29

- India (*cont.*)
 textile production and consumption in, 289(*t*)
 in World War II, 792
 after World War II, 796
- Indian Affairs, Bureau of. *See* Bureau of Indian Affairs
- "Indian Country," 414(*m*)
- "Indian New Deal," 756–757, 757(*i*)
- Indian Ocean region
 Dutch and, 58
 Portugal and, 29, 30
- Indian policy
 of Adams, John Quincy, 320–321
 assimilation, 406, 528–532
 Grant's peace policy, 528
 removal as, 282, 326–331, 330(*m*)
 reservations and, 427, 525, 526(*m*), 529(*i*)
 severalty, 532
- Indian Removal Act (1830), 282, 327
- Indian Reorganization Act (1934), 756–757
- Indian Rights Association, 528, 529
- Indian Territory, 331
 land allotted to white settlers in, 532
 in Oklahoma and Kansas, 327, 330(*m*)
 slavery in, 464
- Indian wars, 52, 526–528
- Indiana, 201, 226, 229, 235, 293, 316
 Klanswomen in, 717
- Indians. *See also* Native Americans
 Columbus's naming of, 31
 "Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet," 164(*i*)
- Indians of All Tribes (IAT), 898, 898(*i*)
- Indies. *See also* West Indies
 Columbus and, 31
 East, 58
 use of term, 34
- individualism
 ideology of, 346
laissez-faire, 670
 as middle-class ethic, 346–349
- Indochina, 804. *See also* Vietnam
 France and, 697–698, 804
 Japan in, 773
- Indonesia
 financial crisis in, 1011
 Portugal and, 29
- Industrial Removal Office, 562
- Industrial Revolution
 society and, 301–311
 in United States, 284, 286–293, 333
- industrial statesmen, 548
- industrial unionism, 751. *See also* labor unions
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 655, 691
- industrialists, historians on, 548
- industrialization. *See also* Industrial Revolution
 Carnegie on, 546
 dangers of, 553
 immigrant labor and, 540, 556–557
 in late 19th century, 650
 mass production and, 551–552
 mechanics, technology, and, 287, 290–291
 mining and, 545(*i*)
 nativism and, 310
 scientific management and, 552
 social changes from, 301–311, 565
 in South, 556, 557(*m*)
 steel industry and, 544
 in United States, 408, 540
 urbanization and, 608–615
 Wilson on, 660
 workers and, 291–293, 549–550, 550–553
 world economy and, 546
- industry. *See also* Industrial Revolution; industrialization
 in 1920s, 721
 in Civil War, 456, 457(*i*), 460
 deindustrialization and, 942–945
 English, 140–141
 in Great Depression, 738, 741
 heavy industry, 987
 labor unions and, 844
 in Midwest, 296–297
 military-industrial complex and, 841–842, 841(*i*)
 in New South, 557(*m*)
 steam power in, 287
 tariffs and, 512, 513
 trade associations and, 710
 women workers in, 550
 in World War I, 688–689, 694
 in World War II, 783
- infant mortality, 19, 625, 626, 709
- inflation
 1960–2000, 943(*f*)
 in Civil War, 461, 462
 after Revolution, 196
 in Spain, 42
 tax revolt and, 946–947
 wages and, 958
 after World War I, 721
 after World War II, 842
- Influence of Sea Power upon History*, The (Mahan), 674
- influenza, 43
 pandemic of (1918–1919), 688
- information, movement of, 126–127
- infrastructure, transportation, 511
- Ingersoll, Jared, 158, 172
- inheritance
 of land, 117
 taxes on, 661, 983
- Tocqueville on, 317
- injunctions, against workers, 649(*i*)
- Inkton'mi (Assiniboine cultural hero), 417
- inland system, of domestic slave trade, 380–381, 381(*i*)
- Inman, Samuel Guy, 711
- inner light, Quaker, 83
- inoculation, 127
- Inquisition, in Spain, 31
- installment plans, 725
- Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Calvin, 1536), 22
- institutional racism, 863
- institutions
 of African Americans, 493
 of free blacks, 360, 402
 immigrant, 612
 for needy, 305
 reform of public, 367
 republican church, 270–271
- instruments (musical), African, 100
- Insular Cases* (1901), 678
- insurance, regulation of, 566
- Insurgents, 652, 656
- integrated circuit, 990
- integration
 Cherokees and, 327
 "communistic" nature of, 875
 in Little Rock, Arkansas, 872
 of military, 875
 postwar, 872(*i*)
- intellectual thought. *See also* ideology; literature; Pietism; specific individuals
 in 1920s, 718–721
 on abolition, 360–361
 on black equality, 265
 at Brook Farm, 347
 Darwin's theory of evolution and, 541
 Enlightenment and, 127–129, 270
 in Europe, 20–21
 fact worship in, 593
 on imperialism, 674
 on industrialization, 565
 modernism and, 718–721
 New Deal liberalism, 749
 rational thought and, 114
 on Reconstruction, 504
 scientific revolution and, 127
 Social Darwinism and, 594, 596–597, 674
 transcendentalism and, 346–347
- "Intemperance Is the Sin of Our Land" (Beecher), 368
- interchangeable parts, 284, 290
- intercontinental ballistic missiles, 826
- interest rates, 740, 751
- Interior Department, Watt and, 984
- intermarriage
 among Native Americans and mestizos, 414
- slave-Seminole, 331(*i*)

- internal improvements
 Clay and, 319
 Jackson and, 323, 326
 in South, 393
- internal taxes, 161
- International Council of Women of the Darker Races, 711
- international issues. *See* finances; foreign policy; League of Nations; terrorism; United Nations; war(s) and warfare; *specific countries, issues, and treaties*
- International Labor Defense Organization, 756(*i*)
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 840, 1009
- international organizations, 1009–1010
- internationalism, before World War II, 771–772
- Internet, 1004–1005, 1011, 1012
 newspapers and, 1011(*i*)
- interregional transportation, 293
- interstate commerce, 649(*i*)
 in Constitution, 207
- Interstate Commerce Act (1887), 569, 639, 650, 662(*t*)
- Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), 569, 651
- interstate highway system, 857, 861(*m*)
- intervention(s)
 in Caribbean region, 683, 683(*m*)
 in Latin America, 711
 by U.S. during Cold War, 801, 828
 in World War II, 771
- Intolerable Acts, Coercive Acts as, 168–169
- Inuit peoples, 8
- invasions. *See* exploration; *specific countries and wars*
- inventions. *See also* technology; *specific inventions*
 barbed wire, 519, 519(*i*)
 cotton gin and, 290
 of Edison, 549(*i*)
 by Franklin, 128
 industrial, 290–291
- investment(s)
 financial deregulation and, 1011
 in mining, 517
 private, 736
 in railroads, 296
 Reagan on, 982–983
 in stock market, 726–727
- investment programs, postwar economic boom and, 842
- Iowa, 293
- iPhone, global supply chain, 1006(*f*)
- Iran
 hostage crisis in, 977–980, 980(*i*)
 Iraq and, 827, 980
 Reagan and, 992
- shah of, 828, 977, 1024
 Soviet Union and, 808
- U.S.-sponsored overthrow of government (1953), 1023–1024
- Iran-Contra affair, 992–993, 993(*i*)
- Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), 997
- Iranian Revolution (1979), 828, 950
- Iraq
 Clinton and, 1024
 invasion by Bush, G. W., 1027–1028
 Iran and, 827, 980, 997–998
 Persian Gulf War and, 1024
- Iraq War (2003–2011), 1027–1029, 1030
 end of, 1031–1032
 operations after, 1028–1029
- Ireland
 English rule over, 45
 potato famine in, 310, 557
 Scots-Irish settlers and, 124
- Ireland, John, 599
- Irish Americans, in World War I, 685
- Irish immigrants, 281, 293, 301, 307, 310, 356, 432, 557
 in cities, 609
 in Civil War, 454
 women as, 559
 in World War I, 685
- Iron Act (1750), 85(*t*)
- iron and iron industry, 287
 workers in, 551
- iron curtain, 807
- ironclads, in Civil War, 466
- Ironworkers—Noontime (Anschutz), 552(*i*)
- Iroquois Confederacy, 13, 135–137, 137(*i*)
 Penn and, 83
- Iroquois Indians, 60, 88–89, 135, 226
 Dutch and, 58
 Five Nations of, 15
 Lancaster meetings with, 80
 in Revolution, 184, 187, 191(*m*)
 Six Nations of, 90, 164
 wars of, 60
- Iroquoian-speaking peoples, 12, 56, 90
- irreconcilables, Versailles treaty and, 699
- irrigation
 by Mormons, 354
 in West, 521, 524, 561, 760
- Irvine, E. S., 381
- Irving, Washington, 264
- Isabella of Castile (Spain, r. 1474–1504), 6, 30–31
- Islam. *See also* Muslims
 in Africa, 23, 25, 273, 395
 conversion to, 25
 Crusades and, 22
 movement along trade routes, 24(*m*)
 radical, 1002, 1023–1024
 Spain and, 31
- Ismail, Mawlay (Morocco, r. 1672–1727), 94
- isolation and isolationism
 in 1920s, 668
 before World War II, 669, 769–770, 771–772
- Israel
 Arab conflicts with, 938
 Camp David accords and, 977, 997
 Six-Day War and, 938, 1024
 state of, 828
 U.S. support for, 1024
 Yom Kippur War and, 938, 1024
- Isthmus of Darien (Panama), 34
- Italy
 economy in, 19–20
 Ethiopia invaded by, 768
 immigrants from, 557, 559, 559(*m*), 560(*f*), 610–612
 merchant houses in, 22
 trade of, 28
 in Triple Alliance, 684
 before World War II, 768
 in World War II, 790, 790(*m*)
- Iverson, Alfred, 391
- Iwo Jima, 776, 792
- IWW. *See* Industrial Workers of the World
- Jackson, Andrew (1829–1836), 281, 323(*i*), 324(*i*), 333, 461
 abolitionists and, 365
 Bank War and, 325–326
 character and goals of, 328–329
 election of 1824 and, 318–319, 319(*m*)
 election of 1828 and, 321, 322(*m*)
 election of 1832 and, 326
 impact of, 331–332
 Indian removal and, 326–331, 416
 Jeffersonian Republicans and, 244
 nullification and, 323–325
 Panic of 1837 and, 335–338
 as president (1829–1837), 322–331
 Tariff of 1828 and, 321
 in War of 1812, 237, 240(*m*), 241
 Whigs and, 332
- Jackson, Howell, 649(*i*)
- Jackson, Jesse, 932
- Jackson, Patrick Tracy, 287–288
- Jackson, Rebecca Cox, 350
- Jackson, Thomas J. (Stonewall), 449, 450, 450(*m*), 451
- Jackson, William Henry, 415(*i*)
- Jackson State College, killings at, 928
- Jacksonians, as Democrats, 321, 391
- Jacobins (France), 219
- Jacobs, Harriet, 370, 382, 463
- Jacobs, Jane, 858, 859
- Jamaica, 53, 91
- James I (England, r. 1603–1625), 47, 49, 52, 60

- James II** (Duke of York, England), 82, 85, 86
 Glorious Revolution and, 86
 ouster of, 87
- James, Frank and Jesse**, 449
- James, William**, 678
 Jamestown, 48–49, 49(*i*)
 Japan, 408, 431
 China and, 678–679, 679–682, 768, 772–773
 Christianity in, 601
 colonization by, 768
 currency of, 1008
 economy in, 987, 988
 Indochina and, 773
 MacArthur in, 813–814
 missionaries in, 599(*i*)
 Pearl Harbor attack by, 773
 Russo-Japanese War and, 679
 Tojo in, 768, 773
 trade with, 431, 510, 511(*i*)
 U.S. in, 601
 Vietnam and, 828
 after World War I, 697
 before World War II, 768
 in World War II, 766, 772–773, 792–793
- “Japan and America: Global Partners” (Funabashi), 988
- Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), 877
- Japanese Americans, 713, 758
 World War II removal and internment of, 669, 670, 787–788, 787(*m*), 788(*i*)
- Japanese immigrants, 561, 713, 758
- Jarvis, Howard**, 947
- Jay, John**
 on central government, 204
 Federalist and, 207–210
 treaty with Britain and, 219–222
 on voting rights, 316
- Jay’s Treaty (1795), 219–222, 226
- jazz, 705(*i*), 718–719
- Jazz Age, 719. *See also* art(s); culture(s); specific arts
- Jefferson, Thomas** (1743–1826), 216, 218(*i*), 264, 321, 324, 432
 on Adams, John Quincy, 320
 agrarianism of, 218–219
 death of, 248
 Declaration of Independence and, 178–179, 178(*i*)
 as deist, 128
 on education, 263
 election of 1796, 225(*m*)
 election of 1800 and, 225–226, 225(*m*)
 Embargo Act and, 234–235
 Enlightenment and, 129
 freedom of religion and, 275
 Haitian Revolution and, 223
 on Hamilton’s national bank, 218
 Louisiana Purchase and, 232–234, 235(*m*)
- as president (1801–1809), 231–234
 as secretary of state, 216
 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and, 225
 West and, 231–234
- Jeffersonian Democrat, Tyler as, 339–340
- Jeffersonian Republicans. *See also* Democratic Republicans; Republicans
 First Bank of the United States and, 250–251
 Jenkins’s Ear, War of (1739–1741), 88(*t*)
 Jenney, William Le Baron, 608
 Jerome, Chauncey, 284
 Jerseys, 82
 Jesuits, 22
 Five Nations and, 60
 in New France, 56
 Jesus Christ, 21–22. *See also* Christianity; specific groups
 Jewish Daily Forward, 612
 Jewish immigrants, 559, 559(*m*), 560, 612
 in industrial economy, 562–563
 Jews and Judaism. *See also* anti-Semitism
 Crusades and, 22
 Hitler and, 768, 769(*i*)
 Holocaust and, 791–792
 Israel and, 828
 in Lower East Side (New York City), 613(*m*)
 movie industry and, 704, 726
 in Palestine, 698
 religious practices of, 599
 restrictive covenants for, 857
 jihad (holy war), against America, 1024–1025
- Jim Crow, 663
 Jim Crow laws, 580, 696, 870(*i*), 880(*i*)
 life under, 870–872
 in World War II, 776, 780(*i*)
- João I** (Kongo), 28
- João III** (Portugal), 35
- Job Corps, 905
- jobs. *See also* employment
 in 1950s, 863
 for African Americans, 541
 outsourcing of, 1010–1011
 for women, 851, 854, 937(*i*)
- Jobs, Steve**, 989, 991
- John Birch Society, 975
- John Paul II** (pope), 994
- Johnson, Andrew** (1808–1875), 480–481
 amnesty plan of, 478, 480, 487
 Congress vs., 481–482
 election of 1864 and, 468–469, 480–481
 Fourteenth Amendment and, 481
 impeachment of, 483–484
 Reconstruction plan of, 478, 487
 Stanton’s dismissal and, 483
- Johnson, Eastman**, 463(*i*)
- Johnson, Gabriel**, 106
- Johnson, Henry**, 267
- Johnson, Herbert**, 752(*i*)
- Johnson, Hiram**, 699
- Johnson, Jack**, 712
- Johnson, Joshua** (or Johnston, c. 1763–1824), 249(*i*), 402, 403(*i*)
- Johnson, Lyndon B.** (1908–1973)
 affirmative action and, 951
 assumption of presidency by, 904
 civil rights movement and, 890
 election of 1960 and, 830
 election of 1964 and, 905–906, 906(*m*)
 election of 1968 and, 923(*m*)
 Great Society of, 762, 904–908, 905(*i*)
 race riots and, 896
 on society, 863
 Vietnam War and, 910–914, 916
- Johnson, Richard Mentor**, 365(*i*)
- Johnson, Sally, Henderson, and Louisa**, 385
- Johnson, Samuel**, 264
- Johnson, Tom**, 624
- Johnson, Virginia**, 960
- Johnson, William**, 164
- Johnston, Albert Sidney**, 452
- Johnston, Eric**, 842
- Johnston, Joseph E.**, 468
- Johnston, Joshua**. *See* Johnson, Joshua
- joint-stock corporation, Massachusetts Bay Colony as, 62
- Jones, Charles C.**, 395
- Jones, David**, 164–165
- Jones, Nathaniel**, 182
- Jones Act (1916), 678
- Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, 608, 610
- Joplin, Scott**, 617
- Jordan, Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 938
- Joseph, Chief** (Nez Perce), 525, 529
- journalism
 muckrakers in, 619
 yellow, 619, 620, 675
- Journey of Reconciliation, 874
- Joy of Sex, The* (Comfort), 960
- juba dancing, 359
- Judaism. *See* Jews and Judaism
- judges. *See also* courts; Supreme Court (U.S.)
 federal, 216
 judicial authority, 241
- judiciary, 205. *See also* courts; Supreme Court (U.S.)
 after *Brown* decision, 930
 Jefferson and, 231
 Reagan appointments to, 984–985
 Supreme Court and, 206
- Judiciary Act
 of 1789, 216, 231
 of 1801, 231
- jujitsu, 581
- Jungle, The* (Sinclair), 629, 629(*i*)

- jury service, "full and equal" access to, 496
 Justice Act (1774), 168
Justice Department
 antiradicalism division of, 709
 Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 650
 Standard Oil and, 651
 in World War I, 691
 juvenile court systems, 628
 juvenile delinquency, report on, 856
- Kagan, Elena**, 1031
Kaiser, Henry J., and Kaiser Corporation, 775–776, 775(i), 782(i), 783
Kamehameha dynasty (Hawaii), 676(i)
 kamikaze missions, 792
 Kanagawa, Treaty of (1854), 510
Kane, Gail, 629(i)
Kansas
 abolitionism vs. proslavery sentiments in, 410, 432(i), 433
 "Bleeding Kansas," 432–433
 guerrilla war in, 433
 Indian removal to, 327, 330(m)
 Lecompton constitution and, 384, 436
 People's Party in, 643
 statehood for, 436
 Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), 407, 429(m), 431–432, 433
 Kansas Pacific Railroad, 525(i)
Kant, Immanuel, 346
Käsebier, Gertrude, 531(i)
 Katmai national monument (Alaska), 583
Kearney, Denis, 561
Kearney, Stephen, 419(m)
Keawaheulu (Hawaii), 676(i)
Keen, William Williams, 459
Kefauver, Estes, 856
Kelley, Abby, 366
Kelley, Florence, 628, 629
Kemp, Jack, 983
Kendall, Amos, 322
Kennan, George F., 808–809, 813, 995
Kennedy, Anthony, 979, 984, 1020
Kennedy, Edward (Ted), 980
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 904
Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1917–1963), 829–830, 830(i)
 assassination of, 887, 904
 civil rights and, 883–884
 domestic policy of, 832
 election of 1960 and, 830
 foreign policy of, 829–833
 liberalism and, 904
Nation of Immigrants, A, 1016
 Vietnam and, 832–833, 910
Kennedy, John Pendleton, 398
Kennedy, Robert F., 830, 897, 919
 assassination of, 920–921, 921(i)
 Freedom Riders and, 883
- Kenesaw Mountain, Battle of, 468
Kent, Connecticut, 141
Kent, James, 421
 Kent State University, killings at, 927–928
Kentucky
 Civil War and, 449
 claims to, 175
 migration into, 226, 227, 228
 in Revolution, 184
 after Revolution, 200, 201
 secession and, 448
 statehood for, 226
 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 225, 324
 western settler occupation of, 177
Kenya, embassy bombed in, 1024
Kerner Commission Report (1968), 863, 896
 kerosene, 546, 547
Kerouac, Jack, 849
Kerry, John, election of 2004 and, 1029
Key, Elizabeth, 40, 55
Keynes, John Maynard, 749
 Keynesian economics, 751
 Khmer Rouge, in Cambodia, 929
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 977, 997
Khrushchev, Nikita S., 818, 826, 830, 838, 840(i)
 Kikongo language, 97
Killbuck, John, 165
Kim Il Sung, 815–816
 kin-based groups, Native American, 15–16, 17
 Kincaid site (Mississippian town), 13(i)
 kindergarten, 590
King, Boston (slave), 192–193
King, Constance, 744(i)
King, Coretta Scott, 869(i), 881
King, Horace, 402(i)
King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968), 869(i)
 assassination of, 896, 919
 in Birmingham, 883, 886(i)
 civil rights legislation and, 904
 on Ghana's independence, 876
 "I Have a Dream" speech of, 886
 Montgomery Bus Boycott and, 881–882
 philosophy of, 881, 882(i)
 riots and, 896
 speech by (1962), 888
King Cotton, 456–457
King George's War (1740–1748), 88(t)
King William's War (1689–1697), 88(t)
Kingdom of Kongo, 6, 25, 26, 28(i), 102
 kings and kingdoms. *See also specific individuals and locations*
 in Africa, 23–25
 in ancient Americas, 10
 King's Mountain, battle at, 191
Kinsey, Alfred, and Kinsey reports, 855–856, 855(i), 960
- kinship, slave, 97, 397, 398
Kinzo Hirai, on Japan's experiences with the U.S., 601
Kiowa Indians, 416, 529, 532
Kipling, Rudyard, on Chinese workers, 561(i)
Kissinger, Henry, 929
Kitchen Ball . . . (Mayr), 396(i)
 Kitchen Cabinet (Jackson), 322–323
 kitchen debate, 838, 840(i)
KKK. See Ku Klux Klan
 Klamath River Hurek Tribe, 898(i)
Klein, S., 563
 Klondike, gold rush in, 518
 Knickerbocker Trust Company, failure of, 661
Knight, Sarah Kemble, 126
 Knights of Labor, 567–568, 567(i), 569, 570, 636
 Knights of the White Camelia, 499
 Knights Templar, 22
 Know-Nothing Party, 407, 432, 433
Knox, Frank, 771
Knox, Henry, 204, 216, 226
Kongo, 97
 Kingdom of, 6, 25, 26, 28(i), 102
Koontz, Elizabeth Duncan, on Equal Rights Amendment, 955
Koop, C. Everett, 985
Korea
 immigrants from, 561
 Japan and, 679, 773, 792
 Korean War (1950–1953), 800, 815–818, 815(i), 816(m), 826
 GI Bill after, 844
Korematsu v. United States (1944), 788, 877
 Kosovo, 1023
Kozachenko, Kathy, 957
Krimmel, John Lewis, 221(i)
Kroc, Ray, 860–862
Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 498–499, 499(i)
 in 1920s, 663, 714, 715(m)
 after *Brown* decision, 878
 Evans, Hiram Wesley, and, 717
 Freedom Riders and, 883
 membership in, 716–717, 716(t)
 revival of, 669
Ku Klux Klan Act (1871), 484(t)
Kursk, Battle of, 789
 Kuwait, Iraq invasion of, 998, 1028
 Kwa language, 97
 Kyoto Protocol, 1032
- La Causa**, 897
La Follette, Robert M., 654(i)
 in election of 1924, 711
 Versailles treaty and, 699
 Wisconsin Idea of, 652
 World War I and, 685

- La Raza Unida (The United Race), 897
- La Salle, Robert de**, 58
- La Touche, John**, 751
- labor. *See also* indentured servant; jobs; slaves and slavery; women; workers
- African, 55–56
 - Bacon's Rebellion and, 71
 - black, 871
 - in Brazil, 35
 - of children, 254, 305, 556, 556(i), 652, 654
 - of Chinese immigrants, 511, 512(i), 561, 561(i)
 - colonial, 4
 - contract for, 844–845
 - deskilling of, 551–552
 - division of, 286–287
 - of European peasants, 18, 19
 - farm, 757
 - feminism and, 908
 - free vs. slave, 384–385
 - gang-labor system, 388, 397, 487
 - immigration and, 310, 556–557, 558, 561
 - indentured servants as, 54–55
 - Indian, 42
 - Japanese American, 787
 - Mexican American activism and, 875–877
 - organization of, 564–571
 - for Panama Canal, 682, 682(i)
 - in Pennsylvania, 122
 - political alliances of, 541, 564–565, 565–566, 569
 - politics of, 334
 - progressives and, 655
 - reforms, 632, 652–654
 - in seaport cities, 104–105
 - slaves as, 30, 96–97, 395, 397
 - sources of cheap, 1010–1011
 - in South, 390, 395
 - Taft and, 663
 - task system of, 397
 - for textile industry, 254, 285(i), 288–290
 - in urban society, 304–305
 - Wilson and, 663
 - workmen's compensation measures for, 654
 - in World War I, 694–695
 - in World War II, 781
- labor contracts, for freedmen, 481
- Labor Department**
- affirmative action and, 951
 - Children's Bureau in, 652, 662(t)
 - labor-management accords, 844–845
 - labor movements, 337, 540, 565–566. *See also* labor unions
 - labor theory of value, 292–293
 - labor unions. *See also* strikes; specific unions
 - African Americans and, 780, 871–872
 - in Cold War liberalism, 818–819
- collective bargaining and, 840
- decline of, 944–945, 987
- deindustrialization and, 944–945
- formation of, 291–293, 541
- membership in, 708
- Mexican Americans and, 781
- middle-class expansion and, 844–845
- New Deal and, 747, 751–754
- Panic of 1837 and, 335
- political shift away from, 948–949
- radicalism and, 565, 655–656
- Red Scare and, 821
- strength of (1900–1997), 844(f)
- trade unions, 565, 567, 569–570
- after World War I, 707–708
- in World War II, 781
- after World War II, 742
- Lacey Act (1900), 583
- Ladies Circular (Beecher and Sigourney), 327
- Ladies' Home Journal* magazine, 549, 851
- Lafayette (Marquis de)**, 191, 194(m)
- "Lager Uber Alles" cartoon, 692(i)
- LaHaye, Beverly**, 963
- laissez-faire, 332, 498, 510, 670, 749
- depression of 1837–1843 and, 338
- Lake Champlain, 240(m)
- Lake Erie, 236, 293, 294
- Lake George, Battle of, 137(i)
- Lakota Sioux. *See* Sioux Indians
- Lamarck, Jean Baptiste**, 594
- Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 103, 251–254
- Covenant Chain and, 80
- Lancaster Turnpike Company, 255
- land
- Asian immigrants and, 713
 - for cattle ranching, 519
 - cessions after Revolution, 226, 227(m)
 - claims to western, 202(m)
 - conflicts over (1750–1775), 142(m)
 - in East, 141–142
 - eminent domain and, 255
 - for farmers, 460
 - for freedmen, 470, 487, 504
 - in Greater Mississippi River basin, 293
 - Homestead Act and, 460, 516
 - for homesteaders, 519
 - Indian, 226–227, 320–321, 326–327, 421, 526(m), 532
 - Indian rights to, 201
 - Japanese Americans and, 758
 - Mexican American claims to, 515
 - Mexican cession (1848), 421, 424(m), 429, 429(m)
 - in Northwest Territory, 203(m), 228–229
 - in Oregon, 421
 - in Pennsylvania, 121, 122
 - in South, 229–230
 - speculation in, 141
 - state, after Revolution, 201
- taxation of, 142, 152
- western, 408, 516
- western sales of (1830–1839 and 1850–1862), 294(m)
- westward migration for, 293
- land banks, 110, 250
- land bridge, 8, 9(m)
- Land Claims Commission, 427
- land-grant colleges, 516
- land grants
- in California, 427, 428(i)
 - for railroads, 511
 - in Texas, 391
- Land of Little Rain* (Austin), 583
- land ordinances, of 1780s, 201
- landownership, freedmen and, 487
- landlords
- in New York, 120–121
 - in tenant farming, 390
- Landon, Alfred M.**, 750
- Landmark, Ted**, 931
- Lane, William Henry**, 359
- Lange, Dorothea**, 759, 761(i)
- language(s)
- Cherokee, 327
 - of eastern woodlands Indians, 12
 - Gullah dialect, 397
 - multiculturalism and, 1018, 1018(i)
 - national identity and, 263–264
 - Scandinavian, on plains, 520
 - slang, 705(i)
- Lansing, John**, 206
- Laos
- Vietnam War and, 910(m)
 - in World War II, 773
- Larcom, Lucy**, 288
- Larkin, Thomas Oliver**, 415, 418
- Las Hijas, 897
- Last Judgment, The* (Memling), 21(i)
- lateen sail, 25
- Lathrop, Julia**, 628
- Latin America. *See also* America(s); Central America; South America; specific locations
- immigrants from, 713, 1012(i), 1013, 1013(f), 1014
 - United States and, 510, 682–684, 726, 992–993, 994(m)
- Latina women, 924
- Latinos. *See also* specific groups
- as cowboys, 518(i)
 - in West and Southwest, 428(i)
- Laud, William**, 60–61, 63
- law(s). *See also* specific laws
- English common law, 292
 - equality and, 877–879
 - eugenics, 594
 - national, 205
 - personal-liberty, 431
 - protecting women, 371

- Reconstruction, 482–483, 484
supremacy of national, 241–242
- Law, George**, 455(*i*)
law and order campaign, 902, 922, 930–931
“Law of Life, The” (London), 594
- Lawrence, Amos**, 432
- Lawrence, Jacob**, 694(*i*), 718
Lawrence, Kansas, sack of, 433
Lawrence v. Texas (2003), 957, 979, 1020
lawyers, in South, 389
leadership, U.S. global, 801
League of Nations, 697, 698. *See also*
 mandates
 Congress and, 699
 fascism and, 768
 Italian invasion of Ethiopia and, 768
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), in World War II, 780–781
- League of Women Voters, 710(*i*)
learning. *See* education; intellectual thought
“Learning About Communism” (Toth), 852–853
- Lease, Mary Elizabeth**, 636, 644
Leave It to Beaver (TV show), 846
Leaves of Grass (Whitman), 348
Lebanon
 Hezbollah in, 992
 Israeli invasion of, 997
 pro-American government in, 829
 U.S. troops in, 997
- lebensraum, 768
- Lecompton, Kansas, 433
Lecompton constitution, 384, 436
lectures, 346–347
- Lee, Ann**. *See* Stanley, Ann Lee (Mother)
- Lee, Charles**, 204–205
- Lee, Richard Henry**, 264
- Lee, Robert E.**, 448
 in Civil War, 449–450, 450(*m*), 451, 464, 465–466, 465(*m*), 467, 468(*i*), 469(*m*), 471–474
 monument to, 502(*i*)
- Lee, William**, 183(*i*)
- Leech, John**, 351(*i*)
left (political)
 New Deal and, 746–747
 New Left and, 914–915
- legal realism, 650
- Legal Tender Act (1862), 460
“Legend of Sleepy Hollow, The” (Irving), 264
- legislation. *See also* law(s); specific acts
 antidiscrimination, 878–879
 civil rights, 883–892
 in Constitution, 207
 environmental, 942
 equal rights for women in, 925
 Great Society, 904–908, 907(*t*)
 in Hundred Days, 740–745
 under Kennedy, John F., 904
 New Deal, 750(*t*), 761–762
 slave, 55
 in Virginia, 52
- legislatures. *See also* assemblies
 bicameral, 198
 Lecompton, 433
 state, 255–256, 316, 371, 393
 territorial, 201
 unicameral, 198
- Leibowitz, Samuel**, 756(*i*)
- Leisler, Jacob**, 87
leisure
 athletic fitness and, 580–581
 automobiles and, 725–726
 electric lighting and, 609
 labor unions and, 844
 parks for, 626, 761
 urban, 306, 541, 615–619
- Lemon, George W.**, 458
- Lend-Lease Act (1941), 771, 772
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilych**, 687
Leningrad, in World War II, 788–789, 790(*m*)
Lenni Lenape (Delaware) Indians. *See*
 Delaware (Lenni Lenape) Indians
- Leonardo da Vinci**, 20
- lesbians. *See* gays and lesbians
- Leslie, Frank**, *Illustrated Newspaper of*, 350(*i*)
- Lesser Antilles, 43, 53
“Letter from a Teacher” (Catharine E. Beecher), 336
“Letter to Her Daughter” (Unknown), on Sherman’s March, 473
“Letter to John Slidell, . . .” (Buchanan), 422
“Letter to Louis de Kergorlay” (Tocqueville), 317
“Letter to Robert Winthrop, . . .” (Sumner), 423
“Letter to Sir Thomas Dale” (Rolle), 50–51
“Letter to the Convention of the Women of America” (Roland and Deroine), 372
- Letterman, Jonathan**, 459
- Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (Dickinson, 1768), 159
Letters from an American Farmer (Crèvecoeur), 257
leveraged buyout (LBO), 989
- Leviathan* (Hobbes), 86(*i*)
- Levitt, William J.**, 857, 858
Levittown, 857, 858(*i*)
Levittowners, The (Gans), 859
- Lewinsky, Monica**, 1022
- Lewis, Fulton, Jr.**, 822–823
- Lewis, John** (civil rights worker), 882, 886, 892, 895(*m*)
- Lewis, John L.** (UMW), 751
- Lewis, Meriwether**, 233–234, 235(*m*)
- Lewis, Sinclair**, 721, 722
Lexington, battle at, 175
- Leyte Gulf, Battle of, 792
- Libby, Owen**, 210(*m*)
liberal arts curriculum, 587
- Liberal Republicans, 498
liberals and liberalism
 in 1960s, 902, 904–909
 age of, 800, 801
 classical, 332, 498, 749
 Cold War, 818–826
 electoral shift to, 1032
 New Deal, 749, 751, 762
 rights liberalism, 868, 891
 social-welfare, 332, 740, 751, 800
 undermining of, 977
 after Watergate, 948
 after World War II (1945–1980), 800–838
- Liberator, The*, 362, 366, 398
- Liberia, African American settlement of, 267
- liberty(ies). *See* civil liberties; rights; *specific rights and liberties*
- Liberty bonds, 691(*i*)
- Liberty League, 746
- Liberty Lobby, 975
- Liberty Party, 281, 366, 418
- libraries, public, 619
- Libya, 1032
- Licensing Act (England), 127
- Liddy, G. Gordon**, 947
- Lide** family, 376
- liederkranz, 693
- lien, sharecropping and, 492
- Life and Adventures of Nat Love, The*, 535
- life expectancy, 354
- Life* magazine, 705(*i*), 762(*i*), 840, 858
- Life of Andrew Jackson, The* (Parton), 328
- Life of George Washington, The* (Weems), 263
- Life of Riley, The* (TV show), 847
- lifestyle. *See also* society; *specific groups*
 consumer revolution of 1700s and, 140–141
 in England, 737
 of European peasants, 19, 19(*f*)
 on farms, 117
 of female textile workers, 288
 in gold rush, 425
 during Great Depression, 728–729
 of immigrants, 559–560
 under Jim Crow, 870–872
 of Native Americans, 8–11
 of planters, 386
 in *Playboy*, 856
 of slaves, 397–401
 of southern yeomen, 389–390
 suburban, 838
 television and, 845–847
 urban, 301–304
 wealth, celebrity, and, 989
 of World War II home front, 781–788

- lighting, electric, 549(i)
 lightning, Franklin on, 64
Lilienthal, David E., 753
Liliuokalani (Hawaii), 675, 675(i)
Lily, The (Bloomer), 351(i)
Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865), 437(i), 439(i)
 assassination of, 480
 Civil War and, 444, 448, 449, 450, 452, 466, 471–474
 on Crittenden Compromise, 446–447
 Dakota Sioux uprising and, 527
 election of 1860 and, 438–440
 election of 1864 and, 468–469
 emancipation and, 407, 463–464
 “House Divided” speech of, 438
 inaugural address of, 447, 474
 political career of, 437–438
 as president (1861–1865), 454, 455
 on Reconstruction, 480
 on slavery, 437
 on social mobility, 432
 on temperance, 368–369
Lincoln, Mary Todd, 437
 Lincoln-Douglas debates, 437–438
Lindbergh, Charles, 769, 770(i), 771
Lippet, Sarah, 130
Lippmann, Walter, 663–664
 liquor. See alcohol and alcoholism
 Lisbon, African slaves in, 30
 literacy
 democracy and, 336–337
 Protestant Bible reading and, 22
 after Revolution, 266
 in South, 336, 337, 494
 of women, 199
 literacy tests, 484, 645, 648, 891
 literature. *See also* books
 in 1920s, 720–721, 722–723
 antislavery, 308
 Beat writers and, 849
 for boys, 580(i)
 dime novels, 518(i), 535
 guidebooks for women, 588
 Harlem Renaissance and, 718
 modernism in, 595
 naturalism in, 594
 realism in, 541, 594
 republican culture in, 263–264
 on rural and small-town America, 722–723
 transcendentalist, 347–348
 lithograph, 576(i)
 of Civil War, 451(i)
Little Big Horn, Battle of, 532–533
 Little Ice Age, 14
Little Plume (Piegan [Blackfeet]), 533(i)
 Little Rock, Arkansas, school integration in, 872, 879, 881(i)
 “Little Rock Nine,” 853
Little Turtle (Miami Indians), 226
Little Women (Alcott), 554
 livestock, 15, 43, 255, 415, 428, 518, 519
Livingston family, 141
 Robert, 120(m), 178
Lloyd, Henry Demarest, on New Zealand progressivism, 653
Lloyd George, David, 697, 697(i), 698
 loans
 by Bank of the United States, 218
 banking and, 250
 consumer, 725
 to foreign countries, 711
 in Revolution, 188, 189–190
 lobbying, 652, 948
 women and, 710
Lochner v. New York (1905), 649, 650, 652
Locke, Alain, 718
Locke, John, 127
 equality of blacks and, 265
 Essay Concerning Human Understanding, 127
 Two Treatises on Government, 86, 127
Lockheed, 841
 locomotives, 511
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 642, 675, 699
 Lodge Bill (Federal Elections Bill, 1890), 642
 log cabin campaign (1840), 338–339
Logan, Adella Hunt, 592
 logging, 651
London, Jack, 594, 598
Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (1903), 532
Lonely Crowd, The (Reisman), 842
Long, Huey, 747, 748(m), 750
Long, Stephen H., 391
 Long Beach, California, amusement park at, 617(i)
 Long Drive, 519
 “long hot summers,” urban violence and, 896
 Long Island, Battle of, 184, 188
 “Long Telegram” (Kennan), 809
 longhorn cattle, 518, 519
 longhouses, 16
 loose constructionism, 218
Lopez, Duarte, 6, 25, 26, 28(i)
 Lord Dunmore’s War, 174–175, 175(m)
 Lord Proprietor, in Maryland, 82
 Lords of Trade, 85, 87
 Lordstown, Ohio, strike in, 959
 Los Alamos, atomic bomb in, 794
 Los Angeles
 growth of, 608, 712, 862(m)
 Nazi fringe group in, 714
 neighborhoods in, 612–613
 racism in, 783
 Watts riot in (1965), 896
 zoot-suit riots in, 783, 786(i)
Los Angeles Times, explosion at, 655–656
 “Lost Cause,” of South, 502–503, 591
 lost colony, Roanoke as, 47
 Lost Generation, 710
Louis XIV (France, r. 1643–1714), 57, 58, 85
Louis XVI (France, r. 1774–1792), 189–190, 191, 219
 Louisbourg, Fort, British capture of, 107, 110(i), 138
 Louisiana, 229, 464, 747
 boundary of, 243
 naming of, 58
 Napoleon and, 232
 Reconstruction and, 500
 Republican government in, 500
 secession of, 446
 slavery in, 267, 378, 428, 464, 470
 sugar plantations in, 380
 Louisiana Purchase (1803), 232–234
 boundaries of, 244(m)
 slavery and, 269, 269(m), 282, 431
 Louisville, 255
L’Ouverture, Toussaint, 222, 223(i)
Lovejoy, Elijah P., 365
Low, Thomas, 263
Lowell, A. Lawrence, 708(i)
Lowell, Francis Cabot, 287
Lowell, Josephine Shaw, 629
 Lowell, Massachusetts, textile industry in, 288–290, 300
 lower house, 205. *See also* House of Representatives
 Lower Mississippi Valley, slavery in, 397
 Lower South
 migration from, 293
 secession of, 446, 447(m)
 slaves in, 229(m), 380, 380(f)
 Loyalists (Spain), 770
 Loyalists (U.S.), 174, 264
 black, 200(i)
 in New England, 175
 Patriots and, 182
 Revolution and, 176, 184(m)
 after Revolution, 199–200
 loyalty oaths
 of Johnson, Andrew, 478
 of Lincoln, 480
 Loyalty-Security Program (1947), 821
 LSD, 919
Lucas, Eliza, 118
Luce, Henry, 840, 968
 Ludlow strike (1914), 656(i)
Lugo, Antonio Maria, 434
 LULAC. *See* League of United Latin American Citizens
 lumber and lumber industry, 103
 lunch counter sit-ins, 882, 884
Lusitania (ship), 686
Luther, Martin, 22, 44, 270
 Lutherans, Great Awakening and, 132–133

- Luxembourg, Nazi invasion of, 771
lyceum movement, 345(i)
Lyman, Amasa Mason, 434, 434(i)
Lynch, James, 495
lynchings
 of Frank, Leo, anti-Semitism and, 714
 of German American, 692
legislation about, 755
in South, 646, 647(i), 706
Wells, Ida B., on, 591(i), 592
Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrell, Middletown, 723
- Mac (Macintosh computer), 989
MacAllister, Alexander, 114
MacArthur, Arthur, on Philippines, 680
MacArthur, Douglas
 Bonus Army and, 739
 in Japan, 813–814
 in Korean War, 816–817
 in World War II, 792
machine guns, 685
machine tools, 290
machinery, 287. *See also* Industrial Revolution; industry; manufacturing power-driven, 140
machines (political). *See* political machines
MacKay, Aeneas, 165
Macon, Nathaniel, 268
Macy's Department Store, 548–549
Madeira Islands, 25, 28, 30, 46
Madero, Francisco, 683
Madison, James (1751–1836), 160, 177, 205(i), 206, 324
 on Bonus Bill, 320
 at Constitutional Convention, 205
 election of 1808 and, 234–235
 Enlightenment and, 129
 Federalist and, 207–210, 321
 on finances, 217
 on freedom of religion, 270
 on Hamilton's national bank, 218
 Marbury v. Madison (1803), 231, 241
 as president (1809–1817), 231
 slavery and, 266
 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and, 225
 Virginia Plan of, 205
magazines. *See also* specific magazines
 advertising in, 549
Maggie: Girl of the Streets (Crane), 594
Mahan, Alfred T., 674
mail, 295
 birth control information and, 585–586
 restrictions on abolitionist, 365
mail-order companies, 549, 585
Main Street (Lewis), 722
Main-Travelled Roads (Garland), 594
- Maine
 colony in, 47
 as free state, 269
 Indian attacks on, 90
 in Massachusetts, 86
 national park in, 583, 584(m)
 settlement of, 230
 statehood for, 268
 temperance in, 369
 textile factories in, 285(i)
Maine (battleship), 674, 675
mainland colonies. *See* colonies and colonization; *specific colonies*
maize (corn), 10–11, 12, 15, 16, 43
 farming of, 120
malaria, 23, 28, 455, 676
Malaya, in World War II, 792
Malcolm X, 892, 893(i)
Mali Empire, 23, 25, 25(i), 30
malls. *See* shopping malls
management, scientific, 552
management revolution, 546
managers, in corporations, 541, 549, 550, 552
Manassas Creek, battle at. *See* Bull Run
Manchuria, 679, 682
 Japan and, 768, 794(m)
Mandan Indians, 15, 233, 234(i), 416
mandates
 in Palestine, 698, 828
 after World War I, 698, 698(m)
Mande speakers, 24, 25, 97
Mangum, W. P., 3334
Manhattan Island, 58, 58(i)
Manhattan Project, 793
Manifest Destiny, 411(i), 412–418, 421, 422
“Manifest Destiny” (O’Sullivan), 422
Manifesto of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NLF), 916
Manila Bay, Navy in, 675
Mann, Horace, 367
Mann Act (1910), 627, 662(t)
manorial system, 82
manors, in Hudson River region, 58, 120(m)
Mansa Musa, 23
Mansfield, James, 160
Manuel I (Portugal)
 Brazil map and, 36(i)
manufactures
 Hamilton's report on (1791), 216
 leading branches of (1860), 286(f)
manufacturing
 in 1950s, 863
 by 1985, 987
 colonial, 107
 in England, 140, 287
 in Great Depression, 741
 increase in, 251–255
 innovation in, 284, 290–291
 in Midwest, 296–297, 300
- tariff protection of, 510
urbanization and, 608
 after World War II, 842
manumission, 265
Manzanar relocation camp, 788(i)
Mao Zedong (**Mao Tse-tung**, China), 814, 929
 maps, Columbus and, 30(i)
Marbury v. Madison (1803), 231, 241
March on Washington
 of 1941, 780, 872(i), 873
 of 1963, 780, 886–887
 for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1987), 986(i)
March to the Sea (Civil War), 470–471, 471(m), 472–473
- Marcy, William L.**, 323, 431
Mariana Islands, 794(m)
Marianna Mine disaster, 545(i)
Marias River massacre, 528
Marietta, Georgia, 492(i)
marijuana, 919
Marines. *See also* armed forces; military
 in Haiti, 711
 in Hawaii, 676
- Marion, Francis** (*Swamp Fox*), 195(i)
maritime economy, in North, 103–105
maritime exploration. *See* exploration
maritime trade, 59(m), 154(m)
market(s)
 deregulation of global, 970
 domestic, 510
 foreign, 842
 global, 674
 teen, 847
- market economy, 18, 248, 255, 371. *See also* economy
Market Revolution, 284, 293–301, 305, 376
market society
 Emerson on, 347
 Mormons and, 354
 rural communalism and, 349
“marking,” of Africans, 97–100
Marlin, Barnet, 562
Maroon communities, 101
Marquette, Jacques, 58
marriage. *See also* intermarriage
 in Africa, 94
 age at, 585, 850
 colonial, 117
 companionate, 258, 850
 complex, 352
 cousin, 397
 European, 18
 gay, 1020
 Great Depression and, 728
 legal relationship in, 117
 middle-class, 345(i), 961
 in New England, 116
 in New Orleans society, 387
 of planters, 386

- marriage (*cont.*)
 polygamy (plural marriage) and, 352(*i*), 353, 354, 521, 522–523
 Quaker, 125, 259(*i*)
 republican system of, 258, 260–261
 for same-sex couples, 1019
 slave, 382, 397
- Marriage Encounter**, 961
- marriage portion, 117
- married women. *See also* women
 in Great Depression, 728–729, 754
 in middle class, 303, 851–854
 rights of, 371, 389–390, 494
 in workforce, 553, 777
- Married Women's Property Law** (New York, 1848), 371(*i*)
- married women's property laws, 371
- Marshall, George C.**, 794, 809
- Marshall, John**, 231, 243(*i*), 331
 Burr trial and, 233
 Cherokee nation and, 330
 Constitution and, 241
 principles of, 241
 trade and, 295–296
- Marshall, Thurgood**, 878, 880(*i*)
- Marshall Plan, 809–810, 812, 812(*i*)
- Martellus, Henricus**, 30(*i*)
- Marti, José**, 617
- martial arts, 581
- Martin, Del**, 856
- Martin, Josiah**, 176
- Martin, Luther**, 208
- Martinez, Elizabeth**, 1016–1017
- Martinique, 53
 British in, 139
- Marx, Karl**, 334
- Marxism, Wobblies and, 655
- Mary Stuart** (England, r. 1688–1694), 85(*m*), 86, 87(*i*)
- Maryland
 Catholics in, 52
 Civil War and, 449, 450–451, 450(*m*)
 Glorious Revolution and, 87
 secession and, 448
 slavery in, 96, 266, 464, 469
 teamsters in, 103
 western land claims of, 201
- Maryland Gazette*, 263
- masculinity, 541, 574, 580–581, 602
 in arts, 598
- Mason, Bridget ("Biddy")**, 434, 435, 435(*i*)
- Mason, George**, 100, 206, 270
- Mason** family, 64(*i*)
- Mason v. Smith* (1856), 435
- Masons, 333–334
- mass communication, abolitionists and, 362
- mass consumption, 802
- mass culture. *See* art(s); popular culture; *specific arts*
- mass media, 843. *See also* specific media
 newspapers as, 620–621
- mass production
 Ford and, 551
 in housing, 857
 mechanization and, 290–291
 workers and, 551–552, 576
- mass transit, 608
- Massachusetts**, 288
 abolition petitions in, 159
 assembly in, 105–106
 charter of, 86–87
 constitution in (1780), 198, 204
 constitutional ratification in, 209
 education in, 367
 General Court in, 205
 Indian attacks on, 90
 resistance in, 175
 as royal colony, 86
 self-government in, 87
 settlement of, 65(*m*)
 slavery abolished in, 266
 Townshend Act condemned in, 161
 voting rights in, 316
 western land claims of, 201
 women's rights in, 199
- Massachusetts Bay, 61–62, 82
 charters of, 60, 85, 86
 as City upon a Hill, 61–62
 English trade, 84–85
 witchcraft accusations in, 63–64
- Massachusetts Government Act (1774), 168
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1012
- massacres. *See also* specific events
 by Mormons, 354
- Masses, The**, 656(*i*)
- massive retaliation policy, 826
- master race, Hitler on, 768
- masters. *See* planters and plantations
- Masters, William**, 960
- Mata, Petra**, 1006
- materialism, culture of success and, 987–989
- maternalism ideal, 589
- mathematics, 127
- Mather, Cotton** (1663–1728), 64, 67, 116, 127
- Matoaka**. *See* Pocahontas
- matriarchal societies, Indian, 15
- Matthews, Victoria Earle**, 591
- Maxim, Hiram**, 685
- Maximilian** (Archduke), 510
- Mayans, Cortés and, 31(*m*), 35
- Mayflower** (ship), 60
- Mayflower Compact, 60
- Mayhew, Jonathan**, 67
- Mayor of New York v. Miln* (1837), 332
- mayors
 African Americans as, 895
 reform, 624
- Mayr, Christian**, 396(*i*)
- Mbanza Kongo (city), 28(*i*)
- McCain, Franklin**, 884
- McCain, John**, 1030
- McCall's* magazine, 845
- McCarran-Walter Act (1924), 864
- McCarthy, Eugene J.**, 919
- McCarthy, Joseph**, and McCarthyism, 821–825, 875
 Eisenhower and, 826
 television and, 825
- McClellan, George B.**
 in Civil War, 448, 449, 450, 451, 526
 election of 1864 and, 468–469
- McClure's* magazine, 619
- McCormick, Cyrus**, 287, 300
- McCormick reaper works, 287, 296
 strike against, 567–568
- McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), 241–242
- McCurdy** family, 249(*i*)
- McDonald, Cornelia Peake**, 472
- McDonald's restaurants, 861, 1010
- McDougall, Alexander**, 158
- McDowell, Irvin**, 449
- McFerren, John**, 884–885
- McGovern, George S.**, 932
- McGuire, Judith White Brockenbrough**, 472
- McIntosh, Fort, 226
- McKay, Claude**, 718
- McKee, Ray**, 687(*i*)
- McKinley, William** (1843–1901)
 assassination of, 650
 Caribbean region and, 675
 election of 1896 and, 640, 647, 648(*m*)
 election of 1900 and, 650, 672, 678
 expansionism of, 672
 Philippines and, 680
 War of 1898 and, 675, 676, 677
- McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950), 878
- McIlvaine**, bishop, 248
- McNamara, John J.**, 655–656
- McNamara, Robert**, 830, 911
- McNary-Haugen bills (1927, 1928), 711
- McNeil Marble Co., advertisement in *Confederate Veteran*, 502–503
- Meade, George G.**, 465, 465(*m*), 466
 "Mealtime, New York Tenement" (Hine), 554(*i*)
- measles, 43
- meat-packing industry
 Cincinnati system in, 286–287
 Civil War and, 460
 exposure of, 629, 629(*i*)
 processing system in, 547(*i*)
 Swift and, 547
- Mecca, 23
- mechanics
 emigration from Britain, 287
 technology and, 290–291

- mechanization
mass production and, 551–552
in textile industry, 293
- media. *See also specific media*
mass, 620–621, 843
morality and, 856
- Medicaid, Johnson, Lyndon, and, 906
- Medicare, 907(t)
baby boom and, 851
Johnson, Lyndon, and, 906
Reagan and, 983
- medicine. *See also* health and health care
miracle drugs and, 851
- Mediterranean region
in 15th century, 24(m)
trade in, 19, 29(m)
- Meese, Edwin**, 984
- Mein Kampf* (Hitler), 768
- Mellencamp, John** *Cougar*, 960
- Mellon, Andrew W.**, as secretary of the treasury, 736
- melting pot, 1015. *See also* diversity
- Melville, Herman**, 348–349
- Memling, Hans** (c. 1433–1494), 21(i)
- Memphis, Tennessee
Civil War in, 453(m)
racial violence in, 478, 480(i), 591–592
yellow fever epidemic in, 625
- men. *See also* gender and gender issues;
masculinity
in corporations, 549–550
franchise for, 199
as immigrants, 559, 561
Indian, 12, 15
patriarchies and, 18
Quaker, 83
roles of, 541
sexuality and, 618
universal suffrage for, 484–485
voting rights for white, 257, 281, 316
workday of, 653
- Mencken, H. L.**, on antievolutionists, 713
- Mendez v. Westminster School District* (1947), 877
- Mennonites, 123
- mentally ill, hospitals for, 367
- mercantilism
Clay and, 319
in colonies, 83–86, 107–110
England and, 45–46
ideology of, 255
protection of, 106–107
state, 255–256
- Mercer, William**, 186(i)
- merchants
English, 84
in Europe, 19
Italian, 22
power of (1750), 104(m)
after Revolution, 250, 254
- in sharecropping, 492
urban, 103–104
- mergers
in 1920s, 721
horizontal integration and, 548
- Mesa Verde national park, 651
- Mesoamerica
maize agriculture from, 10–11
population losses in, 35
Spanish in, 42
- mestizos, 42, 387, 414, 421
- Metacomet (King Philip)**, and Metacomet's War, 67–70, 67(i)
- metal products, 287. *See also specific types*
- Methodism, 270–271, 276, 390, 412, 600. *See also* evangelicals and evangelicalism
African American, 269, 395–396
revivalism and, 129
on slavery, 265
- Métis (mixed-race people), 58
- Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 726
- Metropolitan Area Redevelopment and Demonstration Cities Acts (1966), 907(t)
- Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City), 619
- Metropolitan Opera, 618
- metropolitan regions, expansion of, 862
- Meuse-Argonne campaign, 688(m)
- Mexica, counterattack against Spanish, 34(i)
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), 897
- Mexican American Movement (MAM), 758
- Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), 897
- Mexican Americans, 644, 669, 726, 1014. *See also* Latinos; Mexican immigrants
Bracero Program and, 781, 864, 877(i)
California land grants of, 427
civil rights and, 875–877, 892
discrimination against, 780–781
New Deal and, 757–758, 758(i)
as seasonal wage laborers, 757, 758(i)
southwestern land claims of, 515
World War I and, 669, 694
in World War II, 776, 780–781
- Mexican Central Railroad, 514
- Mexican cession (1848), 421, 424(m), 429, 429(m)
- Mexican immigrants, 1015. *See also* Mexican Americans
in agricultural labor force, 757, 758(i)
in California, 558(i)
deportation of, 757
migration to U.S., 694, 713, 714(i)
- Mexican Revolution, U.S. intervention in, 683–684
- “Mexican wage,” 517
- Mexican War (1846–1848), 418–420, 419(m), 420(i), 437, 461, 535
expansion, slavery, and, 422–423
opposition to, 363, 421
sectionalism and, 407
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) and, 421, 424(m)
- Mexico. *See also* Aztecs; Mesoamerica
ancient peoples of, 8, 9(m)
boundary with, 244(m)
California and, 414–415
France and, 510
Indians in, 42
land cession from, 378, 421, 424(m)
prohibition and, 712–713
railroad in, 514(m)
remittance flow to, 1015
silver in, 42
societies of, 8
Spain and, 32–33
Texas and, 391–392
U.S. expansionism and, 418–419
U.S. intervention in, 683, 684
war for independence (1820–1821), 420(i)
- Wilson and, 683–684
- Zimmermann telegram and, 686
- Mexico City
1968 protests in, 920
black power salute at Olympics, 889(i)
seizure of, 419(m), 420
- Miami, Cubans in, 865
- Miami Indians, 226
- “Miao albums” (China), 197
- Michelangelo**, 20
- Michigan, 201, 293
- Michigan, University of, affirmative action at, 1015–1018
- Michigan and Illinois Canal, 295
- Micmac Indians, 10(m), 56
- microchips, 989
- Microsoft Corporation, 989
- Middle Atlantic region
cultural diversity in, 120–126
economy in, 120–122
exports from, 103
farming in, 230
Indians of, 13
politics in, 125–126
society in, 120–126
- middle class, 552. *See also* classes
1945–1963, 838–865
African American, 614(i), 863, 871
children in, 262
civil service laws and, 639
Civil War and, 455, 456
deindustrialization and, 944–945
entertainment for, 615
families in, 259, 264(i), 366(i), 399, 585, 586(i), 838, 839(i)

- middle class (*cont.*)
 in government, 198(f)
 Great Depression and, 728
 growth of, 302–303
 housing, cars, and children in, 845
 individualism of, 346–349
 marriage and, 259, 345(i), 961
 mass consumption and, 802
 moral and intellectual development of, 303–304
 political parties and, 317
 reforms by, 344, 590
 religion and, 849–850
 Republican Party and, 432
 in South, 133, 386
 trade unions and, 844–845
 urban, 281, 355
 use of term, 576
 women in, 276, 303, 577, 585, 589
 after World War II, 802
- middle-class morality, challenging, 855–856
- middle colonies. *See* Middle Atlantic region
- Middle East
 Arab-Israeli conflict in, 938
 Bush, G. H. W., and, 996–998
 Clinton and, 1023–1025
 after Cold War, 996–997
 colonialism in, 1024
 Eisenhower and, 828–829
 independence movements in, 826
 Obama and, 1031–1032
 oil in, 808, 938
 U.S. involvement in (1979–2010), 1028(m)
 U.S. Navy in, 232(i)
 wars in, 969
 in World War I, 685
 after World War I, 698(m)
- middle managers, 541, 549
- Middle Passage, 94–96, 94(i)
 Equiano on, 95
- Middle South, secession and, 446, 448–449
- Middlebury Female Seminary, 262, 276
- middlemen, corporate, 565, 569
- Middletown* (Lynd and Lynd), 723
- middling classes, 302. *See also* middle class
- middling planters, 386, 388, 389
- Midnight Cowboy* (movie), 960, 961(i)
- Midway Island, Battle of, 792, 792(m)
- Midwest
 African Americans in, 430
 coeducation in, 588
 deindustrialization and, 944(m)
 German immigrants in, 310
 growth of, 293, 294(m), 300
 manufacturing in, 296–297
 rural communalism in, 349, 349(m)
 urban areas in, 606
 Whigs and, 334
- migrant labor
 in California, 757
 New Deal and, 757, 758
 union for, 897
- Migrant Mother* (Lange), 760(i)
- migrants
 European peasants as, 19
 to Middle Atlantic region, 122
- migration. *See also* colonies and
 colonization; immigrants and
 immigration
 African American, 520, 613, 669, 694, 694(i), 706, 874(m)
 of ancient humans to Americas, 8
 to British mainland colonies, 122(f)
 in Columbian Exchange, 3–4
 cotton and, 229–230
 Cuban, 864–865
 dust bowl and, 759, 759(m)
 forced, of slaves (1790–1860), 380(f)
 to Great Plains, 414(m), 520
 industrialization and, 556–560
 from New England, 230
 to New England, 60
 to New France, 56–57
 to Oregon, 412–413, 414(m)
 Puritan, 61–62
 from rural areas to cities, 349
 from South, 228–229
 of Spaniards to Americas, 45
 to suburbs, 856–857
 into Tennessee, 228
 transatlantic (1500–1760), 121(f)
 to West, 412–414, 414(m)
 in World War II, 783–787
- militancy
 of African Americans, 780
 labor, 655–656
- military. *See also* armed forces; defense
 spending; Navy (U.S.); specific battles and wars
 cemeteries for, 456
 desegregation of, 875
 gays and lesbians in, 1031
 German, 768–769
 integration of, 875
 Japanese Americans in, 788
 segregation of, 776
 Special Forces in, 833
 U.S. interventions and, 711
 women in, 998(i)
 in World War II, 776–777
- military bases, 863
- military districts, in South, 482, 483(m)
- military draft. *See* draft (military)
- military-industrial complex
 in Cold War, 817(m), 841–842, 841(i), 995
 Sunbelt suburbanization and, 862–863
 in World War II, 776
- Military Reconstruction Act (1867). *See* Reconstruction Act (1867)
- military spending. *See* defense spending
- militia
 anti-Catholic riot and, 311
 in Civil War, 448
 Great Railroad Strike and, 565
 Homestead steel strike and, 544
 Mormon, 354
 at Sand Creek, 527
 strikes and, 568(i)
 in Whiskey Rebellion, 219
- Militia Act (1862), 454
- Milk, Harvey**, 956–957, 956(i)
- Mill Dam Act (1795), 255
- Miller, Arthur**, 761
- Miller, Lewis**, 381(i)
- Miller v. California* (1972), 930
- Millett, Kate**, 925
- Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), 931
- millionaires, 250, 252, 618
- mills
 farm land flooding for, 255
 flour, 287
 textile, 254
 water, 140
- Milosevic, Slobodan**, 1023
- “mineral-based economy,” 287
- mines and mining
 disasters in, 545(i)
 forty-niners and, 425
 hydraulic, 516(i)
 safety in, 553
 in Spanish America, 42
 strikes against, 568(i), 644, 656(i)
 in West, 516–517, 517(m), 535
 workers in, 541, 550–551, 556
- Minié, Claude-Étienne**, 458
- minie ball, wounds from, 458, 458(i)
- minimum wage
 Eisenhower and, 825
 for women, 653, 707–708, 754
- Minimum Wage Act (1966), 907(t)
- mining camps, 425, 517, 521
- Mink, Patsy**, 925, 952
- Minneapolis, lighting in, 610(i)
- Minnesota, 293, 520
 Dakota Sioux in, 527–528
- Minor, Virginia**, 486
- Minor v. Happersett*, 486
- minorities. *See also* ethnic groups; specific groups
 affirmative action and, 950–952
 minstrelsy (minstrel shows), 356, 357(i), 359(i)
- Minutemen, 175
- miracle drugs, 851
- Miranda, Francisco de**, 182
- Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), 930

- "Mischievous Telephone Girl Makes More Trouble, The" (*Wheeling Register*), 578–579
- missiles, 826
in Cuba, 831–832, 833(*i*)
- missions and missionaries
in California, 414
in China, 511
Indians and, 227, 534
- Jesuit, 56
in Oregon, 412
Protestant, 599–600, 599(*i*)
Puritan, 67
revivalism and, 275
urban, 628
- Mississippi, 201, 229, 267, 327, 378, 430, 500
Freedom Summer in, 890
voting rights in, 645–646
- Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, 890–891
- Mississippi River region. *See also* Lower Mississippi Valley
American control of, 241
Civil War and, 448–449, 452, 453(*m*), 464–465
exploration of, 233–234, 235(*m*)
France and, 58
peoples of, 8, 11–12
after Revolution, 196
shipping on, 295
trade in, 232
westward movement and, 293
- Mississippi State College for Women, 588
- Mississippi Territory, 201
- Mississippian culture, 11–12, 26(*i*)
- Missouri
Civil War and, 449, 453(*m*)
crisis over statehood for (1819–1821), 268–269, 269(*m*), 412
secession and, 446
slavery and, 269, 282, 293, 464, 469
statehood for, 293
- Missouri Compromise (1820–1821), 269, 269(*m*), 428, 433, 436
Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 429(*m*), 431–432
- Missouri Pacific Railroad, 518
- Missouri River, Civil War and, 448
- Mittelberger, Gottlieb**, 125
- mixed government, 198
- mixed races
African American–white, 402, 402(*i*)
African-Indian, 331, 331(*i*)
white-Indian, 58, 327
- Miyatake, Toyo**, 788(*i*)
- Mobile, Alabama, segregation in, 870(*i*)
- mobility, social, 55
- mobility (movement), of Indians, 15
- mobilization
for Civil War, 448, 452–462
in Cold War, 842
for World War I, 688–690
for World War II, 670, 776–777, 784–785, 784(*i*), 784(*i*), 785(*i*)
- Mobilization to End the War (1967), 915
- Moby Dick* (Melville), 349
- Moctezuma** (Mexico)
Aztec elders on, 33
Cortés and, 32–33, 34–35
- "model cities" programs, 907(*t*)
- modernism
intellectual, 718–721
literary, 595
in painting, 598, 598(*i*)
- modernity, 669
religion and, 541
- Modoc Indians, 532
- Mogollon people, 16
- Mohawk Indians, 13, 59, 60, 89, 90, 226
- Mohawk Valley region, 187
- Mohegan Indians, 15, 66, 67
- molasses, 84, 107
- Molasses Act (1733), 85(*t*), 107, 155
- Moley, Raymond**, 740
- molls, prostitutes as, 119
- monarchs and monarchies. *See also* kings
and kingdoms; *specific monarchs*
European, 18
- Mondale, Walter**, 986
- monetary policy, of Second Bank of the United States, 325
- money, 189(*i*). *See also* currency; paper money
colonial, 107–110
Continents as, 188–189, 196
gold standard and supply of, 515
greenbacks as, 460
politics and, 566
"monkey trial." *See* Scopes trial
- monopolies
Brandeis on, 661–662
Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 650
by Standard Oil, 548
Supreme Court on, 651
in transportation industry, 255, 296
trusts as, 548
- monotheism, in Sudan, 23
- Monroe, James** (1758–1831), 307, 318
as diplomat, 232–233
as president (1817–1825), 231, 243, 244
- Monroe Doctrine (1823), 244, 674
Roosevelt Corollary to, 683
- Montagnais people, 56
- Montana, 413, 638
- Monterey, California, 415, 419
- Monterrey, Mexico, battle at, 419, 420(*i*)
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de**, 207, 210
- Montgomery, Alabama
Confederacy proclaimed in, 446
Selma march to, 869(*i*), 891
- Montgomery Bus Boycott, 881–882
- Montgomery Ward, 549
- Montserrat, 53, 90
- Moody, Anne**, 882
- Moody, Dwight L.**, 602
- Moody, Paul**, 287
- Moore, Gordon**, Moore's law and (1965), 990
- Moore, Samuel L.**, 389
- Moore, Stephen**, 1017
- Moore's Creek Bridge, Battle of, 177
- Moors, 25
- moral free agency, 306
- Moral Majority, 964(*i*), 976
election of 1980 and, 981–982
- "Moral Majority as a Threat to Liberty, The" (Giamatti), 979
- moral reform, 367
- moral suasion, Lincoln and, 368
- morality
election of 1988 and, 996
Finney and, 306
Fourth Great Awakening and, 963
media and, 856
middle-class, 303–304, 855–856
political parties and, 334
religion and, 344
Religious Right on, 976–977
- Morgan, J. P.**, 661
- Morgan, John Pierpont**, 548, 645, 651(*i*)
- Morgan, Lewis Henry**, human development theory in *Ancient Society*, 530–531, 530(*t*)
- Morgan, William**, 334
- Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.**, 740, 792
- Morledge, C. G.**, 529(*i*)
- Mormon Trail, 353(*m*), 414(*m*)
- Mormon War, 354
- Mormons and Mormonism, 352–354
polygamy (plural marriage) among, 352(*i*), 353, 521, 522–523
slavery and, 434, 435
trek by (1830–1848), 353(*m*)
- "Morning in America," Reagan and, 986–989
- Morocco, French-German conflict over, 684
- Morrill Act, 516
- Morris, Gouverneur**, 120(*m*), 241
- Morris, John B.**, 298
- Morris, Robert**, 188, 201, 204, 206
- Morris, Samuel**, 133–134
- Morris, Thomas**, 321, 421
- Morristown, 185(*m*)
- Morse, Samuel F. B.**, 290(*i*), 310
"Morse Code," 290(*i*)
- mortality
in cities, 354

- mortality (*cont.*)
 in Civil War, 455, 456, 458–459
 in Puritan society, 116(*i*)
 on westward migration, 413
- mortgages**
 FHA and VA, 857
 in Great Depression, 744–745
- Morton, Thomas**
 on Indian forest clearing, 14
- Moscone, George**, 957
- Moscow, in World War II, 788–789
- Moses, Robert**, 890, 891
- Mossadegh, Muhammad**, 828
- motherhood**. *See also families*
 vs. career, 550, 851–855, 854(*i*)
 republican, 258–262
 slave, 398
 workday and, 653
- Mother's Magazine*, 276
- mothers' pensions, 654
- Motley, Archibald**, 719(*i*)
- Motown, 848(*i*), 893
- Mott, Lucretia**, 362, 366, 371
- moundbuilders**. *See also burial mounds*
 Adena, 12(*i*)
 at Kincaid site, 13(*i*)
- Mount, William Sidney**, 358
- Mt. Olympus (Washington), 651
- Mourning Dove** (Salish Indian), 528
- mourning war, 18
- movement. *See immigrants and immigration; migration; specific groups*
- movies and movie industry, 541, 629(*i*), 669
 in 1920s, 726
 critics of, 704
 Hollywood, in Europe, 727
 nickelodeons and, 615
 sexual content of, 960
 teenage culture and, 847–848
 in World War II, 782–783
- Mozambique, 895, 992
- Mr. and Mrs. I. N. Phelps Stokes* (Sargent), 585(*i*)
- Mrs. Hugh McCurdy and Her Daughters* (Johnson), 249(*i*)
- Ms.* magazine, 925(*i*)
- MS-DOS, 989
- muckrakers, 619
- Mugwumps, 639
- Muhammad** (Prophet), 22
- Muir, John**, 583, 651
- mulattos, 42, 331, 387
- Mulders, Joseph**, 99
- Muller v. Oregon* (1908), 654, 708
- multiculturalism, 1015–1018
 language and, 1018, 1018(*i*)
- multinational corporations (MNCs), 291, 663, 1010–1011
- multipolar world, 999
- Munch, Edvard**, 727
- Munich Conference (1938), 770
 as foreign policy analogy, 818
- municipal governments, 494, 619–624
- Munn v. Illinois*, 514
- Munnikhuyzen, John Anthony**, 380
- Munsee Indians, 13, 58, 227
- Murray, Judith Sargent**, 199, 199(*i*)
- Murray, Philip**, 844
- Murrow, Edward R.**, 783
- Musa, Mansa**. *See Mansa Musa*
- museums, 356, 618–619
- music
 African, 100
 in African American religion, 395–396, 397
 antislavery, 356
 bebop, 849
 blues, 617–618
 cultural dissent and, 849–850
 folk, 761, 918
 jazz, 705(*i*), 718–719
 ragtime, 617, 618
 rap, 960
 rhythm and blues, 848
 rock 'n' roll, 848
 songs about workers, 960
 soul music and, 893
- muskets, 290
- Muskogean-speaking societies, 89
- Muslims. *See also Islam*
 anti-Western ideology of, 998
 Crusades and, 22
 in Iran and Iraq, 980
 radical, 1002, 1023–1024
 slaves and, 93
 Spain and, 31
 trade and, 29(*m*)
- Mussolini, Benito**, 768, 790. *See also fascism; World War II*
- mutual aid societies, 612
- mutual benefit societies, 292, 402
- My Lai massacre (Vietnam War), 928
- Myers, Warner**, 304
- myths
 in Europe, 20–21
 western, 518(*i*), 535
- NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), 776, 780, 821, 871
- anticommunism and, 875
- Brown v. Board of Education* and, 878–879
- Nabrit, James M.**, 880(*i*)
- Nader, Ralph**, 940, 1025
- NAFTA. *See North American Free Trade Agreement*
- Nagasaki, atomic bombing of, 794, 794(*m*), 795
- naming, of slave children, 397
- Nanking, Japanese massacre in, 773, 792
- Napoleon I Bonaparte** (France)
 British triumph over, 241
 English wars and, 88
 Jefferson and, 234
 Louisiana Purchase and, 232–233
- Napoleonic Wars, commerce and, 250, 251
- Narragansett Indians, 15, 62, 66, 67
- "Narrative of James Curry, a Fugitive Slave" (*Liberator*), 398
- NASA. *See National Aeronautics and Space Administration*
- Nash, Diane**, 882
- Nash, George**, 629(*i*)
- Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad, 394(*i*)
- Nashville Union*, 421
- Nasmith, Samuel J.**, on atrocities against African American refugees, 472
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel**, 828–829, 829(*i*)
- Nast, Thomas** (1840–1902), 485(*i*)
- Nation, The*, 498
- Nation of Immigrants, A* (John F. Kennedy), 1016
- "Nation of (Too Many) Immigrants, A?" (Beck), 1016
- Nation of Islam, 892, 893(*i*)
- National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission), 863
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 832
- National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), 592
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. *See NAACP*
- National Association of Colored Women, 591, 755
- National Association of Manufacturers, 746, 754
- National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 592
- National Audubon Society, 583
- national bank, Hamilton on, 216, 218
- National Banking Acts
 of 1863, 460
 of 1864, 460
- national banking system, 460, 510
 Jackson and, 326
- National Baptist Church (NBC), Women's Convention of, 592
- National Baptist Convention, 495
- National Black Antiwar Antidraft League, 923
- National Black Feminist Organization, 924
- National Black Political Agenda, 895
- National Black Political Convention (1972), 895
- National Child Labor Committee, 554, 556(*i*), 621, 652

- National Congress of American Indians, 898
 National Congress of Mothers, 591
 National Consumers' League, 629, 652
 National Convention of Colored People (1848), 403
 national debt, 152, 205, 231
 Bush, George W., and, 1026
 Clinton and, 1021
 Hamilton on, 217, 218
 as percentage of gross domestic product, 1027(f)
 Reagan and, 983
 after Seven Years' War, 152
 National Defense Advisory Commission, 771
 National Defense Education Act (1958), 842
 National Domain, land sales in, 294(m)
 National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), 906, 907(t)
 National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), 906, 907(t)
 National Equal Rights League, 470
 National Forest Service (1905), 662(t)
 national forests, 583, 584(m)
 National Gay Task Force, 926
 national government, 205. *See also*
 Constitution (U.S.); Government (U.S.)
 Federalists on, 216
 National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry. *See* Grange
 National Guard, 565
 coal strike and (1931), 738
 desegregation and, 879
 Jackson State and, 928
 Kent State killings and, 927–928
 national health insurance, 663, 748. *See also*
 health insurance
 National Housing Act (1937), 750(t)
 National Indian Defense Association, 528
 National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), 898
 National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), 741, 746, 747, 750(t)
 National Interstate and Defense Highways Act (1956), 857, 861(m)
 National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act, 1935), 750(t), 819
 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB, 1935), 747, 750(t)
 national law, supremacy of, 241–242
 National League (baseball), 581
 National Legion of Mothers of America, 769–770
 National Liberation Front (NLF), 833
 national monuments, private use of, 583
 National Municipal League, 624
 National Organization for Women (NOW), 909, 909(i), 924
 National Origins Act (1924), 713, 714(i), 864
 national-origins system, quotas and, 713
 National Park Service (1916), 583, 662(t)
 national parks, 524–525, 583–584
 in California, 524
 and forests (1872–1980), 584(m)
 Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 651
 National Recovery Act, 741, 754
 National Recovery Administration (NRA), 741, 744(i), 755
 National Republicans, 241, 244, 251, 326
National Review, 976
 National Right to Life Committee, 956
 National Road, 293, 323
 National Security Council (NSC), 813
 Iran-Contra and, 993
 NSC-68, 813
 national security state, 800
 national self-determination. *See* self-determination
 National Socialist (Nazi) Party (Germany), 768. *See also* Nazi Germany
 National Trades Union, 292
 National Union for Social Justice, 746(i)
 National Union Party, 468, 469
 National Urban League, 655
 Red Scare and, 821
 National War Labor Board (NWLB, 1918), 689, 707, 781
 National Wilderness Preservation System, 984
 National Wildlife Refuge (Pelican Island, Florida), 583
 National Woman Suffrage Association, 486, 695
 National Woman's Party (NWP), 695, 709
 National Youth Administration (NYA, 1935), 750(t), 757–758
 nationalism
 black, 892–896
 racial and ethnic, 923–924
 of Roosevelt, Theodore, 658–659
 War of 1898 and, 675
 of Young Lords, 894–895
 Nationalist Chinese, 682, 814–815
 nationalists, after Revolution, 204–205
 nationalization, of Mexican resources, 683
 Nations of the Iroquois, 90
 Native Americans, 2, 8–18, 10(m), 407. *See also*
 reservations; specific groups
 American Indian Movement and, 897–899
 archaeological sites of, 651
 assimilation of, 227, 406, 528–532, 534
 attitudes toward war, 18
 Bacon's Rebellion and, 70–71
 Bad Axe Massacre against, 330
 battles with, 226
 bison and, 525(i)
 Braddock and, 138(i)
- British and, 47–48, 52
 in California, 414–415, 532
 California gold rush and, 426–427
 cessions by, 227(m)
 civil rights and, 892
 Civil War and, 526–527
 Columbian Exchange and, 3
 Dakota Sioux uprising, 526–527
 Dawes Act and, 532
 depictions of, in West, 530–531, 530(i), 531(i)
 diet of, 227
 diversity of, 3
 of eastern woodlands, 12–15
 economy of, 17
 European diseases and, 35, 47, 60, 417
 in Florida, 12
 French and Indian War and, 135–137
 in Georgia, 230(i)
 Ghost Dance of, 534
 goals of, 90
 government of, 12–15
 Grant's peace policy for, 528
 of Great Lakes region, 15–16
 of Hispaniola, 34, 35
 horses and, 416, 416(i)
 imperial warfare and, 88–90
 as Indians, 31
 as labor, 42
 land cessions by, 421
 lands of, 141–142, 200, 201, 226–227, 320–321
 lifestyle of, 8–11
 mass execution of, 527
 in Middle Atlantic region, 120
 of Mississippi Valley, 11–12
 national parks and, 525, 651
 in New Deal, 756–757, 757(i)
 of New England, 15
 New England wars by, 66–70
 of Pacific coast, 16
 Penn and, 83
 in Pennsylvania, 42
 Plains Indians, 15–16, 327, 407, 414(m), 415–417, 525–534
 population of, 35
 propaganda and, 237(i)
 religion and, 17–18
 removal of, 282, 326–331, 330(m), 378, 416, 535
 reservations for, 525, 526(m), 532, 533, 534(m), 535
 resistance by, 26, 327, 330, 526–528, 532–533
 in Revolution, 191(m)
 after Revolution, 196, 199
 of Rocky Mountain region, 15–16
 Sand Creek massacre against, 527, 528
 in Seven Years' War, 139
 as slave owners, 327, 464

- Native Americans (*cont.*)
 as slaves, 427
 of Southwest, 16, 532, 533
 status of, 530(*t*)
Thorpe, Jim, 582(*i*)
 trade and, 16–17, 48(*m*)
Trail of Tears and, 331
 in trans-Appalachian West, 140
 treaties with, 320–321, 330, 331, 421, 427, 529–532
 tribalization and, 88–90
 U.S. expansionism and, 410
 in West Indies, 53
 whites' depictions of, 530–531, 535
 women and, 12, 15, 227
 in World War I, 688
 in World War II, 776
 Wounded Knee massacre of, 534
Native Son (Wright), 761
 nativism, 356–357, 432, 669. *See also*
 Know-Nothing Party
 anti-immigrant legislation and, 713
 Klan and, 714
 Protestant, 310–311, 600
NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 natural gas, as fuel, 626
 natural resources
 conservation of, 759
 industrialization and, 546
 for textile industry, 287
 in West, 509(*i*)
Natural Resources Council, 939
 natural rights, 127
 natural selection, 594
 naturalism, in literature, 594
 Naturalization Act (1798), 223–224, 231
Nauvoo, Illinois, 353
“Nauvoo Legion,” 354
Navajo (Diné) Indians, 8, 17, 532, 757, 776
 navies. *See* armed forces; military; Navy (U.S.); Royal Navy (England)
 navigation, Portuguese, 25
 Navigation Acts (1651–1751), 83–85, 85(*t*), 255
 American shipping and, 201
 British sugar and, 92
 Sugar Act and, 156
Navy (U.S.), 510. *See also* Royal Navy (England)
 in Civil War, 452, 453(*m*)
 Guantánamo base of, 678
 imperialism and, 674
 Mexican War and, 419
 Oregon and, 412
 Pearl Harbor base and, 676
 in War of 1898, 675, 676
 in World War I, 687
 in World War II, 772, 792
Nazi Germany
 American troops in, 772(*i*)
 fascism in, 768–769
 Hitler in, 768–769, 769(*i*)
 Holocaust and, 791–792
 in World War II, 766, 789–792, 791(*m*)
 Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact, 770
NCL. *See* National Consumers' League
Neblett, Elizabeth Scott, on marriage, 261
Nebraska, 431, 432
 necessary and proper clause, 207
Neel, Alice, 761
 Negro Election Day, 305
 Negro Leagues (baseball), 581–582
 “Negro rule,” 498, 645
 “Negro supremacy,” 642
Negro World, 719
 neighborhoods, in cities, 301, 612–613, 613(*i*)
 neo-Europeans, 40, 56–66
 vs. plantation colonies, 57
Neolin (Delaware Indians), 139
 “neomercantilist” system, 250, 460
Netherlands. *See also* Dutch; New Netherland
 Calvinism in, 44
 Nazi invasion of, 771
 Spanish, 44
 “Network Television as a Moral Danger” (Wildmon), 978
 Neutral Indians, 60
 neutrality
 in French Revolution, 219
 as U.S. World War I policy, 669, 685, 686
 toward U.S. Revolution, 174
 before World War II, 770
 in World War II, 770–771
 Neutrality Act (1935), 769
Nevada, gold and silver in, 516–517, 517(*m*)
Nevelson, Louise, 761
Nevis, 53, 90
New Amsterdam, 58, 58(*i*), 59
 “New Class of Champions, A” (Lincoln), 368–369
 New Deal (1933–1939), 645, 670, 734
 African American support for, 754–756
 arts in, 735(*i*), 761
 Asian Americans and, 758–759
 attacks on, 745–747
 citizens' responses to, 742–743
 civil rights and, 874–875
 coalition in, 660, 750, 758, 762–763, 874
 environment and, 759–761
 First (1933–1935), 740–745, 745(*m*)
 labor and, 747, 751–754
 legacies of, 761–763
 liberalism in, 749
 major legislation in, 750(*t*)
 Mexican Americans and, 757–758, 758(*i*)
 Native Americans and, 756–757, 757(*i*)
 public works and, 752–753
 Second (1935–1938), 747–751
 social impact of, 751–763
 Supreme Court and, 746
 women in, 754
New Democracy, The (Ickes), 752
 New Democrats, 1020
 public policy and, 1020–1021
 New Echota (1835), Treaty of, 330–331
 New Economic Policy (Nixon), 942
 New England, 48(*m*), 56, 60–66. *See also*
 specific colonies, cities, and states
 Asian trade by, 251(*i*)
 colonies in, 82
 cotton spinning in (1840), 288(*m*)
 Dominion of, 85–86, 85(*m*)
 English settlers in, 90
 environment in, 255
 exports from, 103
 French-Indian allies and, 90
 Great Awakening in, 132
 immigrants in, 558–559
 Indian wars in, 66–70
 Indians of, 15, 60
 migration from, 230
 Patriots in, 175
 population in, 117
 public education in, 263
 Puritans in, 61–62, 61(*m*), 116–120
 religion in, 270, 271
 revivalism in, 129
 in Revolutionary War, 188
 secessionists in, 233
 settlement in, 60–66, 65(*m*)
 shoe industry in, 255, 415
 town meetings in, 64
 women in, 116–117
 yeoman society in, 64–66
 New England Anti-Slavery Society, 362
 New England Emigrant Aid Society, 433
 New France, 56–58. *See also* Canada; France
 Anglo-American conquest of, 138, 139(*m*)
 Jesuits in, 56
 migrants to, 58
 peasants in, 57–58
 New Freedom, 657
“New Frontier” (Kennedy, John F.), 830
 New Guinea, in World War II, 792
 New Hampshire, 270, 288
 Massachusetts Bay and, 85
 settlement of, 230
 New Haven, 62, 82
 new immigration, 559(*m*)
 New Jersey. *See also* Middle Atlantic region
 conflict in, 121–122
 in Dominion of New England, 85
 family and political power in (1700–1776), 106(*f*)

- foreign-born population in, 1013
 holding companies and, 548
 land disputes in, 141–142
 as Middle colony, 120
 in Revolution, 184, 185(*m*), 188
 suffrage in, 257–258
 trusts and, 651
 women's rights in, 199
- New Jersey Plan, 206
- New Left movement, 914–915
- New Lights, 132, 133
 Baptists, 134
 Presbyterians, 133
 in South, 133–134
- "New Look" program (Eisenhower), 826
- New Mexico, 407, 410, 414(*m*), 429, 429(*m*), 431
 Gorras Blancas in, 644
 livestock introduced into, 15
 Mexican American land claims in, 515
 Mexican War and, 420, 421
 peoples of, 16
- New Nationalism, of Roosevelt, Theodore, 656, 658–659
- New Negro* (Locke), 718
- New Netherland, 56, 58–60, 82, 120
 England and, 59–60, 84
 fur trade in, 59
 as New York, 60
- New Orleans, 232, 394
 Battle of, 319
 Civil War and, 452, 453(*m*)
 Hurricane Katrina in, 1030
 planter families in, 387
 race in society of, 387
 shipment to, 255
 in War of 1812, 240(*m*), 241
- New Orleans Pinchbacks (Negro Leagues), 581
- New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 693
- New Republic*, 663, 750
- New Republic magazine*, 663–664
- New Right, 972, 974–981
 family values and, 963, 964(*i*), 1018
 Goldwater and, 974–975, 974(*i*)
 Reagan and, 983
- New Salem, Illinois, 437
- New South, industrialization in, 556, 557(*m*)
- New Spain, boundary with, 244(*m*)
- New Sweden, 120
- "New Woman," 585(*i*)
 Gibson Girl as, 583
- new world. *See also* America(s)
 use of term, 34
- new world order, 969, 996
- New York* (Bellows), 607(*i*)
- New York (city), 300(*m*)
 African Americans in, 873–874
 Armory Show in, 598
- Central Park in, 388, 626
 draft riot in, 455
 elevated trains in, 608
 financial crisis in, 945, 945(*i*)
 fire of 1776 in, 151(*i*)
 gay underground in, 618
 government reform in, 624
 immigrants in, 356–357, 562, 1012
 Lower East Side in (1900), 613(*m*)
 popular entertainment in, 355–356, 615–617
 population of, 301, 712, 718
 prostitution in, 354–355
- Puerto Rican population of, 864
 race riots in, 614
 in Revolution, 151(*i*)
 skyscrapers in, 609, 609(*i*)
 Stamp Act protests in, 158
 Tammany Hall in, 541, 619–622
 Tenderloin in, 614
 tenements in, 615, 616(*m*)
 terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, 1026–1027, 1027(*i*)
 Tin Pan Alley in, 617
 violence in (1964), 896
 Washington and Tryon in, 150
- New York (colony). *See also* Middle Atlantic region
 in Dominion of New England, 85
 government of, 82
 Iroquois in, 60
 as Middle colony, 120
 self-government in, 87
 tenant farmers in, 120–121
- New York (state)
 constitution in (1777), 198
 constitutional ratification in, 207–208
 Erie Canal in, 293–294
 labor reform by, 632
 Married Women's Property Law (1848) in, 371(*i*)
 voting rights in, 316
 women's rights in, 371, 373
- New York Consumers' League, 629
- New York Emancipation Act (1799), 266
- New-York Evening Post*, 410
- New York Herald*, 253
- New York Herald-Tribune*, 621
- New York Journal*, 620, 675
- New York Protestant Episcopal Church Mission Society, Sixth Annual Report of, 384
- New York Realists, 595
- New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 585
- New York Sun*, 685
- New York Times*, 388
- New York Tribune*, 301, 348, 351, 384, 433
- New York World*, 619, 620
 circulation statistics for, 621
- New Yorker* (magazine), on postwar lifestyle, 858(*i*)
- New Zealand, progressivism in, 653
- Newark, riots in (1967), 896
- Newfoundland
 Britain and, 47, 90, 91(*m*)
 U.S. fishing rights in, 196
- Newlands Reclamation Act (1902), 651, 662(*t*)
- Newport, 103
- Newport, James**, 220
- newsboys, 621, 621(*i*)
- newspapers. *See also* journalism; specific newspapers
 African American, 360, 719
 antislavery, 362
 for immigrants, 612
 Internet and, 1011(*i*)
 Klan, 717
 political parties and, 320(*i*), 321
 urban (mass-market), 620–621
 as yellow journalism, 619
- Newton, Huey**, 894, 894(*i*)
- Newton, Isaac**, 127
- Nez Perce Indians, 525, 529, 533
- Ngola people, 97
- Niagara, Fort, 139
 "Niagara Creed," 601
- Niagara Movement, 655
- Niagara Principles, 655
- Nicaragua
 Reagan and, 992
 U.S. intervention in, 711
- nickelodeons, 615
- Niger River region, 23, 25
- Nigeria
 Islam in, 25
 slaves from, 97
- Night Life in Philadelphia* (Svinin), 355(*i*)
- Nike
- Niles, Hezekiah, 239, 304
- Niles Weekly Register*, 304
- Nimitz, Chester W.**, 792
- Nineteenth Amendment (1920), 662(*t*), 695–696, 710(*i*)
- Ninety-five Theses* (Luther), 22
- 94th Aero Pursuit Squadron, 685(*i*)
- Nipmuck Indians, 67
- Nisei, 787
- Nixon, Richard M.** (1913–1994), 926–933, 927(*i*)
 in China, 929
 détente policy of, 928–929
 domestic policy of, 939–942
 economy and, 942
 election of 1950 and, 804
 election of 1960 and, 830
 election of 1968 and, 922–923, 923(*m*)

- Nixon, Richard M. (cont.)**
- election of 1972 and, 931–932, 932(*m*)
 - environment and, 940
 - foreign policy of, 927–929, 948
 - Hiss case and, 821
 - impeachment and, 947
 - kitchen debate and, 838, 840(*i*)
 - pardon of, 948
 - resignation of, 947
 - silent majority and, 929–932, 948
 - “southern strategy” of, 922–923
 - Vietnam War and, 917, 927–929
 - Watergate and, 947–948
- Nkrumah, Kwame**, 876
- Noble, Elaine**, 957
- Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor. *See* Knights of Labor
- nonaggression pact (Nazi-Soviet), 770, 771–772
- Nong Miao (China), 197
- nonimportation movement, 161
- Nonsuch, Treaty of, 45(*i*)
- nonviolent protest, for civil rights, 880–883
- Normandy, D-Day invasion at, 789(*i*), 790–791
- North
- African Americans in, 362
 - black migration to, 613, 669, 694, 694(*i*)
 - democratic republicanism in, 256–264
 - differences from South, 266
 - disenfranchisement of immigrants in, 647–648
 - free blacks in, 360, 401–402
 - free labor in, 282
 - Great Awakening in, 132–133
 - maritime economy in, 103–105
 - railroads of, 297(*m*)
 - resistance to Fugitive Slave Act in, 430–431
 - Revolutionary War in, 184–189, 185
 - school busing in, 931
 - segregation in, 871
 - slavery ended in, 265–266, 265(*m*)
 - South as economic colony of, 395
 - Whigs in, 333
- North (Civil War)
- draft in, 454–455
 - emancipation and, 464
 - financing of war by, 460
 - mobilization in, 448, 452–462
 - resources of, 407, 456, 457(*f*)
 - women in, 456
- North, Frederick (Lord)**, 160(*t*), 166, 184, 186, 190
- North, Oliver**, 993(*i*)
- North Africa, in World War II, 789–790
- North America. *See also* America(s); Central America; Latin America; South America; specific locations
- ancient peoples of, 9(*m*)
 - British, 156(*m*)
 - eastern section of (1650), 48(*m*)
 - English, 77, 80–110, 83(*t*)
 - European spheres of influence (1754), 136(*m*)
 - free-trade zone in, 1010
 - imperial wars over, 88
 - Native Americans of, 8
 - North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 970, 1010
 - North American Review, The*, 336–337
 - North Anna, battle at, 469(*m*)
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 808(*m*), 812, 827
 - former Yugoslavia and, 1023
 - North Carolina, 499
 - civil strife in, 142–143
 - Civil War in, 471, 471(*m*)
 - farmers in, 197
 - land tax in, 142
 - Raleigh's colony in, 47
 - Regulators in, 143
 - religion in, 270
 - secession and, 446, 448
 - settlers in, 82
 - voting rights in, 316
 - North Dakota, 520, 638
 - North Korea, 815–816. *See also* Korean War
 - North Vietnam, 828, 929, 930(*i*). *See also* Vietnam
 - Northeast
 - deindustrialization and, 944(*m*)
 - immigrants in, 310, 356–357
 - neomercantilism in, 250
 - rural communalism in, 349, 349(*m*)
 - urban areas in, 606 - Northern Europe, economy in, 20
 - Northern Pacific Railroad, 497, 518, 525
 - Northern Paiute Indians, 15
 - Northern Securities Company, 650
 - Northwest. *See* Old Northwest
 - Northwest Ordinance (1787), 201, 202(*m*), 436
 - Northwest Passage, search for, 56
 - Northwest Territory
 - Jay's Treaty and, 219–222, 226
 - land division in, 203(*m*)
 - New Englanders in, 230
 - settlement of, 228–230
 - slavery in, 428
 - states from, 293
 - Treaty of Greenville and, 226–227, 228(*i*) - Norway, in World War II, 771, 790(*m*)
 - Norwegian immigrants, 520
 - notables (wealthy people)
 - Adams, John Quincy, and, 319–321
 - decline of, 316, 317 - Notes on the State of Virginia* (Jefferson), 231–232
 - Nova Scotia (Acadia), 90, 91(*m*), 137, 189
 - black Loyalists in, 200(*i*)
 - free blacks in, 264–265
 - U.S. fishing rights in, 196
 - novels. *See* literature; specific writers
 - Noyes, John Humphrey**, 351–352
 - NSA. *See* National Security Agency
 - NSC. *See* National Security Council
 - nuclear families. *See also* families
 - after World War II, 850, 855
 - nuclear power, environmentalism and, 942
 - nuclear weapons. *See also* arms race; atomic bomb
 - Reagan and, 992, 995
 - testing of, 813, 826
 - Nueces River, as Texas border, 419
 - Nuevo México. *See* New Mexico
 - nullification, 324
 - nullification crisis (1832), 323–325, 325(*i*)
 - Numic-speaking peoples, 15–16
 - Nuremberg rallies, 769(*i*)
 - nursing
 - in Civil War, 455, 456(*i*), 459
 - women in, 550
 - in World War II, 776
 - Nye, Gerald P.**, 769, 771
 - Nzinga (Kongo)**, 28(*i*)
 - oath of allegiance, for former Confederates, 480
 - oath of loyalty. *See* loyalty oaths
 - Obama, Barack**, 1025, 1031(*i*)
 - election of 2008 and, 1030
 - election of 2012 and, 1032
 - on immigration, 1017
 - Middle East and, 1031–1032
 - as president, 1030–1032
 - Supreme Court and, 1031
 - Obama, Michelle**, 1031(*i*)
 - obscenity, Court on, 930
 - Occoneechee Indians, 70
 - Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA, 1970), 942, 983
 - occupational segregation, of women, 854
 - oceans. *See* specific ocean regions
 - O'Connor, Sandra Day**, 984, 1020
 - octofool, 387
 - Office of War Information (OWI), 782
 - office work, by women, 550
 - officeholders
 - black, in South, 493–494
 - ex-Confederates as, 481
 - Ogden, Aaron**, 242
 - Oglala Sioux, 528, 530(*i*)
 - Ohio, 201, 226, 229, 250(*i*), 257, 293
 - Ohio Anti-Saloon League, prohibition campaign, 692(*i*)
 - Ohio Company of Virginia, 135

- Ohio Indians, 177
 colonial expansion and, 163–164
 settler relations with, 174
- Ohio River region, 255, 452, 453(*m*)
 1774–1775, 175(*m*)
 cities in, 300(*m*)
 conflict in, 135
 French forts in, 135
 Indians of, 135–137, 226
 lands in, 200, 226
 in Revolution, 184
- Ohiyesa** (Santee Sioux). *See* Eastman, Charles
- oil and oil industry
 energy crisis (1970s) and, 938–939
 in Iran, 828
 in Middle East, 808, 1028
 Rockefeller and, 547–548
 spill near Santa Barbara, 939
 Teapot Dome and, 710
 trusts and, 548
- oil embargo (1973), 938–939
- Ojibwa Indians, 15, 56
- Okies, 759
- Okinawa, 792
- Oklahoma, Indians and, 327, 330(*m*), 532
- old-age pensions, 663, 708, 747–748, 761
- Old Age Revolving Pension Plan, 747, 748(*m*)
- Old Lights, 132
- Old Northwest, 201
- Old Southwest, 321
- Oldham, John**, 66
- Olive Branch Petition, 177
- Oliver, Andrew**, 158
- Oliver, Peter**, 174
- Oliver, Robert**, 250
- Oliver Ames Company, 296
- Olmsted, Frederick Law**, 286–287, 391, 395
 on plantations, 388
 on slavery, 400
- Olney, Richard**, 674
- Olsen, George**, 912
- Olympic games
 black power salute in, 889(*i*)
 boycott of (1980), 977
 Thorpe at (1912), 582(*i*)
- Omaha Platform (1892), 643–644
- Omnibus Housing Act (1964), 907(*t*)
- On the Bowery* (Stephens), 600(*i*)
- “On the Equality of the Sexes” (Murray), 199
- On the Origin of Species* (Darwin), 593–594
- On the Road* (Kerouac), 849
- “One Hundred Percent Americans”
 campaign, 690–691
- 107th Colored Infantry, 467(*i*)
- Oneida Community, 351–352
- Oneida Indians, 13
- O’Neill, Eugene**, 721
- Onondaga Indians, 13, 80, 226
- OPEC. *See* Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
- Opechancanough**, 49(*i*), 52
- open door policy, in Asia, 678–682
- open-market system, 840
- opera, 618
- Operation Rescue, 1019
- Operation Rolling Thunder, 911–914
- Oppenheimer, J. Robert**, 793–794
- Orange, Fort (Albany), 58, 60
- Orange County, California, suburbanization in, 863
- Order of Freemasonry, 333–334
- Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, 432
- Ordinance of Nullification (1832), 323–324
- Oregon, 407, 410, 413(*i*)
 boundaries of, 417–418, 419
 gay rights in, 1019–1020
 migration to, 412–413
 territorial boundaries in (1819–1846), 412(*m*)
 wagon trains to, 412–413
- “Oregon conventions,” 417
- Oregon Donation Land Claim Act (1850), 421
- Oregon System, of voting, 624
- Oregon Trail, 353(*m*), 412, 413, 414(*m*)
- organization (business)
 horizontal integration, 548
 of railroad industry, 512
 vertical integration, 541, 547, 548
- Organization Man, The* (Whyte), 859
- “organization men,” 842
- Organization of Afro-American Unity, 892
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 938, 939
- organized labor. *See* labor unions
- original sin doctrine, 273, 395
- Orlando, Vittorio**, 697(*i*)
- Orphan Asylum Society, 305
- orphans
 in Chesapeake region, 54
 Civil War and, 475(*i*)
 in Shaker communities, 350
 slave, 398
- Orthodox Judaism, 599. *See also* Jews and Judaism
- Osborne, Sarah Harrah**, 133
- Ostend Manifesto (1854), 431
- Ostram, Mary Walker**, 366, 367
- O’Sullivan, John L.**, 411(*i*), 412, 422
- O’Sullivan, Timothy H.**, 468(*i*)
- Oswald, Lee Harvey**, 904
- Other America, The* (Harrington), 843
- Otis, James**, 158
- Ottawa Indians, 15, 17, 56, 139, 226
- Ottoman Empire, 28, 30, 684, 698(*m*)
- Our Bodies, Ourselves*, 952
- Our Country* (Strong), 674
- Outcault, R. F.**, 619, 620, 620(*i*)
- outdoor relief system, 623
- outsourcing, 721, 1010–1011
- outwork system, 45
 mills and, 254
 in shoe industry, 286
- overland travel, 293
- overseers, 388
- Ovington, Mary White**, 655
- pachuco* gangs, 783
- Pacific Crest Trail, 761
- Pacific Northwest
 economic development in, 517–518
 Indians of, 16, 17
- Pacific Ocean region
 Indians of, 16
 Lewis and Clark in, 233–234
 Pacific coast cities and, 606
 transpacific trade and, 59(*m*)
 U.S.-Japanese competition in, 682
 U.S. rights in, 408
 War of 1898 in, 675
 in World War II, 792–793, 793(*m*), 794(*m*)
- Pacific Railway, 576(*i*)
- Pacific slope, settlement of (1860–1890), 517(*m*)
- pacifism, in World War I, 691
- padroni* (labor boss), 610
- Page, William**, 303(*i*)
- Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza** (shah of Iran), 828, 977
- Paine, Thomas**, 128
Common Sense, 177–178
- painting. *See also* art(s); specific works and artists
 Ash Can School of, 595, 595(*i*)
 cubism, 598, 598(*i*)
 Harlem Renaissance and, 718
 realism in, 595–598, 595(*i*)
- Paiute Indians, 15, 534
- Pakistan
 bin Laden in, 1027
 immigrants from, 1015
- Palestine, 698, 828, 997
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 997
- Palladio, Andrea**, 267(*i*)
- Palmer, A. Mitchell**, 708–709
- Palmer raids, 709
- Pan-African Congress, 697
- pan-Africanism, 720
- Pan-American Exposition, 650
- pan-Indian identity, 534
- Panama, 34, 682
 canal return to, 977
- Panama Canal, 511, 682–683, 682(*i*), 977

- panics (financial). *See also* depressions (financial); Great Depression of 1819, 251
of 1837, 334–335, 335(i), 338, 727
of 1857, 293
of 1873, 497
of 1907, 662
Papago Indians, 756–757
papal encyclicals, on republicanism, 308, 310
paper money, 189(i), 325, 662. *See also* currency; money
in Civil War, 460, 461, 462
colonial, 110
in Revolution, 188–189, 196
after Revolution, 202–204
paper sons (illegal Chinese immigrants), 564
paramilitary groups
in Mississippi, 500
Nazi fringe, 714
Reconstruction and, 498–499
Paramount Pictures, 726
pardon, for Nixon, 948
parents, roles of, 262
Paris, in World War II, 791
Paris, treaty of
of 1763, 78, 139, 156(m)
of 1783, 196, 226
of 1899, 678
Paris Peace Conference. *See* Versailles treaty, of 1919
Park Forest, Illinois, 858(i)
Parker, Alton B., 650
Parker, Charlie, 849
Parks, Rosa, 881
parks, urban, 626
parlements (France), 18
Parliament (England), 255
Charles I and, 60–61
compromise by, 166–167
Patriots and, 160–163
representation in, 157
supremacy of, 157, 166–167, 170
Parliament of Religions, 601
parochial schools, 599
partitions
of Palestine, 828
of Vietnam, 828
Parton, James, 328
party politics, 314
Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti, The (Shahn), 708(i)
passive resistance, by slaves, 400
patents, 290, 549(i)
paternal authority, of yeomen, 389
paternalism
in family life, 850
of planters, 382–383, 388
Paterson, William, 206
Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (2010), 1031
patriarchy, 18, 40, 258, 389, 390
Patriot Act. *See* USA PATRIOT Act
patriotism
in Civil War, 452
women and, 591
in World War II military, 776
Patriots, 147. *See also* Revolutionary War (U.S.)
by 1770, 166–167
farmers and, 170
free blacks as, 265
in local government, 182
vs. Loyalists, 182
Massachusetts resistance and, 175
Parliament and, 160–163
resistance by (1762–1776), 171(t)
before Revolution, 174
Revolution and, 176, 184(m), 195–196
patronage, 318, 323, 501, 619, 638
by Walpole, 106, 107(i)
Patterson, Haywood, 756(i)
Patterson, John, 883
Patterson, Thomas, on Philippines, 680–681
Patton, George S., 790
Paul, Alice, 695, 696, 709
Paulson, Henry, 1030
Pavlicek, Joseph, 586(i)
Pawnee Indians, 416, 417
Pax Americana, 840
Paxton Boys, 142
Paycheck, Johnny, 960
Pea Ridge, Battle of, 451(i)
Peace Corps, 832
Peace Democrats, 469
peace movement
in Vietnam War, 914
after World War I, 709–710
peace party, in Texas, 391
peace policy, of Grant, 528, 532
peacekeeping, by NATO, 1023
Peale, Charles Willson, 187(i)
Peale, Norman Vincent, 849
Pearce, Charles H., 495
Pearl Harbor
Japanese attack on, 773
U.S. naval base at, 676
peasants
Christianity and, 21–22
lifestyle of, 19
in New France, 57–58
society in Europe, 18–19
peddlers, 254, 254(i)
Peking. *See* Beijing
Pelham, Henry, 137
Pendleton, Edmund, 177
Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883), 638, 662(t)
penicillin, 687(i), 851
Peninsular Campaign, 449, 450(m)
Penn family
William, 82–83, 121
Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and, 141
Pennington, W. C., 381
Pennsylvania, 82–83. *See also* Middle Atlantic region
Civil War in, 465–466, 465(m), 468
claims to Pittsburgh, 174
conflict in, 121–122
constitution in (1776), 198
farm improvements in, 230
Indians in, 142
land disputes in, 141
as Middle colony, 120
Quakers in, 125–126
religion in, 124–125
in Revolution, 184, 185(m)
September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and, 1002, 1026
Pennsylvania Gazette, 98(i), 128, 132
alcohol featured in, 221
Pensacola, battle at, 240(m)
pensions
mothers', 654
for officers in Revolution, 190
old-age, 663, 708
Townsend on, 747
for veterans, 639, 642
Pentagon
Reagan and, 985
September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on, 1002, 1026
Pentecostal evangelicals, 963
peónes, Mexican Americans as, 515
People's Party. *See* Populist Party; populists and populism
People's Republic of China, 814. *See also* China
Peoria Indians, 56
Pequot Indians, 15, 66
per capita income, 250, 302, 721
perestroika, 993
“Perfect Operator, The” (Schmitt), 579
perfectionism, Noyes and, 352
Perkins, Frances, 632, 740, 754
Permanent Indian Territory, 416, 431
Pernambuco, sugar mills in, 46
Perot, H. Ross, 1020, 1021(m)
Perry, Matthew, 510
Perry, Oliver Hazard, 236–237
Pershing, John J., 684(i), 686, 687
Persian Gulf region, oil from, 938
Persian Gulf War (1990–1991), 998, 998(i)
Iraq War and, 1028
personal computer (PC), 989, 990–991, 1011, 1012
personal-liberty laws, 431
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (1996), 1022, 1023(i)

- Perspective View of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, A (Streeper and Dawkins), 128(i)
- Peru, 8, 31(m), 42
- “pet banks.” of Jackson, 326, 338
- Petersburg, Virginia, siege of, 467, 468, 469(m), 471
- petitions
- against Indian removal, 327
 - against Kansas-Nebraska Act, 432
 - against slavery, 363, 365, 370(m)
- petroleum. *See* oil and oil industry
- phalanx, as socialistic system, 351
- Phelps Dodge, 517
- Philadelphia, 300(m)
- anti-Catholic riot in, 311
 - Constitutional Convention in, 205–207, 266
 - Continental Congress in, 169
 - Enlightenment in, 128(i)
 - immigrants in, 122
 - Indians and, 83
 - population of, 103
 - in Revolutionary War, 185(m), 187
 - segregated housing in, 871
- Philadelphia Hospital, Pennsylvania, Enlightenment and, 128(i)
- Philadelphia National Gazette*, 336
- philanthropy, of Carnegie, 619
- Philip II** (Spain, r. 1556–1598), 44
- Philip, King.** *See* Metacomm (King Philip)
- Philippines, 511
- in American empire, 678
 - British in, 138
 - cession of, 678
 - debate over, 680–681
 - immigrants from, 758–759, 1015
 - independence for, 678
 - resistance to U.S. in, 678
 - Taft as governor-general, 678
 - United States and, 672
 - in War of 1898, 675
 - after War of 1898, 677–678
 - in World War II, 792, 794(m)
- Philipsburg Proclamation (1779), 190
- Phillips, David Graham**, 619
- Phillips, Wendell**, 460, 464, 485
- Phoenix, Arizona, 624
- phonograph, 549(i), 576
- photography, 595
- Picasso, Pablo**, 598
- Pickett, George E.**, 465
- Pickford, Mary**, 726, 726(i)
- piecework, 550, 555
- Piegans (Blackfeet) Indians, 528, 533(i)
- Pierce, Franklin** (1804–1869), 431, 433
- Pietism, 114, 126, 129
- Pike, James M.**, 497
- Pilgrims, 60–61
- Pillow, Fort, black troops slaughtered at, 499
- Pinchot, Gifford**, 651, 657(i)
- Pinckney’s Treaty (1795), 232
- Pine Ridge Reservation, 529(i), 534
- Wounded Knee and, 898
- Pingree, Hazen**, 624
- Pinkerton Detective Agency, 544
- Pioneer Line, 425
- pioneers, on Oregon Trail, 413
- pirates, Barbary, 231
- Pitt, Fort, 138, 139, 174
- Pitt, William**, 137, 138, 141, 157, 160–161, 160(t), 170
- Pittsburgh, 135
- claims to, 174–175
 - deindustrialization and, 943, 943(m)
 - urban crisis in, 864(i)
- Pittsburgh Courier*, 873
- Pittsburgh Pirates (baseball), 581
- Pius IX** (Pope), 308
- Pizarro, Francisco**, 35, 42
- plague, in Europe, 18
- Plains Indians, 15–16, 17, 327, 407, 414(m), 415–417, 525–534, 525(i)
- plains region. *See* Great Plains
- Plan of Union (Franklin), 137
- “Plan of Union” (Galloway), 172–173
- “Plan to End Slavery” (Joseph Smith Jr.), 434
- Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992), 1020
- plantation-based economy, 90, 376, 389, 394
- plantation colonies, 46–56, 46(m)
- vs. neo-Europe, 57
 - slavery in, 55–56
- planters and plantations, 297
- in 1860 and 1881, 491(m)
 - in Americas, 35
 - on Atlantic islands, 28
 - Bacon’s Rebellion and, 70–71
 - in Caribbean, 53–56, 266, 482
 - in Civil War, 452–454, 471
 - cotton and, 229–230
 - in Cotton South, 376, 388
 - cultures of, 383–388
 - debts to Britain and, 171–174
 - democratic politics and, 392–393
 - gentility of society and, 102
 - housing of, 376, 383, 383(i), 386
 - Jefferson on, 218–219
 - lifestyle of, 386
 - middling, 386, 388, 389
 - paternalism and, 382–383
 - poor whites and, 391
 - during Reconstruction, 481, 487, 488
 - religion and, 386–388
 - slavery and, 267, 370, 378–381, 388, 389, 400
 - smallholding, 389
 - in South Carolina, 82
 - as southern gentry, 383–386
 - in southern society, 102–103
- sugar and, 46–47, 46(m), 380
- in Virginia, 54(m)
- westward movement by, 229, 376
- plants. *See also* agriculture; crops; farms and farming; *specific crops*
- in Columbian Exchange, 43
 - native to Americas, 8
- Platt Amendment (1902), 678
- Playboy* magazine, 856
- Plea for the West, A* (Lyman Beecher), 308
- Pledge of Allegiance, “under God” added to (1954), 849
- Plenty Kill** (Lakota Indian), 528
- Plessy, Homer**, 580
- Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), 577–580, 649(i), 654, 878
- plows, steel, 296, 519
- Plunkitt, George Washington**, 619–620
- plural marriage (polygamy), 352(i), 353, 354, 521, 522–523
- pluralism
- cultural, 1013–1018
 - revivalism and, 134
- Plymouth, 60, 62, 82, 86
- Poague, William**, 448
- Pocahontas**, 49, 49(i)
- English view of, 51, 51(i)
- pocket veto, of Wade-Davis Bill, 480
- poets and poetry. *See also specific poets*
- of Klan, 716
- Point Pleasant, Battle of, 175, 175(m)
- Poland, 698(m), 736
- German invasion of, 770, 771
- NATO and, 1023
- Solidarity in, 994
- Soviets and, 791
- after World War II, 806, 807
- Polaris missiles, 826
- police
- African Americans and, 893
 - in cities, 622
 - Haymarket violence and, 568
 - strike in Boston, 707
- police action, Korean War as, 816
- police power, of state, 332
- polio vaccine, 851
- Polish immigrants, 559(m), 609–610
- Polish people, in World War II, 792
- political campaigns
- in 1920s, 711
 - financing of, 948
 - techniques in, 638, 640–641
- political machines, 317, 541, 619–623, 627
- political parties, 147, 281, 314. *See also* factions; *specific parties*
- antislavery, 366
 - in Britain, 106, 152
 - Grange and, 565
 - rise of, 223–226, 316–318
 - sectionalism in, 407, 433

- political power. *See* power (political)
- politics
- in 1920s, 709–718
 - 1973–1980, 947–950
 - African Americans in, 871
 - in Cold War, 818–819
 - crisis of 1790s, 216–226
 - democratic, 280, 281, 315(*i*), 316, 392–395
 - of empire (1713–1750), 105–110
 - ethnocultural, 340
 - evangelicalism and, 275
 - family values in, 963, 964(*i*)
 - global, 1002
 - ideological, 219
 - immigration and, 1013–1018
 - Ku Klux Klan and, 714
 - labor and, 334, 564–565, 754
 - labor-rural alliance in, 565–566, 569
 - in Middle Atlantic region, 125–126
 - popular (1820–1828), 316–321
 - realignment in (1848 and 1860), 436(*m*)
 - realignment in (after 1974), 948–949, 949(*t*)
 - after Reconstruction, 638–642
 - reforms of, 636
 - religion and, 316, 600
 - after Revolution, 198
 - sexual, 925
 - slavery and, 266–267, 425
 - in South, 386, 392–395, 494
 - trade and, 166(*f*)
 - urban reform and, 629–632
 - Vietnam War and, 914
 - women and, 198–199, 339, 367, 591, 663, 709–710, 710(*i*)
 - in World War II, 781
- Polk, James K.** (1795–1849), 424
- election of 1844 and, 418
 - expansionism of, 410, 418–419, 421, 424(*m*)
 - Mexican War and, 410, 420
 - as president (1845–1849), 425(*i*)
- poll tax, 484, 645, 891
- Pollock, Jackson**, 761
- pollution
- in cities, 626
 - climate change and, 1032
 - environmentalism and, 939
 - industrialization and, 553
 - TVA and, 761(*m*)
- Polo, Marco**, 30(*i*)
- polygamy (plural marriage), Mormon, 352(*i*), 353, 354, 521, 522–523
- Pommer, Erich**, 727
- Ponce de León, Juan**, 34
- Pontiac** (Ottawa Indians), 139
- Pontiac's Rebellion, 153
- pooling, by railroads, 569
- poor people. *See also* poverty
- game laws, subsistence hunting and, 584
 - health care for, 709
 - in seaport cities, 104–105
 - in South, 390–391, 390(*i*), 393
 - urban, 304, 305, 541
- Poor Richard's Almanack*, 128
- Poor White Folks* (Beard), 390(*i*)
- pope(s), 21
- Gregory XVI, 308, 310
 - John Paul II, 994
 - Pius IX, 308
- popular culture
- entertainment and, 355–356, 615–618
 - sex and, 960–961
 - urban, 354–356
 - in World War II, 782–783
- "Popular Education" (*North American Review*), 336–337
- Popular Front, 770, 820
- popular sovereignty, 179, 211, 242, 324, 428, 429, 429(*m*), 431, 432, 433, 436
- in Declaration of Independence, 197
- popular vote. *See* elections; voting and voting rights
- population. *See also* diversity
- in 1803 and Louisiana Purchase, 235
 - of African Americans, 323, 401, 613
 - in Americas, 8
 - of Cahokia, 11–12
 - of Chesapeake region, 54
 - of cities, 300, 354, 606, 712
 - in Confederacy, 456
 - of England, 287
 - of English settlers, 90
 - of European Union, 1005
 - of free blacks, 401, 402
 - growth of, 141
 - immigrant, 556, 713, 1013–1015
 - of mainland colonies, 141(*f*)
 - of Middle Atlantic region, 120, 121–122
 - of Native Americans, 35
 - of New England, 117
 - of New France, 58
 - of New Netherland, 58
 - nonnative, from gold rushes, 426(*t*)
 - of port cities, 103
 - of rural areas, 606
 - shift in, 948
 - shifting patterns in (1950–1980), 862(*m*)
 - slave, 96, 304, 378–380, 379(*m*), 456
 - of South Carolina, 82
 - of United States, 287
 - world's largest cities (1800 and 2000), 611(*t*)
- Population Bomb*, *The* (Ehrlich), 941
- Populist Party, 542, 569, 624, 643(*i*)
- 1894 election and, 645, 647
 - 1896 election and, 646–647, 648(*m*)
 - free silver and, 647
- Omaha Platform of, 643–644
- women in, 591, 636
- Populists and populism
- New Deal and, 746–747
 - revolt by, 643–644
 - Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 658–659
 - in South, 644, 645, 646
 - in West (1892), 643(*m*)
 - workers and, 644
- pork packing. *See* meat-packing industry
- pornography, Court on, 930
- Poro society, 25
- port cities. *See* seaports
- Port Hudson, Louisiana, 464
- Port Huron Statement (1962), 914, 918
- Port Royal, 90
- Portland, Oregon, 517–518
- Portrait of Pocahontas* (Van De Pass), 51, 51(*i*)
- portraits, group, 105(*i*)
- Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 62, 158(*i*)
- Portugal
- Africa and, 6, 24(*m*), 27(*i*)
 - Americas and, 26
 - Brazil and, 35, 36(*i*), 46–47
 - slave trade and, 30
 - trade by, 25–28
- positive good defense, of slavery, 282, 364(*i*), 386–387, 398
- Post Dispatch* (Cleveland), 707(*i*)
- Post Office Act (1792), 295
- postcolonial world, containment in, 826–833
- postindustrial economy, 942
- postwar era, after World War II, 852–853
- potatoes, 43
- in Ireland, 310
- Potawatomi Indians, 15, 226
- potlatch*, 17
- Potomac River region, 52
- Potomack Indians, 52
- Potosí, mines in, 42
- Potsdam Conference, 794, 807
- Pottawatomie, Kansas, Brown at, 433
- pottery, in Sudan, 23
- Pound, Ezra**, 595
- poverty. *See also* poor people
- in 1920s, 721
 - in cities, 863
 - of indentured servants, 55
 - industrialization and, 565
 - of Irish immigrants, 310
 - Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 905, 906–908, 908(*f*)
 - King, Martin Luther, and, 896
 - of Native Americans, 528
- progressivism and, 636, 652, 709
- in South, 393
 - urban violence and, 896
 - wealth, food, and, 554–555
 - working-class, 305, 513, 553

- Poverty** (Hunter), 652
- Powderly, Terence V.**, 567, 567(*i*)
- Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr.**, 873
- Powell, John Wesley, Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States**, 520–524
- power (energy). *See* energy
- power (political)
- in Articles of Confederation, 200–201
 - federal, 510, 688
 - national, 207, 408
 - of presidency, 326, 670, 740
 - shift to West and South, 948
 - soft, 726
 - in state governments, 198
- power looms, 288, 291
- Power of Positive Thinking, The* (Peale), 849
- Powhatan** (chief), 13, 17, 49, 50, 52
- Powhatan Chiefdom, 12–13
- Powhatan Indians, 49(*i*)
- Prager, Robert**, lynching of, 692
- prayer, in schools, 930–931
- praying towns, 67
- Preble, Edward**, 232(*i*)
- “predatory pricing,” 541, 547, 548
- predestination, 22, 62, 273, 274, 395
- preemptive war doctrine, 969
- pregnancy, on western trails, 413
- Presbyterians, 270, 600. *See also*
- evangelicals and evangelicalism
 - Benevolent Empire and, 316
 - New Light, 133–134
 - Scots-Irish as, 124
- preservationists, 583
- presidency. *See also* president; specific individuals
- Jackson and, 326, 331
 - Roosevelt, Franklin, and, 740
- president. *See also* cabinet (presidential); presidency; specific individuals
- powers of, 326, 640–641, 670
- Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, 909
- Presidential Committee on Civil Rights, 875
- presidential debates, Kennedy-Nixon, 830
- presidential elections. *See* elections
- Presidential Reconstruction, 478, 480, 481
- Presley, Elvis**, 846(*i*), 848
- press, freedom of, 224
- price supports
- agricultural, 711
 - Farmers’ Alliance and, 569
- prices
- in Great Depression, 727
 - for slaves, 381
 - wholesale (1869–1913), 546(*f*)
- Priest, Josiah**, 364(*i*)
- priests, in Spanish America, 43
- Primacy of Human Reason and Natural Laws, The* (Wise), 131
- primary elections, white, 871
- primary schools, 263
- primer, antislavery, 361(*i*)
- primogeniture, 18
- Princeton, battle at, 184, 185(*m*), 186(*i*)
- Princeton University, 133
- Princip, Gavrilo**, 684
- Principia Mathematica* (Newton, 1687), 127
- print
- Great Awakening and, 132(*i*)
 - revolution in, 126–127
- prison(s), reform of, 367
- Prison Discipline Society, 305
- Prisoners of Poverty* (Campbell), 555
- prisoners of war
- on Bataan, 792
 - Santa Anna and, 392
- privacy rights, 957
- sexual, 957
- “private city,” 619
- privateers, French ships seized by, 223
- Privy Council (England), 52
- Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition (George III), 176
- Proclamation Line (1763). *See also* Royal Proclamation (1763)
- westward movement and, 163–166, 170(*m*), 171(*t*)
- Proclamation of 1763. *See* Royal Proclamation of 1763
- proclamation of 1775 (Dunmore), 192, 264
- Proclamation of Neutrality (1793), 219
- producerism, 566
- production. *See also* mass production
- business expansion and, 546
 - in Great Depression, 727
 - household mode of, 120
 - industrialization and, 546
 - and producers of cotton (1800–1860), 378(*f*)
 - vertical integration and, 547
- productivity
- 1970–2004, 1005(*f*)
 - decline in, 987
 - gang-labor system and, 388
 - Swift and, 547
- professionalization
- of baseball, 581
 - of football, 582
- professionals, African American, 871
- professions
- corporate, 549–550, 550(*i*)
 - training through GI Bill, 843
 - women in, 550, 628, 958
- “Program for America” (*American Standard*), 717
- progress
- Twain on, 594–595
- Progress and Poverty* (George), 565
- Progressive Era (1890–1914), 540, 638, 663–664. *See also* progressivism
- ideas of, 542, 636
- Progressive Party, 542
- in 1912, 656–657, 657(*i*), 660(*m*)
 - in 1924, 711
 - in 1948, 819
- progressivism, 624. *See also* Progressive Era
- goals of, 652–656
 - government regulation and, 650
 - labor unions and, 655
 - major federal measures (1883–1921), 662(*t*)
 - national politics and, 709
 - in New Zealand, 653
 - political reforms and, 636, 638–639
 - resistance to, 663
 - Wilson’s Fourteen Points and, 697
 - women and, 652–654
 - World War I and, 685, 688
- prohibition, 642, 705(*i*), 712–713, 714. *See also* Eighteenth Amendment; temperance; temperance movement
- repeal of, 713
- Prohibition Party, 591
- Prohibitory Act (1775), 176, 190
- Promise of the New Deal, The* (Shahn), 708(*i*)
- Promontory Point, Utah, transcontinental railroad at, 508
- Promoting Nutrition* (Abel), 554–555
- propaganda
- end of Reconstruction and, 504
 - in World War I, 690–691, 691(*i*)
- property
- inheritance of, 117
 - after Revolution, 200
 - slaves as, 200, 266, 268, 381, 393, 428, 436
 - taxation of personal, 301
 - as voting requirement, 62, 86, 198, 206, 257–258, 316, 494
 - widow’s rights to, 117
 - women and, 18, 199, 258, 371
- property rights. *See also* property; voting and voting rights
- Marshall on, 241, 242
 - Taney Court and, 331–332
 - of women, 258, 371
- Prophetstown, 235
- Proposition 13 (California), 947
- Proposition 187 (California), 1015
- Proposition 209 (California), 1015
- Proposition 227 (California), 1018(*i*)
- proprietorships, 82, 87
- proslavery forces, in Kansas, 433
- prosperity
- of elite, 577
 - middle-class culture and, 302–303

- prosperity (*cont.*)
 in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 122
 in Reagan's second term, 987
 southern, 393–395
 after World War II, 840–841
- Prosser, Gabriel**, 255, 266, 273, 400
- Prosser, Martin**, 273
- prostitution, 354–355, 367
 colonial, 119
 reform and, 626–627
- Prostrate State, The* (Pike), 497
- protective tariffs, 319, 320, 323, 510, 512–513, 642. *See also* American System (Clay); tariffs; *specific tariffs*
- protest(s). *See also* antirwar movement (Vietnam War); revolts and rebellions; *specific protests*
 in 1960s, 903(*i*)
 by citizens, 105–106
 civil rights, 879–892
 global (1968), 920–921
 in Great Depression, 738–739, 748(*m*)
 against Grenville's legislation, 157–158
 against industrialization, 565–566
 in Middle East, 1032
 against railroads, 298
 against Stamp Act, 158(*i*)
 for women's voting rights, 695
 against WTO, 1004, 1004(*i*)
- Protestant Almanack*, *The* (1700), 63(*i*)
- Protestant Reformation, 22
- Protestantism
 abortion rights and, 1018–1019
 African American, 135
 black evangelical, 272–273, 395–396, 402
 Canada and, 90
 in England, 63
 evangelical, 269, 275, 306, 310, 849, 962–963
 fundamentalism and, 601–602
 Luther and, 22, 44
 in Maryland, 87
 missions of, 599–600
 movie industry and, 704
 nativism and, 310–311, 407
 in New England, 52
 in New France, 57
 Reformation and, 22
 Second Great Awakening and, 274–275, 306
 Smith, Al, and, 715–718
 social activism and, 961–962
 Social Gospel and, 600
 Spanish Catholicism and, 43–46
 urban, 303–304
- Providence, 62
- Psychology of Advertising, The* (Scott), 550
- psychotherapy, in 1960s, 961
- Ptolemy, Claudius**, 30(*i*)
- public accommodations, "full and equal" access to, 496
- public aid, to railroads, 512
- public assistance. *See also* Aid to Families with Dependent Children; social welfare; welfare programs
 for mothers with dependent children (1911), 653
- Public Broadcasting System (PBS), 957
- public credit, Hamilton on, 216–217
- public domesticity, industrialization and, 580
- public education, 310, 336–337, 493, 494–495, 580
- public health. *See also* health and health care movement, 625–626, 625(*i*), 636
 polio vaccine and, 851
- public land. *See also* land
 opened to private businesses, 583, 651
 for preservation and recreation, 583
- "Public Letter Declining an Invitation to Attend an Antislavery Convention . . ." (Greeley), 384–385
- public libraries, 619
- public life, Christianity and, 978–979
- public relief agencies, in Great Depression, 739, 749
- public schools. *See also* schools
 Bible reading in, 930–931
- public sphere, women in, 367, 370
- public works. *See also* internal improvements
 in cities, 622
 Hoover and, 736–737
 in New Deal, 741–744, 749, 751, 752–753, 759(*i*), 760–761, 761(*m*)
- Public Works Administration (PWA, 1933), 741, 750(*t*), 760
- Puck* (magazine), 564(*i*), 651(*i*), 657(*i*)
- Pueblo Indians, 16, 17
- Puerto Ricans, 694
 civil rights and, 892
 Young Lords and, 894–895
- Puerto Rico, 676
 in American empire, 678
 cession to United States, 677
 migration from, 864
- Puget Sound, 412
- Pulitzer, Joseph**, 619, 620, 621
- Pullman Company, 576(*i*), 577
- Pullman strike (1894), 644, 657
- Punderson, Prudence**, 116(*i*)
- punishment of slaves, 96, 98(*i*), 362, 388, 389(*i*)
- "pure-and-simple unionism" doctrine, 570
- Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), 629, 662(*t*)
- Puritan-Pequot war, 66–67
- Puritan Revolution (England, 1640s), 63
- Puritans, 61–62
 Calvinists as, 22
 in England, 63
 Glorious Revolution and, 86–87
- migration to America, 61–62, 61(*m*)
 in New England, 61–62, 64, 116–120
 Pequot war with, 66–67
 witchcraft and, 63–64
 women as, 62, 116
- Qing dynasty (China), 197
- Quaker Meeting*, 123(*i*)
- Quakers, 82–83, 270
 conflict in colonies of, 121–122
 manumission by, 265, 266, 271
 in Pennsylvania, 82–83, 125–126
 religious practices of, 123(*i*)
 Welsh, 123
- Quartering Act
 of 1765, 157, 171(*t*)
 of 1774, 168
- quarteroon (octofoon), 387
- Quayle, Dan**, 996
- Quebec, 56
 British capture of, 138, 156(*m*)
 colony of, 163
- Quebec Act (1774), 169, 170(*m*), 171(*t*)
- Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), 88(*t*), 91(*m*)
- Queen for a Day* (TV show), 846
- Quincy, Josiah**, 238–239, 624
- quota system
 affirmative action and, 951
 Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) and, 1013
 national-origins, 864
- race and racism, 357(*i*), 365(*i*). *See also* abolition and abolitionism; African Americans; civil rights movement; integration; Ku Klux Klan; segregation; slaves and slavery
 abolitionism and, 364
 affirmative action and, 950–952
 Anglo-Saxon superiority and, 412
 anticomunism and, 875
 Cherokees and, 331
 against Chinese immigrants, 561–564, 564(*i*)
 communism and, 875
 diversity in Middle Atlantic region, 125(*m*)
 emancipation and, 464
 eugenics and, 594
 against free blacks, 360
 German fascism and, 768
 Haitian Revolution and, 224
 imperialism and, 674
 institutional, 863
 against Japanese, 669, 792
 of Johnson, Andrew, 481
 Kerner Report on, 896

- King, Martin Luther, and, 896
 in Levittowns, 857
 against Mexican Americans, 669, 694
 in military, 776
 in minstrel shows, 356
 nationalism and, 923–924
 in Nazi Germany, 768
 New Deal politics and, 755
 in plural society, 1013
 against Puerto Ricans, 694
 in Reconstruction, 493
 “separate but equal” doctrine and, 580
 skin color and, 55
 southern society and, 387
 in World War I, 694
 after World War I, 706–707
 in World War II, 780(i), 783
 after World War II, 868
 race music, 719, 848
 race riots. *See also* riots
 in 1965 and 1967, 896
 in 1968, 896, 919
 in Chicago (1919), 707
 in Detroit, 783, 873
 in East St. Louis (1917), 707
 after King’s death, 896
 in Memphis, 478, 480(i)
 in San Francisco, 561
 in Springfield, Illinois (1908), 614, 655
 in Tulsa (1921), 707, 724
 in urban areas, 614, 896
 in World War I, 687–688
 after World War I, 706–707
 zoot-suit, 783
 racial mixture, 42, 444
 Radcliffe College, 589(i)
 Radical Reconstruction, 478, 482–485,
 483(m), 486, 494, 497
 Radical Republicans, 463, 481–482, 493,
 496
 Radical Whigs, 152, 158–159
 Boston Massacre and, 166
 radicals and radicalism
 Black Panthers and, 894
 labor movement and, 565, 655–656
 Muslim movement and, 1002
 pro- and antislavery, 438
 women’s liberation and, 592
 after World War I, 708–709
 radio
 Coughlin on, 746(i)
 foreign relations and, 726
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., and, 740
 ragtime (music), 617, 618
 Railroad Administration, 689
 Railroad Retirement Act, 746
 railroads
 1873 depression and, 497
 1890s depression and, 644
 in Civil War, 448
 construction funds for, 512
 consumer culture and, 577
 corporations and, 548
 elevated (els), 608
 expansion of, 296, 297(m), 511–512,
 513(m)
 farmers and, 565
 Great Plains and, 519
 labor for, 495
 land grants for, 512
 marketing networks and, 541
 in Mexico and U.S., 514, 514(m)
 national parks and, 525
 oil industry and, 548
 organization and management of, 546
 passenger car from, 298(i)
 pooling by, 569
 Pullman strike and, 644
 ranching and, 518, 519
 rebates from, 548
 refrigeration and, 547
 regulation of, 566, 569, 650, 662
 risks and rewards of, 298–299
 safety on, 553
 Santa Fe, 513, 513(m)
 segregation of, 576(i), 577–580
 in South, 393, 494
 state investments in, 298–299, 335
 strikes against, 565
 technology for, 298
 transcontinental, 431, 432, 460, 508, 510
 in West, 407
 in World War I, 689
 “rain follows the plow,” 519
 Rake, Joseph, 931
 Raleigh, Walter, 47
 Ramssay, Cato, 200(i)
 Ramsay, David, 182
 ranching
 in California, 415, 428
 cowboys and, 518(i), 519
 Long Drive and, 519
 railroads and, 518, 519
 Randolph, A. Philip, 780, 872, 873, 886
 Randolph, Edward, 68–69, 85
 Rankin, Christopher, 268
 Rankin, Jeannette, 686, 773
 Ranney, William T., 195(i)
 rap music, 960
 rape
 antirape movement and, 952
 in Civil War, 473
 of slave women, 95–96
 rapid transit, Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 906
 ratification
 of Articles of Confederation, 201
 of Constitution, 207–211, 210(m)
 rational thought, 114
 Christian, 127
 in Enlightenment, 130–131
 rationing, in World War II, 783
 Ravenel, Henry William, 488
 Rawdon (Lord), 188
 Ray, James Earl, 896, 919
 Raytheon, 841
 RCA (Radio Corporation of America), 726
 ready-made clothing, 301, 305
 Reagan, Jack, 750
 Reagan, Ronald (1911–2004), 746, 982(i)
 as California governor, 975
 Central America and, 992
 on Christianity and public life, 978
 conservatism and, 972, 974, 975–977,
 978, 981–989
 deregulation under, 983–984
 domestic policies of, 982–989
 economy and, 982–983, 986–987
 election of 1964 and, 905–906
 election of 1980 and, 973(i), 980–981,
 981(m)
 election of 1984 and, 986
 end of Cold War and, 989–995
 on environment, 941
 foreign policy of, 989–996
 Gorbachev and, 993–995, 995(i)
 HIV/AIDS and, 985
 Iran-Contra affair and, 992–993
 judiciary and, 984–985
 legacy of, 995–996
 “Morning in America” and, 986–989
 politics of symbolism and, 986
 Religious Right and, 981–982
 at Republican National Convention
 (1980), 941
 “Rule of Law Under God, The,” 978
 Reagan coalition, 981–982
 Reagan Democrats, 982
 Reagan Revolution, 762
 conservatives on, 984
 Reaganomics, 982–983
 real estate, taxation of, 301
 real income, between 1877 and 1900, 546
Real Majority, The (Wattenberg and Scammon), 922
 realism, in arts, 541, 594, 595–598, 595(i)
 reapers, 287, 291(i), 296
 rebates, railroad, 548
Rebel Without a Cause (movie), 848
 rebellions. *See* revolts and rebellions
 recall, 652
 recessions
 in 1760s, 141
 in 1981–1982, 986
 1990–1991, 987
 of 2007–, 1030
 in North Carolina, 142
 Roosevelt (1937–1938), 751
 after World War I, 721, 727
Recollections of a Southern Matron
 (Gilman), 260

reconquista, 31
 Reconstruction (1865–1877), 406, 408, 478.
See also freedmen (freedpeople)
 Black Codes in, 481, 494
 black officeholders during, 493–494
 counterrevolution against, 498–500
 depression of 1873 and, 497–498
 electoral politics after, 638–642
 end of, 498, 499, 500, 501
 Ku Klux Klan and, 499
 laws and amendments of, 484(t)
 legacy of, 501–504
 Lincoln and, 480
 North and, 497, 498, 504
 Presidential, 478, 480, 481
 Radical, 478, 481–482, 482–485, 494, 497
 Republican governments in, 487, 493–495
 southern military districts during, 482, 483(m)
 Supreme Court and, 500
 Reconstruction Act (1867), 482–483, 484(t), 485(i)
 Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), 736–737, 776
 records (music), 848
 race records and, 719
 recreation. *See* leisure
 Red China, 814. *See also* China
Red Cloud (Sioux chief), 528, 529(i)
Red Jacket (Seneca Indians), 227
 Red Power, 898
 Red River Valley, 521
 Red Scare
 in 1890s, 644
 in 1920s, 669, 708–709, 710
 McCarthy and, 821–825
 after World War II, 820–825
 redcoats, in Boston, 166
 Redeemers, 500, 504
 redemption plan, of Hamilton, 217
 “Redemption” process, in South, 498, 501, 504
 redemptioner system, 124
 redlining policy, 857, 871
Reed, John, 221
 referendum, 652
 reform(s) and reformers. *See also* moral reform; progressivism; revolts and rebellions; *specific issues*
 in 1970s, 950–958
 of asylums, 367
 benevolent, 274, 281
 of city government, 624
 civil service, 638–639
 educational, 263
 end of (1940s–1950s), 818–819
 Grenville and, 155–157
 housing, 615

labor, 632, 652–654
 liberal, 904–908
 middle-class, 623
 for Native Americans, 528–529
 politics and, 541, 542, 622, 636
 post-Watergate, 948
 against prostitution, 626–627
 public health movement, 625–626
 religion and, 273–275, 344
 social, 305–306, 574
 temperance movement and, 307–310, 307(i), 589–591
 urban, 625–632
 by women, 305, 367, 589–592
 Reform Bill (England, 1832), 316
 Reform Judaism, 599. *See also* Jews and Judaism
 Reformation, Protestant, 22, 44
 refrigeration, in railroad cars, 547
 refueling stations, in Caribbean and Pacific, 510
 refugees
 in Civil War, 462(i), 463
 Cuban, 864–865
 from Haitian Revolution, 222–223
 from Southeast Asia, 1015
 in World War II, 792
 regional integration, 1010
 regionalism
 in Great Depression, 729
 political parties and, 436(m)
 voting and, 319(m)
 regulation
 of corporations, 542, 642
 courts on, 514
 Granger laws and, 566
 of interstate commerce, 569, 639, 650
 progressives and, 650, 663
 of railroads, 566, 569, 650
 states and, 639–642
 of trusts, 548, 642
 Regulators
 in North Carolina, 143
 after Revolution, 200
 in South Carolina, 142
 regulatory agencies, Reagan and, 984
Rehnquist, William, 985
 Reichstag (Germany), 768
Reid, Bernard, 425
Reid, Whitelaw, 642(i)
“Relacion of the Indyan Warre, A” (Easton), 68
 relief programs, in Great Depression, 739(m), 740, 741–744, 749, 757, 761
 religion(s). *See also* Great Awakening; revivals and revivalism; *specific groups*
 in 1970s, 961–963
 in Africa, 25, 395

African Methodist Episcopal Church
 and, 267–268, 268(i)
 black Christianity, 269, 272–273
 church growth by denomination (1700–1780), 133(f)
 in colonies, 56
 congregations by denomination (1780 and 1860), 271(f)
 cooperation among denominations, 275
 deism and, 128
 diversity of, 126(m), 574
 in European society, 20–22
 family and, 962–963, 964(i)
 freedom of, 216, 270
 Great Serpent Mound and, 12(i)
 of immigrants, 310, 598–599
 Indian, 17–18, 534, 756
 marriage counseling and, 961
 in Maryland, 52, 87
 in Middle Atlantic region, 120, 122–125, 123(i)
 middle class and, 849–850
 nativism and, 310–311
 in New France, 56
 in North, 132–133
 Pietism and, 114, 126, 129
 political parties and, 339
 Puritan in New England, 61–62
 in Quebec, 169
 reforms and, 305–306, 344
 Religious Right and, 976–977
 slavery and, 268–269, 271–273, 386–388, 395–396
 social settlements and, 628
 in South, 133–135
 in Spanish America, 43
 temperance and, 590
 transcendentalism and, 346
 women in, 274, 274(i), 275–276, 275(i)
Religious Camp Meeting (Burbank), 274(i)
 religious enthusiasm, 248
 Religious Right, 976–977
 election of 1980 and, 981–982
 election of 1988 and, 996
 on homosexuality, 1019–1020
 religious toleration, 147
 in Pennsylvania, 83
 by Williams, Roger, 62
 relocation, of Japanese Americans, 787–788, 787(m)
Remember the Maine!, 675
 Remington (company), 291
Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33d United States Colored Troops, . . . (Taylor), 503
 remittances, sent by immigrants to home countries, 1014–1015
 removal policy, for Native Americans, 282, 326–331, 330(m), 416, 535
 Renaissance, arts and economy in, 20

- Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 354
- repairs, for Germany after World War I, 697, 736
- repatriation, of Mexican citizens, 757
- report, on national bank (Hamilton), 216
- "Report on Manufactures" (Hamilton), 216, 218
- "Report on the Debates in Parliament" (Ingersoll), 172
- Report on the Kingdom of Kongo, A* (Lopez), 26
- Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States* (Powell), 520–524
- "Report on the Public Credit" (Hamilton), 216–217
- representation
- in Britain, 152
 - in House, 206
 - in Senate, 206, 564
 - slavery and, 208–209
 - virtual, 157
- representative government
- in colonies, 106
 - constructing, 214
- reproductive laws, eugenics-based, 594
- reproductive rights, 956, 1019. *See also* abortion and abortion rights
- republic, 18, 19–20
- in France, 219
 - in Italy, 19–20
 - in United States (1787–1820), 214–245
- Republic Aviation, 841
- Republic of Texas (1836–1845), 392, 393(*i*), 419
- republican aristocracy, of affluent planters, 386
- Republican Compiler*, 298
- "Republican Defends the War, A" (Niles), 239
- republican motherhood, 258–262, 276, 367
- Republican National Convention, in 1980, 973(*i*)
- Republican Party, 407. *See also* elections; Radical Republicans; *specific presidents*
- African American support for, 755
 - big business and, 542
 - Cold War and, 818
 - depression of 1873 and, 497
 - economic and fiscal policies, 460
 - economic development and, 510–515
 - election of 1994 and, 1021–1022
 - emancipation and, 462–463
 - end of dominance, 642, 642(*i*)
 - formation of, 432
 - Goldwater and, 974(*i*)
 - Ku Klux Klan and, 499
 - as Mugwumps, 639
 - as National Union Party, 468–469
- New Right and, 972, 981–982
- progressivism and, 652, 711
- Reagan and, 981–982
- Reconstruction and, 478
- Religious Right and, 976–977, 981–982
- revolt in, 498
- slavery and, 436
- in South, 493–495, 498–500, 501, 504
 - split in, 639
 - tariff and, 512–513, 736
- Versailles treaty and, 698–699
- republicanism. *See also specific locations*
- aristocratic, 248, 264–269, 267(*i*)
 - artisan, 291, 292, 304
 - Catholicism and, 308
 - children and, 262–263
 - Common Sense* and, 178
 - constitutional ratification and, 207
 - culture of, 248, 256–264
 - democratic republican culture and, 248, 256–264
 - economy and, 250–256
 - efforts at, 214
 - in France, 182
 - in Haiti, 223
 - institutions of, 270–271
 - political parties and, 314, 318
 - principles of, 248
 - Protestant religion and, 269–276
 - after Revolution, 196–204
 - women and, 258–262, 275–276
- Republicans, 318
- Democratic Republicans, 218, 223, 231, 241
 - National Republicans, 241
- research
- by corporations, 548
 - federal government and, 569, 842
- "reservation wars," 525
- reservations (Indian), 427, 525, 526(*m*), 529(*i*), 532, 533, 534(*m*), 535, 898
- Resettlement Administration (1935), 750(*i*), 754–755, 760(*i*)
- resistance. *See also* revolts and rebellions
- ideological roots of, 159
 - by Indians, 327, 330, 526–528, 532–533
 - in Massachusetts, 175
 - by slaves, 100–101, 400–401
- "Resistance to Civil Government" (Thoreau), 363
- resources. *See also* mineral resources; natural resources
- in World War II, 775, 783
- restoration, in England, 82
- Restoration Colonies, 82–83
- restrictive covenants, in housing, 857
- retail industry, 548–549, 549(*i*)
- retired people, in Sunbelt, 862
- Reuther, Walter**, 842, 844
- Revel, James**, 98
- Revels, Hiram R.** (1827–1901), 479(*i*), 494(*i*)
- revenue, tariffs for, 218
- Revenue Acts
- of 1673, 84
 - of 1762, 152, 171(*t*)
 - of 1767, 161
 - of 1935, 747, 750(*t*)
 - of 1942, 775
- Revere, Paul**, 167(*i*), 175
- reverse discrimination, 1015
- revivals and revivalism, 129
- Baptist, 134–135
 - in Cold War, 849
 - Finney and, 306–307, 307(*i*)
 - First Great Awakening and, 129–133
 - fundamentalism and, 602
 - Graham and, 962–963
 - Presbyterian, 133–134
 - Second Great Awakening and, 248, 271–276
 - society and, 269
- revolts and rebellions
- 1765–1770, 157–167
 - Bacon's, 70–71
 - by Dakota Sioux, 526–527, 527(*i*)
 - Glorious Revolution and, 86–87
 - by Haitian slaves, 266
 - in Hawaii, 676, 676(*i*)
 - by Indians in Seven Years' War, 139
 - by Leisler, 87
 - by Prosser, Gabriel, 255, 266, 273, 400
 - by Regulators, 143
 - Shays's Rebellion, 204
 - slave, 95, 101, 400
 - Stono Rebellion, 101–102
 - in Texas, 391–392
 - by Turner, Nat, 337, 360–361, 400
 - Whiskey Rebellion, 219
- revolution(s)
- in China (1911), 682
 - in Cuba (1959), 830
 - in France, 219–222
 - in Haiti, 222–223
 - in Hungary (1956), 826
 - in Iran, 950
 - "Velvet Revolutions," 994
- Revolution, The*, Anthony's letter to, 523
- "Revolution of 1800," 226
- Revolutionary War (U.S.), 146. *See also* Washington, George; *specific battles and leaders*
- 1776–1778, 184–189
 - 1778–1783, 189–196
 - African Americans in, 190, 192–193
 - armed forces in, 184
 - blockade in, 187
 - debt after, 196, 202
 - diplomacy after, 196
 - economy in, 187–188

- Revolutionary War (*cont.*)
 events leading to, 168–179
 France and, 183(*i*), 187, 189–190, 196
 losers in, 199–200
 in North, 184–189
 Patriot advantage in, 195–196
 republican institutions after, 196–204
 Saratoga as turning point in, 187
 slavery and (1776–1800), 264–266,
 265(*m*)
 in South, 176–177, 190–195, 194(*m*)
 Treaty of Alliance with France (1778),
 183(*i*), 190, 196
 in West (1778–1779), 191(*m*)
 revolvers, 287
 RFC. *See* Reconstruction Finance
 Corporation
Rhee, Syngman, 810, 815–816
Rhett, Robert Barnwell, 438, 446
 Rhineland, German invasion of, 769
 Rhode Island, 62, 82
 charter of, 62, 85
 paper money in, 110
 voting rights in, 316
Rhodes, Elisha Hunt, 444
 rhythm and blues music, 848
 rice
 hulling of, 100(*i*)
 planter aristocracy and, 386
 slavery and, 397
 in South Carolina, 82, 96–97
Rice, John Dartmouth, 356
 rich people. *See* wealth
 Richmond, Virginia, Civil War and, 449,
 450(*m*), 456, 457(*i*), 469(*m*)
Richmond Enquirer, 269, 421
Rickenbacker, Eddie, 685(*i*)
Ride for Freedom, A — The Fugitive Slaves
 (Johnson), 463(*i*)
Ridge, John, 327
Riesman, David, 842
 rifles, 456, 685
 right to life movement, 956
 “right-to-work” laws, 819
 right wing (political), 704, 746
 in Central America, 992
 New Right and, 974–981
 religious right and, 976–977
 Tea Party and, 1031
 Warren Court and, 930
 rights. *See also* married women; slaves and
 slavery; women’s rights movement;
 specific groups and rights
 abortion, 1018–1019
 of African Americans, 654–655, 657
 of Asian immigrants, 561
 in Bill of Rights, 216
 of free blacks, 402
 for freedpeople, 481, 499
 for gays and lesbians, 786–787, 925–926,
 1019–1020
 of immigrants, 669
 of labor, 669, 707–708
 Native American, 201
 natural, 127
 to privacy, 957
 of slaves, 159–160
 of widows, 117
 of women, 198–199, 281, 494, 709
 rights liberalism, 868, 891
Riis, Jacob, 623(*i*)
 “ring shout,” 396
 Rio Grande region, 419, 431
 riot(s). *See also* protests; race riots; revolts
 and rebellions
 in 1968, 919
 anti-Catholic, 308, 311
 in Chicago (1968), 921
 food, 461–462
 in Los Angeles, 783
 New York City draft riot, 455
 against Stamp Act (1765), 158–159,
 158(*i*)
 Stonewall, 926
 zoot-suit, 783, 786(*i*)
 “Rip Van Winkle” (Irving), 264
Rise of David Levinsky, The (Cahan), 599
 ritual scarring, as “country marking,”
 97–100
 rituals, in West Africa, 25
 River Rouge factory (Ford), violence at, 738
 riverboats, in Civil War, 452
 rivers. *See also specific river regions*
 in Africa, 23
 textile industry and, 255, 300
 roads and highways, 126. *See also*
 transportation revolution
 from 1820 to 1850, 296(*m*)
 automobiles and, 725
 Eisenhower and, 825
 interstate, 857
 National Road as, 293, 323
 turnpikes and, 255, 293
 Roanoke colony, 47, 48(*i*)
 Roaring Twenties, 721
 robber barons, 548
 Robert Taylor Homes (Chicago), 863–864
Roberts, Hannah, 345(*i*)
Roberts, John, 1031
Roberts, Oral, 963
Robertson, Pat, 962, 962(*i*), 976, 996
Robeson, Paul, 875
Robespierre, 219
Robinson, Earl, 751
Robinson, Jackie, 874
Rochambeau (Comte de), 191, 195
 Rochester, New York, revivals in, 305–306
 rock ‘n’ roll music, 848
 Rock Springs, Wyoming, anti-Chinese
 violence in, 561
Rockefeller, John D., 651(*i*). *See also*
 Standard Oil Company
 in oil industry, 547–548
 Tarbell on, 619
Rockefeller, Nelson, 825
 Rockefeller Republicans, 975
Rockingham (Lord), 160(*t*)
Rockwell, Norman, 777(*i*)
 Rocky Mountains region, 233, 412, 414(*m*)
 peoples of, 15–16
Rodgers, John, 274
Roe, Herb, 13(*i*)
Roe v. Wade (1973), 956, 985, 1018, 1020
Rogers, Edward, 188
Roland, Pauline, 372
Rolfe, John, 55
 “Letter to Sir Thomas Dale,” 49, 50–51
 Rolling Stones, 918
 Roman Catholicism. *See* Catholicism
 Roman Empire, Christianity in, 21
 Romania, after World War II, 806, 807
 Romantic movement, transcendentalism
 and, 346
 Rome-Berlin Axis, 769
Rommel, Erwin, 790
Romney, Mitt, 1032
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 739
 African Americans and, 755
 on equal rights, 754
 letters on New Deal to, 742–743
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945), 668,
 737, 843. *See also* Great Depression;
 New Deal
 Atlantic Charter and, 772
 in Big Three, 788
 “black cabinet” of, 755
 death of (1945), 793
 election of 1932 and, 739
 election of 1936, 749–750
 election of 1940 and, 771
 election of 1944 and, 781
 environment and, 759, 760
 fireside chats and, 740
 First New Deal and (1933–1935),
 740–747
 New Deal and, 670, 734
 Pearl Harbor attack and, 773
 as president (1933–1945), 632
 Second New Deal and (1935–1938),
 747–749
 Soviet Union and, 806
 Supreme Court and, 746, 750–751
 at Tehran conference, 789
 U.S. neutrality and, 770–771
 before World War II, 768
 World War II and, 766, 771–772
 at Yalta Conference, 792–793, 795(*i*)

- Roosevelt, Theodore** (1858–1919), 540, 651–652, 674, 682(*i*)
assumption of presidency, 650
“big stick” foreign policy of, 682
campaigning by, 641 (*i*)
conservation and, 651
election of 1904 and, 641(*i*), 650
election of 1912 and, 656–660, 657(*i*), 660(*m*)
election of 1916 and, 686
European affairs and, 684
foreign policy of, 678–684
as governor of New York, 650
“How Not to Help Our Poorer Brother” (1897), 658
imperialism and, 678
Japan and, 679–682, 713
on muckrakers, 619
New Nationalism speech (1910), 656, 658–659
Nobel Peace Prize for (1905), 679
populism, nationalism, and, 658–659
preservationism and, 583, 584(*m*)
as president (1901–1909), 541, 583
progressivism and, 636, 652, 662(*t*)
Square Deal of, 650
trusts and, 650–651
on “virile activities,” 581
War of 1898 and, 650, 675, 676
- Roosevelt Corollary, to Monroe Doctrine, 683
- Roosevelt recession, 751
- Root-Takahira Agreement (1908), 682
- Roots* (TV show), 960
- Rose, Ernestine**, 370, 372
- Rose, L. J.**, 299
- Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel**, 824, 849
- Rosewood, Florida, lynching in, 706
- “Rosie the Riveter” (Rockwell), 777(*i*)
- Rossiter, Timothy**, 116(*i*)
- Roth v. United States* (1957), 930
- rotten boroughs, 152
- Rough Riders, 676
- Route 66, 857
- Rouzeau, Edgar**, 873
- Rove, Karl**, 1026, 1029
- Royal African Company, 96
- royal colonies
in Massachusetts, 86–87
New France as, 57
in New Hampshire, 85
Virginia as, 52
- Royal Navy (England), 92, 152, 510
impressment by, 234
in Revolutionary War, 187
in Seven Years’ War, 138
- Royal Proclamation (1763), 140, 156(*m*), 175, 175(*m*)
- Roybal, Edward**, 897
- rubber, in World War II, 783
- Rubin, Jerry**, 921
- Rubin, Mary**, 563
- Ruby, Jack**, 904
- Ruffin, Edmund**, 447
- Ruffin, Thomas**, 400
- “Rule of Law Under God, The” (Reagan), 978
- rum, 107, 220
- runaway slaves, 101. *See also* Fugitive Slave Act
advertisement of, 99, 192
during Civil War, 463(*i*), 464
Confiscation Act and, 463
Revolution and, 264–265
Seminoles and, 401
Underground Railroad and, 362, 363(*m*)
in Union army, 466, 467(*i*)
- rural areas. *See also* agriculture; farms and farming; suburbs; yeomen
economy in, 721
European, 557
free blacks in, 401–402
freedpeople in, 491
hunting in, 584
mail-order enterprises in, 549
manufacturing in, 251–255
migration to cities from, 349, 606, 609
in New Deal, 760
Patriots and, 170
protest movement in, 565–566
religion in, 271
seasonal lifestyle in, 19, 19(*f*)
temperance movement in, 590
writers on, 722–723
- rural communalism, 349–354
- Rural Electrification Administration (REA), 760
- Rush, Benjamin**, 146
on education, 263
on republican mothers, 259
- Russell, Richard**, 887
- Russia. *See also* Soviet Union
Allies in, 687
bankruptcy and, 1011
Bolshevik Revolution in (1917), 687
China and, 678–679, 679(*m*)
end of Soviet Union and, 994–995
immigrants from, 557, 562
Japanese war with, 679
in Triple Entente, 684
World War I and, 684, 685, 687
after World War I, 697
- Russian Republic, 994–995
- Russwurm, John**, 360
- Rust Belt, 943(*m*), 944, 944(*m*), 949(*t*), 358(*i*)
- Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride* (Mount), 358(*i*)
- Rustin, Bayard**, 863, 873–874, 875, 881, 886, 888, 892
- Rutgers University, 133, 843
- Sabbath
observance of, 305
reforms and, 305–306
- Sabin, Albert**, 851
- Sacagawea**, 233
- Sacco, Nicola**, 708(*i*), 709
- sachems (leaders), 13, 15
- Sacramento River Valley, 413, 415, 418, 420
- sacrifice, Aztec, 8, 11(*i*)
- el-Sadat, Anwar**, Camp David accords and, 977
- Saddam Hussein**. *See* Hussein, Saddam
- Safer, Morley**, 914
- safety, industrial, 541, 553, 983
- Saffin, John**, 64
- Sahagún, Bernardino de**, 33
- Sahara Desert, 23
trade routes in, 23–25, 24(*m*)
- Saigon, Vietnam, fall of, 929, 930(*i*)
- sailing. *See* ships and shipping
- sailors, impressment of, 234
- St. Augustine
British attack on, 89–90, 107
Spain and, 43–44
- St. Baths, 53
- Saint-Domingue. *See* Haiti
- St. Eustatius, 53
- St. Kitts, 53, 90
- St. Lawrence River region, 56, 58, 60, 107, 138
- St. Leger, Barry**, 185(*m*), 187
- St. Louis, 255, 394
growth of, 300
World’s Fair at, 574
- St. Louis* (ship), 792
- “St. Louis Blues,” 618
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 619
- St. Mark’s Square (Venice), 20(*i*)
- St. Mary’s City, 52
- Saint Ours (Quebec village), 57–58
- St. Petersburg. *See* Leningrad
- Salem, witch-hunting in, 63–64
- Salesmanship* (magazine), 550(*i*)
- salesmen, corporate, 541, 549–550
- Salisbury, Stephan**, 204
- Salk, Jonas**, 851
- SALT. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties
- Salt Lake City, bankruptcy of, 728
- salutary neglect, 106, 107(*i*), 110, 155–156
- salvation
Hutchinson on, 62
Puritans on, 62
revivalism and, 274

- Salvation Army, 600–601, 600(*i*)
 same-sex couples. *See also* gays and lesbians
 rights of, 1019
 San Andreas Fault, 612(*i*)
 San Antonio, Texas, 391, 761
 San Bernardino, California, Mormons in, 434
 San Francisco, 508, 557
 Chinese in, 561, 564, 758
 earthquake in (1906), 564, 612, 612(*i*),
 619
 gay rights in, 956–957
 San Francisco Zoo, 761
 San Jacinto, Battle of, 392, 393(*m*)
 San Juan Hill, Cuba, Battle of, 676, 677(*i*)
 Sand Creek massacre, 527, 528
 Sande society, 25
 Sandinistas, in Nicaragua, 992
 SANE (National Committee for a Sane
 Nuclear Policy), 914
Sanger, Margaret, 628
Sanger, William, 354
 sanitation
 in cities, 622, 626
 in Civil War, 458
Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 391–392,
 419(*m*), 420
 Santa Fe, New Mexico, 420
 Santa Fe Railroad, in Mexico and U.S., 514,
 514(*m*)
 Santa Fe Ring, 515
 Santa Fe Trail, 414(*m*), 416, 416(*i*)
 Santiago, Cuba, 676
 São Tomé, 28, 30, 46
 Saratoga, battle at, 185(*m*), 186–187
Sargent, John Singer, 585(*i*)
Sargent Murray, Judith. *See* Murray, Judith
 Sargent
Satt, Hilda, 622
Saturday Evening Post magazine, 777(*i*)
 Saudi Arabia
 Persian Gulf War and, 998
 U.S. military in, 998
 Sauk and Fox Indians, 327–330, 327(*i*)
Savage, Augusta Fells, 720(*i*)
 savanna region (grasslands), in Africa, 23
 Savannah
 battle at, 194(*m*)
 response to Haitian Revolution, 224
 Sherman in, 471(*m*)
 society in, 386
 savings and loan industry, bankruptcy of,
 1011
Saxton, William, 452
 Saybrook, 62
 scalawags, 493
Scalia, Antonin, 984
Scammon, Richard, 922
 scandals. *See also* corruption; specific
 scandals
 in Grant administration, 497, 498, 501(*i*)
 Scandinavian immigrants, 520, 557, 558
 “Scapegoating Immigrants” (Martinez),
 1016–1017
 Scarlet Letter, The (Hawthorne), 348
Scaroudady (Oneida), 135
Schechter v. United States (1935), 746
Schenck v. United States (1919), 691
Schlafly, Phyllis, 952(*i*), 953, 954, 964(*i*)
 conservative movement and, 975,
 976–977
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 818
Schmitt, Katherine, 579
Schneebeli, Heinrich, 123
Schneiderman, Rose, 629
 on Triangle fire, 630–631
 school prayer, 930–931
 schools. *See also* education; higher
 education; universities and colleges
 in 1950s–1970s, 851
 for African Americans, 587
 Bible reading in, 930–931
 business and technical, 587
 busing to, 931
 Catholic, 310, 599
 desegregation of, 877, 878–879, 879(*m*),
 880, 880(*i*), 881(*i*)
 evolution in, 713
 of free blacks, 402
 freedmen, 493, 494, 495(*i*), 496
 for Indian children, 528
 land sales for, 201
 public in South, 391, 493, 494–495
 publicly supported, 263, 310
 secondary, 263
 segregation of, 580
Schuller, Robert, 849
Schuyler, Philip, 186
Schuyler family, 216
 science, discoveries in, 574, 592–593
 scientific management, 552
 Scioto Confederacy, 166
Scopes, John T., and Scopes trial, 713
 scorched-earth campaign, in Civil War, 468
 Scotland, invasion of England by, 63
 Scots-Irish
 in Middle Atlantic colonies, 122, 123,
 124
 Paxton Boys as, 142
Scott, Dred, 433
Scott, Walter Dill, 550
Scott, Winfield, 419(*m*), 420, 448, 449
 election of 1852 and, 431
 Indian removal and, 331
 Scottsboro defendants, 755, 756(*i*)
Scream, The (Munch), 727
Scribner's Monthly, 491(*m*)
 sculpture, in Harlem Renaissance, 720(*i*)
 scurvy, in Civil War, 456
 SDS. *See* Students for a Democratic Society
 “sea dogs,” 45
 Sea Islands, 487
Seale, Bobby, 894, 894(*i*)
 Seamen's Act (1916), 662(*t*), 663
 seaports, 250, 296(*m*), 608
 childbearing in, 259
 commerce in, 103–105, 300–301
 Huguenots in, 123
Sears, Isaac, 158
 Sears, Roebuck, 549
 seasoning, of Chesapeake indentured
 servants, 55
 seasons, European peasant life and, 19,
 19(*f*)
SEATO. *See* Southeast Asia Treaty
 Organization
 Seattle, Washington, 517–518, 707, 707(*i*)
 WTO protests in, 1004
Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1011(*i*)
SEC. *See* Securities and Exchange
 Commission
 secession
 Compromise of 1850 and, 430
 of Deep South, 446
 fire-eaters and, 438
 free black support for, 402
 Lincoln and, 407, 449
 New England Federalists and, 233
 nullification crisis and, 324
 process of (1860–1861), 447(*m*)
 slavery and, 448(*f*)
 of Upper South, 447–449, 447(*m*)
 secessionists, in Southwest, 233
 Second Bank of the United States, 241–242,
 251, 319, 325
 Jackson and, 325–326
 Second Continental Congress (1775), 176–
 177, 178(*i*), 184
 on independence, 196–197
 “Second Emancipation Proclamation”
 (Kennedy), 883
 second front, in World War II, 789
 Second Great Awakening (1790–1840s),
 248, 262, 271–272, 273(*m*), 306, 344
 African Americans and, 272–273, 395
 women in, 274, 274(*i*), 275–276, 275(*i*)
 Second Hundred Years' War, 78, 88
 Second New Deal (1935–1938), 747–751
 Second Party System
 class, culture, and, 332–340
 end of, 430–436
 sectionalism and, 412
 Second Woman's Rights Convention,
 371–372
 Second World War. *See* World War II
 secondary schools, 263. *See also* education
 Secoton, village of (1585), 7(*i*)
 secret ballot, 393
 sectionalism
 in 1850s, 433
 in election of 1860, 438–439

- federal union and, 324
 increase in, 280, 282
 Mexican War and, 407, 421
 political parties and, 333, 431, 433, 436(m)
 secessionism and, 233
 secularism, 669
 Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC, 1934), 746, 750(t)
 Security Council (UN), 807
 Iraq War and, 1028
 Korean War and, 816
 Sedalia, Missouri, 518
 Sedition Act
 of 1798, 223–224, 225
 of 1918, 691
Seeger, Pete, 786(i), 918
 segregation, 868
 in armed forces, 687, 776, 780
 in CCC, 755
 in entertainment, 577
 eugenics and, 594
 in mining, 517
 in Mobile, Alabama (1956), 870(i)
 occupational, 854
 railroads and, 576(i), 577–580
 in schools, 580
 in South, 591, 646
 suburban, 931
 Selective Service, student protests and, 915
 self-determination
 for Native Americans, 756, 757
 postcolonial, 826
 after Second World War, 807
 in Vietnam, 828
 after World War I, 697, 698(m)
 self-government
 in American colonies, 106, 108–109
 in Massachusetts, 60
 in New England, 60–62
 self-immolation, in Vietnam, 833
 self-made man, 304
 self-ownership, in artisan republicanism, 291
 self-realization, in transcendentalism, 346–347
Sellars, Samuel, Jr., and family, 290
 Selma, Alabama, march to Montgomery from, 869(i), 887(m), 891
 Seminole Indians, 326, 401, 535
 public opinion against, 331(i)
 removal of, 331
 Senate (U.S.), 206
 caning of Sumner in, 410, 481
 election to, 649
 Foreign Relations Committee of, 914
 representation in, 564, 638
 Versailles treaty and, 669, 672
 Senate Committee on the Philippines, testimony from, 680–681
 Seneca Falls Convention, 371, 485
 Seneca Indians, 13, 226, 227
 Senegal, 25, 94
 British in, 139
 Senegal River region, 23, 24
 Senegambia, 97
 sensationalism, in journalism. *See yellow journalism*
 sentimentalism, 258
 “separate but equal” doctrine, 580, 878
 separate sphere doctrine, for women, 367
 separation of church and state, 147, 270, 930–931
 separation of powers, 198
 separatists, Pilgrims as, 60
 September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on, 1002, 1026–1027, 1027(i)
Sequoyah (Cherokee Indians), 327
 Serbia, 684, 1023
 Serbians, 1023
 servants. *See also indentured servants*
 for middle class, 264(i), 303
 technology and, 577
 women as, 264(i), 354, 550, 556
 service economy, 942, 987
 service sector, 541
 AFL and, 570
 African American women in, 614
 Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (GI Bill of Rights, 1944), 781, 843–844
 settlement. *See also colonies and colonization*
 of Americas, 8, 9(m)
 Columbian Exchange and, 3
 cotton and, 229–230
 Dutch, 48(m)
 in eastern North America (1650), 48(m)
 in English Chesapeake colonies, 47–52
 Indian leaders and, 66
 of Kentucky, 177
 in New England towns, 60–66, 65(m)
 of Northwest Territory, 228–230
 Scots-Irish, 124
 of slaves in Liberia, 267
 in southern colonies, 82
 in Texas, 393(m)
 in West, 163
 in West Indies, 90
 settlement-house movement. *See social settlements*
 settlers
 on Great Plains, 519–524
 Kentucky occupied by, 177
Sevareid, Eric, 847
 Seven Years’ (French and Indian) War, 137–140
 Seventeenth Amendment (1913), 649, 662(t)
 Seventh Ward Bank, 316
 severality, 532
Seward, William H., 384, 429, 436, 438
 election of 1860 and, 438
 as secretary of state, 510–511, 674
 sewing machines, 291, 553
 sex and sexuality. *See also gays and lesbians; gender and gender issues*
 in cities, 618
 commercialized, in cities, 354–355
 in dance, 617
 double standard of, 367
 in early 20th century, 669
 Kinsey on, 855–856, 855(i)
 Noyes and, 351, 352
 in O’Neill plays, 721
 Playboy and, 856
 popular culture and, 960–961
 prostitution and, 354–355, 367, 626–627
 religion and, 276
 sexual revolution and, 960–961
 sexual terror in Civil War, 473
 Shakers and, 350
 slave women and, 95–96, 101, 370, 400, 444, 490
 venereal diseases in World War I and, 687(i)
 in Victorian age, 592
Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (Kinsey, 1953), 855
Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Kinsey, 1948), 855
 sexual discrimination, voting rights for women and, 257–258
 sexual harassment
 of gays, 618
 Supreme Court on, 957
 of working women, 567, 777
 sexual orientation. *See also gays and lesbians*
 gay rights and, 1019–1020
 sexual politics, 925
Seymour, Horatio, 464, 484
 shah of Iran, 828, 977, 1024
Shahn, Ben, 708(i), 753(i)
 Shakers, 275, 349–351, 349(m)
Shakers of New Lebanon, The, 350(i)
Shakespeare, William, 356
Shame of the Cities, The (Steffens), 619
 Share Our Wealth Society (Long), 747
 sharecropping and sharecroppers, 490(i), 491–493, 491(m)
 in Great Depression, 741, 755
 “Sharon Statement,” 918
Shaw, Lemuel, 255, 292
 Shawnee Indians, 135, 142, 175, 175(m), 177, 226, 235
 in Revolution, 184, 191(m)
 Scioto Confederacy and, 166
Shays, Daniel, 204, 210
 Shays’s Rebellion, 204
Sheen, Fulton, 963

- sheep, 254, 515
Sheik, The (movie), 704
Sheldon, Charles, 600
Shelley v. Kraemer (1948), 857, 879(*m*)
 Shelterbelts program, 760
 Shenandoah National Park, 761
 Shenandoah Valley region, 124, 124(*i*)
 Civil War in, 449, 450(*m*), 468
Sheriff, William G., on Triangle fire, 630
 Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act (1921), 709, 710
Sheridan, Philip H., 468
Sherman, Roger, Declaration of Independence and, 178
Sherman, William Tecumseh, 467, 470(*i*), 535
 march through Confederacy, 468, 469, 470–471, 471(*m*), 472–473
 Native Americans and, 528
 on secession, 470
 Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), 642, 650, 662, 662(*t*)
 Shiite Muslims
 in Iran, 977, 980, 997
 in Iraq, 1029
 Shiloh, battle at, 445(*i*), 452, 453(*m*), 459
 ships and shipping. *See also* canals; navies;
 Navy (U.S.); Royal Navy (England)
 American, 255
 Barbary pirates and, 231
 British seizures of, 219
 British textile industry and, 287
 in Civil War, 452
 colonial, 103, 201
 expansion of, 84
 Hawaii and, 510
 in Japan, 510, 511(*i*)
 Portuguese, 25
 privateering and, 223
 slave ships and, 94(*i*)
 transatlantic, 301
 whaling, 303(*i*)
 in World War I, 686
 in World War II, 775(*i*)
Shiras, George, 649(*i*)
 shocks, economic, 721
 shoe industry, 255, 286
 shopping centers, 725
 shopping malls, 860–862
 "Short Narrative of My Proceedings" (Randolph), 68–69
 Shoshone people, 10(*m*), 15, 233, 417
Show and Extravagance (Street), 555
 Siberia, ancient migration from, 8, 9(*m*)
 Sicily, in World War II, 790, 790(*m*)
 Siegel-Cooper Department Store, 575(*i*)
 Sierra Club, 583, 939, 984
 Sierra Leone, 25, 97
 free blacks in, 264–265
 Sierra Nevada mountains, 425, 761
 "Significance of the Frontier in American History, The" (Turner), 535
Sigourney, Lydia, 327
 silent majority, Nixon and, 929–932, 948
Silent Spring (Carson), 939, 940
 Silk Road, 22, 29(*m*)
 silver, 325
 in Americas, 27(*i*), 42, 45
 discoveries in West, 515, 516–517, 517(*m*)
 free silver and, 645, 647
 vs. gold standard, 515, 645
 Silver Legion, 714
Simpson, Jerry, 644
Simpson, W. J., 390
 Sinai Peninsula, 977
Sinclair, Upton, 629, 629(*i*), 748(*m*)
 Singer Manufacturing Company, 548, 553(*i*)
 Singer Sewing Machine Company, 291
 single-sex higher education, 588
 Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), 678
 Sioux Indians, 15, 233, 407, 414(*m*), 525, 531
 Ghost Dance and, 534
 reservation for, 526, 533, 534(*m*), 898
 resistance by, 526–527, 528, 532
 society of, 417
 at Wounded Knee, 898–899
Sipkins, Henry, 267
Sirhan Sirhan, 921
Sister Carrie (Dreiser), 603
 sit-down strikes, 749(*i*)
 sit-ins, civil rights movement and, 882
Sitting Bull (Lakota Sioux chief), 532, 534
 Six-Day War (1967), 938, 1024
 Six Nations (Iroquois), 90, 164
Six Sermons on . . . Intemperance (Lyman Beecher), 368
 Sixteenth Amendment (1913), 660, 662(*t*)
 skilled workers, 307, 544, 550–553, 558, 567, 569–570
 skyscrapers, 608–609, 609(*i*)
Slater, Samuel, 287
Slaughter-House Cases, 500
 slaughterhouses, 519, 547
 slave catchers, 362, 429, 431
 Slave Coast, 24–25
 slave codes, 55, 361
 slave owners. *See also* planters and plantations
 in Alabama, 393
 free blacks as, 402
 Indians as, 327, 464
 in South, 383, 388–389, 395, 446
 "Slave Power" conspiracy, 421, 436, 463
 slave society, South as, 388
 slave states, 269, 269(*m*), 363(*m*), 378, 379(*m*)
 slave trade
 abolition in District of Columbia, 429
 abolition of Atlantic, 267
 Africa, Africans, and, 24(*m*), 29–30, 92–96, 93(*m*)
 in Atlantic region, 23–25, 35, 90–92, 93(*m*), 266, 378, 394
 coastal system of, 380
 congressional regulation of, 206
 domestic, 378–383
 end of (1808), 229–230
 inland system of, 380–381, 381(*i*)
 profits in, 92
 sugar and, 22
Slave Trader, Sold to Tennessee (Miller), 381(*i*)
 "slavery follows the flag" (Calhoun), 428
 slaves and slavery, 434–435. *See also*
 abolition and abolitionism; African Americans; Middle Passage; runaway slaves
 abolition issue and, 159–160, 360–363
 advertising of, 98(*i*)
 in Africa, 29–30
 African influences on, 395–396, 397
 aristocratic republicanism and, 264–269
 on Atlantic islands, 28
 banned north of Ohio River, 201
 in Barbados, 91
 Black Codes and, 481
 in Brazil, 35
 chattel slavery and, 40, 381
 in Chesapeake, 96
 Civil War and, 444, 449, 452, 462–463, 464
 Compromise of 1850 and, 428–430, 429(*m*)
 Constitution on, 206–207
 as "contrabands," 463
 cotton and, 376, 377(*i*), 388
 culture of, 395–397, 396(*i*)
 defense of, 266, 268–269, 282, 364(*i*), 386–388
 Dutch and, 59
 economic role of, 90–103
 emancipation and, 463–464
 evangelicalism and, 271–272
 extension of, 378, 407, 446–447
 families of, 377(*i*), 382, 397, 398, 399(*i*)
 forced migration of (1790–1860), 380(*f*)
 Franklin on, 128
 free labor and, 384–385
 free-soil movement and, 421
 gang-labor system of, 388, 397
 Haitian revolt and, 223
 housing for, 400(*i*)
 Indians and, 17, 18, 90, 327
 kinship ties and, 397, 398
 as labor, 397
 Lincoln and, 437–438
 literacy and, 337
 marriages of, 382, 397
 Mexican War and, 421, 422–423

- Missouri Crisis (1819–1821) and, 268–269, 269(*m*)
 national debate over, 208–209
 national origins of, 97
 in North, 265–266, 265(*m*)
 oral histories of, 761
 passive resistance by, 400
 paternalism of planters and, 383–386
 in plantation colonies, 55–56
 population of, 304, 378–380, 379(*m*)
 prohibition by Northwest Ordinance, 201
 rapes of slave women and, 95–96
 religion and, 272–273, 386–388
 representation and, 207, 208
 resistance and, 100–101, 400–401
 revivalism and, 134
 revolts by, 360–361
 Revolution and, 190, 264–265
 after Revolution, 200
 rice industry and, 286
 secession and, 448(*f*)
 servitude and, 98–99
 in South, 282, 388, 389, 390, 395–401
 in South Carolina, 82, 96–97
 southern society and, 383–391
 status in 1800, 265(*m*)
 sugar industry and, 91–92, 266, 280
 task system of, 397
 taxation of, 393
 in territories, 410, 421, 423, 424, 431–432, 433–436, 438, 463
 in Texas, 282, 390
 Thirteenth Amendment and, 470
 westward movement and, 229, 376
 whipping of, 362, 388, 389(*i*)
 women as, 370, 385, 388, 400
 Slavic peoples
 as immigrants, 559(*m*)
 in World War II, 792
Slidell, John, 418, 422
Sloan, John French (1871–1951), 595, 595(*i*), 598, 656(*i*)
Sloat, John, 419
Sloughter, Henry, 87
 Slovakian immigrants, 559(*m*)
 Slovenia, 1023
 slums, 305, 863
 smallholding planters, 389
 smallpox, 43, 43(*i*), 494
 in colonies, 47
 Indians and, 60, 67, 233, 417
 inoculation and, 127
Smalls, Robert, 493–494, 497
Smallwood, William, 186
Smith, Adam, 219
 Wealth of Nations, The, 92, 219
Smith, Alfred E. (Al), 632, 715–718, 718(*m*)
Smith, Gayle, 913
Smith, John, 49(*i*)
 General Historie of Virginia, 50
Smith, Joseph, Jr., 353, 521
 “Plan to End Slavery,” 434
Smith, Joseph, III, 354
Smith, Josephine, 398
Smith, Mamie, 719
Smith, Melancton, 207
Smith, Robert and Rebecca, 434, 435
Smith, Tommie, 889 (*i*)
Smith, William, 268, 323
 Smith-Connally Labor Act (1943), 781
Smith v. Allwright (1944), 878
 smoke-abatement laws, 626
 Smoot-Hawley Tariff (1930), 736
 smuggling, 152, 156–157
 SNCC. *See* Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
 Snelling, Fort, Dakota camp at, 527(*i*)
Snow, Eliza, on plural marriage, 522–523
 social classes. *See* classes
 Social Darwinism, 594
 imperialism and, 674
 interpretations of, 596–597
Social Destiny of Man, The (Brisbane), 351
 Social Gospel, 596, 600, 962
 social identity, dance and, 358–359
 social justice, 636, 710
 in Second New Deal, 747
 social mobility, 257, 333
 for slaves, 55
 social sciences, 597, 628
 Social Security, 670, 755
 baby boom and, 851
 Reagan and, 983
 Social Security Act (1935), 654, 747–749, 750, 750(*t*), 751, 762
 Social Security Administration, 761
 social settlements, 627–628
 social thought, African American, 360–361, 360(*i*)
 social welfare, 800. *See also* welfare entries
 Clinton and, 1022–1023, 1023(*i*)
 conservative Christians on, 978–979
 federal funds for, 709
 in Great Depression, 739(*m*)
 in New Deal, 734, 740, 741–744, 749, 761–762
 New Right and, 977
 in Progressive Era, 663
 Reagan and, 982–983, 984, 996
 social-welfare liberalism, 332, 740, 751, 762, 800
 social work, 628
 socialism
 Debs and, 657
 Fourierist, 351
 immigrants and, 708
 utopianism and, 349
 Socialist Party of America, 542, 663
 Debs and, 657
 socialists, in World War I, 685
 society. *See also* economy; Progressive Era; specific issues
 African, 23–25
 alcohol in, 220–221
 of ancient Americas, 8–18
 in Chesapeake region, 41(*i*)
 after Civil War, 474
 colonial, 4, 316
 counterculture and, 918–919
 in eastern woodlands, 12
 elites in, 105
 European, 18–22
 of freeholders, 117–120
 gentility in, 102–103
 Great Depression and, 734
 Indian, 8–18, 10(*m*), 15
 industrialization and, 301–311, 565
 in Middle Atlantic region, 120–126
 moundbuilder, 11, 11(*i*), 12(*i*)
 New Deal and, 751–763
 Puritan, 116–120
 religion and, 269–276
 republican culture and, 248, 256–264
 revivals and, 269
 of seaport cities, 103–105
 search for order in, 936
 slave, in South, 388, 395–401
 in South, 376, 383–391, 387
 telephone usage and, 577
 urban, 103–105
 of urban elite, 281
 urban vs. suburban, 863–865
 welfare state and, 747
 West African, 23
 World War I and, 669
 yeoman (1630–1700), 64–66
 youth culture and, 847–848
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 276
 Society for the Free Instruction of African Females, 276
 Society for the Promotion of Industry, 305
 Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, 276, 305
 Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
 Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
 Society of Journeymen Tailors, 292
 Society of Pewterers, banner of, 252
 sod house, 520(*i*)
Soest, Gerard, 41(*i*)
 soft power, radio and film exports and, 726
 Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (1933), 750(*t*)
 Soil Conservation Service, 760
 soil erosion
 during dust bowl, 759
 prevention of, 760

- soldiers. *See also* armed forces; casualties; military; *specific battles and wars*
 African American, 466, 467(*i*), 471, 676, 677
 British deployments of (1763 and 1775), 163(*m*)
 British in colonies, 152–153, 157
 in Civil War, 444, 449, 451, 454(*i*), 455–456, 466, 467–468, 471
 gay and lesbian, 787
 home buying and, 843
 quartering of, 157
 in Revolutionary War, 186, 194
 in Vietnam War, 911, 911(*f*)
 in World War I, 673(*i*), 687–688, 687(*i*)
 in World War II, 772(*i*)
 “Solemn League and Covenant,” 171
Solid South, 646
 election of 1928 and, 718
Solidarity (Poland), 994
 “solitude of self” (Elizabeth Cady Stanton), 584, 588
 Solomon Islands, in World War II, 792
Sombart, Werner, 555
Somoza, Anastasio, 992
 Songhai Empire, 23, 30
Sonni Ali (r. 1464–1492), 29–30
 Sonoma, California, capture of, 420
 Sons of Liberty, 158–159, 162, 168, 174
Sotomayor, Sonia, 1031
 soul music, 893
Soule, Silas, 527
Soustan, Isabella, 489
Souter, David, 1020
 South. *See also* Confederacy (U.S., Civil War South); New South; planters and plantations; Reconstruction; slaves and slavery
 abolition issue in, 159–160, 365
 Adams, John Quincy, and, 320–321
 African American migration from, 694, 694(*i*), 706, 874(*m*)
 African Americans in, 393, 493–494, 498, 645–646, 754, 755
 Bernhard on racial complexities of, 387
 Black Codes in, 481, 494
 black voter registration in, 891(*m*)
 black women in, 444
 child labor in, 556, 654
 Constitution on slavery and, 206–207
 differences from North, 266
 economy of, 393–395, 457(*f*), 492–493
 election of 1860 and, 438–440
 evangelicalism in, 271–272
 free blacks in, 402–403, 402(*i*)
 freedmen in, 478, 491
 gang-labor system in, 388, 397, 487
 gender, class, and sexual terror in, 472–473
 gentry in, 102–103
 Greenbackers in, 566
 home rule for, 500
 immigrants and, 395
 Ku Klux Klan in, 499, 714
 “Lost Cause” of, 502–503, 591
 military districts in, 482, 483(*m*)
 New South (1900), 557(*m*)
 political power in, 948
 Populists in, 645
 public education in, 310, 336–337, 493, 494–495
 race riots in, 614
 racial complexities in society of, 444
 railroads in, 297(*m*), 393, 513(*m*)
 Reagan and, 981
 Reconstruction governments in, 483, 487, 493–495
 “Redemption” in, 498, 504
 religion in, 133–135
 Republican rule in, 493–495, 497, 501, 504
 revivalism in, 271–272, 307
 Revolutionary War in, 176–177, 190–195, 194(*m*)
 after Revolution, 200
 secession of, 446, 447–449, 447(*m*)
 settlers in, 82
 sharecropping in, 490(*i*), 491–493, 755
 slave ownership in, 266
 slavery and, 282, 360–361, 378–381, 379(*m*), 388, 395–401, 430
 Sunbelt in, 862–863
 tariffs and, 320, 323–325
 Tuskegee Institute in, 587
 TVA and, 760, 761(*m*)
 voting by African Americans in, 485
 wage labor of ex-slaves in, 487–491
 Whigs in, 333, 393
 white primary in, 646
South America. *See also* America(s); Central America; Latin America; Spain; *specific locations*
 ancient peoples of, 9(*m*)
 trade with, 301
 Vespucci and, 34
South Atlantic System, 80
 reach of, 103
 slave economy in, 90–92
 trade of, 59(*m*)
South Carolina, 430
 black majority in, 97(*f*)
 Civil War in, 471, 471(*m*)
 constitution in (1778), 198
 cotton in, 229
 Creek Indians and, 90
 de Soto in, 6
 gentility of society in, 102–103
 Georgia subsidy and, 16
 Ku Klux Klan in, 499
 migration into, 229
 nullification in (1832), 323–325
 Reconstruction and, 487, 500
 Regulators in, 142
 Republican government in, 500
 in Revolutionary War, 194, 194(*m*)
 secession of, 446
 settlers in, 82
 slavery in, 82, 96–97, 266, 396
 Stono Rebellion in, 101–102
 Vesey in, 401(*i*)
South Carolina Exposition and Protest (1828), 324
South Dakota, 520, 638
 Sioux reservations in, 533, 534(*m*)
South Korea, 815–816. *See also* Korean War
 immigrants from, 1015
South Mountain, battle at, 450(*m*)
South Terminal Station (Boston), 577
South Vietnam, 929, 930(*i*). *See also* Vietnam; Vietnam War
 Diem in, 828, 833
 self-immolations in, 833
Southeast
 ancient culture of, 11–12
 Indians of, 230(*i*)
Southeast Asia
 Dutch and, 58
 refugees from, 1015
 in World War II, 792
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 827
 Southern Baptist Convention, 963
 Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 882(*i*)
Southern Cultivator, 376, 390
 Southern Europe, immigrants from, 559, 559(*m*), 713
 “Southern Manifesto,” 878–879
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 608
 Southern Paiute Indians, 15
 “southern rights,” 438
 southern strategy (Nixon), 922–923
 Reagan and, 981
 Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), 755
Southgate, Eliza, 258
Southwest
 Burr and, 233
 Indians of, 16, 532, 533
 Mexican immigrants in, 515, 694, 864
 slaves in, 282, 380
 Sunbelt in, 862–863, 862(*m*)
 Southwest Railroad, 567
 Southwest Territory, 201
 Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, 897
 sovereignty
 debate over, 166–167
 popular, 179, 324, 428, 431, 432, 436
 squatter, 424, 428

- state, 200, 324
of U.S. over Indians, 226
- Soviet Union.** *See also* Cold War; Russia
 appeasement of, 818
 arms race and, 826
 atomic bomb of, 813
 Carter and, 977
 collapse of, 997(*m*)
 collectivism in, 768
 Commonwealth of Independent States
 after, 994–995, 997(*m*), 1023
 Cuba and, 830–832
 Eisenhower and, 826
 end of Cold War and, 972, 992–995
 Korean War and, 815–816
 Nazi nonaggression pact with, 770,
 771–772
 Nixon and, 929
 racism and, 875
 Reagan and, 989–995
 Russian-U.S. good will and, 806(*i*)
 Stalin in, 770
 Third World and, 826
 Turkey and, 809
 in World War II, 788–789
- space and space exploration**
 Kennedy, John F., and, 832
 research and, 842
- Spain.** *See also* New Spain; War of 1898
 American conquests by, 31–35
 British commercial imperialism and, 107
 California and, 414
 Cuba and, 431, 674–675
 Dutch revolt against, 44, 58
 England and, 45
 exploration and conquest by, 30–35
 Florida and, 34, 243
 Franco in, 768
 inflation in, 42
 livestock introduced by, 15
 Loyalists in, 770
 Mexican conquest by, 32–33
 Napoleon and, 232
 Protestant challenge to, 43–46
 reconquista in, 31
 in Seven Years' War, 138
 tribute colonies of, 42–46
 War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–1741) and, 107
 wealth from Americas in, 27(*i*), 44
 West Indies and, 53
- Spanish America,** 42–46. *See also* Latin America; *specific locations*
- Spanish-American War (1898).** *See* War of 1898
- Spanish Armada, England and, 45
- Spanish Civil War (1936), 770
- Spanish Netherlands, 44
- Spanish-speaking population, 864–865. *See also* Latinos
 in Mexican provinces, 418
- Spaulding, Henry George,** 395–396
- speakeasies, 712
- Special Field Order No. 15, 470
- Special Forces, 833
- specie, 251, 325, 460
 Panic of 1837 and, 334–335, 338
Specie Circular (1836), 338
- speculation, 255, 316, 662
 Great Depression and, 745
 in land, 141, 200, 201, 202, 250(*i*)
- speech, freedom of, 216, 224, 691–694
- “Speech to the Second Woman’s Rights Convention” (Rose), 372
- Spencer, Herbert,** 594
- Spencer, Nicholas,** 55
- spending. *See also* defense spending; deficit spending; finances; government spending
 consumer, 727–728
 on education, 843
 military and civilian, 773(*f*), 840,
 841–842
 for public works, 736
 Reagan cuts in, 983
 in World War II, 773–776
- Sperry Rand, 842
- spheres of influence
 in China, 678–679, 679(*m*)
 European (1650), 59(*m*)
- Spice Route, 29(*m*)
- spice trade, Dutch and, 58
- spies and spying
 in 1950s, 818
 in Civil War, 456
 Red Scare after World War II and,
 820–821
- spinning
 in households, 254
 technology for, 290–291
- spiritual beliefs. *See* religion(s)
- spiritualism
 African, 100
 Indian, 17–18
- Spock, Benjamin,** 851, 914
- spoils system, 318, 323, 638. *See also* patronage
- Sporting Whip,* 355
- sports, 541, 574
 American football, 582, 582(*i*)
 baseball, 581–582
 girls in, 586
 politics and, 439(*i*)
 rural blood, 355–356
 working class and, 580–581
- Spotswood, Alexander,** 71(*i*), 108–109
- Spotsylvania Court House, Battle of, 467,
 468(*i*), 469(*m*)
- Sprague, Frank,** 608
- Springfield, Illinois, race riot in (1908), 614,
 655
- Springsteen, Bruce,** 960
- Sputnik,* 832, 842
- Square Deal, of Roosevelt, Theodore, 650
- squatter sovereignty, 424, 428
- squatters, 121
 in California, 427
 in Oregon, 413
 westward expansion by, 163
- Staden, Hans,** 43(*i*)
- stagflation, 942, 949
- Stalin, Joseph,** 770, 771
 in Big Three, 788–789
 on capitalism, 807
 death of (1953), 826
 at Tehran, 789
 at Yalta, 795(*i*), 806–807
- Stalingrad,** in World War II, 788–789,
 790(*m*)
- Stamp Act (1765), 157, 171(*t*)
 cartoon about, 161(*i*)
 protests against, 158–159, 158(*i*), 163
- Stamp Act Congress (1765), 158
- Stamp Act Resolves (1765), 166
- stamp tax, 152
- standard of living. *See also* lifestyle
 industrialization and, 546
- Standard Oil Company, expansion of, 548
- Standard Oil* decision (1911), 651
- standardization, in industry, 551
- standing armies. *See also* soldiers
 Continents as, 186
- Stanley, Ann Lee** (Mother), 275, 349
- Stanton, Edwin M.,** 483
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady,** 366, 370, 371(*i*),
 373, 485, 486
 Seneca Falls meeting and, 371
 on solitude of self, 584, 588
- Staple Act (1673), 85(*t*)
- “Star Wars” (Strategic Defense Initiative,
 SDI), 992
- Starr, Ellen Gates,** 627, 628
- Starr, Kenneth,** 1022
- starvation, in depression of 1890s, 623
- state(s). *See also* specific states
 anti-immigrant measures in, 713
 Articles of Confederation and, 201
 bank charters by, 251
 cession of western land claims, 201,
 202(*m*)
 city powers vs. powers of, 622
 Constitution and, 206
 constitutions in, 196–198, 257(*m*), 263,
 270, 316, 332, 483, 494
 corporate charters by, 256
 of Franklin, 201
 governments of, 202–204
 gradual emancipation in, 265–266,
 265(*m*)
 investments by, 298–299, 335
 national supremacy over, 241–242

- state(s) (*cont.*)
 progressive reform in, 652
 readmittance to Union, 478, 480,
 482–483, 483(*m*), 485, 493
 regulation and, 548, 569, 639–642
 representation of, 638
 sovereignty of, 200
 in West, 226, 228, 229(*m*)
 state banks, 251, 325, 326
 State Department, 216
 state sovereignty, 268, 324, 431
 statehood
 population for, 201
 in trans-Appalachian west, 226–227,
 227(*m*)
 states' rights
 Buchanan and, 446
 Confederate philosophy of, 460
 constitutional interpretation, 324
 Reagan and, 981
 Taney Court on, 331, 332
 States' Rights Democratic Party
 (Dixiecrats), 875
 Statue of Liberty, 620
Staunton Spectator, "Freedom and Slavery,"
 385
 steam engine, 140
 coal and, 287
 in factories, 287
 industrialization and, 546
 steam power
 industry and, 284, 546, 608
 for railroads, 298
 steamboats, 295
 steel and steel industry, 512, 548
 Carnegie and, 544
 decline of, 943–944
 Hungarian immigrants in, 540
 strike in, 707
 steel plows, 296, 519
Steffens, Lincoln, 619, 622
Stein, Gertrude, 720
Steinbeck, John, 759
Steinem, Gloria, 925, 925(*i*)
Stenhouse, Fanny, 522
 stenographers, 550
Stephens, Alexander, 386, 430, 481
 as Confederate vice president, 446, 449,
 469
Stephens, Robert Neilson, 600(*i*)
 stereotypes, in minstrelsy, 356
 sterilization, eugenics and, 594
Steuer, Max D., on Triangle fire, 631
Stevens, J., 110(*i*)
Stevens, John Paul, 1025
Stevens, Thaddeus, 336, 463, 482, 487
Stevenson, Adlai, 826
Stewart, Maria W., 370
Stewart, William, 642
Stiles, Ezra, 143, 214
 "Still an Open Door?" (Briggs and Moore),
 1017
Stimson, Henry, 771, 794
 stock market
 boom in, 726–727
 crash of (1929), 727
 Roosevelt recession and, 751
 SEC and, 745
Stockman, David, 983
 stocks, 301, 325, 548
 stockyards, in Chicago, 460
Stokes, Carl, 895
Stokes, Edith Minturn, 585(*i*)
Stone, Lucy, 486
 Stonewall Inn, riot at, 926
 Stono Rebellion (1739), 101–102, 107
 STOP ERA, 953, 976–977
 store clerks, women as, 629
Story, Joseph, 321
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 308
 Uncle Tom's Cabin and, 370, 398, 431
 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties
 SALT I, 929
 SALT II, 977
 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START),
 992
 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, "Star
 Wars"), 992
 "strategic hamlet" program, 833
Strauss, Richard, 618
Streeper, John, 128(*i*)
Street, Julian, 555
 streptomycin, 851
 strict constructionism, 218, 233
 strike(s). *See also* labor; labor unions
 in coal industry, 644, 650, 656(*i*), 738
 deindustrialization and, 945
 in depression of 1890s, 624
 in early 1800s, 291–292, 293
 employers and, 568
 by farmworkers, 758(*i*)
 by freedmen, 490
 general, 707, 707(*i*)
 at General Motors plant (1972), 959
 against grape growers, 897
 in Great Depression, 748(*m*), 749(*i*),
 758(*i*)
 Great Railroad Strike (1877), 565
 Homestead (1892), 544
 injunctions against, 649(*i*)
 IWW and, 655
 Knights of Labor and, 567
 by Ludlow coal miners, 656(*i*)
 at McCormick reaper works, 567–568
 in mining industry, 568(*i*), 644, 650, 656(*i*)
 by newsboys, 621
 Pullman, 644, 657
 against railroads, 565, 567, 644
 at Triangle Shirtwaist Co., 630, 632
 women and, 293
 World War I and, 689
 after World War I, 707
 strikebreakers, 706
Strong, George Templeton, diary entry
 of, 358
Strong, Josiah, 674
 Strong Mine, strike against, 568(*i*)
Struggle for Salvation, The (Cole), 130
 student movement, in 1960s, 914–919
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating
 Committee (SNCC), 882, 882(*i*)
 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS),
 914, 917, 919
 "Studying on the GI Bill" (Buchwald), 852
Stump Speaking (Brigham), 315(*i*)
Stuyvesant, Peter, 59
 sub-Saharan Africa. *See also specific
 locations*
 gold from, 27(*i*)
 subcontracting, by craftsmen, 551
 subdivisions, suburban, 857
 submarine warfare
 U.S. shipping and, 686
 in World War I, 686, 687
 in World War II, 772, 789
 subsidies
 agricultural, 741
 for highway construction, 725
 Jackson and, 323
 for railroads, 408, 460, 511
 in South, 393
 after World War II, 801
 substitutes, in Civil War, 454, 548
 suburbs
 automobiles and, 725
 in Cold War, 858–859, 858(*i*)
 conservatives in, 838, 981
 critics of, 858–859, 858(*i*)
 school bonds in, 851
 urban crisis and, 945
 urban society and, 863–865
 wealthy in, 608
 white flight to, 931(*i*)
 after World War II, 856–862
 subversion, 800
 fears of, 804, 818
 Truman and, 821
 subways, 608
 Sudan, civilization in, 23
 Sudetenland, Nazi annexation of, 770
Suez Canal
 Egypt and, 829
 in World War II, 789
Suez crisis (1956), 829(*i*)
 suffrage. *See also* franchise; voting and
 voting rights; *specific groups*
 black, 257, 484–485
 for white men, 257, 257(*m*), 281, 316, 393
 woman, 257–258, 371–372, 485–487,
 592, 695–696

- suffragists, 486, 592, 695
Sugar Act (1764), 155–156, 171(*t*), 179
 protests against, 158
sugar and sugar industry
 in Brazil, 35, 46–47
 in Caribbean region, 53, 675
 colonial growth and, 107
 crusader encounter with, 22
 Dutch and, 59
 Hawaii and, 676
 plantation labor and, 55
 during Reconstruction, 491
 slaves for, 30, 266, 380, 397
 South Atlantic System and, 90
 trade and, 28, 84, 250
 West Indies and, 53(*i*), 91
Sullivan, John (General), 191(*m*)
Sullivan, Louis, 609
“Summer of Love” (1967), 919
Sumner, Charles, 463, 481, 497, 510
 caning of, 410, 481
 civil rights bill of, 496
 on Mexican War, 423
Sumner, William Graham, 594
Sumter, Fort, 446
 attack on, 447–448
Sunbelt
 growth of, 944(*m*)
 political power in, 949(*t*)
 Republicans in, 981
 rise of, 862–863
Sunday, Billy, 602, 602(*i*)
Sunday School Union, 275
Sunday schools, 307
Sunni Muslims, in Iraq, 980
superpower, U.S. as, 969
supply-side economics, 982–983
Supreme Court (U.S.), 206, 216, 542. *See also* chief justice; Marshall, John; *specific cases and justices*
 in 1894, 649(*i*)
 abortion rights and, 985, 1018, 1019(*i*)
 on affirmative action, 1015–1018
 antilabor decisions of (1920s), 707–708
 on Asian Americans’ rights, 561
 Cherokee nation and, 330
 on citizenship in acquired territories, 678
 on Civil Rights Act of 1875, 500
 on civil rights of ex-slaves, 500
 “clear and present danger” test, 694
 on corporate “combinations,” 642
 culture wars and, 1020
 on dissent (World War I), 691–694
 election of 2000 and, 1025
 on Fourteenth Amendment, 500
 on gay rights, 1019–1020
 on ICC powers, 569
 on income tax, 649, 660
 on Indian rights and treaties, 532
 on Indian sovereignty, 529
 on injunctions against strikes, 649(*i*)
 on interstate commerce regulation, 295–296, 649(*i*)
 law and order and, 930–931
 legal realism in, 650
 Marshall on, 231
 on New Deal measures, 670, 746, 747
 Northern Securities and, 650, 651
 on property rights, 331–332
 on railroad regulation, 569
 Reagan appointments to, 984–985
 on restrictions to voting, 645
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., and, 746, 750–751
 on *Scottsboro* case, 755, 756(*i*)
 segregation and, 577–580, 649(*i*)
 on slavery in the territories, 433–436
 Standard Oil and, 651
 on state regulation of businesses, 514
 on suffrage rights, 486
 on supremacy of federal courts, 431
 Taft on, 711
 after Warren, 957
 women on, 984, 985(*i*)
 workday and, 649, 652, 653
 supreme law of the land, Constitution as, 207
Supremes (singing group), 848(*i*)
“Surgical Reminiscences of the Civil War” (Keen), 459
surveys, geological, 516
survival of the fittest, 594, 596, 674
Susquehanna Company, 141
Susquehannock Indians, 60, 70
Sussex pledge, 686
Sutter, John A., 425
Svinin, Pavel, 355(*i*)
Swaggart, Jimmy, 963
Swain, William, 425
Swallow Barn, Or, A Sojourn in the Old Dominion (Kennedy), 398
Sweden, immigrants from, 48(*m*), 520, 560(*f*), 609
Swift, Gustavus F., in meat-packing industry, 547, 551
Swift & Co., 547, 547(*i*)
Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, false charges by, 1029
Switzerland, immigrants from, 123
symphony orchestras, 618
syndicalists, Wobblies as, 655
syphilis
 in cities, 354
 in Europe, 43
Syria, Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 938
Szilard, Leo, 793

Tacoma, Washington, 518
Taft, Robert A., 769, 814, 825
Taft, William Howard (1857–1930)
 election of 1908 and, 652
 election of 1912 and, 656–660, 657(*i*), 660(*m*)
 foreign policy of, 682
 labor and, 663
 as Philippines governor-general, 678
 as president (1909–1913), 651
 progressivism and, 662(*t*)
 on Supreme Court, 711
Taft-Hartley Act (1947), 819
Taino people, 31, 34
Taiwan
 Nationalist Chinese on, 814
 U.S. recognition of, 814–815
talented tenth, Du Bois on, 655
Taliban, 1027
 Obama and, 1032
Talleyrand, Charles, 223
Tallmadge, James, 268, 269
Tammany Hall, 541, 619–622, 624, 715
 Triangle fire and, 632
Tampico, Mexico, seizure of, 419
Tanaghrisson (Seneca), 135, 137
Taney, Roger B., 322–323, 326, 331–332, 439
 Dred Scott and, 436
 Fugitive Slave Act and, 431
Tanzania, embassy bombed in, 1024
Tappan brothers
 Arthur, 307, 362, 364
 Lewis, 307, 362
Tarbell, Ida M., 619
Tariff of Abominations. *See* tariffs, of 1828
tariffs, 661. *See also specific tariffs*
 of 1816, 287, 320
 of 1828, 287, 320, 321, 323–325
 Adams, John Quincy and, 320
 in Civil War, 460
 constitutional ratification and, 210
 Democrats and, 513
 farmers and, 565
 Great Depression and, 736
 internal improvements and, 319, 323
 protective, 319, 320, 323, 510, 512–513, 642
 Republicans and, 512–513, 642
 revenue, 218, 301
 Smoot-Hawley (1930), 736
 southern objections to, 282
 on textile imports, 287
Tarleton, Banastre, 195(*i*)
task system, of slave labor, 397
Tax Reduction Act (1964), 907(*t*)
tax revolt, 946–947
taxation. *See also* income tax
 Articles of Confederation and, 201
 by Britain, 155–157
 Bush, George W., and, 1026, 1026(*t*)
 in Chesapeake region, 102
 in Civil War, 454, 460–461

- taxation (*cont.*)
 in colonies, 105, 155–157
 in Constitution, 207
 cut in, 983
 Economic Recovery Tax Act and, 983
 excise, 219, 231
 federal funding from, 661
 Franklin on, 157
 gasoline, 725
 under Grenville, 155–157
 Hoover and, 736
 inheritance, 661
 internal and external, 161
 Jefferson and, 231
 of land, 142
 in New Deal, 747, 761
 North Carolina revolts against, 82
 Reagan and, 983, 986–987
 revolt against, 946–947
 in Revolution, 188, 196
 after Seven Years' War, 152
 in South, 391, 393
 on tea, 166, 168
 on tobacco, 49–52
 Washington on, 201
 of wealthy, 301
- Taylor, Frederick W.**, 552
- Taylor, John**, 333
- Taylor, Susie King**, 503
- Taylor, Zachary** (1784–1850), 429
 election of 1848 and, 424–425
 in Mexican War, 419, 419(*m*), 420
 slavery and, 424, 428
- Tea Act** (May, 1773), 168, 171(*t*), 190
- Tea Party** (right-wing opposition group), 1031
- tea tax, 166, 168
- teachers
 for black schools, 493
 certification of, 263
 Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 906
 women as, 276, 367, 550, 586, 588, 728–729
- teamsters, colonial, 103
- Teapot Dome**, 710
- Tebbets, Lewis**, 345(*i*)
- technology, 574. *See also* computers
 in arts, 595
 in Civil War, 458
 corporations and, 548
 deindustrialization and, 943–944
 for electric lighting, 577, 609
 in England, 287
 in factories, 287
 industrialization and, 284, 290–291
 for manufacturing, 140
 for mining, 516(*i*)
 for railroads, 298
 revolutions in, 1011–1012
 risks and rewards of, 298–299
- South and, 393
 in textile industry, 254, 287–288, 290–291
 for transportation, 608
 Western European trade and, 19
 in World War I, 685
- Tecumseh** (Shawnee Indians), 235
- Teedyuscung** (Delaware), 141
- teenagers. *See also* young people
 culture of, 802, 845, 846(*i*)
 youth culture and, 847–848
- Tehran
 conference in (1943), 789
 Iran hostages in, 977–980, 980(*i*)
- Teke people, 97
- telegraph, 290(*i*), 515
- telephone, 577
 in California (1900–1940), 578(*f*)
 etiquette for, 579
 impact of, 578–579
 women as operators, 541, 550, 551(*i*), 578–579
- televangelists, 849, 962, 962(*i*), 963, 976
- television
 advertising on, 846, 847(*i*)
 African Americans on, 959(*i*)
 blue-collar families depicted on, 959–960
 evangelism and, 963
 networks and, 845–847
 programs on, 846–847
 social problem programs on, 960–961
 after World War II, 845–847
- Teller, Henry M.**, and Teller Amendment, 675
- temperance
 Beecher, Lyman, on, 368
 Lincoln on, 368–369
- temperance movement, 307–310, 307(*i*), 334
 women in, 589–591
- Ten Percent Plan (Lincoln), 480
- tenant farmers, 116
 child rearing by, 262
 free blacks as, 401
 in Great Depression, 741, 754–755
 in Middle Atlantic region, 120–121
 in South, 383, 390
- Tenderloin District, New York City, 614
- Tenement House Law (New York, 1901), 615
- tenements, 614–615, 616(*f*)
- Tennent family**
Gilbert, 129, 133
William, 129
- Tennessee
 Civil War in, 452, 453(*m*), 464
 Ku Klux Klan in, 499
 migration into, 228
 after Revolution, 200, 201
 Scopes trial and, 713
- secession and, 446, 448
 slaves freed in, 470
- Tennessee River, Civil War and, 452, 453(*m*)
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA, 1933), 750, 750(*t*), 753, 760, 761(*m*)
- Tenochtitlán, 8, 11(*i*), 32, 34(*i*)
- Tenskwatawa** (Shawnee Indians), 235, 236(*i*)
- Tenure of Office Act (1867), 484(*t*)
- Terminator** (movie), 991
- territories
 Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 431–432
 slavery in, 282, 421, 428–430, 429(*m*), 433–436, 438, 463
- terrorism
Cole attack, 1024, 1024(*i*)
 by ex-Confederates, 498–499
 globalization and, 1002
 by Ku Klux Klan, 499
 on September 11, 2001, 1002, 1026–1027, 1027(*i*)
 against southern blacks, 498
- Terry, Eli**, 284
- Terry, Peggy**, 783
- Terry, Randall**, 1019
- Test Act (England, 1704), 124
- Tet offensive, 910(*m*), 919
- Teutonic Knights, 22
- Tewa Indians, 16
- Texas, 464, 499
 admission of, 418
 African Americans in, 646
 annexation of, 378, 392, 407, 412, 417, 418
 cattle ranching in, 518–519
 cotton agriculture in, 566(*i*)
 Farmers' Alliance in, 569
 independence of, 391–392
 Indians in, 16
 Mexican War and, 419
 ranching in, 518, 519
 Republic of, 392, 393(*m*), 419
 secession of, 446
 slavery in, 282, 390
 Spain and, 243
- Texas** (battleship), 674
- Texas Provisional Government, 393(*m*)
- Texas Republic, 392, 393(*m*)
- Texas War of Independence (Texas-Mexican War), 391–392, 393(*m*)
- textbooks, 263
- textiles and textile industry. *See also* cotton and cotton industry
 British competition and, 287–290
 children in, 556
 cotton plantations and, 229
 domestic production, 250(*i*), 255
 English, 45
 immigrants in, 293

- from India, 289
 mills and, 254
 tariffs for, 512
 technology for, 254, 287–288, 290–291
 U.S. production in, 289(*t*)
 in Waltham, Massachusetts, 288–290
 women in, 254, 285(*i*), 288–290, 293
- Thailand, financial crisis in, 1011
- Thayendanegea.** *See* Brant, Joseph (Thayendanegea)
- Thayer, Webster**, 708(*i*), 709
 theater, 356
 O'Neill plays in, 721
 vaudeville, 359, 541, 615
 Yiddish, 612
- Their Eyes Were Watching God* (Hurston), 761
- theology. *See also* Christianity; specific groups of Shakers, 349–350
 Twain on, 595
- therapy, for marriage, 961
- thermonuclear weapons, 813
- Theyanoguin, Hendrick Peters**, 137(*i*)
- Thieu, Nguyen Van**, 929
- Third Great Awakening (1880–1900), 275
- Third International (Comintern), 708
- third way, of Clinton, Bill, 1023(*i*)
- Third World, 826
 decolonization in (1943–1990), 895(*m*)
- Thirteenth Amendment (1865), 371(*i*), 470, 480, 484(*t*), 504
- Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (movie), 782
- Thistlewood, Thomas**, 96
- Thompson, Florence**, 760(*i*)
- Thompson, James G.**, 873
- Thoreau, Henry David**, 299, 347, 363, 438
- Thornton, Big Mama**, 848
- Thorpe, Jim**, 582(*i*)
- Thoughts on Female Education* (Rush), 259
- Thoughts on Government* (John Adams), 198, 210
- “Thoughts on Indian Affairs” (Bradstreet), 164
- three-fifths clause, 207, 208, 225
- Three Mile Island, nuclear accident at (1979), 942
- Three Soldiers*, *The* (Dos Passos), 720
- Thurmond, J. Strom**, 819, 820, 820(*m*), 891, 892, 923
- Tidewater region, 383–386
 revivalism in, 133–134
 in Revolutionary War, 195
- Tijuana, as vice town, 712–713
- Tilden, Samuel J.**, 500–501
- Tilden Park, 761
- Till, Emmett**, 880
- Tillman, Ben (Pitchfork)**, 645
- Tillman, Juliann Jane**, 275(*i*)
- Timbuktu, 25, 94
- time zones, establishment of, 513(*m*)
- Tin Pan Alley, 617
 tinplate, 287
- Tipler, Charles S.**, on disease in Civil War, 458
- Tippecanoe, Battle of, 236
- Title IX (1972), 925
- Tito, Josip Broz**, 814
- Titus** (runaway), 192
- Titusville, Pennsylvania, petroleum in, 547
- Tlaxcala, 32
- Tlingit Indians, 16, 17(*i*)
- “To Secure These Rights” (1946), 875, 896
- Toast, The*, 220(*i*)
- tobacco and tobacco industry
 in Chesapeake region, 54
 English tobacco colonies and, 47–52
 labor for, 96
 planters and, 266, 386
 slavery and, 266
 in Virginia, 81(*i*)
- Tobago, 196
- Tocqueville, Alexis de**
Democracy in America, 248, 314, 317
 individualism and, 346
 on Jackson, 329
 “Letter to Louis de Kergorlay,” 317
- Tojo, Hideki**, 768, 773. *See also* Japan; World War II
- Tokyo (Edo), 510, 795
- toleration. *See* religious toleration
- Toleration Act (Maryland, 1649), 52
- toll roads, 255, 293
- Tompkins, Daniel**, 307
- Tooker, John**, 459
- Toomer, Jean**, 718
- Toplitzky, Nathan**, 563
- Torbert, James**, 388
- Toriello, Guillermo**, 811
- Toronto, 236
- Torrey, Samuel**, 64(*i*)
- Tortillott, Jane Gould**, 413
- Tortola, 53
- torture, of Iraqi prisoners, 1029
- total war
 Civil War as, 452, 460
 World War II as, 767(*i*)
- totem poles, 16
- Toth, Susan Allen**, 852–853
- Tougaloo university, 493
- tourism
 in Indian Country, 531
 railroad, 508, 525
 in West, 760
 working-class, 584
- town meetings, in New England, 64
- towns. *See* cities and towns
- Townsend, Francis**, 747, 748(*m*)
- Townsend, Hannah and Mary**, 361(*i*)
- Townsend, John**, 439
- Townsend Clubs, 747
- Townsend Plan, 747
- Townshend, Charles**, 110, 157, 160–162, 160(*t*)
- Townshend Act (1767), 161, 171(*t*)
 repeal of, 166
- Toynbee Hall (London), 628
- Tract Society, 275
- Tracy, Spencer**, 782
- trade. *See also* commerce; exports; slave trade
 in Africa, 23–25, 24(*m*)
 with Africa, 28–29
 American, 8
 American silver and, 42
 Arab, 19
 with Asia, 510
 with China, 251(*i*)
 in Civil War, 449
 colonial, 84–85, 152
 Crusades and, 22
 Dutch, 58
 English, 45–46, 84–85
 Eurasian, 29(*m*)
 Eurasian and European colonies (c. 1770), 154(*m*)
 European Union and, 999
 expansion of, 842
 external duties on, 161
 French, 58
 with French West Indies, 223
 global, 576, 699, 1005, 1008(*f*), 1009–1011
 Indian, 15, 16–17, 48(*m*), 56, 417
 interregional, 296, 297
 Italian, 20, 28
 with Japan, 431, 510
 with Latin America, 510
 Mississippi River and, 232
 New York City and, 301
 in Northern Europe, 20
 paper money and, 110
 as political weapon (1763–1776), 166(*f*)
 Portuguese, 25–28
 along Santa Fe Trail, 416
 with South America, 301
 in South Carolina, 82
 in Spanish America, 42
 Supreme Court on, 707
 trans-Saharan, 23–25, 24(*m*)
 transatlantic, 103
 transcontinental railroad and, 508
 Western European, 19–20
 in World War I, 685–686
- trade associations, 710
- trade deficit, colonial, 141
- trade routes, across Sahara, 23–25, 24(*m*)
- trade unions, 565, 567, 569–570. *See also* labor unions
 African Americans in, 871–872
 middle-class expansion and, 844–845

- trading posts, European, 27
 Trail of Broken Treaties, 898
 Trail of Tears, 331
 trails. *See also specific trails*
 Bozeman Trail, 528
 Oregon, 353(m), 412, 413
 western, 414(m), 427(m)
 trains. *See railroads*
 trans-Appalachian west, 140, 196
 British aid to Indians in, 226
 Indians of, 226, 227(m)
 migration to, 259, 293
 after Revolution, 200, 226
 states in, 226–227
 trans-Saharan trade, 23–25, 24(m)
 slavery in, 30
 transatlantic migration (1500–1760),
 121(f)
 transatlantic trade, 43–44, 103
 American merchants and, 107
 shipping in, 301
 in slaves, 35
 transcendentalism, 346–347
 transcontinental railroad, 431, 432, 460,
 508, 510
 transpacific trade, 59(m)
 transportation. *See also specific forms*
 in cities, 608, 616(m)
 in colonies, 126
 “full and equal” access to, 496
 interregional, 293–297, 296(m),
 297(m)
 market expansion and, 255, 293
 nationally financed, 460
 segregation of, 577–580, 870, 873
 transportation revolution, 293–297
 railroads in North and South (1850 and
 1861), 297(m)
 roads and canals during (1820–1850),
 296(m)
 travel. *See also transportation*
 overland, 293
 treason
 Arnold and, 195
 Burr and, 233
 World War I and, 691
 “Treason of the Senate” (Phillips), 619
 Treasury bonds, in Civil War, 460
 Treasury Department, 216
 gold standard conversion and, 515
 Taney and, 326
 treaties. *See also specific treaties*
 Cold War defense, 827(m)
 with Hawaii, 676, 676(i)
 with Indians, 320–321, 330, 331, 421,
 427, 529–532
 Treatise on Domestic Economy (Catharine
 Beecher), 308, 367
 treaty ports, in China, 679(m)
 Tredegar Iron Works, 291, 456, 457(i)
- trench warfare
 in Civil War, 467–468
 in World War I, 685, 685(i), 687
 Trenton, battle at, 184, 185(m), 186(i)
Trezevant, Daniel Heyward, 473
 triage, on Civil War battlefields, 459
 Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire,
 629–632
 excerpts from documents on, 630–631
 tribalization, 88–90
 tribes, Indian, 3, 78, 80
 tribute
 to Barbary States, 231
 Native American, 8
 tribute colonies, of Spain, 42–46
 “trickle-down” economics, 983
 Triple Alliance, 684
 Triple Entente, 684
 Tripoli, 231, 232(i)
 trolleys, 608
Trollope, Frances, 272, 314
 troops. *See military; soldiers*
Trotter, William Monroe, 655
Troup, George M., 321
True History of the Conquest of New Spain,
 The (Díaz), 32–33
True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women, The
 (Catharine E. Beecher), 336
Truman, Harry S. (1884–1972), 871
 atomic bomb and, 793–795
 Cold War and, 809, 810
 containment and, 808
 election of 1948 and, 819–820, 819(i),
 820(m), 875
 end of reform and, 818–820
 Fair Deal of, 820
 French Indochina and, 804
 Israel and, 828
 Korean War and, 816–818
 Loyalty-Security Program of, 821
 military desegregated by, 875
 at Potsdam, 807
 as vice president, 781
 Vietnam and, 828
 Truman Doctrine, 809
Trumbull, John, 178(i), 214
Trump, Donald, 989
 trusts, 513, 548, 642, 650–651, 662
Tryon, William, 143, 150
 tsetse fly, 23
Tubman, Harriet, 362
 Tulsa, Oklahoma, race riot in (1921), 707,
 724
 Tunisia, 1032
 Tupi Indians, 35
 Turkey
 Cuban missile crisis and, 831
 English trade with, 46
 Soviet Union and, 808
 Truman Doctrine and, 809
- Turnbow, Hartman**, 891
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 535
Turner, Nat, 395
 revolt by (1831), 337, 360–361, 400
 turnpikes, 255, 293
 Tuscarora Indians, 90
 Tuskegee, Alabama
 black soldiers in, 767(i)
 Tuskegee Airmen and, 868
 Tuskegee Institute, 587
Tusser, Thomas, 118
TVA: Democracy on the March (Lilienthal),
 753
Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens), 474,
 594–595, 638
 anti-imperialism of, 677
 on New York City, 608
Tweed, William Marcy, 622
 Twelfth Amendment, election of 1824 and,
 319
 Twentieth Amendment, 739
 Twenty-fourth Amendment (1964), 891,
 907(t)
 Twenty-fourth Infantry, riot by, 687–688
 “Two Thousand Words” Manifesto (1968),
 920
2001: A Space Odyssey (movie), 990
Two Treatises on Government (Locke, 1690),
 86, 127
 two worker, families, 958, 958(f)
 tycoons, 548
 Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934), 759
Tyler, John (1790–1862), 339(i)
 election of 1840 and, 338, 338(i)
 expansionism of, 418
 as president (1841–1845), 339–340
 typhoid, 455, 458, 625
 typists, 550
- U-boats. *See submarine warfare*
 UDC. *See United Daughters of the
 Confederacy*
 Ukraine, 687
 UMW. *See United Mine Workers*
 “unchurched” Americans, 270–271
Uncle Tom’s Cabin (Stowe), 308, 370, 398,
 431, 503
 Underground Railroad, 362, 363(m)
 “understanding clause,” 645
 Underwood Company, preserved foods
 from, 303
 unemployment, 959(i)
 in 1837–1843 depression, 335
 in 1857 panic, 293
 in 1873 depression, 497
 in 1890s depression, 623, 645
 in 1915–1945, 728(f)
 in 1970s, 938
 Coxey’s army and, 645

- in Great Depression, 727, 728(f), 736, 739, 751
of Native Americans, 756
New Deal programs and, 741–744, 748, 762
under Reagan, 986, 987
rising (1970s), 946(f)
after World War I, 721
- unemployment compensation, 761
unicameral legislature, in Pennsylvania, 198
Union (Civil War). *See Civil War (U.S., 1861–1865); North (Civil War)*
- Union (U.S.)
Compromise of 1850 and, 430
Lincoln on, 444, 447
- Union Army Medical Bureau, 455
- Union League, 493
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). *See Soviet Union*
- Union Pacific Railroad, 460, 498, 508
- union shop, 819
- Union Stock Yards (Chicago), 547
- Unionists, 448, 478
in South, 446, 449
- unions. *See labor unions*
- Unitarians, 273
Emerson as, 346
- United Artists, 726, 726(i)
- United Automobile Workers (UAW), 749(i), 842, 844
- United Commercial Travelers of America (UCTA), 550(i)
- United Daughters of the Confederacy, 502, 591
constitution of, 502
- United Farm Workers (UFW), 877, 897, 897(i)
- United Fruit Company, 828
- United Hebrew Charities, 562
- United Mine Workers (UMW), 781
- United Nations (UN), 807
China in, 814
Israel created by, 828
Korean War and, 816
Resolution 687, 998
Security Council of, 807
Suez crisis and, 829
- United Negro Improvement Association, 871
- United States
as continental nation, 406–408
as world power, 669, 699
- United States Government. *See Government (U.S.)*
- United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 422
- United States Pacific Railway Commission, 299
- United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*, 649(i)
- U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 682
- U.S. bonds, 515
U.S. Border Patrol, 714(i)
- U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations (1912), 662–663, 662(t)
- U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 525
- U.S. Fisheries Commission, 525
- U.S. Forest Service, 583, 651
Shelterbelts of, 760
- U.S. Patent Office, 290
- U.S. Sanitary Commission, 455, 456
- U.S. Steel Corporation, 548, 945
antitrust suit against, 711
strike against, 707
worker benefits at, 708
- U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1876), 500
- Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 719–720, 720(i)
- universal suffrage
Fifteenth Amendment and, 484–485
white male, 257, 281, 316
- Universalists, 271, 316
- universe, scientific revolution and, 127
- universities and colleges
African Americans and, 493, 871, 872(t)
baby boomers in, 851
football in, 582, 582(i)
founding in Great Awakening, 133
GI Bill and, 843
in industrial economy, 587–588
land-grant colleges, 516
student activism and, 914–915
women in, 588
- University of California (Berkeley), Free Speech Movement at, 914, 915(i)
- unskilled workers, 304–305, 552
discrimination and, 553, 556
- Unz, Ron**, 1018, 1018(i)
- Up from Slavery* (Booker T. Washington), 587
- upper house, 205. *See also Senate*
- Upper South. *See also South*
secession of, 447–449, 447(m)
slaves exported from, 378–381
- uprisings. *See protest(s); revolts and rebellions*
- Upton, Benjamin Franklin**, 527(i)
- Upward Bound, 905
- uranium mining, in West, 535
- urban areas. *See also cities and towns; specific locations*
crisis in, 863–864, 864(i), 945–947
economy of, 103
elites in, 281, 301–302
immigrants to, 864
politics in (1960s–1973), 895–896
popular culture in, 354–356
poverty and violence in, 896
prohibition in, 712
reform and, 625–632
society in, 103–105
- suburban society and, 863–865
workers in, 564
- Urban Mass Transportation Act (1964), 907(t)
- urban renewal, 863
- urban settlement movement. *See social settlements*
- urbanization
industrialization and, 608–615
in South, 394–395
after World War II, 766
- USA PATRIOT Act (2001), 1028
- Utah**, 414(m), 429, 429(m)
Mormons in, 353(m), 354, 521, 522–523
statehood for, 522, 638
voting rights for women in, 521, 592, 593(m)
- utility industry, regulation of, 566
- utopian communities, 281, 349(m)
Brook Farm, 347
Fourierist, 351
Mormon, 352–354
Oneida, 351–352
Shaker, 347–351
- Utrecht, Treaty of (1713), 90, 91(m)
- vacations, cars and, 725–726, 725(i)
- vaccines, 574
polio, 851
- Valentino, Rudolph**, 704, 726
- Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe**, 428(i)
- Valley Forge, Continental army at, 189
- values
of multicultural society, 1015
republican, 262
white Protestant middle-class, 399
- Van Buren, Martin** (1782–1862), 314, 318(i), 461
election of 1828 and, 321
election of 1832 and, 326
election of 1836 and, 334
election of 1840 and, 338–339
election of 1844 and, 418
election of 1848 and, 424–425
executive order on 10-hour workday (1840), 292
Indian removal and, 331
Jefferson and, 320
Jeffersonian Republicans and, 244
party government and, 317–318
as president (1837–1841), 338, 392
as secretary of state, 323
as vice president, 324(i)
- Van De Pass, Simon**, *Portrait of Pocahontas*, 51, 51(i)
- Van Rensselaer** family, 141
- Vance, Zebulon**, 454
- Vandalia, Illinois, National Road to, 293
- Vann, James**, 327

Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 708(*i*), 709

vassal kingdoms, in Africa, 23

Vassar College, 588

vaudeville theater, 359, 541, 615

Vaughn, Robert, 50(*i*)

Vay, Péter (Count), 540

“Velvet Revolutions,” 994

venereal diseases, World War I and, 687(*i*)

Veney, Bethany, 400

Venezuela, crisis over (1895), 674

Venice, 20(*i*)

trade and, 19

Venona transcripts, 821

Veracruz, Mexico

U.S. attack on, 419(*m*), 420

U.S. occupation of (1914), 683

Verdun, battle at, 685

Vergennes (Comte de), 189–190

Vermont

settlement of, 230

statehood for, 226

Versailles treaty

of 1783, 196

of 1919, 669, 672, 696–699, 768

vertical integration, 541, 547, 548

Vesey, Denmark, 401(*i*)

Vespucci, Amerigo, 34

veterans

benefits for, 825

Confederate, 502–503, 638

in Great Depression, 738–739

pensions for, 639, 642

as plains settlers, 520

Union, 638

of Vietnam War, 928

Veterans Administration (VA), 843, 857, 858

vetoes. *See also specific presidents and laws*

by Cleveland, 639

by Coolidge, 711

by Jackson, 323, 326

by Johnson, Andrew, 478, 481, 483

pocket veto, 480

by Tyler, 339

vice-admiralty courts, 156, 157

vice commissions, 627

vice president. *See specific individuals*

Vicksburg, siege of, 453(*m*), 464, 465,

466–467

Victoria, Australia, gold rush in, 426, 426(*t*)

victory gardens, in World War II, 782

Vietcong, 833, 910(*m*), 911

Vietminh, 828

Vietnam. *See also Vietnam War*

Cold War and, 828

Eisenhower and, 828

Japan and, 828

Kennedy, John F., and, 832–833

partition of, 828

Truman and, 828

in World War II, 773

Vietnam Moratorium (1969), 927

Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 928, 1029

Vietnam War (1961–1975), 800. *See also antiwar movement*

in 1968, 910(*m*)

casualties in, 927

debate over, 916–917

economy and, 914

escalation of, 911–914, 919

evacuation of civilians during, 917(*i*)

GI Bill after, 844

Johnson administration and, 910–914

Kennedy administration and, 910

Nixon administration and, 927–929

prowar rally for, 928(*i*)

soldiers’ reports from, 912–913

Tet offensive in, 910(*m*), 919

troops in, 911, 911(*f*)

Vietnamization program, 911(*f*), 927–928

View of Cincinnati (Wild), 256(*i*)

View of the Erie Canal (Hill), 295(*i*)

vigilante violence, in South, 499, 500

Villa, Francisco (“Pancho”), 684, 684(*i*)

Village Tavern (Krimmel), 220

villages. *See cities and towns*

Vincennes, battle at, 191(*m*)

Vindication of the Rights of Woman, A

(Wollstonecraft), 199(*i*), 259–262

violence

against African Americans, 364–365, 481

assassinations (1968) and, 919–921

against Chinese immigrants, 561

domestic, 1030

industrial, 568, 568(*i*)

in Kansas, 433

by Klan, 715(*m*)

poverty and urban, 896

religious, 310, 311

by slave owners, 400

against slaves, 101

by slaves, 400

in South, 481

in U.S. Senate, 410, 481

Virgin Queen. *See Elizabeth I (England)*

Virginia, 82

Bacon’s Rebellion in, 70–71

Baptists in, 134–135

Church of England in, 52

Civil War in, 448, 449, 450(*m*), 467,

469(*m*)

claims to Pittsburgh, 174

elite families in, 105

founding of, 47–52

House of Burgesses in, 52

Kentucky settlement and, 177

Kentucky Territory and, 228–229

land in, 142

manumission in, 265

religion in, 270

revivalism in, 133–134

river plantations in (c. 1640), 54(*m*)

as royal colony, 52

secession and, 446, 448

slave revolt in, 101

slavery in, 40, 96, 160, 266, 360–361, 380, 464

tobacco from, 81(*i*)

voting rights in, 316

western land claims of, 201

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 225, 324

Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, 397

Virginia City, Nevada, 516–517

Virginia Company, 47, 52

Virginia Herald, 266

Virginia Plan, 205

“**Virginian Luxuries**,” 101(*i*)

virtual representation, 157

VISTA volunteers, 905

Volta River region, 23

voluntarism, 270, 736

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), 905

von Hayek, Friedrich, 976

Von Ranke, Leopold, 214

Von Steuben, Friedrich (Baron), 189

voting and voting rights. *See also elections*

for African Americans, 257, 362, 479(*i*), 642, 645–646, 884–885

black voter registration in South, 891(*m*)

in Chesapeake, 102

in Connecticut, 62

expansion of, 257(*m*)

Fifteenth Amendment and, 484–485, 486, 870

gays and, 957

grandfather clause and, 645

for immigrants, 647–648

in Massachusetts, 86–87

property and, 198, 206, 316

reforms for, 648–649, 652

restrictions on, 647–648

for Scots-Irish in England, 124

secret ballot and, 393

in South, 645–646, 646(*m*)

in Virginia, 70

voter turnout (1824–1844), 322(*f*), 339

voter turnout (1876–1892), 638

for white men, 257, 257(*m*), 281, 316, 393

for women, 257–258, 371–372, 485–487, 521, 522, 523, 591, 592, 695–696, 710

Voting Rights Act (1965), 887, 891, 907(*t*)

voyages. *See also exploration; specific explorers*

by Columbus, 30(*i*), 31–34

trading, 28

Wabash v. Illinois, 569

WACs (Women’s Army Corps), 776

- Wade-Davis Bill (1864), 480
Wadsworth, Benjamin, 116
wage(s). *See also income; minimum wage*
 1970–2004, 1005(f)
 family, 553, 556(i)
 during Great Depression, 736
 in mining, 517
 stagnation of, 987
 in textile industry, 288
 for women, 276, 367, 653, 689, 777
 for workers, 291, 304–305, 689, 708
 after World War II, 957–958
wage earners. *See workers*
wage labor, 333, 541
 of ex-slaves, 487–491
 farm families and, 255
 women as, 550, 553
“Waggoner’s Curse, The,” 299
Wagner, Fort, attack on, 466
Wagner, Richard, 618
Wagner, Robert F., 632, 747
Wagner Act (1935), 747, 750, 751, 755
wagon trains, 415(i)
 to Oregon, 412–413
Waite, Davis, 568(i)
Wake Island, in World War II, 792
Walden (Thoreau), 299, 347
Wales
 immigrants from, 558
 Quakers from, 123
Wales, James A., 564(i)
Walker, David, 360, 360(i)
Walker, John, 268
Walking Purchase, 121–122
Wall Street (movie), 989
Wall Street, Roosevelt, Franklin, and,
 745–746
Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, 1031
Wallace, George C., 883, 922, 922(i), 923(m)
Wallace, Henry A., 740, 781, 819, 820
Waller, John, 134
Walmart, 1010
Walpole, Robert, 106, 107(i)
Waltham, Massachusetts, textile industry in, 288
Waltham-Lowell System, 288
Wampanoag Indians, 15, 60, 66, 67
 Metacomet’s War and, 67–70
Wanamaker, John, 548
Wanamaker’s department store, 609
Wappinger Indians, 141
war(s) and warfare. *See also guerrilla warfare; specific wars and battles*
 in 17th century, 76
 English (1650–1750), 88(t)
 along frontier, 70
 Indians and, 18, 52, 60, 66–70, 88–90
 presidential powers and, 993
 religious, 22
 total war, 452, 460
war debts
 after Revolution, 202, 219–222
 U.S. compared to British (1830–1900), 461, 461(f)
War Democrats, 469, 481
War Department, 216, 687(i)
 Mexican War and, 418
war hawks, 235–236
 French and Indian War and, 137
War Industries Board (WIB, 1917), 688
War of 1812, 236–241, 240(m), 267, 326–327
War of 1898, 669, 674–676, 677(i)
 peace agreement after, 677, 678
 Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 650, 675
war of attrition, in World War I, 688(m)
War of Jenkins’s Ear (1739–1741), 107
War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), 107
War of the League of Augsburg (1689), 88
War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), 89
War on Poverty (Johnson), 893, 905
War on Terror, Bush, G. W., on, 1026–1027
war party, in Texas, 391
War Powers Act
 of 1941, 773
 of 1973, 948
War Production Board (WPB), 775
War Refugee Board, 792
War Relocation Authority, 787
“War Work: Social and Racial Mobility” (Hill), 779
Ward, Lester Frank, 597
Warren, Earl, and Warren Court, 930, 985
 Supreme Court after, 957
Warren, Mercy Otis, 258
Warsaw, in World War II, 796
Warsaw Pact, 808(m), 812, 997(m)
Washington (state), 638
 Grand Coulee Dam in, 760–761
Washington, Booker T., 587–588, 588(i), 652, 654
Washington, D.C. *See also District of Columbia; March on Washington*
 Bonus Army in, 738–739
 Civil War and, 449, 450(m)
 Coxey’s march on (1894), 637(i), 645
 September 11, 2001, terrorist attack and, 1026
 in War of 1812, 237
Washington, George (1732–1799), 333
 in 1870, 183(i)
 on blacks in Continental Army, 190
 on Coercive Acts, 168
 at Constitutional Convention, 205
 Continental army and, 184, 185–186
 election of 1788 and, 238
 Farewell Address of, 238
 on government, 204
 Haitian Revolution and, 223
 Indians and, 226
 in New York City, 150
 in Ohio River region, 135, 137, 138(i), 200
 as planter, 214
 as president (1789–1797), 216
 Proclamation of Neutrality, 219
 in Revolution, 184, 190, 196
 on taxation, 201
 at Valley Forge, 189
 Whiskey Rebellion and, 219, 222(i)
Washington City. *See Washington, D.C.*
Washington Post, Watergate and, 947
Washington Temperance Society, 357, 368–369
WASPs (Women’s Airforce Service Pilots), 776
waste, production of, 941(i)
water. *See also irrigation*
 for cities, 553, 625
 in Great Plains, 524
“water cure,” 681
water mills, 140
Water Pollution Control Act (1972), 942
water power
 dams and, 760, 761(m)
 industry and, 284, 546
Water Quality Act (1965), 907(t)
water transport, 293–296
 improvements in, 255
Watergate scandal, 947–948
 Democrats after, 948
waterways, 126. *See also specific waterways*
 canals as, 293–295, 296(m)
 textile mills and, 254, 255, 287
Watkins, Carleton, 512(i)
Watson, Tom, 645, 647, 658
Watt, James, 984
Wattenberg, Ben J., 922
Watts, Los Angeles, riot in (1965), 896
WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service), 776
“waving the bloody shirt,” 638
Wayne, Anthony (Mad Anthony), 226
Wayne, John, 782
WCTU. *See Woman’s Christian Temperance Union*
Wea Indians, 196
wealth
 1890s depression and, 644–645
 from Americas, 27(i), 44, 45
 in cities, 541
 during Civil War, 460
 colonial, 140
 corporate, 513, 552, 721
 gap in, 546
 Great Depression and, 728
 Indian, 17
 lifestyle of, 989

- wealth (*cont.*)
 of planters, 383, 389
 poverty, food, and, 554–555
 residential districts of, 608
 from slave trade, 380, 381
 social mobility and, 257
 in South, 393–394
 taxation of, 301
 of urban elite, 281, 301
- wealth gap
 income taxes and, 661
- Wealth of Nations, The* (Smith), 92, 219
- weapons. *See also specific types*
 in Civil War, 456, 458
 interchangeable parts for, 290
 Native Americans and, 417
 in World War I, 685
 in World War II, 769, 776
- Weatherly, Thomas**, 381
- Weaver, James B.**, 639(*m*), 643
- weavers, women as, 285(*i*)
- Web. *See* World Wide Web
- Webster, Daniel**, 237
 Compromise of 1850 and, 429, 430(*i*)
 defense of Union, 324, 325(*i*)
 election of 1836 and, 334
 on Jackson, 321
 Second Bank of the United States and, 326
 Whigs and, 332–333, 339
- Webster, Noah**, 263
- Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989), 985, 1020
- wedding, Klan, 716(*i*)
- Wedding, The*, 259(*i*)
- Weed, Thurlow**, 334
- Weems, Mason**, 263
- Wehrmacht, 791
- weightlifting, 581
- Weinberger, Caspar**, 983, 992
- Welch, Joseph**, 824(*i*)
- Weld, Theodore**, 362
- welfare capitalism, in 1920s, 708
- welfare programs. *See also* social welfare
 in New Deal, 747–749, 761
 progressivism and, 663
- Welfare Reform Act (1996), 1023, 1023(*i*)
- welfare state, 826
 creation of, 670, 747–749
 intellectual thought on, 749
 Social Security Act and, 748–749
- Well-Ordered Family, The* (Wadsworth), 116
- Welles, Orson**, 761
- Wells, Daniel**, 521
- Wells, Emmeline**, as Mormon leader, 521
- Wells, Ida B.**, 577, 591–592, 591(*i*)
- Werawacomo (Powhatan village), 49(*i*)
- Wesley, John**, 129
- West, 407. *See also* Great Plains
 African Americans in, 520
- Asian Americans in, 758–759
 cattle ranching in, 518–519
 Civil War in, 448–449, 452, 453(*m*), 466–467
 coeducation in, 588
 colonial interests in, 163–166
 during Great Depression, 757–759
 Indian Country in (to 1890), 526(*m*)
 Indians of, 15
 Jefferson and, 231–234
 land claims after Revolution, 202(*m*)
 land sales in, 515–516, 651
 migrants to, 759(*m*)
 mining in, 516–517, 517(*m*)
 myths of, 518(*i*), 535
 national parks in, 524–525, 583–584, 584(*m*)
 New Deal projects in, 760–761
 political power in, 948
 Populism in, 643(*m*)
 railroads in, 508, 513(*m*), 519
 regional cultures in (1790–1820), 229(*m*)
 Regulators in, 142
 Revolution in (1778–1779), 191(*m*)
 after Revolution, 200
 settlement of, 175(*m*), 406
 slavery in, 379(*m*)
 state lands in, 201, 202(*m*)
 women in, 520–521, 522–523, 593(*m*)
- West, Benjamin**, 164(*i*)
- West Africa, 23
 Atlantic slave trade and, 23–25
 British in, 139
 English and Dutch in, 84
 free American blacks in, 264–265, 267
 Portuguese trade with, 25
 slaves from, 97
- West Berlin, 812
- West-Central Africa, slaves from, 97, 397
- West Florida, 163
- West Germany, 807, 812. *See also* Germany
- West India Company, Dutch, 58, 59
- West Indies. *See also specific locations*
 African slaves in, 92(*f*)
 after American Revolution, 196
 British and, 53, 90, 234, 251, 323
 Columbus and, 34
 European colonies in, 53
 French, 223
 settlement in, 90
 slave emancipation in, 403
 South Atlantic System and, 90
 sugar in, 53(*i*)
- West Virginia, creation of, 447(*m*), 448
- Western & Atlantic Railroad, 394–395
- Western Confederacy, 226, 228(*i*), 235
- Western Electric Company, 708
- Western Europe. *See also* Europe; European Union (EU); *specific locations*
- before American contact, 18–22
 Christianity in, 21–22
 democracy in, 808
 Marshall Plan for, 809, 812, 812(*i*)
 migration from, 557–558
 trade in, 19–20
 after World War II, 812–813
- Western Federation of Miners (WFM), 568(*i*), 655
- Western Front (World War I), 673(*i*), 685, 687, 688(*m*)
- Western Hemisphere. *See also specific locations*
 American policy toward, 244
 ancient peoples of, 8
 Europeans in, 18
 immigration from, 713
 Native Americans of, 8
 U.S. dominance in, 674
- Westinghouse, 548
- Westmoreland, William**, 911, 914
- westward movement. *See also* West; *specific states*
 land conflicts and (1750–1775), 142(*m*)
 Louisiana Purchase and, 232–234
 by planters, 376, 383
 by poor, 391
 settlement west of Appalachians and, 293, 294(*m*)
 into trans-Appalachia, 226–230
 by yeomen farmers, 293
- Wetmore, Ephraim**, 204
- Weydemeyer, Joseph**, 334
- whale oil, 303(*i*), 546
- whaling, 303(*i*)
- “What Every Girl Should Know” (Sanger), 628
- What Girls Can Do*, 588
- What Women Want*, 955
- wheat, 521, 565
 in California, 428
 colonial exports of, 140
 milling of, 287
 world markets for, 520
- Wheatley, Phillis**, 160(*i*)
- Wheeler, Adam**, 204
- Wheeling Register*, editorial on Statue of Liberty fund-raising, 620
- Whig Party (Whigs), 281
 in Alabama, 393
 Anti-Masons in, 333–334
 conscience Whigs in, 421
 election of 1834 and, 333
 election of 1840 and, 338–339
 end of, 431, 432, 436(*m*)
 Lincoln in, 437
 Mexican War and, 419, 421
 sectionalism in, 333, 407, 431
 slavery in territories and, 429
 Tyler and, 338(*i*), 339–340

- Whigs (England), 332
 whipping, of slaves, 362, 388, 389(*i*)
Whipple, Henry, 526
 whiskey, taxation on, 219
 Whiskey Rebellion, 219, 221, 222(*i*), 231
 Whiskey Ring scandal, 498
Whistler, Henry, journal of, 57
White, Dan, 957
White, Edward Douglas, 649(*i*)
White, Harry Dexter, 820
White, Hugh L., 334
White, John, 47(*i*), 48(*i*)
White, William Allen, 771
 White Citizens' Councils, 878
 white-collar workers, 302, 549
 white flight, 931(*i*)
 White House Conference on Dependent Children (1909), 652, 662(*t*)
 White League, 499
 White Man's Party (Grimes County, Texas), 646
 white primary, 646, 871
 "white slavery," 626, 626(*i*), 627
 white supremacy. *See also* Ku Klux Klan; race and racism
 in 1930s, 714
 challenges to, 884–885
 Democrats and, 645–646
 slavery and, 266, 391
 in South, 282, 444, 462, 499
Whitefield, George, 115(*i*), 129–132, 132(*i*), 134, 271
 whites. *See also* Anglos
 affirmative action and, 951
 Atlanta Compromise and, 587–588
 challenging supremacy of, 884–885
 in Chesapeake region, 55(*f*)
 depictions of Indians, 530–531, 531(*i*)
 identity and equality of, 102–103
 as Loyalists, 174
 in Middle Atlantic region, 122
 in South, 376, 383–391
 voting rights for male, 257, 257(*m*), 316, 393
 "whites only" drinking fountains, 870, 870(*i*)
Whiteside, James A. (1803–1861), and family, 394(*i*)
Whitfield, Donald, 912
Whitman, Walt, 291, 348
 on slavery in territories, 423
Whitney, Eli, 290, 290(*i*)
 Who, the (musical group), 918
 wholesale prices, from 1869 to 1913, 546(*f*)
Why Is There No Socialism in the United States? (Sombart), 555
Why Not Victory? (Goldwater), 975
 "Why We Fight" (documentaries), 782
Whyte, William, 842, 859
 widows, assistance for, 748–749
Wigfall, Louis, 394
Wild, John Caspar, 256(*i*)
Wild One, The (movie), 848
 Wild West, 530(*i*)
 Wilderness, Battle of the, 467, 469(*m*)
 Wilderness Preservation Act (1964), 907(*t*)
 Wilderness Society, 939
 wildlife, 525
 protection of, 583, 651
Wildmon, Donald E., 978
Wilkes, John, 152
Wilkinson, Eliza, 199
Wilkinson, James, 233
Wilkinson, Jemima, 275
Will, George, 983
 Willamette Valley, Oregon, 412, 413
Willard, Emma Hart, 276
Willard, Frances, 589
Willard, John, 260
William of Orange, 85(*m*), 86, 87(*i*), 88
Williams, Roger, 62
Williams, Tim, 898(*i*)
Williams v. Mississippi (1898), 645
Willkie, Wendell, 771
 Willow Grove (amusement park), 617
Wilmot, David, 421
 Wilmot Proviso (1846), 421, 463
Wilson, Hawkins, 382
Wilson, Tessie Hickam, 785
Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924), 636, 714
 banking and, 661–662
 election of 1912 and, 656–660, 660(*i*), 660(*m*)
 election of 1916, 686
 foreign policy of, 672, 683–684
 Fourteen Points of, 668, 696–697
 illness of, 699, 708
 labor and, 662
 Mexico and, 683–684
 neutrality policy of, 669, 685
 New Freedom and, 657
 as president (1913–1921), 542, 636, 672
 progressivism and, 662(*t*)
 trusts and, 662
 Versailles treaty and, 697, 697(*i*), 698, 699
 woman suffrage and, 695, 696
 World War I and, 686, 690
 wind erosion, dust bowl and, 759
 Windows operating system, 989
Windsor v. United States (2013), 1020
 Windward Coast, 97
Winthrop, James, 207
Winthrop, John, 61–62, 67
 Wisconsin, 201, 293, 330
 Fugitive Slave Act and, 431
 political reforms in, 652
 Wisconsin Idea, 652
Wise, John, 127, 131
Wise, Stephen S., on Triangle fire, 630
 witchcraft, Puritans and, 63–64
 wives. *See* married women
 Wobblies. *See* Industrial Workers of the World
Wolde-Giorghis, Hailou, 876
Wolfe, James, 138
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 199(*i*), 259
 Wolof people, 97
Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Fuller), 347
 woman suffrage, 257–258, 485–487, 486(*i*)
 Roosevelt, Theodore, and, 656
 World War I and, 695–696
 Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 589–591, 590(*i*), 636
Woman's Exponent, 521
Woman's Work, A (Sloan), 595(*i*)
 women. *See also* abortion and abortion rights; feminism; gender and gender issues; girls; women's rights
 abolitionism and, 362, 365–366, 370–371
 affirmative action and, 951
 African American, 924–925
 African American organizations of, 591–592
 antislavery movement and (1837–1838), 370(*m*)
 athletics for, 925
 in Benevolent Empire, 305, 336
 in Chesapeake region, 55(*f*)
 in Chinese factories, 1010(*i*)
 Christianity and, 963
 in civil rights movement, 890(*i*)
 in Civil War, 456, 456(*i*), 461–462, 472–473
 in clothing industry, 305
 in Congress, 686
 consumer culture and, 577, 724
 in corporations, 550
 as Daughters of Liberty, 161–162
 domesticity of, 850
 education for, 260, 263(*i*), 276, 495, 588, 589(*i*)
 families and, 851–855
 as feminists, 592
 as flappers, 704, 705(*i*), 726
 Fourierism and, 351
 freedwomen's work and, 490–491
 in Great Depression, 728–729
 higher education and, 925
 as homesteaders, 520–521
 in household economy, 116–117
 immigrant, 310, 559
 as indentured servants, 55
 Indian, 12, 15, 227, 417
 Indian removal and, 327
 industrialization and, 584–585
 in Klan, 716(*i*), 717
 labor of, 118, 119(*i*)
 labor unions and, 567, 570, 629
 legal marriage rights of, 117
 marriage and, 258, 260–261

- women (*cont.*)
- in middle class, 276, 303, 577, 585, 589
 - in military, 998(*i*)
 - minimum wage for, 653, 707–708
 - as missionaries, 599–600
 - as Mormons, 521, 522–523
 - in New Deal, 754
 - New Woman and, 583, 585(*i*)
 - occupational segregation of, 854
 - in peace movement, 709–710
 - in plantation colonies, 54
 - planter, 102–103, 376, 386
 - in politics, 339, 367, 591, 636, 709–710, 710(*i*), 715
 - polygamy and, 352(*i*), 353, 521
 - poor, 104
 - in presidential cabinet, 754
 - progressivism and, 652–654
 - property rights of, 18, 199
 - prostitution and, 354–355, 367, 626–627
 - in public life, 541
 - Quaker, 83
 - rape of enslaved, 95–96
 - reforms by, 305, 367, 589–592
 - republican, 259–262
 - revivalism and, 306–307
 - in Revolution, 188
 - after Revolution, 198–199
 - rights of, 522–523, 709
 - in Second Great Awakening, 274, 274(*i*), 275–276, 275(*i*)
 - separate sphere doctrine for, 367
 - sexuality and, 354, 618
 - as Shakers, 350
 - slavery and, 370, 385, 388, 400
 - social settlements and, 627–628
 - as social workers, 628
 - sports and, 583
 - on Supreme Court, 984, 985(*i*)
 - as teachers, 276, 367
 - in textile industry, 254, 285(*i*), 288–290
 - transcendentalist, 300, 347–348, 348(*i*)
 - in West, 522–523
 - on western trails, 413
 - wilderness use and, 583
 - wildlife preservation and, 583
 - witch-hunts and, 63–64
 - workday for, 652
 - as workers, 456, 541, 550, 551(*i*), 553, 614, 629, 694–695, 695(*i*), 728–729, 778–779, 851–855, 854(*i*), 958
 - in working class, 304
 - in World War I, 689, 694–695, 695(*i*)
 - in World War II, 776, 777, 778–779
 - after World War II, 802
 - as yeomen wives, 389–390
- Women of the South in War Times, The* (Andrews), 503
- women's clubs, 589, 655
- Women's Convention, of National Baptist Church, 592
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), 710, 711
- Women's Joint Congressional Committee, 709
- Women's Land Army, 695(*i*)
- women's liberation, 924–925
- Women's Loyal National League, 371(*i*)
- women's movement, 952–956
- in 1960s, 908–909
 - sex roles and, 957
- Women's National Indian Association, 528
- women's rights, 257–258, 281, 367–369, 494, 584, 629, 754. *See also* married women
- amendment for, 709
 - conventions for, 371–372
 - feminist movement and, 592
 - Garrison and, 366
 - Mormons and, 521, 522–523
 - opposition to, 351(*i*)
 - sexual freedom and, 960
 - Supreme Court on, 957
 - voting, 371–373, 485–487, 486(*i*), 592
- women's rights movement
- of mid-1800s, 366–371
 - Quaker women in, 123(*i*)
 - rift in, 486
 - Seneca Falls and, 371
- Women's Strike for Equality (1970), 924
- women's suffrage, 629, 636. *See also* voting and voting rights
- from 1890 to 1919, 593(*m*)
 - movement for, 592
- Women's Trade Union League, 629, 630
- Women's Union Label League, 696(*i*)
- Wonderland* (Northern Pacific Railroad), on tourism in Indian Country, 531
- Wood, William**, *New England's Prospect*, 57
- woodlands, peoples of, 8, 12–15
- Woodley, Arthur E., Jr.**, 912–913
- Woodruff, Phoebe**, on plural marriage, 522–523
- Woodstock concert, 918(*i*)
- Woodward, Bob**, 947
- wool, weaving of, 254
- Woolen Act (1699), 85(*t*), 107
- Woolman, John**, 265
- Woolworth, F. W., 548
- lunch counter sit-ins at, 882
- Woolworth Building (New York City), 609, 609(*i*)
- Worcester, Massachusetts, national women's rights convention in, 371–372
- Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), 330
- work. *See* labor
- workday
- eight-hour, 662, 689
- Supreme Court on, 649, 652
- ten-hour, 292
- for women, 652
- worker protection laws, 629
- workers, 252, 513. *See also* labor; labor unions; wage labor
- abolitionism and, 364
 - African American, 541, 613–614, 706, 871
 - alliances with farmers, 541, 565–566, 569
 - artisan republicanism and, 292–293
 - autonomy of, 550–551
 - benefits for, 663, 708
 - blue-collar, 549, 550–553
 - Bracero Program and, 781, 864, 877
 - corporate, 549–550
 - depression of 1890s and, 624
 - deskilling of, 551–552
 - division of labor and, 286
 - in factories, 286–287
 - families and, 957–960
 - in Great Depression, 738, 741–744, 749
 - household, 254
 - immigrants as, 310, 541
 - industrialization and, 291–293, 541, 549–550, 550–553
 - labor issues and, 662–663
 - labor unions and, 844
 - living standards of, 553
 - married women as, 777
 - Mexican American, 780
 - OSHA and, 942, 983
 - on Panama Canal, 682(*i*)
 - politics and, 334
 - Populists and, 644
 - resistance to Benevolent Empire, 306
 - rights to organize and bargain
 - collectively, 662
 - safety of, 553, 983 - scientific management and, 552
 - slaves as, 96
 - socialism and, 663
 - songs about, 960
 - urban, 281, 304–305, 863
 - white-collar, 302, 549–550
 - women as, 118, 119(*i*), 456, 541, 550, 551(*i*), 553, 614, 629, 695, 695(*i*), 728–729, 778–779, 851–855, 854(*i*), 958
 - workplace conditions and, 959
 - in World War I, 689, 694–695, 695(*i*)
 - after World War I, 707–708
 - in World War II, 777–781
- workforce. *See* workers
- working class
- in cities, 609–615, 628
 - consumer culture and, 724
 - in department stores, 577
 - divisions in, 663
 - families in, 556, 556(*i*)
 - food consumption by, 554–555
 - immigrants in, 556–557

- industrialization and, 552–553
 leisure and, 580–581, 615
 religion of, 600
 in suburbs, 724
 use of term, 576
 women in, 456, 585, 652–654, 696(i)
“Working Man’s Recollections of America, A” (*Knights Penny Magazine*), 252
Working Men’s Parties, 281, 334, 335, 336
 workingmen’s parties, 565, 567, 663
 workmen’s compensation, 654, 663, 748
Workmen’s Compensation Act (1916), 662(t)
workplace
 corporate, 549–550
 gender distinctions in, 957
Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1933), 749, 750, 750(t), 751, 752, 757, 761
 arts programs of, 761
 former slave interviews by, 398
 women and, 754
World Bank, 840, 1009
World of Tomorrow: School, Work, and Play (Ardley), 990
World Series, 581
World Trade Center
 bombing of (1993), 1024
 terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, 1002, 1026, 1027(i)
World Trade Organization (WTO), 1004, 1004(i), 1006–1007, 1009
 press release by (2000), 1007
World War I (1914–1918)
 alliance system in, 684
 armed forces during, 686–687, 687–688
 armistice in, 687
 causalities of, 672, 673(i), 685, 687, 688, 689(t)
 in Europe, 685
 events leading to, 684
 home front in, 688–696
 human costs of, 689
 impact of, 699
 neutrality during, 669, 685, 686
 peace treaty after, 696–699
 Red Scare after, 708–709
 United States in, 686–687, 687–688, 688(m)
 woman suffrage and, 695–696
World War II (1939–1945), 766–797
 African Americans in, 767(i), 780(i)
 atomic bomb in, 793–795
 black equality and, 872–874
 casualties in, 451, 774(f), 796
 civil rights in, 777–781, 780(i)
 coming of age in postwar period, 852–853
 D-Day in, 789, 789(i), 790–791
 economy in, 773–776, 777–781
 in Europe, 789–792, 790(m)
 Europe divided after, 808–813
 events leading to, 769–772
 financing, 773–776
 goals in, 788–789
 home front in, 781–788, 784–785, 784(i), 785(i)
 Japanese removal during, 787–788, 788(i)
 losses and gains in, 774(f)
 migration in, 783–787
 military and civilian deaths in (1939–1945), 774(f)
 mobilization for, 776–777
 Nazi Germany in, 789–792
 North Africa in, 789–790
 Pacific Ocean region in, 792–793, 793(m), 794(m)
 Pearl Harbor attack and, 773
 politics in, 781
 popular culture in, 782–783
 second front in, 789
 segregated units in, 872
 suburbs after, 856–862
 toll of, 795–796
 weapons in, 769, 776
 women in, 776, 777, 778–779
 workers in, 777–781
World Wide Web, 1011, 1012
world’s fairs, 574
 Chicago Columbian Exposition (1893), 592–593, 617
 scientific discoveries at, 592–593
Wounded Knee, South Dakota
 massacre at, 534
 siege at, 898–899
Wozniak, Steve, 989
Wright, Donna, 937(i)
Wright, Mose, 880
Wright, Richard, 761
 writers. *See literature; specific writers*
WTO. *See World Trade Organization*
Wyandot Indians, 60, 226
Wyoming, 413, 638
 voting rights for women in, 486–487, 521
Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, 141

XYZ Affair, 223

Yale, football at, 582
Yalta Conference (1945), 792–793, 795(i), 806–807
Yamasee Indians, 90
Yancey, William Lowndes, 438
Yankee Peddler, The, c. 1830, 254(i)
Yates, Robert, 206
Yazoo Land Company, Supreme Court and, 242
 yellow fever, 28, 43, 54, 625, 676, 682(i)
 yellow journalism, 619, 620, 675
 “Yellow Kid, The” comic (Outcault), 619, 620, 620(i)
Yellow Kidney (Piegan [Blackfeet]), 533(i)
Yellow Wolf (Nez Perce), 525
Yellowstone National Park, 524–525, 583, 584(m)
Yellowstone River region, 16
Yeltsin, Boris, 994
Yemen, 1032
 Cole bombing in (2000), 1024, 1024(i)
yen (Japan), 1008
yeomen
 British taxes and, 171
 family lives of, 262
 farm improvements and, 230–231
 Jefferson on, 219
 land for, 117
 New England society and, 64–66
 on Oregon Trail, 413
 in Revolution, 185–186
 secession and, 446, 447(m), 448
 slave ownership by, 389
 in South, 333, 383, 389–390, 391, 393
 voting by, 102
 westward movement by, 293
 wives of, 389–390
Yerkes, Charles, 594
Yezierska, Anzia, 722–723
 Yiddish language, 562, 599
 Yippies, 921
Yo-Hamite Falls, The (Ayres), 524(i)
 Yokohama Harbor, American merchant ship in, 511(i)
 Yom Kippur War (1973), 938, 1024
York. *See Toronto*
York, Duke of (England). *See James II*
 (Duke of York, England)
 Yorktown, battle at, 195
 Yoruba people, 97
 Yosemite National Park, 524
 Yosemite Valley, 583, 651
Yoshida, Shigeru, 810
 “You Shall Not Sell,” 369
Young, Brigham, 353–354
Young, Harriet Cook, on plural marriage, 522–523
Young Americans for Freedom, 915–918, 975
Young Lords Party, 894–895
Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), 580–581, 628
young people. *See also students; youth culture*
 in 1920s, 726
 companionate marriage and, 258
 domestic slave trade and, 382, 397
 education and, 263
 in Great Depression, 745(m)

young people (*cont.*)
juvenile courts for, 628
migration to cities, 609
music of, 617
NYA and, 757–758
sexuality and, 618
urban amusements and, 354–355
youth culture, 618
during Cold War, 847–849
juvenile delinquency and, 856
teen culture and, 845
Youth for Christ (Graham), 962

Youth International Party (Yippies), 921
Yüan Shih-k'ai (China), 679
Yucatán Peninsula, 35
Yugoslavia, 808
internal conflicts and breakup of, 1023
Tito in, 814
Yuki people, 427
Yukon Territory, gold rush in, 518

Zacatecas, mines in, 42
zambo populations, 42

Zimmermann, Arthur, 686
Zimmermann telegram, 686
Zionism, 828
Zoffany, Johann, 176(*i*)
zones of occupation, in postwar Germany, 812–813
zoot suits, 783, 786(*i*)
Zukor, Adolph, 726
Zuñi Indians, 16
Zwirn, Charles, 563

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