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A History of the American People



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Cities, Peoples, Cultures, 1890–1920

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• The Rise of the City • Immigration • Building Ethnic Communities • African American Labor and Community • Working-class and Commercial Culture • The New Sexuality and the Rise of Feminism • Re-Imagining American Nationality

America's cities grew rapidly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both to accommodate expanded production and trade and to house the toiling masses that worked on the wharves, streets, and factories. Growth called forth technological advance: running water, electric lighting and trolley lines, steel suspension bridges, skyscrapers, and elevators. Immigration soared to remedy severe labor shortfalls in manufacturing and construction; foreign languages and cultures, as a result, became an ever more noticeable feature of American urban life.

The new economic elites wanted to impress their importance and aspirations upon the cities in which they resided. They built mansions in posh residential districts either in the cities themselves or in tony suburbs that were sprouting on urban rims. They also sought to impart to their cities an architectural elegance and cultural *gravitas* that, in their minds, rivaled those of the greatest cities in history—London, Paris, Rome, Athens, Berlin. The elites' determination to uplift their cities through physical transformation and promotion of the arts was in part an effort to counteract urban distress and unruliness. It expressed the elites' anxiety about the masses that seemed to have other, and less lofty, ideas about city living. Labor-capital conflict was one area in which the ideas of rich and poor clashed in late-19th century America; struggles over culture were another. A vigorous commercial culture took root in working-class and ethnic districts of the city, appearing in dance halls, **nickelodeons,** and amusement parks. Exuberance rather than refinement, adventure rather than education defined these leisure pursuits. Young, working-class women pioneered a sexual revolution in the districts of this commercial

CHRONOLOGY

1893	Columbia Exposition opens
1900	Chicago joins New York City and Philadelphia as the only U.S. cities with populations exceeding 1 million
1900–1914	Immigration averages more than 1 million per year
1907	Congress establishes Dillingham Commission to study immigration problems
1907–1911	An average of 73 of every 100 Italian immigrants return to Italy
1908	Israel Zangwill's play, *The Melting-Pot,* debuts
1909	Immigrants and their children constitute more than 96 percent of labor force building and maintaining railroads
1910	Black skilled tradesmen in northern cities reduced to 10 percent of total skilled trades workforce ◆ 20,000 nickelodeons dot northern cities
1911	Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire kills 146 workers
1914	Theda Bara, movies' first sex symbol, debuts ◆ *The Masses,* a radical journal, begins publication
1915	Horace Kallen publishes "Democracy versus the Melting Pot"
1916	Randolph Bourne publishes "Trans-National America"
1919	Japanese farmers in California sell $67 million in agricultural goods, 10 percent of state's total
1920	Nation's urban population outstrips rural population for first time

culture, and immigrants began to emphasize both hybridity and diversity as signature features of American life. A new—and modern—America was taking shape in the country's cities, a development that aroused both great hopes and great fears.

The Rise of the City

By the late 19th century, cities were changing the face of America. Their populations, their physical size, and their capacity to transform the landscapes they inhabited dwarfed those of cities a mere 50 years earlier. The rate of urban growth was staggering. Chicago, for example, grew from 30,000 residents in 1850 to 500,000 in 1880 to 1,700,000 by 1900. Chicago joined two other cities, New York and Philadelphia, in surpassing the million-inhabitants mark. The number of cities with more than 100,000 residents soared from 18 in 1870 to 38 in 1900.

A new kind of building, the skyscraper, came to symbolize the aspirations taking shape in these expanding urban milieux. These modern towers were made possible by the use of steel rather than stone in the framework and by the invention of electric-powered elevators. Impelled upward by rising real estate values, they were

intended to evoke the same sense of grandeur as Europe's Gothic cathedrals. But these monuments celebrated man, not God; material wealth, not spiritual riches; science, not faith. Reaching into the sky, dwarfing Europe's cathedrals, they were convincing embodiments of America's urban might.

If advances in construction made possible America's urban areas' vertical reach, technological advances encouraged horizontal expansion. Most important in this regard was the application of electricity to urban transportation systems. Between 1890 and 1920, virtually every major city built electric-powered transit systems to replace horse-drawn trolleys and carriages. By 1912, some 40,000 miles of electrical railway and trolley track had been laid. In Boston, electricity made possible the construction of the first subways in 1897, and New York and Philadelphia soon followed suit.

As a result of these transportation improvements, it now became possible for urban dwellers to live miles away from where they worked. As recently as the 1870s, many of America's urban centers had been **walking cities.** They were compact entities, with residential areas abutting work districts, and different income and ethnic groups living in close proximity to each other. By the 1890s, these walking cities had given way to metropolitan entities, with core areas of work and commerce—"downtowns"—now surrounded by expanding rings of residential areas offering inhabitants their own homes and gardens, and the promise of tree-lined streets. The intensifying congestion, dirt, poor air, and poverty of urban cores made these new residential areas into refuges of peace and quiet, and they drew those with ample economic resources. In some cases, these areas were jurisdictionally separate from cities, becoming prototypes of the independent 20th-century suburb: Brookline, Massachusetts, a town southwest of Boston, and Evanston, Illinois, a town north of Chicago, were two early examples of this phenomenon. In other urban centers, the new residential districts arose as part of the cities themselves. The old cores, meanwhile, increasingly became home to the poor, to immigrants, and to racial minorities.

These changes in the appearance of cities above ground were matched by important changes below. None were more important than water and sewage systems. By 1900, Chicago was pumping 500 million gallons per day to its inhabitants through 1,900 miles of water pipes. Another 1,500 miles of sewage pipe carried used water and other waste products away from Chicagoan households. The 139 gallons that Chicago and other American cities were pumping a day for each of its inhabitants dwarfed the 20–40 gallons per capita that British and German cities were distributing to their residents. The scale and power of these water systems made flush toilets and bathtubs standard equipment in every American middle-class urban home in America by 1900. Such improvements came more slowly to the urban poor. In cities such as Pittsburgh, for example, water supplies and water pressure were much steadier in the prosperous neighborhoods than they were in those of the poor. As late as the First World War, a significant percentage of working-class families still lacked running water in their homes. Still, America's urban poor had better access to running water than did their counterparts in Europe.

These water systems were impressive engineering feats. In New York City, a network of aqueducts that one historian has described as "the greatest project in water engineering since the Roman Empire," carried water in tunnels that were

more than thirteen feet in diameter a distance of thirty miles from upstate reservoirs. If measured by their ability to procure, pump, and carry away huge volumes of water, these American systems were unrivalled in the world.

If measured by efforts to control costs, to ensure the safety of workers building tunnels and aqueducts, and to enhance public health, these waterworks were less impressive. The construction and administration of these projects occurred within political systems that were often notorious for their corruption. City and state officials expected to receive kickbacks for awarding contracts. Some regarded the size of the kickback as a more important consideration in choosing a contractor than the firm's competence or the prudent use of taxpayer monies. Expenditures on urban construction projects were therefore high. Those in charge of designing and building this infrastructure often did not do enough to protect laborers from the hazards of working underground, to ensure that consumers used the water efficiently, or to protect local lakes, rivers, and oceans against contamination from sewage. Typhoid and other water-born epidemics periodically struck the inhabitants of America's cities. In Chicago in 1882, the city's polluted water gave rise to a typhoid fever outbreak that killed more than 20,000 people. In some cities, nonbacterial contaminants compromised water quality, limiting its use for drinking. A Philadelphia newspaper reported in 1895 that the local water tasted "like a solution of gum boots and coal tar."

By 1900, the problems caused by contaminated water had begun to yield to the insistence of urban reformers that cities improve water treatment. Urban governments were installing water filtration systems and developing safer processes for sewage disposal and treatment. Newly paved roads reduced the amount of dirt, mud, and stagnant pools of water on city streets and thus further curtailed the spread of disease. As a result, urban mortality rates began to fall.

Advances in water systems, in transportation, and in housing reflected the breadth of the commitment in America's urban centers to improving the lives of urban dwellers. This commitment extended well beyond questions of physical well-being to those of education and morals. In the late 19th century, urban elites undertook one of the most intensive cultural improvement campaigns in all of American history. Symphonies, opera companies, museums, and libraries sprouted in countless cities, often housed in imposing buildings that transformed the urban landscape. In cities such as New York, Cleveland, and Philadelphia these institutions, interwoven with newly designed urban parks, anchored ambitiously conceived urban districts meant to be places where city dwellers might escape the struggles of daily life and cultivate their higher sensibilities. Thus in New York City, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History each took shape in the 1870s alongside Central Park, the first landscaped public park in the United States. The park's principal designer, **Frederick Law Olmsted,** imagined his 50-block-long masterpiece, with its 5 million plantings, as a refuge from the city, a place where people "may stroll for an hour, seeing, hearing, and feeling nothing of the bustle and jar of the streets." If these same people took another hour to contemplate the artistic masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum or marvel at the holdings of the American Museum of Natural History, so much the better. Museums and parks were part of the same civic, civilizing, and regenerating enterprise. Olmsted's success with parks in New York gave him

an opportunity to replicate it in numerous other cities, including Atlanta, Boston, Brooklyn, Hartford, Detroit, Chicago, Louisville, and Washington, D.C. No other single individual exercised as large an influence on American urban landscapes.

Urban elites of the late 19th century were drawn to Beaux-Arts architecture, a Paris-based style that merged neoclassical size and scale with Italian Renaissance and Baroque decorative influences. By 1902, the Metropolitan Museum had acquired its signature Beaux-Arts façade, which defines the exterior look of the museum to this day. A few years earlier, the Boston Public Library, then the finest public library in the world, moved into magnificent new quarters, whose features included a massive reading room resembling a Roman basilica and a central courtyard modeled on a 16th-century Italian Renaissance cloister. Free and open to the public, the library was celebrated by local newspapers as a "palace of the people" and as "feeding the most careless or unconscious eye with the food of high artistic loveliness."

The scale and ornateness of these buildings revealed the ambitions of the urban elites who founded them. These elites were constructing palatial institutions for posterity, imagining that the buildings would stand as permanent monuments to their civic vision and influence. They were, at the same time, making a deep investment in their cities, proclaiming their concern not simply with their private lives but with the public life and well-being of others who lived in the cities they loved. Founders of the Metropolitan expressed this sentiment in 1880, when they talked about diffusing "knowledge of art in its higher forms of beauty" so as to "educate and refine a practical and laborious people."

The energy that they poured into these institutions, however, also revealed anxieties about their own social status. For the newly wealthy in their ranks, museums, symphonies, operas, and the like offered a form of alchemy that converted their riches into cultural prestige and authority: as one museum leader said, these institutions would "convert pork into porcelain, grain and produce into priceless pottery, the rude ores of commerce into sculptured marble, and railroad shares and mining stocks … into the glorified canvas of the world's masters."

Elites worried, too, about plebeian resistance to their civilizing projects. What if the masses ignored these institutions? Or misused them? Both the New York museums and Central Park were sites of conflict in the late 19th century between administrators and the people: the former laying down fastidious sets of rules about dress and comportment when using these institutions, the latter repeatedly declaring their intention to be left alone or demanding a role in the shaping of park and museum rules. In the 1880s, 100 labor organizations, representing 50,000 workers, presented petitions to the Metropolitan and Natural History museums asking that these institutions open their doors to the public on Sunday, the only day that was free of work for most of New York City's inhabitants. Religious groups and religious members of the Boards of Trustees brought intense pressure on these museums to keep their doors closed on the Sabbath. By 1892, however, both institutions decided to open on Sundays, handing a victory to the city's labor movement. Privately, at least, the more visionary museum leaders had to be pleased that the demand among the city's poor for access had become so strong.

The conflicts of urban life were acutely felt in Chicago. As the fastest growing American city, it was also one of the hardest to control. Rapid growth spurred

innovation but also generated a great gulf between the rich and the poor, violent labor-capital conflict (see Chapter 19), and widespread corruption. The city had also suffered from disasters such as the typhoid epidemic of 1882 and the Chicago Fire of 1871, which destroyed the homes of 100,000 residents across a stretch of land four miles long. The massive destruction caused by the fire actually accelerated urban creativity and innovation. One of the most interesting groups of American architects, the so-called Chicago School, arose in the city a decade after the fire. It included men such as Louis Sullivan and John Wellborn Root and a young draftsman by the name of Frank Lloyd Wright. America's most daring skyscraper designs came out of this group, as did buildings (mostly Sullivan's creations) that merged crisp modern lines, functionality, and wondrous ornamentation. At a later time, Wright would take what he learned as Root's and Sullivan's assistant and develop a distinctive American form of modernist architecture that made his buildings in Chicago and elsewhere among the most original and admired in 20th-century America.

Chicago's remarkable ascent as a center for manufacturing, trade, and architectural innovation made it the choice for hosting the Columbia Exposition of 1893, a world's fair to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America.



Brooklyn Museum Archives, Goodyear Archival Collection. Visual material (6.1.016): World's Columbian Exposition lantern slides. Courts of Honor, Chicago, United States (1893)

The White City. *This photograph captures the scale, grandeur, and classical lines of the Columbia Exposition's White City. The massive Agriculture Building sits to the right of the Basin.*

The fair's two square miles of area made it three times as large as the fair in Paris four years before, and the giant Ferris wheel unveiled by exposition planners was meant to rival the Eiffel Tower as an iron and steel architectural marvel.

At the heart of this enterprise was a monumental set of gleaming buildings called the **"White City,"** meant to evoke the classical grandeur of Greece and Rome and to trumpet the maturation of American civilization. One set of buildings—Agriculture, Transportation, Manufacturing, among them—devoted itself to inventorying America's achievements in various economic sectors. Other buildings celebrated American women, the histories, cultures, and peoples of the individual states, and the contributions of foreign nations to the story of human progress. The Transportation Building, designed by Sullivan, was the most innovative of the fair's structures, while the Manufactures Building was the largest, covering more than twice as much area as the Great Pyramid of Egypt and being lit by 120,000 incandescent lamps. Steel skeletons held the buildings up; they were sheathed in perishable stucco, unlikely to survive even one Chicago winter. The stucco was easy to work with, however, and thus allowed architects to unleash their decorative instincts in their building designs.

The individual buildings were carefully laid out around a manmade lagoon created by landscape master Olmsted himself, who imparted a neoclassical unity to the entire enterprise. Broad, open courts studded with statuary and interspersed with fountains and parks connected the buildings to each other. It is remarkable that exposition planners invested so much effort in a "city" meant to exist only for a few months.

The planners nevertheless hoped that their work would endure as a design and influence, if not as an actual urban space. Indeed, the White City, an exemplar of Beaux-Art principles, gave rise to a movement of urban architectural renovation that would become known as the **City Beautiful movement.** Its carefully composed vision of urban order, it was hoped, would offer city planners an inspiration for imposing a similar kind of order on the actual urban environments in which they lived. Metaphorically, the rise of this White City out of the swamps of Jackson Park south of Chicago symbolized the city's and the nation's capacity for rebirth. A utopian dream of an ordered city and a triumphant industrial civilization, the White City embodied America's quest for and belief in perfection.

With paid admissions at 21,480,141 in a nation with a population of 63 million, the Columbia Exposition was by far the most successful fair in American history. Americans from all over the country came to marvel at this reincarnation of ancient Rome and to record their impressions in special printed books that thoughtfully guided them through the fair, beginning with the category "My first day in the 'White City.'" The White City did fill many fairgoers with pride and inspiration, much as the planners of the fair hoped it would. Visitors, however, also found their attention drawn to another part of the fair, one that focused on amusement rather than education, and on the dissonances of modern life rather than its classical symmetry. The **Midway Plaisance** was a long strip located at some distance from the White City, full of concessions where one could buy food and drink, engage in games, line up for rides, including the Ferris wheel, and gaze upon the curiosities that countless small entrepreneurs had gathered into their traveling dime museums and freak shows. This, Daniel Burnham, the fair's head designer understood, was

"the lighter and more fantastic side of the Fair." The chaotic variety of its sights and smells proved irresistible to tourists.

Part of Midway's variety was deliberately ethnographic, as numerous pavilions displaying life in areas of Africa and Asia were housed here. The accent was on the primitive and exotic: the pavilions did not display the modernizing elites of these faraway places, or their achievements in manufacture or transportation, but rather native peoples supposedly barely touched by civilization. It was hard to miss the implication that civilization occurred in America and Europe, as represented in the White City, while primitivism belonged to people of color from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

The very structure of the fair thus embodied and reinforced a racial hierarchy that posited the superiority of white, middle-class civilization. African Americans understood how much this hierarchy organized not only America's relationship with much of the world but also life within the United States itself. The anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells (see Chapter 18) published a pamphlet, with contributions from several black leaders, titled "The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition." Exploring the intertwined histories of American slavery and racism, this pamphlet offered a detailed accounting of the refusal of fair organizers to include African Americans. "Theoretically open to all Americans, the Exposition practically is, literally and figuratively, a 'White City,'" the pamphlet asserted. Wells boycotted the fair on "Colored American Day," but former abolitionist Frederick Douglass attended in order to give a stirring speech. "Men talk of the Negro problem," he said. "There is no Negro problem. The problem is whether the American people have honesty enough, loyalty enough, honor enough, patriotism enough to live up to their own Constitution." Try as it might, the Columbia Exposition could not erase the question of race; nor could all the striving for unity and placidity in the White City erase the presence in Chicago and every other major American city of polyglot populations of diverse ethnic origins. These international populations constituted the peoples of the American city, and they would stake a claim to define it as much as the elites who built the palatial museums, opera houses, and White Cities.

Immigration

The United States had always been a nation of immigrants, but never had so many come in so short a time. Between 1880 and 1920, some 23 million immigrants came to a country that numbered only 76 million in 1900. From 1900 to 1914, an average of 1 million immigrants arrived each year. In many cities of the Northeast and Midwest, immigrants and their children constituted a majority of the population. In 1920s Boston, New York City, Chicago, and Milwaukee, immigrants accounted for more than 70 percent of the total population; in Buffalo, Detroit, and Minneapolis, more than 60 percent; and in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Seattle, more than 50 percent. Everywhere in the country, except in the South, the working class was overwhelmingly ethnic.

European immigration accounted for approximately three-fourths of the total. Some states received significant numbers of non-European immigrants—Chinese,

Japanese, and Filipinos in California; Mexicans in California and the Southwest; and French Canadians in New England. Although their presence profoundly affected regional economies, politics, and culture, their numbers, relative to the number of European immigrants, were small. Immigrants from Latin America were free to enter the United States throughout this period, but few did until 1910, when the social disorder caused by the Mexican Revolution propelled a stream of refugees to southwestern parts of the United States. Half a million French Canadians had migrated to New England and the upper Midwest between 1867 and 1901. After that, the rate slowed as the pace of industrialization in Quebec quickened.

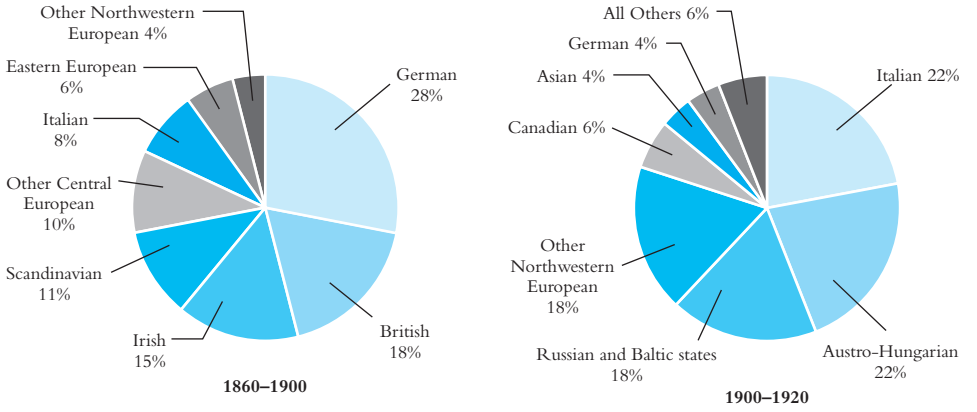
European Immigration

Most of the European immigrants who arrived between 1880 and 1914 came from Eastern and Southern Europe. Among them were 3 to 4 million Italians, 2 million Russian and Polish Jews, 2 million Hungarians, and an estimated 5 million Slavs and other peoples from eastern and southeastern Europe (Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Macedonians, and Greeks). Hundreds of thousands came as well from Turkey, Armenia, Lebanon, Syria, and other Near Eastern lands abutting the European continent.

These post-1880 arrivals were called "new immigrants" to underscore the cultural gap separating them from the "old immigrants," who had come from northwestern Europe—Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Germany. Old immigrants were regarded by many native-born Americans as racially fit, culturally sophisticated, and politically mature. The new immigrants, by contrast, were often regarded as racially inferior, culturally impoverished, and incapable of assimilating American values and traditions. This negative view of the new immigrants reflected in part a fear of their alien languages, religions, and economic backgrounds. Few spoke English, and most adhered to Catholicism, Orthodoxy, or Judaism rather than Protestantism. Most, with the exception of Jewish immigrants, were peasants, unaccustomed to urban industrial life, but they were not as different from the old immigrants as the label implied. For example, many of the earlier-arriving Catholic peasants from Ireland and Germany had had no more familiarity with American values and traditions than did the Italians and Slavs who arrived later.

In fact, the old and new European immigrants were more similar than different. Both came to America for the same reasons: either to flee religious or political persecution or to escape economic hardship. The United States attracted a small but steady stream of political refugees throughout the 19th century: labor militants from England; nationalists from Ireland; socialists and anarchists from Germany, Russia, Finland, and Italy. Many of these people possessed talents as skilled workers, labor organizers, political agitators, and newspaper editors and thus exercised influence in their ethnic communities. However, only the anti-Semitic policies of Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries triggered a mass emigration (in this case Jewish) of political refugees.

Most mass immigration was propelled instead by economic hardship. Europe's rural population was growing faster than the land could support. European factories absorbed some, but not all, of the rural surplus. Industrialization and urbanization were affecting the European countryside in ways that disrupted rural ways of life. As railroads penetrated rural areas, village artisans found themselves unable to



Sources of Immigration

Source: Data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1989), pp. 105–9.

compete with the cheap manufactured goods that arrived from city factories. These handicraftsmen were among the first to emigrate. Meanwhile, rising demand for food in the cities accelerated the growth of commercial agriculture in the hinterland. Some peasant families lost their land. Others turned to producing crops for the market, only to discover that they could not compete with larger, more efficient producers. In addition, by the last third of the 19th century, peasants faced competition from North American farmers. Prices for agricultural commodities plummeted everywhere. The economic squeeze that spread distress among American farmers in the 1880s and 1890s caused even more hardship among Europe's peasantry, and many of them decided to try their luck in the New World.

An individual's or family's decision to emigrate often depended on having a contact—a family member, relative, or fellow villager—already established in an American city. These people provided immigrants with a destination, inspiration (they were examples of success in America), advice about jobs, and financial aid. Sometimes whole villages in southern Italy or western Russia—or at least all of the young men there—seemed to disappear, only to reappear in a certain section of Chicago, Pittsburgh, or New York. Villages without contacts in the United States were relatively unaffected by the emigration mania.

Most immigrants viewed their trip to the United States as a temporary sojourn. They came not in search of permanent settlement but in search of high wages that would enable them to improve their economic standing in their homeland. For them, America was a land of economic opportunity, not a land to call home. This attitude explains why men vastly outnumbered women and children in the migration stream. From 1899 to 1910, three-fourths of the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were adult men. Some had left wives and children behind; more were single. Most wanted merely to make enough money to buy a farm in their native land. True to their dream, many did return home. For every 100 Italian immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1907 and 1911, for example, 73 returned to Italy. Before the First World War, an estimated 60 to 80 percent of all Slavic immigrants eventually returned to the land of their birth.



© Bettmann/CORBIS

Immigrant Japanese Children Arrive at Angel Island, San Francisco Harbor, 1905. *Beginning in 1907, as a result of the "gentlemen's agreement" between the United States and Japanese governments, it would no longer be possible for Japanese immigrants such as these children to come to the United States.*

The rate of return was negligible among certain groups, however. Jews had little desire to return to the religious persecution they had fled, and only 5 percent returned to Europe. The rate of return was also low among the Irish, who saw few opportunities in their long-suffering (although much-loved) Emerald Isle. In the early 20th century, however, such groups were exceptional. Most immigrants looked forward to returning to Europe. Not until the First World War shut down transatlantic travel did most immigrants begin to regard their presence in the United States as permanent.

Immigration tended to move in rhythm with the U.S. business cycle. It rose in boom years and fell off during depressions. It remained high during the first 14 years of the new century when the U.S. economy experienced sustained growth, broken only briefly by the Panic of 1907–08.

Chinese and Japanese Immigration

The relatively small numbers of Chinese and Japanese immigrants who came to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries reflected the efforts of native-born Americans and their allies to keep them out. As many as 300,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States between 1851 and 1882, and more than 200,000 Japanese immigrants journeyed to Hawaii and the western

continental United States between 1891 and 1907. They contributed in major ways to the development of two of the West's major industries: railroad building and commercial agriculture. These two immigrant groups might have formed two of America's largest, each numbering in the millions, but the U.S. government began to exclude Chinese immigrant laborers in 1882 (The Chinese Exclusion Act) and Japanese immigrant laborers in 1907 (see Chapter 22). The government also interpreted a 1790 law to mean that Chinese, Japanese, and other East Asian immigrants were ineligible for citizenship. These exclusions remained in force until the 1940s and 1950s. They expressed the racial prejudice felt by most native-born white Americans toward nonwhite Asian immigrants, and they also revealed how determined America was to remain a nation of European immigrants and their descendants.

The factors propelling Chinese and Japanese immigrants were similar to those motivating their European counterparts. The rural population in those countries was increasing at a rate faster than the rural economies could support. Chinese and Japanese rural peasants were being integrated into an international market for agriculture, contributing to the global oversupply of agricultural goods and depressing prices. Many Chinese and Japanese immigrants, like their European counterparts, intended to move abroad just long enough to make enough money to establish themselves economically in their homelands. Thus the early streams of Chinese and Japanese migration to the United States were overwhelmingly composed of men looking for work. Similar to the European immigrants, the Chinese and Japanese sojourners tended to follow precise migratory paths—from one region or village in China or Japan to one city or region in the United States.

Conditions in China were more desperate than those in Japan, where industrialization had begun to generate new wealth and absorb some of the rural population. Chinese immigrants, as a result, often suffered greater hardship than did their Japanese counterparts. In the 19th century, many were forced to sign contracts with suppliers of overseas laborers that subjected them to slave-like conditions: They were herded onto boats for the transpacific voyage, bound to particular employers for years on end, thrust into dangerous working conditions, and paid paltry wages. The conditions of their labor in the western states where they tended to settle inflamed the sentiments of white working men, who saw the Asian migration as a threat to their own wages and livelihoods. These white workers might have made common cause with Asian immigrant workers, but the racial prejudice they harbored toward the "yellow hordes" was simply too great. White workers became leaders of the movements in the western states to keep these immigrants out.

Significant numbers of Chinese and Japanese immigrants continued to try to enter the United States during the period of Asian immigrant exclusion—after 1882 in the case of the Chinese and after 1907 in the case of the Japanese. Some were desperate to reunite with family members already living in the United States, while others were driven to escape deteriorating economic circumstances in their homeland. Many attempted to enter the United States with forged papers declaring them to be merchants (a permitted class of Chinese and Japanese immigrants) when they were not, or that they had been resident in the United States before the exclusion laws had gone into effect (and thus entitled to return). San Francisco was their principal port of entry, and Angel Island, in San Francisco harbor, became the

counterpart of Ellis Island in New York harbor: the place where inspectors for the U.S. Bureau of Immigration interrogated them and scrutinized their documents and, more often than not, sent them back to Asia.

Other East Asian immigrants attempted to enter the United States through Canada or Mexico, hoping to find a non-patrolled part of the land border and to cross into the United States undetected. They became, in effect, America's first illegal aliens. That a certain percentage of East Asian immigrants had entered the country illegally, and were subject to deportation, generated considerable fear among the Asian immigrant populations resident in the United States, deepening tendencies within these communities to secrecy and to separation from mainstream American culture and society. Despite these considerable hardships, Asian immigrants would prove to be resourceful and would find ways to build homes and livelihoods in America.

Immigrant Labor In the first decade of the 20th century, immigrant men and their male children constituted 70 percent of the workforce in 15 of the 19 leading U.S. industries. They concentrated in industries where work was the most backbreaking. Immigrants built the nation's railroads and tunnels; mined its coal, iron ore, and other minerals; stoked its hot and sometimes deadly steel furnaces; and slaughtered and packed its meat in Chicago's putrid packinghouses. In 1909, first- and second-generation immigrants—especially Greeks, Italians, Japanese, and Mexicans—constituted more than 96 percent of the labor force that built and maintained the nation's railroads. Of the 750,000 Slovaks who arrived in America before 1913, at least 600,000 headed for the coal mines and steel mills of western Pennsylvania. The steel mills of Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago also attracted disproportionately large numbers of Poles and other Slavs.

Immigrants also performed "lighter" but no less arduous work. Jews and Italians predominated in the garment manufacturing shops of New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston. In 1900, French-Canadian immigrants and their children held one of every two jobs in New England's cotton textile industry. By 1920, the prosperity of California's rapidly growing agricultural industry depended primarily on Mexican and Filipino labor. In these industries, immigrant women and children, who worked for lower wages than men, formed a large part of the labor force. Few states restricted child labor. More than 25 percent of boys and 10 percent of girls aged 10 to 15 were "gainfully employed."

Immigrants were as essential as fossil fuels to the smooth operation of the American economic machine. Sometimes, however, the machine consumed workers as well as coal and oil. Those who worked in heavy industry, mining, or railroading were especially vulnerable to accident and injury. In 1901, for instance, 1 in every 400 railroad workers died on the job and 1 in every 26 suffered injury. Between the years 1906 and 1911, almost one-quarter of the recent immigrants employed at the U.S. Steel Corporation's South Works (Pittsburgh) were injured or killed on the job. Lax attention to safety rendered even light industry hazardous and sometimes fatal. In 1911, a fire broke out on an upper floor of the **Triangle Shirtwaist Company,** a New York City garment factory. The building had no fire escapes. The owners of the factory, moreover, had locked the entrances to each floor as a way of keeping their

employees at work. A total of 146 workers, mostly young Jewish and Italian women, perished in the fire or from desperate nine-story leaps to the pavement below.

Chronic fatigue and inadequate nourishment increased the risk of accident and injury. Workweeks averaged 60 hours—10 hours every day except Sunday. Workers who were granted Saturday afternoons off, thus reducing their workweek to 55 hours, considered themselves fortunate. Steelworkers were not so lucky. They labored from 72 to 89 hours per week and were required to work one 24-hour shift every two weeks.

Most workers had to labor long hours simply to eke out a meager living. In 1900, the annual earnings of American manufacturing workers averaged only $400 to $500 per year. Skilled jobs offered immigrants far more (as much as $1,500 to $2,000 per year), but most of these jobs were held by Yankees and by Germans, Irish, Welsh, and other "old immigrant" Europeans. Through their unions, workers of Northern European extraction also controlled access to new jobs that opened up and usually managed to fill them with a son, relative, or fellow countryman. Consequently, relatively few of the new immigrants rose into the prosperous ranks of skilled labor. In any case, employers were replacing many skilled workers with machines operated by cheaply paid operatives.

From the 1870s to 1910, real wages paid to factory workers and common laborers did rise, but not steadily. Wages fell sharply during depressions, and the hope for increases during periods of recovery often collapsed under the weight of renewed mass immigration, which brought hundreds of thousands of new job seekers into the labor market. One of every five industrial workers was unemployed, even during the boom years of the early 20th century.

Most working families required two or three wage earners to survive. If a mother could not go out to work because she had small children at home, she might rent rooms to some of the many single men who had recently immigrated. But economic security was difficult to attain. In his 1904 book, *Poverty,* social investigator Robert Hunter conservatively estimated that 20 percent of the industrial population of the North lived in poverty.

Living Conditions

Strained economic circumstances confined many working-class families to cramped and dilapidated living quarters. Many of them lived in two- or three-room apartments, with several people sleeping in each room. To make ends meet, one immigrant New York City family of eight living in a two-room apartment took in six boarders. Some boarders considered themselves lucky to have their own bed. That luxury was denied the 14 Slovaks who shared eight beds in a small Pittsburgh apartment and the New York City printer who slept on a door he unhinged every night and balanced across two chairs. The lack of windows in city tenements allowed little light or air into these apartments. Crowding was endemic. The population density of New York City's Lower East Side—where most of the city's Jewish immigrants settled—reached 700 per acre in 1900, a density matching or exceeding that of the world's poorest cities. Overcrowding and poor sanitation resulted in high rates of infectious diseases, especially diphtheria, typhoid fever, and pneumonia. In the early years of the twentieth century, improvements in the quality of housing and public health finally began to ease the dangers of urban life.

Building Ethnic Communities

The immigrants may have been poor, but they were not helpless. Migration had required a good deal of resourcefulness, self-help, and mutual aid—assets that survived in the new surroundings of American cities.

A Network of Institutions

Each ethnic group quickly established a network of institutions that supplied a sense of community and multiplied sources of communal assistance. Some immigrants simply reproduced those institutions that had been important to them in the Old Country. The devout established churches and synagogues. Lithuanian, Jewish, and Italian radicals reestablished Old World socialist and anarchist organizations. Irish nationalists set up clandestine chapters of the Clan Na Gael to keep alive the struggle to free Ireland from the English. Germans felt at home in their traditional *Turnevereins* (athletic clubs) and musical societies.

Immigrants developed new institutions as well. In the larger cities, foreign-language newspapers disseminated news, advice, and culture. Each ethnic group created fraternal societies to bring together immigrants who had known each other in the Old Country, or who shared the same craft, or who had come from the same town or region. Most of these societies provided members with a death benefit (ranging from a few hundred to a thousand dollars) that guaranteed the deceased a decent burial and the family a bit of cash. Some fraternal societies made small loans as well. Among those ethnic groups that prized home ownership, especially the Slavic groups, the fraternal societies also provided mortgage money. And all of them served as centers of sociability—places to have a drink, play cards, or simply relax with fellow countrymen. The joy, solace, and solidarity these groups generated helped countless immigrants adjust to American life.

The Emergence of an Ethnic Middle Class

Within each ethnic group, a sizable minority directed their talents and ambitions toward economic gain. Some of these entrepreneurs addressed their communities' needs for basic goods and services. Immigrants preferred to buy from fellow countrymen with whom they shared a language, a history, and presumably a bond of trust. Enterprising individuals responded by opening dry-goods stores, food shops, butcher shops, and saloons in their ethnic neighborhoods. Those who could not afford to rent a store hawked their fruit, clothing, or dry goods from portable stands, wagons, or sacks carried on their backs. The work was endless and the competition tough. Men often enlisted the entire family—wife, older children, younger children—in their undertakings. Few family members were ever paid for their labor, no matter how long or hard they worked. Although many of these small businesses failed, enough survived to give some immigrants and their children a toehold in the middle class.

Other immigrants turned to small industry, particularly garment manufacture, truck farming, and construction. A clothing manufacturer needed only a few sewing machines to become competitive. Many Jewish immigrants, having been tailors in Russia and Poland, opened such facilities. If a rented space proved beyond their means, they set up shop in their own apartments. Competition among these small

manufacturers was fierce, and critics condemned the work environments as "sweatshops." Workers suffered from inadequate lighting, heat, and ventilation; 12-hour workdays and 70-hour workweeks during peak seasons, with every hour spent bent over a sewing machine; and poor pay and no employment security, especially for the women and children who made up a large part of this labor force. Even at this level of exploitation, many small manufacturers failed; but over time, significant numbers of them managed to firm up their position as manufacturers and to evolve into stable, responsible employers. Their success contributed to the emergence of a Jewish middle class.

The story was much the same in urban construction, where Italians who had established themselves as labor contractors, or *padroni,* went into business for themselves to take advantage of the rapid expansion of American cities. Although few became general contractors on major downtown projects, many of them did well building family residences or serving as subcontractors on larger buildings.

One who did make the leap from small to big business was Amadeo P. Giannini, the son of Italian immigrants, who used his savings from a San Francisco fruit and vegetable stand to launch a career in banking. Determined to make bank loans available and affordable to people of ordinary means, Giannini generated a huge business in small loans. Expanding on his ethnic base of small depositors, he eventually made his bank—the Bank of America—into the country's largest financial institution.

In southern California, Japanese immigrants chose agriculture as their route to the middle class. Working as agricultural laborers in the 1890s, they began to acquire their own land in the early years of the 20th century. Altogether, they owned only 1 percent of California's total farm acreage. Their specialization in fresh vegetables and fruits (particularly strawberries), combined with their family-labor-intensive agricultural methods, was yielding $67 million in annual revenues by 1919—one-tenth of the total California agriculture revenue that year. Japanese farmers sold their produce to Japanese fruit and vegetable wholesalers in Los Angeles, who had chosen a mercantile route to middle-class status. The success of Japanese farmers was all the more impressive given that the state of California had passed the Alien Land Law in 1913, prohibiting Japanese and other Asian aliens from owning property in the state. Japanese immigrant farmers thus depended on their native-born children or friendly whites to acquire land for them, arrangements that made them more vulnerable to losing the land—or control of it—than if they had been able to own it outright themselves.

Each ethnic group created its own history of economic success and social mobility. From the emerging middle classes came leaders who would provide their ethnic groups with identity, legitimacy, and power and would lead the way toward Americanization and assimilation. Their children tended to do better in school than the children of working-class ethnics, and academic success served as a ticket to upward social mobility in a society that increasingly depended on university-trained engineers, managers, lawyers, doctors, and other professionals.

Political Machines and Organized Crime

The underside of this success story was the rise of government corruption and organized crime. Many ethnic entrepreneurs operated on the margins of economic failure and bankruptcy, and some accepted the help of those who

promised financial assistance. Sometimes the help came from honest unions and upright government officials, but other times it did not. Unions were generally weak, and some government officials, lacking experience and economic security, were susceptible to bribery. Economic necessity became a breeding ground for government corruption and greed. A contractor who was eager to win a city contract—to build a trolley system, a sewer line, or a new city hall, for example—would find it necessary to pay off government officials who could throw the contract his way. By 1900, such payments, referred to as "graft," had become essential to the day-to-day operation of government in most large cities. Graft, in turn, made local office holding a source of economic gain. Politicians began building political organizations called machines to guarantee their success in municipal elections. The machine "bosses" used a variety of legal and illegal means to bring victory on Election Day. They won the loyalty of urban voters—especially immigrants—by providing poor neighborhoods with paved roads and sewer systems. They helped newly arrived immigrants find jobs (often on city payrolls) and occasionally provided food, fuel, or clothing to families in need. Many of their clients were grateful for these services in an age when government provided little public assistance.

The bosses who ran the **political machines**—including "King Richard" Croker in New York, James Michael Curley in Boston, Tom Pendergast in Kansas City, Martin Behrman in New Orleans, and Abe Ruef in San Francisco—served their own needs first. They saw to it that construction contracts went to those who offered the most graft, not to those who were likely to do the best job. They protected gamblers, pimps, and other purveyors of urban vice who contributed large amounts to their machine coffers. They often required city employees to contribute to their campaign chests, to solicit political contributions, and to get out the vote on Election Day. And they engaged in widespread election fraud by rounding up truckloads of newly arrived immigrants and paying them to vote a certain way; having their supporters vote two or three times; and stuffing ballot boxes with the votes of phantom citizens who had died, moved away, or never been born.

Big-city machines, then, were both positive and negative forces in urban life. Reformers despised them for disregarding election laws and encouraging vice, but many immigrants valued them for providing social welfare services and for creating opportunities for upward mobility.

The history of President John F. Kennedy's family offers one example of the economic and political opportunities opened up by machine politics. Both of Kennedy's grandfathers, John Francis Fitzgerald ("Honey Fitz") and Patrick Joseph Kennedy, were the children of penniless Irish immigrants who arrived in Boston in the 1840s. Fitzgerald excelled at academics and won a coveted place in Harvard's Medical School but left Harvard that same year, choosing a career in politics instead. Between 1891 and 1905, Fitzgerald served as a Boston city councilor, Massachusetts state congressman and senator, U.S. congressman, and mayor of Boston. For much of this period, he derived considerable income and power from his position as the North End Ward boss, where he supervised the trading of jobs for votes and favors for cash in his section of Boston's Democratic and Irish-dominated political machine.

Patrick Kennedy, an East Boston tavern owner and liquor merchant, became an equally important figure in Boston city politics. In addition to running the

Democratic Party's affairs in Ward Two, he served on the Strategy Board, a secret council of Boston's machine politicians that met regularly to devise policies, settle disputes, and divide up graft. Both Fitzgerald and Kennedy derived a substantial income from their political work and used it to lift their families into middle-class prosperity. Kennedy's son (and the future president's father), Joseph P. Kennedy, would go on to make a fortune as a Wall Street speculator and liquor distributor and to groom his sons for Harvard and the highest political offices in the land. His rapid economic and social ascent had been made possible by his father's and father-in-law's earlier success in Boston machine politics.

Underworld figures, too, influenced urban life. In the early years of the 20th century, gangsterism was a scourge of Italian neighborhoods, where Sicilian immigrants had established outposts of the notorious Mafia, and in Irish, Jewish, Chinese, and other ethnic communities as well. Favorite targets of these gangsters were small-scale manufacturers and contractors, who were threatened with violence and economic ruin if they did not pay a gang for "protection." Gangsters imposed their demands with physical force, beating up or killing those who failed to abide by the "rules." In Chinese communities, secret societies originating in China, or *tongs,* and initially set up in America to strengthen communal life among the immigrants, occasionally crossed the line into crime. Sometimes this transition resulted from good intentions—for example, tong members might smuggle into the United States the wife and children of an immigrant Chinese man who had no legal way of reuniting his family—but other times, tongs became enmeshed in far more damaging criminal activities such as the opium trade, prostitution, and gambling.

Greedy for money, power, and fame, and willing to use any means necessary, many immigrant and ethnic criminals considered themselves authentic entrepreneurs cut from the American mold. By the 1920s, petty extortion had escalated in urban areas, and underworld crime had become big business. **Al Capone,** the ruthless Chicago mobster who made a fortune from gambling, prostitution, and bootleg liquor during Prohibition, once quipped: "Prohibition is a business. All I do is to supply a public demand. I do it in the best and least harmful way I can." New York City's Arnold Rothstein, whose financial sophistication won him a gambling empire and the power to fix the 1919 World Series, nurtured his reputation as "the J. P. Morgan of the underworld." Mobsters like Rothstein and Capone were charismatic figures, both in their ethnic communities and in the nation at large. Few immigrants, however, followed their criminal path to economic success.

African American Labor and Community

Unlike immigrants, African Americans remained a predominantly rural and southern people in the early 20th century. Most blacks were sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The markets for cotton and other southern crops had stabilized in the early 20th century, but black farmers remained vulnerable to exploitation. Landowners, most of them white, often forced sharecroppers to accept artificially low prices for their crops. At the same time, they charged high prices for seed, tools, and groceries at the local stores they controlled. Few rural areas generated enough business to support more than one store or to create a competitive climate that might force prices down. Those sharecroppers who traveled elsewhere to sell their crops or

purchase their necessities risked retaliation—either physical assaults by white vigilantes or eviction from their land. Thus, most remained beholden to their landowners, mired in poverty and debt.

Some African Americans sought a better life by migrating to industrial areas of the South and the North. In the South, they worked in iron and coal mines, in furniture and cigarette manufacture, as railroad track layers and longshoremen, and as laborers in the steel mills of Birmingham, Alabama. By the early 20th century, their presence was growing in the urban North as well, where they worked on the fringes of industry as janitors, elevator operators, teamsters, and servants of various kinds. Altogether, about 200,000 blacks left the South for the North and West between 1890 and 1910.

In southern industries, blacks were subjected to hardships and indignities that even the newest immigrants were not expected to endure. Railroad contractors in the South, for example, treated their black track layers like prisoners. Armed guards marched them to work in the morning and back at night. Track layers were paid only once a month and forced to purchase food at the company commissary, where the high prices claimed most of what they earned. Their belongings were locked up to discourage them from running away. Although other southern employers of black workers did not engage in labor practices as harsh as those of the railroad contractors, they still confined blacks to the dirtiest and most grueling jobs. The Jim Crow laws passed by every southern state legislature in the 1890s legalized this rigid separation of the black and white races (see Chapter 18).

The nation's worsening racial climate adversely affected the southern blacks who moved north, even though these migrants had moved to states that generally did not have Jim Crow laws. Northern industrialists generally refused to hire black migrants for manufacturing jobs, preferring the labor of European immigrants. Only when those immigrants went on strike did employers turn to African Americans. Black workers first gained a foothold in the Chicago meatpacking industry in 1904, when 28,000 immigrant packinghouse workers walked off their jobs. Employers hoped that the use of black strike-breakers would inflame racial tensions between white and black workers and thus undermine labor unity and strength.

African Americans who had long resided in northern urban areas also experienced intensifying discrimination in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1870, about one-third of the black men in many northern cities had been skilled tradesmen: blacksmiths, painters, shoemakers, and carpenters. Serving both black and white clients, these men enjoyed steady work and good pay, but by 1910 only 10 percent of black men made a living in this way. In many cities, the number of barber shops and food catering businesses owned by blacks also went into sharp decline, as did black representation in the ranks of restaurant and hotel waiters. These barbers, food caterers, and waiters had formed a black middle class whose livelihood depended on the patronage of white clients. By the early 20th century, this middle class was in decline, the victim of growing racism. Whites were no longer willing to engage the services of blacks, preferring to have their hair cut, beards shaved, and food prepared and served by European immigrants. The residential segregation of northern blacks also rose in these years, as whites excluded them from growing numbers of urban neighborhoods.

African Americans did not lack for resourcefulness. In urban areas of settlement, they laced their communities with the same array of institutions—churches,

fraternal insurance societies, political organizations—that solidified ethnic neighborhoods. A new black middle class arose consisting of ministers, professionals, and businesspeople who serviced the needs of their racial group. Black-owned real estate agencies, funeral homes, doctors' offices, newspapers, groceries, restaurants, and bars opened for business on the commercial thoroughfares of African American neighborhoods. Many businessmen had been inspired by the words of black educator Booker T. Washington, and specifically by his argument that blacks should devote themselves to self-help and self-sufficiency. **Madame C. J. Walker** offers one example of a black woman who built a lucrative business from the hair and skin lotions she devised and sold to black customers throughout the country. In many cities, African American real estate agents achieved significant wealth and power.

Nevertheless, entrepreneurial success remained a tougher task among African Americans than among immigrants. Black communities were often smaller and poorer than their white ethnic ones; economic opportunities were fewer, and black businessmen found it more difficult than their white ethnic counterparts to cultivate customers outside of their core community. Racial prejudice stood as an obstacle to black business success. Meanwhile, blacks were so marginalized in politics that they had little opportunity to gain power or wealth through holding political office or controlling a political machine. Thus the African American middle class remained smaller and more precarious than did its counterpart in ethnic communities, less able to lead the way toward affluence and assimilation.



A'Lelia Bundles/Walker Family Collection/www.madamecjwalker.com

Madame C. J. Walker. *This prominent African American entrepreneur, pictured here behind the wheel of her car, built a successful business selling hair and skin lotions to black customers throughout the country.*

Working-class and Commercial Culture

As much as the white elites and their middle-class allies attempted to impose a genteel order on city life, the city's vitality escaped such bounds. Most workers shared in a new culture of commercial entertainment that included dance halls, music halls, vaudeville theaters, nickelodeons (early storefront movie theaters), amusement parks, and ball parks. Storefront vaudeville theaters, for instance, began to advertise "cheap amusements" to a broad working public in the 1880s. With roots in such antebellum entertainments as minstrelsy, circuses, and dime museums, vaudeville shows offered a variety of miscellaneous short acts for only a dime: a typical show might include sentimental ballads, acrobats, soft-shoe dances, magicians, mind readers, one-act plays, blackface minstrelsy, sports stars from baseball or boxing, puppeteers, jugglers, and dancing bears. Not considered respectable middle-class fare at first, vaudeville became increasingly popular and eventually became a cross-class, national phenomenon.

Amusement parks such as Steeplechase Park at Coney Island, built in 1895, attracted a large working-class audience of men and women while soon also appealing to middle-class youth. Older middle-class commentators found the unchaperoned mingling of young men and women in an urban public space troubling, even shocking, but that loosening of restraint was what made Coney Island so pleasurable and exciting. A new kind of institution in American life, Coney Island was a structured world promoting gaiety and play, with dozens of rides and titillating attractions such as the "Blowhole Theater," whose jets of air blew women's skirts up. "Will she throw her arms around your neck and yell?" asked a sign for the "Cannon Coaster," providing its own answer: "Well, I guess, yes!"

The rides at Coney Island offered young men and women a temporary escape from their industrial working lives, yet ironically enough many of the rides themselves imitated the industrial workplace. The 1884 Switchback Railroad, for instance, an early precursor to the roller coaster, was directly inspired by the operation of gravity-powered coal cars in the shafts of coal mines. New innovations in technology and transportation found a pleasurable mirror at Coney Island and at the other amusement parks around the country that quickly sprang up in imitation.

While vaudeville theaters and amusement parks at first attracted a primarily working-class crowd of pleasure-seekers, they appealed to growing middle-class audiences as well. These cross-class populations were the ones drawn in such large numbers to the sights and sounds of the Midway at the 1893 Columbia Exposition, their attraction to commercial entertainment on that strip subverting the work of those elites who were attempting to impose "White City" notions of order and demeanor on America's city dwellers.

Popular Literature

Just as in the antebellum period, urban workers read a wide variety of dime novels (paperbacks that sold for a dime; see Chapter 10) and newspapers. Beginning in the 1860s and 1870s, a flourishing cheap literature reflected the presence of working women in the new industrial order: the popular 1871 story "Bertha the Sewing Machine Girl; or, Death at the Wheel," inspired many imitators and was staged as a popular play

NICKELODEONS IN MAJOR AMERICAN CITIES, 1910

Cities	Population	Nickelodeons (estimate)	Seating Capacity	Population per Seat
New York	4,338,322	450	150,000	29
Chicago	2,000,000	310	93,000	22
Philadelphia	1,491,082	160	57,000	26
St. Louis	824,000	142	50,410	16
Cleveland	600,000	75	22,500	27
Baltimore	600,000	83	24,900	24
San Francisco	400,000	68	32,400	12
Cincinnati	350,000	75	22,500	16
New Orleans	325,000	28	5,600	58

Source: Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), p. 46.

in New York City. Its author, Laura Jane Libbey, published more than 60 novels in the 1880s appealing to a working-class audience. Working women read a variety of romances as well, purchasing dime novels from newsstands and pushcarts in large cities. Featuring wealthy heroines or working women who discovered that by birth they were actually aristocrats, these romantic tales offered fantasies that—in imagination, at least—closed the gulf between the classes. Dime novels appealing to working-class men often told heroic stories of working-class manhood in which men overcame numerous obstacles to become the foremen or owners of factories. Such stories allowed a form of imagined compensation for the loss of independence men actually experienced as permanent wage earners.

If literature gestured toward the past, another form of commercial entertainment, the movies, pointed toward the future. Movies were well suited to poor city dwellers with little money, little free time, and little command of the English language. Initially, the movies cost only a nickel. The "nickelodeons" where they were shown were usually converted storefronts in working-class neighborhoods. Movies required little leisure time because at first they lasted only 15 minutes on average. Viewers with more time on their hands could stay for a cycle of two or three films (or for several cycles). And even non-English-speakers could understand what was happening on the "silent screen." By 1910, at least 20,000 nickelodeons dotted northern cities.

These early "moving pictures" were primitive by today's standards, but they were thrilling just the same. The figures appearing on the screen were "larger than life." Moviegoers could transport themselves to parts of the world they would otherwise never see, encounter people they would otherwise never meet, and watch boxing matches they could otherwise not afford to attend. The darkened theater provided a setting in which secret desires, especially sexual ones, could be explored. As one newspaper breathlessly commented in 1899: "For the first time in the history of the world it is possible to see what a kiss looks like."

No easy generalizations are possible about the content of these early films, more than half of which came from France, Germany, and Italy. American-made films tended toward slapstick comedies, adventure stories, and romances such as those generated by Buster Keaton and Fatty Arbuckle, two silent screen stars (see the *History Through Film* feature). Producers did not yet shy away, as they soon would, from the lustier or seedier sides of American life. The Hollywood formula of happy endings had yet to be worked out. In fact, the industry, centered in New York City and Fort Lee, New Jersey, had yet to locate itself in sunny southern California. In 1914, the movies' first sex symbol, Theda Bara, debuted in a movie that showed her tempting an upstanding American ambassador into infidelity and ruin. She would be the first of the big screen's vamps, so-called because the characters they portrayed, like vampires, thrived on the blood (and death) of men.

The New Sexuality and the Rise of Feminism

The appearance of the vamp was one sign that popular culture had become an arena in which Americans were beginning to experiment with more open expressions of sexuality. Another sign was the growing number of women who began insisting that they be accorded the same sexual freedom long enjoyed by men. This impulse was strongest among young, single, working-class women who were entering the workforce in large numbers and mixing at workplaces, in loosely supervised ways, with men their own age. The associations between young men and women that sprang up at work carried over into their leisure. Young people of both sexes flocked to the dance halls that were opening in every major city. They rejected the stiff formality of earlier ballroom dances such as the cotillion or the waltz for the freedom and intimacy of newer forms, such as the foxtrot, tango, and bunny-hug. They went to movies and to amusement parks together, and they engaged, far more than their parents had, in premarital sex. It is estimated that the proportion of women having sex before marriage rose from 10 to 25 percent in the generation that was coming of age between 1910 and 1920.

This movement toward sexual freedom was one expression of women's dissatisfaction with the restrictions that had been imposed on them by earlier generations. By the second decade of the 20th century, eloquent spokeswomen had emerged to make the case for full female freedom and equality. The author Charlotte Perkins Gilman called for the release of women from domestic chores through the collectivization of housekeeping. Social activist Margaret Sanger insisted in her lectures on birth control that women should be free to enjoy sexual relations without having to worry about unwanted motherhood. The anarchist Emma Goldman denounced marriage as a kind of prostitution and embraced the ideal of "free love"—love unburdened by contractual commitment. Alice Paul, founder of the National Women's Party, brought a new militancy to the campaign for woman suffrage (see Chapter 21).

These women were among the first to use the term **feminism** to describe their desire for complete equality with men. Some of them came together in Greenwich Village, a community of radical artists and writers in lower Manhattan, where they found a supportive environment in which to express and live by their feminist ideals. Crystal Eastman, a leader of the feminist **Greenwich Village** group called

History Through Film

Coney Island (1917)

Directed by Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle (uncredited). Starring Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle (Fatty), Buster Keaton (Rival), Alice Mann (Love Interest), Agnes Neilson (Fatty's Wife), and Al St. John (Old Friend).

Coney Island was one of the first silent films to feature a classic comedy duo: Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle and Buster Keaton. The two met through a mutual friend in New York City in 1917 and quickly struck up a silver-screen partnership. Arbuckle, already a silent movie star, and Keaton, a veteran of the vaudeville circuit, crafted a crude, slapstick tour de force of pratfalls, gags, and fights. It was the beginning of a popular style of comedy on film, the fat/skinny buddy pic, which would be recast in famous teams like Abbot and Costello, Laurel and Hardy, and to an extent, the Three Stooges.

Coney Island opens to images of Luna Park at night, brightly lit towers, luminescent avenues, mechanized roller coasters. Highlighting these modern inventions, the film showcases the technological innovations of the late 19th and early 20th century. Coney Island itself—its state-of-the-art rides (The Witching Waves, Chutes), its street vendors hawking ice cream and candy, its carnival-like, consumer-driven atmosphere—is one of the most prominent "characters" in the film. It is cast as having irresistible allure. Like the Midway Plaisance and in contrast to the White City, Coney Island sought to fill urban dwellers' leisure time with adventure and fun rather than with moral improvement.

At the beginning of the film, Buster Keaton's character watches a parade with his girlfriend (Alice Mann) before the two decide to enter Luna Park. When Keaton comes up short on the entry fee, his lady friend drops him for a man who has the admission cash (Al St. John). Meanwhile, Fatty sits, bored, on the beach with his dowdy wife, but he eventually sneaks away from her after burying himself in the sand to hide. For the rest of the film, Keaton, Arbuckle, and St. John vie for Mann's attention, punching and pranking each other in the process. Keaton eventually wins back Mann's affection, and Fatty and St. John swear off women altogether, until they spy another young lady and run after her.

The raucous style of physical comedy that dominates this film offers us a glimpse of the values then coursing their way through working-class commercial culture. The cinematic displays of informal association between men and women, of adventure and sexuality, had been inspired by behaviors that many young urban dwellers, including sizable numbers of immigrants, had themselves embraced. The film is notable, too, for the breadth of its attack on social conventions and authority figures. In the movie, no relationship is sacred (the primary narrative follows Fatty's attempts to cheat on his wife), no authority figure powerful (the inadequate and often thickly mustachioed Keystone Kops all end up locked in jail, knocked out cold), and no gender line firm (Fatty cross-dresses to disguise himself from his wife). While the assault on

Heterodoxy, defined the feminist challenge as "how to arrange the world so that women can be human beings, with a chance to exercise their infinitely varied gifts in infinitely varied ways, instead of being destined by the accident of their sex to one field of activity."



Fatty Arbuckle (center) getting clobbered by Buster Keaton (right) in a scene from Coney Island. *Their love interest, played by Alice Mann, looks on.*

Courtesy of Everett Collection

authority in the movie is presented in a hilarious style, it carries a more serious message: namely that working-class individuals were going to make their own way in the world. It is precisely these declarations of cultural independence that made urban elites and their middle-class allies so anxious about their ability to impose their own sense of order and morality on city life.

By the 1920s executives in the movie industry had taken steps to expunge Arbuckle-style antics from their films, and to make these art forms more suitable for refined middle-class audiences. Once decorum in the movies became the rule of the day, lords of cinematic anarchy, like Arbuckle, lost their footing. In fact, Arbuckle's career crashed in the twenties. In 1921, actress Virginia Rappe died four days after attending a bootleg liquor party at Fatty's San Francisco apartment. Arbuckle was accused of rape and was tried three times for manslaughter. Though eventually acquitted, his career as an actor never recovered. He died in 1933 of a heart attack at age 46. Buster Keaton, however, went on to become a successful actor, sharing the Hollywood limelight with the likes of Charlie Chaplin.

The movement for sexual and gender equality aroused considerable anxiety. Parents worried about the promiscuity of their children. Conservatives were certain that sexual assertiveness among women would transform American cities into dens of iniquity. Vice commissions sprang up in every major city to clamp down on

prostitution, drunkenness, and pornography. The campaign for prohibition—a ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages—gathered steam. Movie theater owners were pressured into excluding "indecent" films from their screens. Many believed lurid tales of international vice lords scouring foreign lands for innocent girls who could be delivered to American brothel owners. This "white slave trade" inspired passage of the 1910 Mann Act, which made the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes a federal crime (on the Mann Act, see Chapter 21).

Nor did it escape the attention of conservatives that Greenwich Village was home not only to the exponents of "free love" but also to advocates of class warfare. William "Big Bill" Haywood, leader of a newly-formed radical labor organization, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (see Chapter 21) frequented Greenwich Village. So, too, did IWW organizer and Heterodoxy member, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Flynn's lover, Carlo Tresca, was an IWW theoretician. When Greenwich Village radicals began publishing an avant-garde artistic journal in 1914, they called it *The Masses;* its editor was Max Eastman, the brother of Crystal. This convergence of labor and feminist militancy intensified conservative feeling that the nation had strayed too far from its roots.

Re-Imagining American Nationality

The large presence of immigrants in America also alarmed conservatives. Among the native-born middle and upper classes, the prevailing view was that immigrants should shed their ethnic backgrounds and become thoroughly American in speech, dress, and culture, and in their commitment to the principles of liberty and democracy. A refusal or inability to do so was increasingly interpreted by these conservative sectors of the population as marking the inferiority of the immigrant group in question or their unfitness for life in America. Such interpretations of immigrant behavior generated support for coercive Americanization campaigns and for legislation that would extend the ban on "undesirable" immigrant groups from East Asians to Eastern and Southern Europeans, West Asians, and Africans. In 1907, Congress established the Dillingham Commission to collect information on every immigrant group in America with an eye toward making a factual case for closing America's immigrant gates.

As these pressures mounted, immigrants began to fight back, some insisting that all immigrants had the capacity to become fully American, others declaring that America would be a better place if it made room for at least some of the diversity that immigrants had brought to American culture. In 1908, Israel Zangwill, an Anglo-Jewish writer, debuted his play, *The Melting-Pot,* on Broadway. The play's theme was that all immigrants, even those originating from Eastern Europe, could become the most successful and best of Americans. The play's protagonist, David Quixano, belongs to a Russian Jewish family that has been killed in Russian anti-Jewish riots. David alone survives and flees to New York City, where he is taken in by his uncle and his uncle's mother, both older souls who will never successfully adapt their lives to the rhythms of America. But David himself has the youth, drive, and desire to succeed. A talented musician, he seizes the opportunity that America gives him, writes a successful American symphony, marries the Gentile girl of his dreams, and becomes a proud American.

It mattered greatly to Zangwill, the playwright, that David's success grew out of his willingness to abandon his ethnic and religious past and to embrace America. Zangwill imagined an America in which all immigrants, or at least all immigrants from Europe, would succeed in similar ways, leaving behind their Old World cultures (and grievances) and melting together to form a new and vigorous nationality. The climactic moment in the play comes when Zangwill puts these words in David's mouth: "America is God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! ... Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American."

Zangwill was criticized at the time and by subsequent writers for believing that the shedding of one's Old World culture was both possible and desirable. But his celebration of the **melting pot** should not be understood as a simple-minded call for conformity of the sort that conservatives desired. Zangwill adhered to a dynamic conception of American nationality; the core of American culture, he believed, would change and become a different compound once varieties of immigrants had melted themselves and their cultures into it. Thus, even if the specific contributions of different immigrant cultures could not be precisely identified, they would nevertheless be present and influential. In such ways would the melting pot, as Zangwill imagined it, change and refresh American nationality.

Zangwill attracted prominent individuals to his point of view. President Theodore Roosevelt wrote Zangwill in 1908, after watching a performance of *The Melting-Pot,* that "I do not know when I have seen a play that stirred me as much." And President Woodrow Wilson declared in 1915 that America was "the only country in the world" that experiences a "constant and repeated rebirth." Wilson credited this rebirth to immigrants and to the contributions they had made to the "glory and majesty of a great country." In such ways did Zangwill's views resonate with prominent political figures who were beginning to identify themselves with reform.

Other immigrant thinkers were discomfited by the kind of melting that Zangwill had advocated. One of them was Horace Kallen, a German-Jewish immigrant, philosopher, and social critic. While an undergraduate at Harvard University in the first years of the 20th century, Kallen, along with fellow student Alain Locke (see Chapter 24), developed the doctrine of **cultural pluralism.** This doctrine called on America to become home to many cultures, not one; it argued against coercive assimilation and the melting pot and for the celebration of ethnic difference. Kallen believed that multiple cultures, if allowed to flourish in a democratic environment, would generate harmony not discord. In a famous 1915 article, "Democracy versus the Melting Pot," he imagined the American nation as an orchestra in which each ethnic group would have its own "theme and melody," contributing a distinctive part to the "symphony of [American] civilization."

The following year, another critic, the native-born Randolph Bourne, wrote an essay, "Trans-National America," in which he picked up on Kallen's insistence that immigrants be given a role in shaping culture in the United States. America, Bourne wrote in 1916, "shall be what the immigrant will have a hand in making it, and not what a ruling class, descendant of those British stocks which were the first permanent immigrants, decide[s] that America shall be." Bourne located America's uniqueness in the encounters that occurred between immigrant cultures on the one

hand and the nation's atmosphere of freedom and democracy on the other. This atmosphere permitted individuals from all kinds of groups, both immigrant and native-born, both to preserve their own cultures and to partake of others. Bourne believed that immigrants delighted in the process of cultural exchange that America's environment of freedom encouraged. He celebrated such exchanges, and the variety of identities that arose from them, as essential to the American ideal. Through this process of exchange, Bourne argued, individuals would share more and more of their cultures with each other and would, as a result, become more cooperative with others. These exchanges, too, would make immigrants patriotic, able to believe that they "may have a hand in the destiny of America." Such integration, cooperation, and patriotism would create a nationality superior, Bourne wrote, to any emerging from a "narrow 'Americanism' or forced chauvinism."

Bourne's ideal of American nationality, one he labeled **cosmopolitanism,** allowed for more variation and choice than did Kallen's, which viewed cultural expressions in America as arising almost exclusively from the traditions that immigrants had brought with them to the New World. For Bourne, the New World was much more about creating new cultural forms out of the mélange of peoples and cultures that inhabited America than it was about preserving old forms; unlike Zangwill, Bourne did not look forward to an America in which everyone had been melted into one shape. Bourne celebrated variety, and he shared with Kallen a belief that America's atmosphere of freedom and commitment to democracy would allow such variety to flourish here as it had in few other places.

Zangwill, Kallen, and Bourne all failed to grapple sufficiently with race and with the discrimination that America imposed on groups marked as racially different, especially African Americans. Their writings did not address the perniciousness of Jim Crow, nor did they acknowledge the reality of Chinese and Japanese exclusion. Nevertheless, these thinkers' reckoning with diversity in America was innovative. They were among the first to articulate in public forums arguments for diversity that were percolating among the masses of immigrants living in America and struggling to find ways to make this new land their home. Today, Kallen and Bourne in particular are seen as early exponents of what late-20th-century Americans would call "multiculturalism."

Like feminism, pluralism and cosmopolitanism generated anxiety in large stretches of America, especially in farming communities and small towns, and in the South, where industrialization and urbanization were proceeding at a slower rate than elsewhere. To these Americans, it seemed as though the cultures that immigrants were creating in cities were taking the nation too far from its Anglo-Saxon roots.

The urban elites who exercised considerable cultural power in America were also troubled by the immigrant masses and the urban cultures they were creating. Many of their members, long frustrated by the apparent immigrant preference for movies, amusement parks, and saloons over the "civilizing forces" of museums, libraries, and lectures, were not predisposed to find virtue in immigrant cultures. Nevertheless, change was beginning to occur in these elite circles, as the positive reactions of Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson to Zangwill's ideas of the melting pot indicate. Both Roosevelt and Wilson had begun to understand that American nationality might be strengthened by the infusion into it of new peoples and new cultures, and that the resulting hybridity might be superior to an imagined Anglo-Saxon purity. Jane Addams, an important urban reformer who increasingly traveled

in Roosevelt's and Wilson's political circles, ventured beyond where these two presidents were willing to go by acknowledging the importance of "immigrant gifts"—aspects of immigrant cultures that should be preserved even as immigrants assimilated into American nationality. Addams's concession to diversity was a small one, and she would continue to insist, across several decades of work with immigrants (see Chapter 21), on the importance of immigrant assimilation to American middle-class values and norms. Nevertheless, Addams's gesture was evidence that the peoples and cultures of the cities had begun to influence the ways in which broader circles of Americans thought about their nation.

Conclusion

By 1920, America's urban population outstripped its rural population for the first time in the country's history. Despite a political system that was chronically vulnerable to corruption, urban leaders found ways to build housing and infrastructure that enabled cities to address the demands placed on them by rapid growth. Through the invention of skyscrapers, elevators, electrified railroad and trolley lines, and sophisticated water systems, cities became centers of technological innovation. Urban elites wanted to make their cities centers of culture, too, and embarked on grand projects of architectural and landscape renovation to spread culture, civilization, and refinement through urban populations.

The gap between the elites and their cultural projects on the one hand and the lives of the urban masses on the other remained large, however. The numbers of new workers, many of them foreign born, arriving in cities was enormous. Their working and living conditions were often poor. Groups defined as racially different—African Americans, Chinese and Japanese immigrants, and even groups of southern and eastern European immigrants—suffered from prejudice as well. Every group could point to examples of economic success among their ranks, and, by the second decade of the 20th century, solid middle classes had emerged within them. Yet, majorities remained working-class, coming up short in their quest for equality and opportunity in America.

If economic success remained elusive, the new urban masses nevertheless demonstrated a spirit of creativity and independence that profoundly shaped urban culture. The culture emerging out of dance halls, amusement parks, and nickelodeons prized adventure rather than refinement, liberty rather than order, and diversity rather than conformity. Many urban dwellers thrived in this new environment. Working-class women discovered liberties in dress, employment, dating, and sex that they had not known and propelled feminism into being. Social critics began to imagine forms of American nationality that not only put immigrants on the same footing as the native born, but also that praised diversity as a central part of the American experience. Cities, meanwhile, acquired reputations for being innovative and as being places for forward-looking and independently minded Americans to settle.

This association of the cities with newness and difference only increased the cultural distance between them and the countryside. Within the cities, the popular culture of the immigrant masses also troubled urban elites and their middle-class allies. These cultural tensions had already begun to spill over into politics, shaping a new and important movement called *progressivism*.

21

PROGRESSIVISM

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Progressivism and the Protestant Spirit • Muckrakers and the Turn toward "Realism" • Settlement Houses and Women's Activism • Socialism • Municipal Reform • Reform in the States • A Campaign for Civil Rights • The Roosevelt Presidency • The Taft Presidency: Progressive Disappointment and Resurgence • The Wilson Presidency

PROGRESSIVISM was a reform movement that took its name from individuals who left the Republican Party in 1912 to join Theodore Roosevelt's new party, the Progressive Party. The term progressive, however, refers to a much larger and more varied group of reformers than those who gathered around Roosevelt in 1912.

As early as 1900, these reformers had set out to cleanse and reinvigorate an America whose politics and society they considered in decline. Progressives wanted to rid politics of corruption, tame the power of the "trusts," and in the process inject more liberty into American life. They fought against prostitution, gambling, drinking, and other forms of vice. They first appeared in municipal politics, organizing movements to oust crooked mayors and to break up local gas or streetcar monopolies. They carried their fights to the states and finally to the nation. Two presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, placed themselves at the head of this movement.

Progressivism was popular among a variety of groups who brought to the movement distinct, and often conflicting, aims. On one issue, however, most progressives agreed: the need for an activist government to right political, economic, and social wrongs. Some progressives wanted government to become active only long enough to clean up the political process, root out vice, upgrade the electorate, and break up trusts. These problems were so difficult to solve that many other progressives endorsed the notion of a permanently active government—with the power to tax income, regulate industry, protect consumers from fraud, empower workers, safeguard the environment, and provide social welfare. Many progressives, in other words, came to see the federal government as the institution best equipped to solve social problems.

Such positive attitudes toward government power marked an important change in American politics. Americans had long been suspicious of centralized government,

CHRONOLOGY

1889	Hull House established
1890–1904	All ex-Confederate states pass laws designed to disfranchise black voters ◆ Virtually all states adopt the Australian (secret) ballot
1900	La Follette elected governor of Wisconsin ◆ City commission plan introduced in Galveston, Texas
1901–1914	More than 1,000 African Americans lynched
1901	Johnson elected reform mayor of Cleveland ◆ McKinley assassinated; Roosevelt becomes president
1902	Direct primary introduced in Mississippi ◆ Initiative and referendum introduced in Oregon ◆ Roosevelt sides with workers in coal strike
1903	*McClure's Magazine* publishes Standard Oil exposé ◆ Federal court dissolves Northern Securities Company
1904	Roosevelt defeats Alton B. Parker for presidency
1905	National Forest Service established
1906	La Follette elected to U.S. Senate ◆ Congress passes Hepburn Act ◆ Upton Sinclair publishes *The Jungle* ◆ Congress passes Pure Food and Drug Act and Meat Inspection Act
1907	Reformer Hughes elected New York governor ◆ Financial panic shakes economy
1908	Taft defeats Bryan for presidency
1909	Congress passes Payne-Aldrich tariff bill
1910	Ballinger-Pinchot controversy ◆ NAACP founded ◆ Wilson elected governor of New Jersey
1911	National Urban League founded ◆ City manager plan introduced in Sumter, South Carolina ◆ Wisconsin Industrial Commission established ◆ Frederick Winslow Taylor publishes *The Principles of Scientific Management*
1912	Roosevelt forms Progressive Party ◆ Wilson defeats Roosevelt, Taft, and Debs for presidency
1913	16th (federal income tax) and 17th (direct election of U.S. senators) Amendments ratified ◆ Congress passes Underwood-Simmons Tariff ◆ Congress establishes Federal Reserve
1914	Congress establishes Federal Trade Commission ◆ Congress passes Clayton Antitrust Act
1916	Louis Brandeis appointed to Supreme Court ◆ Kern-McGillicuddy Act, Keating-Owen Act, and Adamson Act passed ◆ National Park Service formed ◆ National Women's Party founded
1919	18th Amendment (Prohibition) ratified
1920	19th Amendment (Woman Suffrage) ratified

viewing it as the enemy of liberty. The Populists had broken with that view (see Chapter 19), but they had been defeated. The progressives had to build a new case for strong government as the protector of liberty and equality.

Progressivism and the Protestant Spirit

Progressivism emerged first and most strongly among young, mainly Protestant, middle-class Americans who felt alienated from their society. Many had been raised in Protestant homes in which religious conviction had often been a spur to social action. They were expected to become ministers or missionaries or to serve their church in some other way. They had abandoned this path, but they never lost their zeal for righting moral wrongs and for uplifting the human spirit. They were distressed by the immorality and corruption in American politics and by the gap that separated rich from poor.

Other Protestant reformers retained their faith. This was true of William Jennings Bryan, the former Populist leader who became an ardent progressive and evangelical. Throughout his political career, Bryan insisted that Christian piety and American democracy were integrally related. Billy Sunday, a former major league baseball player who became the most theatrical evangelical preacher of his day, elevated opposition to saloons and the "liquor trust" into a righteous crusade. And Walter Rauschenbusch led a movement known as the Social Gospel, which emphasized the duty of Christians to work for the social good.

Protestants formed a large and diverse population, sizable sections of which showed little interest in reform. Thus it is important to identify smaller and more cohesive groups of reformers. Of the many that arose, three were of particular importance, especially in the early years: investigative journalists, who were called **"muckrakers"**; the founders and supporters of settlement houses; and socialists.

Muckrakers and the Turn toward "Realism"

The term *muckraker* was coined by Theodore Roosevelt, who had intended it as a criticism of newspaper and magazine reporters who, for no purpose other than monetary reward, wrote stories about scandalous situations. But the label became a badge of honor among journalists who were committed to exposing repugnant aspects of American life. Ida Tarbell revealed the shady practices by which John D. Rockefeller had transformed his Standard Oil Company into a monopoly. Lincoln Steffens unraveled the webs of bribery and corruption that were strangling local governments in the nation's cities. George Kibbe Turner documented the extent of prostitution and family disintegration in the ethnic ghettos of those cities. These muckrakers wanted to shock the public into recognizing the shameful state of political, economic, and social affairs and to prompt "the people" to take action.

The tradition of investigative journalism reached back at least to the 1870s, when newspaper and magazine writers exposed the corrupt practices of New York City's Boss Tweed and his Tammany Hall machine. The 20th-century rise of the muckrakers reflected two factors, one economic—expanded newspaper and magazine circulation—and the other intellectual—increased interest in **"realism."** Together they transformed investigative reporting into something of national importance.

From 1870 to 1909, daily newspapers rose in number from 574 to 2,600, and their circulation increased from less than 3 million to more than 24 million. During the first decade of the 20th century, the magazine revolution of the 1880s and 1890s (see Chapter 19) accelerated. Cheap, 10-cent periodicals such as *McClure's Magazine* and *Ladies' Home Journal,* with circulations of 400,000 to 1 million, began to displace genteel and relatively expensive 35-cent publications such as *Harper's* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. The expanded readership brought journalists considerably more money and prestige and attracted many talented and ambitious men and women to the profession. Wider circulation also made magazine publishers more receptive to stories that might appeal to their expanded readership.

The American middle class's growing intellectual interest in "realism" (see Chapter 19) also favored the muckrakers. "Realism" was a way of thinking that prized detachment, objectivity, and skepticism. Those who embraced it pointed out that constitutional theory, with its emphasis on citizenship, elections, and democratic procedures, had little to do with the way government in the United States actually worked. What could one learn about bosses, machines, and graft from studying the Constitution? Others argued that the glorification of the "self-made man" and of "individualism" was preventing Americans from coping effectively with the centrality of large-scale organizations—corporations, banks, labor unions—to the economy. The realists, finally, criticized the tendency of American writers and artists to emulate European styles, calling instead for styles that would more accurately render American life and thought.

By the first decade of the 20th century, intellectuals and artists were attempting to create truer, more realistic ways of representing and analyzing American society. They brought shadowy figures vividly to life: the captain of industry who ruthlessly destroyed his competitors; the con artist who tricked young people new to city life; the innocent immigrant girl who fell prey to the white slave traders; the corrupt policeman under whose protection urban vice flourished.

A large middle class, uneasy about the state of American society, applauded the muckrakers for telling these stories and began trumpeting the virtues of reform. Members of this class pressured city and state governments to send crooked government officials to jail and to stamp out the sources of corruption and vice. Between 1902 and 1916, more than 100 cities launched investigations of the prostitution trade. The federal government, meanwhile, began to raise questions about "the trusts"—large corporations that had amassed overwhelming economic power. Progressivism began to crystallize into a political movement centered on the abuses the muckrakers had exposed.

Settlement Houses and Women's Activism

Established by middle-class reformers, settlement houses were intended to help the largely immigrant urban poor cope with the harsh conditions of city life. Much of the inspiration for settlement houses came from young, college-educated, Protestant women from middle-class homes. Some had imbibed a commitment to social justice from parents and grandparents who had fought to abolish slavery. They rebelled against being relegated solely to the roles of wife and mother and sought to assert their independence in socially useful ways.

Hull House

Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr established the nation's first settlement house in Chicago in 1889. The two women had been inspired by a visit the year before to London's Toynbee Hall, where a small group of middle-class men had been living and working with that city's poor since 1884. Addams and Starr bought a decaying mansion that had once been the country home of a prominent Chicagoan, Charles J. Hull. By 1889, **"Hull House"** stood amidst factories, churches, saloons, and tenements inhabited by poor, largely foreign-born working-class families.

Addams quickly emerged as the guiding spirit of Hull House. She moved into the building and demanded that all who worked there do the same. She and Starr enlisted extraordinary women such as Florence Kelley, Alice Hamilton, and Julia Lathrop. They set up a nursery for the children of working mothers, a penny savings bank, and an employment bureau, soon followed by a baby clinic, a neighborhood playground, and social clubs. Determined to minister to cultural as well as economic needs, Hull House sponsored an orchestra, reading groups, and a lecture series. Members of Chicago's widening circle of reform-minded intellectuals, artists, and politicians contributed their energies to the enterprise. John Dewey taught philosophy, and Frank Lloyd Wright lectured on architecture. Clarence Darrow, the workingman's lawyer, and Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago's radical muckraker, spent considerable time at Hull House. In 1893, Illinois Governor John P. Altgeld named Hull House's Florence Kelley as the state's chief factory inspector. Her investigations led to Illinois's first factory law, which prohibited child labor, limited the employment of women to eight hours a day, and authorized the state to hire inspectors to enforce the law.

Julia Lathrop used her appointment to the State Board of Charities to agitate for improvements in the care of the poor, the handicapped, and the delinquent. With Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge, she established the Department of Social Research at the University of Chicago (which would evolve into the nation's first school of social work). Alice Hamilton, who had overcome gender discrimination to become a doctor, pioneered in the field of public health.

Hull House leaders did not command the instant fame accorded the muckrakers. Nevertheless, they were steadily drawn into the public arena. Thousands of women across the country were inspired to build their own settlement houses on the Hull House model (eventually more than 400 settlement houses would open nationwide). By 1910, Jane Addams had become one of the nation's most famous women. She and other settlement house workers played a critical role in fashioning the progressive agenda and in drafting pieces of progressive legislation.

The Cultural Conservatism of Progressive Reformers

In general, settlement house workers were more sympathetic toward the poor, the illiterate, and the downtrodden than the muckrakers were. Although she disapproved of machine politics, Jane Addams saw firsthand the benefits that machine politicians delivered to their constituents. She respected the cultural inheritance of the immigrants and admired their resourcefulness. Although she wanted them to become Americans, she encouraged them to integrate their "immigrant

gifts" into their new identities. Those attitudes were more liberal than those of other reformers, who considered many immigrants to be culturally, even racially, inferior.

But there were limits even to Addams's sympathy for the immigrants. She disapproved of the new working-class entertainments that gave adolescents extensive and unregulated opportunities for intimate association. She was also troubled by the emerging sexual revolution (see Chapter 20). Addams tended to equate female sexuality with prostitution, and she joined many other women reformers in a campaign to suppress both. Addams and others had identified a serious problem in American cities, where significant numbers of immigrant and rural women new to urban life were lured into prostitution or chose it as a job preferable to 65 poorly paid hours per week in a sweatshop.

The reformers' zeal on this matter, however, exaggerated the dimensions of the problem and led to some questionable legislation, such as the Mann Act (1910), which made it illegal to transport a woman across state lines "for immoral



Brown Brothers

Jane Addams. *The founder of the settlement house movement, Addams was the most famous woman reformer of the progressive era. This photograph dates from the 1890s or 1900s, Hull House's formative period.*

purposes." If this law permitted the prosecution of true traffickers in women, it also allowed the government to interfere in the private sexual relations of consenting adults. This is what happened in the case of Jack Johnson, the African American heavyweight boxing champion, who was arrested and convicted for "transporting" his white secretary, Lucy Cameron, across state lines (see the History through Film feature 726). That Johnson and Cameron's relationship was consensual and would culminate in marriage did not deter the authorities, who wanted to punish Johnson for his dominance of white boxers and his relationship with a white woman.

The cultural conservatism evident in the attitudes of Jane Addams and others on female sexuality also emerged in their attitudes toward alcohol. Drinking rivaled prostitution as a problem in poor, working-class areas. Many men wasted their hard-earned money on drinks at the local saloon, a drain on meager family resources that created tension between these men and their wives. Domestic fights and family violence sometimes ensued. Settlement house workers were well aware of the ill effects of alcoholism (250 saloons did business in Chicago's 19th Ward alone) and sought to combat it. They called on working people to refrain from drinking and pushed legislation that would shut down the saloons. The progressives joined forces with the Women's Christian Temperance Union (245,000 members strong by 1911) and the Anti-Saloon League. By 1916, through their collective efforts, these groups had won prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages in 16 states. In 1919, their crowning achievement was the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, making prohibition the law of the land (see Chapter 23).

In depicting alcohol and saloons as unmitigated evils, however, the prohibition movement ignored the role saloons played in ethnic, working-class communities. On Chicago's South Side, for example, saloons provided thousands of workers with the only decent place to eat lunch. The meatpacking plants where they labored had no cafeterias, and few workers could stomach eating their lunch where animals were slaughtered, dressed, and packed. Some saloons catered to particular ethnic groups: They served traditional foods and drinks, provided meeting space for fraternal

Women Enrolled in Institutions of Higher Education, 1870–1930

Year	Women's Colleges (thousands of students)	Coed Institutions (thousands of students)	Total (thousands of students)	Percentage of All Students Enrolled
1870	6.5	4.6	11.1	21.0%
1880	15.7	23.9	39.6	33.4%
1890	16.8	39.5	56.3	35.9%
1900	24.4	61.0	85.4	36.8%
1910	34.1	106.5	140.6	39.6%
1920	52.9	230.0	282.9	47.3%
1930	82.1	398.7	480.8	43.7%

Source: From Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 46.

organizations, and offered camaraderie to men longing to speak in their native tongue. Saloonkeepers sometimes functioned as informal bankers, cashing checks and making small loans. Not surprisingly, many immigrants shunned the prohibition movement.

A Nation of Clubwomen

Settlement house workers comprised only one part of a vast network of female reformers. Hundreds of thousands of women belonged to local women's clubs. Conceived in the 1860s and 1870s as self-help organizations in which women would be encouraged to sharpen their minds, refine their domestic skills, and strengthen their moral faculties (see Chapter 19), these clubs, by 1900, began taking on tasks of social reform. Clubwomen typically focused their energies on improving schools, building libraries and playgrounds, expanding educational and vocational opportunities for girls, and securing fire and sanitation codes for tenement houses. In so doing, they made traditional female concerns—the nurturing and education of children, the care of the home—questions of public policy.

Clubwomen rose to prominence in black communities, too, and addressed similar sorts of issues; on matters of sexuality and alcohol, they often shared the conservative sentiments of white clubwomen. Some groups of black clubwomen ventured into community affairs more boldly than their white counterparts, especially in southern states, where black men were being stripped of the right to vote, to serve on juries, and to hold political office. Whites were prepared to punish any African American, male or female, who showed too much initiative or was thought to be challenging the principles of white supremacy. Many black female activists persevered in the face of such threats, determined to provide leadership in their communities and voice their people's concerns.

Socialism

In the early 20th century, **socialism** stood for the transfer of control over big businesses from the capitalists who owned them to the laboring masses who worked in them. Socialists believed that such a transfer, usually defined in terms of government ownership and operation of corporations, would make it impossible for wealthy elites to control society.

The Socialist Party of America, founded in 1901, became a political force during the first 20 years of the century, and socialist ideas influenced progressivism. In 1912, at the peak of its influence, the Socialist Party enrolled more than 115,000 members. Its presidential candidate, the charismatic **Eugene Victor Debs** of Terre Haute, Indiana, attracted almost a million votes—6 percent of the total votes cast that year. In that same year, 1,200 Socialists held elective office in 340 different municipalities. Of these, 79 were mayors of cities as geographically and demographically diverse as Schenectady, New York; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Butte, Montana; and Berkeley, California. More than 300 newspapers and periodicals, with a combined circulation exceeding 2 million, spread the socialist gospel. The most important socialist publication was *Appeal to Reason,* published by Julius Wayland from Kansas and sent out each week to 750,000 subscribers. In 1905, Wayland published, in serial form, a novel by an obscure muckraker named Upton Sinclair, which depicted the scandalous working conditions in Chicago's meatpacking industry. When it was later

published in book form in 1906, *The Jungle* created such an outcry that the federal government was forced to regulate the meat industry.

The Several Faces of Socialism

Socialists came in many varieties. In Milwaukee, they consisted of predominantly German working-class immigrants and their descendants; in New York City, their numbers were strongest among Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. In the Southwest, tens of thousands of disgruntled native-born farmers who had been Populists in the 1890s now flocked to the socialist banner. In the West, socialism was popular among miners, timber cutters, and others who labored in isolated areas where industrialists possessed extraordinary power over work, politics, and community life. These westerners gravitated to the militant labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which found a home in the Socialist Party from 1905 to 1913.

The IWW was the most radical socialist group. Unlike conventional labor unions such as the American Federation of Labor (see Chapter 19), the IWW refused to sign collective bargaining agreements with employers, arguing that such agreements only trapped workers in capitalist property relations. Capitalism had to be overthrown through struggles between workers and their employers. Although hundreds of thousands of workers passed through its ranks or participated in its strikes, the IWW's membership rarely exceeded 20,000. Nevertheless, the IWW acquired a national reputation by organizing the poorest and most isolated workers and leading them in strikes against employers who were unaccustomed to having their authority challenged. Violence lurked beneath the surface of these strikes and occasionally erupted in bloody skirmishes between strikers and police, National Guardsmen, or the private security forces hired by employers.

Mainstream socialists, led by Debs, shared the IWW's desire to end capitalism but wanted to work within rather than outside American political, cultural, and religious traditions. Debs and his followers saw themselves as the saviors of the American republic—as the true heirs of Thomas Jefferson. Their confidence that the nation could be redeemed through conventional politics—through the election of socialists to office and ultimately to the presidency itself—is evidence of their belief in American democracy. And their faith in redemption reveals the degree to which Protestant religious beliefs underlay their quest for social justice and what they called a "cooperative commonwealth." Other socialists, led by Victor Berger of Milwaukee, abandoned talk of radicalism altogether and chose instead an aggressive brand of reform politics. They were dubbed "gas and water socialists" because of their interest in improving city services.

The differences among the socialists would, after 1912, fragment their movement. For a decade or so, however, these divergent groups managed to coexist in a single political party, thanks largely to the leadership of Debs. When he was released from a Chicago jail in 1895 after serving time for his role in the strike against the Pullman Company (see Chapter 19), Debs declared to a gathering of 100,000 admirers:

> Manifestly the spirit of 76 still survives. The fires of liberty and noble aspirations are not yet extinguished.... The vindication and glorification of American principles of government, as proclaimed to the world in the Declaration of Independence, is the high purpose of this convocation.

Socialists and Progressives

Debs' speeches both attracted and disturbed progressives. On the one hand, he spoke compellingly about the dangers of unregulated capitalism and excessively concentrated wealth, both progressive concerns. His confidence that a strong state could bring the economic system under control mirrored the progressives' own faith in the positive uses of government. Progressives often worked hand-in-hand with socialists to win economic and political reforms, especially at the municipal and state levels, and many intellectuals—including John Dewey, Richard Ely, and Thorstein Veblen—and reformers easily moved back and forth between socialism and progressivism. So did Helen Keller, the country's leading spokesperson for the disabled.

On the other hand, Debs's radicalism scared progressives, as did his efforts to organize a working-class political movement independent of middle-class involvement or control. Although progressives wanted to tame capitalism, they stopped short of wanting to eliminate it. They wanted to improve working and living conditions for the masses but not cede political control to them. The progressives hoped to offer a political program with enough reform elements to counter the appeal of Debs's more radical movement. In this, they were successful.



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Helen Keller, Labor Activist. *Best known for her work in calling attention to the rights and needs of disabled Americans, Keller also agitated on behalf of America's workers. Here she stiffens the resolve of actors on strike against a New York City opera house. Her companion, Anne Sullivan Macy, stands to her right, serving as Keller's interpreter.*

Municipal Reform

Progressive-era reform battles first erupted over control of municipal transportation networks and utilities. Private corporations typically owned and operated street railways and electrical and gas systems. Many of the corporations used their monopoly power to charge exorbitant fares and rates, and they often won that power by bribing city officials who belonged to one of the political machines. Corporations achieved generous reductions in real estate taxes in the same way.

The attack on private utilities and their protectors in city government gained momentum in the mid-1890s. In Detroit, reform-minded mayor Hazen S. Pingree led successful fights to control the city's gas, telephone, and trolley companies. In Chicago in 1896 and 1897, a group of middle-class reformers ousted a corrupt city council and elected a mayor, Carter Harrison, Jr., who promised to protect Chicago's streetcar riders from exploitation. In Cleveland, the crusading reformer Tom Johnson won election as mayor in 1901, curbed the power of the streetcar interests, and brought honest and efficient government to the city.

Occasionally, a reform politician of Johnson's caliber would rise to power through one of the regular political parties. But this path to power was a difficult one, especially in cities where the political parties were controlled by machines. Consequently, progressives worked for reforms that would strip the parties of their power. Two of their favorite reforms were the city commission and the city manager forms of government.

The City Commission Plan

First introduced in Galveston, Texas, in 1900, in the wake of a devastating tidal wave, the city commission shifted municipal power from the mayor and his aldermen to five city commissioners, each responsible for a different department of city government. In Galveston and elsewhere, the impetus for this reform came from civic-minded businessmen who were determined to rebuild government on the principles of efficient and scientific management that had energized the private sector. The results were often impressive. The Galveston commissioners restored the city's credit after a brush with bankruptcy, improved the city's harbor, and built a massive seawall to protect the city from future floods. They accomplished all of this on budgets that had been cut by one-third. By 1913, more than 300 cities, most of them small to middling in size, had adopted the city commission plan.

The City Manager Plan

The city commission system did not always work to perfection, however. Sometimes the commissioners used their position to reward electoral supporters with jobs and contracts; other times, they pursued power and prestige for their respective departments. The city manager plan was meant to overcome such problems. Under this plan, the commissioners continued to set policy, but policy implementation now rested with a "chief executive." This official, who was not elected but appointed by the commissioners, would curtail rivalries among commissioners and ensure that no outside influences interfered with the impartial, businesslike management of the city. The job of city manager was explicitly modeled after that of a corporation executive. First introduced in Sumter, South Carolina, in 1911 and then in Dayton, Ohio, in 1913, by 1919 the city manager plan had spread to 130 cities.

The Costs of Reform

Although these reforms limited corruption and improved services, they were not universally popular. Poor and minority voters, in particular, saw their influence in local affairs weakened by the shift to city commissioners and city managers. Previously, candidates for municipal office (other than the mayor) competed in ward elections rather than in citywide elections. Voters in working-class wards commonly elected workingmen to represent them, and voters in immigrant wards made sure that fellow ethnics represented their interests on city councils. Citywide elections diluted the strength of these constituencies. Candidates from poor districts often lacked the money needed to mount a citywide campaign, and they were further hampered by the nonpartisan nature of such elections. Denied the support of a political party or platform, they had to make themselves personally known to voters throughout the city. That was a much easier task for the city's "leading citizens"—manufacturers, merchants, and lawyers—than it was for workingmen. In Dayton, the percentage of citizens voting Socialist rose from 25 to 44 percent in the years following the introduction of the commission manager system, but the number of Socialists elected to office declined from five to zero. Progressive political reforms thus frequently reduced the influence of radicals, minorities, and the poor in elections.

Reform in the States

As at the local level, political parties at the state level were often dominated by corrupt politicians who did the bidding of powerful private lobbies. In New Jersey in 1903, for example, industrial and financial interests, working through the Republican Party machine, controlled numerous appointments to state government, including the chief justice of the state supreme court, the attorney general, and the commissioner of banking and insurance. Such webs of influence ensured that New Jersey would provide large corporations such as the railroads with favorable political and economic legislation.

Restoring Sovereignty to "the People"

Progressives introduced reforms designed to undermine the power of party bosses, restore sovereignty to "the people," and encourage honest, talented individuals to enter politics. One such reform was the direct primary, a mechanism that enabled voters, rather than party bosses, to choose party candidates. Mississippi introduced this reform in 1902 and Wisconsin in 1903. By 1916, all but three states had adopted the direct primary. Closely related was a movement to strip state legislatures of their power to choose U.S. senators. State after state enacted legislation that permitted voters to choose Senate candidates in primary elections. In 1912, a reluctant U.S. Senate was obliged to approve the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, mandating the direct election of senators. The state legislatures ratified this amendment in 1913.

Populists had first proposed direct election of U.S. senators in the 1890s; they also proposed the **initiative** and the **referendum,** both of which were adopted first by Oregon in 1902 and then by 18 other states between 1902 and 1915. The initiative allowed reformers to put legislative proposals before voters in general elections without having to wait for state legislatures to act. The referendum gave voters the right in general elections to repeal an unpopular act that a state legislature had

passed. Less widely adopted but important nevertheless was the **recall,** a device that allowed voters to remove from office public servants who had betrayed their trust. As a further control over the behavior of elected officials, numerous states enacted laws that regulated corporate campaign contributions and restricted lobbying activities in state legislatures. These laws neither eliminated corporate privilege nor destroyed the power of machine politicians. Nevertheless, they made politics more honest and strengthened the influence of ordinary voters.

Creating a Virtuous Electorate

Progressive reformers focused as well on creating a responsible electorate that understood the importance of the vote and that resisted efforts to manipulate elections. To create this ideal electorate, reformers had to see to it that all of those citizens who were deemed virtuous could cast their votes free of coercion and intimidation. At the same time, reformers sought to disfranchise citizens who were considered irresponsible and corruptible. In pursuing these goals, progressives substantially altered the composition of the electorate and strengthened government regulation of voting. As a result, progressives enlarged the electorate by extending the right to vote to women; but they also either initiated or tolerated laws that barred large numbers of minority and poor voters from the polls.

The Australian Ballot

Government regulation of voting had begun in the 1890s, when virtually every state adopted the **Australian ballot (secret ballot).** This reform required voters to vote in private rather than in public. It also required the government, rather than political parties, to print the ballots and supervise the voting. Before this time, each political party had printed its own ballot with only its candidates listed. At election time, each party mobilized its loyal supporters. Party workers offered liquor, free meals, and other bribes to entice voters to the polls and to "persuade" them to cast the party ballot. Because the ballots were cast in public, few voters who had accepted gifts of liquor and food dared to cross watchful party officials. Critics argued that the system corrupted the electoral process. They also pointed out that it made "ticket splitting"—dividing one's vote between candidates of two or more parties—virtually impossible.

The Australian ballot solved these problems. Although it predated progressivism, it embodied the progressives' determination to use government power to encourage citizens to cast their votes responsibly and wisely.

Personal Registration Laws

That same determination was apparent in the progressives' support for the personal registration laws that virtually every state passed between 1890 and 1920. These laws allowed prospective voters to register to vote only if they appeared at a designated government office with proper identification. Frequently, these laws also mandated a certain period of residence in the state before registration and a certain interval between registration and actual voting.

Personal registration laws were meant to disfranchise citizens who showed no interest in voting until Election Day, when a party worker arrived with a few dollars and offered a free ride to the polls. However, they also excluded many hardworking, responsible, poor people who wanted to vote but had failed to register, either

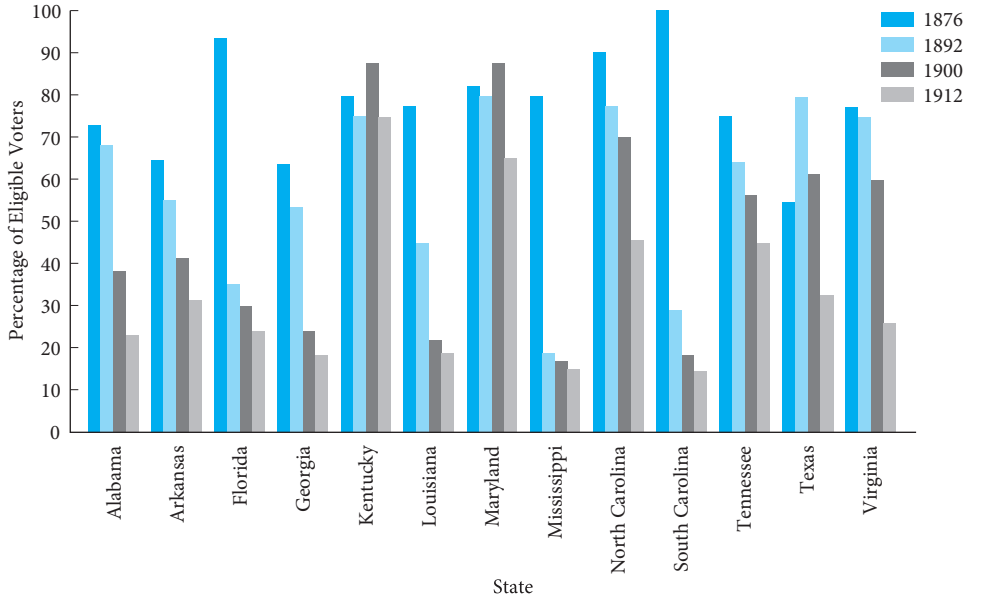
because their work schedules made it impossible or because they were intimidated by the complex regulations. The laws were particularly frustrating for immigrants with limited knowledge of English.

Disfranchisement

Progressives also promoted election laws expressly designed to keep noncitizen immigrants from voting. In the 1880s, 18 states had passed laws allowing immigrants to vote without first becoming citizens. Progressives reversed this trend. At the same time, the newly formed Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization (1906) made it more difficult to become a citizen. Applicants for citizenship now had to appear before a judge, who interrogated them, in the English language, on American history and civics. In addition, immigrants were required to provide two witnesses to vouch for their "moral character" and their "attachment to the principles of the Constitution." Finally, immigrants had to swear (and, if necessary, prove) that they were not anarchists or polygamists and that they had resided continuously in the United States for five years.

Most progressives defended the added rigor of the process. U.S. citizenship, they believed, carried responsibilities; it was not to be bestowed lightly. This position was understandable, given the electoral abuses progressives had exposed. Nevertheless, the reforms also denied the vote to a large proportion of the population. In cities and towns where immigrants dominated the workforce, the numbers of registered voters fell steeply. Nowhere was exclusion more startling than in the South, where between 1890 and 1904, every ex-Confederate state passed laws designed to strip blacks of their right to vote. Because laws explicitly barring blacks from voting would have violated the 15th Amendment, this exclusion had to be accomplished indirectly—through literacy tests, property qualifications, and poll taxes mandated by the legislatures of the ex-Confederate states. Any citizen who failed a reading test, or who could not sign his name, or who did not own a minimum amount of property, or who could not pay a poll tax, lost his right to vote. The citizens who failed these tests most frequently were blacks—who formed the poorest and least educated segment of the southern population—but a large segment of the region's poor whites also failed the tests. The effects of **disfranchisement** were stark. In 1900, only 1,300 blacks voted in Mississippi elections, down from 130,000 in the 1870s. Virginia's voter turnout dropped from 60 percent of adult men (white and black) in 1900 to 28 percent in 1904.

Many progressives in the North, such as Governor Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, criticized southern disfranchisement. Some, including Jane Addams and John Dewey, joined in 1910 with W. E. B. Du Bois and other black reformers to found the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP),** an interracial political organization that made black equality its primary goal. In the South, however, white progressives rarely challenged disfranchisement, and most had little difficulty justifying it. Because progressives everywhere considered the right to vote a precious gift granted only to those who could handle its responsibilities, they equally believed that it must be withheld from people who were deemed racially or culturally unfit. Progressives in the North excluded many immigrants on just those grounds. Progressives in the South saw the disfranchisement of African Americans in the same light.



Voter Participation in 13 Southern States, 1876, 1892, 1900, 1912

Source: Data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1989).

Disillusionment with the Electorate

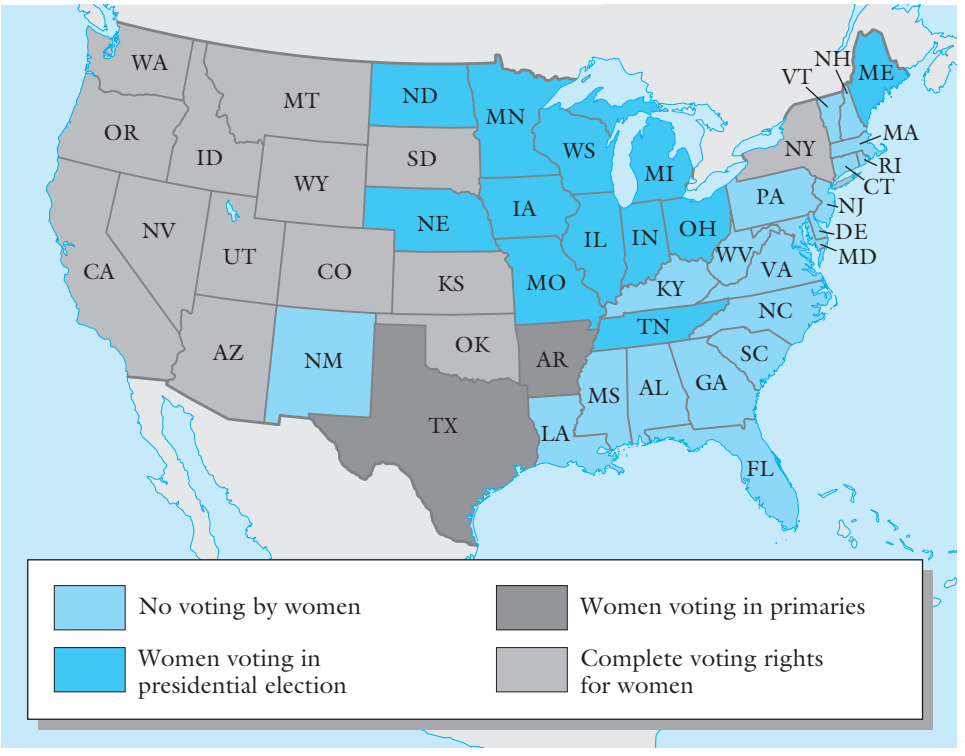
In the process of identifying those groups as "unfit" to hold the franchise, some progressives soured on the electoral process altogether. The more they looked for rational and virtuous voters, the fewer they found. The growing disillusionment with the electorate, in combination with intensifying restrictions on the franchise, created an environment in which fewer and fewer Americans actually went to the polls. Voter participation rates fell from 79 percent in 1896 to only 49 percent in 1920.

Woman Suffrage

The major exception to this trend was the enfranchisement of women. This momentous reform was adopted by several states during the 1890s and the first two decades of the 20th century and became federal law with the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution in 1920.

Launched in 1848 at the famous Seneca Falls convention (see Chapter 12), the women's rights movement floundered in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1890, suffragists came together in a new organization, the **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA),** led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Thousands of young, college-educated women campaigned door-to-door, held impromptu rallies, and pressured state legislators.

Wyoming, which attained statehood in 1890, became the first state to grant women the right to vote, followed in 1893 by Colorado and in 1896 by Idaho and Utah. The main reason for success in these sparsely populated western states was not



MAP 21.1 Woman Suffrage Before 1920

This map illustrates how woman suffrage prior to 1920 had advanced furthest in the West.

egalitarianism but rather the conviction that women's supposedly gentler and more nurturing nature would tame and civilize the men who had populated the frontier.

Earlier generations had insisted that women were fundamentally equal to men, but the new suffragists argued that women were different from men. Women, they stressed, possessed a moral sense and a nurturing quality that men lacked. Consequently, they understood the civic obligations implied by the franchise and could be trusted to vote virtuously. Their votes would hasten to completion the progressive task of cleansing the political process of corruption. Their experience as mothers and household managers, moreover, would enable them to guide local and state governments in efforts to improve education, sanitation, family wholesomeness, and the condition of women and children in the workforce. In other words, the enfranchisement of women would enhance the quality of both public and private life without insisting that members of the female sex were the equals of men in all respects.

Suffragists were slow to ally themselves with blacks, Asians, and other disfranchised groups. In fact, many suffragists, especially those in the South and West, opposed the franchise for Americans of color. They, like their male counterparts, believed that members of these groups lacked moral strength and thus did not deserve the right to vote. Unlike the suffrage pioneers of the 1840s and 1850s, many progressive-era suffragists were little troubled by racial discrimination and injustice.

Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona followed the lead of the other western states by enfranchising women between 1910 and 1912. After a series of setbacks in eastern and midwestern states, the movement regained momentum under the leadership of the strategically astute Carrie Chapman Catt, who became president of NAWSA in 1915 and successfully coordinated myriad grassroots campaigns. Equally important was Alice Paul, a radical who founded the Congressional Union in 1913 and later renamed it the National Woman's Party. Paul and her supporters focused their attention on the White House, picketing President Wilson's home 24 hours a day, brandishing large posters that chastised him for abandoning his democratic principles, and daring the police to arrest them. Several suffrage demonstrators were jailed, where they continued their protests by going on hunger strikes (refusing to eat). Aided by a heightened enthusiasm for democracy generated by America's participation in the First World War (see Chapter 23), which generated a more positive popular response to Paul's tactics than might otherwise have been the case, the suffragists achieved their goal of universal woman suffrage in 1920.

Predictions that suffrage for women would radically alter politics turned out to be false. The political system was neither cleansed of corruption, nor did the government rush headlong to address the private needs of women and their families. Although the numbers of voters increased after 1920, voter participation rates continued to decline. Still, the extension of the vote to women, 144 years after the founding of the nation, was a major political achievement.

Robert La Follette and Wisconsin Progressivism

In some states, progressives extended reform efforts well beyond political parties and the electorate. Progressives also fought to limit corporate power, strengthen organized labor, and offer social welfare protection to the weak. Many state governments were pressured into passing such legislation by progressive alliances of middle-class and working-class reformers and by dynamic state governors.

Nowhere did the progressives' campaign for social reform flourish as it did in Wisconsin. The movement arose first in the 1890s, in hundreds of Wisconsin cities and towns, as citizens began to mobilize against the state's corrupt Republican Party and the special privileges the party had granted to private utilities and railroads. These reform-minded citizens came from varied backgrounds. They were middle class and working class, urban and rural, male and female, intellectual and evangelical, Scandinavian Protestant and German Catholic. Wisconsin progressivism had already gained considerable momentum by 1897, when Robert La Follette assumed its leadership.

La Follette was born into a prosperous farming family in 1855. He entered politics as a Republican in the 1880s and embraced reform in the late 1890s. Elected governor in 1900, he secured for Wisconsin both a direct primary and a tax law that stripped the railroad corporations of tax exemptions they had long enjoyed. In 1905, he pushed through a civil service law mandating that every state employee meet a certain level of competence.

A tireless campaigner and a spellbinding speaker, "Fighting Bob" won election to the U.S. Senate in 1906. Meanwhile, Wisconsin's advancing labor and socialist



Wisconsin Historical Society, WHi-2390

Robert La Follette, Wisconsin Progressive. *This photograph of La Follette campaigning in Wisconsin in 1897 captures the intensity and combativeness that "Fighting Bob" brought to progressivism.*

movements impelled progressive reformers to focus their legislative efforts on issues of corporate greed and social welfare. By 1910, reformers had passed state laws that regulated railroad and utility rates, instituted the nation's first state income tax, and provided workers with compensation for injuries, limitations on work hours, restrictions on child labor, and minimum wages for women.

Many of these laws were written by social scientists at the University of Wisconsin, with whom reformers had close ties. In the first decade of the 20th century, John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin economist, drafted Wisconsin's civil service and public utilities laws. In 1911, Commons designed and won legislative approval for the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, which brought together employers, trade unionists, and professionals and gave them broad powers to investigate and regulate relations between industry and labor throughout the state. Never before had a state government so plainly committed itself to the cause of industrial justice. For the first time, the rights of labor would be treated with the same respect as the rights of industry. Equally important was the responsibility the commission delegated to nonelected professionals: social scientists, lawyers, engineers, and others. These professionals, Wisconsin reformers believed, would succeed where political parties had failed—namely, in providing the public with expert and honest government.

The **"Wisconsin Idea"** found quick adoption in Ohio, Indiana, New York, and Colorado. In 1913, the federal government established its own Industrial Relations Commission and hired Commons to direct its investigative staff. In other areas, too, reformers began urging state and federal governments to shift the policy-making initiative away from political parties and toward administrative agencies staffed by professionals.

Progressive Reform in New York

New York was second only to Wisconsin in the vigor and breadth of its progressive movement. As in Wisconsin, New York progressives focused first on fighting political corruption. Revelations of close ties between leading Republican politicians and life insurance companies vaulted reform lawyer Charles Evans Hughes into the governor's mansion in 1907. Hughes immediately established several public service commissions to regulate railroads and utility companies. Also, as in Wisconsin, the labor movement exercised its influence. New York City garment workers struck and forced state legislators to regulate working conditions. With the establishment of the Factory Investigating Committee, New York, like Wisconsin, became a pioneer in labor and social welfare policy.

New York state legislators also faced pressure from middle-class reformers—settlement house workers such as Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement and lawyers such as Louis Brandeis—who had become convinced of the need for new laws to protect the disadvantaged. This combined pressure from working-class and middle-class constituencies persuaded some state Democrats, including Assemblyman Alfred E. Smith and Senator Robert F. Wagner, to convert from machine to reform politics. Their appearance in the progressive ranks represented the arrival of a new reform sensibility. Wagner and Smith were both ethnic Catholics (Wagner was born in Germany, and Smith was the grandchild of Irish immigrants). They opposed prohibition, city commissions, voter registration laws, and other reforms whose intent seemed anti-immigrant or anti-Catholic. Meanwhile, they supported reforms meant to improve the working and living conditions of New York's urban poor. They agitated for a minimum wage, factory safety, workmen's compensation, the right of workers to join unions, and the regulation of excessively powerful corporations. Their participation in progressivism accelerated the movement's shift, first in New York and then elsewhere, away from a preoccupation with political parties and electorates and toward questions of economic justice and social welfare.

Scientific Management on the Factory Floor

Progressivism drew support, too, from businessmen who saw in this reform movement an opportunity to introduce more efficiency, science, and harmony into industrial relations. Just as business-oriented progressives in Galveston and elsewhere drew on the principles of scientific management to reform local government, so, too, some businessmen attempted to use those principles to create more productive and cohesive workplaces.

Scientific management had developed in the last two decades of the 19th century among managers and engineers who were looking to develop arrangements of machines and workers that would achieve the highest speed in production with the fewest human or mechanical interruptions. Their leader was **Frederick Winslow Taylor** who, as chief engineer at Philadelphia's Midvale Steel Company in the 1880s, had examined every human task and mechanical movement involved in his company's production process. Taylor pioneered the "time-and-motion study," the technique through which managers recorded every distinct movement a worker made in performing his or her job, how long it took, and how often it was performed. Taylor hoped thereby to identify and eliminate wasted human energy. Eliminating waste might mean reorganizing a floor of machinery so as to reduce "down

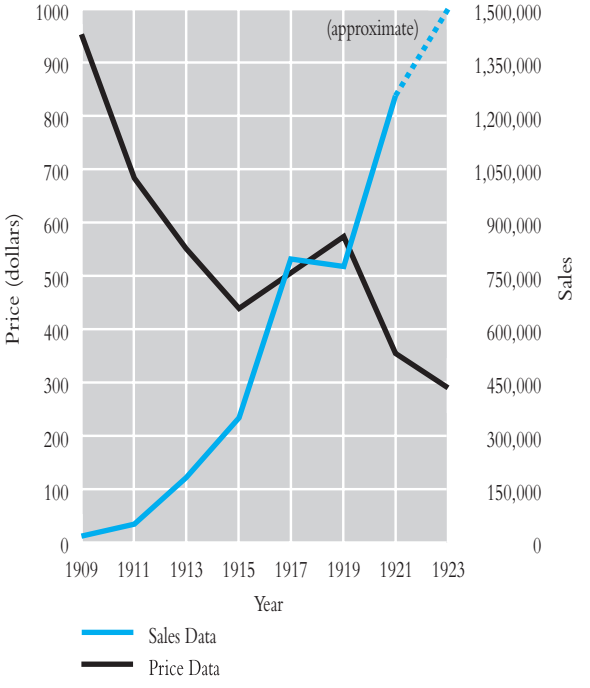
time" between production steps; it might mean instructing workers to perform their tasks differently; or it might mean replacing uncooperative skilled workers with machines tended by unskilled, low-wage laborers. Regardless of the method chosen, the goal was the same: to make human labor emulate the smooth and apparently effortless operation of an automatic, perfectly calibrated piece of machinery.

Though Taylor's program of "scientific management" antedated progressivism, it fired the imagination of the business and efficiency-oriented sectors of the reform movement. Taylor achieved his greatest popularity during the first two decades of the 20th century, and his 1911 book, *The Principles of Scientific Management,* drew the interest of countless corporate managers and engineers, many of whom sought to introduce "Taylorism" into their own production systems. By then, Taylor himself had been influenced by the spirit of progressive reform, and he offered his program as a way of achieving industrial peace. Scientific management, Taylor claimed, would allow each worker to be matched with a job well-suited to his abilities. Efficiency and wages would rise; so, too, would worker satisfaction. Most, if not all, workplace antagonism, would then dissolve.

Henry Ford, the pioneer in automobile manufacturing, was one of Taylor's disciples. By 1910, Ford's engineers had broken down the production of its main car, the "Model T," into a series of simple, sequential tasks. Each worker performed only one task: adding a carburetor to an engine, inserting a windshield, mounting tires onto wheels. Then in 1913, Ford's engineers introduced the first moving assembly line, a continuously moving conveyor belt that carried cars in production through each workstation. This innovation eliminated precious time previously wasted in transporting car parts (or partially built cars) by crane or truck from one work area to another. It also limited the time available to workers to perform their assigned tasks. Only the foreman, not the workers, could stop the line or change its speed.

By 1913, the continuous assembly line made Ford Motor Company's new Highland Park plant the most tightly integrated and continuously moving production system in American industry. It seemed to have leapt directly from the pages of Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management.* The pace of car production at Ford exceeded all expectations. Between 1910 and 1914, production time on Model Ts dropped by 90 percent, from an average of more than 12 hours per car to 1.5 hours. A thousand Model Ts began rolling off the assembly line each day. This striking increase in the rate of production enabled Ford to slash the price of a Model T from $950 in 1909 to only $295 in 1923, a reduction of 70 percent. The number of Model Ts purchased by Americans increased 16-fold between 1912 and 1921, from 79,000 to 1,250,000. The assembly line quickly became the most admired—and most feared—symbol of American mass production.

Problems immediately beset the system, however. Repeating a single motion all day long induced mental stupor, and managerial efforts to speed up the line produced physical exhaustion—both of which increased the incidence of error and injury. Some workers tried to organize a union to gain a voice in production matters, but most Ford workers expressed their dissatisfaction simply by quitting. By 1913, employee turnover at Highland Park had reached the astounding rate of 370 percent per year. At that rate, Ford had to hire 51,800 workers every year just to keep his factory fully staffed at 14,000.



Model T Prices and Sales, 1909–1923

Source: From Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., ed., *Giant Enterprise: Ford, General Motors, and the Automobile Industry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), pp. 32–33.

A problem of that magnitude demanded a dramatic solution. Ford provided it in 1914 by raising the wage he paid his assembly-line workers to $5 per day, double the average manufacturing wage then prevalent in American industry. The result: Workers, especially young and single men, flocked to Detroit. Highland Park's high productivity rate permitted Ford to absorb the wage increase without cutting substantially into profits.

Taylor had believed that improved efficiency would lead to dramatic wage gains. Ford's ability to double his wage payout, in this respect, proved Taylor right. But Taylor's theory of human psychology remained primitive, inadequate to the task of comprehending the range of emotions that employees brought to the workplace and the multiple sources of employee–employer conflict. Ford recognized that workers were more complex than Taylor had allowed, which is why his innovations went well beyond what Taylor himself had contemplated. Thus, Ford set up a sociology department, forerunner of the personnel department, to collect job, family, and other information about his employees. He sent social workers into workers' homes to inquire into (and "improve") their personal lives. For the foreign-born, he instituted Americanization classes. He offered his employees housing subsidies, medical care, and other benefits. Ford's success was widely admired; nevertheless, it would take another generation or two for significant sectors of the corporate world to follow his lead. And thus throughout the first two decades of the 20th century, American industry remained more the target than the ally of progressive reform.

A Campaign for Civil Rights

The reform energy unleashed by the progressives inspired a new generation of African American activists to insist that the nation grapple anew with issues of racial inequality. Indeed, the modern civil rights movement can be said to have started in the early years of the 20th century.

The Failure of Accommodationism

Booker T. Washington's message—that blacks should accept segregation and disfranchisement as unavoidable and focus their energies instead on self-help and self-improvement—faced increasing criticism from black activists such as **W. E. B. Du Bois,** Ida B. Wells, Monroe Trotter, and others. Washington's accommodationist leadership (see Chapter 18), in their eyes, brought southern blacks no reprieve from racism. More than 100 blacks had been lynched in 1900 alone; between 1901 and 1914, at least 1,000 others would be hanged.

Increasingly, unsubstantiated rumors of black assaults on whites became occasions for white mobs to rampage through black neighborhoods and destroy life and property. In 1908, a mob in Springfield, Illinois, attacked black businesses and individuals; a force of 5,000 state militia was required to restore order. The troops were too late, however, to stop the lynching of two innocent black men, one a successful barber and the other an 84-year-old man who had been married to a white woman for more than 30 years.

Booker T. Washington had long believed that blacks who educated themselves or who succeeded in business would be accepted as equals by whites. As Du Bois and other black militants observed, however, white rioters made no distinction between rich blacks and poor, or between solid citizens and petty criminals. All that had seemed to matter was the color of one's skin. Similarly, many black militants knew from personal experience that individual accomplishment was not enough to overcome racial prejudice. Du Bois was a brilliant scholar who became, in 1899, the first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard University. Had he been white, Du Bois would have been asked to teach at Harvard or another elite academic institution, but no prestigious white university, in the South or North, made him an offer.

From the Niagara Movement to the NAACP

Seeing no future in accommodation, Du Bois and other young black activists came together at Niagara Falls in 1905 to fashion a new political agenda. They demanded that African Americans regain the right to vote in states that had taken it away, that segregation be abolished, and that the many discriminatory barriers to black advancement be removed. They declared their commitment to freedom of speech, the brotherhood of all men, and respect for the working man. Although their numbers were small, the members of the so-called Niagara movement were inspired by the example of the antebellum abolitionists. Meeting in Boston, Oberlin, and Harpers Ferry—all places of special significance to the abolitionist cause—they hoped to rekindle the militant, uncompromising spirit of that earlier crusade (see Chapters 12 and 14).

History Through Film

The Great White Hope (1970)

Directed by Martin Ritt. Starring James Earl Jones (Jack Jefferson) and Jane Alexander (Eleanor Backman).

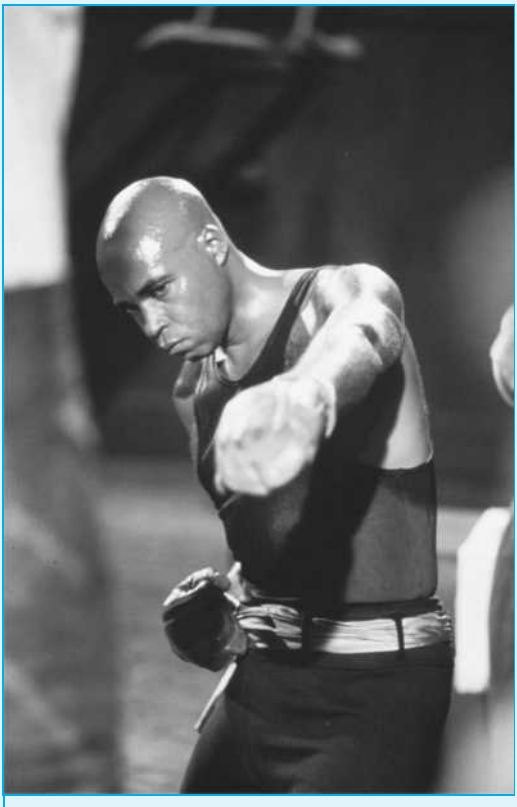
This movie is a fictional retelling of the life of Jack Johnson, the first black world heavyweight boxing champion, and of the furor that his dominance over white boxers, his outspokenness, and his relationships with white women generated in early 20th-century America. The movie opens with white boxing promoters persuading a former white champion (James Bradley) to come out of retirement to battle the black champion, here called Jack Jefferson (rather than Johnson). In a subsequent scene, Jefferson destroys Bradley in the ring and reacts with defiant cheeriness to the boos and racial epithets that rain down upon him from the predominantly white crowd.

Jefferson refuses to accept the limitations that white society placed on black men at the time. He is neither submissive nor deferential toward whites, and he openly dates white women. Whites fear and loathe him for defying the era's racial conventions. One evening, federal agents burst in on Jefferson and his white lover, Eleanor Backman (Jane Alexander), and accuse Jefferson of violating the Mann Act, a 1910 law that made it illegal to transport women across state lines for sexual purposes. At Jefferson's trial, prosecutors expected to convince a jury that Backman was coerced into sex, for no white woman, they intended to argue, would have freely chosen to consort with a black man in this way.

Jefferson manages to evade the authorities and flee to Europe, where Backman joins him. The early months abroad are invigorating for both, as Jefferson is celebrated for his fighting prowess and the couple's love for each other flourishes. Soon, however, the boxing opponents disappear, money stops coming in, and a sense of despair grows between the two lovers. Their exile ends disastrously in Mexico, where Backman kills herself after an argument with Jefferson. Jefferson, his spirit finally broken, agrees to throw a fight against the newest Great White Hope, Jess Willard, in return for an opportunity to end his fugitive status and return to the United States.

Made in 1970, *The Great White Hope* was inspired by the brash heavyweight champion of the 1960s, Muhammad Ali. The film is quite faithful to the story of the real Jack Johnson, who dated white women, was arrested for "violating" the Mann Act, fled the country rather than submit to jail, and ultimately lost a heavyweight bout to Jess Willard. The film endows Backman, a fictional character, with more "class" and

The 1908 Springfield riot had shaken many whites. Some, especially those already working for social and economic reform, now joined in common cause with the Niagara movement. Together, black and white activists planned a conference for Lincoln's birthday in 1909 to revive, in the words of author William English Walling, "the spirit of the abolitionists" and to "treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality." Oswald Garrison Villard, the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, called on "all believers in democracy to join in a National conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty." The conference brought together distinguished progressives, white and black, including Mary White Ovington, Jane Addams, John Dewey, William



Picture Desk/Kobal Collection/20th Century Fox

James Earl Jones as Jack Jefferson.

refinement than the real women who associated with Johnson usually possessed. The film also fictionalizes Johnson's fight against Willard by suggesting that Johnson could have won the fight had he not been required to throw it. Despite these changes, the film successfully re-creates the climate of the early years of the 20th century and the white hostility imperiling a black man who dared to assert his pride and independence.

Dean Howells, Ida B. Wells, and W. E. B. Du Bois. They drew up plans to establish an organization dedicated to fighting racial discrimination and prejudice. In May 1910, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was launched, with Moorfield Storey of Boston as president, Walling as chairman of the executive committee, and Du Bois as the director of publicity and research.

The formation of the NAACP marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement. The organization launched a magazine, *The Crisis,* edited by Du Bois, to publicize and protest the lynchings, riots, and other abuses directed against black citizens. Equally important was the Legal Redress Committee, which initiated lawsuits against city and state governments for violating the constitutional rights of



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Lynching. *This grim photo records the death of five of the approximately 1,000 African Americans who were lynched between 1901 and 1914. The increase in lynching was one measure of the virulence of white racism in the early years of the 20th century.*

African Americans. The committee scored its first major success in 1915, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the so-called grandfather clauses of the Oklahoma and Maryland constitutions violated the 15th Amendment. (These clauses extended the right to vote to whites who had failed to pay their state's poll tax or to pass its literacy test while denying the same right to blacks). NAACP lawyers won again in 1917 when the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a Louisville, Kentucky, law that required all blacks to reside in predetermined parts of the city.

By 1914, the NAACP had enrolled thousands of members in scores of branches throughout the United States. The organization's success generated other civil rights groups. The National Urban League, founded in 1911, worked to improve the economic and social conditions of blacks in cities. It pressured employers to hire blacks, distributed lists of available jobs and housing in African American communities, and developed social programs to ease the adjustment of rural black migrants to city life.

Progress toward racial equality was sluggish. Attacking segregation and discrimination through lawsuits was, by its nature, a slow strategy that would take decades to complete. The growing membership of the NAACP, although impressive, was not large enough to qualify it as a mass movement, and its interracial character made the organization seem dangerously radical to millions of whites. White NAACP leaders responded to this hostility by limiting the number and power of African Americans who worked for the organization. This policy, in turn, angered black militants who argued that no civil rights organization should be in the business of appeasing white racists.

Despite its limitations, the NAACP made significant strides. It gave Du Bois the security and visibility he needed to carry on his fight against Booker T. Washington's accommodationist philosophy. Even before his death in 1915, Washington's influence in black and white communities had receded. The NAACP, more than any other organization, helped resurrect the issue of racial equality at a time when many white Americans had accepted as normal the practices of racial segregation and discrimination.

The Roosevelt Presidency

Progressives sought to increase their influence in national politics. State regulations seemed inadequate to the task of curtailing the power of the trusts, protecting workers, or monitoring the quality of consumer goods. The courts repeatedly struck down as unconstitutional state laws regulating working hours or setting minimum wages, on the grounds that they impinged on the freedom of contract and trade. A national progressive movement could force passage of federal laws that were less vulnerable to judicial veto or elect a president who could overhaul the federal judiciary with progressive-minded judges.

National leadership would not emerge from Congress. The Populist challenge of the 1890s had left the Democratic Party badly divided between radical Bryanites and the conservative followers of Grover Cleveland. The Republican Party in Congress was in the hands of an "Old Guard." The impetus for innovation and reform thus shifted from the legislative to the executive branch, and to one chief executive in particular, Theodore Roosevelt.

When the Republican bosses chose Theodore Roosevelt as William McKinley's running mate in 1900, their purpose was more to remove this headstrong, unpredictable character from New York state politics than to groom him for national leadership. As governor of New York, Roosevelt had been a moderate reformer, but even his modest efforts to rid the state's Republican Party of corruption and to institute civil service reform were too much for the state party machine, led by Thomas C. Platt. Consigning Roosevelt to the vice presidency seemed a safe solution. McKinley was a young, vigorous politician, fully in control of his party and his presidency. Less than a year into his second term, in September 1901, McKinley was shot by an anarchist assassin. The president clung to life for nine days, and then died. Upon succeeding McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, age 42, became the youngest chief executive in the nation's history.

Although born to an aristocratic New York City family, Roosevelt developed an uncommon affection for "the people." Asthmatic, sickly, and nearsighted as a boy, he remade himself into a vigorous adult. With an insatiable appetite for high-risk adventure—everything from "dude ranching" in the Dakota Territory, to big-game hunting in Africa, to wartime combat—he was also a voracious reader and an accomplished writer. Aggressive and swaggering in his public rhetoric, he was in private a skilled, patient negotiator. A believer in the superiority of the English-speaking peoples, he nevertheless assembled an administration that was diverse by the standards of the time. Rarely has a president's personality so enthralled the American public. He is the only 20th-century president immortalized on Mount Rushmore.

Regulating the Trusts

Roosevelt quickly revealed his flair for the dramatic. In 1902, he ordered the Justice Department to prosecute the Northern Securities Company, a $400 million monopoly that controlled all railroad lines and traffic in the Northwest from Chicago to Washington state. Never before had an American president sought to use the Sherman Antitrust Act to break up a business monopoly. The news shocked the banker J. P. Morgan, who had brokered the deal that had created Northern Securities. Morgan rushed to the White House, where he is said to have told Roosevelt: "If we



Theodore Roosevelt. *The youthful and animated president addresses a crowd in Evanston, Illinois, (a suburb of Chicago) in 1903.*

© The Granger Collection, New York

have done anything wrong, send your man to my man and they can fix it up." Roosevelt would have none of this "fixing." In 1903, a federal court ordered Northern Securities dissolved, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision the next year. Roosevelt was hailed as the nation's "trust-buster."

Roosevelt, however, did not believe in breaking up all, or even most, large corporations. Industrial concentration, he believed, brought the United States wealth, productivity, and a rising standard of living. Rather than bust them up, Roosevelt argued, government should regulate the industrial giants and punish those that used their power improperly. This new role would require the federal government to expand its powers. A newly fortified government—the centerpiece of a political program that Roosevelt would later call the **New Nationalism**—was to be led by a forceful president, who was willing to use his power to achieve prosperity and justice.

Toward a "Square Deal"

Roosevelt displayed his willingness to use government power to protect the economically weak in a 1902 coal miners' strike. Miners in the anthracite fields of eastern Pennsylvania wanted recognition for their union, the United Mine Workers (UMW). They also wanted a 10- to 20-percent increase in wages and an eight-hour day. When their employers, led by George F. Baer of the Reading Railroad, refused to negotiate, they went on strike. In October, the fifth month of the strike, Roosevelt summoned the mine owners and John Mitchell, the UMW president, to the White House. Baer expected Roosevelt to threaten the striking workers with arrest by

federal troops if they failed to return to work. Instead, Roosevelt supported Mitchell's request for arbitration and warned the mine owners that if they refused to go along, 10,000 federal troops would seize their property. Stunned, the mine owners agreed to submit the dispute to arbitrators, who awarded the unionists a 10-percent wage increase and a nine-hour day.

The mere fact that the federal government had ordered employers to compromise with their workers carried great symbolic weight. Roosevelt enjoyed a surge of support from Americans convinced that he shared their dislike for ill-gotten wealth and privilege. He also raised the hopes of African Americans when, only a month into his presidency, he dined with Booker T. Washington at the White House and then shrugged off the protests of white southerners.

In his 1904 election campaign, Roosevelt promised that, if reelected, he would offer every American a "square deal." The slogan resonated with voters and helped carry Roosevelt to a victory (57 percent of the popular vote) over the conservative Democrat Alton B. Parker. To the surprise of many, Roosevelt had aligned the Republican Party with the cause of reform.

Expanding Government Power: The Economy

Emboldened by his victory, the president intensified his efforts to extend government regulation of economic affairs. His most important proposal was to give the government power to set railroad shipping rates and thereby to eliminate the industry's discriminatory marketing practices. The government, in theory, already possessed this power through the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), a regulatory body established by Congress in 1887, but the courts had so weakened the ICC's oversight and regulatory functions as to render it virtually powerless. Roosevelt achieved his goal in 1906, when Congress passed the Hepburn Act, which significantly increased the ICC's powers of rate review and enforcement. Roosevelt supported the Pure Food and Drug Act, passed by Congress that same year, which protected the public from fraudulently marketed and dangerous foods and medications. He also campaigned for the Meat Inspection Act (1906), which obligated the government to monitor the quality and safety of meat being sold to American consumers.

Expanding Government Power: The Environment

Roosevelt also did more than any previous president to extend federal control over the nation's physical environment. He was not a "preservationist" in the manner of John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, who insisted that the beauty of the land and the well-being of its wildlife should be protected from all human interference. Instead, Roosevelt viewed the wilderness as a place to live strenuously, to test oneself against the rough outdoors, and to match wits against strong and clever game. He further believed that in the West—that land of ancient forests, lofty mountain peaks, and magnificent canyons—Americans could learn something important about their nation's roots and destiny. To preserve this West, Roosevelt oversaw the creation of 5 new national parks, 16 national monuments, and 53 wildlife reserves. The work of his administration led directly to the formation of the National Park Service in 1916.

Roosevelt also emerged a strong supporter of the **"conservationist"** movement. Conservationists cared little for national parks or grand canyons. They wanted to manage the environment scientifically so as to ensure that the nation's resources were put to the most efficient economic use. Roosevelt shared the conservationists' belief that the plundering of western timberlands, grazing areas, water resources, and minerals had reached crisis proportions.

Roosevelt therefore appointed a Public Lands Commission in 1903 to survey public lands, inventory them, and establish permit systems to regulate the kinds and numbers of users. Soon after, the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture placed certain western lands rich in natural resources and waterpower off-limits to agricultural users. Government officials also limited waterpower development by requiring companies to acquire permits and pay fees for the right to generate electricity on public land. When political favoritism and corruption within the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture threatened these efforts at regulation, Roosevelt authorized the hiring of university-trained experts to replace state and local politicians. Scientific expertise, rather than political connections, would now determine the distribution and use of western territory.

Gifford Pinchot, a specialist in forestry management, and Roosevelt's close friend, led the drive for scientific management of natural resources. In 1905, he persuaded Roosevelt to relocate jurisdiction for the national forests from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture, which, Pinchot argued, was the most appropriate department to oversee the efficient "harvest" of the nation's forest crop. The newly created National Forest Service, under Pinchot's control, quickly instituted a system of competitive bidding for the right to harvest timber on national forest lands. Pinchot and his expanding staff of college-educated foresters also exacted user fees from livestock ranchers who had previously used national forest grazing lands for free. Armed with new legislation and authority, Pinchot and fellow conservationists in the Roosevelt administration declared vast stretches of federal land in the West off-limits to mining and dam construction.

The Republican Old Guard disliked these initiatives. When Roosevelt recommended prosecution of cattlemen and lumbermen who were illegally using federal land for private gain, congressional conservatives struck back with legislation (in 1907) that curtailed the president's power to create new government land reserves. Roosevelt responded by seizing another 17 million acres for national forest reserves before the new law went into effect. To his conservative opponents, excluding commercial activity from public land was bad enough, but flouting the will of Congress with a 17-million-acre land grab violated constitutional principles governing the separation of powers. Yet, to millions of American voters, Roosevelt's willingness to defy western cattle barons, mining tycoons, and other "malefactors of great wealth" increased his popularity.

Progressivism: A Movement for the People?

Historians have long debated how much Roosevelt's economic and environmental reforms altered the balance of power between the "interests" and the people. Some have demonstrated that many corporations were eager for federal government regulation—that railroad corporations wanted relief from the rate wars

that were driving them into bankruptcy, for example, and that the larger meatpackers believed that the costs of government food inspections would drive smaller meatpackers out of business. So, too, historians have shown that agribusinesses, timber companies, and mining corporations in the West believed that government regulation would aid them and hurt smaller competitors. According to this view, government regulation benefited the corporations more than it benefited workers, consumers, and small businessmen.

Indeed, these early reforms often curtailed corporate power only to a limited extent. But in 1907, the progressive program was still evolving. Popular anger over corporate power and political corruption remained a driving force of progressivism. The presence in the Senate of La Follette, Albert Beveridge of Indiana, and other anticorporate Republicans gave that anger an influential national voice. Whether the corporations or the people would benefit most from progressive reforms had yet to be determined.

The Republicans: A Divided Party

The financial panic of 1907 further strained relations between Roosevelt reformers and Old Guard conservatives. A failed New York bank effort to corner the copper market triggered a run on banks, a short but severe dip in industrial production, and widespread layoffs. Everywhere, people worried that a major depression, like that of the 1890s, was in the offing. Only the timely decision of J. P. Morgan and a few other financiers to pour private cash into the collapsing banks saved the nation from an economic crisis.

The panic prompted Roosevelt to call for an overhaul of the banking system and for regulation of the stock market. The Republican Old Guard, meanwhile, was more determined than ever to run the "radical" Roosevelt out of the White House. Sensing that he might fail to win his party's nomination, and mindful of a rash promise he had made in 1904 not to run again in 1908, Roosevelt decided not to seek reelection. It was a decision he would soon regret. Barely 50 years old, he was too young and energetic to end his political career.

The Taft Presidency: Progressive Disappointment and Resurgence

Roosevelt thought he had found in William Howard Taft, his secretary of war, an ideal successor. Taft had worked closely with Roosevelt on foreign and domestic policies. Roosevelt believed Taft possessed both the ideas and the skills to complete the reform Republican program.

To reach that conclusion, however, Roosevelt had to ignore some obvious differences between Taft and himself. Taft neither liked nor was particularly adept at politics. With the exception of a judgeship in an Ohio superior court, he had never held elective office. He was by nature a cautious and conservative man. As Roosevelt's handpicked successor, Taft easily won the election of 1908, defeating Democrat William Jennings Bryan with 52 percent of the vote. His conservatism soon revealed itself in his choice of corporation lawyers, rather than reformers, for cabinet positions.

Battling Congress

Taft's troubles began when he appeared to side against progressives in an acrimonious congressional battle over tariff legislation. Progressives had long desired tariff reduction, believing that competition from foreign manufacturers would benefit American consumers and check the economic power of American manufacturers. Taft had raised expectations for tariff reduction when he called Congress into special session to consider a reform bill that called for a modest reduction of tariffs and an inheritance tax. The bill passed the House but was gutted in the Senate. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act that Taft signed into law in 1909 did little, as a result, to reduce tariffs. Progressive Republicans, bitterly disappointed, criticized Taft for not standing up to the Senate's Old Guard. A bruising fight over Taft's conservation policies brought relations between Taft and the insurgent Republicans to the breaking point.

The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy

Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, had aroused progressives' suspicions by reopening for private commercial use 1 million acres of land that the Roosevelt administration had previously brought under federal protection. Gifford Pinchot, still head of the National Forest Service, obtained information implicating Ballinger in the sale of Alaskan coal deposits to a private syndicate. Pinchot shared the information with Taft. When Taft defended Ballinger, Pinchot went public with his charges, and a contentious congressional investigation ensued. Whatever hope Taft may have had of escaping political damage disappeared when Roosevelt, returning from an African hunting trip by way of Europe in spring 1910, staged a publicized rendezvous with Pinchot in England. In so doing, Roosevelt signaled his continuing support for his old friend Pinchot and his displeasure with Taft.

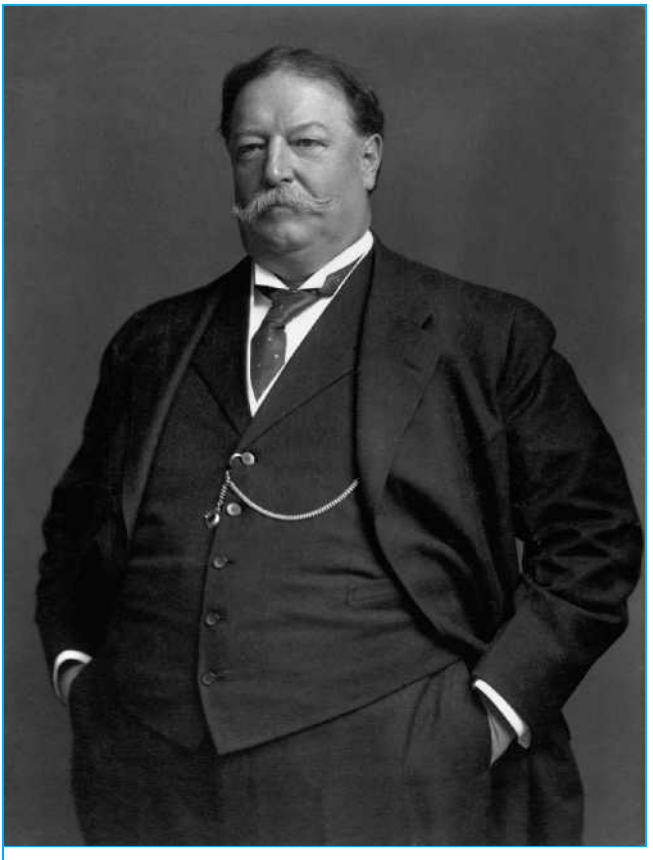
Roosevelt's Return

Roosevelt had barely returned to the United States in summer 1910 when he dove back into politics. In September, Roosevelt embarked on a speaking tour, the high point of which was his elaboration at Osawatomie, Kansas, of his New Nationalism, an ambitious reform program that called for the federal government to stabilize the economy, protect the weak, and restore social harmony.

The 1910 congressional elections confirmed the popularity of Roosevelt's positions. Insurgent Republicans trounced conservative Republicans in primary after primary, and the Democrats' embrace of reform brought them a majority in the House of Representatives for the first time since 1894. When Robert La Follette, who was challenging Taft for the Republican presidential nomination, seemed to suffer a nervous breakdown in February 1912, Roosevelt announced his own candidacy. In the 13 states sponsoring preferential primaries, Roosevelt won nearly 75 percent of the delegates, but the party's national leadership remained in the hands of the Old Guard, and they were determined to deny Roosevelt the Republican nomination. At the Republican convention in Chicago, Taft won renomination on the first ballot.

The Bull Moose Campaign

Roosevelt had expected this outcome. The night before the convention opened, he had told an assembly of 5,000 supporters that the party leaders would not succeed in derailing their movement. "We stand at Armageddon," he declared, and "we battle for the



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William Howard Taft. *Roosevelt's handpicked successor, Taft turned out to be much less of a progressive than his predecessor.*

Lord." The next day, Roosevelt and his supporters withdrew from the convention and from the Republican Party. In August, the reformers reassembled as the new **Progressive Party,** nominated Roosevelt for president and California governor Hiram W. Johnson for vice president, and hammered out the reform platform they had long envisioned: sweeping regulation of the corporations, extensive protections for workers, a sharply graduated income tax, and woman suffrage. "I am as strong as a bull moose," Roosevelt roared as he readied for combat; his proud followers took to calling themselves "Bull Moosers."

Some of them, however, probably including Roosevelt, knew that their mission was futile. They had failed to enroll enough Republican insurgents who had supported Roosevelt in the primaries but who now refused to abandon the GOP. Consequently, the Republican vote would be split between Roosevelt and Taft, making them both vulnerable to the Democrats' candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

The Rise of Woodrow Wilson

Few would have predicted in 1908 that the distinguished president of Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson, would be the 1912 Democratic nominee for president of the United

States. Before 1910, Wilson had never run for elective office, nor had he ever held an appointed post in a local, state, or federal administration. The son of a Presbyterian minister from Virginia, Wilson had practiced law for a short time after graduating from Princeton (then still the College of New Jersey) in 1879 before settling on an academic career. Earning his doctorate in political science from Johns Hopkins in 1886, he taught history and political science at Bryn Mawr and Wesleyan (Connecticut) before returning to Princeton in 1890. He became president of Princeton in 1902, a post he held until he successfully ran for the governorship of New Jersey in 1910.

Identifying himself with the anti-Bryan wing of the Democratic Party, Wilson attracted the attention of wealthy conservatives, who saw him as a potential presidential candidate. They convinced the bosses of the New Jersey Democratic machine to nominate Wilson for governor in 1910. Wilson accepted the nomination and won the governorship handily. He then shocked his conservative backers by declaring his independence from the state's Democratic machine and moving New Jersey into the forefront of reform.

The Election of 1912

At the Democratic convention of 1912, Wilson was something of a dark horse, running a distant second to House Speaker Champ Clark of Missouri. When the New York delegation gave Clark a simple majority of delegates, virtually everyone assumed that Clark



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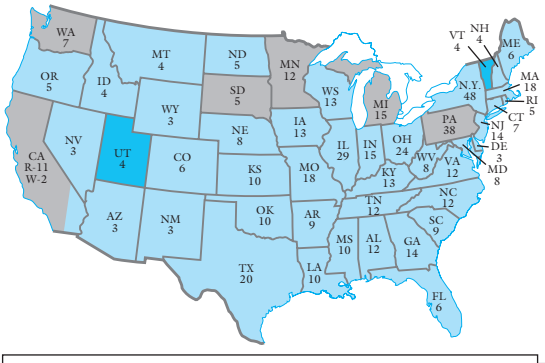
Woodrow Wilson. *The Democratic presidential candidate campaigning from the back of a train in 1912, pledging to fulfill progressivism's promise.*

would soon command the two-thirds majority needed to win the nomination. But Wilson's managers held onto Wilson's delegates and began chipping away at Clark's lead. On the fourth day, on the 46th ballot, Wilson won the nomination.

Given the split in Republican ranks, Democrats had their best chance in 20 years of regaining the White House. A Wilson victory, moreover, would give the country its first southern-born president in almost 50 years. Finally, whatever its outcome, the election promised to deliver a vote for reform. Both Roosevelt and Wilson were running on reform platforms, and the Socialist Party candidate, Eugene V. Debs, was attracting larger crowds and generating greater enthusiasm than had been expected. Taft was so certain of defeat that he barely campaigned.

Debate among the candidates focused on the trusts. All three reform candidates—Roosevelt, Wilson, and Debs—agreed that corporations had acquired too much economic power. Debs argued that the only way to ensure popular control of that power was for the federal government to assume ownership of the trusts. Roosevelt called for the establishment of a powerful government that would regulate and, if necessary, curb the power of the trusts. This was the essence of his New Nationalism, the program he had been advocating since 1910.

Rather than regulate the trusts, Wilson declared his intention to break them up. He wanted to reverse the tendency toward economic concentration and thus restore opportunity to the people. This philosophy, which Wilson labeled the **New Freedom,** called for a temporary concentration of governmental power in order to dismantle the trusts. But once that was accomplished, Wilson promised, the government would relinquish its power.



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MAP 21.2 Presidential Election, 1912

Taft and Roosevelt split the Republican vote, allowing Wilson to win with a plurality of the popular vote (42 percent) and a big majority (82 percent) of the electoral vote.

Wilson won the November election with 42 percent of the popular vote to Roosevelt's 27 percent and Taft's 23 percent; Debs made a strong showing with 6 percent, the largest in his party's history.

The Wilson Presidency

Wilson quickly assembled a cabinet of talented men who could be counted on for wise counsel, loyalty, and influence over vital Democratic constituencies. He cultivated a public image of himself as a president firmly in charge of his party and as a faithful tribune of the people.

Tariff Reform and a Progressive Income Tax

Like Taft, Wilson first turned his attention to tariff reform. The House passed a tariff-reduction bill within a month, and Wilson used his leadership skills to push the bill through a reluctant Senate. The resulting Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act of 1913 reduced tariff barriers from approximately 40 to 25 percent. To make up for revenue lost to tariff reductions, Congress then passed an income tax law. The 16th Amendment to the Constitution, ratified by the states in 1913, had already given the government the right to impose an income tax. The law passed by Congress made good on the progressive pledge to reduce the power and privileges of wealthy Americans by requiring them to pay taxes on a greater percentage of their income than the poor.

The Federal Reserve Act

Wilson then asked Congress to overhaul the nation's financial system. The banking interests and their congressional supporters wanted the government to give the authority to regulate credit and currency flows either to a single bank or to several regional banks. Progressives opposed the vesting of so much financial power in private hands and insisted that any reformed financial system must be publicly controlled. Wilson worked out a compromise plan that included both private and public controls, and he marshaled the votes to push it through both the House and the Senate. By the end of 1913, Wilson had signed the **Federal Reserve Act**, the most important law passed in his first administration.

The Federal Reserve Act established 12 regional banks, each controlled by the private banks in its region. Every private bank in the country was required to deposit an average of 6 percent of its assets into its regional Federal Reserve bank. The reserve would be used to make loans to member banks and to issue paper currency (Federal Reserve notes) to facilitate financial transactions. The regional banks were also instructed to use their funds to shore up member banks in distress and to respond to sudden changes in credit demands by easing or tightening the flow of credit. A Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president and responsible to the public rather than to private bankers would set policy and oversee activities within the 12 reserve banks.

The Federal Reserve system strengthened the nation's financial structure and was in most respects an impressive political achievement for Wilson. In its final form, however, it revealed that Wilson was retreating from his New Freedom

pledge. The Federal Reserve Board was a less powerful and less centralized federal authority than a national bank would have been, but it nevertheless represented a substantial increase in government control of banking. Moreover, the bill authorizing the system made no attempt to break up private financial institutions that had grown too powerful or to prohibit the interlocking directorates that large banks used to augment their power. Because it sought to work with large banks rather than to break them up, the Federal Reserve system seemed more consonant with the principles of Roosevelt's New Nationalism than with those of Wilson's New Freedom.

From the New Freedom to the New Nationalism

Wilson's failure to mount a vigorous antitrust campaign confirmed his drift toward the New Nationalism. For example, in 1914, Wilson supported the Federal Trade Commission Act, which created a government agency by that name to regulate business practices. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) had wide powers to collect information on corporate pricing policies and on cooperation and competition among businesses. The FTC might have attacked trusts for "unfair trade practices," but the Senate stripped the FTC Act's companion legislation, the Clayton Antitrust Act, of virtually all provisions that would have allowed the government to prosecute the trusts. Wilson supported this weakening of the Clayton Act, having decided that the breakup of large-scale industry was no longer practical or preferable. The FTC, in Wilson's eyes, would help businesses, large and small, to regulate themselves in ways that contributed to national well-being. In accepting giant industry as an inescapable feature of modern life and in seeking to regulate industrial behavior by means of government agencies such as the FTC, Wilson had become, in effect, a New Nationalist.

At first, Wilson's shift to New Nationalist policies led him to support business interests. His nominations to the Federal Reserve Board, for example, were generally men who had worked for Wall Street firms and large industrial corporations. At the same time, he usually refused to use government powers to aid organized groups of workers and farmers. Court rulings had made worker and farmer organizations vulnerable to prosecution under the terms of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. AFL president Samuel Gompers and other labor leaders tried but failed to convince Wilson to insert into the Clayton Antitrust Act a clause that would unambiguously grant labor and farmer organizations immunity from further antitrust prosecutions.

Nor did Wilson, at this time, view with any greater sympathy the campaign for African American political equality. He supported efforts by white southerners in his cabinet, such as Postmaster General Albert Burleson and Treasury Secretary William McAdoo, to segregate their government departments, and he largely ignored pleas from the NAACP to involve the federal government in a campaign against lynching.

In late 1915, however, Wilson moved to the left, in part because he feared losing his reelection in 1916. The Bull Moosers of 1912 were retreating back to the Republican Party. Wilson remembered how much his 1912 victory, based on only 42 percent of the popular vote, had depended on the Republican split. To halt the

progressives' rapprochement with the GOP, he made a bid for their support. In January 1916, he nominated Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court. Not only was Brandeis one of the country's most respected progressives, but he was also the first Jew nominated to serve on the country's highest court. Congressional conservatives did everything they could to block the confirmation of a man they regarded as dangerously radical, but Wilson, as usual, was better organized, and by June his forces in the Senate had emerged victorious.

Wilson followed up this victory by pushing through Congress the first federal workmen's compensation law (the Kern-McGillicuddy Act, which covered federal employees), the first federal law outlawing child labor (the Keating-Owen Act), and the first federal law guaranteeing workers an eight-hour day (the Adamson Act, which covered the nation's 400,000 railway workers). The number of Americans affected by these acts was relatively small. Nevertheless, Wilson had reoriented the Democratic Party to a New Nationalism that cared as much about the interests of the powerless as the interests of the powerful.

Trade unionists flocked to Wilson, as did most of the prominent progressives who had followed the Bull Moose in 1912. Meanwhile, Wilson had appealed to the supporters of William Jennings Bryan by supporting legislation that made federal credit available to farmers in need. He had put together a reform coalition capable of winning a majority at the polls. In the process, he had transformed the Democratic Party. From 1916 on, the Democrats, rather than the Republicans, became the chief guardians of the American reform tradition.

That Wilson did so is a sign of the strength of the reform and radical forces in American society. By 1916, the ranks of middle-class progressives had grown broad and deep. Working-class protest had also accelerated in scope and intensity. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912, and in Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913, for example, the IWW organized strikes of textile workers that drew national attention, as did a 1914 strike by Colorado mine workers. These protests reflected the mobilization of those working-class constituencies—immigrants, women, the unskilled—long considered inconsequential both by mainstream labor leaders and party politicians. Assisted by radicals, these groups had begun to fashion a more inclusive and politically ambitious labor movement. Wilson and other Democrats understood the potential strength of this new labor insurgency, and the president's pro-labor legislative agenda in 1916 can be understood, in part, as an effort to channel labor's new constituents into the Democratic Party. It was a successful strategy that contributed to Wilson's reelection in 1916.

Conclusion

By 1916, the progressives had accomplished a great deal. They demonstrated that traditional American concerns with democracy and liberty could be adapted to an industrial age. They exposed and curbed some of the worst abuses of the American political system. They enfranchised women and took steps to protect the environment. They broke the hold of laissez-faire economic policies on national politics and replaced it with the idea of a strong federal government committed to economic regulation and social justice. They transformed the presidency into a post of

legislative and popular leadership. They enlarged the executive branch by establishing new commissions and agencies charged with administering government policies.

The progressives, in short, had begun to create a strong national government, one in which power increasingly flowed away from municipalities and states and toward Washington. This reorientation followed a compelling logic: A national government stood a better chance of solving the problems of growing economic inequality, mismanagement of natural resources, and consumer fraud than did local and state governments. This emphasis on involving the federal government in economic and social affairs became progressivism's most enduring legacy. It made the movement a forerunner of the liberalism and "New Deal" that emerged under Franklin Roosevelt's leadership in the 1930s (see Chapter 25).

The promise of effective federal government intervention, however, also brought a new danger: the possibility that government administrators might use their power to fashion themselves into a new bureaucratic elite. Some progressives, such as Walter Lippmann, were already arguing that their knowledge, objectivity, and dedication equipped them to make critical decisions on behalf of the people without consulting them. Other progressives in government claimed to be responsive to the people while they cultivated close ties with corporations that they were expected to regulate on the people's behalf. In some instances, in other words, progressive reformers were doing as much to advance their own bureaucratic interests or those of their corporate allies as they were helping to improve the welfare of ordinary Americans.

These elitist tendencies did not go unchallenged. The democratic movements of the progressive era—those involving workers, women, minorities, consumers, and environmentalists—were determined to hold both elected and appointed government officials accountable to the popular will. Their success in moving Wilson to the left in 1916 demonstrated that the forces of democracy could win. But the struggle between the contrasting progressive impulses toward democracy and elitism would go on, manifesting itself not simply in domestic politics but also in foreign affairs, where the United States was seeking to balance its interest in spreading liberty with the protection of its international economic interests.

22

Becoming a World Power, 1898–1917

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• The United States Looks Abroad • The Spanish-American War • The United States Becomes a World Power • Theodore Roosevelt, Geopolitician • William Howard Taft, Dollar Diplomat • Woodrow Wilson, Struggling Idealist

For much of the 19th century, most Americans were preoccupied by continental expansion. Elections rarely turned on international events, and presidents rarely made their reputations as statesmen in the world arena. The diplomatic corps, like most agencies of the federal government, was small and inexperienced. The government projected its limited military power westward and possessed virtually no capacity or desire for involvement overseas.

The nation's rapid industrial growth in the late 19th century forced a turn away from such continentalism. Technological advances, especially the laying of transoceanic cables and the introduction of steamship travel, diminished America's physical isolation. The babble of languages one could hear in American cities testified to how much the Old World had penetrated the New. Then, too, Americans watched anxiously as England, Germany, Russia, Japan, and other industrial powers intensified their competition for overseas markets and colonies. Some believed America also needed to enter this contest.

A war with Spain in 1898 gave the United States an opportunity to upgrade its military and acquire colonies and influence in the Western Hemisphere and Asia. Under Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, the United States pursued these initiatives and established a small but strategically important empire. Not all Americans supported this imperial project, and many protested the subjugation of the peoples of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines that imperial expansion seemed to entail. In the eyes of anti-imperialists, the United States seemed to be becoming the kind of nation that many Americans had long despised—one that valued power more than liberty.

CHRONOLOGY

1893	Frederick Jackson Turner publishes an essay announcing the end of the frontier
1898	Spanish-American War (April 14–August 12) ◆ Treaty of Paris signed (December 10), giving U.S. control of Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico ◆ U.S. annexes Hawaii
1899–1902	American-Filipino War
1899–1900	U.S. pursues Open Door policy toward China
1900	U.S. annexes Puerto Rico ◆ U.S. and other imperial powers put down Chinese Boxer Rebellion
1901	U.S. forces Cuba to adopt constitution favorable to U.S. interests
1903	Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty signed, giving U.S. control of Panama Canal Zone
1904	"Roosevelt corollary" to Monroe Doctrine proclaimed
1905	Roosevelt negotiates end to Russo-Japanese War
1906–1917	U.S. intervenes in Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, Dominican Republic, and Mexico
1907	Roosevelt and Japanese government reach a "gentlemen's agreement" restricting Japanese immigration to U.S. and ending the segregation of Japanese schoolchildren in California
1907–1909	Great White Fleet circles the world
1909–1913	William Howard Taft conducts "dollar diplomacy"
1910	Mexican Revolution
1914	Panama Canal opens
1914–1917	Wilson struggles to develop a policy toward Mexico
1917	U.S. purchases Virgin Islands from Denmark

Roosevelt brushed aside these objections and set about creating an international system in which a handful of industrial nations pursued their global economic interests, dominated world trade, and kept the world at peace. Woodrow Wilson, however, was more troubled by America's imperial turn. His doubts became apparent in his efforts to devise a policy toward post revolutionary Mexico that restrained American might and respected Mexican desires for liberty. It was a worthy ambition but one that proved difficult to achieve.

The United States Looks Abroad

By the late 19th century, sizable numbers of Americans had become interested in extending their country's influence abroad. The most important groups were Protestant missionaries, businessmen, and imperialists.

Protestant Missionaries Protestant missionaries were among the most active promoters of American interests abroad. Overseas missionary activity grew quickly between 1870 and 1900, most of it directed toward China. Between 1880 and 1900, the number of women's missionary societies doubled, from 20 to 40; by 1915, these societies enrolled 3 million women. Convinced of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, Protestant missionaries considered it their Christian duty to teach the Gospel to the "ignorant" Asian masses and save their souls. Missionaries also believed that their conversion efforts would free those masses from their racial destiny, enabling them to become "civilized."

Businessmen Industrialists, traders, and investors also began to look overseas, sensing that they could make fortunes in foreign lands. Exports of American manufactured goods rose substantially after 1880. By 1914, American foreign investment equaled a sizable 7 percent of the nation's gross national product. Companies such as Eastman Kodak (film and cameras), Singer Sewing Machine, Standard Oil, American Tobacco, and International Harvester had become multinational corporations with overseas branch offices.

Some industrialists became entranced by the prospect of clothing, feeding, housing, and transporting the 400 million people of China. James B. Duke, who headed American Tobacco, was selling 1 billion cigarettes per year in East Asian markets. Looking for ways to fill empty boxcars heading west from Minnesota to Tacoma, Washington, the railroad tycoon James J. Hill imagined stuffing them with wheat and steel destined for China and Japan. He actually distributed wheat cookbooks throughout East Asia to convince Asians to shift from a rice-based to a bread-based diet (so that there would be a market there for U.S. flour exports). Although export trade with East Asia during this period never fulfilled the expectations of Hill and other industrialists, their talk about the "wealth of the Orient" impressed on politicians its importance to American economic health.

Events of the 1890s only intensified the appeal of foreign markets. First, the 1890 U.S. census announced that the frontier had disappeared and that America had completed the task of westward expansion. Then, in 1893, a young historian named Frederick Jackson Turner published an essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," that articulated what many Americans feared: that the frontier had been essential to the growth of the economy and to the cultivation of democracy.

Living in the wilderness, Turner argued, had transformed the Europeans who settled the New World into Americans. They shed their European clothing styles, social customs, and political beliefs, and acquired distinctively American characteristics—rugged individualism, egalitarianism, and a democratic faith. How, Turner wondered, could the nation continue to prosper now that the frontier had gone?

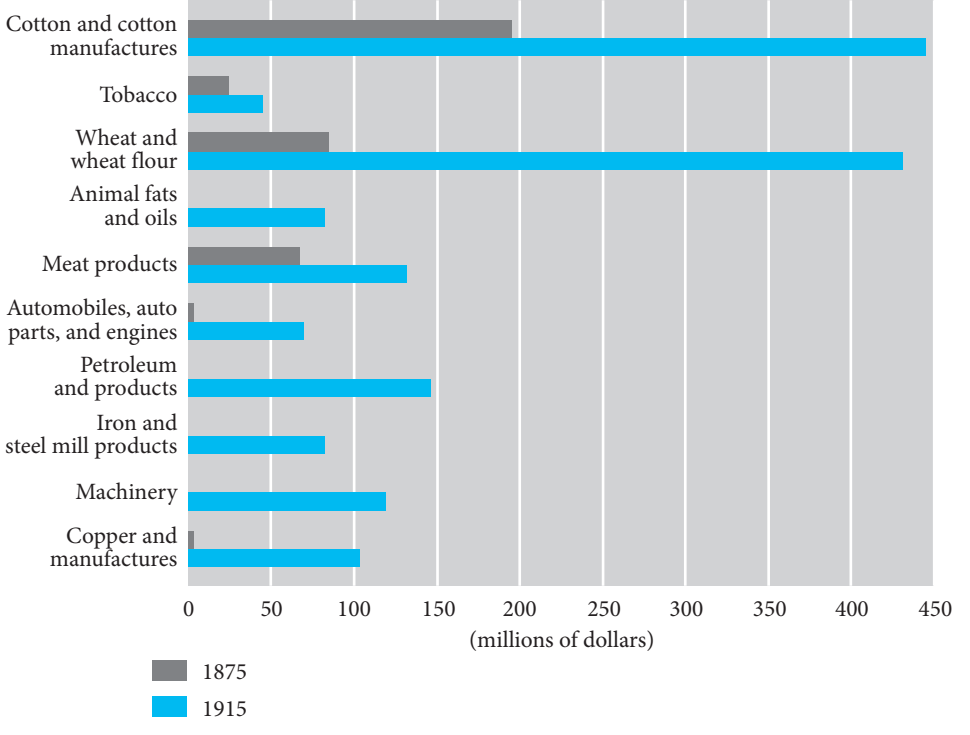
In recent years, historians of the American West have criticized **Turner's "frontier thesis."** They have argued that the very idea of the frontier as uninhabited wilderness overlooked the tens of thousands of Indians who occupied the region and that much else of what Americans believed about the West was based more on myth than on reality. They have also pointed out that it makes little sense to

view the 1890s as a decade in which opportunities for economic gain disappeared in the West.

Even though these points are valid, they would have meant little to Americans living in Turner's time. For them, as for Turner, concern about the disappearing frontier expressed a fear that the increasingly urbanized and industrialized nation had lost its way. Turner's essay appeared just as the country was entering the deepest, longest, and most conflict-ridden depression in its history (see Chapter 19). What could the republic do to regain its economic prosperity and political stability? Where would it find its new frontiers? One answer to these questions focused on the pursuit of overseas expansion.

Imperialists

Eager to assist in the drive for overseas expansion was a group of politicians, intellectuals, and military strategists who viewed such expansion as essential to the pursuit of world power. They wanted the United States to join Britain, France, Germany, and Russia as a great imperial nation. They believed that the United States should build a strong navy, solidify a sphere of influence in the Caribbean, and extend markets into Asia. Their desire to control ports and territories beyond the continental borders of their own country made them **imperialists.**



Leading U.S. Exports, 1875 and 1915

Source: Data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1989).

One of the best-known imperialists of the period was Admiral **Alfred Thayer Mahan.** In an influential book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (1890), Mahan argued that past empires, beginning with Rome, had relied on their capacity to control the seas. Mahan called for the construction of a U.S. navy with enough ships and firepower to make its presence felt across the world. To be effective, that global fleet would require a canal across Central America through which U.S. warships could pass swiftly from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. It would also require a string of far-flung service bases from the Caribbean to the southwestern Pacific. Mahan recommended that the U.S. government take possession of Hawaii and other strategically located Pacific islands with superior harbor facilities.

Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt would eventually make almost the whole of Mahan's vision a reality, but in the early 1890s, Mahan doubted that Americans would accept the responsibility and costs of empire. Many Americans still insisted that the United States should not aspire to world power by acquiring overseas bases and colonizing foreign peoples.

Mahan underestimated, however, the government's alarm over the scramble of Europeans to extend their imperial control. Every U.S. administration from the 1880s on committed to a "big navy" policy. By 1898, the U.S. Navy ranked fifth in the world, and by 1900, it ranked third. Already in 1878, the United States had secured rights to Pago Pago, a superb deep-water harbor in Samoa (a collection of islands in the southwest Pacific inhabited by Polynesians), and in 1885, it had leased Pearl Harbor from the Hawaiians. Both harbors were expected to serve as fueling stations for the growing U.S. fleet.

These attempts to project U.S. power overseas had already deepened the government's involvement in the affairs of distant lands. In 1889, the United States established a protectorate over part of Samoa, a move meant to forestall German and British efforts to weaken American influence on the islands. In the early 1890s, President Grover Cleveland's administration was increasingly drawn into Hawaiian affairs, as tensions between American sugar plantation owners and native Hawaiians upset the islands' economic and political stability. In 1891, U.S. plantation owners succeeded in deposing the Hawaiian king and putting into power Queen Liliuokalani. But when Liliuokalani strove to establish her independence from American interests, the planters, assisted by U.S. sailors, overthrew her regime, too. Cleveland declared Hawaii a protectorate in 1893, but he resisted the imperialists in Congress who wanted to annex the islands.

Still, imperialist sentiment in Congress and across the nation continued to grow, fueled by "jingoism." Jingoists were nationalists who thought that a swaggering foreign policy and a willingness to go to war would enhance their nation's glory. This predatory brand of nationalism emerged in each of the world's big powers in the late 19th century. In the United States, it manifested itself in terms of an eagerness for war. The anti-imperialist editor of the *Nation,* E. L. Godkin, exclaimed in 1894: "The number of men and officials of this country who are now mad to fight somebody is appalling." Recent feminist scholarship has emphasized the degree to which men of the 1890s saw war as an opportunity to revive frontier-like notions of masculinity—of men as warriors and conquerors—that were proving difficult to sustain in industrializing and bureaucratizing America. Spain's behavior in Cuba in the 1890s gave those men the war they sought.

THE U.S. NAVY, 1890–1914: EXPENDITURES AND BATTLESHIP SIZE

Fiscal Year	Total Federal Expenditures	Naval Expenditures	Naval Expenditures as Percentage of Total Federal Expenditures	Size of Battleships (average tons displaced)
1890	$318,040,711	$22,006,206	6.9%	11,000
1900	520,860,847	55,953,078	10.7	12,000
1901	524,616,925	60,506,978	11.5	16,000
1905	657,278,914	117,550,308	20.7	16,000
1909	693,743,885	115,546,011	16.7	27,000 (1910)
1914	735,081,431	139,682,186	19.0	32,000

Source: (for expenditures) E. B. Potter, *Sea Power: A Naval History* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1982), p. 187; (for size of ships) Harold Sprout, *Toward a New Order of Sea Power* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 52.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Relations between the Cubans and their Spanish rulers had long been deteriorating. The Spanish had taken 10 years to subdue a revolt begun in 1868. In 1895, the Cubans staged another revolt, sparked by their continuing resentment of Spanish control and by a depressed economy caused in part by an 1894 U.S. tariff law that made Cuban sugar too expensive for the U.S. market. The fighting was brutal. Cuban forces destroyed large areas of the island to make it uninhabitable by the Spanish. The Spanish army, led by General Valeriano Weyler, responded in kind, forcing large numbers of Cubans into concentration camps. Denied adequate food, shelter, and sanitation, an estimated 200,000 Cubans—one-eighth of the island's population—died of starvation and disease.

Such tactics, especially those ascribed to "Butcher" Weyler (as he was known in much of the U.S. press), inflamed American opinion. Many Americans sympathized with the Cubans, who seemed to be fighting the kind of anti-colonial war Americans had waged more than 100 years earlier. Americans stayed informed about Cuban-Spanish struggles by reading the *New York Journal,* owned by William Randolph Hearst, and the *New York World,* owned by Joseph Pulitzer. Hearst and Pulitzer were transforming newspaper publishing in much the same way Sam McClure and others had revolutionized the magazine business (see Chapter 21). To boost circulation, they sought out sensational and shocking stories and described them in lurid detail. They were accused of engaging in **"yellow journalism"**—embellishing stories with titillating details when the true reports did not seem dramatic enough.

The sensationalism of the yellow press and its frequently jingoistic accounts failed to bring about American intervention in Cuba, however. In the final days of his administration, President Cleveland resisted mounting pressure to intervene.

William McKinley, who succeeded him in 1897, denounced the Spanish even more harshly, with the aim of forcing Spain into concessions that would satisfy the Cuban rebels and end the conflict. Initially, this strategy seemed to work: Spain relieved "Butcher" Weyler of his command, began releasing incarcerated Cubans from concentration camps, and granted Cuba limited autonomy. Still, Spaniards living on the island refused the authority of a Cuban government, and Cuban rebels continued to demand full independence. Late in 1897, when riots broke out in Havana, McKinley ordered the battleship *Maine* into Havana harbor to protect U.S. citizens and their property. Then, two unexpected events set off a war.

The first was the February 9, 1898, publication in Hearst's *New York Journal* of a letter stolen from Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish minister to Washington, in which he described McKinley as "a cheap politician" and a "bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The de Lôme letter also implied that the Spanish cared little about resolving the Cuban crisis through negotiation and reform. The news embarrassed Spanish officials and outraged many in the United States. Then, only six days later, the *Maine* exploded in Havana harbor, killing 260 American sailors. Although subsequent investigations revealed that the most probable cause of the explosion was a malfunctioning boiler, Americans were certain that it had been the work of Spanish agents. "Remember the *Maine!*" screamed the headlines in the yellow press. On March 8, Congress responded to the clamor for war by authorizing $50 million to mobilize U.S. forces. In the meantime, McKinley notified Spain of his conditions for avoiding war: Spain would pay an indemnity for the *Maine,* abandon its concentration camps, end the fighting with the rebels, and commit to Cuban independence. On April 9, Spain accepted all the demands but the last. Nevertheless, on April 11, McKinley asked Congress for authority to go to war. Three days later, Congress approved a war resolution, which included a declaration (spelled out in the Teller Amendment) that the United States would not use the war as an opportunity to acquire territory in Cuba. On April 24, Spain responded with a formal declaration of war against the United States.

"A Splendid Little War"

Secretary of State John Hay called the fight with Spain "a splendid little war." Begun in April, it ended in August. More than 1 million men volunteered to fight, and fewer than 500 were killed or wounded in combat. The American victory over Spain was complete, not just in Cuba but in the neighboring island of Puerto Rico and in the Philippines, Spain's strategic possession in the Pacific.

Actually, the war was more complicated than it seemed. The main reason for the easy victory was U.S. naval superiority. In the war's first major battle, a naval engagement in Manila harbor in the Philippines on May 1, a U.S. fleet commanded by Commodore George Dewey destroyed an entire Spanish fleet and lost only one sailor (to heat stroke). On land, the story was different. On the eve of war, the U.S. Army consisted of only 26,000 troops. These soldiers were skilled at skirmishing with Indians but ill-prepared and ill-equipped for all-out war. A force of 80,000 Spanish regulars awaited them in Cuba, with another 50,000 in reserve in Spain. Congress immediately increased the army to 62,000 and called for an additional 125,000 volunteers. The response to this call was astounding, but outfitting, training, and transporting the new recruits overwhelmed the army's capacities. Its

standard-issue, blue flannel uniforms proved too heavy for fighting in tropical Cuba. Rations were so poor that soldiers referred to one common item as "embalmed beef." Most of the volunteers had to make do with ancient Civil War rifles that still used black, rather than smokeless, powder. The initial invasion force of 16,000 men took more than five days to sail the short distance from Tampa, Florida, to Daiquiri, Cuba. Moreover, the army was unprepared for the effects of malaria and other tropical diseases.

That the Cuban revolutionaries were predominantly black also came as a shock to the U.S. forces. In their attempts to arouse support for the Cuban cause, U.S. newspapers had portrayed Cuban rebels as similar to white Americans. They were described as intelligent, civilized, and democratic, possessing an "Anglo-Saxon tenacity of purpose." And they were "fully nine-tenths" white, according to one report. The Spanish oppressors, by contrast, were depicted as dark-complexioned— "dark cruel eyes, dark swaggering men" wrote author Sherwood Anderson—and as possessing the characteristics of their "dark race": barbarism, cruelty, and indolence. The U.S. troops' first encounters with Cuban and Spanish forces challenged these stereotypes. Their Cuban allies appeared poorly outfitted, rough mannered, and largely black. The Spanish soldiers appeared well disciplined, tough in battle, and light complexioned.

The Cuban rebels were skilled guerrilla fighters, but racial prejudice prevented most U.S. soldiers and reporters from crediting their military expertise. Instead, they judged the Cubans harshly—as primitive, savage, and incapable of self-control or self-government. White U.S. troops preferred not to fight alongside the Cubans; increasingly, they refused to coordinate strategy with them.

At first, the U.S. Army's logistical unpreparedness and its racial misconceptions did little to diminish the soldiers' hunger for a good fight. No one was more eager for battle than Theodore Roosevelt, who, along with Colonel Leonard Wood, led a volunteer cavalry unit composed of Ivy League gentlemen, western cowboys, sheriffs, prospectors, Indians, and small numbers of Hispanics and ethnic European Americans. Roosevelt's **Rough Riders,** as the unit came to be known, landed with the invasion force and played an active role in the three battles fought in the hills surrounding Santiago. Their most famous action, the one on which Roosevelt would build his lifelong reputation as a military hero, was a furious charge up Kettle Hill into the teeth of Spanish defenses. Roosevelt's bravery was stunning, although his judgment was faulty. Nearly 100 men were killed or wounded. Reports of Roosevelt's bravery overshadowed the equally brave performance of other troops, notably the **9th and 10th Negro Cavalries,** which played a pivotal role in clearing away Spanish fortifications on Kettle Hill and allowing Roosevelt's Rough Riders to make their charge. One Rough Rider commented: "If it had not been for the Negro cavalry, the Rough Riders would have been exterminated." The 24th and 25th Negro Infantry Regiments performed equally vital tasks in the U.S. Army's conquest of the adjacent San Juan Hill.

Theodore Roosevelt saw the Rough Rider regiment that he commanded in the Spanish-American War as a melting pot of different groups of white Americans. Combat, he further believed, would forge these many groups into one, as war had always done in the American past. African Americans were the group most conspicuously absent from the Rough Rider mix. Yet the fury of the fighting on Kettle Hill

Rough Riders and 10th Cavalry.
Roosevelt stands with his Rough Riders (top image) while members of the 10th Cavalry pose in the bottom image. Both groups played pivotal roles in the battles of San Juan and Kettle hills, but America would celebrate only the Rough Riders, not the black cavalrymen.



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and San Juan Hill so scrambled the white and black regiments that by the time the troops reached the San Juan summit, they were racially intermixed. Combat had brought blacks into the great American melting pot. The black troops, Roosevelt declared, were "an excellent breed of Yankee," and no "Rough Rider will ever forget," he added, "the tie that binds us to the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry."

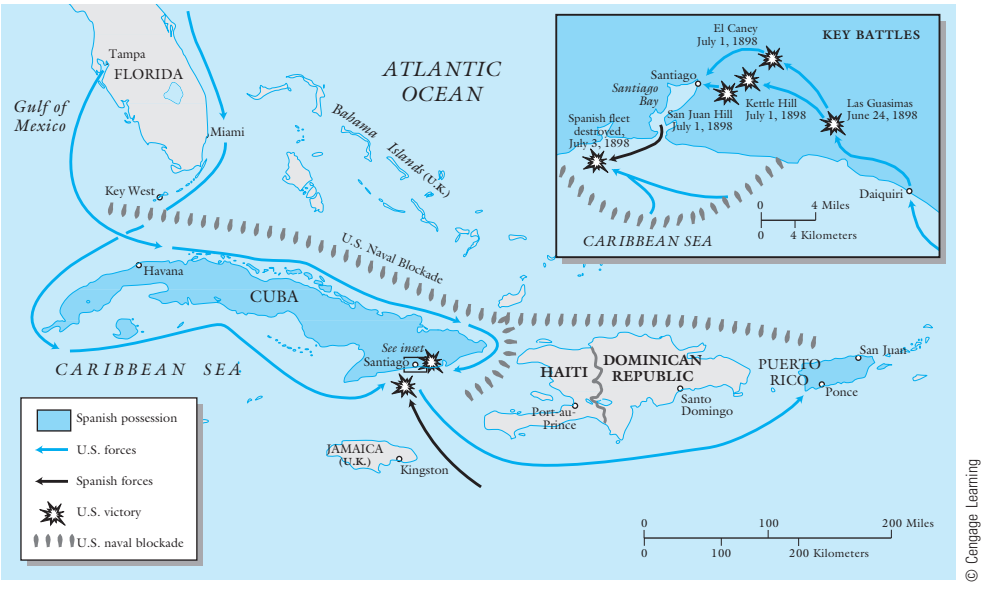
But Roosevelt did not truly believe that blacks were the equals of whites or that they could be absorbed into the American nation. So, a few months after returning home, he began downplaying the role of black troops and questioned their ability to fight. The attack on black fighting abilities would become so widespread that by the start of the First World War, the U.S. military had largely excluded black troops from combat roles. Thus, an episode that had demonstrated the possibility of interracial cooperation in America ended in the hardening of racial boundaries.

The taking of Kettle Hill, San Juan Hill, and other high ground surrounding Santiago gave the U.S. forces a substantial advantage over the Spanish defenders

in Santiago. Nevertheless, the troops were short of food, ammunition, and medical facilities. Their ranks were devastated by malaria, typhoid, and dysentery, and more than 5,000 soldiers died from disease. Even the normally ebullient Roosevelt was close to despair: "We are within measurable distance of a terrible military disaster," he wrote his friend Henry Cabot Lodge on July 3.

Fortunately, the Spanish had lost the will to fight. On the very day Roosevelt wrote to Lodge, Spain's Atlantic fleet tried to retreat from Santiago harbor and was promptly destroyed by a U.S. fleet. The Spanish army in Santiago surrendered on July 16; on July 18, the Spanish government asked for peace. While negotiations for an armistice proceeded, U.S. forces overran the neighboring island of Puerto Rico. On August 12, the U.S. and Spanish governments agreed to an armistice, but before the news could reach the Philippines, the United States had captured Manila and had taken prisoner 13,000 Spanish soldiers.

The armistice required Spain to relinquish its claim to Cuba, cede Puerto Rico and the Pacific island of Guam to the United States, and tolerate the American occupation of Manila until a peace conference could be convened in Paris on October 1, 1898. At that conference, American diplomats startled their Spanish counterparts by demanding that Spain also cede the Philippines to the United States. After two months of stalling, the Spanish government agreed to relinquish their coveted Pacific colony for $20 million. The transaction was sealed by the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898.



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MAP 22.1 Spanish-American War in Cuba, 1898

This map shows the following: the routes taken by U.S. ships transporting troops from Florida to Cuba; the concentration of troop landings and battles around Santiago, Cuba; and a U.S. naval blockade, stretching hundreds of miles from Puerto Rico to Cuba, that attempted to keep the Spanish troops in Cuba and Puerto Rico from being reinforced.

The United States Becomes a World Power

America's initial war aim had been to oust the Spanish from Cuba—an aim that both imperialists and anti-imperialists supported, but for different reasons. Imperialists hoped to incorporate Cuba into a new American empire; anti-imperialists hoped to see the Cubans gain their independence. But only the imperialists condoned the U.S. acquisition of Puerto Rico, Guam, and particularly the Philippines, which they viewed as integral to the extension of U.S. interests into Asia. Soon after the war began, President McKinley had cast his lot with the imperialists. First, he annexed Hawaii, giving the United States permanent control of Pearl Harbor. Next, he established a U.S. naval base at Manila. Never before had the United States sought such a large military presence outside the Western Hemisphere.

In a departure of equal importance, McKinley announced his intent to administer much of this newly acquired territory as U.S. colonies. Virtually all territory the United States had obtained in the 19th century had been part of the North American continent. These lands had been settled by Americans, who had eventually petitioned for statehood. Of these new territories, however, only Hawaii would be allowed to follow this traditional path toward statehood. There, the powerful U.S. sugar plantation owners prevailed on Congress to pass an act in 1900 extending U.S. citizenship to all Hawaiian citizens and putting Hawaii on the road to statehood. No such influential group of Americans resided in the Philippines. The country was made a U.S. colony and placed under a U.S. administration that took its orders from Washington rather than from the Filipino people. Such colonization was necessary, in the eyes of American imperialists, to prevent other powers, such as Japan and Germany, from gaining a foothold somewhere in the 400-island archipelago and launching attacks on the U.S. naval base in Manila.

The United States might have negotiated an arrangement with **Emilio Aguinaldo,** the leader of an anti-colonial movement in the Philippines, that would have given the Philippines independence in exchange for a U.S. naval base at Manila. An American fleet stationed there would have been able to protect both American interests and the fledgling Philippine nation from predatory assaults by Japan, Germany, or Britain. Alternatively, the United States might have annexed the Philippines outright and offered Filipinos U.S. citizenship as the first step toward statehood. McKinley and his supporters, however, believed that the "inferior" Filipino people lacked the capacity for self-government. The United States would undertake a solemn mission to "civilize" the Filipinos and thereby prepare them for independence, but until that mission was complete, the Philippines would submit to rule by presidentially appointed U.S. governors.

The Debate over the Treaty of Paris

The proposed acquisition of the Philippines aroused opposition both in the United States and in the Philippines. The Anti-Imperialist League, strong in the Northeast, enlisted the support of several elder statesmen in McKinley's own party, as well as the former Democratic President Grover Cleveland, the industrialist Andrew Carnegie, and the labor leader Samuel Gompers. William Jennings Bryan, meanwhile, marshaled a vigorous anti-imperialist protest among Democrats in the South and West, while Mark Twain, William James, William Dean Howells, and other men of

letters lent the cause their prestige. Some anti-imperialists believed that subjugating the Filipinos would violate the nation's most precious principle: the right of all people to independence and self-government. Moreover, they feared that the military and diplomatic establishment needed to administer the colony would threaten political liberties at home.

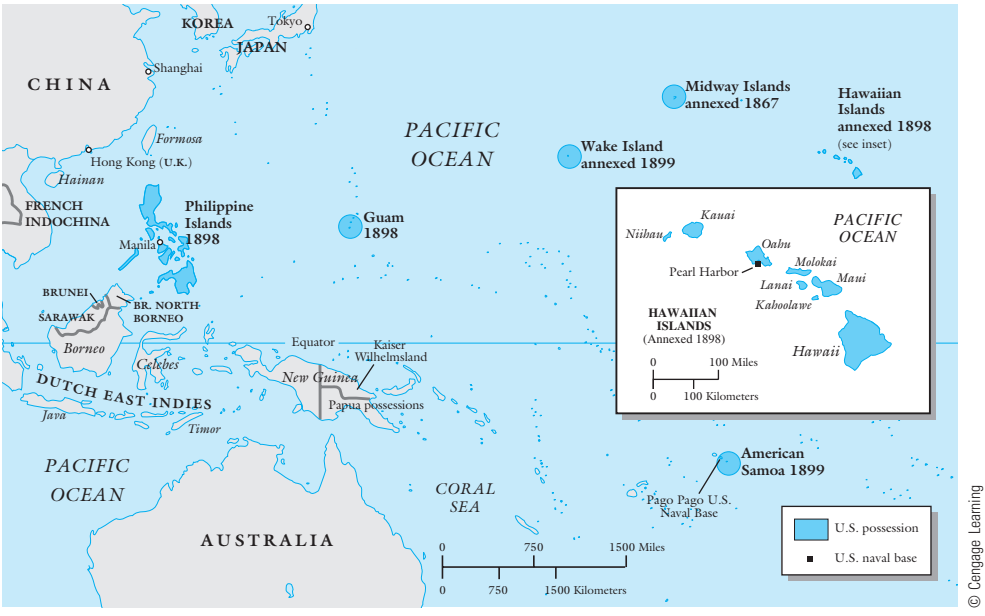
Other anti-imperialists were motivated more by self-interest than by democratic ideals. U.S. sugar producers, for example, feared competition from Filipino producers. Trade unionists worried that poor Filipino workers would flood the U.S. labor market and depress wage rates. Some businessmen warned that the costs of maintaining an imperial outpost would exceed any economic benefits that the colony might produce. Many Democrats, meanwhile, simply wanted to gain partisan advantage by opposing the Republican administration's foreign policy. Still other anti-imperialists feared the contaminating effects of contact with "inferior" Asian races.

Despite their contrasting motivations, the anti-imperialists almost dealt McKinley and his fellow imperialists a defeat in the U.S. Senate. On February 6, 1899, the Senate voted 57 to 27 in favor of the Treaty of Paris, only one vote beyond the minimum two-thirds majority required for ratification. Two last-minute developments may have brought victory. First, William Jennings Bryan, in the days before the vote, abandoned his opposition and announced his support for the treaty. Second, on the eve of the vote, Filipinos rose in revolt against the U.S. army of occupation. With another war looming and the lives of American soldiers imperiled, a few senators who had been reluctant to vote for the treaty may have felt obligated to support the president.

The American-Filipino War

The acquisition of the Philippines immediately embroiled the United States in a long, brutal war to subdue the Filipino rebels. In four years of fighting, more than 120,000 American soldiers served in the Philippines and more than 4,200 of them died. The war cost $160 million, or eight times what the United States had paid Spain to acquire the archipelago. The war brought Americans face-to-face with an unpleasant truth: American actions in the Philippines were virtually indistinguishable from Spain's actions in Cuba. Like Spain, the United States refused to acknowledge a people's aspiration for self-rule. Like "Butcher" Weyler, American generals permitted the use of savage tactics. Whole communities suspected of harboring guerrillas were driven into concentration camps, and their houses, farms, and livestock were destroyed. American soldiers killed so many Filipino rebels (whom they called "goo-goos") that the ratio of Filipino dead to wounded reached 15 to 1, a statistic that made the American Civil War, in which one soldier had died for every five wounded, seem relatively humane. One New York infantryman wrote home that his unit had killed 1,000 Filipinos—men, women, and children—in retaliation for the murder of a single American soldier. A total of 15,000 Filipino soldiers died in the fighting. Estimates of total Filipino deaths from gunfire, starvation, and disease range from 50,000 to 200,000.

The United States finally gained the upper hand in the war after General Arthur MacArthur (father of Douglas) was appointed commander of the islands in 1900. MacArthur did not lessen the war's ferocity, but he understood that it could not be won by guns alone. He offered amnesty to Filipino guerrillas who agreed to surrender, and he cultivated close relations with the islands' economic elites. McKinley supported this effort to build a Filipino constituency sympathetic to the U.S. presence. He sent



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MAP 22.2 American South Pacific Empire, 1900

By 1900, the American South Pacific empire consisted of a series of strategically located islands with superior harbor facilities, stretching from the Hawaiian Islands and Samoa in the middle of the Pacific to the Philippines on the ocean's western edge.

William Howard Taft to the islands in 1900 to establish a civilian government. In 1901, Taft became the colony's first "governor-general" and declared that he intended to prepare the Filipinos for independence. He transferred many governmental functions to Filipino control and launched a program of public works (roads, bridges, schools) that would give the Philippines the infrastructure necessary for economic development and political independence. By 1902, this dual strategy of ruthless war against those who had taken up arms and concessions to those who were willing to live under benevolent American rule had crushed the revolt. Though sporadic fighting continued until 1913, Americans had secured control of the Philippines. The explicit commitment of the United States to Philippine independence (a promise that was deferred until 1946), together with an extensive program of internal improvements, eased the nation's conscience.

Controlling Cuba and Puerto Rico

Helping the Cubans achieve independence had been a major rationalization for the war against Spain. Even so, in 1900 when General Leonard Wood, commander of U.S. forces in Cuba, authorized a constitutional convention to write the laws for a Cuban republic, the McKinley administration made clear it would not easily relinquish control of the island. At McKinley's urging, the U.S. Congress attached to a 1901 army appropriations bill the **Platt Amendment,** delineating three conditions for Cuban independence: (1) Cuba would not be permitted to make treaties with foreign powers; (2) the United States would have broad authority to intervene in

Cuban political and economic affairs; and (3) Cuba would sell or lease land to the United States for naval stations. The delegates to Cuba's constitutional convention were outraged, but the dependence of Cuba's vital sugar industry on the U.S. market and the continuing presence of a U.S. army on Cuban soil rendered resistance futile. In 1901, by a vote of 15 to 11, the delegates reluctantly wrote the Platt conditions into their constitution. "There is, of course, little or no independence left Cuba under the Platt Amendment," Wood candidly admitted to his friend Theodore Roosevelt, who had recently succeeded the assassinated McKinley as president.

Cuba's status, in truth, differed little from that of the Philippines. Both were colonies of the United States. In the case of Cuba, economic dependence closely followed political subjugation. Between 1898 and 1914, U.S. trade with Cuba increased more than tenfold (from $27 million to $300 million), while investments more than quadrupled (from $50 million to $220 million). In 1903, the United States compelled Cuba to lease it 45 square miles of land and water on the island nation's southeast coast. There the United States built the U.S. Naval Station at Guantanamo Bay, a facility that it maintains to this day. The United States also intervened in Cuban political affairs five times between 1906 and 1921 to protect its economic interests and those of the indigenous ruling class with whom it had become closely allied. The economic, political, and military control that the United States imposed on Cuba would fuel anti-American sentiment there for years to come.

Puerto Rico received somewhat different treatment. The United States annexed the island outright with the Foraker Act (1900). Unlike every previous annexation authorized by Congress since 1788, this act contained no provision for making the inhabitants of Puerto Rico citizens of the United States. Instead, Puerto Rico was designated an "unincorporated" territory, which meant that Congress would dictate the island's government and specify the rights of its inhabitants. Puerto Ricans were allowed no role in designing their government, nor was their consent to its establishment sought. With the Foraker Act, Congress had, in effect, invented a new, imperial mechanism for ensuring sovereignty over lands deemed vital to U.S. economic and military security. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this mechanism in a series of historic decisions, known as the Insular Cases, in the years from 1901 to 1904.

In some respects, Puerto Rico fared better than "independent" Cuba. Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship in 1917 and won the right to elect their own governor in 1947. Still, Puerto Ricans enjoyed fewer political rights than Americans in the 48 states. Moreover, throughout the 20th century, they endured a poverty rate far exceeding that of the mainland. As late as 1948, for example, three-fourths of Puerto Rican households subsisted on $1,000 or less annually, a figure below the U.S. poverty line. In its skewed distribution of wealth and its lack of industrial development, Puerto Rico resembled the poorly developed nations of Central and South America more than it did the affluent country that took over its government in 1900.

The subjugation of Cuba and the annexation of Puerto Rico troubled Americans far less than the U.S. takeover in the Philippines. Since the first articulation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the United States had, in effect, claimed the Western Hemisphere as its sphere of influence. Within that sphere, many Americans believed, the United States possessed the right to act unilaterally to protect its interests. Before 1900, most of its actions (with the exception of the Mexican War) had been designed to limit the influence of European powers—Britain, France, Russia,

and Spain—on the countries of the hemisphere. After 1900, however, the United States assumed a more aggressive role, seizing land, overturning governments it did not like, and forcing its economic and political policies on weaker neighbors in order to turn the Caribbean Sea into what policymakers called (with the example of ancient Rome in mind) an American Mediterranean.

China and the "Open Door"

Except for Hawaii, the Philippines, and Guam, the United States made no effort to take control of Asian lands. Such a policy might well have triggered war with other world powers that were already well established in the area. The United States opted for a diplomatic rather than a military strategy to achieve its foreign policy objectives. For China, in 1899 and 1900, it proposed the policy of the "open door."

The United States was concerned that the actions of the other world powers in China would block its own efforts to open up China's markets to American goods. Britain, Germany, Japan, Russia, and France each coveted a chunk of China, where they could monopolize trade, exploit cheap labor, and establish military bases. By the 1890s, each of these powers was building a sphere of influence, either by wringing economic and territorial concessions from the weak Chinese government or by seizing outright the land and trading privileges they desired.

To prevent China's breakup and to preserve U.S. economic access to the whole of China, McKinley's secretary of state, John Hay, sent **"open door" notes** to the major world powers. The notes asked each power to open its Chinese sphere of influence to the merchants of other nations and to grant them reasonable harbor fees and railroad rates. Hay also asked each power to respect China's sovereignty by enforcing Chinese tariff duties in the territory it controlled.

None of the world powers embraced either of Hay's requests, although Britain and Japan gave provisional assent. France, Germany, Russia, and Italy responded evasively, indicating their support for the Open Door policy in theory but insisting that they could not implement it until all of the other powers had done so. Hay put the best face on their responses by declaring that all of the powers had agreed to observe his Open Door principles and that he regarded their assent as "final and definitive." The rivals may have been impressed by Hay's diplomacy, but whether they intended to uphold the United States' Open Door policy was not at all clear.

The first challenge to Hay's policy came from the Chinese. In May 1900, a Chinese organization, colloquially known as the **"Boxers,"** sparked an uprising to rid China of all "foreign devils" and foreign influences. Hundreds of Europeans were killed, as were many Chinese men and women who had converted to Christianity. When the Boxers laid siege to the foreign legations in Beijing and cut off communication between that city and the outside world, the imperial powers raised an expeditionary force to rescue the diplomats and punish the Chinese rebels. The force, which included 5,000 U.S. soldiers, rushed over from the Philippines, broke the Beijing siege in August, and ended the Boxer Rebellion soon thereafter.

Hay feared that other major powers would use the rebellion as a reason to demand greater control over Chinese territory. He sent out a second round of Open Door notes, now asking each power to respect China's political independence and territorial integrity, in addition to guaranteeing unrestricted access to its markets. Impressed by America's show of military strength and worried that the



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Restoring Order in China. *This 1900 photograph depicts the international nature of the expeditionary force raised to defeat the Chinese rebels known as Boxers. The soldiers/marines depicted above represented these nations (left to right): Great Britain, the United States, Russia, India, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Japan.*

Chinese rebels might strike again, the imperialist rivals responded more favorably to this second round of notes. Britain, France, and Germany endorsed Hay's policy outright. With that support, Hay was able to check Russian and Japanese designs on Chinese territory. Significantly, when the powers decided that the Chinese government should pay them reparations for their property and personnel losses during the Boxer Rebellion, Hay convinced them to accept payment in cash rather than in territory. By keeping China intact and open to free trade, the United States had achieved a major foreign policy victory.

Theodore Roosevelt, Geopolitician

Roosevelt had been a driving force in the transformation of U.S. foreign policy during the McKinley Administration. As assistant secretary of the navy, as a military hero, as a speaker and writer, and then as vice president, Roosevelt worked tirelessly to remake the country into one of the world's great powers. He believed that Americans were a racially superior people destined for supremacy in economic and political affairs. He did not assume, however, that international supremacy would automatically accrue to the United States. A nation, like an individual, had to strive for greatness and cultivate physical and mental fitness; it had to build a military force that could convincingly project power overseas; and it had to be prepared to fight. All great nations, Roosevelt declared, ultimately depended on the skill and dedication of their warriors.

Roosevelt's appetite for a good fight caused many people to rue the ascension of this "cowboy" to the White House after McKinley's assassination in 1901. But behind his blustery exterior lay a shrewd analyst of international relations. As much as he craved power for himself and the nation, he understood that the United States could not rule every portion of the globe through military or economic means. Consequently, he sought a balance of power among the industrial nations through negotiation rather than war. Such a balance would enable each imperial power to safeguard its key interests and contribute to world peace and progress.

Absent from Roosevelt's geopolitical thinking was concern for the interests of less powerful nations. Roosevelt had little patience with the claims to sovereignty of small countries or the human rights of weak peoples. In his eyes, the peoples of Latin America, Asia (with the exception of Japan), and Africa were racially inferior and thus incapable of self-government or industrial progress.

The Roosevelt Corollary

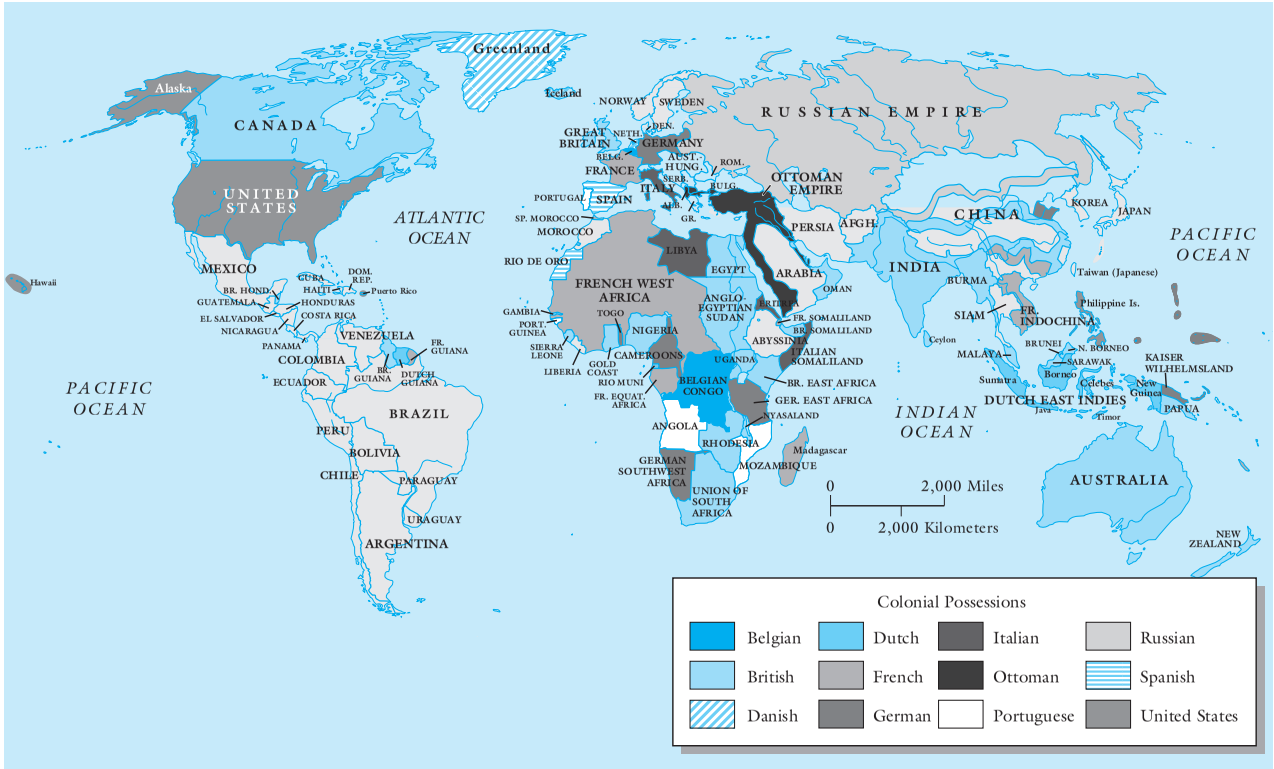
Ensuring U.S. dominance in the Western Hemisphere ranked high on Roosevelt's list of foreign policy objectives. In 1904, he issued a "corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine, which had asserted the right of the United States to keep European powers from meddling in hemispheric affairs. In his corollary, Roosevelt declared that the United States possessed a further right: to intervene in the domestic affairs of nations in the Western Hemisphere to quell disorder and forestall European intervention. The **Roosevelt corollary** formalized a policy that the United States had already deployed against Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1900 and 1901. Subsequent events in Venezuela and the Dominican Republic had further convinced Roosevelt of the need to expand the scope of U.S. intervention in hemispheric affairs.

Both Venezuela and the Dominican Republic were controlled by dictators who had defaulted on debts owed to European banks. Their delinquency prompted a German-led European naval blockade and bombardment of Venezuela in 1902 and a threatened invasion of the Dominican Republic by Italy and France in 1903. The United States forced the German navy to retreat from the Venezuelan coast in 1903. In the Dominican Republic, after a revolution had chased the dictator from power, the United States assumed control of the nation's customs collections in 1905 and refinanced the Dominican national debt through U.S. bankers.

The willingness of European bankers to loan money to Latin America's corrupt regimes had created the possibility that the countries ruled by these regimes would suffer bankruptcy, social turmoil, and foreign intervention. The United States, under Roosevelt, did not hesitate to intervene to make sure that loans were repaid and social stability restored. But rarely in Roosevelt's tenure did the United States show a willingness to help the people who had suffered under these regimes establish democratic institutions or achieve social justice. When Cubans seeking true national independence rebelled against their puppet government in 1906, the United States sent in the Marines to silence them.

The Panama Canal

Roosevelt had long believed, along with Admiral Mahan, that the nation needed a way of moving its ships swiftly between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Central America's narrow width, especially in its southern half, made it the logical place to build a canal. In fact,



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MAP 22.3 Colonial Possessions, 1900

In 1900, the British Empire was the largest in the world, followed by the French and Russian Empires. The U.S. Empire, if measured by the square miles of land held as colonial possessions, was small by comparison.



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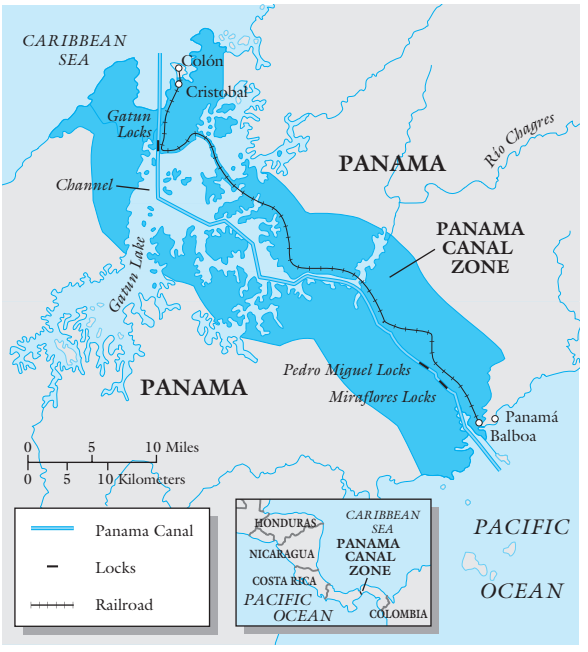
MAP 22.4 United States Presence in Latin America, 1895–1934

The United States possessed few colonies in Latin America but intervened (often repeatedly) in Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela to secure its economic and political interests.

a French company had obtained land rights and had begun construction of a canal across the Colombian province of Panama in the 1880s. But even though a "mere" 40 miles of land separated the two oceans, the French were stymied by technological difficulties and by the financial costs of literally moving mountains. Moreover, French doctors found they were unable to check the spread of malaria and yellow fever among their workers. By the time Roosevelt entered the White House in 1901, the French Panama Company had gone bankrupt.

Roosevelt was not deterred by the French failure. He first presided over the signing of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain in 1901, releasing the United States from an 1850 agreement that prohibited either country from building a Central American canal without the other's participation. He then instructed his advisers to develop plans for a canal across Nicaragua. Though the Panamanian route chosen by the French was shorter than the proposed Nicaraguan route, and the canal begun by the French was 40 percent complete, the French company wanted $109 million for it, more than the United States was willing to pay. In 1902, however, the company reduced the price to $40 million. Secretary of State Hay quickly negotiated an agreement with Tomas Herran, the Colombian chargé d'affaires in Washington. The agreement, formalized in the Hay-Herran Treaty, accorded the United States a six-mile-wide strip across **Panama** on which to build the **canal.** Colombia was to receive a one-time $10 million payment and annual rent of $250,000.

The Colombian legislature, however, rejected the proposed payment as insufficient and sent a new ambassador to the United States with instructions to ask for a



MAP 22.5 Panama Canal Zone, 1914

This map shows the route of the completed canal through Panama and the 10-mile-wide zone surrounding it that the United States controlled. The inset map locates the Canal Zone in the context of Central and South America.

one-time payment of $20 million and a share of the $40 million being paid to the French company. Actually, the Colombians were hoping to stall negotiations until 1904, when they would regain the rights to the Canal Zone and consequently to the $40 million sale price promised to the French company.

As negotiations failed to deliver the result he desired, Roosevelt encouraged the Panamanians to revolt against Colombian rule. Panamanians had staged several rebellions in the previous 25 years, all of which had failed. The 1903 rebellion succeeded, mainly because a U.S. naval force prevented the Colombian government from landing troops in its Panama province. Meanwhile, the U.S.S. Nashville put U.S. troops ashore to help the new nation secure its independence. The United States formally recognized Panama as a sovereign state only two days after the rebellion against Colombia began.

Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a director of the French company from which the United States had bought the rights to the canal, declared himself Panama's diplomatic representative, even though he was a French citizen operating out of a Wall Street law firm and hadn't set foot in Panama in 15 years. Before the true Panamanian delegation (appointed by the new Panamanian government) even reached the United States for negotiations over the canal, Bunau-Varilla and Secretary of State Hay signed the Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903). The treaty granted the United States a 10-mile-wide canal zone in Panama in return for the package Colombia had rejected—$10 million down and $250,000 annually. Thus the United States secured its canal by dealing with Bunau-Varilla's French company rather than with the newly installed Panamanian government. When the Panamanian delegation arrived in Washington

and read the treaty, one of them became so enraged that he knocked Bunau-Varilla out cold. Under the circumstances, however, the Panamanian delegation's hands were tied. If it objected to the counterfeit treaty, the United States might withdraw its troops from Panama, leaving the new country at the mercy of Colombia. The instrument through which the United States secured the Canal Zone is known in Panamanian history as "the treaty which no Panamanian signed," and it bedeviled relations between the two countries for much of the 20th century.

Roosevelt's severing of Panama from Colombia prompted angry protests in Congress. The Hearst newspapers decried the Panama foray as "nefarious" and "a quite unexampled instance of foul play in American politics." Roosevelt was not perturbed, later gloating, "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate!"

Roosevelt turned the building of the canal into a test of American ingenuity and willpower. Engineers overcame every obstacle; doctors developed drugs to combat malaria and yellow fever; armies of construction workers "made the dirt fly." The canal remains a testament to the labor of some 30,000 workers, imported mainly from the West Indies, who, over a 10-year period, labored 10 hours a day, 6 days a week, for 10 cents an hour. Roosevelt visited the canal site in 1906, the first American president to travel overseas while in office. When the canal was triumphantly opened to shipping in 1914, the British ambassador James Bryce described it as "the greatest liberty Man has ever taken with Nature." The canal shortened the voyage from San Francisco to New York by more than 8,000 miles and significantly enhanced the international prestige of the United States. The strategic importance of the canal, in turn, made the United States even more determined to preserve political order in Central America and the Caribbean.

In 1921, the United States paid the Colombian government $25 million as compensation for its loss of Panama. Panama waited more than 70 years, however, to regain control of the 10-mile-wide strip of land that Bunau-Varilla, in connivance with the U.S. government, had bargained away in 1903. President Jimmy Carter signed a treaty in 1977 providing for the reintegration of the Canal Zone into Panama, and the canal was transferred to Panama in 2000.

Keeping the Peace in East Asia

Roosevelt strove to preserve the Open Door policy in China and the balance of power throughout the region. The chief threats came from Russia and Japan, both of whom wanted to seize large chunks of China. At first, Russian expansion into Manchuria and Korea prompted Roosevelt to support Japan's 1904 attack on the Russian Pacific fleet anchored at Port Arthur, China. Once the ruinous effects of the war on Russia became clear, however, Roosevelt entered into secret negotiations to arrange a peace. He invited representatives of Japan and Russia to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and prevailed on them to negotiate a compromise. The settlement favored Japan by perpetuating its control over most of the territories it had won during the brief **Russo-Japanese War.** Its chief prize was Korea, which became a protectorate of Japan, but Japan also acquired the southern part of Sakhalin Island, Port Arthur, and the South Manchurian Railroad. Russia avoided paying Japan a huge indemnity, and it retained Siberia, thus preserving its role as an East Asian power. Finally, Roosevelt protected China's territorial integrity by inducing the armies of both Russia and Japan to leave Manchuria. Roosevelt's success in ending

the Russo-Japanese War won him the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1906; he was the first American to earn that award.

Although Roosevelt succeeded in negotiating a peace between these two world powers, he subsequently ignored, and sometimes encouraged, challenges to the sovereignty of weaker Asian nations. In a secret agreement with Japan (the Taft-Katsura Agreement of 1905), for example, the United States agreed that Japan could dominate Korea in return for a Japanese promise not to attack the Philippines. And in the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908, the United States tacitly reversed its earlier stand on the inviolability of Chinese borders by recognizing Japanese expansion into southern Manchuria.

In Roosevelt's eyes, the overriding need to maintain peace with Japan justified ignoring the claims of Korea and, increasingly, of China. The task of American diplomacy, he believed, was first to allow the Japanese to build a secure sphere of influence in East Asia (much as the United States had done in Central America and the Caribbean), and second to encourage them to join the United States in pursuing peace rather than war. This was a delicate diplomatic task that required both sensitivity and strength, especially when anti-Japanese agitation broke out in California in 1906.

White Californians had long feared the presence of East Asian immigrants (see Chapter 20). They had pressured Congress into passing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which ended most Chinese immigration to the United States. They next turned their racism on Japanese immigrants, whose numbers in California had reached 24,000. In 1906, the San Francisco school board ordered the segregation of Asian schoolchildren so that they would not "contaminate" white children. In 1907, the California legislature debated a law to end Japanese immigration to the state. Anti-Asian riots erupted in San Francisco and Los Angeles, encouraged in part by hysterical stories in the press about the "Yellow Peril."

Outraged militarists in Japan began talking of a possible war with the United States. Roosevelt assured the Japanese government that he, too, was appalled by the Californians' behavior. In 1907, he reached a **gentlemen's agreement** with the Japanese, by which the Tokyo government promised to halt the immigration of Japanese adult male laborers to the United States in return for Roosevelt's pledge to end anti-Japanese discrimination in California. Roosevelt did his part by persuading the San Francisco school board to rescind its segregation ordinance.

At the same time, Roosevelt worried that the Tokyo government would interpret his sensitivity to Japanese honor as weakness. So he ordered the main part of the U.S. fleet, consisting of 16 battleships, to embark on a 45,000-mile world tour, including a splashy stop in Tokyo Bay. Many Americans deplored the cost of the tour and feared that the appearance of the U.S. Navy in a Japanese port would provoke military retaliation. Roosevelt brushed his critics aside, and, true to his prediction, the Japanese were impressed by the show of strength by the **Great White Fleet.** Their response seemed to lend validity to the African proverb Roosevelt often invoked: "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

In fact, Roosevelt's handling of Japan was arguably the most impressive aspect of his foreign policy. Unlike many other Americans, he refused to let racist attitudes cloud his thinking. He knew when to make concessions and when to stand firm. His policies lessened the prospect of a war with Japan while preserving a strong U.S. presence in East Asia.

William Howard Taft, Dollar Diplomat

William Howard Taft brought impressive foreign policy credentials to the job of president. He had gained valuable experience in colonial administration as the first governor-general of the Philippines. As Roosevelt's secretary of war and chief negotiator for the Taft-Katsura agreement of 1905, he had learned a great deal about conducting diplomacy with imperialist rivals. Yet Taft lacked Roosevelt's grasp of balance-of-power politics and capacity for leadership in foreign affairs. Furthermore, Taft's secretary of state, Philander C. Knox, a corporation lawyer from Pittsburgh, lacked diplomatic expertise. Knox's conduct of foreign policy seemed directed almost entirely toward expanding opportunities for corporate investment overseas, a disposition that prompted critics to deride his policies as **"dollar diplomacy."**

Taft and Knox believed that U.S. investments would effectively substitute "dollars for bullets," and thus offer a more peaceful and less coercive way of maintaining stability and order. Taking a swipe at Roosevelt's "big stick" policy, Taft announced that "modern diplomacy is commercial."

The inability of Taft and Knox to grasp the complexities of power politics, however, led to a diplomatic reversal in East Asia. Prodded by banker associates, Knox sought to expand American economic activities in China—even in Manchuria, where they encroached on the Japanese sphere of influence. In 1911, Knox proposed that a syndicate of European and American bankers buy the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian Railroad to open up North China to international trade. Japan reacted by signing a friendship treaty with Russia, its former enemy, which signaled their joint determination to exclude American, British, and French goods from Manchurian markets. Knox's plan to purchase the railroad collapsed, and the United States' Open Door policy suffered a serious blow. Knox's further efforts to increase American trade with Central and South China triggered hostile responses from the Japanese and the Russians and contributed to the collapse of the Chinese government and the onset of the Chinese Revolution in 1911.

Dollar diplomacy worked better in the Caribbean, where no major power contested U.S. policy. Knox encouraged U.S. investment. Companies such as United Fruit of Boston, which established extensive banana plantations in Costa Rica and Honduras, grew powerful enough to influence both the economies and the governments of Central American countries. When political turmoil threatened their investments, the United States simply sent in its troops. Thus, when Nicaraguan dictator José Santos Zelaya reportedly began negotiating with a European country to build a second trans-Isthmian canal in 1910, a force of U.S. Marines toppled his regime. Marines landed again in 1912 when Zelaya's successor, Adolfo Diaz, angered Nicaraguans with his pro-American policies. This time the Marines were instructed to keep the Diaz regime in power. Except for a brief period in 1925, U.S. troops would remain in Nicaragua continuously from 1912 until 1933. Under Taft, the United States continued to do whatever American policy makers deemed necessary to bolster friendly governments and maintain order in Latin America.

Woodrow Wilson, Struggling Idealist

Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy in the Caribbean initially appeared no different from that of his Republican predecessors. In 1915, the United States sent troops to Haiti to put down a revolution; they remained as an army of occupation for 21

years. In 1916, when the people of the Dominican Republic (who shared the island of Hispaniola with the Haitians) refused to accept a treaty making them more or less a protectorate of the United States, Wilson forced a U.S. military government upon them. When German influence in the Danish West Indies began to expand, Wilson purchased the islands from Denmark, renamed them the Virgin Islands, and added them to the U.S. Caribbean empire. By the time Wilson left office in 1921, he had intervened militarily in the Caribbean more often than any American president before him.

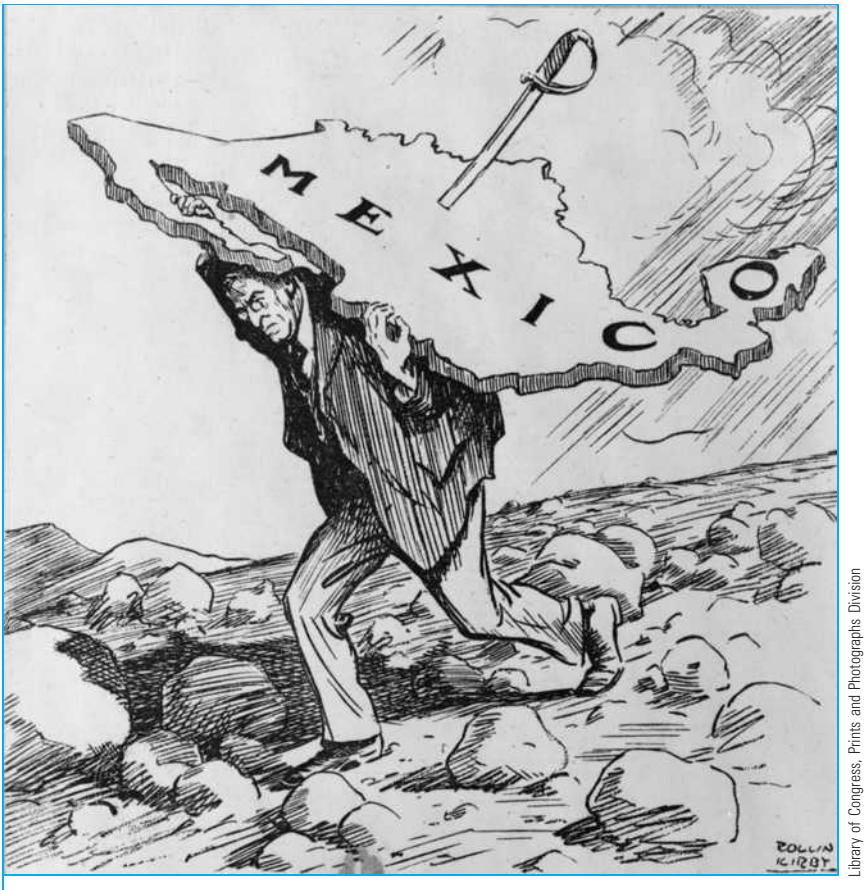
Wilson's relationship with Mexico in the wake of its revolution, however, reveals that he was troubled by a foreign policy that ignored a less powerful nation's right to determine its own future. He deemed the Mexicans capable of making democracy work and, in general, showed a concern for morality and justice in foreign affairs—matters to which Roosevelt and Taft had paid scant attention. Wilson wanted U.S. foreign policy to advance democratic ideals and institutions in Mexico.

Another motivation in Wilson's Mexican dealings was a fear that political unrest in Mexico could lead to violence, social disorder, and a revolutionary government hostile to U.S. economic interests. With a U.S.-style democratic government in Mexico, Wilson believed, property rights would be respected and U.S. investments would remain secure. Wilson's desire both to encourage democracy and to limit the extent of social change made it difficult to devise a consistent foreign policy toward Mexico.

The Mexican Revolution broke out in 1910 when dictator Porfirio Diaz, who had ruled for 34 years, was overthrown by democratic forces led by Francisco Madero. Madero's talk of democratic reform frightened many foreign investors, especially those in the United States and Great Britain, who owned more than half of all Mexican real estate, 90 percent of its oil reserves, and practically all of its railroads. Thus, when Madero was overthrown early in 1913 by Victoriano Huerta, a conservative general who promised to protect foreign investments, the dollar diplomatists in the Taft administration and in Great Britain breathed a sigh of relief. Henry Lane Wilson, the U.S. ambassador to Mexico, had helped engineer Huerta's coup. Before close relations between the United States and Huerta could be worked out, however, Huerta's men murdered Madero.

Woodrow Wilson, who became president shortly after Madero's assassination in 1913, refused to recognize Huerta's "government of butchers" and demanded that Mexico hold democratic elections. Wilson favored Venustiano Carranza and **Francisco ("Pancho") Villa,** two enemies of Huerta who commanded rebel armies and who claimed to be democrats. In April 1914, Wilson used the arrest of several U.S. sailors by Huerta's troops as a reason to send a fleet into Mexican waters. He ordered the U.S. Marines to occupy the Mexican port city of Veracruz and to prevent a German ship there from unloading munitions meant for Huerta's army. In the resulting battle between U.S. and Mexican forces, 19 Americans and 126 Mexicans were killed. The battle brought the two countries dangerously close to war. Eventually, however, American control over Veracruz weakened Huerta's regime to the point where Carranza was able to take power.

Carranza did not behave as Wilson had expected. Rejecting Wilson's efforts to shape his government, Carranza announced a bold land reform program. That program called for the distribution of some of Mexico's agricultural land to impoverished peasants and the transfer of developmental rights on oil lands from foreign corporations to the Mexican government. If the program went into effect, U.S.



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Wilson's Mexico Policy. *This 1916 cartoon illustrates the double character of Wilson's policy toward Mexico: on the one hand, he wanted Mexico to be successful in its efforts to become self-governing; on the other hand, not trusting Mexico to find its way through its own revolution, he felt compelled to put the country on his back and show it the way.*

petroleum companies would lose control of their Mexican properties, a loss that Wilson deemed unacceptable. Wilson now threw his support to Pancho Villa, who seemed more willing than Carranza to protect U.S. oil interests. When Carranza's forces defeated Villa's forces in 1915, Wilson reluctantly withdrew his support of Villa and prepared to recognize the Carranza government.

Furious that Wilson had abandoned him, Villa and his soldiers pulled 18 U.S. citizens from a train in northern Mexico and murdered them, along with another 17 in an attack on Columbus, New Mexico. Determined to punish Villa, Wilson received permission from Carranza to send a U.S. expeditionary force under General John J. Pershing into Mexico to hunt down Villa's "bandits." Pershing's troops pursued Villa's forces 300 miles into Mexico but failed to catch them. The U.S. troops did, however, clash twice with Mexican troops under Carranza's command, once again bringing the countries to the brink of war. The United States, about to enter the First World War, could not afford a fight with Mexico; in 1917, Wilson quietly ordered Pershing's troops home and grudgingly recognized the Carranza government.

Wilson's policies toward Mexico in 1913–17 seemed to have produced few concrete results, except to reinforce an already deep antagonism among Mexicans toward the United States. His repeated changes in strategy, moreover, seemed to indicate a lack of skill and decisiveness in foreign affairs. Actually, however, Wilson recognized something that Roosevelt and Taft had not: that more and more peoples of the world were determined to control their own destinies. The United States, under Wilson, was looking for a way to support these peoples' democratic aspirations while also safeguarding its own economic interests. The First World War would make this quest for a balance between democratic principles and national self-interest all the more urgent.

Conclusion

We can assess the dramatic turn in U.S. foreign policy after 1898 either in relation to the foreign policies of rival world powers or against America's own democratic ideals. By the first standard, U.S. foreign policy looks impressive. The United States achieved its major objectives in world affairs: It tightened its control over the Western Hemisphere and projected its military and economic power into Asia. It did so while sacrificing relatively few American lives and while constraining the jingoistic appetite for truly extensive military adventure and conquest. The United States added only 125,000 square miles to its empire in the years from 1870 to 1900, while Great Britain, France, and Germany enlarged their empires by 4.7, 3.5, and 1.0 million square miles, respectively. Relatively few foreigners were subjected to U.S. colonial rule. By contrast, in 1900, the British Empire extended more than 12 million square miles and embraced one-fourth of the world's population. At times, American rule could be brutal, as it was to Filipino soldiers and civilians alike, but on the whole it was no more severe than British or French rule and significantly less severe than that of German, Belgian, or Japanese imperialists. McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson all placed limits on American expansion and avoided, until 1917, extensive foreign entanglements and wars.

If measured against the standard of America's own democratic ideals, however, U.S. foreign policy after 1898 must be judged more harshly. It demeaned the peoples of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, Cuba, and Colombia as inferior and primitive and denied them the right to govern themselves. In choosing to behave like the imperialist powers of Europe, the United States abandoned its longstanding claim to being a different kind of nation—one that valued liberty more than power.

Many Americans of the time judged their nation by both standards and thus faced a dilemma that would extend throughout the 20th century. On the one hand, they believed with Roosevelt that the size, economic strength, and honor of the United States required it to accept the role of world power and policeman. On the other hand, they continued to believe with Wilson that they had a mission to spread the democratic values of 1776 to the farthest reaches of the earth. The Mexico example demonstrates how hard it was for the United States to reconcile these two very different approaches to world affairs.

23

War and Society, 1914–1920

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Europe's Descent into War • American Neutrality • American Intervention • Mobilizing for "Total" War • The Failure of the International Peace • The Postwar Period: A Society in Convulsion

The First World War broke out in Europe in August 1914. The **Triple Alliance** of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire squared off against the **Triple Entente** of Great Britain, France, and Russia. The United States entered the war on the side of the Entente (the Allies, or Allied Powers, as they came to be called) in 1917. Over the next year and a half, the United States converted its large, sprawling economy into a disciplined war production machine, raised a 5-million-man army, and provided both the war matériel and troops that helped propel the Allies to victory.

But the war also convulsed American society more deeply than any event since the Civil War. This was the first total war, meaning that combatants devoted virtually all of their resources to the fight. Thus the U.S. government had no choice but to pursue a degree of industrial control and social regimentation that was unprecedented in American history. This degree of government control was controversial in a society that had long distrusted state power. Moreover, significant numbers of Americans from a variety of constituencies opposed the war. To overcome this opposition, Wilson couched American war aims in disinterested and idealistic terms: The United States, he claimed, wanted a "peace without victory," a "war for democracy," and liberty for the world's oppressed peoples.

Although many people in the United States and abroad responded enthusiastically to Wilson's ideals, Wilson needed England and France's support to deliver peace without victory, and this support never came. At home, disadvantaged groups stirred up trouble by declaring that American society had failed to live up to its democratic and egalitarian ideals. Wilson supported repressive policies to silence these rebels and to enforce unity and conformity on the American people. In the process, he tarnished the ideals for which America had been fighting.

CHRONOLOGY

1914	First World War breaks out (July–August)
1915	German submarine sinks the *Lusitania* (May 7)
1916	Woodrow Wilson unveils peace initiative ◆ Wilson reelected as "peace president"
1917	Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare (February) ◆ Tsar Nicholas II overthrown in Russia (March) ◆ U.S. enters the war (April 6) ◆ Committee on Public Information established ◆ Congress passes Selective Service Act and Espionage Act ◆ War Industries Board established ◆ Lenin's Bolsheviks come to power in Russia (November)
1918	Lenin signs treaty with Germany, pulls Russia out of war (March) ◆ Germany launches offensive on western front (March–April) ◆ Congress passes Sabotage Act and Sedition Act ◆ Allied Powers and U.S. advance toward Germany (April–October) ◆ Eugene V. Debs jailed for antiwar speech ◆ Germany signs armistice (November 11)
1919	Treaty of Versailles signed (June 28) ◆ Chicago race riot (July) ◆ Wilson suffers stroke (October 2) ◆ Police strike in Boston ◆ 18th Amendment (Prohibition) ratified
1919–1920	Steelworkers strike in Midwest ◆ Red Scare prompts "Palmer raids" ◆ Senate refuses to ratify Treaty of Versailles ◆ Universal Negro Improvement Association grows under Marcus Garvey's leadership
1920	Anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti convicted of murder

Europe's Descent into War

Europe's descent into war began on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, Bosnia, when a Bosnian nationalist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. This act was meant to protest the Austro-Hungarian imperial presence in the Balkans and to encourage the Bosnians, Croatians, and other Balkan peoples to join the Serbs in establishing independent nations. Austria-Hungary responded to this provocation on July 28 by declaring war on Serbia, holding it responsible for the archduke's murder.

The conflict might have remained local if an intricate series of treaties had not divided Europe into two hostile camps. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, the so-called Triple Alliance, had promised to come to each other's aid if attacked. Italy would soon opt out of this alliance, to be replaced by the Ottoman Empire. Arrayed against the nations of the Triple Alliance were Britain, France, and Russia in the Triple Entente. Russia was obligated by another treaty to defend Serbia against Austria-Hungary, and consequently on July 30, it mobilized its armed forces to go



MAP 23.1 Europe Goes to War

In the First World War, Great Britain, France, and Russia squared off against Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. Most of the fighting occurred in Europe along the western front in France (purple line) or the eastern front in Russia (red line). This map also shows Britain's blockade of German ports. British armies based in Egypt (then a British colony) clashed with Ottoman armies in Arabia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

to Serbia's aid. That brought Germany into the conflict to protect Austria-Hungary from Russian attack. On August 3, German troops struck not at Russia but at France, Russia's western ally. To reach France, German troops had marched through neutral Belgium. On August 4, Britain reacted by declaring war on Germany. Within the space of only a few weeks, Europe was engulfed in war.



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***Gassed,* by John Singer Sargent.** *An artist renders the horror of a poison gas attack in the First World War. The Germans were the first to use this new and brutal weapon, which contributed greatly to the terror of war.*

Complicated alliances and defense treaties of the European nations undoubtedly hastened the rush toward war. But equally important was the competition among the European powers to build the strongest economies, the largest armies and navies, and the grandest colonial empires. Britain and Germany, in particular, were engaged in a bitter struggle for European and world supremacy. Few Europeans had any idea that these military buildups might lead to a terrible war that would kill millions and expose the barbarity lurking in their civilization. Historians now believe that several advisers close to the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, were actually eager to engage Russia and France in a fight for supremacy on the European continent. They expected that a European war would be swift and decisive—in Germany's favor.

Victory was not swift. The two camps were evenly matched. Moreover, the first wartime use of machine guns and barbed wire made defense against attack easier than staging an offensive. (Both tanks and airplanes had been invented, but military strategists were slow to put them to offensive use.) On the western front, after the initial German attack narrowly failed to take Paris in 1914, the two opposing armies confronted each other along a battle line stretching from Belgium in the north to the Swiss border in the south. Troops dug trenches to protect themselves from artillery bombardment and poison gas attacks. Commanders on both sides mounted suicidal ground assaults on the enemy by sending tens of thousands of infantry, armed only with rifles, bayonets, and grenades, out of the trenches and directly into enemy fire. Barbed wire further retarded forward progress, enabling enemy artillery and machine guns to cut down appalling numbers of men. Many of those who were not killed in combat succumbed to disease that spread rapidly in the cold, wet, and rat-infested trenches. In Eastern Europe, the armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary squared off against those of Russia and Serbia. Although that front did not employ trench warfare, the combat was no less lethal. By the time the First World War ended, an estimated 8.5 million soldiers had died, and more than twice that number had been wounded. Total casualties, both military and civilian, had reached 37 million.

American Neutrality

Soon after the fighting began, Woodrow Wilson told Americans that this was a European war; neither side was threatening a vital American interest. The United States would therefore proclaim its neutrality and maintain normal relations with both sides while seeking to secure peace. Normal relations meant that the United States would continue trading with both camps. Wilson's neutrality policy met with opposition, especially from Theodore Roosevelt, who was convinced that the United States should join the Entente to check German power and expansionism. Most Americans, however, applauded Wilson's determination to keep the country out of war.

Neutrality was easier to proclaim than to achieve, however. Many Americans, especially those with economic and political power, identified culturally more with Britain than with Germany. They shared with the English a language, a common ancestry, and a commitment to liberty. Germany had no such attraction for U.S. policymakers. On the contrary, Germany's acceptance of monarchical rule, the prominence of militarists in German politics, and its lack of democratic traditions inclined U.S. officials to judge Germany harshly.

The United States had strong economic ties to Great Britain as well. In 1914, the United States exported more than $800 million in goods to Britain and its allies, compared with $170 million to Germany and Austria-Hungary (which came to be known as the Central Powers). As soon as the war began, the British and then the French turned to the United States for food, clothing, munitions, and other war supplies. The U.S. economy, which had been languishing in 1914, enjoyed a boom as a result. Bankers began to issue loans to the Allied Powers, further knitting together the American and British economies and giving American investors a direct stake in an Allied victory. Moreover, the British navy had blockaded German ports, which damaged the United States' already limited trade with Germany. By 1916, U.S. exports to the Central Powers had plummeted to barely $1 million, a fall of more than 99 percent in two years.

The Wilson administration protested the British navy's search and occasional seizure of American merchant ships, but it never retaliated by suspending loans or exports to Great Britain. To do so would have plunged the U.S. economy into a recession. In failing to protect its right to trade with Germany, however, the United States compromised its neutrality and allowed itself to be drawn into war.

Submarine Warfare

To combat British control of the seas and to check the flow of U.S. goods to the Allies, Germany unveiled a terrifying new weapon, the *Unterseeboot,* or U-boat, the first militarily effective submarine. Early in 1915, Germany announced its intent to use its U-boats to sink on sight enemy ships en route to the British Isles. On May 7, 1915, without warning, a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger liner *Lusitania,* en route from New York to London. The ship sank in 22 minutes, killing 1,198 men, women, and children, 128 of them U.S. citizens. Shocked by the loss of life, the United States accused Germany of a barbaric and uncivilized act. The circumstances surrounding the sinking of the *Lusitania,* however, were more complicated than most Americans realized.

Before its sailing, the Germans had alleged that the *Lusitania* was secretly carrying a large store of munitions to Great Britain (a charge that later proved true), and that it therefore was subject to U-boat attack. Germany had warned American passengers not to travel on British passenger ships that carried munitions. Germany also claimed that the purpose of the U-boat attacks—the disruption of Allied supply lines—was no different from Britain's purpose in blockading German ports. Because German surface ships were outnumbered by British navy ships, Germany claimed that it had no alternative but to choose the underwater strategy. If a submarine attack seemed more reprehensible than a conventional sea battle, the Germans argued, it was no more so than the British attempt to starve the German people into submission with a blockade.

American political leaders might have used the *Lusitania* incident to denounce both Germany's U-boat strategy and Britain's blockade. Only Secretary of State Bryan had the courage to do so, however, and his stand proved so unpopular in Washington that he resigned from office; Wilson chose the pro-British Robert Lansing to take his place. Wilson denounced the sinking of the *Lusitania* and demanded that Germany pledge never to launch another attack on the citizens of neutral nations, even when they were traveling in British or French ships. Germany acquiesced to Wilson's demand.

In early 1916, the Allies began to arm their merchant vessels with guns and depth charges capable of destroying German U-boats. Considering this a provocation, Germany renewed its campaign of surprise submarine attacks. In March 1916, a German submarine torpedoed the French passenger liner *Sussex,* causing a heavy loss of life and injuring several Americans. Again Wilson demanded that Germany spare civilians from attack. In the so-called *Sussex* pledge, Germany once again relented but warned that it might resume unrestricted submarine warfare if the United States did not prevail upon Great Britain to permit neutral ships to pass through the naval blockade.

The German submarine attacks strengthened the hand of Theodore Roosevelt and others who had been arguing that war with Germany was inevitable and that the United States must prepare to fight. By 1916, Wilson could no longer ignore these critics. Between January and September of that year, he sought and won congressional approval for bills to increase the size of the army and navy, tighten federal control over National Guard forces, and authorize the building of a merchant fleet. Although Wilson had conceded ground to the pro-war agitators, he did not share their belief that war with Germany was either inevitable or desirable. To the contrary, he accelerated his diplomatic initiatives to secure peace, and he dispatched Colonel Edward M. House to London in January 1916 to draw up a peace plan with the British foreign secretary, Lord Grey. This initiative resulted in the House-Grey memorandum of February 22, 1916, in which Britain agreed to ask the United States to negotiate a settlement between the Allies and the Central Powers. The British believed that the terms of such a peace settlement would favor the Allies. They were furious when Wilson revealed that he wanted an impartial, honestly negotiated peace in which the claims of the Allies and Central Powers would be treated with equal respect. Britain now rejected U.S. peace overtures, and relations between the two countries grew unexpectedly tense.

The Peace Movement

Underlying Wilson's 1916 peace initiative was a vision of a new world order in which relations between nations would be governed by negotiation rather than war and in which justice would replace power as the fundamental principle of diplomacy. On May 27, 1916, Wilson formally declared his support for what he would later call the League of Nations, an international parliament dedicated to the pursuit of peace, security, and justice for all the world's peoples.

Many Americans supported Wilson's efforts to commit national prestige to the cause of international peace rather than conquest and to keep the United States out of war. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Jane Addams, founder of the Women's Peace Party, actively opposed the war. In 1915, an international women's peace conference at The Hague (in the Netherlands) had drawn many participants from the United States. A substantial pacifist group emerged among the nation's Protestant clergy. Midwestern progressives such as Robert La Follette, William Jennings Bryan, and George Norris urged that the United States steer clear of this European conflict, as did leading socialists such as Eugene V. Debs. In April 1916, many of the country's most prominent progressives and socialists joined hands in the American Union Against Militarism, pressuring Wilson to continue pursuing the path of peace. The country's sizable Irish and German ethnic populations, who wanted to block a formal military alliance with Great Britain, also supported Wilson's peace campaign.

Wilson's Vision: "Peace without Victory"

The 1916 presidential election revealed the breadth of peace sentiment. At the Democratic convention, Governor Martin Glynn of New York, the Irish American speaker who renominated Wilson for a second term, praised the president for keeping the United States out of war. His portrayal of Wilson as the "peace president" electrified the convention and made "He kept us out of war" a campaign slogan. The slogan proved effective against Wilson's Republican opponent, Charles Evans Hughes, whose close ties to Theodore Roosevelt seemed to place him in the pro-war camp. Wilson's promise of peace along with a pledge to push ahead with progressive reform carried him to victory.

On December 16, 1916, Wilson sent a peace note to the belligerent governments, entreating them to consider ending the conflict and, to that end, to state their terms for peace. Although Germany refused to specify its terms and Britain and France announced a set of conditions too extreme for Germany ever to accept, Wilson pressed ahead, initiating secret peace negotiations with both sides. To prepare the American people for what he hoped would be a new era of international relations, Wilson appeared before the Senate on January 22, 1917, to outline his plans for peace. He reaffirmed his commitment to the League of Nations, but for such a league to succeed, Wilson argued, it would have to be handed a sturdy peace settlement. This entailed a **"peace without victory,"** one that refused to crown a victor or humiliate a loser. Only such a peace, Wilson argued, would last.

Wilson listed the crucial principles of a lasting peace: freedom of the seas; disarmament; and the right of every people to self-determination, democratic self-government, and security against aggression. He was proposing a revolutionary

change in world order, one that would allow all of the world's peoples, regardless of their size or strength, to achieve political independence and to participate as equals in world affairs. These views, rarely expressed by the leader of a world power, stirred the masses of Europe and elsewhere caught in deadly conflict.

German Escalation

The German military responded to Wilson's entreaties for peace by throwing its full military might at France and Britain. On land it planned to launch a massive assault on the trenches, and at sea it prepared to unleash its submarines to attack all vessels heading for British ports. Germany knew that this last action would compel the United States to enter the war, but it was gambling on being able to strangle the British economy and leave France isolated before significant numbers of American troops could reach Europe.

Wilson continued to hope for a negotiated settlement until February 25, when the British intercepted and passed on to the president a telegram from Germany's foreign secretary, Arthur Zimmermann, to the German minister in Mexico. The infamous **Zimmermann telegram** instructed the minister to ask the Mexican government to attack the United States in the event of war between Germany and the United States. In return, Germany would pay the Mexicans a large fee and regain for them the "lost provinces" of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Wilson, Congress, and the American public were outraged by this proposed deal.

In March, news arrived that Tsar Nicholas II's autocratic regime in Russia had collapsed and had been replaced by a liberal-democratic government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky. As long as the tsar ruled Russia and stood to benefit from the Central Powers' defeat, Wilson could not honestly claim that America's going to war against Germany would bring democracy to Europe. The fall of the tsar and Russia's fledgling democratic government's need for assistance gave Wilson the rationale he needed to justify American intervention.

Appearing before a joint session of Congress on April 2, Wilson declared that the United States must enter the war because "the world must be made safe for democracy." He continued:

> We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we dedicate our lives and our fortunes.

Congress broke into thunderous applause. On April 6, it voted to declare war by a vote of 373 to 50 in the House and 82 to 6 in the Senate.

The United States thus embarked on a grand experiment to reshape the world. Wilson had given millions of people around the world reason to hope, both that the terrible war would end soon and that their strivings for freedom and social justice would be realized. Although he was taking America to war on the side of the Allies, he stressed that America would fight as an "associated power," a phrase meant to underscore America's determination to keep its war aims separate from and more idealistic than those of the Allies.

Still, Wilson understood all too well the risks of his undertaking. A few days before his speech to Congress, he had confided to a journalist his worry that the American people, once at war, will "forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance. To fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fibre of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man in the street."

American Intervention

The entry of the United States into the war gave the Allies the muscle they needed to defeat the Central Powers, but it almost came too late. Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare took a frightful toll on Allied shipping. From February through July 1917, German subs sank almost 4 million tons of shipping, more than one-third of Britain's entire merchant fleet. One of every four large freighters departing Britain in those months never returned; at one point, the British Isles were down to a mere four weeks of provisions. American intervention ended Britain's vulnerability in dramatic fashion. U.S. and British naval commanders now grouped merchant ships into convoys and provided them with warship escorts through the most dangerous stretches of the North Atlantic. Destroyers armed with depth charges were particularly effective as escorts. Their shallow draft made them invulnerable to torpedoes, and their acceleration and speed allowed them to pursue slow-moving U-boats. The U.S. and British navies had begun to use sound waves (later called "sonar") to pinpoint the location of underwater craft, and this new technology increased the effectiveness of destroyer attacks. By the end of 1917, the tonnage of Allied shipping lost each month to U-boat attacks had declined by two-thirds, from almost 1 million tons in April to 350,000 tons in December.

The French and British armies had bled themselves white by taking the offensive in 1916 and 1917 and had scarcely budged the trench lines. The Germans had been content in those years simply to hold their trench position in the West because they were engaged in a huge offensive against the Russians in the East. The Germans intended first to defeat Russia and then to shift their eastern armies to the West for a final assault on the weakened British and French lines. Their opportunity came in the winter and spring of 1918.

A second Russian revolution in November 1917 had overthrown Kerensky's liberal-democratic government and had brought to power a revolutionary socialist government under Vladimir Lenin and his Bolshevik Party. Lenin pulled Russia out of the war on the grounds that the war did not serve the best interests of the working classes, that it was a conflict between rival capitalist elites interested only in wealth and power (and indifferent to the slaughter of soldiers in the trenches).

Russia's exit from the war hurt the Allies. Not only did it expose French and British troops to a much larger German force, but it also challenged the Allied claim that they were fighting a just war against German aggression. Lenin published the texts of secret Allied treaties showing that Britain and France, like Germany, had plotted to enlarge their nations and empires through war. The revelation that the Allies were fighting for land and riches rather than democratic principles outraged large numbers of people in France and Great Britain, demoralized Allied troops, and threw the French and British governments into disarray.

The treaties also embarrassed Wilson, who had brought America into the war to fight for democracy, not territory. Wilson quickly moved to restore the Allies' credibility by unveiling, in January 1918, a concrete program for peace. His **Fourteen Points** reaffirmed America's commitment to an international system governed by laws rather than by might and renounced territorial aggrandizement as a legitimate war aim. This document provided the ideological cement that held the Allies together at a critical moment. (The Fourteen Points are discussed more fully in this chapter in the section, "The Failure of the International Peace.")

In March and April 1918, Germany launched its huge offensive against British and French positions, sending Allied troops reeling. German troops advanced 10 miles a day—a faster pace than any on the western front since the earliest days of the war—until they reached the Marne River, within striking distance of Paris. The French government prepared to evacuate the city. At this perilous moment, a large American army—fresh, well-equipped, and oblivious to the horrors of trench warfare—arrived to reinforce what remained of the French lines.

In fact, these American troops, part of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) commanded by General **John J. Pershing,** had begun landing in France almost a year earlier. During the intervening months, the United States had had to create a modern army from scratch, because its existing force was so small, ranking only 17th in the world. Men had to be drafted, trained, and supplied with food and equipment; ships for transporting them to Europe had to be found or built. In France, Pershing put his troops through additional training before committing them to battle. He was determined that the American soldiers—or "doughboys," as they were called—should acquit themselves well on the battlefield. The army he ordered into battle to counter the German spring offensive of 1918 fought well. Many American soldiers fell, but the German offensive ground to a halt. Paris was saved, and Germany's best chance for victory slipped from its grasp.

Buttressed by this show of AEF strength, the Allied troops staged a major offensive of their own in late September. Millions of Allied troops (including more than a million from the AEF) advanced across the 200-mile-wide Argonne Forest in France, cutting German supply lines. By late October, they had reached the German border. Faced with an invasion of their homeland and with rapidly mounting popular dissatisfaction with the war, German leaders asked for an armistice, to be followed by peace negotiations based on Wilson's Fourteen Points. Having forced the Germans to agree to numerous concessions, the Allies ended the war on November 11, 1918.

Mobilizing for "Total" War

Compared to Europe, the United States suffered little from the war. The deaths of 112,000 American soldiers paled in comparison to European losses: 900,000 by Great Britain, 1.2 million by Austria-Hungary, 1.4 million by France, 1.7 million by Russia, and 2 million by Germany. The U.S. civilian population was spared most of the war's ravages—the destruction of homes and industries, the shortages of food and medicine, the spread of disease—that afflicted millions of Europeans. Only with the flu epidemic that swept across the Atlantic from Europe in 1919 to claim approximately 500,000 lives did Americans briefly experience wholesale suffering and death.

Still, the war had a profound effect on American society. Every military engagement the United States had fought since the Civil War—the Indian wars, the Spanish-American War, the American-Filipino War, the Boxer Rebellion, the Latin American interventions—had been limited in scope. Even the troop mobilizations that seemed large at the time—the more than 100,000 needed to fight the Spanish and then the Filipinos—failed to tax American resources.

The First World War was different. It was a "total" war to which every combatant had committed virtually all of its resources. The scale of the effort in the United States became apparent early in 1917 when Wilson asked Congress for a conscription law that would permit the federal government to raise a multimillion-man army. The United States would also have to devote much of its agricultural, transportation, industrial, and population resources to the war effort if it wished to end the European stalemate. Who would organize this massive effort? Who would pay for it? Would Americans accept the sacrifice and regimentation it would demand? These were vexing questions for a nation long committed to individual liberty, small government, and a weak military.

Organizing Industry

At first, Wilson pursued a decentralized approach to mobilization, delegating tasks to local defense councils throughout the country. When that effort failed, however, Wilson created several centralized federal agencies, each charged with supervising nationwide activity in its assigned economic sector.

The success of these agencies varied. The Food Administration, headed by mining engineer and executive Herbert Hoover, substantially increased production of basic foodstuffs and put in place an efficient distribution system that delivered food to millions of troops and European civilians. Treasury Secretary William McAdoo, head of the U.S. Railroad Administration, also performed well in shifting the rail system from private to public control, coordinating dense train traffic, and making capital improvements that allowed goods to move rapidly to eastern ports, where they were loaded onto ships and sent to Europe. At the other extreme, the Aircraft Production Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation did a poor job of supplying the Allies with combat aircraft and merchant vessels. On balance, the U.S. economy performed wonders in supplying troops with uniforms, food, rifles, munitions, and other basic items; it did much less well in producing sophisticated weapons and machines such as artillery, aircraft, and ships.

Most of the new government agencies were more powerful on paper than in fact. Consider, for example, the **War Industries Board (WIB),** an administrative body established by Wilson in July 1917 to harness manufacturing might to military needs. The WIB floundered for its first nine months, lacking the statutory authority to force manufacturers and the military to adopt its plans. Only the appointment of Wall Street investment banker Bernard Baruch as WIB chairman in March 1918 turned the agency around. Rather than force manufacturers to do the government's bidding, Baruch permitted industrialists to charge high prices for their products. He won exemptions from antitrust laws for corporations that complied with his requests. In general, he made war production too lucrative an activity



Picture History

Herbert Hoover, Food Administration Chief. *In this 1918 photograph, Hoover, seated in the middle, confers with French food administrators and private food industry officials about how best to distribute American foodstuffs to head off starvation and malnutrition in Europe.*

to resist; however, he did not hesitate to unleash his wrath on corporations that resisted WIB enticements.

Baruch's forceful leadership worked reasonably well throughout his nine months in office. War production increased, and manufacturers discovered the financial benefits of cooperation between the public and private sectors. But Baruch's favoritism toward large corporations hurt smaller competitors. Moreover, the cozy relationship between government and corporation that he encouraged violated the progressive pledge to protect the people from the "interests." Achieving cooperation by boosting corporate profits, finally, was a costly way for the government to do business. The costs of the war soared to $33 billion, a figure more than three times expectations.

Securing Workers, Keeping Labor Peace

The government worried as much about labor's cooperation as about industry's compliance, for the best-laid production plans could be disrupted by a labor shortage or an extended strike. War increased the demand for industrial labor while cutting the supply. European immigrants had long been the most important source of new labor for American industry, and during the war

they stopped coming. Meanwhile, millions of workers already in America were conscripted into the military and thus lost to industry.

Manufacturers responded to the labor shortage by recruiting new sources of labor from the rural South; 500,000 African Americans migrated to northern cities between 1916 and 1920. Another half-million white southerners followed the same path during that period. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans fled their revolution-ridden homeland for the American Southwest and Midwest. Approximately 40,000 northern women found work as streetcar conductors, railroad workers, metal-workers, munitions makers, and in other jobs customarily reserved for men. The number of female clerical workers doubled between 1910 and 1920, with many of these women finding work in the government war bureaucracies. Altogether, a million women toiled in war-related industries.

These workers alleviated but did not eliminate the nation's labor shortage. Unemployment, which had hovered around 8.5 percent in 1915, plunged to 1.2 percent in 1918. Quick to recognize the benefits of the tight labor market, workers quit jobs they did not like and took part in strikes and other collective actions in large numbers. From 1916 to 1920, more than 1 million workers went on strike every year. Union membership almost doubled, from 2.6 million in 1915 to 5.1 million in 1920. Workers commonly sought higher wages and shorter hours through strikes and unionization. Wages rose an average of 137 percent from 1915 to 1920, although inflation largely negated these gains. The average work-week declined in that same period from 55 to 51 hours. Workers also struck in response to managerial attempts to speed up production and tighten discipline. As time passed, increasing numbers of workers began to wonder why the war for democracy in Europe had no counterpart in their factories at home. "Industrial democracy" became the battle cry of an awakened labor movement.

Wilson's willingness to include labor in his 1916 progressive coalition reflected his awareness of labor's potential power (see Chapter 21). In 1918, he bestowed prestige on the newly formed **National War Labor Board (NWLB)** by appointing former president William Howard Taft to be co-chair alongside Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. The NWLB brought together representatives of labor, industry, and the public to resolve labor disputes.

Raising an Army

To raise an army, the Wilson administration committed itself to conscription—the drafting of most men of a certain age, irrespective of their family's wealth, ethnic background, or social standing. The Selective Service Act of May 1917 empowered the administration to do just that. By war's end, local Selective Service boards had registered 24 million young men age 18 and older and had drafted nearly 3 million of them into the military; another 2 million volunteered for service.

Relatively few men resisted the draft, even among recently arrived immigrants. Foreign-born men constituted 18 percent of the armed forces—a percentage greater than their share of the total population. Almost 400,000 African Americans served, representing approximately 10 percent of armed forces, the same as the percentage of African Americans in the total population.

The U.S. Army, under the command of Chief of Staff Peyton March and General John J. Pershing, faced the difficult task of fashioning these ethnically and

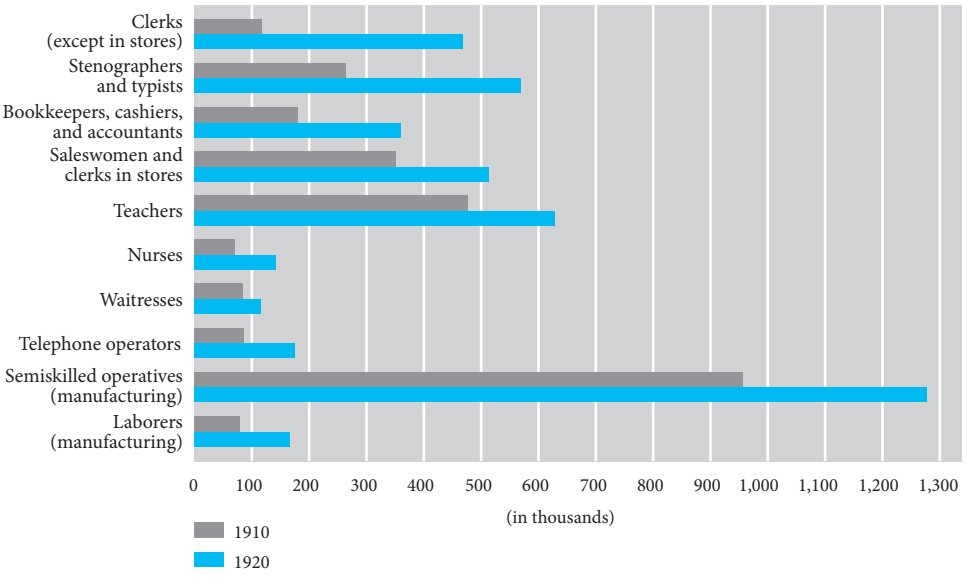
racially diverse millions into a professional fighting force. Teaching raw recruits to fight was hard enough, Pershing and March observed; the generals refused the task of teaching them to put aside their racial prejudices. Rather than integrate the armed forces, they segregated black soldiers from white. Most African Americans were assigned to all-black units and barred from combat. Being stripped of a combat role was particularly galling to blacks, who, in previous wars, had proven to be among the best American fighters. Pershing was fully aware of the African American contribution. He had commanded African American troops in the 10th Cavalry, the all-black regiment that had distinguished itself in the Spanish-American War (see Chapter 22). Pershing's military reputation had depended so heavily on the black troops who fought for him that he had acquired the nickname Black Jack.

For a time, the military justified its intensified discrimination against blacks by referring to the results of rudimentary IQ (intelligence quotient) tests administered by psychologists to 2 million AEF soldiers. These tests allegedly "proved" that native-born Americans and immigrants from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia were well endowed with intelligence, whereas African Americans and immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were poorly endowed. The tests were scientifically so ill-conceived, however, that their findings revealed nothing about the true distribution of intelligence in the soldier population. Their most sensational revelation was that more than half of the soldiers in the AEF—white and black—were "morons," men who had failed to reach the mental age of 13. After trying to absorb the apparent news that most U.S. soldiers were feeble-minded, the military sensibly rejected the pseudo-science on which these intelligence findings were based. In 1919, it discontinued the IQ testing program.

Given the racial and ethnic differences among American troops and the short time Pershing and his staff had to train recruits, the AEF's performance was impressive. The United States increased the army from a mere 100,000 to 5 million in little more than a year. The Germans sank no troop ships, nor were any soldiers killed during the dangerous Atlantic crossing. In combat, U.S. troops became known for their sharpshooting skills. The most decorated soldier in the AEF was Sergeant Alvin C. York of Tennessee, who captured 35 machine guns, took 132 prisoners, and killed 17 German soldiers with 17 bullets. One of the most decorated AEF units was **New York's 369th Regiment** a black unit recruited in Harlem. Bowing to pressure from civil rights groups to allow some black troops to fight, Pershing had offered the 369th to the French army. The 369th entered the French front line, served in the forward Allied trenches for 191 days (longer than any other U.S. regiment), and scored several major successes. In gratitude for its service, the French government decorated the entire unit with one of its highest honors—the *Croix de Guerre* (War Cross).

Paying the Bills

The government incurred huge debts buying food, uniforms, munitions, weapons, vehicles, and sundry other items for the U.S. military. To help pay its bills, it sharply increased tax rates. The richest were slapped with a 67-percent income tax and a 25-percent inheritance tax. Corporations were ordered to pay an "excess profits" tax. Progressives wanted to make sure that all Americans would sacrifice something for the war and that the "interests" would not be able to use the war to enrich themselves.



Occupations with Largest Increase in Women, 1910–1920

Source: Joseph A. Hill, *Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870–1920*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Monograph no. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 33.

Tax revenues, however, provided only about one-third of the $33 billion that the government ultimately spent on the war. The rest came from the sale of **Liberty Bonds.** These 30-year government bonds offered individual purchasers a return of 3.5 percent in annual interest. The government offered five bond issues between 1917 and 1920 and all quickly sold out, thanks, in no small measure, to a high-powered sales pitch, orchestrated by Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo, that equated bond purchases with patriotic duty.

Arousing Patriotic Ardor

The Treasury's bond campaign was only one aspect of a wide-ranging government effort to arouse public support for the war. In 1917, Wilson set up a new agency, the **Committee on Public Information (CPI),** to popularize the war. Under the chairmanship of George Creel, a midwestern progressive and a muckraker, the CPI distributed 75 million copies of pamphlets explaining U.S. war aims in several languages. It trained a force of 75,000 "Four-Minute Men" to deliver succinct, uplifting war speeches to numerous groups in their home cities and towns. It papered the walls of virtually every public institution (and many private ones) with posters, placed advertisements in mass-circulation magazines, sponsored exhibitions, and peppered newspaper editors with thousands of press releases on the progress of the war.

Faithful to his muckraking past (see Chapter 21), Creel wanted to give the people the facts of the war, believing that well-informed citizens would see the wisdom of Wilson's policies. He also saw his work as an opportunity to achieve the progressive goal of uniting all Americans into a single moral community. Americans



National Archives

Women Doing "Men's Work." *Labor shortages during the war allowed thousands of women to take industrial jobs customarily reserved for men. Here women operate pneumatic hammers at the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, Nicetown, Pennsylvania, 1918.*

everywhere learned that the United States had entered the war "to make the world safe for democracy," to help the world's weaker peoples achieve self-determination, and to bring a measure of justice into the conduct of international affairs. Americans were asked to affirm those ideals by doing everything they could to support the war.

This uplifting message affected the American people, although not necessarily in ways anticipated by CPI propagandists. It imparted to many a deep love of country and a sense of participation in a grand democratic experiment. Among others, particularly those experiencing poverty and discrimination, it sparked a new spirit of protest. Workers, women, European ethnics, and African Americans began demanding that America live up to its democratic ideals at home as well as abroad. Workers rallied to the cry of "industrial democracy." Women seized on the democratic fervor to bring their fight for suffrage to a successful conclusion (see Chapter 21). African Americans began to dream that the war might deliver them from second-class citizenship. European ethnics believed that Wilson's support of their countrymen's rights abroad would improve their own chances for success in the United States.

Although the CPI had helped to unleash it, this new democratic enthusiasm troubled Creel and others in the Wilson administration. The United States, after all, was still deeply divided along class, ethnic, and racial lines. Workers and industrialists regarded each other with suspicion. Cultural differences compounded this class division: the working class was heavily ethnic in composition, and the

Renamed German American Words

Original German Name	Renamed "Patriotic" Name
hamburger	salisbury steak, liberty steak, liberty sandwich
sauerkraut	liberty cabbage
Hamburg Avenue, Brooklyn, New York	Wilson Avenue, Brooklyn, New York
Germantown, Nebraska	Garland, Nebraska
East Germantown, Indiana	Pershing, Indiana
Berlin, Iowa	Lincoln, Iowa
Pinochle	Liberty
German shepherd	Alsatian shepherd
Deutsches Haus of Indianapolis	Athenaeum of Indiana
Germania Maennerchor of Chicago	Lincoln Club
Kaiser Street	Maine Way

Source: From La Vern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), p. 186; and Robert H. Ferrell, *Woodrow Wilson and World War I, 1917–1921* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), pp. 205–6.

industrial and political elites consisted mainly of the native-born whose families had been Americans for generations. Progressives had fought hard to overcome these divisions. They had tamed the power of capitalists, improved the condition of workers, encouraged the Americanization of immigrants, and articulated a new, more inclusive idea of who could belong to the American nation.

But their work was far from complete when the war broke out. German immigrants still formed the largest foreign-born population group at 2.3 million. Another 2.3 million immigrants came from some part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and more than 1 million Americans—native-born and immigrants—supported the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), both of which opposed the war. The decision to authorize the CPI's comprehensive unity campaign indicates that the progressives understood how widespread the discord was. Still, they had not anticipated that the promotion of democratic ideals at home would exacerbate, rather than lessen, the nation's social and cultural divisions.

Wartime Repression

By early 1918, the CPI's campaign had developed a darker, more coercive side. Inflammatory advertisements called on patriots to report on neighbors, coworkers, and ethnics who they suspected of subverting the war effort. Propagandists called on all immigrants, especially those from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe, to pledge themselves to "100 percent Americanism" and to repudiate all ties to their homeland, native language, and ethnic customs. The CPI aroused hostility toward Germans by spreading lurid tales of German atrocities and encouraging the public to see movies such as *The Prussian Cur* and *The Beast of Berlin*. The Justice Department arrested

thousands of German and Austrian immigrants suspected of subversive activities. Congress passed the Trading with the Enemy Act, which required foreign-language publications to submit all war-related stories to post office censors for approval.

German Americans became the objects of popular hatred. American patriots sought to expunge every trace of German influence from American culture. In Boston, performances of Beethoven's symphonies were banned, and the German-born conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra was forced to resign. Although Americans would not give up the German foods they had grown to love, they would no longer call them by their German names. Libraries removed works of German literature from their shelves, and Theodore Roosevelt and others urged school districts to prohibit the teaching of the German language. Patriotic school boards in Lima, Ohio, and elsewhere burned the German books in their districts.

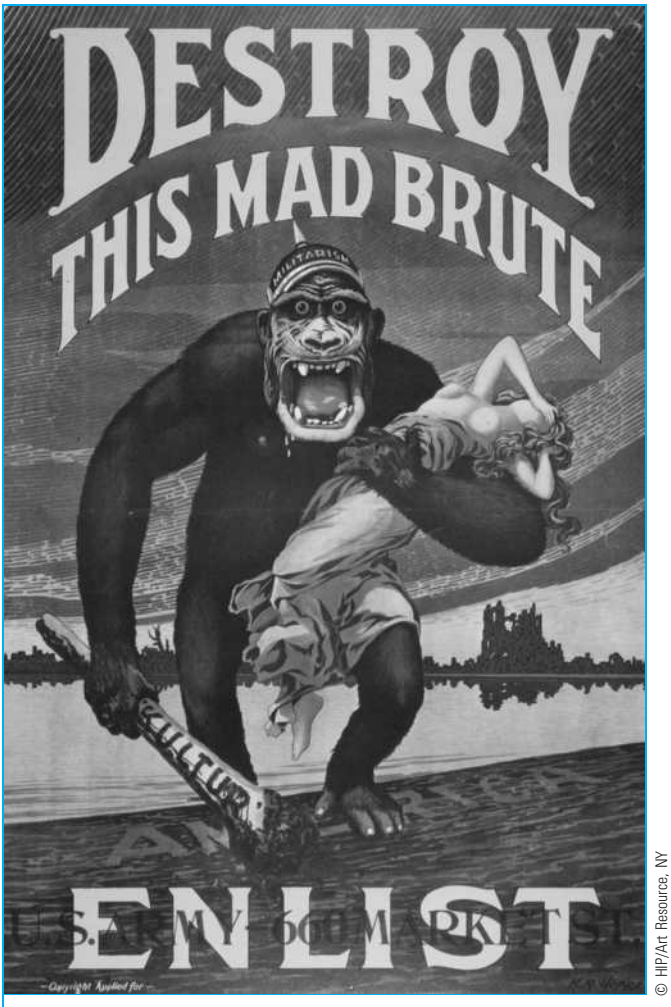
German Americans risked being fired from work, losing their businesses, and being assaulted on the street. A St. Louis mob lynched an innocent German immigrant they suspected of subversion. After only 25 minutes of deliberation, a St. Louis jury acquitted the mob leaders, who had brazenly defended their crime as an act of patriotism. German Americans began hiding their ethnic identity, changing their names, speaking German only in the privacy of their homes, and celebrating their holidays only with trusted friends.

The anti-German campaign escalated into a general anti-immigrant crusade. Congress passed the Immigration Restriction Act of 1917, over Wilson's veto, which declared that all adult immigrants who failed a reading test would be denied admission to the United States. The act also banned the immigration of laborers from India, Indochina, Afghanistan, Arabia, the East Indies, and several other countries within an "Asiatic Barred Zone."

Congress also passed the 18th Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages (see Chapter 21). The campaign for prohibition was not new, but anti-immigrant feelings generated by the war gave it added impetus. Prohibitionists pictured the nation's urban ethnic ghettos as scenes of drunkenness, immorality, and disloyalty. They also accused German American brewers of operating a "liquor trust" to sap people's will to fight. The states quickly ratified the 18th Amendment, and in 1919, Prohibition became the law of the land.

In the **Espionage, Sabotage,** and **Sedition Acts** passed in 1917 and 1918, Congress gave the administration sweeping powers to silence and imprison dissenters. These acts went beyond outlawing behavior that no nation at war could be expected to tolerate, such as spying for the enemy, sabotaging war production, and calling for the enemy's victory. Now citizens could be prosecuted for writing or uttering any statement that could be construed as profaning the flag, the Constitution, or the military. These acts constituted the most drastic restrictions of free speech at the national level since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 (see Chapter 8).

Government repression fell most heavily on the IWW and the Socialist Party. Both groups had opposed intervention. Although they subsequently muted their opposition, they continued to insist that the true enemies of American workers were to be found in the ranks of American employers, not in Germany or Austria-Hungary. The government responded by banning many socialist materials from the mails and by disrupting socialist and IWW meetings. By spring 1918, government agents had raided countless IWW offices and had arrested 2,000 IWW members, including its



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The Campaign of Fear. *By 1918, the government's appeal to Americans' best aspirations—to spread liberty and democracy—had been replaced by a determination to arouse fear of subversion and conquest. Here the German enemy is depicted as a terrifying brute who violates Lady Liberty and uses his kultur club to destroy civilization.*

entire executive board. Many of those arrested would be sentenced to long jail terms. William Haywood, the IWW president, fled to Europe and then to the Soviet Union rather than go to jail. In summer 1918, Eugene V. Debs, the head of the Socialist Party, received a 10-year jail term for making an antiwar speech in Canton, Ohio.

This federal repression, carried out in an atmosphere of supercharged patriotism, encouraged local governments and private citizens to initiate their own anti-radical crusades. In the mining town of Bisbee, Arizona, a sheriff with an eager force of 2,000 deputized citizens kidnapped 1,200 IWW members, herded them into cattle cars, and dumped them onto the New Mexico desert with little food or water. Vigilantes in Butte, Montana, chained an IWW organizer to a car and let his

body scrape the pavement as they drove the vehicle through city streets. Next, they strung him up to a railroad trestle, castrated him, and left him to die. The 250,000 members of the American Protective League, most of them businessmen and professionals, routinely spied on fellow workers and neighbors. They opened mail and tapped phones and otherwise harassed those suspected of disloyalty. Attorney General Thomas Gregory publicly endorsed the group and sought federal funds to support its "police" work.

The spirit of coercion even infected institutions that had long prided themselves on tolerance. In July 1917, Columbia University fired two professors for speaking out against U.S. intervention in the war. The National Americanization Committee, which before 1917 had pioneered a humane approach to the problem of integrating immigrants into American life, now supported surveillance, internment, and deportation of aliens suspected of anti-American sentiments.

Wilson did attempt to block certain pieces of repressive legislation; for example, he vetoed both the Immigration Restriction Act and the Volstead Act (the act passed to enforce Prohibition), only to be overridden by Congress. But Wilson did little to halt Attorney General Gregory's prosecution of radicals or Postmaster General Burleson's campaign to exclude Socialist Party publications from the mail. He ignored pleas from progressives that he intervene in the Debs case to prevent the ailing 62-year-old from going to jail. His acquiescence in these matters cost him dearly among progressives and socialists. Wilson believed, however, that once the Allies, with U.S. support, won the war and arranged a just peace in accordance with the Fourteen Points, his administration's wartime actions would be forgiven and the progressive coalition would be restored.

The Failure of the International Peace

In the month following Germany's surrender on November 11, 1918, Wilson was confident about the prospects of achieving a just peace. Both Germany and the Allies had publicly accepted the Fourteen Points as the basis for negotiations. Wilson's international prestige was enormous. People throughout the world were inspired by his dream of a democratic, just, and harmonious world order free of poverty, ignorance, and war. Poles, Lithuanians, and other Eastern Europeans whose pursuit of nationhood had been frustrated for 100 years or more now believed that independence might be within their reach. Zionist Jews in Europe and the United States dared to dream of a Jewish homeland in Palestine within their lifetimes. Countless African and Asian peoples imagined achieving their freedom from colonial domination.

To capitalize on his fame and to maximize the chances for a peace settlement based on his Fourteen Points, Wilson broke with diplomatic precedent and decided to head the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919. Some 2 million French citizens—the largest throng ever assembled on French soil—lined the parade route in Paris to catch a glimpse of "Wilson, *le juste* [the just]." In Rome, Milan, and La Scala, Italians acclaimed him "The Savior of Humanity" and "The Moses from Across the Atlantic."

In the Fourteen Points, Wilson had translated his principles for a new world order into specific proposals for international peace and justice. The first group of

points called for all nations to abide by a code of conduct that embraced free trade, freedom of the seas, open diplomacy, disarmament, and the resolution of disputes through mediation. A second group, based on the principle of self-determination, proposed redrawing the map of Europe to give the subjugated peoples of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian empires national sovereignty. The last point called for establishing the League of Nations, an assembly in which all nations would be represented and in which international disputes would be given a fair hearing and an opportunity for peaceful solutions.

The Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles

Although representatives of 27 nations began meeting in Paris on January 12, 1919, to discuss Wilson's Fourteen Points, negotiations were controlled by the "Big Four": Wilson, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Premier Georges Clemenceau of France, and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando of Italy. When Orlando quit the conference after a dispute with Wilson, the Big Four became the Big Three. Wilson quickly learned that his negotiating partners' support for the Fourteen Points was much weaker than he had believed. Clemenceau and Lloyd George refused to include most of Wilson's points in the peace treaty. The points having to do with freedom of the seas and free trade were omitted, as were the proposals for open diplomacy and Allied disarmament. Wilson won partial endorsement of the principle of self-determination: Belgian sovereignty was restored, Poland's status as a nation was affirmed, and the new nations of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were created. In addition, some lands of the former Ottoman Empire—Armenia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Syria—were to be placed under League of Nations' trusteeships with the understanding that they would someday gain their independence. Wilson failed in his efforts to block a British plan to transfer former German colonies in Asia to Japanese control, an Italian plan to annex territory inhabited by 200,000 Austrians, and a French plan to take from Germany its valuable Saar coal mines.

Nor could Wilson blunt the drive to punish Germany for its wartime aggression. In addition to awarding the Saar basin to France, the Allies gave portions of northern Germany to Denmark and portions of eastern Germany to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Germany was stripped of virtually its entire navy and air force, and forbidden to place soldiers or fortifications in western Germany along the Rhine. It was allowed to keep an army of only 100,000 men. In addition, Germany was forced to admit its responsibility for the war. In accepting this "war guilt," Germany was, in effect, agreeing to compensate the victors in cash (reparations) for the pain and suffering it had inflicted on them.

Lloyd George and Clemenceau brushed off the protests of those who viewed this desire to prostrate Germany as a cruel and vengeful act. That the German people, after their nation's 1918 defeat, had overthrown the monarch (Kaiser Wilhelm II) who had taken them to war, and had reconstituted their nation as a democratic republic—the first in their country's history—won them no leniency. On June 28, 1919, Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, and other European nations signed the Treaty of Versailles. In 1921, an Allied commission notified the Germans that they were to pay the victors $33 billion, a sum well beyond the resources of a defeated and economically ruined Germany.



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MAP 23.2 Europe and the Near East After the First World War

The First World War and the Treaty of Versailles changed the geography of Europe and the Near East. Nine nations in Europe, stretching from Yugoslavia in the south to Finland in the north, were created (or re-formed) out of the defeated Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. In the Near East, meanwhile, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq were carved out of the Ottoman Empire, placed under British or French control, and promised eventual independence.

The League of Nations

The Allies' single-minded pursuit of self-interest disillusioned many liberals and socialists in the United States, but Wilson seemed undismayed. He had won approval of the most important of his Fourteen Points—that which called for the creation of the League of Nations. The League, whose structure and responsibilities were set forth in the Covenant attached to the peace treaty, would usher in Wilson's new world order. Drawing its membership from the signatories to the Treaty of Versailles (except, for the time being, Germany), the League would function as an international

parliament and judiciary, establishing rules of international behavior and resolving disputes between nations through rational and peaceful means. A nine-member executive council—the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan would have permanent seats on the council, while the other four seats would rotate among the smaller powers—was charged with administering decisions.

Wilson believed that the League would redeem the failures of the Paris Peace Conference. Under its auspices, free trade and freedom of the seas would be achieved, reparations against Germany would be reduced or eliminated, disarmament of the Allies would proceed, and the principle of self-determination would be extended to peoples outside Europe. Moreover, the **Covenant (Article X)** would endow the League with the power to punish aggressor nations through economic isolation and military retaliation.

Wilson versus Lodge: The Fight over Ratification

The League's success, however, depended on Wilson's ability to convince the U.S. Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Wilson knew that this would not be easy. The Republicans had gained a majority in the Senate in 1918, and two groups within their ranks were determined to frustrate Wilson's ambitions. One group was a caucus of 14 midwesterners and westerners known as the **"irreconcilables."** Most of them were conservative isolationists who wanted the United States to preserve its separation from Europe, but a few were prominent progressives—Robert La Follette, William Borah, and Hiram Johnson—who had voted against the declaration of war in 1917. The self-interest displayed by England and France at the peace conference convinced this group that the Europeans were incapable of decent behavior in international matters.

Senator **Henry Cabot Lodge** of Massachusetts led the second opposition group. Its members rejected Wilson's belief that every group of people on earth had a right to form their own nation; that every state, regardless of its size, its economic condition, and the vigor and intelligence of its people, should have a voice in world affairs; and that disputes between nations could be settled in open, democratic forums. They subscribed instead to Theodore Roosevelt's vision of a world controlled by a few great nations, each militarily strong, secure in its sphere of influence, and determined to avoid war through a carefully negotiated balance of power. These Republicans preferred to let Europe return to the power politics that had prevailed before the war rather than experiment with a new world order that might constrain and compromise U.S. power and autonomy.

This Republican critique was a cogent one that merited extended discussion. Particularly important were questions that Republicans raised about Article X, which gave the League the right to undertake military actions against aggressor nations. Did Americans want to authorize an international organization to decide when the United States would go to war? Was this not a violation of the Constitution, which vested war-making power solely in Congress? Even if the constitutional problem could be solved, how could the United States ensure that it would not be forced into a military action that might damage its national interest?

It soon became clear, however, that several Republicans, including Lodge, were as interested in humiliating Wilson as they were in developing an alternative approach to foreign policy. They accused Wilson of promoting socialism through his

wartime expansion of government power. They were angry that he had failed to include any distinguished Republicans, such as Lodge, Elihu Root, or William Howard Taft, in the Paris peace delegation. And they were still bitter about the 1918 congressional elections, when Wilson had argued that a Republican victory would embarrass the nation abroad.

As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, charged with considering the treaty before reporting it to the Senate floor, Lodge did everything possible to obstruct ratification. He packed the committee with senators who were likely to oppose the treaty. He delayed action by reading every one of the treaty's 300 pages aloud and by subjecting it to endless criticism in six long weeks of public hearings. When his committee finally reported the treaty to the full Senate, it came encumbered with nearly 50 amendments whose adoption Lodge made a precondition of his support. Some of the amendments expressed reasonable concerns—namely, that participation in the League not diminish the role of Congress in determining foreign policy, compromise American sovereignty, or involve the United States in an unjust or ill-advised war—but many were meant only to complicate the task of ratification.

Despite Lodge's obstructionism, the treaty's chances for ratification by the required two-thirds majority of the Senate remained good. Many Republicans were prepared to vote for ratification if Wilson indicated his willingness to accept some of the proposed amendments. Wilson could have salvaged the treaty and, along with it, U.S. participation in the League of Nations, but he refused to compromise with the Republicans and announced that he would carry his case directly to the American people instead. In September 1919, Wilson undertook a whirlwind cross-country tour that covered more than 8,000 miles with 37 stops. He addressed as many crowds as he could reach, sometimes speaking for an hour at a time, four times a day.

On September 25, after giving a speech at Pueblo, Colorado, Wilson suffered excruciating headaches throughout the night. His physician ordered him back to Washington, where on October 2 he suffered a near-fatal stroke. Wilson hovered near death for two weeks and remained seriously disabled for another six. His condition improved somewhat in November, but his left side remained paralyzed, his speech was slurred, his energy level low, and his emotions unstable. Wilson's wife, Edith Bolling Wilson, and his doctor isolated him from Congress and the press, withholding news they thought might upset him and preventing the public from learning how much his body and mind had deteriorated.

Many historians believe that the stroke impaired Wilson's political judgment. He refused to consider any of the Republican amendments to the treaty, even after it had become clear that compromise offered the only chance of winning U.S. participation in the League of Nations. When Lodge presented an amended treaty for a ratification vote on November 19, Wilson ordered Senate Democrats to vote against it; 42 of 47 Democratic senators complied, and with the aid of 13 Republican irreconcilables, the Lodge version was defeated. Only moments later, the unamended version of the treaty—Wilson's version—received only 38 votes.

The Treaty's Final Defeat

As the magnitude of the calamity became apparent, supporters of the League in Congress, the nation, and the world urged the Senate and the president to reconsider. Wilson would not budge. A bipartisan group of senators desperately tried to work out a

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918: Record of Implementation

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at	Not fulfilled
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas in peace and war	Not fulfilled
3. Removal of all economic barriers to the equality of trade among nations	Not fulfilled
4. Reduction of armaments to the level needed only for domestic safety	Not fulfilled
5. Impartial adjustments of colonial claims	Not fulfilled
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory; Russia to be welcomed into the society of free nations	Not fulfilled
7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium	Fulfilled
8. Evacuation and restoration of all French lands; return of Alsace-Lorraine to France	Fulfilled
9. Readjustment of Italy's frontiers along lines of Italian nationality	Compromised
10. Self-determination for the former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire	Compromised
11. Evacuation of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro; free access to the sea for Serbia	Compromised
12. Self-determination for the former subjects of the Ottoman Empire; secure sovereignty for Turkish portion	Compromised
13. Establishment of an independent Poland with free and secure access to the sea	Fulfilled
14. Establishment of the League of Nations to secure mutual guarantees of independence and territorial integrity	Compromised

Source: From G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Fourteen Points and the Treaty of Versailles, Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs,* no. 6 (1939), pp. 8–34; and Thomas G. Paterson et al., *American Foreign Policy: A History,* 2nd ed. (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 282–93.

compromise without consulting him. When that effort failed, the Senate put to a vote, one more time, the Lodge version of the treaty. Because 23 Democrats, most of them southerners, still refused to break with Wilson, this last-ditch effort at ratification failed on March 8, 1920, by a margin of seven votes. Wilson's dream of a new world order died that day. The crumpled figure in the White House seemed to bear little resemblance to the hero who, barely 15 months before, had been greeted in Europe as the world's savior. Wilson filled out his remaining 12 months in office as an invalid, presiding over the interment of progressivism. He died in 1924.

The judgment of history lies heavily on these events, for many believe that the flawed treaty and the failure of the League contributed to Adolf Hitler's rise in Germany and the outbreak of a second world war more devastating than the first. It is necessary to ask, then, whether American participation in the League would have significantly altered the course of world history.

The mere fact of U.S. membership in the League would not have magically solved Europe's postwar problems. The U.S. government was inexperienced in diplomacy and prone to mistakes. Its freedom to negotiate solutions to international disputes would have been limited by the large number of American voters who remained strongly opposed to U.S. entanglement in European affairs. Even if such opposition could have been overcome, the United States would still have confronted European countries determined to go their own way.

Nevertheless, one thing is clear: No stable international order could have arisen after the First World War without the full involvement of the United States. The League of Nations required American authority and prestige in order to operate effectively as an international parliament. We cannot know whether the League, with American involvement, would have offered the Germans a less humiliating peace, allowing them to rehabilitate their economy and salvage their national pride; nor whether an American-led League would have stopped Hitler's expansionism before it escalated into full-scale war in 1939. Still, it seems fair to suggest that American participation would have strengthened the League and improved its ability to bring a lasting peace to Europe.

The Postwar Period: A Society in Convulsion

The end of the war brought no respite from the forces convulsing American society. Workers were determined to regain the purchasing power they had lost to inflation. Employers were determined to halt or reverse the wartime gains labor had made. Radicals saw in this conflict between capital and labor the possibility of a socialist revolution. Conservatives were certain that the revolution had already begun. Returning white servicemen were nervous about regaining their civilian jobs and looked with hostility on the black, Hispanic, and female workers who had been recruited to take their places. Black veterans were in no mood to return to segregation and subordination. The federal government, meanwhile, uneasy over the centralization of power during the war, quickly dismantled such agencies as the War Industries Board and the National War Labor Board.

Labor-Capital Conflict

Nowhere was the escalation of conflict more evident than in the workplace. In 1919, 4 million workers—one-fifth of the nation's manufacturing workforce—went on strike. In January 1919, a general strike paralyzed the city of Seattle when 60,000 workers walked off their jobs. By August, walkouts had been staged by 400,000 eastern and midwestern coal miners, 120,000 New England textile workers, and 50,000 New York City garment workers. Then came two strikes that turned public opinion sharply against labor. In September, Boston policemen walked off their jobs after the police commissioner refused to negotiate with their newly formed union. Rioting and looting soon broke out. Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge, outraged by the policemen's betrayal of their sworn public duty, refused to negotiate with them, called out the National Guard to restore order, and fired the entire police force. His tough stand would bring him national fame and the Republican vice presidential nomination in 1920.

History Through Film

Reds (1981)

Directed by Warren Beatty.
Starring Warren Beatty (John Reed), Diane Keaton (Louise Bryant), Edward Herrmann (Max Eastman), Jerzy Kosinski (Grigory Zinoviev), Jack Nicholson (Eugene O'Neill), and Maureen Stapleton (Emma Goldman).

In this epic film, Warren Beatty, producer, director, and screenplay co-writer, attempts to integrate the history of the American Left in the early 20th century with a love story about two radicals of that era, John "Jack" Reed and Louise Bryant. Reed was a well-known radical journalist whose dispatches from Russia during its 1917 revolution were published as a book, *Ten Days That Shook the World,* that brought him fame and notoriety. Bryant never developed the public reputation that Reed enjoyed, but she was an integral member of the radical circles that gathered in apartments and cafés in New York's Bohemian Greenwich Village before and during the First World War.

At times, the love principals in this movie seem to resemble Warren Beatty and Diane Keaton more than they do the historical figures they are meant to represent. In general, however, the movie keeps love and politics in balance and thus successfully conveys an important and historically accurate message about the American Left, especially before the First World War—namely, that its participants wanted to revolutionize the personal as well as the political. Thus equality between men and women, women's right to enjoy the same sexual freedom as men, and marriage's impact on personal growth and adventure were issues debated with the same fervor as building a radical political party and accelerating the transition to socialism. (See Chapter 20, the section entitled: "The New Sexuality and the Rise of Feminism.")

Reds is also an exceptionally serious film about political parties and ideologies. The film follows the arc of John Reed's and Louise Bryant's lives from their prewar days as discontented members of the Portland, Oregon, social elite, through their flight to the freedom and radicalism of Greenwich Village, to the hardening of their radicalism as a result of repression during the First World War at home and the Bolshevik triumph in November 1917. In this movie, Beatty has recreated detailed

Hard on the heels of the policemen's strike came a strike by more than 300,000 steelworkers in the Midwest. No union had established a footing in the steel industry since the 1890s, when Andrew Carnegie had ousted the ironworkers' union from his mills in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Most steelworkers labored long hours (the 12-hour shift was still standard) for low wages in dangerous workplaces. The organizers of the **1919 Steel Strike** had somehow managed to persuade steelworkers with varied skill levels and ethnic backgrounds to put aside their differences and demand an eight-hour day and union recognition. When the employers rejected those demands, the workers walked off their jobs. Employers responded by procuring armed guards to beat up the strikers and by hiring nonunion labor to keep the plants running. In many areas, local and state police prohibited union meetings, ran strikers out of town, and opened fire on those who disobeyed orders. To arouse public support for their antiunion campaign, industry leaders portrayed the strike



© Paramount Pictures/Courtesy: Everett Collection

Diane Keaton as Louise Bryant and Warren Beatty as John Reed, together in Russia in the midst of that country's socialist revolution.

and complex stories about internal fights within the Left both in the United States and Russia, through which he seeks to show how hopes for social transformation went awry. To give this film added historical weight, Beatty introduces "witnesses," individuals who actually knew the real Reed and Bryant and who appear on screen periodically to share their memories, both serious and whimsical, about the storied couple and the times in which they lived.

leaders as dangerous and violent radicals bent on the destruction of political liberty and economic freedom. They succeeded in turning public opinion against the steelworkers, and the strike collapsed in January 1920.

Radicals and the Red Scare

The steel companies succeeded in putting down the strike by fanning the public's fear that revolutionary sentiment was spreading among workers. Radical sentiment was indeed on the rise. Mine workers and railroad workers had begun calling for the permanent nationalization of coal mines and railroads. Longshoremen in San Francisco and Seattle refused to load ships carrying supplies to the White Russians who had taken up arms against Lenin's Bolshevik government. Socialist trade unionists mounted the most serious challenge to Gompers's control of the AFL in 25 years. In 1920,

nearly a million Americans voted for the Socialist presidential candidate Debs, who ran his campaign from the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

This radical surge did not mean, however, that leftists had fashioned themselves into a single movement or political party. On the contrary, the Russian Revolution had split the American Socialist Party. One faction, which would keep the name Socialist and would continue under Debs's leadership, insisted that radicals follow a democratic path to socialism. The other group, which would take the name Communist, wanted to establish a Lenin-style "dictatorship of the proletariat." Small groups of anarchists, some of whom advocated campaigns of terror to speed the revolution, represented yet a third radical tendency.

Few Americans noticed the disarray in the radical camp. Most assumed that radicalism was a single, coordinated movement bent on establishing a communist government on American soil. They saw the nation's immigrant communities as breeding grounds for Bolshevism. Beginning in 1919, this perceived **Red Scare** prompted government officials and private citizens to embark on yet another campaign of repression.

The postwar repression of radicalism closely resembled the wartime repression of dissent. Thirty states passed sedition laws to punish those who advocated revolution. Numerous public and private groups intensified Americanization campaigns designed to strip foreigners of their subversive ways and remake them into loyal citizens. Universities fired radical professors, and vigilante groups wrecked the offices of socialists and assaulted IWW agitators. A newly formed veterans' organization, the American Legion, took on the American Protective League's role of identifying seditious individuals and organizations and ensuring the public's devotion to "100 percent Americanism."

The Red Scare reached its climax on New Year's Day 1920, when federal agents broke into the homes and meeting places of thousands of suspected revolutionaries in 33 cities. Directed by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, these widely publicized "Palmer raids" were meant to expose the extent of revolutionary activity. Palmer's agents uncovered three pistols, no rifles, and no explosives. Nevertheless, they arrested more than 4,000 people and kept many of them in jail for weeks without formally charging them with a crime. Finally, those who were not citizens (approximately 600) were deported and the rest were released.

Palmer's failure to expose a revolutionary plot blunted support for him in official circles, but, undeterred, Palmer now alleged that revolutionaries were planning a series of assaults on government officials and government buildings for May 1, 1920. When nothing happened on that date, his credibility suffered another blow.

As Palmer's exaggerations of the radical threat became known, many Americans began to reconsider their fear of dissent and subversion. Even so, the political atmosphere remained hostile to radicals, as the **Sacco and Vanzetti Case** revealed. In May 1920, two Italian-born anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested in Brockton, Massachusetts, and charged with armed robbery and murder. Both men proclaimed their innocence and insisted that they were being punished for their political beliefs. Their foreign accents and their defiant espousal of anarchist doctrines in the courtroom inclined many Americans, including the judge who presided at their trial, to view them harshly. Despite the weak case against them, they were convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to death.

Marcus Garvey, Black Nationalist.
This portrait was taken in 1924, after Garvey's conviction on mail fraud charges.



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

Their lawyers attempted numerous appeals, all of which failed. Anger over the verdicts began to build among Italian Americans, radicals, and liberal intellectuals. Protests compelled the governor of Massachusetts to appoint a commission to review the case, but no new trial was ordered. On August 23, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, still insisting they were innocent.

Racial Conflict and the Rise of Black Nationalism

The more than 400,000 blacks who served in the armed forces believed that a victory for democracy abroad would help them achieve democracy for their people at home. At first, despite the discrimination they encountered in the military, they maintained their conviction that they would be treated as full-fledged citizens upon their return. Many began to talk about the birth of a New Negro—independent and proud. Thousands joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an organization at the forefront of the fight for racial equality. By 1918, 100,000 African Americans subscribed to the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis,* whose editor, W. E. B. Du Bois, had urged them to support the war.

This wartime optimism made the postwar discrimination and hatred African Americans encountered difficult to endure. Many black workers who had found

jobs in the North were fired to make way for returning white veterans. Returning black servicemen, meanwhile, had to scrounge for poorly paid jobs as unskilled laborers. In the South, lynch mobs targeted black veterans who refused to tolerate the usual insults and indignities; 10 of the 70 blacks lynched in the South in 1919 were veterans.

The worst anti-black violence that year occurred in the North, however. Crowded city conditions during the war had forced black and white-ethnic city dwellers into uncomfortably close proximity. Many white ethnics regarded blacks with a mixture of fear and prejudice. They resented having to share neighborhoods, trolleys, parks, streets, and workplaces with blacks. Many also wanted African Americans barred from unions, seeing them as threats to their job security.

Racial tensions escalated into race riots. The deadliest explosion occurred in Chicago in July 1919, when a black teenager who had been swimming in Lake Michigan was killed by whites after coming too close to a whites-only beach. Rioting soon broke out, with white mobs invading black neighborhoods, torching homes and stores, and attacking innocent residents. Led by war veterans, some armed, blacks fought back, turning the border areas between white and black neighborhoods into battle zones. Fighting raged for five days, leaving 38 dead (23 black, 15 white) and more than 500 injured. Race rioting in other cities pushed the death toll to 120 before summer's end.

The riots made it clear to blacks that the North was not the Promised Land. Confined to unskilled jobs and to segregated neighborhoods with substandard housing and exorbitant rents, black migrants in Chicago, New York, and other northern cities suffered economic hardship throughout the 1920s. The NAACP carried on its campaign for civil rights and racial equality, but many blacks no longer shared its belief that they would one day be accepted as first-class citizens. They turned instead to a leader from Jamaica, **Marcus Garvey,** who gave voice to their bitterness: "The first dying that is to be done by the black man in the future," Garvey declared in 1918, "will be done to make himself free. And then when we are finished, if we have any charity to bestow, we may die for the white man. But as for me, I think I have stopped dying for him."

Garvey called on blacks to give up their hopes for integration and to set about forging a separate black nation. He reminded blacks that they possessed a rich culture stretching back over the centuries that would enable them to achieve greatness as a nation. Garvey's ambition was to build a black nation in Africa that would bring together all of the world's people of African descent. In the short term, he wanted to help American and Caribbean blacks to achieve economic and cultural independence.

Garvey's call for black separatism and self-sufficiency—or black nationalism, as it came to be known—elicited a favorable response among African Americans. In the early 1920s, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which Garvey had founded, enrolled millions of members in 700 branches in 38 states. His newspaper, the *Negro World,* reached a circulation of 200,000. The New York chapter of UNIA undertook an economic development program that included the establishment of grocery stores, restaurants, and factories. Garvey's most visible economic venture was the Black Star Line, a shipping company with three ships flying the UNIA flag from their masts.

This black nationalist movement did not endure for long. Garvey entered into bitter disputes with other black leaders, including W. E. B. Du Bois, who regarded him as a flamboyant, self-serving demagogue. Garvey sometimes showed poor judgment, as when he expressed support for the Ku Klux Klan on the grounds that it shared his pessimism about the possibility of racial integration. Inexperienced in economic matters, Garvey squandered UNIA money on abortive business ventures. The U.S. government regarded his rhetoric as inflammatory and sought to silence him. In 1923, he was convicted of mail fraud involving the sale of Black Star stocks and was sentenced to five years in jail. In 1927, he was deported to Jamaica, and the UNIA folded. Nevertheless, Garvey's philosophy of black nationalism endured.

Conclusion

The resurgence of racism in 1919 and the consequent turn to black nationalism among African Americans were signs that the high hopes of the war years had been dashed. Industrial workers, immigrants, and radicals also found their pursuit of liberty and equality interrupted by the fear, intolerance, and repression unleashed by the war. They came to understand as well that Wilson's commitment to these ideals counted for less than did his administration's and Congress's determination to discipline a people whom they regarded as dangerously heterogeneous and unstable. Of the reform groups, only woman suffragists made enduring gains—especially the right to vote—but for the feminists in their ranks, these steps forward failed to compensate for the collapse of the progressive movement and with it, their program of achieving equal rights for women across the board.

A similar disappointment engulfed those who had embraced and fought for Wilson's dream of creating a new and democratic world order. The world in 1919 appeared as volatile as it had been in 1914. More and more Americans—perhaps even a majority—were coming to believe that U.S. intervention had been a mistake.

In other ways, the United States benefited a great deal from the war. By 1919, the American economy was by far the world's strongest. Many of the nation's leading corporations had improved productivity and management during the war. U.S. banks were poised to supplant those of London as the most influential in international finance. The nation's economic strength triggered impressive growth in the 1920s, and millions of Americans rushed to take advantage of the prosperity that a "people's capitalism" had put within their grasp. But even affluence failed to dissolve the class, ethnic, and racial tensions that the war had exposed. And the failure of the peace process added to Europe's problems, delayed the emergence of the United States as a leader in world affairs, and created the preconditions for another world war.

24

The 1920s

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Prosperity • The Politics of Business • Farmers, Small-Town Protestants, and Moral Traditionalists • Ethnic and Racial Communities • The "Lost Generation" and Disillusioned Intellectuals

In 1920, Americans elected as president Warren G. Harding, a man who could not have been more different from his predecessor Woodrow Wilson. A Republican, Harding presented himself as a common man with common desires. In his 1920 campaign, he called for a "return to normalcy." Although he died in office in 1923, his carefree spirit is thought to characterize the 1920s.

To many Americans, the decade was one of fun rather than reform, of good times rather than high ideals. It was, in the words of novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald, the "Jazz Age," a time when the search for personal gratification seemed to replace the quest for public welfare.

Despite Harding's call for a return to a familiar past, America seemed to be rushing headlong into the future. The word *modern* began appearing everywhere: modern times, modern women, modern technology, the modern home, modern marriage. Although the word was rarely defined, it connoted certain beliefs: that science was a better guide to life than religion; that people should be free to choose their own lifestyles; that sex should be a source of pleasure for women as well as men; that women and minorities should be equal to white men and enjoy the same rights.

Many other Americans, however, reaffirmed their belief that God's word transcended science; that people should obey the moral code set forth in the Bible; that women were not equal to men; and that blacks, Mexicans, and Eastern European immigrants were inferior to Anglo-Saxon whites. They made their voices heard in a resurgent **Ku Klux Klan** and the fundamentalist movement, and on issues such as evolution and immigration. In seeking to restore an older America, some in their ranks were prepared to deny individual Americans the liberty to choose their own ways of living and to insist that all people were not fundamentally equal.

CHRONOLOGY

1920	Prohibition goes into effect ◆ Warren G. Harding defeats James M. Cox for presidency ◆ Census reveals that a majority of Americans live in urban areas ◆ 8 million cars on roads
1921	Sheppard-Towner Act passed
1922	United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy sign Five-Power Treaty, agreeing to reduce size of their navies
1923	Teapot Dome scandal lands Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall in jail ◆ Harding dies in office ◆ Calvin Coolidge becomes president
1924	Dawes Plan to restructure Germany's war debt put into effect ◆ Coolidge defeats John W. Davis for presidency ◆ Ku Klux Klan membership approaches 4 million ◆ Johnson-Reed Act cuts immigration by 80 percent
1925	Scopes trial upholds right of Tennessee to bar teaching of evolution in public schools ◆ *Survey Graphic* publishes a special issue on the Harlem Renaissance ◆ F. Scott Fitzgerald publishes *The Great Gatsby* ◆ U.S. withdraws Marines from Nicaragua
1926	Revenue Act cuts income and estate taxes ◆ U.S. sends Marines back to Nicaragua to end civil war and protect U.S. property
1927	Coolidge vetoes high tariffs legislation (McNary-Haugen bill) ◆ Babe Ruth hits 60 home runs ◆ Charles Lindbergh flies across the Atlantic
1928	Fifteen nations sign Kellogg-Briand pact, pledging to avoid war ◆ Coolidge vetoes McNary-Haugen bill again ◆ Herbert Hoover defeats Alfred E. Smith for presidency
1929	Union membership drops to 3 million ◆ 27 million cars on roads ◆ William Faulkner publishes *The Sound and the Fury* ◆ Josh Gibson joins the National Negro League
1930	Los Angeles's Mexican population reaches 100,000

Modernists and traditionalists confronted each other in party politics, in legislatures, in courtrooms, and in the press. Their battles belie the vision of the 1920s merely as a time for the pursuit of leisure.

PROSPERITY

On balance, the First World War had been good for the American economy. American industries had emerged intact from, even strengthened by, the war. Manufacturers and bankers had exported so many goods and extended so many loans to the Allies that, by war's end, the United States was the world's leading creditor nation. New York City challenged London as the hub of world finance.

From 1919 to 1921, the country struggled to redirect industry from wartime to civilian production, a process slowed by the government's hasty withdrawal from its wartime role as economic regulator and stabilizer. Workers went on strike to

protest wage reductions or increases in the workweek. Farmers were hit by a depression as the overseas demand for American foodstuffs fell from its 1918–19 peak. Disgruntled workers and farmers even joined forces to form statewide farmer-labor parties, which for a time threatened to disrupt the country's two-party system in the upper Midwest. In 1924, the two groups formed a national Farmer-Labor Party. Robert LaFollette, their presidential candidate, received an impressive 16 percent of the vote that year, but then the third-party movement fell apart.

Its collapse reflected a rising public awareness of how vigorous and productive the economy had become. Beginning in 1922, the nation embarked on a period of remarkable growth. From 1922 to 1929, the gross national product grew at an annual rate of 5.5 percent, rising from $149 billion to $227 billion. The unemployment rate never exceeded 5 percent, and real wages rose about 15 percent.

A Consumer Society

The variety of products being produced matched the rate of economic growth. In the 19th century, economic growth had rested primarily on the production of capital goods, such as factory machinery and railroad tracks. In the 1920s, however, growth rested more on consumer goods. Some products, such as cars and telephones, had been available since the early 1900s, but in the 1920s their sales reached new levels. In 1920, just 12 years after Ford introduced the Model T, 8 million cars were on the road. By 1929, there were 27 million—one for every five Americans. Other consumer goods became available for the first time: tractors, washing machines, refrigerators, electric irons, radios, and vacuum cleaners. The term "consumer durable" was coined to describe such goods, which, unlike food, clothing, and other perishables, were meant to last. Even perishables took on new allure. Scientists had discovered the importance of vitamins in the diet and began urging Americans to consume more fresh fruits and vegetables. The agricultural economy of southern California grew rapidly as urban demand for its products skyrocketed. Improvements in refrigeration and in packaging, meanwhile, allowed fresh produce to travel long distances and extended its shelf life in grocery stores. And more stores were being operated by large grocery chains that could afford the latest refrigeration and packaging technology.

The public responded to these innovations with excitement. American industry had made fresh food and stylish clothes available to the masses. Refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines would spare women the drudgery of housework. Radios would expand the public's cultural horizons. Cars, asphalt roads, service stations, hot dog stands, "tourist cabins" (the forerunners of motels), and traffic lights seemed to herald a wholly new automobile civilization. By the middle of the decade, the country possessed a network of paved roads. City dwellers now had easy access to rural areas and made a ritual of daylong excursions. Camping trips and long-distance vacations became routine. Farmers and their families could now hop into their cars and head for the nearest town to take advantage of its stores, movie theater, amusement park, and sporting events. Suburbs proliferated, billed as the perfect mix of urban and rural life. Young men and women everywhere discovered that cars were a place where they could "make out," and even make love, without fear of reproach by prudish parents or prying neighbors.

In the 1920s, some Americans also discovered the benefits of owning stocks. The number of stockholders in AT&T, the nation's largest corporation, rose from 140,000 to 568,000. U.S. Steel stockholder numbers increased from 96,000 to 146,000. By 1929, as many as 7 million Americans owned stock, most of them people of middle- or upper-class means. The New York Stock Exchange, first organized in 1792, assisted in processing complicated transactions.

A People's Capitalism

Capitalists boasted that they had created a **"people's capitalism"** in which virtually all Americans could participate. Now everyone could own a piece of corporate America. Now everyone could have a share of luxuries and amenities. Poverty, capitalists claimed, was banished, and the gap between rich and poor all but closed.

Actually, although wages were rising, millions of Americans still earned too little to partake fully of the marketplace. The percentage of Americans owning stocks remained small. Social scientists Robert and Helen Lynd discovered, in their celebrated 1929 study of Muncie, Indiana, that working-class families who bought a car often lacked money for other goods. One housewife admitted: "We don't have no fancy clothes when we have the car to pay for.... The car is the only pleasure we have." Many industrialists resisted pressure to increase wages, and workers lacked the organizational strength to force them to pay more.

One solution came with the introduction of consumer credit. Car dealers, home appliance salesmen, and other merchants began to offer installment plans that enabled consumers to purchase a product by making a down payment and promising to pay the rest in installments. By 1930, 15 percent of all purchases were made on the installment plan.

Even so, many poor Americans benefited little from the consumer revolution. Middle-class Americans acquired a disproportionate share of consumer durables. They also could afford to purchase more fresh fruits and vegetables and stocks than most working-class Americans.

The Rise of Advertising and Mass Marketing

But even middle-class consumers had to be wooed. How could they be persuaded to buy another car only a few years after they had bought their first one? General Motors (GM) had the answer: the annual model change. Beginning in 1926, GM cars took on a different look every year as GM engineers changed headlights and chassis colors, streamlined bodies, and added new features. The strategy worked. GM leaped past Ford and became the world's largest car manufacturer.

Henry Ford reluctantly introduced his Model A in 1927 to provide customers with a colorful alternative to the drab Model T. Having spent his lifetime selling a product renowned for its utility and reliability, Ford rejected the idea that sales could be increased by appealing to the intangible hopes and fears of consumers. He was wrong. The desire to be beautiful, handsome, or sexually attractive; to exercise power and control; to demonstrate competence and success; to escape anonymity, loneliness, and boredom; to experience pleasure—all such desires, once activated, could motivate a consumer to buy a new car even when the old one was still serviceable, or to spend money on goods that might have once seemed frivolous.

Arousing such desires required more than bright colors, sleek lines, and attractive packaging. It called for advertising campaigns intended to make a product seem to be the answer to the consumer's desires. To create those campaigns, corporations turned to a new kind of company: professional advertising firms. Advertising entrepreneurs, people such as Edward Bernays, Doris Fleischmann, and Bruce Barton, tended to be well educated, sensitive to public taste, and knowledgeable about human psychology. In their campaigns, advertisers played on the emotions and vulnerabilities of their target audiences. A perfume manufacturer's ad pronounced: "The first duty of woman is to attract.... It does not matter how clever or independent you may be, if you fail to influence the men you meet, consciously or unconsciously, you are not fulfilling your fundamental duty as a woman." A tobacco ad matter-of-factly declared: "Men at the top are apt to be pipe-smokers.... It's no coincidence—pipe-smoking is a calm and deliberate habit—restful, stimulating. His pipe helps a man think straight. A pipe is back of most big ideas."

Advertising professionals believed they were helping people to manage their lives in ways that would increase their satisfaction and pleasure. American consumers responded enthusiastically. The most enthusiastic of all were middle-class Americans, who could afford to buy what the advertisers were selling. Many of them were newcomers to middle-class ranks, searching for ways to affirm—or even create—their new identity. The aforementioned ad for pipe tobacco, for example, was targeted at the new middle-class man, imagined by advertisers to be someone holding a salaried position in a corporate office or bank, or working as a commission salesman, or owning a small business.

As male wage earners moved into the new middle class, their wives were freed from the necessity of working outside the home. Advertisers appealed to the new middle-class woman, too, as she refocused her attention toward dressing in the latest fashion, managing the household, and raising children. Vacuum cleaners and other consumer durables would make her more efficient, and books on childrearing, many imbued with a popularized Freudianism, would enable her to mold her children for future success in work and marriage. Cosmetics would aid women in their "first duty"—to be beautiful and sexual for their husbands and boyfriends.

Changing Attitudes toward Marriage and Sexuality

That husbands and wives were encouraged to pursue sexual satisfaction together was one sign of how prescriptions for married life had changed since the 19th century, when women were thought to lack sexual passion and men were tacitly expected to satisfy their drives through extramarital liaisons. Modern husbands and wives were expected to share other leisure activities as well—dining out, playing cards with friends, going to the movies, attending concerts, and discussing the latest selection from the newly formed Book-of-the-Month Club. Husbands and wives now aspired to a new ideal—to be best friends, full partners in the pursuit of happiness.

The public pursuit of pleasure was also noticeable among young and single middle-class women. The so-called **flappers** of the 1920s set out to break the informal rules governing young women's lives: they donned short dresses, rolled their stockings down, wore red lipstick, and smoked in public. Flappers were signaling

their desire for independence and equality, but they had little thought of achieving those goals through politics as their middle-class predecessors had in the woman suffrage movement. Rather, they aimed to create a new female personality endowed with self-reliance, outspokenness, and a new appreciation for the pleasures of life.

An Age of Celebrity

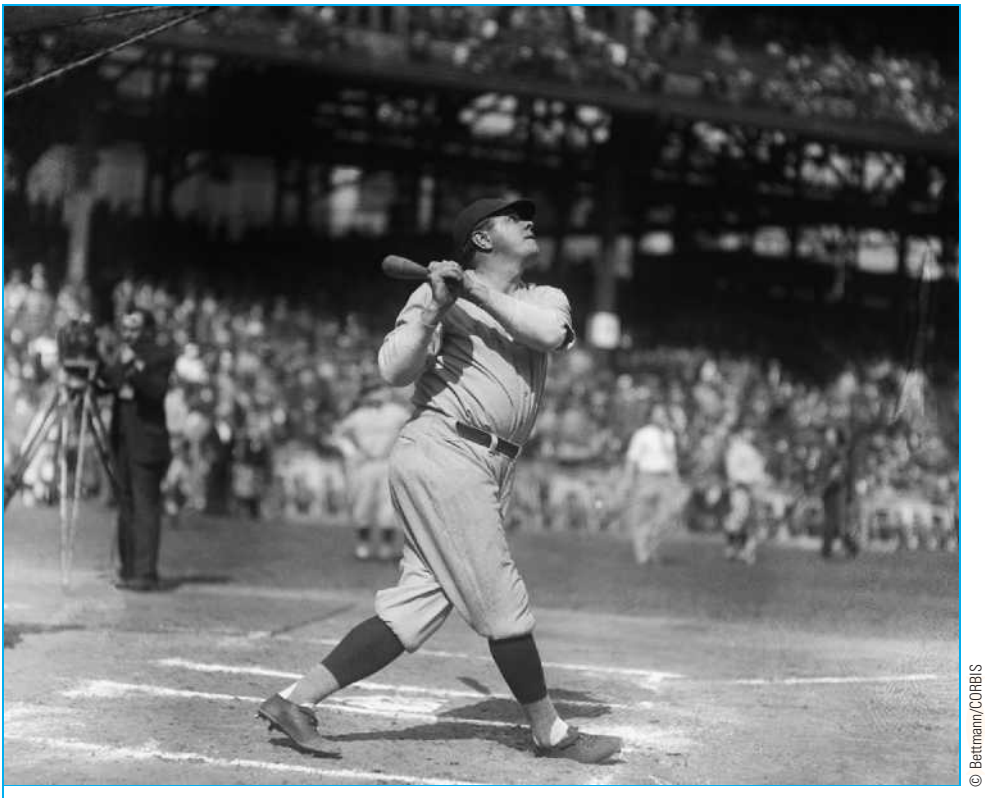
The pursuit of pleasure became both an individual and a group endeavor. Mass marketers began to understand that they could make big sums of money by staging mega-events, mostly connected to sports, that tens of thousands would attend and that radio announcers would broadcast to a virtual audience of millions. Newspapers and word-of-mouth would ensure that enthusiasts would discuss these events for days, even weeks and months. Baseball and boxing became the two sports where mass marketing had advanced the farthest. When Yankee Stadium opened in 1923, it set a new standard for the scale and magnificence of sports amphitheaters. Boxing matches began drawing audiences that would have been unimaginable 20 years earlier. To succeed on this scale, these sports required not just stirring athletic competitions but also individual athletes who seemed larger than life and whose exploits and character could be endlessly promoted.

No sports figure achieved greater fame than George Herman "Babe" Ruth, who overcame the hardships of a poor and orphaned youth in Baltimore to become the slugging star—the "Sultan of Swat"—of the New York Yankees. In the 1920s, Ruth hit more home runs than baseball experts had thought humanly possible, culminating in 1927, when he hit a magical 60, a record that would last for 34 years and that would be surpassed only three times in the 20th century. A close second in popularity to Ruth was heavyweight prizefighter Jack Dempsey, whose combination of ruthlessness and efficiency in the ring with gentleness outside it enthralled millions.

Americans also drew their celebrities from the movies, where stars such as comedian Charlie Chaplin and the exotically handsome Rudolph Valentino stirred laughter and sexual longings, respectively, in audiences. These and other figures became so familiar on the silver screen that they created an insatiable appetite among movie fans for news about their private lives as well, an interest that the movie industry was only too eager to exploit.

The popular figures of the 1920s did not earn their status through their accomplishments in politics or war, but through their prowess at a game or their skill at acting in front of a camera. Historians have tended to criticize such celebrity worship, especially when the lionized individual seemed to possess no quality greater than the ability to hit a ball 400 feet or to smash an opponent's face. But such scholarly criticism perhaps has been too quick to overlook the human longing to experience the intensity of emotions associated with competition and triumph or to draw close to someone who demonstrates that the impossible—whether in the form of a physical feat, or a love relationship, or an escape from a confining life—could be accomplished.

Some of these sentiments can be discerned in the adulation bestowed on **Charles A. Lindbergh,** the young pilot who, in 1927, became the first individual to cross the Atlantic in a solo flight. Piloting his single-engine white monoplane, *The Spirit of St. Louis,* Lindbergh flew nonstop (and without sleep) for 34 hours from the time he took off from Long Island until he landed at Le Bourget Airport



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Babe Ruth at the Plate. *The "Sultan of Swat" watches one of his towering shots soar toward the stadium fence.*

in Paris. Thousands of Parisians were waiting for him at the airfield and began charging his plane as soon as it landed. When he returned to New York, an estimated 4 million fans lined the parade route. None of this fame could have happened without the new machinery of celebrity culture—aggressive journalists and radio commentators, promoters, and others who understood how fame could yield a profit. It mattered, too, that Lindbergh performed his feat in an airplane, one of the era's newest and most exciting innovations. But Lindbergh's celebrity involved more than hype and technology: He accomplished what others said could not be done, and he did it on his own in a time when corporations and other private institutions of power seemed to be shrinking the realm for individual initiative. Some of Lindbergh's popularity no doubt rested on his ability to demonstrate that an individual of conviction and skill could still make a difference in an increasingly industrialized and bureaucratized world.

Celebrating Business Civilization

Industrialists, advertisers, and merchandisers in the 1920s began to claim that their accomplishments lay at the heart of American civilization. Business, they argued, made America great, and businessmen provided the nation with its wisest,

most vigorous leadership. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge declared, "the business of America is business." Even religion became a business. Bruce Barton, in his bestseller *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925), depicted Jesus as a business executive "who picked up twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and forged them into an organization that conquered the world." Elsewhere, Barton hailed Jesus as an early "national advertiser," and proclaimed that Peter and Paul were really not so different from Americans who sold vacuum cleaners.

Some corporate leaders adopted benevolent attitudes toward their employees. They set up workplace cafeterias, hired doctors and nurses to staff on-site medical clinics, and engaged psychologists to counsel troubled workers. They built ball fields and encouraged employees to join industry-sponsored leagues. They published employee newsletters and gave awards to employees who did their jobs well and with good spirit.

The real purpose of these measures—collectively known as welfare capitalism—was to encourage employees to be loyal to their firm and to convince them (contrary to what labor union critics had been arguing) that industry did have the best interests of its employees at heart. As the decade proceeded and as prosperity rolled on, welfare capitalism reflected the confidence that capitalism had become more responsive to employee concerns and thus more humane.

Industrial Workers

Many industrial workers benefited from the nation's prosperity. A majority enjoyed rising wages and a reasonably steady income. Skilled craftsmen in the older industries of construction, railroad transportation, and printing fared especially well. Their real wages rose by 30 to 50 percent over the decade. The several million workers employed in the large mass-production industries (such as automobile and electrical equipment manufacture) also did well. Their wages were relatively high, and some of them enjoyed good benefits—paid sick leave, paid vacations, life insurance, stock options, and retirement pensions. Although all workers in companies with these programs were eligible for such benefits, skilled workers were in the best position to claim them.

Semiskilled and unskilled industrial workers had to contend with a labor surplus throughout the decade. As employers replaced workers with machines, the aggregate demand for industrial labor increased at a lower rate than it had in the preceding 20 years. Despite a weakening demand for labor, rural whites, rural blacks, and Mexicans continued their migration to the cities, stiffening the competition for factory jobs. Employers could hire and fire as they saw fit and could therefore keep wage increases lagging behind increases in productivity.

This softening demand for labor helps explain why many working-class families benefited little from the decade's prosperity or from its consumer revolution. An estimated 40 percent of workers remained mired in poverty, unable to afford a healthy diet or adequate housing, much less any of the more costly consumer goods.

The million or more workers who labored in the nation's two largest industries, coal and textiles, suffered the most during the 1920s. Throughout the decade, both industries experienced severe overcapacity. By 1926, only half of the coal mined each year was being sold. Many New England textile cities experienced levels of unemployment that sometimes approached 50 percent. One reason was that many

textile industrialists had shifted their operations to the South, where taxes and wages were lower. But the southern textile industry also suffered from excess capacity, exerting a downward pressure on prices and wages there as well. Plant managers pressured their workers to speed up production. Workers loathed the frequent "speed-ups" of machines and the "stretch-outs" in the number of spinning or weaving machines each worker was expected to tend. By the late 1920s, labor strife and calls for unionization were rising among disgruntled workers in both the South and the North.

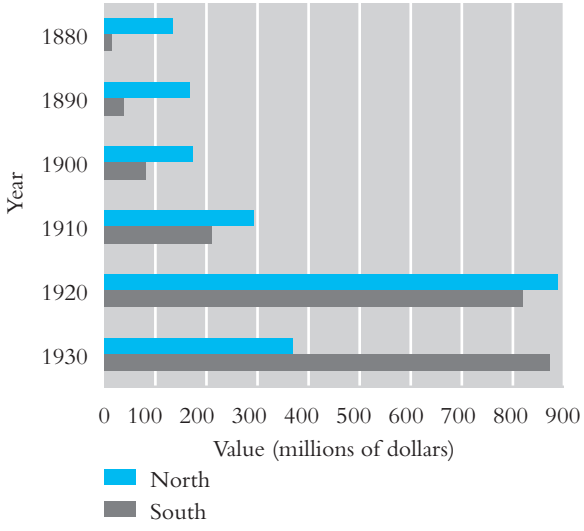
Unionization of textiles and coal, and of more prosperous industries as well, would have brought workers a larger share of the decade's prosperity. Some labor leaders, such as Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, argued that unionization would actually increase corporate profits by compelling employers to observe uniform wage and hour schedules that would restrain ruinous competition. Hillman pointed out—as Henry Ford had in the preceding decade (see Chapter 21)—that rising wages would enable workers to purchase more consumer goods and thus increase corporate sales and revenues. Hillman's views, however, were largely ignored outside the garment industry.

Elsewhere, unions lost ground, as business and government, backed by middle-class opinion, remained hostile to labor organization. Employers attacked unions as un-American. A conservative Supreme Court whittled away at labor's legal protections. In 1921, it ruled that lower courts could issue injunctions against union members, prohibiting them from striking or picketing an employer. State courts also enforced what union members called **"yellow dog" contracts,** written pledges by which employees promised not to join a union while they were employed. Any employee who violated that pledge was subject to immediate dismissal.

These measures crippled efforts to organize trade unions. Membership fell from a high of 5 million in 1920 to less than 3 million in 1929, a mere 10 percent of the nation's industrial workforce. Other forces contributed to the decline, too. Many workers, especially those benefiting from welfare capitalist programs, decided they no longer needed trade unions. And the labor movement hurt itself by moving too slowly to open its ranks to semiskilled and unskilled factory workers.

Women and Work

Women workers experienced the same hardships as men in the industrial workforce and fewer of the benefits. They were largely excluded from the ranks of the skilled craftsmen and thus missed out on the substantial wage increases that the men in those positions enjoyed. Women also had trouble finding work in the automobile industry, the highest paying of the mass-production industries. They had better access to the electrical equipment and meatpacking industries, although they were often segregated in departments given over to "women's work." Where women were allowed to compete for the same jobs as men, they usually earned less. Thus, a female trimmer in a meatpacking plant typically made 37 cents per hour, only two-thirds of what a male trimmer earned. The textile industry had long been a major source of employment for women, but in the 1920s, women and men alike in this ailing manufacturing sector suffered high rates of unemployment and declining wages.



Value of Regional Cotton Textile Output, 1880–1930

Source: Data from Nancy F. Kane, *Textiles in Transition: Technology, Wages, and Industry Relocation in the U.S. Textile Industry, 1880–1939* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 29.

White-collar work established itself, in the 1920s, as a magnet for women. Discrimination generally prevented women from becoming managers, accountants, or supervisors, but they did dominate the lower-level ranks of secretaries, typists, filing clerks, bank tellers, and department store clerks. By the 1930s, 2 million women, or 20 percent of the female workforce, labored in these and related occupations. Initially, these positions had a glamour that factory work lacked. Work environments were cleaner and brighter, and women had the opportunity—indeed were expected—to dress well. But wages were low and managerial authority was absolute. Unions had virtually no presence in white-collar places of employment, and workers had difficulty finding alternative ways of protesting unfair managers or difficult working conditions.

Women with ambitious work aspirations most often pursued the "female" professions, such as teaching, nursing, social work, and librarianship. Opportunities in several of these fields, especially teaching and social work, were growing, and women responded by enrolling in college in large numbers. The number of female college students increased by 50 percent during the 1920s. Some of these college graduates used their new skills in new fields, such as writing for women's magazines. A few, drawing strength from their feminist forebears during the progressive era, managed to crack such male bastions of work as mainstream journalism and university research and teaching. In every field of endeavor, even such new and exotic ones as airplane flying, at least one woman arose to demonstrate that her sex had the necessary talent and drive to match or exceed what men had done.

Thus in 1932, Amelia Earhart became the first woman to fly the Atlantic solo, matching Lindbergh's feat and inspiring women everywhere. Even so, Earhart's feat



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Amelia Earhart, Aviation Pioneer. *Earhart strikes a flapper pose in front of the biplane that she was preparing to fly across the Atlantic.*

failed to improve substantially opportunities for women who wanted to work as pilots in the airline industry. In this industry, as in most lines of work, gender prejudices remained too entrenched, and the women who had broken the gender line remained, by and large, solitary figures.

The Women's Movement Adrift

Many supporters of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, which, in 1920, gave women the right to vote, expected it to transform American politics. Women voters would reverse the decline in voter participation, cleanse politics of corruption, and launch a variety of reform initiatives that would improve the quality of life for women and men alike. This female-inspired transformation, however, failed to materialize. The women's movement, instead, seemed to succumb to the same exhaustion and frustration as had the more general progressive movement from which it had emerged 20 years earlier. Younger women searching for independence and equality (such as the flappers discussed earlier in this chapter) often turned away from reform altogether, preferring a lifestyle that emphasized private achievement and personal freedom to a political career devoted to improving the collective status of America's women. Those who continued to agitate for

reform found progress more difficult to achieve once the conservative Republican administrations of Harding and Coolidge took office.

Nevertheless, some female reformers made significant strides in the 1920s. In 1921, one group succeeded in getting Congress to pass the **Sheppard-Towner Act,** a major social welfare program that provided federal funds for prenatal and child healthcare centers throughout the United States. It remained in effect until 1929. In 1923, Alice Paul, still head of the National Woman's Party (NWP, see Chapter 20), and her allies prevailed on Congress to consider an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution, phrased as follows: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." And in 1920, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the major force behind the struggle for suffrage, transformed into the **League of Women Voters (LWV).** During the next decade, the LWV launched numerous initiatives to encourage women to run for elective office, to educate voters about the issues before them, and to improve the condition of those Americans—the poor, female and child laborers, the mentally ill—who needed assistance.

Sometimes the women's movement was stymied not just by external opposition but also by internal division—as it was over the ERA. The NWP and other supporters of the ERA insisted that there could be no compromise with the proposition that women were the equals of men in every respect. But, the LWV countered, childrearing and mothering duties did render women different from men in key respects and thus, in some instances, in need of special treatment by Congress and other lawmaking bodies.

The question of female difference crystallized around the issue of protective labor legislation for women. Over the years, a series of state and federal laws had given women protections at the workplace—limitations on the hours of labor, prohibitions on overnight work, and other such measures—that men did not have. Many women reformers supported these measures, believing they were vital to protecting the masses of women workers from the worst forms of exploitation and thus enabling them to have enough time and energy to perform their vital roles as mothers and wives. Fearing that a successful ERA would render this protective legislation unconstitutional, the LWV and its allies opposed the ERA. Alice Paul and her allies countered by arguing that female protective laws did not really benefit women. Instead, employers used these laws as an excuse to segregate women in stereotyped jobs that were mostly low status and low paying and thus to deny women the opportunities for advancement and fulfillment open to men.

This issue of whether women should be treated like men in all respects or offered some protections that no men enjoyed was a genuinely complicated one, and women activists would continue to argue about it with each other for decades. In the 1920s, however, their inability to speak with a single voice on this matter weakened their cause in the eyes of their adversaries.

The Politics of Business

Republican presidents governed the country from 1921 to 1933. In the beginning, this transition engulfed national politics in scandal, as Warren Harding, the first of the decade's three Republican presidents, allowed high-ranking members of his

administration to indulge in spectacular forms of corruption. But his successor, Calvin Coolidge, restored virtue and honor to the presidency while carrying out his 1924 campaign pledge to overturn the legacy of progressivism and reduce the role of the government in economic affairs. The most significant challenge to Coolidge's small government program came from his own secretary of commerce and then his successor as president, Herbert Hoover, who sought to sustain the spirit of activist government that Theodore Roosevelt had introduced to Republican politics, albeit in a somewhat altered form.

Harding and the Politics of Personal Gain

Warren Gamaliel Harding defeated Democrat James M. Cox for the presidency in 1920. From modest origins as a newspaper editor in the small town of Marion, Ohio, Harding had risen to the U.S. Senate chiefly because the powerful Ohio Republican machine knew it could count on him to do its bidding. He gained the presidency for the same reason. The Republican Party bosses believed that almost anyone they nominated in 1920 could defeat the Democratic opponent. They chose Harding because they could control him. Harding's good looks and geniality made him a favorite with voters, and he swept into office with 61 percent of the popular vote, the greatest landslide since 1820.

To his credit, Harding released the aging Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs from jail and took other measures to cool the passions unleashed by the Red Scare. He also included talented men in his cabinet. His choices of Herbert Hoover as secretary of commerce, Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state, and Andrew Mellon as secretary of the treasury were particularly impressive appointments. Still, Harding lacked the will to alter his ingrained political habits. He had built his political career on a willingness to please the lobbyists who came to his Senate office asking for favors and deals. He had long followed Ohio boss Harry M. Daugherty's advice and would continue to do so with Daugherty as his attorney general. Harding apparently did not consider men such as Daugherty self-serving or corrupt. They were his friends; they had been with him since the beginning of his political career. He made sure the "boys" had jobs in his administration, and he continued to socialize with them. Many a night he could be found drinking (despite **Prohibition),** gambling, and womanizing with the "Ohio Gang" at its K Street hangout. Sometimes the gang even convened in the White House.

The K Street house was more than a place to carouse. It was a place of business where the Ohio Gang became rich selling government appointments, judicial pardons, and police protection to bootleggers. By 1923, the corruption could no longer be concealed. Journalists and senators began to focus public attention on the actions of Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall, who had persuaded Harding to transfer control of large government oil reserves at **Teapot Dome,** Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, from the navy to the Department of the Interior. Fall had immediately leased the deposits to two oil tycoons, Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny, who pumped oil from the wells in exchange for providing the navy with a system of fuel tank reserves. Fall had issued the leases secretly, without allowing other oil corporations to compete for them, and he had accepted almost $400,000 from Sinclair and Doheny.

Fall would pay for this shady deal with a year in jail. He was not the only Harding appointee to do so. Charles R. Forbes, head of the Veterans' Bureau, would go to Leavenworth Prison for swindling the government out of $200 million in hospital supplies. The exposure of Forbes's theft prompted his lawyer, Charles Cramer, to commit suicide; Jesse Smith, Attorney General Daugherty's close friend and housemate, also killed himself, apparently to avoid being indicted and brought to trial. Daugherty managed to escape conviction and incarceration for bribery by burning incriminating documents held by his brother's Ohio bank. Still, Daugherty left government service in disgrace.

Harding initially kept himself blind to this widespread use of public office for private gain but grew depressed when he finally realized what had been going on. In summer 1923, in poor spirits, he left Washington for a West Coast tour. He fell ill in Seattle and died from a heart attack in San Francisco. The train returning his body to Washington attracted crowds of grief-stricken mourners who little suspected the web of corruption and bribery in which Harding had been caught. Even as the revelations poured forth in 1924 and 1925, few Americans seemed bothered. Some of this insouciance reflected the carefree atmosphere of the 1920s, but much of it had to do with the character of the man who succeeded Harding.



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A Stern Yankee. *In contrast to Harding, President Calvin Coolidge did not enjoy informality, banter, or carousing. Here he seems to take little satisfaction in performing what most would have regarded as a pleasurable task: throwing out the first ball of the 1924 baseball season.*

Coolidge and Laissez-Faire Politics

Calvin Coolidge rarely smiled. At the many dinners he attended as vice president, he said hardly a word. Silence was his public creed, much to the chagrin of Washington's socialites. He was never enticed into carousing with the "boys," nor did he ever stand by as liquor was being served. He believed that the best government was the government that governed least, and that the welfare of the country hinged not on politicians but on the people—their willingness to work hard, to be honest, and to live within their means.

Born in Vermont and raised in Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge gained national visibility in September 1919, when as governor of Massachusetts he took a firm stand against Boston's striking policemen (see Chapter 23). His reputation as a man who battled labor radicals earned him a place on the 1920 national Republican ticket. His image as an ordinary man helped convince voters in 1920 that the Republican Party would return the country to its commonsensical ways after a decade or more of progressive reform. Coolidge won his party's presidential nomination handily in 1924 and easily defeated his Democratic opponent, John W. Davis. Coolidge's popularity remained strong throughout his first full term, and he probably would have been renominated and reelected in 1928, but he chose not to run.

Coolidge took greatest pride in those measures that reduced the government's control over the economy. The Revenue Act of 1926 slashed the high income and estate taxes that progressives had pushed through Congress during the First World War. Coolidge curtailed the power of the Federal Trade Commission to regulate business affairs and endorsed Supreme Court decisions invalidating progressive-era laws that had strengthened organized labor and protected children and women from employer exploitation.

Hoover and the Politics of Associationalism

Republicans in the 1920s did more than simply remove government restraints and regulations from the economy. Some, led by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, conceived of government as a dynamic, even progressive, economic force. Hoover did not want government to control industry, but he did want government to persuade private corporations to abandon their wasteful, selfish ways and turn to cooperation and public service. Hoover envisioned an economy built on the principle of association. Industrialists, wholesalers, retailers, operators of railroad and shipping lines, small businessmen, farmers, workers, doctors—each of these groups would form a trade association whose members would share economic information, discuss problems of production and distribution, and seek ways of achieving greater efficiency and profit. Hoover believed that the very act of associating in this way—an approach that historian Ellis Hawley has called **"associationalism"**—would convince participants of the superiority of cooperation over competition, of negotiation over conflict, of public service over selfishness.

A graduate of Stanford University, Hoover had worked first as a mining engineer and then as an executive in multinational mining corporations. During the war, he had directed the government's Food Administration. From that experience, he had come to appreciate the role that government could play in coordinating the activities of thousands of producers and distributors scattered across the country.

Hoover's ambition as secretary of commerce was to make the department the grand orchestrator of economic cooperation, to which end he achieved some notable successes. He persuaded farmers to join together in marketing cooperatives, steel executives to abandon the 12-hour day for their employees, and some groups of bankers in the South to organize their institutions into regional associations with adequate resources and expertise. Hoover's dynamic conception of government did not endear him to Coolidge, who declared in 1927: "That man has offered me unsolicited advice for six years, all of it bad."

The Politics of Business Abroad

Republican domestic policy disagreements over whether to pursue laissez-faire or associationalism spilled over into foreign policy as well. As secretary of commerce, Hoover intended to apply associationalism to international relations. He wanted the world's leading nations to meet regularly in conferences, to limit military buildups, and to foster an international environment in which capitalism could flourish. Aware that the United States must help to create such an environment, Hoover hoped to persuade American bankers to adopt investment and loan policies that would aid European recovery. If they refused to do so, he was prepared to urge the government to take an activist, supervisory role in foreign investment.

In 1921 and 1922, Hoover helped design the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Although he did not serve as a negotiator at the conference—Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes reserved that role for himself and his subordinates—Hoover did supply Hughes's team with a wealth of economic information that became the basis for bold, detailed proposals for disarmament. Those proposals gave U.S. negotiators a decided advantage over their European and Asian counterparts and helped them win a stunning accord, the Five-Power Treaty, by which the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to scrap more than 2 million tons of warships. Hughes also obtained pledges from all of the signatories that they would respect the "Open Door" in China, long a U.S. foreign policy objective (see Chapter 22).

These triumphs redounded to Hughes's credit but not to Hoover's, and Hughes used it to consolidate his control over foreign policy. He rebuffed Hoover's efforts to put international economic affairs under the direction of the Commerce Department and rejected Hoover's suggestion to intervene in the international activities of U.S. banks.

Hughes's approach was not entirely laissez-faire, as he demonstrated in his 1923 reaction to a crisis in Franco-German relations. The victorious Allies had imposed on Germany an obligation to pay $33 billion in war reparations (see Chapter 23). When the impoverished German government suspended its payments in 1923, France sent troops to occupy the Ruhr valley, whose industry was vital to the German economy. German workers retaliated by going on strike. The crisis threatened to undermine Europe's precarious economic recovery. Hughes responded by intensifying American financial pressure on the French and by compelling them to attend a U.S.-sponsored conference in 1924 to restructure Germany's debt obligation.

The conference produced the **Dawes Plan** (after the Chicago banker and chief negotiator, Charles G. Dawes), which reduced German reparations from $542 million to $250 million annually and called on U.S. and foreign banks to stimulate the German economy with a quick infusion of $200 million in loans. Within a matter

of days, banker J. P. Morgan, Jr., raised more than $1 billion from American investors. Money poured into German financial markets, and the German economy appeared to stabilize.

The Dawes Plan won applause on both sides of the Atlantic, but soon the U.S. money flooding into Germany created its own problems. American investors were so eager to lend to Germany that their investments became speculative and unsound. At this point, a stronger U.S. government effort to direct loans to sound investments, a strategy that Hoover supported, might have helped. But neither Hughes nor his successor as secretary of state, Frank Kellogg, was interested in such initiatives, and neither was Secretary of the Treasury Mellon. The laissez-faire approach had reasserted itself, and Hoover's plan to involve the U.S. government directly in international economic matters had been rebuffed.

Republican initiatives to ensure world peace continued, however. Secretary of State Kellogg drew up a treaty with Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, outlawing war as a tool of national policy. In 1928, representatives of the United States, France, and 13 other nations met in Paris to sign the Kellogg-Briand pact, an agreement that soon attracted the support of 48 other nations. Coolidge viewed Kellogg-Briand as a way of reducing American military commitments abroad and thereby as a way of shrinking further the size of the U.S. government at home. With the threat of war removed, the United States could scale back its military forces and eliminate much of the bureaucracy needed to support a large standing army and navy. Unfortunately, the pact contained no enforcement mechanism, thus rendering itself ineffective as a foreign policy tool.

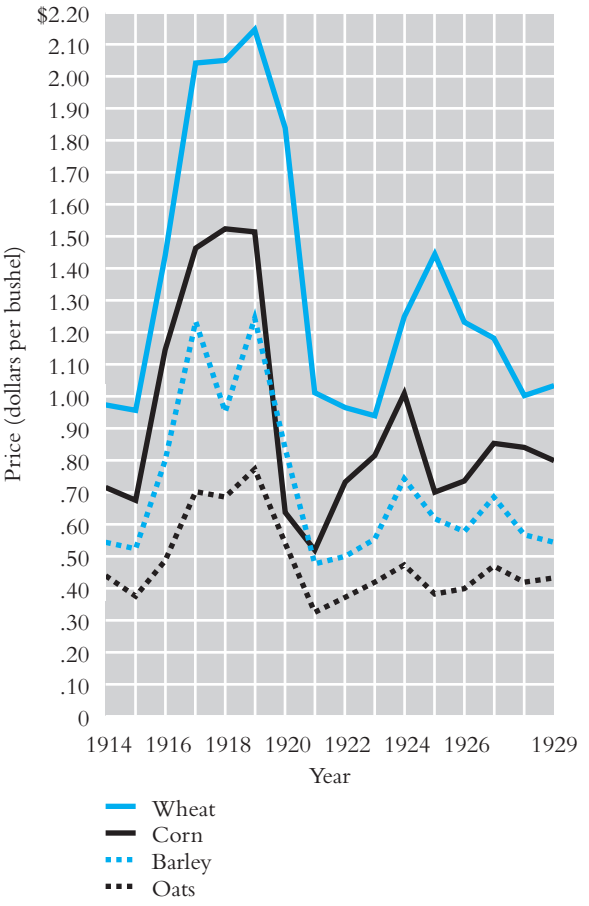
Republican administrations did attempt initially to curtail American military involvement in the Caribbean and Central America as well. Thus, the Coolidge administration pulled U.S. troops out of the Dominican Republic in 1924 and Nicaragua in 1925. But U.S. investments in the region, which more than doubled from 1917 to 1929, proved too important for the U.S. government to ignore. Coolidge sent the Marines back into Nicaragua in 1926 to end a war between liberals and conservatives there and to protect American property; this time they stayed until 1934. U.S. troops, meanwhile, occupied Haiti continuously between 1919 and 1934, keeping in power governments friendly to U.S. interests.

Farmers, Small-Town Protestants, and Moral Traditionalists

Although many Americans benefited from the prosperity of the 1920s, others did not. Overproduction was impoverishing substantial numbers of farmers. Beyond these economic hardships, many white Protestants, especially those in rural areas and small towns, feared the new economy and new culture that was taking shape in the cities. Increasingly, these Americans made their voices heard in politics.

Agricultural Depression

The 1920s brought hard times to the nation's farmers. During the war, domestic demand for farm products had risen steadily and foreign demand had exploded as the war disrupted agricultural production in France, Ukraine, and other European food-producing regions. Soon after the war, however, Europe's farmers quickly reestablished customary levels



Price of Major Crops, 1914–1929

Source: Data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1989), pp. 511–12.

of production. Foreign demand for American foodstuffs fell precipitously, leaving U.S. farmers with an oversupply and depressed prices.

A rise in agricultural productivity made possible by the tractor also worsened the plight of many farmers. The number of tractors in use almost quadrupled in the 1920s, and 35 million new acres came under cultivation. Produce flooded the market. Prices fell even further, as did farm incomes. By 1929, the annual per capita income of rural Americans was only $223, one-quarter of that of the non-farm population. Hundreds of thousands had to sell their farms and scrape together a living as tenants or abandon farming altogether. Many chose to abandon farm life and headed for the city.

Those who stayed on the land grew increasingly assertive in their demands. Early in the decade, radical farmers led the movement, working through such organizations as the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota and farmer-labor parties in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other midwestern states. By the second half of the decade, however, leadership had passed from farming radicals to farming moderates,

and from small farmers in danger of dispossession to larger farmers and agribusinesses seeking to extend their holdings. By lobbying through such organizations as the Farm Bureau Federation, the more powerful agricultural interests pressured Congress to set up economic controls that would protect them from failure. Their proposals, embodied in the McNary-Haugen Bill, called on the government to erect high tariffs on foreign produce and to purchase surplus U.S. crops. The government would then sell the surplus crops on the world market for whatever prices they fetched. Any money lost in international sales would be absorbed by the government rather than by the farmers. The McNary-Haugen Bill passed Congress in 1927 and in 1928, only to be vetoed by President Coolidge both times.

Cultural Dislocation

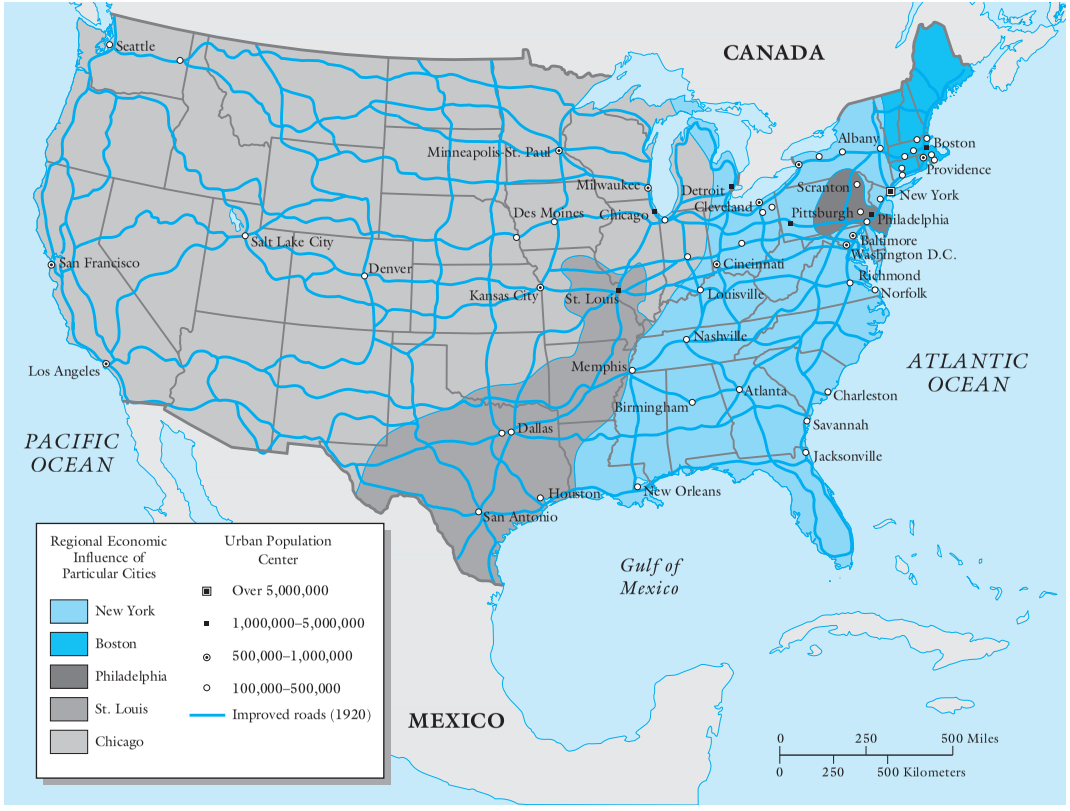
Added to the economic plight of the farmers was a sense of cultural dislocation among the majority who were white, Protestant, and of northwest European descent. These farmers had long perceived themselves as the backbone of the nation—hardworking, honest, God-fearing yeomen, guardians of independence and liberty.

The 1920 census challenged the validity of that view. For the first time, a slight majority of Americans now lived in urban areas. That finding in itself signified little because the census classified as "urban" those towns with a population as small as 2,500. But the census figures did reinforce the widespread perception that both the economic and cultural vitality of the nation had shifted from the countryside to the metropolis. Industry, the chief engine of prosperity, was an urban phenomenon. Commercialized leisure—the world of amusement parks, department stores, professional sports, movies, cabarets, and theaters—was to be enjoyed in cities; so too were flashy fashions and open sexuality. Catholics, Jews, and African Americans, who together outnumbered white Protestants in many cities, seemed to be the principal creators of this new world. They were also thought to be the purveyors of Bolshevism and other kinds of radicalism. Cities, finally, were the home of secular intellectuals who had scrapped their belief in Scripture and in God and had embraced science as their new, unimpeachable authority.

Throughout the progressive era, rural white Americans believed that the cities could be redeemed, that city dwellers could be reformed, and that the Protestant values of rural America would triumph. War had crushed that confidence and had replaced it with the fear that urban culture and urban people would undermine all that "true" Americans held dear.

These fears grew more intense as urban-industrial America spread its consumer culture and its commodities to the countryside. Even small towns now sported movie theaters and automobile dealerships. Radio waves carried news of city life into isolated farmhouses. The growth in the circulation of national magazines also broke down the wall separating country from city. Mail-order catalogs invited farmers to fantasize that they too could fill their homes with refrigerators, RCA Victrola phonographs, and Hoover vacuum cleaners.

Rural white Americans showed ambivalence toward this cultural invasion. On the one hand, most country dwellers were eager to participate in the consumer marketplace. On the other hand, many worried that doing so would expose the countryside to atheism, immorality, and radicalism. They expressed their determination to protect their imperiled way of life in their support for Prohibition, the **Ku Klux Klan,** immigration restriction, and religious fundamentalism.



MAP 24.1 Urbanization, 1920

By 1920, New York City had surpassed 5 million people, and Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis had surpassed 1 million. Another 10 cities, from Los Angeles, California, to Buffalo, New York, had surpassed 500,000. This map, through its color coding, also shows the regions in which the country's five largest cities exercised economic influence.

Prohibition The 18th Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcohol, went into effect in January 1920. Initially it drew support from a large and varied constituency that included farmers, middle-class city dwellers, feminists, and progressive reformers who loathed the powerful "liquor trust" and who saw firsthand the deleterious effects of drink on the urban poor. It soon became apparent, however, that Prohibition was doing as much to encourage lawbreaking as abstinence. With only 1,500 federal agents to enforce the law, the government could not possibly police the drinking habits of 110 million people. With little fear of punishment, those who wanted to drink did so, either brewing liquor at home or buying it from speakeasies and bootleggers.

Because the law prevented legitimate businesses from manufacturing liquor, organized crime added alcohol to its portfolio. Mobsters procured much of their liquor from Canadian manufacturers, smuggled it across the border, protected it in warehouses, and distributed it to speakeasies. Al Capone's Chicago-based mob alone employed 1,000 men to protect its liquor trafficking, which was so lucrative that Capone became the richest (and most feared) gangster in America. Blood flowed in the streets of Chicago and other northern cities as rival mobs fought one another to enlarge their share of the market.

These unexpected consequences caused many early advocates of Prohibition, especially in the cities, to withdraw their support. Not so for Prohibition's rural, white Protestant supporters, however. The violence spawned by liquor trafficking confirmed their view of alcohol as evil. The high-profile participation of Italian, Irish, and Jewish gangsters in the bootleg trade reinforced their belief that Catholics and Jews were threats to law and morality. Many rural white Protestants became more, not less, determined to rid the country of liquor once and for all; some among them resolved to rid the country of Jews and Catholics as well.

The Ku Klux Klan The original Ku Klux Klan, formed in the South in the late 1860s, had died out with the defeat of Reconstruction and the reestablishment of white supremacy (see Chapter 17). The new Klan was created in 1915 by William Simmons, a white southerner who had been inspired by D. W. Griffith's racist film, *Birth of a Nation,* in which the early Klan was depicted as having saved the nation from predatory blacks. (For a discussion of the film, see the History Through Film feature in Chapter 17). By the 1920s, control of the Klan had passed from Simmons to a Texas dentist, Hiram Evans, and its ideological focus had expanded from a loathing of blacks to a hatred of Jews and Catholics as well. Evans's Klan propagated a nativist message that the country should contain—or better yet, eliminate—the influence of Jews and Catholics and restore "Anglo-Saxon" racial purity, Protestant supremacy, and traditional morality to national life. This message swelled Klan ranks and expanded its visibility and influence in the North and South alike.

By 1924, as many as 4 million Americans are thought to have belonged to the Klan, including the half-million members of its female auxiliary, Women of the Ku Klux Klan. Not only was the Klan strong in states of the Old Confederacy, such as Louisiana and Texas, and in border states such as Oklahoma and Kansas, but it

thrived, too, in such northern states as Indiana, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Oregon. It even drew significant membership from the cities of those states. Indiana, for example, was home to 500,000 Klansmen and women, many of them in the Indianapolis area. In 1924, Indiana voters elected a Klansman to the governorship and sent several other Klan members to the statehouse.

In some respects, the Klan resembled other fraternal organizations. It offered its members friendship networks, social services, and conviviality. Its rituals, regalia, and mock-medieval language (the Imperial Wizard, Exalted Cyclops, Grand Dragons, and such) gave initiates a sense of superiority, valor, and mystery similar to what other fraternal societies—from the Masons to the Knights of Columbus—imparted to their members.

But the Klan also thrived on hate. It spread lurid tales of financial extortion by Jewish bankers and sexual exploitation by Catholic priests. The accusations were sometimes general, as in the claim that an international conspiracy of Jewish bankers had caused the agricultural depression, or allegations that the pope had sent agents to the United States with instructions to destroy liberty and democracy. More common, and more incendiary, however, were the seemingly plausible, yet totally manufactured, tales of Jewish or Catholic depravity. Stories circulated of Jewish businessmen who had opened amusement parks and dance halls to which they lured innocent adolescents, tempting them with sexual transgression and profiting handsomely from their moral debasement. Likewise, Catholic priests and nuns were said to prey on Protestant girls and boys who had been forced into convents and Catholic orphanages. These stories sometimes provoked attacks on individual Jews and Catholics. More commonly, they prompted campaigns to boycott Jewish businesses and Catholic institutions, and to ruin reputations.

The emphasis on sexual exploitation in these stories reveals the anxiety Klan members felt about society's growing acceptance of sexual openness and sexual gratification. Many Klan supporters lived in towns suffused with these modern attitudes. That such attitudes might reflect the yearnings of Protestant children rather than the manipulation of deceitful Jews and Catholics was a truth some Protestant parents found difficult to accept.

Immigration Restriction

Although most white Protestants never joined the Klan, many of them did respond to the Klan's nativist argument that the country and its values would best be served by limiting the entry of outsiders. That was the purpose of the Johnson-Reed **Immigration Restriction Act of 1924.**

By the early 1920s, most Americans believed that the country could no longer accommodate the million immigrants who had been arriving each year before the war and the more than 800,000 who arrived in 1921. Industrialists no longer needed unskilled European laborers to operate their factories, their places having been taken either by machines or by African American, Mexican, or Filipino workers. Most labor movement leaders were convinced that the influx of workers unfamiliar with English and with trade unions had weakened labor solidarity. Progressive reformers no longer believed that immigrants could be easily Americanized or that harmony between the native-born and the foreign-born could be readily achieved. Congress

Annual Immigrant Quotas Under the Johnson-Reed Act, 1925–1927

Northwest Europe and Scandinavia		Eastern and Southern Europe		Other Countries	
Country	**Quota**	**Country**	**Quota**	**Country**	**Quota**
Germany	51,227	Poland	5,982	Africa (other than Egypt)	1,100
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	34,007	Italy	3,845	Armenia	124
Irish Free State (Ireland)	28,567	Czechoslovakia	3,073	Australia	121
Sweden	9,561	Russia	2,248	Palestine	100
Norway	6,453	Yugoslavia	671	Syria	100
France	3,954	Romania	603	Turkey	100
Denmark	2,789	Portugal	503	New Zealand and Pacific Islands	100
Switzerland	2,081	Hungary	473	All others	1,900
Netherlands	1,648	Lithuania	344		
Austria	785	Latvia	142		
Belgium	512	Spain	131		
Finland	471	Estonia	124		
Free City of Danzig	228	Albania	100		
Iceland	100	Bulgaria	100		
Luxembourg	100	Greece	100		
Total (number)	142,483	Total (number)	18,439	Total (number)	3,745
	86.5%	Total (%)	11.2%	Total (%)	2.3%

Note: Total annual immigrant quota was 164,667.

Source: From *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 100.

responded to constituents' concerns by passing an immigration restriction act in 1921. In 1924, the more comprehensive Johnson-Reed Act imposed a yearly quota of 165,000 immigrants from countries outside the Western Hemisphere, effectively reducing total immigration to only 20 percent of the prewar annual average.

The sponsors of the 1924 act believed that certain groups—British, Germans, and Scandinavians, in particular—were racially superior and that, consequently, these groups should be allowed to enter the United States in greater numbers; however, because the Constitution prohibited the enactment of explicitly racist laws, Congress had to achieve this racist aim through subterfuge. Lawmakers established a formula to determine the annual immigrant quota for each foreign country, which was to be computed at 2 percent of the total number of immigrants from that

country already resident in the United States in the year 1890. In 1890, immigrant ranks had been dominated by the British, Germans, and Scandinavians, so the new quotas would thus allow for a relatively larger cohort of immigrants from those countries. Immigrant groups that were poorly represented in the 1890 population—Italians, Greeks, Poles, Slavs, and Eastern European Jews—were effectively locked out.

The Johnson-Reed Act also reaffirmed the long-standing policy of excluding Chinese immigrants, and it added Japanese and other groups of East and South Asians to the list of groups that were altogether barred from entry. The act did not officially limit immigration from nations in the Western Hemisphere, chiefly because agribusiness interests in Texas and California had convinced Congress that cheap Mexican labor was indispensable to their industry's prosperity. Still, the establishment of a Border Patrol along the U.S.–Mexican border and the imposition of a $10 head tax on all prospective Mexican immigrants made entry into the United States more difficult than it had been.

The Johnson-Reed Act accomplished Congress's underlying goal. Annual immigration from transoceanic nations fell by 80 percent. The large number of available slots for English and German immigrants regularly went unfilled, while the smaller number of available slots for Italians, Poles, Russian Jews, and others prevented hundreds of thousands of them from entering the country. A "national origins" system put in place in 1927 further reduced the total annual quota to 150,000 and reserved more than 120,000 of these slots for immigrants from northwestern Europe. Except for minor modifications in 1952, the Johnson-Reed Act would govern U.S. immigration policy until 1965.

Remarkably few Americans, outside of the ethnic groups being discriminated against, objected to these laws at the time they were passed—an indication of how broadly acceptable racism and nativism had become. In fact, racism and religious bigotry enjoyed a resurgence during the Jazz Age. The pseudoscience of eugenics, based on the idea that nations could improve the racial quality of their population by expanding its stronger racial strains and shrinking its weaker ones, found supporters not only in Congress but among the ranks of prestigious scientists as well. Universities such as Harvard and Columbia set quotas similar to those of the Johnson-Reed Act to reduce the proportion of Jews among their undergraduates.

Fundamentalism versus Liberal Protestantism

Of all the movements protesting against the modern elements of urban life in the 1920s, Protestant fundamentalism was perhaps the most enduring. **Fundamentalists** regarded the Bible as God's word and thus the source of all "fundamental" truth. They believed that every event depicted in the Bible, from the creation of the world in six days to the resurrection of Christ, happened exactly as the Bible described it. For fundamentalists, God was a deity who intervened directly in the lives of individuals and communities and who made known both his pleasure and his wrath to those who acknowledged his divinity. Sin had to be actively purged, and salvation actively sought.

The rise of the fundamentalist movement from the 1870s through the 1920s roughly paralleled the rise of urban-industrial society. Fundamentalists recoiled

from the "evils" of the city—from what they perceived as its poverty, its moral degeneracy, its irreligion, and its crass materialism. Fundamentalism took shape in reaction against two additional aspects of urban society: the growth of liberal Protestantism and the revelations of science.

Liberal Protestants believed that religion had to be adapted to the skeptical and scientific temper of the modern age. The Bible was to be mined for its ethical values rather than for its literal truth. Liberal Protestants removed God from his active role in history and refashioned him into a distant and benign deity who watched over the world but did not intervene to punish or to redeem. They turned religion away from the quest for salvation and toward the pursuit of good deeds, social conscience, and love for one's neighbor. Although those with a liberal bent constituted only a minority of Protestants, they were articulate, visible, and influential in social reform movements. Fundamentalism arose in part to counter the "heretical" claims of the liberal Protestants.

Liberal Protestants and fundamentalists both understood that science was the source of most challenges to Christianity. Scientists believed that rational inquiry was a better guide to the past and to the future than prayer and revelation. Scientists even challenged the ideas that God had created the world and had fashioned humankind in his own image. These were assertions that many religious peoples, particularly fundamentalists, simply could not accept. Conflict was inevitable. It came in 1925, in Dayton, Tennessee.

The Scopes Trial

No aspect of science aroused more anger among fundamentalists than Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. There was no greater blasphemy than to suggest that man emerged from lower forms of life instead of being created by God. In Tennessee in 1925, fundamentalists succeeded in passing a law that forbade teaching "any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible."

For Americans who accepted the authority of science, denying the truth of evolution was as ludicrous as insisting that the sun revolved around the earth. They ridiculed the fundamentalists, but they worried that the passage of the Tennessee law might signal the onset of a campaign to undermine First Amendment guarantees of free speech. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), founded by liberals during the Red Scare of 1919 and 1920, began searching for a teacher who would be willing to challenge the constitutionality of the Tennessee law. They found their man in John T. Scopes, a 24-year-old biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee. After confessing that he had taught evolution to his students, Scopes was arrested. The case quickly attracted national attention. William Jennings Bryan, the former Populist, progressive, and secretary of state, announced that he would help prosecute Scopes, and the famous liberal trial lawyer Clarence Darrow rushed to Dayton to lead Scopes's defense. That Bryan and Darrow had once been allies in the progressive movement only heightened the drama. A small army of journalists descended on Dayton, led by H. L. Mencken, a Baltimore-based journalist famous for his savage critiques of the alleged stupidity and prudishness of small-town Americans.

The trial dragged on, and most of the observers expected Scopes to be convicted. He was, but the hearing took an unexpected turn when Darrow persuaded the judge to let Bryan testify as an "expert on the Bible." Darrow knew that Bryan's testimony would have no bearing on the question of Scopes's innocence or guilt. The jury was not even allowed to hear it. His aim was to expose Bryan as a fool for believing that the Bible was a source of literal truth and thus to embarrass the fundamentalists. In a riveting confrontation, Darrow made Bryan's defense of the Bible look problematic and led Bryan to admit that the "truth" of the Bible was not always easy to determine. But Darrow could not shake Bryan's belief that the Bible was God's word and thus the source of all truth.

In his account of the trial, Mencken portrayed Bryan as a pathetic figure devastated by his humiliating experience on the witness stand, a view popularized in the 1960 movie *Inherit the Wind*. When Bryan died only a week after the trial ended, Mencken claimed that the trial had broken Bryan's heart. Bryan deserved a better epitaph than the one Mencken had given him. Diabetes caused his death, not a broken heart. Nor was Bryan the innocent fool that Mencken made him out to be. He remembered when social conservatives had used Darwin's phrase "survival of the fittest" to prove that the wealthy and politically powerful were racially superior to the poor and powerless. His rejection of Darwinism evidenced his democratic faith that all human beings were creatures of God and thus capable of striving for perfection and equality.

The public ridicule attendant on the Scopes trial took its toll on fundamentalists. Many of them retreated from politics and refocused their attention on purging sin from their own hearts rather than from the hearts of others. In the end, the fundamentalists prevailed on three more states to prohibit the teaching of evolution, but the controversy had even more far-reaching effects. Worried about losing sales, publishers quietly removed references to Darwin from their science textbooks, a policy that would remain in force until the 1960s. In this respect, the fundamentalists had scored a significant victory.

Ethnic and Racial Communities

The 1920s were a decade of change for ethnic and racial minorities. Some minorities benefited from the prosperity of the decade; others created and sustained vibrant subcultures. All, however, experienced a surge in religious and racial discrimination that made them uneasy in Jazz Age America.

European American Ethnics

European American ethnics—and especially the Southern and Eastern European majority among them—were concentrated in the cities of the Northeast and Midwest. Many were semiskilled and unskilled industrial laborers who suffered economic insecurity. In addition, they faced cultural discrimination. Catholics and Jews were targets of the Klan. Catholics generally opposed Prohibition, viewing it as a crude attempt by Protestants to control their behavior. Southern and Eastern Europeans, particularly Jews and Italians, resented immigration restriction and the implication that they were inferior to Anglo-Saxon whites. Many Italians

were outraged by the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927 (see Chapter 23). If the two men had been native-born white Protestants, many Italian Americans argued, their lives would have been spared.

Southern and Eastern Europeans everywhere endured intensive Americanization campaigns. State after state passed laws requiring public schools to instruct children in the essentials of citizenship. Several states, including Rhode Island, extended these laws to private schools as well, convinced that the children of immigrants who were attending Catholic parochial schools were spending too much time learning about their native religion, language, and country. An Oregon law tried to eliminate Catholic schools altogether by ordering all children aged 8 to 16 to enroll in public schools. But attending a public school was no guarantee of acceptance, either—a lesson learned by Jewish children who had excelled in their studies only to be barred from Harvard, Columbia, and other elite universities.

Southern and Eastern Europeans responded to these insults and attacks by strengthening the very institutions and customs Americanizers sought to undermine. Ethnic associations flourished in the 1920s—Catholic churches and Jewish synagogues, fraternal and mutual benefit societies, banks and charitable organizations, athletic leagues and youth groups. Children learned their native languages and customs at home and at church if not at school, and they joined with their parents to celebrate their ethnic heritage. Among Italians and French Canadians, saints' days were occasions for parades, speeches, band concerts, games, and feasts, all serving to solidify ethnic bonds and affirm ethnic identity.

Many of these immigrants and their children, however, also embraced the new consumer culture. They flocked to movies and amusement parks, to baseball games and boxing matches. Children usually entered more enthusiastically into the world of American mass culture than did their immigrant parents, a behavior that often set off family conflicts. But many ethnics found it possible to reconcile their own culture with American culture.

European American ethnics also resolved to develop sufficient political muscle to defeat the forces of nativism and to turn government policy in a more favorable direction. One sign of this determination was a sharp rise in the number of immigrants who became U.S. citizens. The percentage of immigrant Poles, Slavs, Italians, Lithuanians, and Hungarians who became naturalized citizens nearly doubled during the decade; the percentage of naturalized Greeks almost tripled. Armed with the vote, ethnics turned out on election days to defeat unsympathetic city councilmen, mayors, state representatives, and even an occasional governor. Their growing national strength first became apparent at the Democratic national convention of 1924, when urban-ethnic delegates almost won approval of planks calling for the repeal of Prohibition and condemnation of the Klan. After denying the presidential nomination to William G. McAdoo—Woodrow Wilson's treasury secretary, son-in-law, and heir apparent—they nearly secured it for their candidate, **Alfred E. Smith,** the Irish American governor of New York. McAdoo represented the rural and southern constituencies of the Democratic Party. His forces ended up battling Smith's urban-ethnic forces for 103 ballots, until both men gave up, and supporters from each camp switched their votes to a compromise candidate, the corporate lawyer John W. Davis.

The nomination fight damaged the Democratic Party in the short term, and popular Calvin Coolidge easily defeated the little-known Davis. The split between

Democratic Presidential Voting in Chicago by Ethnic Groups, 1924 and 1928

	Percent Democratic	
	1924	**1928**
Czechoslovaks	40%	73%
Poles	35	71
Lithuanians	48	77
Yugoslavs	20	54
Italians	31	63
Germans	14	58
Jews	19	60

Source: From John M. Allswang, A *House for All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago, 1890–1936* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky), p. 42.

the party's rural Protestant and urban-ethnic constituencies would keep the Democrats from the White House for nearly a decade, but the convention upheaval of 1924 also marked an important milestone in the bid by European American ethnics for political power. They would achieve a second milestone at the Democratic national convention of 1928 when, after another bitter nomination struggle, they secured the presidential nomination for Al Smith. Never before had a major political party nominated a Catholic for president. Herbert Hoover crushed Smith in the general election, as nativists stirred up anti-Catholic prejudice yet again and as large numbers of southern Democrats either stayed home or voted Republican. Even so, the campaign offered encouraging signs, not the least of which was Smith beating Hoover in the nation's 12 largest cities.

African Americans

Despite the urban race riots of 1919 (see Chapter 23), African Americans continued to leave their rural homes for the industrial centers of the South and the North. In the 1920s alone, nearly a million blacks traveled north. In New York City and Chicago, their numbers grew so large—300,000 in New York and 234,000 in Chicago—that they formed cities unto themselves. When word of New York City's urban black enclave reached the Caribbean, thousands of West Indian blacks set off for Harlem. Within these black metropolises emerged complex societies consisting of workers, businessmen, professionals, intellectuals, artists, and entertainers. Social differentiation intensified as various groups—long-resident northerners and newly arrived southerners, religious conservatives and cultural radicals, African Americans and African Caribbeans—found reason to disapprove of one another's ways. Still, the diversity and complexity of urban black America were thrilling, nowhere more so than in Harlem, the "Negro capital." Black writer James Weldon Johnson described Harlem in the 1920s:

History Through Film

The Jazz Singer (1927)

Directed by Alan Crosland. Starring Al Jolson (Jake Rabinowitz/Jack Robin), May McAvoy (Mary Dale), and Warner Oland (Cantor Rabinowitz).

The Jazz Singer was a sensation when it opened because it was the first movie to use sound (although relatively few words of dialogue were actually spoken). It also starred Al Jolson, the era's most popular Broadway entertainer, and bravely explored an issue that the film industry usually avoided—the religious culture and generational dynamics of a "new immigrant" family.

The movie focuses on Jake Rabinowitz and his immigrant parents, who are Jewish and devout. Jake's father is a fifth-generation cantor whose job it is to fill his New York City synagogue with ancient and uplifting melodies on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. Cantor Rabinowitz looks upon his work as sacred, and he expects Jake to take his place one day. But Jake has other ideas. He loves music but is drawn to the new rhythmic ragtime and sensual jazz melodies emerging from his American surroundings. In an early scene, we encounter Jake at a dance hall, absorbed in playing and singing ragtime tunes and forgetting that he should be at home preparing for Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. His distraught father finds him and whips him, and Jake, in anger and pain, runs away. These early scenes allow us to glimpse an important theme in the immigrant experience of the early 20th century: the deep attraction among the children of immigrants to the energy and vitality of American popular culture and the strains that this attraction often caused between these children and parents desperate to maintain the traditions they had brought with them from Europe.

Jake's estrangement from his family and community gives him the space to reinvent himself as Jack Robin, the jazz singer. His love relationship with a prominent (and non-Jewish) stage actress, Mary Dale, brings him the big break he needs, a starring role in a Broadway show. Jack hopes to use his return to New York to reconcile with his father. This eventually happens when Jake, on the eve of Yom Kippur once again, agrees to skip his show's premiere in order to take his ailing father's place as cantor in the synagogue. Jake's melodies soar and reach his bedridden father who, thinking that his son has succeeded him as cantor and thus fulfilled his (the father's) deepest wish, peacefully dies.

His father is deceived, for Jake returns to his Broadway show as soon as Yom Kippur ends to deliver an outstanding performance as the "Jazz Singer." His future lies with Broadway, rather than with a synagogue, and with the gentile Mary. The movie, however, makes it seem as though everything will work out: Jake's mother is in the audience for the Broadway show, enjoying her son's success and in effect blessing him for the career and woman he has chosen. That this resolution requires misleading the father reminds us, however,

Throughout colored America Harlem is the recognized Negro capital. Indeed, it is Mecca for the sightseer, the pleasure-seeker, the curious, the adventurous, the enterprising, the ambitious, and the talented of the entire Negro world.... Not merely a colony or a community or a settlement—not at all a "quarter" or a slum or a fringe—[Harlem is] ... a black city, located in the heart of white Manhattan, and containing more Negroes to the square mile than any other spot on earth. It strikes the uninformed observer as a phenomenon, a miracle straight out of the skies.



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A billboard in New York City advertising The Jazz Singer. *Al Jolson is shown in blackface.*

that the strains between immigrant parents and their American-born children could be deep and sometimes not resolvable.

The movie also allows us to ask questions about the relationship between immigrants and African Americans. As part of his Broadway performance, Jake does a blackface routine, using burnt cork to turn his face and neck black and thus to appear to audiences as a "black" entertainer. From the early 19th to the early 20th centuries, "blacking up" was a performance style popular among white entertainers who wanted to appropriate and ridicule expressive aspects of black culture. What did it mean for a child of Jewish immigrants, himself vulnerable to being stigmatized as an outsider in America, to "black up"? Jake may have been expressing in part his desire to draw closer to rich elements in black musical culture. But Jake may also have been signaling his desire to distance himself from African Americans by participating in a tradition popular among white American entertainers. Ironically, "blacking up" may have been a way for an entertainer to embrace not black but white America, and for someone like Jake to be accepted by non-Jewish white Americans as one of them.

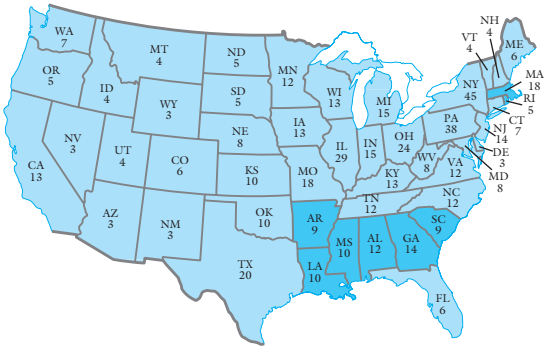
Not even the glamour of Harlem could erase the reality of racial discrimination, however. Most African Americans could find work only in New York City's least-desired and lowest-paying jobs. Because they could rent apartments only in areas that real estate agents and banks had designated as "colored," African Americans suffered the highest rate of residential segregation of any minority group. Although Harlem had its fashionable districts where affluent blacks lived,

much of the area's housing stock was poor and rents were high. Harlem became a black ghetto, an area set apart from the rest of the city by the skin color of its inhabitants, by its higher population density and poverty rate, by its higher incidence of infectious diseases, and by the lower life expectancy of its people.

Blacks did enjoy some important economic breakthroughs in the 1920s. Henry Ford, for example, hired large numbers of African Americans to work in his Detroit auto factories. Even here, however, a racist logic was operating, for Ford believed that automobile workers divided along racial lines would not challenge his authority. Until the 1940s, in fact, unions made less headway at Ford plants than at the plants of other major automobile manufacturers.

Racial divisions carried over from work to play. African Americans loved baseball as much as white Americans did, and Babe Ruth enjoyed a large black following, but black baseball players were barred from playing in the lily-white major leagues. In response, they formed their own Negro Leagues in the United States and also played professional ball in Mexico and the Caribbean, where they earned extra income and escaped some of the prejudice that met them everywhere in the United States. Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other countries in which African Americans played did not organize baseball along racial lines.

The greatest black baseball player of the time was probably Josh Gibson, who joined the Homestead Grays of the National Negro League in 1929 at the age of 18. In his 17-year career, he compiled statistics that surpassed those of any professional ballplayer of his era, white or black, including those of the legendary Ruth. Gibson slugged 962 career home runs, hit 84 home runs in a single season, and compiled a .373 lifetime batting average. Because he died in 1947, at the age of 35,



MAP 24.2 Presidential Election, 1928

This map shows Hoover's landslide victory in 1928, as he carried all but eight states and won almost 84 percent of the electoral vote.

just months before the integration of major league baseball, Gibson never got the opportunity to test his skills against the best white ballplayers, and they never got a chance to play against him.

African Americans grew pessimistic about achieving racial equality. After Marcus Garvey's black-nationalist movement collapsed in the mid-1920s (see Chapter 23), no comparable organization arose to take its place. The NAACP continued to fight racial discrimination, and the Urban League carried on quiet negotiations with industrial elites to secure jobs for African Americans. Black socialists led by A. Philip Randolph built a strong all-black union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, but the victories were small and white allies were scarce. The political initiatives emerging among European American ethnics had few counterparts in the African American community.

In terms of black culture, however, the 1920s were vigorous and productive. Black musicians coming north to Chicago and New York brought with them their distinctive musical styles, most notably the blues and ragtime. Influenced by the harmonies and techniques of European classical music, which black musicians learned from European American ethnic counterparts, these southern styles metamorphosed into jazz. Urban audiences, first black and then white, found this new music alluring. They responded to its melodies, its sensuality, its creativity, its savvy. In Chicago, Detroit, New York, New Orleans, and elsewhere, jazz musicians came together in cramped apartments, cabarets, and nightclubs to jam, compete, and entertain. Willie Smith, Charles P. Johnson, Count Basie, Fats Waller, Duke Ellington, and Louis Armstrong were among the most famous musicians of the day. By the late 1920s, they were being hailed in Europe as well.

Jazz seemed to express something quintessentially modern. Jazz musicians broke free of convention: they improvised and produced new sounds that created

Death Rates from Selected Causes for New York City Residents, 1925

Cause of Death	Total Population	African American Population
General death rate (per 1,000 population)	11.4	16.5
Pneumonia	132.8	282.4
Pulmonary tuberculosis	75.5	258.4
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	64.6	118.4
Maternal mortality (per 1,000 total births)	5.3	10.2
Stillbirths (per 1,000 births)	47.6	82.7
Homicide	5.3	19.5
Suicide	14.8	9.7

Note: Population rate is per 100,000, unless noted otherwise.

Source: Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, "*Or Does It Explode?" Black Harlem in the Great Depression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 32.

new sensations. Both blacks and whites found in jazz an escape from the routine, the predictability, and the conventions of their everyday lives.

The Harlem Renaissance

Paralleling the emergence of jazz was a black literary and artistic awakening known as the **Harlem Renaissance.** Black novelists, poets, painters, sculptors, and playwrights set about creating works rooted in their own culture instead of imitating the styles of white Europeans and Americans. The movement had begun during the war, when blacks sensed that they might at last be advancing to full equality. It was symbolized by the image of the "New Negro," a black man or woman who would no longer be deferential to whites but who would display his or her independence through talent and determination. The "New Negro" would be assertive in every field—at work, in politics, in the military, and in arts and letters. As racial discrimination intensified after the war, cultural activities took on special significance. The world of culture was one place where blacks could express their racial pride and demonstrate their talent.

Langston Hughes, a young black poet, said of the Harlem Renaissance: "We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased, we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly, too." Writers Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, and Zora Neale Hurston; poet Countee Cullen; and painter Aaron Douglas were other prominent Renaissance participants. In 1925, *Survey Graphic,* a white liberal magazine, devoted an entire issue to "Harlem—the Mecca of the New Negro." Alain Locke, an art and literary critic and professor of philosophy at Howard University in Washington, D.C., edited both the issue and the book *The New Negro,* published later that year. Locke became the movement's leading visionary and philosopher.

But even these cultural advances failed to escape white prejudice. The most popular jazz nightclubs in Harlem, most of which were owned and operated by whites, often refused to admit black customers. The only African Americans permitted inside were the jazz musicians, singers and dancers, prostitutes, and kitchen help. Moreover, the musicians often had to perform what the white patrons wanted to hear. Duke Ellington, for example, was called on to play "jungle music," which for whites revealed the "true" African soul—sensual, innocent, primitive. Such pressures curtailed the artistic freedom of black musicians and reinforced racist stereotypes of African Americans as inferior people who were closer to nature than the "more civilized" white audiences who came to hear their music. Some black entertainers, such as Josephine Baker, the legendary dancer, left America for Europe in the 1920s, in the hope that they would find in Paris and elsewhere greater artistic and personal freedom than what they could attain in the land of their birth.

Black writers experienced similar pressures. Many of them depended for their sustenance on the support of wealthy white patrons. Those patrons were generous with their financial subsidies, but they wanted a return on their investment. Charlotte Mason, the New York City matron who supported Hughes and Hurston, for example, expected them to entertain her friends by demonstrating "authentic Negritude" in their work. Hurston accepted this role, but for Hughes it became

intolerable. Both Hughes and Hurston paid a price for their patron's support, including the collapse of their once-close friendship with each other.

Mexican Americans

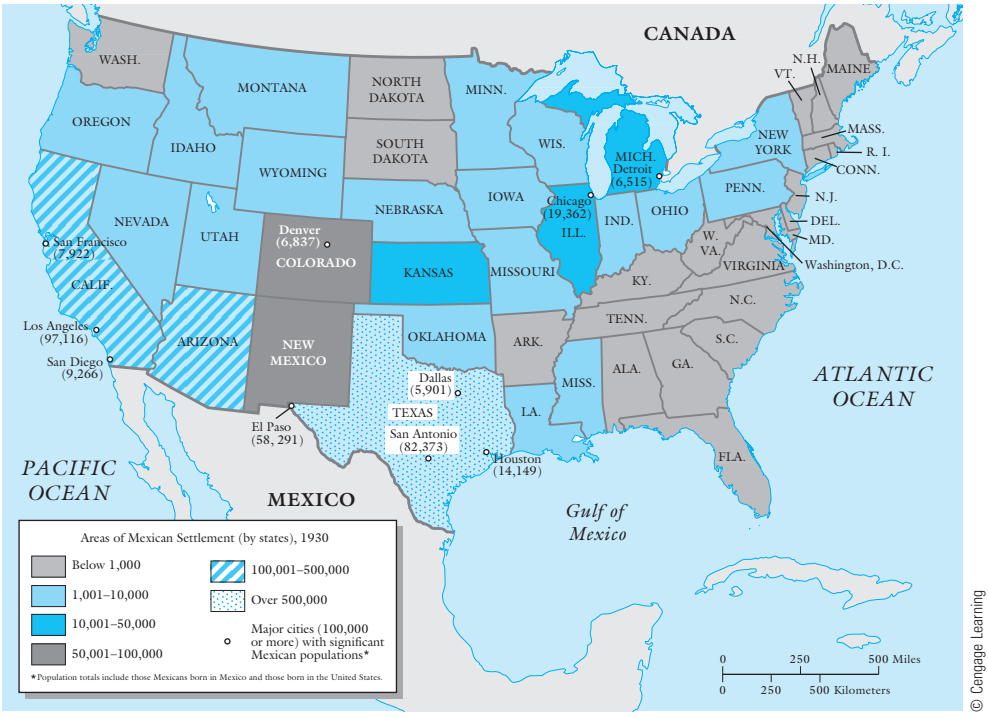
After the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, Mexicans became the country's chief source of immigrant labor. A total of 500,000 Mexicans came to the United States in the 1920s. Some headed for the steel, auto, and meatpacking plants of the Midwest, but most settled in the Southwest, where they worked on the railroads and in construction, agriculture, and manufacturing. In Texas, three of four construction workers and eight of every ten migrant farm workers were Mexicans. In California, Mexican immigrants made up 75 percent of the state's agricultural workforce.

Mexican farm laborers in Texas worked long hours for little money. As a rule, they earned 50 cents to a dollar less per day than Anglo workers. They were usually barred from becoming machine operators or assuming other skilled positions. Forced to follow the crops, they had little opportunity to develop settled homes and communities. Mexican farm workers depended for shelter on whatever facilities farm owners offered. Because farm owners rarely required the services of Mexican workers for more than several days or weeks, few were willing to spend the money required to provide decent homes and schools. Houses typically lacked even wooden floors or indoor plumbing. Mexican laborers found it difficult to protest these conditions because their knowledge of English was limited. Few owned cars or trucks that would have allowed them to escape a bad employer and search for a good one. Many were in debt to employers who had advanced them money and who threatened them with jail if they failed to fulfill the terms of their contract. Others feared deportation; they lacked visas, having slipped into the United States illegally rather than pay the immigrant tax or endure harassment from the Border Patrol.

Increasing numbers of Mexican immigrants, however, found their way to California, where, on the whole, wages exceeded those in Texas. Some escaped agricultural labor altogether for construction and manufacturing jobs. Many Mexican men in Los Angeles, for example, worked in the city's large railroad yards, at the city's numerous construction sites, and as unskilled workers in local factories. Mexican women labored in the city's garment shops, fish canneries, and food processing plants. By 1930, Los Angeles had become the largest area of settlement for Mexicans in the United States.

The Los Angeles Mexican American community increased in complexity as it grew in size. By the mid-1920s, it included a sizable professional class, a proud group of ***californios*** (Spanish-speakers who had been resident in California for generations), many musicians and entertainers, a small but energetic band of entrepreneurs and businessmen, conservative clerics and intellectuals who had fled or been expelled from revolutionary Mexico, and Mexican government officials who had been sent to counter the influence of the conservative exiles and to strengthen the ties of the immigrants to their homeland. This diverse mix created much internal conflict, but it also generated considerable cultural vitality. Los Angeles became the same kind of magnet for Mexican Americans that Harlem had become for African Americans.

Mexican musicians flocked to Los Angeles, as did Mexican playwrights. The city supported a vigorous Spanish-language theater. Mexican musicians performed on street corners, at ethnic festivals and weddings, at cabarets, and on the radio.



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MAP 24.3 Mexican Population in the United States, 1930

By 1930, Mexican immigrants had established their pattern of settling primarily in the U.S. Southwest. Texas had the largest concentration of Mexican immigrants, followed by California and Arizona, and then by New Mexico and Colorado. In the 1920s, Los Angeles surpassed San Antonio as the city with the largest Mexican community in the United States.

Especially popular were folk ballads, called *corridos,* that spoke to the experiences of Mexican immigrants. Although different in form and melody from the African American blues, *corridos* resembled the blues in their emphasis on the suffering, hope, and frustrations of ordinary people.

This flowering of Mexican American culture in Los Angeles could not erase the low wages, high rates of infant mortality, racial discrimination, and other hardships Mexicans faced; nor did it encourage Mexicans, in Los Angeles or elsewhere, to mobilize as a political force. Unlike European immigrants, Mexican immigrants showed little interest in becoming American citizens and acquiring the vote. Yet the cultural vibrancy of the Mexican immigrant community did sustain many individuals who were struggling to survive in a strange, often hostile, environment.

The "Lost Generation" and Disillusioned Intellectuals

Many native-born white artists and intellectuals also felt uneasy in America in the 1920s. Their unease arose not from poverty or discrimination but from alienation. They despaired of American culture and regarded the average American as



Security Pacific Collection/Los Angeles Public Library

Mexican American Women Workers, 1920s. *These women were employed at a tortilla factory in Los Angeles.*

anti-intellectual, small-minded, materialistic, and puritanical. The novelist Sinclair Lewis, for example, ridiculed small-town Americans in *Main Street* (1920), "sophisticated" city dwellers in *Babbitt* (1922), physicians in *Arrowsmith* (1925), and evangelicals in *Elmer Gantry* (1927).

Before the First World War, intellectuals and artists had been deeply engaged with "the people." Although they were critical of many aspects of American society, they believed they could help bring about a new politics and improve social conditions. The war, however, shook their confidence in Americans' capacity for reform. The wartime push for consensus created intolerance of radicals, immigrants, and blacks. Intellectuals had been further dismayed by Prohibition, the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, the rise of fundamentalism, and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Not only had many Americans embraced conformity for themselves, but they also seemed determined to force conformity on others. The young critic Harold Stearns wrote in 1921, "the most moving and pathetic fact in the social life of America today is emotional and aesthetic starvation." Before these words were published, Stearns had sailed for France. So many alienated young men like Stearns showed up in Paris that Gertrude Stein, an American writer whose Paris apartment became a gathering place for them, took to calling them the **"Lost Generation."**

Their indictment of America was often too harsh. Most of these writers possessed little knowledge of how most Americans lived. Still, they managed to convert their disillusionment into a rich literary sensibility. The finest works of the decade focused on the psychological toll of living in what the poet T. S. Eliot referred to as *The Waste Land* (1922). F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby* (1925) told

of a man destroyed by his desire to be accepted into a world of wealth, fancy cars, and fast women. In the novel *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), Ernest Hemingway wrote of an American soldier overwhelmed by the senselessness and brutality of war who deserts the army for the company of a woman he loves. Playwright Eugene O'Neill created characters haunted by despair, loneliness, and unfulfilled longing. Writers created innovations in style as well as in content. Sherwood Anderson, in his novel *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), blended fiction and autobiography. John Dos Passos, in *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), mixed journalism with more traditional literary methods. Hemingway wrote in an understated, laconic prose that somehow drew attention to his characters' rage and vulnerability.

White Southern writers found a tragic sensibility surviving from the South's defeat in the Civil War that spoke to their own loss of hope. One group of such writers, calling themselves the Agrarians, argued that the enduring agricultural character of their region offered a more hopeful path to the future than did the mass-production and mass-consumption regime that had overtaken the North. In 1929, William Faulkner published *The Sound and the Fury,* the first in a series of novels set in northern Mississippi's fictional Yoknapatawpha County. Faulkner explored the violence and terror that marked relationships among family members and townspeople, while maintaining compassion and understanding. Faulkner, Lewis, Hemingway, O'Neill, and Eliot would each receive the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Democracy on the Defensive

Disdain for the masses led many intellectuals to question democracy. Although few intellectuals were as frank as Mencken, who dismissed democracy as "the worship of jackals by jackasses," their distrust of democracy ran deep. Walter Lippmann, a former radical and progressive, declared that modern society had rendered democracy obsolete. In his view, average citizens, buffeted by propaganda emanating from powerful opinion makers, could no longer make the kind of informed, rational judgments needed to make democracy work. They were vulnerable to demagogues who played on their emotions and fears. Lippmann's solution, and that of many other political commentators, was to shift government power from the people to educated elites. Those elites, who would be appointed rather than elected, would conduct foreign and domestic policy in an informed, intelligent way. Only then, in Lippmann's view, could government be effective and just.

Mencken and Lippmann enjoyed especially strong influence and prestige among university students, whose ranks and political significance were growing. But their antidemocratic views did not go uncontested. The philosopher **John Dewey,** who taught at Columbia University but whose reputation and influence extended well beyond academia, was the most articulate spokesman for the "pro-democracy" position. He acknowledged that the concentration of power in giant organizations had eroded the authority of Congress, the presidency, and other democratic institutions, but democracy, he insisted, was not doomed. The people could reclaim their freedom by making big business subject to government control. Government could use its power to democratize corporations and to regulate the communications industry to ensure that every citizen had access to the facts needed to make reasonable, informed political decisions.

Dewey's views attracted the support of a wide range of liberal intellectuals and reformers, including Robert and Helen Lynd; Rexford Tugwell, professor of economics at Columbia; and Felix Frankfurter, a rising star at Harvard's law school. Some of these activists had ties to labor leaders and to New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. They formed the vanguard of a new liberal movement committed to taking up the work the progressives had left unfinished.

But these reformers were utterly without power, except in a few states, and they took little comfort in the presidential election of 1928. Hoover's smashing victory suggested that the trends of the 1920s—the dominance of the Republicans, the centrality of Prohibition to political debate, the paralysis of the Democrats, the growing economic might of capitalism, and the pervasive influence of consumer culture—would continue unabated.

Conclusion

Signs abounded in the 1920s that Americans were creating a new and bountiful society. The increased accessibility of cars, radios, vacuum cleaners, and other consumer durables; rising real wages, low unemployment, and installment buying; the widening circle of stock owners; the spread of welfare capitalism—all of these developments pointed to an economy that had become more prosperous, more consumer-oriented, even somewhat more egalitarian. Moves to greater equality within marriage and to enhanced liberty for single women suggested that economic change was propelling social change as well.

Even so, many working-class and rural Americans benefited little from the decade's prosperity. Moreover, the decade's social changes aroused resistance, especially from white farmers and small-town Americans, who feared that the rapid growth of cities and the large urban settlements of European and Mexican Catholics, Jews, and African Americans were rendering their white Protestant America unrecognizable.

In the Democratic Party, farmers, small-town Americans, and moral traditionalists fought bitterly against the growing power of urban, ethnic constituencies. Elsewhere, the traditionalists battled hard to protect religion's authority against the inroads of science and to purge the nation of "inferior" population streams. In the process they arrayed themselves against American traditions of liberty and equality, even as they posed as the defenders of the best that America had to offer.

Their resistance to change caused many of the nation's most talented artists and writers to turn away from their fellow Americans. Meanwhile, although ethnic and racial minorities experienced high levels of discrimination, they nevertheless found enough freedom to create vibrant ethnic and racial communities and to launch projects—as in the case of African Americans in Harlem and Mexican Americans in Los Angeles—of cultural renaissance.

The Republican Party, having largely shed its reputation for reform, took credit for engineering the new economy of consumer plenty. It looked forward to years of political dominance. A steep and unexpected economic depression, however, would soon dash that expectation, revive the Democratic Party, and destroy Republican political power for a generation.

25

The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1939

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Causes of the Great Depression • Hoover: The Fall of a Self-Made Man • A Culture in Crisis • The Democratic Roosevelt • The First New Deal, 1933–1935 • Political Mobilization, Political Unrest, 1934–1935 • The Second New Deal, 1935–1937 • America's Minorities and the New Deal • The New Deal Abroad • Stalemate, 1937–1940

The Great Depression began on October 29, 1929 (Black Tuesday), with a spectacular stock market crash. On that one day, stock values plummeted $14 billion. By the end of that year, stock prices had fallen 50 percent from their September highs. By 1932, the worst year of the depression, they had fallen another 30 percent. In three years, $74 billion of wealth had simply vanished. Meanwhile, the unemployment rate had soared to 25 percent.

Many Americans who lived through the Great Depression could never forget the scenes of misery they saw everywhere. In cities, the poor meekly awaited their turn for a piece of stale bread and thin gruel at ill-funded soup kitchens. Scavengers poked through garbage cans for food, scoured railroad tracks for coal that had fallen from trains, and sometimes ripped up railroad ties for fuel. Hundreds of thousands of Americans built makeshift shelters out of cardboard, scrap metal, and whatever else they could find in the city dump. They called their towns "Hoovervilles," after the president they despised for his apparent refusal to help them.

The Great Depression brought cultural crisis as well as economic crisis. In the 1920s, American business leaders had successfully redefined the national culture in business terms, as Americans' values became synonymous with the values of business: economic growth, freedom of enterprise, and acquisitiveness. But the swagger of American businessmen during the 1920s made them vulnerable to attack in the 1930s, as jobs, incomes, and growth all disappeared. With the prestige of business and business values in decline, how could Americans regain their hope and recover their confidence in the future? The first years of the 1930s held no convincing answers.

CHRONOLOGY

1929	Herbert Hoover assumes the presidency ◆ Stock market crashes on "Black Tuesday"
1930	Tariff Act (Hawley-Smoot) raises tariffs
1931	More than 2,000 U.S. banks fail
1932	Unemployment rate reaches 25 percent ◆ Reconstruction Finance Corporation established ◆ Bonus Army marches on Washington ◆ Roosevelt defeats Hoover for presidency
1933	Roosevelt assumes presidency ◆ Hundred Days legislation defines First New Deal (March–June) ◆ Roosevelt administration recognizes the Soviet Union ◆ Good Neighbor Policy toward Latin America launched
1934	Father Charles Coughlin and Huey Long challenge conservatism of First New Deal ◆ 2,000 strikes staged across country ◆ Democrats overwhelm Republicans in off-year election ◆ Radical political movements emerge in several states ◆ Indian Reorganization Act grants limited right of self-government to American Indians ◆ Reciprocal Trade Agreement lowers tariffs
1935	Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) formed ◆ Supreme Court declares National Recovery Administration (NRA) unconstitutional ◆ Roosevelt unveils his Second New Deal ◆ Congress passes Social Security Act and National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) ◆ Holding Company Act breaks up utilities' near-monopoly ◆ Congress passes Wealth Tax Act ◆ Emergency Relief Administration Act passed, funds Works Progress Administration ◆ Rural Electrification Administration established ◆ Number of Mexican immigrants returning to Mexico reaches 500,000
1936	Roosevelt defeats Alf Landon for second term ◆ Supreme Court declares Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) unconstitutional ◆ Congress passes Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act to replace AAA ◆ Farm Security Administration established
1937	United Auto Workers defeats General Motors in sit-down strike ◆ Roosevelt attempts to "pack" the Supreme Court ◆ Supreme Court upholds constitutionality of Social Security and National Labor Relations acts ◆ Severe recession hits
1938	Conservative opponents of New Deal do well in off-year election ◆ Superman comic debuts
1939	75,000 gather to hear Marian Anderson sing at Lincoln Memorial

The gloom broke in early 1933 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president and unleashed the power of government to regulate capitalist enterprises, to restore the economy to health, and to guarantee the social welfare of Americans who were unable to help themselves. Roosevelt called his pro-government program a "new deal for the American people," and it would dominate national politics for the next 40 years. Hailed as a hero, Roosevelt became (and remains) the only

president to serve more than two terms. In the short term, the New Deal failed to restore prosperity to America, but the **liberalism** it championed found acceptance among millions, who agreed with Roosevelt that only a large and powerful government could guarantee Americans their liberty.

Causes of the Great Depression

America had experienced other depressions, or "panics," and no one would have been surprised if the boom of the 1920s had been followed by a one- or two-year economic downturn. No one was prepared, however, for the economic catastrophe of the 1930s.

Stock Market Speculation

In 1928 and 1929, the New York Stock Exchange had undergone a remarkable run-up in prices. In less than two years, the Dow Jones Industrial Average had doubled. Money had poured into the market, but many investors were buying on 10 percent "margin," putting up only 10 percent of the price of a stock and borrowing the rest from brokers or banks. Few thought they would ever have to repay these loans with money out of their own pockets. Instead, investors expected to resell their shares within a few months at dramatically higher prices, pay back their loans from the proceeds, and still clear a handsome profit. And, for a while, that is exactly what they did.

The possibility of making a fortune by investing a few thousand dollars only intensified investors' greed. As speculation became rampant, money flowed indiscriminately into all kinds of risky enterprises. The stock market spiraled upward, out of control. When, in October 1929, confidence in future earnings faltered, creditors began demanding that investors who had bought stocks on margin repay their loans. The market crashed from its dizzying heights.

Still, the crash by itself fails to explain why the Great Depression lasted as long as it did. Poor decision making by the Federal Reserve Board, an ill-advised tariff that took effect soon after the depression hit, and a lopsided concentration of wealth in the hands of the rich deepened the economic collapse and made recovery more difficult.

Mistakes by the Federal Reserve Board

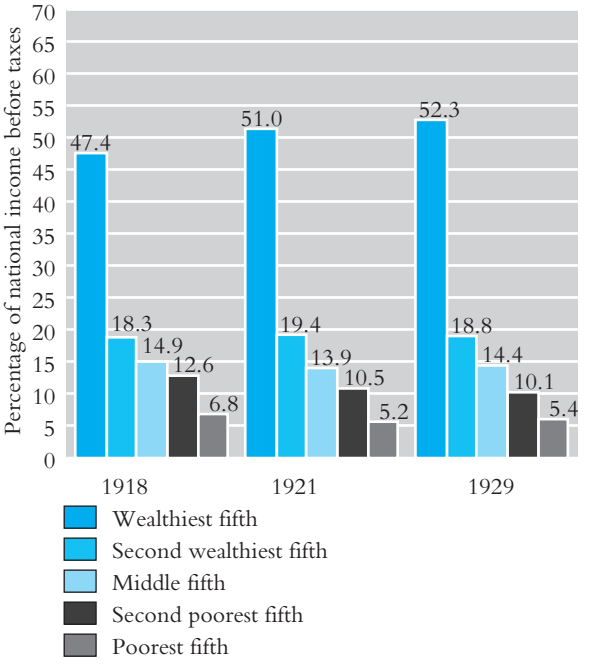
In 1930 and 1931, the Federal Reserve curtailed the amount of money in circulation and raised interest rates, thereby making credit more difficult for the public to secure. Although employing a tight money policy during the boom years of 1928 and 1929 might have restrained the stock market and strengthened the economy, it was disastrous once the market had crashed. What the economy needed in 1930 and 1931 was an expanded money supply, lower interest rates, and easier credit. Such a course would have made it easier for debtors to pay their creditors. Instead, by choosing the opposite course, the Federal Reserve plunged an economy starved for credit deeper into depression. Higher interest rates also triggered an international crisis, as the banks of Germany and Austria, heavily dependent on U.S. loans, went bankrupt. The German-Austrian collapse, in turn, spread financial panic through Europe and hurt U.S. manufacturers and banks specializing in European trade and investment.

An Ill-Advised Tariff

The Tariff Act of 1930, also known as the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, accelerated economic decline abroad and at home. Throughout the 1920s, agricultural interests had sought higher tariffs to protect American farmers against foreign competition. But Hawley-Smoot not only raised tariffs on 75 agricultural goods from 32 to 40 percent (the highest rate in American history), it also raised tariffs by a similar percentage on 925 manufactured products. Industrialists had convinced their supporters in the Republican-controlled Congress that such protection would give American industry much-needed assistance. The legislation was a disaster. Angry foreign governments retaliated by raising their own tariff rates to keep out American goods. International trade, already weakened by the tight credit policies of the Federal Reserve, declined even further.

A Maldistribution of Wealth

A maldistribution in the nation's wealth that had developed in the 1920s also stymied economic recovery. Although average income rose in the 1920s, the incomes of the wealthiest families rose higher than the rest. Between 1918 and 1929, the share of the national income that went to the wealthiest 20 percent of the population rose by more than 10 percent, while the share that went to the poorest 60 percent fell by almost 13 percent. The Coolidge administration contributed to this maldistribution by lowering taxes on the wealthy, thereby allowing a higher proportion of



Income Distribution Before the Great Depression

Source: From Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America: An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution* (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 14.

national wealth to remain in their hands. The deepening inequality of income distribution slowed consumption and held back the growth of consumer-oriented industries (cars, household appliances, processed and packaged foods, recreation), the most dynamic elements of the U.S. economy. Even when the rich spent their money lavishly—building huge mansions, buying expensive cars, vacationing on the French Riviera—they still spent a smaller proportion of their total incomes on consumption than wage earners did. The average 1920s wage earner, for example, might spend one-quarter to one-half of his annual earnings to buy a car.

Putting more of the total increase in national income into the pockets of average Americans during the 1920s would have steadied the demand for consumer goods and strengthened the newer consumer industries. Such an economy might have recovered relatively quickly from the stock market crash of 1929. Instead, recovery from the Great Depression lagged until 1941, more than a decade later.

Hoover: The Fall of a Self-Made Man

In 1928, Herbert Hoover seemed to embody the American dream. From modest beginnings, Hoover had parlayed his intelligence and drive into gaining admission to Stanford University, becoming a mining engineer, and then rising rapidly to top management positions in globe-spanning mining companies. A talented and tireless administrator, Hoover won an international reputation in the First World War for his success, as head of the U.S. Food Administration, in feeding millions of European soldiers and civilians. Then, in the 1920s, he became an active and influential secretary of commerce (see Chapters 23 and 24). As the decade wound down, no American seemed better qualified to become president of the United States, an office that Hoover assumed in March 1929. Hoover was certain he could make prosperity a permanent feature of American life. "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land," he declared in August 1928. A little more than a year later, the Great Depression struck.

Hoover's Program

To cope with the crisis, Hoover first turned to the associational principles he had followed as secretary of commerce (see Chapter 24). He encouraged organizations of farmers, industrialists, and bankers to share information, bolster one another's spirits, and devise policies to aid economic recovery. He urged farmers to restrict output, industrialists to hold wages at pre-depression levels, and bankers to help each other remain solvent. The federal government would provide them with information, strategies of mutual aid, occasional loans, and morale-boosting speeches.

Hoover also secured a one-year moratorium on loan payments that European governments owed American banks. He steered through Congress the Glass-Steagall Act of 1932, which was intended to help American banks meet the demands of European depositors who wished to convert their dollars to gold. And to ease the crisis at home, he began to expand the government's economic role. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), created in 1932, made $2 billion available in loans to ailing banks and to corporations willing to build low-cost housing, bridges, and other public works. The RFC was the biggest federal peacetime intervention in the

economy up to that point in American history. The Home Loan Bank Board, set up that same year, offered funds to savings and loans, mortgage companies, and other financial institutions that lent money for home construction and mortgages.

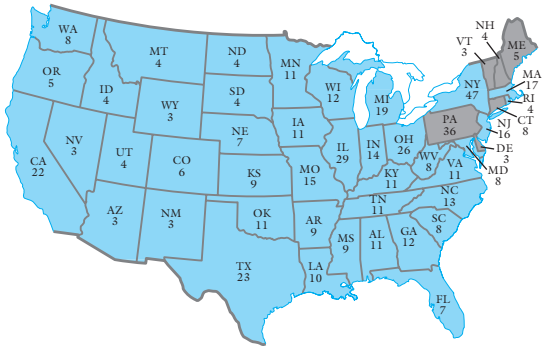
Despite this new government activism, Hoover was uncomfortable with the idea that the government should be responsible for restoring the nation's economic welfare. When RFC expenditures, in 1932, created the largest peacetime deficit in U.S. history, Hoover tried to balance the federal budget. He also insisted that the RFC issue loans only to relatively healthy institutions that were capable of repaying them and that it favor public works, such as toll bridges, that were likely to become self-financing. As a result of these constraints, the RFC spent considerably less than Congress had authorized. Hoover was especially reluctant to engage the government in providing relief to unemployed and homeless Americans. To give money to the poor, he insisted, would destroy their desire to work and undermine their sense of self-worth.

Hoover saw no similar peril in extending government assistance to ailing banks and businesses. Critics pointed to the seeming hypocrisy of Hoover's policies. For example, in 1930, Hoover refused a request of $25 million to help feed Arkansas farmers and their families but approved $45 million to feed the same farmers' livestock. In 1932, shortly after rejecting an urgent request from the city of Chicago for aid to help pay its teachers and municipal workers, Hoover approved a $90 million loan to rescue that city's Central Republic Bank.

The Bonus Army

In spring 1932, a group of army veterans mounted a particularly emotional challenge to Hoover's policies. In 1924, Congress had authorized a $1,000 bonus for First World War veterans in the form of compensation certificates that would mature in 1945. Now the veterans were demanding that the government pay the bonus immediately. A group of Portland, Oregon, veterans, calling themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force, hopped onto empty boxcars of freight trains heading east, determined to stage a march on Washington. As this "army" moved eastward, its ranks multiplied, so that by the time it reached Washington its numbers had swelled to 20,000, including wives and children. The so-called **Bonus Army** set up camp in the Anacostia Flats, southeast of the Capitol, and petitioned Congress for early payment of the promised bonus. The House of Representatives agreed, but the Senate turned them down. Hoover refused to meet with the veterans. In July, federal troops led by Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur and 3rd Cavalry Commander George Patton entered the veterans' Anacostia encampment, set the tents and shacks ablaze, and dispersed the protestors. In the process, more than 100 veterans were wounded and one infant died.

News that veterans and their families had been attacked in the nation's capital served only to harden anti-Hoover opinion. In the 1932 elections, the Republicans were voted out of office after having dominated national politics (excepting Woodrow Wilson's two terms) for 36 years. Hoover received only 39.6 percent of the popular vote and just 59 (of 531) electoral votes. He left the presidency in 1933 a bewildered man, reviled by Americans for his seeming indifference to suffering and his ineptitude in dealing with the economy's collapse.



	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	Number	%	Number	%
Roosevelt (Democrat)	472	89	22,829,501	57
Hoover (Republican)	59	11	15,760,864	40

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MAP 25.1 Presidential Election, 1932

The trauma of the Great Depression can be gauged by the shifting fortunes of President Herbert Hoover. In 1928, he had won 444 electoral votes and carried all but eight states (see Map 24.2). In 1932, by contrast, he won only 59 electoral votes and carried only seven states. His Democratic opponent, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the big winner.

A Culture in Crisis

The economic crisis of the early 1930s expressed itself not just in politics but also in culture, especially in the literature and cinema of the time. Many writers who, in the 1920s, had castigated ordinary Americans for their small-mindedness and crass materialism now traveled among them, seeking signs of social renewal. But writers found mostly economic misery and spiritual depression. Edmund Wilson, a literary critic, traveled the country in 1930 and 1931 and wrote numerous essays about how Americans had lost their way and knew not where to turn. When he reached San Diego, he got hold of the city's coroner reports on the numerous individuals who, in desperation, had taken their own lives. Wilson had believed that this lovely outpost of the American frontier sitting astride the great and beckoning Pacific would be a place where the American dream still thrived. But here, too, failure suffused life and snuffed out hope.

A sense of aimlessness and hopelessness characterized one of the major literary works of the early 1930s, the Studs Lonigan trilogy (1932–35) written by the Chicago-born writer James T. Farrell. In another decade, one easily imagines that Farrell might have cast his scrappy Irish-American protagonist, Studs, as an American hero whose pluck and guile enable him to achieve wealth, success, and influence. But Studs lacks focus and is too easily overcome by the harshness of his environment. He dies poor and alone, not yet 30. Meanwhile, the popular writer Nathaniel West was publishing *Miss Lonelyhearts* (1933) and *A Cool Million* (1934), novels similarly built around central characters succumbing to failure, drift, even insanity.

One can detect parallel themes of despair in the period's cinema, especially in such movies as *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), in which an industrious and honorable man, James Allen, returns from Europe a war hero, only to sink into vagabondage. Caught by the police when he becomes an innocent accessory to a crime, Allen is sentenced to 10 years on a Georgia chain gang. Unable to tolerate the hardship and injustice of his punishment, Allen escapes from jail. But he is condemned to being a man on the run, unable to prove his innocence, earn a decent living, or build enduring relationships. This powerful, bleak film won an Academy Award for Best Picture.

Less grim but still sobering were the gangster movies of the early 1930s, especially *Little Caesar* (1930) and *The Public Enemy* (1931), which told stories of hard-nosed, crooked, violent men who became wealthy and influential by living outside the law and bending the people around them to their will. Moviegoers were gripped by the intensity, suspense, and violence of gangster-police confrontations in these films, but they were also drawn to the gangsters, modern-day outlaws who demonstrated how tough it was to succeed in America and how it might be necessary to break the rules.

Lawlessness also surfaced in the wild comedy of Groucho, Chico, Harpo, and Zeppo Marx, vaudevillians who, in the 1920s and 1930s, made the transition to the silver screen. The Marx Brothers ridiculed figures of authority, broke every rule of etiquette, smacked around their antagonists (and each other), and deliberately and delightfully mangled the English language. Anarchy ruled their world. The Marx Brothers offered moviegoers a 90-minute escape from the harsh realities of their daily lives. Some Marx Brothers movies carried a more serious political message. *Duck Soup* (1933) is a withering political satire set in the fictional nation of Fredonia. Fredonia's leaders are pompous and small-minded, its legal system is a fraud, and its clueless citizens are easily misled. At the movie's end, Fredonians are called to arms through spectacularly ludicrous song and dance scenes, and then led off to fight a meaningless but deadly war. While hilarious to watch, *Duck Soup* also delivers the dispiriting message that people cannot hope to better themselves through politics, for politics has been emptied of all meaning and honesty. This cinematic sentiment paralleled the conviction held by many Americans in 1932 and early 1933 that their own politicians had failed them in a time of need. In such ways did the political pessimism of the early 1930s seep into the era's culture.

The Democratic Roosevelt

Between 1933 and 1935, the mood of the country shifted sharply, and politics would, once again, generate hope rather than despair. This change was largely attributable to the personality and policies of Hoover's successor, **Franklin D. Roosevelt,** and to the social movements that emerged during his presidency.

An Early Life of Privilege

Roosevelt was born in 1882 into a patrician family descended, on his father's side, from Dutch gentry who in the 17th century had built large estates on the fertile land along the Hudson River. By the 1880s, the Hyde Park manor where Roosevelt grew up had been in the family for more than 200 years. His mother's family—the Delanos—traced its ancestry back to the *Mayflower*. Roosevelt's education at Groton, Harvard College, and Columbia Law School was typical of the path followed by the sons of America's elite.

The Roosevelt family was wealthy, although his parents' net worth of more than $1 million was relatively small in comparison to the wealth of industrialists and railroad tycoons, many of whom commanded fortunes of $50 million to $100 million or more. This widening gap in wealth concerned families like the Roosevelts, who worried that the new industrial elite would dislodge them from their social position. Moreover, they took offense at the newcomers' allegedly vulgar displays of wealth, lack of taste and etiquette, indifference to the natural environment, and hostility toward those less fortunate than themselves. Theodore Roosevelt, an older cousin of Franklin Roosevelt, had called on the men of his class to set a better example by devoting themselves to public service and the public good.

Though young Franklin wanted to follow in his famous cousin's footsteps, it took a long time for him to show Teddy's seriousness of purpose. Franklin distinguished himself neither at school nor at law. Prior to the 1920s, he could point to few significant political achievements, and he owed much of his political ascent in the Democratic Party to his famous name. He was charming, gregarious, and fun loving, always eager to sail, party, and enjoy the company of women other than his wife, Eleanor. Then in 1921, at the age of 39, Roosevelt was both stricken and transformed by a devastating illness, polio, which paralyzed him from the waist down for the rest of his life.

During the two years Roosevelt spent bedridden, he seemed to acquire a new determination and focus. He developed a compassion for those suffering misfortune that would later enable him to reach out to the millions caught in the Great Depression. Roosevelt's physical debilitation also transformed his relationship with Eleanor, with whom he had shared a testy and increasingly loveless marriage. Eleanor's dedication to nursing Franklin back to health forged a new bond between them. More conscious of his dependence on others, he now welcomed her as a partner in his career. Eleanor soon displayed a talent for political organization and public speaking that surprised those who knew her only as a shy, awkward woman. She was an indispensable player in the revival of Franklin's political fortunes, which began in 1928 with his election to the governorship of New York state. Eleanor would also become an active, eloquent First Lady, her husband's trusted ally, and an architect of American liberalism.

Roosevelt Liberalism

As governor of New York for four years (1929–33), Roosevelt had initiated various reform programs, and his success made him the front-runner for the 1932 Democratic presidential nomination. Even so, he had little assurance that he would be the party's choice. Since 1924, the Democrats had been divided between southern and midwestern agrarians on the one hand and northeastern ethnics on the other. The agrarians favored government regulation—both of the nation's economy and of the private affairs of its citizens. Their support of government intervention in the pursuit of social justice marked them as economic progressives, while their advocacy of Prohibition revealed a cultural conservatism as well as a nativistic strain. By contrast, urban ethnics opposed Prohibition and other forms of government interference in the private lives of its citizens. Urban ethnics were divided over whether the government should regulate the economy, with former New York governor Al Smith increasingly committed to a laissez-faire policy, and Senator Robert Wagner of New York and others supporting more federal control.



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Connecting with Ordinary Americans. *In 1933, FDR began broadcasting "Fireside Chats," frank and accessible radio addresses about the problems confronting the nation and how Americans might solve them. Millions listened to these chats in their homes, gathered around the radio as though it were a hearth.*

Roosevelt understood the need to carve out a middle ground. As governor of New York, and then as a presidential candidate in 1932, he surrounded himself with men and women who embraced a new reform movement called liberalism. Frances Perkins, Harry Hopkins, Raymond Moley, Rexford Tugwell, Adolph Berle, Samuel Rosenman—all were interventionist in economic matters and libertarian on questions of personal behavior. They shared with the agrarians and Wagner's supporters a desire to regulate capitalism, but they agreed with Al Smith that the government had no business telling people how to live their lives. Although it seemed unlikely at first, Roosevelt did manage to unite the party behind him at the 1932 Democratic Party convention. In his acceptance speech, he declared: "Ours must be the party of liberal thought, of planned action, of enlightened international outlook, and of the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens." He promised "a new deal for the American people."

The First New Deal, 1933–1935

By the time Roosevelt assumed office in March 1933, the economy lay in shambles. From 1929 to 1932, industrial production had fallen by 50 percent, while new investment had declined from $16 billion to less than $1 billion. In those

same years, more than 100,000 businesses went bankrupt. In early 1933, with the nation's banking system on the verge of collapse, 34 states had ordered all the banks in their jurisdictions to close their doors. No one seemed to be able to bring the unemployment rate under control. Some Americans feared that the opportunity for reform had already passed.

Not Roosevelt. "This nation asks for action, and action now," Roosevelt declared in his inaugural address. Roosevelt was true to his word. In his first Hundred Days, from early March through early June 1933, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass 15 major pieces of legislation to help bankers, farmers, industrialists, workers, homeowners, the unemployed, and the hungry. He also prevailed on Congress to repeal Prohibition. Not all of the new laws helped relieve distress and promote recovery, but in the short term that seemed to matter little. Roosevelt had brought excitement and hope to the nation. He was confident, decisive, and defiantly cheery. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," he declared.

Roosevelt used the radio to reach out to ordinary Americans. On the second Sunday after his inauguration, he launched a series of radio addresses known as "fireside chats," speaking in a plain, friendly, and direct voice to the forlorn and discouraged. In his first chat, he explained the banking crisis in simple terms but without condescension. "I want to take a few minutes to talk with the people of the United States about banking," he began. An estimated 20 million Americans listened.

To hear the president speaking warmly and conversationally—as though he were actually there in the room—was riveting. An estimated 500,000 Americans wrote letters to Roosevelt within days of his inaugural address. Millions more would write to him and to **Eleanor Roosevelt** over the next few years. Many of the letters were simply addressed to "Mr. or Mrs. Roosevelt, Washington, D.C." Democrats began to hang portraits of Franklin Roosevelt in their homes, often next to a picture of Jesus or the Madonna.

Roosevelt skillfully crafted his public image. Compliant news photographers agreed not to show him in a wheelchair or struggling with the leg braces and cane he used to take even small steps. His political rhetoric sometimes promised more than he was prepared to deliver in actual legislation. Yet the bond that he developed with average Americans was strong, becoming a political force in its own right.

Saving the Banks

Roosevelt's first order of business was to save the nation's financial system. By inauguration day, many of the nation's banks had shut their doors. Roosevelt immediately ordered all the nation's banks closed—a bold move he brazenly called a "bank holiday." At his request, Congress rushed through the Emergency Banking Act, which made federal loans available to private bankers, and the Economy Act, which committed the government to balancing the budget. Both were fiscally conservative programs that Hoover had proposed.

After the financial crisis eased, Roosevelt turned to the structural reform of banking. A second Glass-Steagall Act (1933) separated commercial banking from investment banking. It also created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which assured depositors that the government would protect up to $5,000 of their savings. The Securities Act (1933) and the Securities Exchange Act (1934) imposed long-overdue regulation on the New York Stock Exchange, both by

LEGISLATION ENACTED DURING THE "HUNDRED DAYS," MARCH 9–JUNE 16, 1933

Date	Legislation	Purpose
March 9	Emergency Banking Act	Provide federal loans to private bankers
March 20	Economy Act	Balance the federal budget
March 22	Beer-Wine Revenue Act	Repeal Prohibition
March 31	Unemployment Relief Act	Create the Civilian Conservation Corps
May 12	Agricultural Adjustment Act	Establish a national agricultural policy
May 12	Emergency Farm Mortgage Act	Provide refinancing of farm mortgages
May 12	Federal Emergency Relief Act	Establish a national relief system, including the Civil Works Administration
May 18	Tennessee Valley Authority Act	Promote economic development of the Tennessee Valley
May 27	Securities Act	Regulate the purchase and sale of new securities
June 5	Gold Repeal Joint Resolution	Cancel the gold clause in public and private contracts
June 13	Home Owners Loan Act	Provide refinancing of home mortgages
June 16	National Industrial Recovery Act	Set up a national system of industrial self-government and establish the Public Works Administration
June 16	Glass-Steagall Banking Act	Create Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; separate commercial and investment banking
June 16	Farm Credit Act	Reorganize agricultural credit programs
June 16	Railroad Coordination Act	Appoint federal coordinator of transportation

Source: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), pp. 20–21.

reining in buying on the margin and by establishing the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to enforce federal law.

Economic Relief Roosevelt understood the need to temper financial prudence with compassion. Congress responded swiftly in 1933 to Roosevelt's request to establish the Federal Emergency Relief Administration

(FERA), granting it $500 million for relief to the poor. To head FERA, Roosevelt appointed a brash young reformer, Harry Hopkins, who disbursed $2 million during his first two hours on the job. Roosevelt next won congressional approval for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which assembled more than 2 million single young men to plant trees, halt erosion, and otherwise improve the environment. The following winter, Roosevelt launched the Civil Works Administration (CWA), an ambitious work-relief program, also under Harry Hopkins's direction, which hired 4 million unemployed people at $15 per week and put them to work on 400,000 small-scale government projects. For middle-class Americans threatened with the loss of their homes, Roosevelt won Congressional approval for the Homeowners' Loan Corporation (1933) to refinance mortgages. These direct subsidies to millions of jobless and home-owning Americans lent credibility to Roosevelt's claim that the New Deal would set the country on a new course.

Agricultural Reform

In 1933, Roosevelt expected economic recovery to come not from relief, but through agricultural and industrial cooperation. He regarded the Agricultural Adjustment Act, passed in May, and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), passed in June, as the most important legislation of his Hundred Days. Both were based on the idea that curtailing production would trigger economic recovery. By shrinking the supply of agricultural and manufactured goods, Roosevelt's economists reasoned, they could restore the balance of normal market forces. As demand for scarce goods exceeded supply, prices would rise and revenues would climb. Farmers and industrialists, earning a profit once again, would increase their investment in new technology and hire more workers, and prosperity and full employment would be the final result.

To curtail farm production, the **Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA),** which was set up by the Agricultural Adjustment Act, began paying farmers to keep a portion of their land out of cultivation and to reduce the size of their herds. The program was controversial. Many farmers were skeptical of a government offer to pay more money for working less land and husbanding fewer livestock, but few refused to accept payments. As one young Kansas farmer reported:

> There were mouthy individuals who seized every opportunity to run down the entire program … condemning it as useless, crooked, revolutionary, or dictatorial; but … when the first AAA payments were made available, shortly before Christmas, these same wordy critics made a beeline for the courthouse. They jostled and fell over each other in their mad scramble to be the first in line to receive allotment money.

The AAA had made no provision, however, for the tenant farmers and farm laborers who would be thrown out of work by the reduction in acreage. In the South, the victims were disproportionately black. A Georgia sharecropper wrote Harry Hopkins of his misery: "I have Bin farming all my life But the man I live with Has Turned me loose taking my mule [and] all my feed. … I can't get a Job so Some one said Rite you." New Dealers within the Department of Agriculture, such as Rexford Tugwell and Jerome Frank, were sympathetic to the plight of sharecroppers, but they failed during the First New Deal to extend to them the government's helping hand.



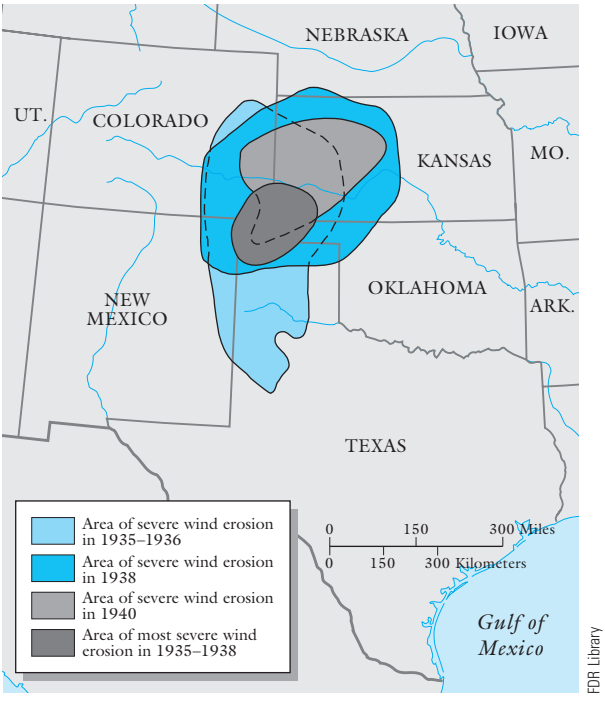
FDR Library

Searching for a Better Life. *Scenes like this one were common in the 1930s as farm families in Oklahoma and Texas who had lost their land began heading to California. Here a family's entire belongings are packed onto a truck, and the mother tends to her baby on an isolated road. The woman's fur collar suggests that this family had once known better times.*

The programs of the AAA also proved inadequate to Great Plains farmers, whose economic problems had been compounded by ecological crisis. Just as the depression rolled in, the rain stopped falling on the plains, and the land, stripped of its native grasses by decades of excessive plowing, dried up and turned to dust. And then the dust began to blow, sometimes traveling 1,000 miles across open prairie. Dust became a fixed feature of daily life on the plains (which soon became known as the Dust Bowl), covering furniture, floors, and stoves, and penetrating people's hair and lungs. The worst dust storm occurred on April 14, 1935, when a great mass of dust, moving at speeds of 45 to 70 miles per hour, roared through Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma, blackening the sky, suffocating cattle, and dumping thousands of tons of topsoil and red clay on homes and streets.

The government responded to this calamity by establishing the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) in 1935. Recognizing that the soil problems of the Great Plains could not be solved simply by taking land out of production, SCS experts urged plains farmers to plant soil-conserving grasses and legumes in place of wheat. They taught farmers how to plow along contour lines and how to build terraces—techniques that had been proven effective in slowing the runoff of rainwater and improving its absorption into the soil. Plains farmers were open to these suggestions, especially when the government offered to subsidize those willing to implement them. Bolstered by the new assistance, plains agriculture began to recover.

Still, the government offered little assistance to the rural poor—the tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Nearly 1 million had left their homes by 1935, and another 2.5 million would leave after 1935. Most headed west, piling their belongings onto their jalopies, snaking along Route 66 until they reached California. They became known as Okies, because many, although not all, had come from Oklahoma.



MAP 25.2 Dust Bowl, 1935–1940

This map shows the areas in six states—Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, and a bit of Nebraska—claimed by the Dust Bowl between 1935 and 1940. The dark gray color shows the area where the winds caused the worst damage.

Their dispossession and forced migration disturbed many Americans, for whom the plight of these once-sturdy yeomen became a symbol of how much had gone wrong with the American dream.

In 1936, the Supreme Court ruled that AAA-mandated limits on farm production constituted an illegal restraint of trade. Congress responded by passing the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, which justified the removal of land from cultivation for reasons of conservation rather than economics. This new act also called on landowners to share their government subsidies with sharecroppers and tenant farmers, although many landowners managed to evade this requirement.

The use of subsidies, begun by the AAA, did eventually bring stability and prosperity to agriculture, but at high cost. Agriculture became the most heavily subsidized sector of the U.S. economy, and the Department of Agriculture grew into one of the government's largest bureaucracies. The rural poor, black and white, never received a fair share of federal benefits. Beginning in the 1930s, and continuing in the 1940s and 1950s, they would be forced off the land and into the cities of the North and West.

Industrial Reform

American industry was so vast that Roosevelt's administration never contemplated paying individual manufacturers direct subsidies to reduce, or even halt, production. Instead,

the government decided to limit production through persuasion and association—techniques that Hoover had also favored. The first task of the **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**, authorized under the National Industrial Recovery Act, was to persuade industrialists and businessmen to agree to raise employee wages to a minimum of 30 to 40 cents per hour and to limit employee hours to a maximum of 30 to 40 hours per week. The limitation on hours was meant to reduce the quantity of goods that any factory or business could produce.

The NRA undertook a high-powered publicity campaign, distributing pamphlets and pins throughout the country, promoting its goals on the radio, and urging employers to place a "blue eagle"—the logo of the NRA—on storefronts, at factory entrances, and on company stationery. Blue eagles began sprouting everywhere, usually accompanied by the slogan "We Do Our Part."

The NRA also brought together the largest producers in every sector of manufacturing and asked each group (or conference) to limit production and to develop a code of fair competition to govern prices, wages, and hours in their industry.

In summer and fall 1933, the NRA codes drawn up for steel, textiles, coal mining, rubber, garment manufacture, and other industries seemed to be working. The economy improved, and hard times seemed to be easing. But in winter and spring 1934, economic indicators plunged downward once again, and manufacturers began to evade the code provisions. By fall 1934, it was clear that the NRA had failed. When the Supreme Court declared the NRA codes unconstitutional in May 1935, the Roosevelt administration allowed the agency to die.

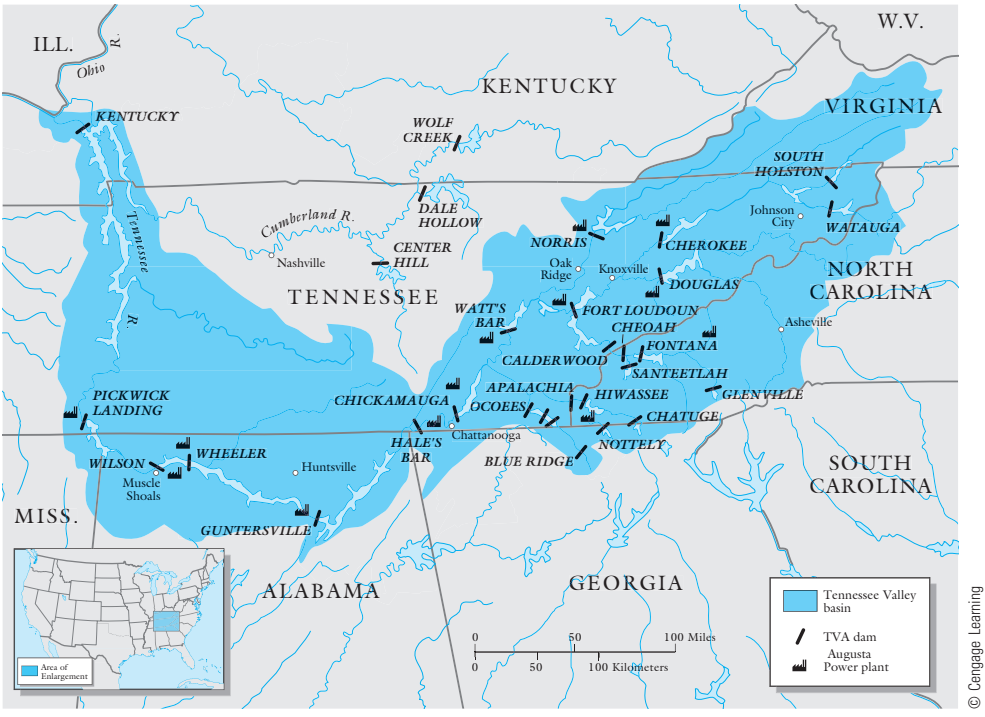
Rebuilding the Nation's Infrastructure

In addition to establishing the NRA, the National Industrial Recovery Act launched the Public Works Administration (PWA) to strengthen the nation's infrastructure of roads, bridges, sewage systems, hospitals, airports, and schools. The labor needed for these construction projects would shrink relief rolls and reduce unemployment, but the projects could be justified in terms that conservatives approved: economic investment rather than short-term relief.

The PWA authorized the building of three major dams in the West—Boulder, Grand Coulee, and Bonneville—that opened up large stretches of Arizona, California, and Washington to industrial and agricultural development. It funded the construction of the Triborough Bridge in New York City and the 100-mile causeway linking Florida to Key West. It also appropriated money for the construction of thousands of new schools.

The TVA Alternative

One piece of legislation passed during Roosevelt's First New Deal specified a strategy for economic recovery significantly different from the one promoted by the NIRA. The Tennessee Valley Authority Act (1933) called for the government—rather than private corporations—to promote economic development throughout the Tennessee Valley, a vast river basin winding through parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina. The act created the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)** to control flooding on the Tennessee River, harness its water power to generate electricity, develop local industry (such as fertilizer production),



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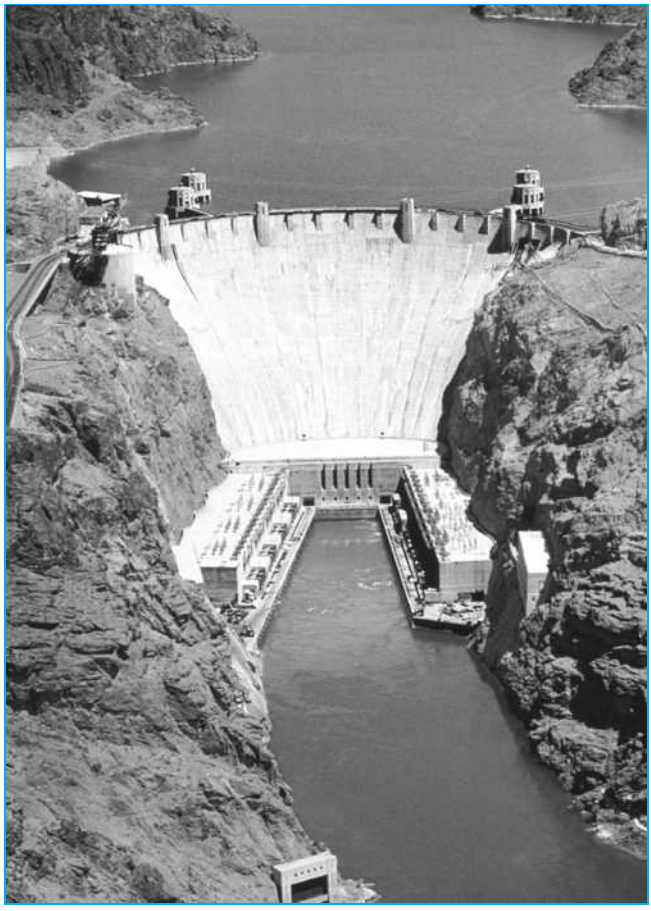
MAP 25.3 Tennessee Valley Authority

This map shows the vast scale of the TVA and pinpoints the locations of 29 dams and 13 power plants that emerged from this project.

improve river navigability, and ease the poverty and isolation of the area's inhabitants. In some respects, the TVA's mandate resembled that of the PWA, but the TVA enjoyed even greater authority. The extent of its control over economic development reflected the influence of Rexford Tugwell and other New Dealers who were committed to a government-planned and government-operated economy. Although they rarely said so, these reformers were drawn to socialism.

The accomplishments of the TVA were many. It built, completed, or improved more than 20 dams, including the huge Wheeler Dam near Muscle Shoals in Alabama. At several of the dam sites, the TVA built hydroelectric generators and soon became the nation's largest producer of electricity. Its low electric rates compelled private utility companies to reduce their rates as well. The TVA also constructed waterways to bypass non-navigable stretches of the river, reduced the danger of flooding, and taught farmers how to prevent soil erosion and use fertilizers.

Although the TVA was one of the New Deal's most celebrated successes, it generated little support for more ambitious experiments in national planning. For the government to have assumed control of established industries and banks would have been quite a different matter from bringing prosperity to an impoverished region. Like Roosevelt, few members of Congress or the public favored the radical growth of governmental power that such programs would have entailed. Thus, the



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Improving the Nation's Infrastructure. *The federal government built several major dams in the West to boost agricultural and industrial development. This is a photograph of the mammoth Boulder Dam (later renamed the Hoover Dam) on the Colorado River.*

thought of replacing the NRA with a nationwide TVA, for instance, made little headway. The New Deal never embraced the idea of the federal government as a substitute for private enterprise.

The New Deal and Western Development

As the TVA showed, New Deal programs could make an enormous difference to a particular region's welfare. Other regional beneficiaries of the New Deal included the New York City area, which prospered from the close links of local politicians to the Roosevelt administration. The region that benefited most from the New Deal, however, was the West. Between 1933 and 1939, per-capita payments for public works projects, welfare, and federal loans in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states outstripped those of any other region.

Dam building was central to this western focus. Western real estate and agricultural interests wanted to dam the West's major rivers to provide water and electricity for urban and agricultural development, but the costs were prohibitive, even to the largest capitalists, until the New Deal offered to defray the expenses with federal dollars. Western interests found a government ally in the Bureau of

Reclamation, a hitherto small federal agency (in existence since 1902) that became, under the New Deal, a prime dispenser of funds for dam construction, reservoir creation, and the provision of water to western cities and farms. Drawing on PWA monies, the bureau oversaw the building of the Boulder Dam (later renamed the Hoover Dam), which provided drinking water for southern California, irrigation water for California's Imperial Valley, and electricity for Los Angeles and southern Arizona. It also authorized the Central Valley Project and the All-American Canal to provide irrigation, drinking water, and electricity to central and southern California farmers and towns. The greatest construction project of all was the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River in Washington, which created a lake 150 miles long. Together with the Bonneville Dam (also on the Columbia), the Grand Coulee gave the Pacific Northwest the cheapest electricity in the country and created a new potential for economic and population growth. Not surprisingly, these two dams also made Washington state the largest per capita recipient of New Deal aid.

These developments attracted less attention in the 1930s than the TVA because their benefits did not fully materialize until after the Second World War. Also, dam building in the West was not seen as a radical experiment in government planning and management. Unlike the TVA, the Bureau of Reclamation hired private contractors to do the work. Moreover, the benefits of these dams were intended to flow first to large agricultural and real estate interests, not to the poor; they were intended to aid private enterprise, rather than bypass it. In political terms, dam building in the West was more conservative than it was in the Tennessee Valley. Even so, this activity made the federal government a key architect of the modern American West.

Political Mobilization, Political Unrest, 1934–1935

Although Roosevelt and the New Dealers dismantled the NRA in 1935, they could not stop the political forces it had set in motion. Ordinary Americans now believed they could make a difference. If the New Dealers could not achieve economic recovery, then the people would find others who could.

Populist Critics of the New Deal

Some critics were disturbed by what they perceived as the conservative character of New Deal programs. Banking reforms, the AAA, and the NRA, they alleged, all seemed to favor large economic interests. Ordinary people had been ignored.

In the South and Midwest, millions listened regularly to the radio addresses of Louisiana Senator **Huey Long,** a former governor of that state and an accomplished orator. In attacks on New Deal programs, he alleged that "not a single thin dime of concentrated, bloated, pompous wealth, massed in the hands of a few people has been raked down to relieve the masses." Long offered a simple alternative: "Break up the swollen fortunes of America and … spread the wealth among all our people." He called for a redistribution of wealth that would guarantee each American family a $5,000 estate.

Long's rhetoric inspired hundreds of thousands of Americans to join the Share the Wealth clubs his supporters organized. Most came from middle-class ranks or from the ranks of skilled workers. By 1935, Roosevelt regarded Long as the man



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MAP 25.4 Federal Water Projects in California Built or Funded by the New Deal

This map demonstrates how much California cities and agriculture benefited from water projects—dams, canals, aqueducts, pumping stations, and power plants—begun under the New Deal. The projects extended from the Shasta Dam in the northern part of the state to the All-American Canal that traversed the Imperial Valley south of San Diego, and included the Colorado River Aqueduct that carried vital drinking water to Los Angeles.

most likely to unseat him in the presidential election of 1936. Before that campaign began, however, Long was assassinated.

Meanwhile, in the Midwest, **Father Charles Coughlin,** the "radio priest," delivered a message similar to Long's. Like Long, Coughlin appealed to anxious middle-class Americans and to once-privileged groups of workers who believed that security and respectability were slipping from their grasp. A former Roosevelt supporter, Coughlin had become a critic. The New Deal was run by bankers, he claimed. The NRA was a program to resuscitate corporate profits. Coughlin called for a strong government to compel capital, labor, agriculture, professionals, and

other interest groups to do its bidding. He founded the National Union of Social Justice (NUSJ) in 1934 as a precursor to a political party that would challenge the Democrats in 1936.

As Coughlin's disillusionment with the New Deal deepened, a strain of anti-Semitism became apparent in his radio talks, as in his accusation that Jewish bankers were masterminding a world conspiracy to dispossess the toiling masses. Although Coughlin was a compelling speaker, he failed to build the NUSJ into an effective political force. Its successor, the Union Party, attracted only a small percentage of voters in 1936. Embittered, Coughlin moved further to the political right. By 1939, his denunciations of democracy and Jews had become so extreme that some radio stations refused to carry his addresses. Still, millions of Americans continued to put their faith in the "radio priest."

Another popular figure was Francis E. Townsend, a California doctor who claimed that the way to end the Depression was to give every senior citizen $200 a month. The Townsend Plan briefly garnered the support of an estimated 20 million Americans.

Labor Protests The attacks by Long, Coughlin, and Townsend on New Deal programs deepened popular discontent and helped to legitimate other insurgent movements. The most important was the labor movement. Workers began joining unions in response to the National Industrial Recovery Act, and especially its clause granting them the right to join labor organizations of their own choosing and obligating employers to bargain with them in good faith. Union members' demands were modest at first: they wanted to be treated fairly by their foremen, and they wanted employers to observe the provisions of the NRA codes and to recognize their unions. But few employers were willing to grant workers any say in their working conditions. Many ignored the NRA's wage and hour guidelines altogether and even used their influence with NRA code authorities to get worker requests for wage increases and union recognition rejected.

Workers flooded Washington with letters of protest and then began to take matters into their own hands. In 1934 they staged 2,000 strikes in virtually every industry and region of the country. A few of these strikes escalated into armed confrontations between workers and police that shocked the nation. In Toledo, Ohio, in May, 10,000 workers surrounded the Electric Auto-Lite plant, declaring that they would block all exits and entrances until the company agreed to shut down operations and negotiate a union contract. Two strikers were killed in an exchange of gunfire. In Minneapolis, unionized truck drivers and warehousemen fought police, private security forces, and the National Guard in a series of street battles from May through July that left four dead and hundreds wounded. In San Francisco in July, skirmishes between longshoremen and employers killed two and wounded scores of strikers. This violence provoked a general strike in San Francisco that shut down the city's transportation, construction, and service industries for two weeks. In September, 400,000 textile workers at mills from Maine to Alabama walked off their jobs. Attempts by employers to bring in replacement workers triggered violent confrontations that caused several deaths, hundreds of injuries, and millions of dollars in property damages.

Anger at the Polls

In the fall of 1934, workers took their anger to the polls. In Rhode Island, they broke the Republican Party's 30-year domination of state politics. In the South Carolina gubernatorial race, working-class voters rejected a conservative Democrat, Coleman Blease, and chose instead Olin T. Johnston, a former mill worker and an ardent New Dealer. In the country as a whole, Democrats won 70 percent of the contested seats in the Senate and House. The Democrats increased their majority, from 310 to 319 (out of 432) in the House, and from 60 to 69 (out of 96) in the Senate. No sitting president's party had ever done so well in an off-year election.

The victory was not an unqualified one for Roosevelt and the First New Deal, however. The 74th Congress would include the largest contingent of radicals ever sent to Washington: Tom Amlie of Wisconsin, Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota, Maury Maverick of Texas, Vito Marcantonio of New York, and some 30 others. Their support for the New Deal depended on whether Roosevelt delivered more relief, more income security, and more political power to farmers, workers, the unemployed, and the poor.

Radical Third Parties

Radical critics of the New Deal also made an impressive showing in state politics in 1934 and 1936. In Wisconsin Philip La Follette, the son of Robert La Follette (see Chapter 21), was elected governor in 1934 and 1936 as the candidate of the radical Wisconsin Progressive Party. In Minnesota, discontented agrarians and urban workers organized the Minnesota Farmer-Labor (MFL) Party and elected their candidate to the governorship in 1930, 1932, 1934, and 1936. In Washington, yet another radical third party, the Commonwealth Builders, elected both senators and almost half the state legislators in 1932 and 1934. And in California, the socialist and novelist Upton Sinclair and his organization, End Poverty in California (EPIC), came close to winning the governorship.

A widespread movement to form local labor parties offered further evidence of voter volatility, as did the growing appeal of the **Communist Party**. The American Communist Party (CP) had emerged in the early 1920s with the support of radicals who wanted to adopt the Soviet Union's path to socialism (see Chapter 23). In the early 1930s, CP organizers spread out among the poorest and most vulnerable populations in America—homeless urban blacks in the North, black and white sharecroppers in the South, Chicano and Filipino agricultural workers in the West—and mobilized them into unions and unemployment leagues. CP members also played significant roles in strikes described earlier, and they were influential in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and in Washington's Commonwealth Builders. Once they stopped preaching world revolution in 1935 and began calling instead for a "popular front" of democratic forces against fascism (a term used to describe the new kinds of dictatorships appearing in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy), their ranks grew even more. By 1938, approximately 80,000 Americans were thought to have been members of the Communist Party.

Although the Communist Party proclaimed its allegiance to democratic principles beginning in 1935, it nevertheless remained a dictatorial organization that took its orders from the Soviet Union. Many Americans feared the growing strength of the CP and began to call for its suppression. The CP, however, was never strong

enough to gain power for itself. Its chief role in 1930s politics was to channel popular discontent into unions and political parties that would, in turn, force New Dealers to respond to the demands of the nation's poor.

The Second New Deal, 1935–1937

The labor unrest of 1934 had taken Roosevelt by surprise. For a time, he kept his distance from the masses mobilizing in his name, but in spring 1935, with the 1936 presidential election looming, he decided to place himself at their head. He called for the "abolition of evil holding companies," attacked the wealthy for their profligate ways, and called for new programs to aid the poor and downtrodden. Rather than becoming a socialist, as his critics charged, Roosevelt sought to reinvigorate his appeal among poorer Americans and turn them away from radical solutions.

Philosophical Underpinnings

To point the New Deal in a more populist direction, Roosevelt turned increasingly to a relatively new economic theory, **underconsumptionism**. Advocates of this theory held that a chronic weakness in consumer demand had caused the Great Depression. The path to recovery lay, therefore, not in restricting production, as the architects of the First New Deal had tried to do, but in boosting consumer expenditures through government support for strong labor unions (to force up wages), higher social welfare expenditures (to put more money in the hands of the poor), and ambitious public works projects (to create millions of new jobs).

Underconsumptionists did not worry that new welfare and public works programs might strain the federal budget. If the government found itself short of revenue, it could always borrow additional funds from private sources. These reformers, in fact, viewed government borrowing as a useful antidepression tool. Those who lent the government money would receive a return on their investment; those who received government assistance would have additional income to spend on consumer goods; and manufacturers would profit from increases in consumer spending. Government borrowing, in short, would stimulate the circulation of money through the economy, increase consumer demand, and end the depression. This fiscal policy, a reversal of the conventional wisdom that government should always balance its budget, would in the 1940s come to be known as Keynesianism, after John Maynard Keynes, the British economist who had been its advocate.

As the nation entered its sixth year of the depression, Roosevelt was willing to give these new ideas a try. Reform-minded members of the 1934 Congress were eager for a new round of legislation directed more to the needs of ordinary Americans than to the needs of big business.

Legislation

Congress passed much of that legislation in January to June 1935—a period that came to be known as the Second New Deal. Two of the acts were of historic importance: the **Social Security Act** and the National Labor Relations Act. The Social Security Act, passed in May, required the states to set up welfare funds from which money would be disbursed to the elderly poor, the unemployed, unmarried mothers with dependent children, and the

disabled. It also enrolled a majority of working Americans in a pension program that guaranteed them a steady income upon retirement. A federal system of employer and employee taxation was set up to fund the pensions. Despite limitations on coverage and inadequate pension levels, the Social Security Act of 1935 provided a foundation on which future presidents and congresses would erect the American welfare state.

Equally historic was the passage, in June, of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). This act delivered what the NRA had only promised: the right of every worker to join a union of his or her own choosing and the obligation of employers to bargain with that union in good faith. The **NLRA,** also called the **Wagner Act** after its Senate sponsor, Robert Wagner of New York, set up a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to supervise union elections and to investigate claims of unfair labor practices. The NLRB was to be staffed by federal appointees with power to impose fines on employers who violated the law. Union leaders hailed the act as their Magna Carta.

Congress also passed the Holding Company Act to break up the 13 utility companies that controlled 75 percent of the nation's electric power. It passed the Wealth Tax Act, which increased tax rates on the wealthy from 59 to 75 percent, and on corporations from 13.75 to 15 percent; and it passed the Banking Act, which strengthened the power of the Federal Reserve Board over its member banks. It created the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) to bring electric power to rural households. Finally, it passed the huge $5 billion Emergency Relief Appropriation Act. Roosevelt funneled part of this sum to the PWA, the CCC, and the newly created National Youth Administration (NYA), which provided work and guidance to the nation's youth.

Roosevelt directed most of the new relief money, however, to the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)** under the direction of Harry Hopkins, now known as the New Deal's "minister of relief." The WPA built or improved thousands of schools, playgrounds, airports, and hospitals. WPA crews raked leaves, cleaned streets, and landscaped cities. In the process, the WPA provided jobs to approximately 30 percent of the nation's jobless.

By the time the decade ended, the WPA, in association with an expanded Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the PWA, and other agencies, had built 500,000 miles of roads, 100,000 bridges, 100,000 public buildings, and 600 airports. The New Deal had transformed America's urban and rural landscapes. The awe generated by these public works projects helped Roosevelt retain popular support at a time when the success of the New Deal's economic policies was uncertain. The WPA also funded a vast program of public art, supporting the work of thousands of painters, architects, writers, playwrights, actors, and intellectuals. Beyond extending relief to struggling artists, it fostered the creation of art that spoke to the concerns of ordinary Americans, adorned public buildings with colorful murals, and boosted public morale.

Victory in 1936: The New Democratic Coalition

Roosevelt described his Second New Deal as a program to limit the power and privilege of the wealthy few and to increase the security and welfare of ordinary citizens. In his 1936 reelection campaign, he excoriated the corporations as "economic royalists" who had "concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor—other people's lives." He called on voters to strip the corporations of their power and "save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and the world." American voters responded

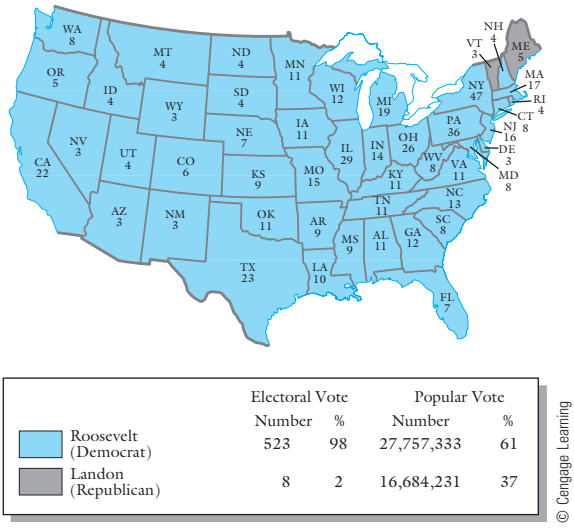
Selected WPA Projects in New York City, 1938

Construction and Renovation	Education, Health, and Art	Research and Records
East River Drive	Adult education: homemaking, trade and technical skills, and art and culture	Sewage treatment, community health, labor relations, and employment trends surveys
Henry Hudson Parkway	Children's education: remedial reading, lip reading, and field trips	Museum and library catalogs and exhibits
Bronx sewers	Prisoners' vocational training, recreation, and nutrition	Municipal office clerical support
Glendale and Queens public libraries	Dental clinics	Government forms standardization
King's County Hospital	Tuberculosis examination clinics	
Williamsburg housing project	Syphilis and gonorrhea treatment clinics	
School buildings, prisons, and firehouses	City hospital kitchen help, orderlies, laboratory technicians, nurses, doctors	
Coney Island and Brighton Beach boardwalks	Subsistence gardens	
Orchard Beach	Sewing rooms	
Swimming pools, playgrounds, parks, drinking fountains	Central Park sculpture shop	

Source: John David Millet, *The Works Progress Administration in New York City* (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1938), pp. 95–126.

by handing Roosevelt the greatest victory in the history of American presidential politics. He received 61 percent of the popular vote; Alf Landon of Kansas, his Republican opponent, received only 37 percent. Only two states, Maine and Vermont, representing a mere eight electoral votes, went for Landon.

The 1936 election won the Democratic Party its reputation as the party of reform and the party of the "forgotten American." Of the 6 million Americans who went to the polls for the first time, many of them European ethnics, 5 million voted for Roosevelt. Among the poorest Americans, Roosevelt received 80 percent of the vote. Black voters in the North left the Republican Party—the "Party of Lincoln"—calculating that their interests would be served better by the "Party of the Common Man." Roosevelt also did well among white middle-class voters,



MAP 25.5 Presidential Election, 1936

In 1936, Franklin D. Roosevelt's reelection numbers were overwhelming: 98 percent of the electoral vote, and more than 60 percent of the popular vote. No previous election in American history had been so one-sided.

many of whom stood to benefit from the Social Security Act. These constituencies would constitute the "Roosevelt coalition" for most of the next 40 years, helping to solidify the Democratic Party as the new majority party in American politics.

Rhetoric versus Reality

Roosevelt's 1935–36 anti-corporate rhetoric was more radical than the laws he supported. The Wealth Tax Act took considerably less out of wealthy incomes and estates than was advertised, and the utility companies that the Holding Company Act was meant to break up remained largely intact. Moreover, Roosevelt promised more than he delivered to the nation's poor. Farm workers, for example, were not covered by the Social Security Act or by the National Labor Relations Act. Consequently, thousands of African American sharecroppers in the South, along with substantial numbers of Mexican American farm workers in the Southwest, missed out on protections and benefits brought by these laws. The sharecroppers were shut out because southern Democrats would not have voted for an act that was seen as improving the economic or social condition of southern blacks. For the same reason, the New Deal made little effort to restore voting rights to southern blacks or to protect their basic civil rights. White supremacy lived on in New Deal democracy.

Roosevelt's 1935–36 populist stance also obscured the support that some capitalists were giving the Second New Deal. In the West, Henry J. Kaiser headed a consortium of six companies that built the Hoover, Bonneville, and Grand Coulee dams; in Texas, building contractors Herman and George Brown were bankrolling a group of elected officials that included a young Democratic congressman named Lyndon Johnson. In the Midwest and the East, Roosevelt's corporate supporters included real estate

developers, mass merchandisers (such as Bambergers and Sears, Roebuck), clothing manufacturers, and the like. These firms, in turn, had financial connections with recently established investment banks such as Lehman Brothers and Goldman Sachs, competitors of the House of Morgan and its allies in the Republican banking establishment, and with consumer-oriented banks such as the Bank of America and the Bowery Savings Bank. They tolerated strong labor unions, welfare programs, and high levels of government spending in the belief that these developments would strengthen consumer spending, but they had no intention of surrendering their own wealth or power. The Democratic Party had become, in effect, the party of the masses and one section of big business. The conflicting interests of these two constituencies would create tensions within the Democratic Party throughout the years of its political domination.

Men, Women, and Reform

The years 1936 and 1937 were exciting ones for academics, policymakers, and bureaucrats who designed and administered the rapidly growing roster of New Deal programs and agencies. Fueled by idealism and dedication, they were confident they could make the New Deal work. They planned and won congressional approval for the Farm Security Administration (FSA), an agency designed to improve the economic lot of tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farm laborers. They drafted and passed legislation that outlawed child labor, set minimum wages and maximum hours for adult workers, and committed the federal government to building low-cost housing. They investigated and tried to regulate concentrations of corporate power.

Although they worked on behalf of "the people," the New Dealers constituted a new class of technocrats. The prospect of building a strong state committed to prosperity and justice fired their imaginations. They delighted in the intellectual challenge and the technical complexity of social policy.

Many of the male New Dealers had earned advanced degrees in law and economics at elite universities such as Harvard, Columbia, and Wisconsin. Not all had been raised among wealth and privilege, however. To his credit, Franklin Roosevelt was the first president since his cousin Theodore Roosevelt to welcome Jews and Catholics into his administration. Some became members of Roosevelt's inner circle of advisers—men such as Thomas "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran, Jim Farley, Ben Cohen, and Samuel Rosenman. These men had struggled to make their way, first on the streets and then in school and at work. They brought to the New Deal intellectual aggressiveness, quick minds, and mental toughness.

The profile of New Deal women was different. Although a few, notably Eleanor Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (the first woman to be appointed to the U.S. cabinet), were more visible than women in previous administrations had been, many of the female New Dealers worked in relative obscurity, in agencies such as the Women's Bureau or the Children's Bureau (both in the Department of Labor). Women who worked on major legislation, as did Mary Van Kleeck on the Social Security Act, or who directed major programs, as did Jane Hoey, chief of the Social Security's Bureau of Public Assistance, received less credit than men in comparable positions. Moreover, female New Dealers tended to be a generation older than their male colleagues and were more likely to be Protestant than Catholic or Jewish. Many of them had known each other since the days of progressive-era reform and woman suffrage (see Chapter 21).

The New Deal offered these female reformers little opportunity to advance the cause of women's equality. Demands for greater economic opportunity, sexual freedom, and full equality for women were put forward less often in the 1930s than they had been in the preceding two decades. One reason was that the women's movement had lost momentum after achieving the vote in 1920 (see Chapter 24). Another was that prominent New Deal women, rather than vigorously pursuing a campaign for equal rights, chose to concentrate instead on "protective legislation"—laws that safeguarded female workers. Those who insisted that women needed special protections could not easily argue that women were equal to men in all respects.

Feminism was also hemmed in on all sides by a male hostility that the depression had intensified. Many men had built their male identities on the value of hard work and the ability to provide economic security for their families. For them, the loss of work unleashed feelings of inadequacy. Male vulnerability increased as unemployment rates of men—most of whom labored in blue-collar industries—rose higher than those of women, many of whom worked in white-collar occupations less affected by job cutbacks. Many fathers and husbands resented wives and daughters who had taken over their breadwinning roles.

This male anxiety had political and social consequences. Several states passed laws outlawing the hiring of married women. New Deal relief agencies were reluctant to authorize aid for unemployed women. The labor movement made protection of the male wage earner one of its principal goals. The Social Security pension system left out waitresses, domestic servants, and other largely female occupations. Norman Cousins of the *Saturday Evening Post* suggested that the depression could

Rates of Unemployment in Selected Male and Female Occupations, 1930

Male Occupations	Percentage Male	Percentage Unemployed
Iron and steel	96%	13%
Forestry and fishing	99	10
Mining	99	18
Heavy manufacturing	86	13
Carpentry	100	19
Laborers (road and street)	100	13
Female Occupations	**Percentage Female**	**Percentage Unemployed**
Stenographers and typists	96%	5%
Laundresses	99	3
Trained nurses	98	4
Housekeepers	92	3
Telephone operators	95	3
Dressmakers	100	4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931).

be ended simply by firing 10 million working women and giving their jobs to men. "Presto!" he declared. "No unemployment, no relief rolls. No Depression."

Many artists introduced a strident masculinism into their painting and sculpture. Mighty *Superman*, the new comic-strip hero of 1938, reflected the spirit of the times. Superman was depicted as a working-class hero, who on several occasions saved workers from coal mine explosions and other disasters caused by the greed and negligence of villainous employers.

Superman's greatest vulnerability, however, other than kryptonite, was his attraction to the *working* woman, Lois Lane. He could never resolve his dilemma by marrying Lois and tucking her away in a safe domestic sphere, because the continuation of the comic strip demanded that Superman be repeatedly exposed to kryptonite and female danger. But the producers of male and female images in other mass media, such as the movies, faced no such technical obstacles. Anxious men could take comfort from the conclusion of the movie *Woman of the Year,* in which Spencer Tracy persuades the ambitious Katharine Hepburn to exchange her successful newspaper career for the bliss of motherhood and homemaking. From a thousand different points, 1930s politics and culture made it clear that a woman's proper place was in the home. Faced with such obstacles, it is not surprising that women activists failed to make feminism a major part of New Deal reform.

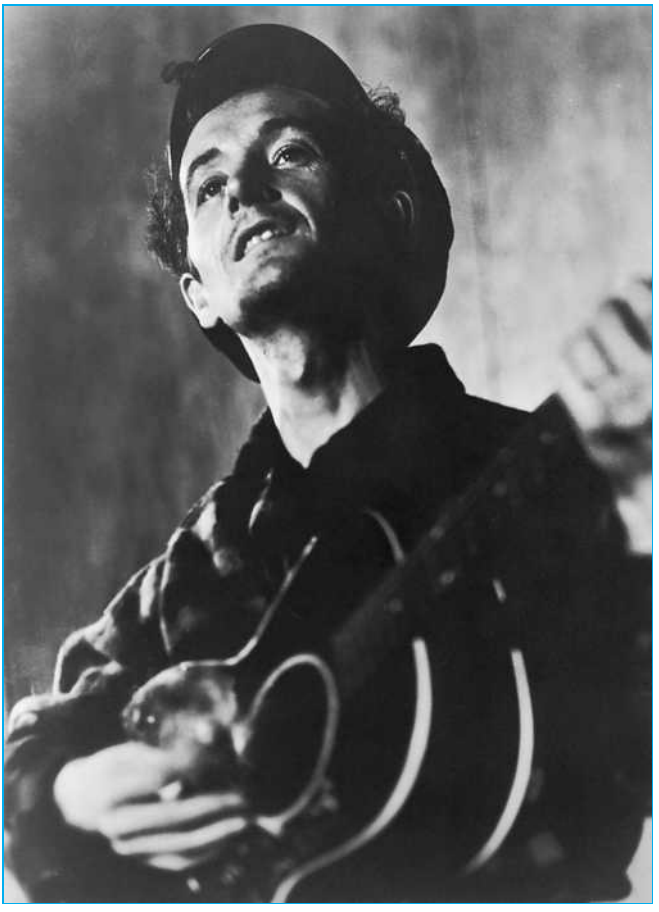
Labor in Politics and Culture

In 1935, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the leaders of six other unions that had seceded from the American Federation of Labor (AFL) cobbled together a new labor organization. The Committee for Industrial Organization **(CIO)**—later renamed the Congress of Industrial Organizations—aspired to organize millions of unskilled and semiskilled workers whom the AFL had largely ignored. In 1936, Lewis and Hillman created a second organization, Labor's Non-Partisan League (LNPL), to channel labor's money, energy, and talent into Roosevelt's reelection campaign. Roosevelt welcomed the league's help, and labor would become a key constituency of the new Democratic coalition. The passage of the Wagner Act and the creation of the NLRB in 1935 enhanced the labor movement's status and credibility. Membership in labor unions climbed steadily, and in short order union members began flexing their muscles.

In late 1936, the United Auto Workers (UAW) took on General Motors, widely regarded as the most powerful corporation in the world. Workers occupied key GM factories in Flint, Michigan, declaring that their **sit-down strike** would continue until GM agreed to recognize the UAW and negotiate a collective bargaining agreement. Frank Murphy, the pro-labor governor of Michigan, refused to use National Guard troops to evict the strikers, and Roosevelt declined to send federal troops. A 50-year-old practice of using soldiers to break strikes ended, and General Motors capitulated after a month of resistance. Soon, the U.S. Steel Corporation, which had defeated unionists in the bloody strike of 1919 (see Chapter 23), announced that it was ready to negotiate a contract with the newly formed CIO steelworkers union.

The labor movement's public stature grew along with its size. Many writers and artists, funded through the WPA, depicted the labor movement as the voice of the people and the embodiment of the nation's values. Murals sprang up in post offices and other public buildings featuring portraits of blue-collar Americans at work. Broadway's most celebrated play in 1935 was Clifford Odets's *Waiting for*

Woody Guthrie.
A bard from Okemah, Oklahoma, Guthrie was embraced by millions for his homespun melodies and lyrics and for his hopeful message that Americans could survive the depression with their dignity and sense of humor intact.



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

Lefty, a raw drama about taxi drivers who confront their bosses and organize an honest union. *Pins and Needles,* a 1937 musical about the hopes and dreams of garment workers, performed by actual members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, became the longest-running play in Broadway history (until *Oklahoma!* broke its record of 1,108 performances in 1943).

Similarly, many of the most popular novels and movies of the 1930s celebrated the decency, honesty, and patriotism of ordinary Americans. In *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), Frank Capra delighted movie audiences with fables of simple, small-town heroes vanquishing the evil forces of wealth and decadence. Likewise, in *The Grapes of Wrath,* the best-selling novel of 1939, John Steinbeck told an epic tale of an Oklahoma family's fortitude in surviving eviction from their land, migrating westward, and suffering exploitation in the "promised land" of California. In 1940, John Ford turned Steinbeck's novel into one of that year's highest grossing and most acclaimed movies. Moviegoers found special meaning in the declaration of one of the story's main characters, Ma Joad: "We'll go on forever ... cause we're the people."

The Okie migrants to California included a writer and musician named Woody Guthrie. Born in 1913 in Okemah, Oklahoma, Woody Guthrie grew up in nearby

Pampa, Texas. He wasn't born poor—his father was a small businessman and a local politician—but by the time he reached his twenties, Guthrie had known a great deal of hardship: his father's business failed, three family homes burned down, one sister died from burns, and then the drought and dust storms struck. In the 1930s, Guthrie joined the large migration of Okies to California. There, his musical gifts were discovered, chiefly because radio stations, in particular, were keen to put "singing cowboys" on the air. Guthrie had emerged from a country music tradition in Texas and Oklahoma and found an audience among the many people from those states who had gone to California.

Guthrie also developed a broader appeal as he cast himself as the bard of ordinary Americans everywhere. He loved America for the beauty of its landscape and its people, sentiments he expressed in one of his most popular songs, "This Land Is Your Land," which he wrote in 1940 in response to Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" (a song Guthrie did not like because of the false sense of complacency he thought it induced. Guthrie did not possess a refined singing voice, but his "hillbilly" lyrics, melodies, and humor were inventive and often inspiring. He would become a powerful influence on subsequent generations of musicians, including such major figures as Bob Dylan and Bruce Springsteen.

Guthrie traveled extensively in the 1930s, from Los Angeles to New York and from Texas to Washington state. The more he learned about the hardships of individual Americans, the angrier and more politically active he became. He drew close to the labor movement and to the Communist Party, and increasingly, in his writings and songs, he criticized the industrialists, financiers, and their political agents who, he believed, had brought the depression on America. But Guthrie always associated his criticism with the hope that the working people of America, if united, could take back their land—which is the message he meant to convey when he sang "This Land Is Your Land"—and restore its greatness. The optimism of his message underscored how much the cultural mood had changed since the early 1930s. In his focus on ordinary working Americans, in his hope for the future, and in his fusion of dissent and patriotism, Guthrie was emblematic of a major stream of culture and politics in the late 1930s.

America's Minorities and the New Deal

Reformers in the 1930s generally believed that issues of capitalism's viability, economic recovery, and the inequality of wealth and power outweighed problems of racial and ethnic discrimination; only in the case of American Indians did New Dealers pass legislation specifically designed to improve a minority's social and economic position. Because they were disproportionately poor, most minority groups did profit from the populist and pro-labor character of New Deal reforms, but the gains were distributed unevenly. Eastern and Southern European ethnics benefited the most, and African Americans and Mexican Americans advanced the least.

Eastern and Southern European Ethnics

Eastern and Southern European immigrants and their children had begun mobilizing politically in the 1920s in response to religious and racial discrimination (see Chapter 24). Roosevelt understood their political importance well, for he

was a product of New York Democratic politics, where men such as Robert Wagner and Al Smith had begun to organize the ethnic vote even before 1920 (see Chapter 21). He made sure that a significant portion of New Deal monies for welfare, building and road construction, and unemployment relief reached the urban areas where most European ethnics lived. As a result, Jewish and Catholic Americans, especially those descended from Eastern and Southern European immigrants, voted for Roosevelt in overwhelming numbers. The New Deal did not eliminate anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism from American society, but it did allow millions of European ethnics to believe, for the first time, that they would overcome the second-class status they had long endured.

Eastern and Southern European ethnics also benefited from their sizable presence in the mass-production industries of the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast and in the new labor unions. Roosevelt understood and feared the power they wielded through their labor organizations.

African Americans

The New Deal did more to reproduce patterns of racial discrimination than to advance the cause of racial equality. African Americans who belonged to CIO unions or who lived in northern cities benefited from New Deal programs, but most blacks lived in the rural South, where they were barred from voting, largely excluded from AAA programs, and denied federal protection in their efforts to form agricultural unions. The CCC ran separate camps for black and white youth. The TVA hired few blacks. Those enrolled in the CWA and other work-relief programs frequently received less pay than whites for doing the same jobs. Roosevelt consistently refused to support legislation to make lynching a federal crime.

This failure to push a strong civil rights agenda did not mean that New Dealers were oblivious to concerns about race. Eleanor Roosevelt spoke out frequently against racial injustice. In 1939, she resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution when the organization refused to allow black opera singer **Marian Anderson** to perform in its concert hall. She then pressured the federal government into granting Anderson permission to sing from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. On Easter Sunday, 75,000 people gathered to hear Anderson and to demonstrate their support for racial equality. The president did not attend.

Roosevelt did eliminate segregationist practices in the federal government that had been in place since Woodrow Wilson's presidency. He appointed Mary McLeod Bethune, Robert Weaver, William Hastie, and other African Americans to important second-level posts in his administration. Working closely with each other in what came to be known as the Black Cabinet, these officials fought hard to end discrimination in New Deal programs.

Roosevelt, however, refused to support the Black Cabinet if it meant alienating white southern senators who controlled key congressional committees. He believed that pushing for civil rights would cost him the support of the white South. Meanwhile, African Americans and their supporters were not yet strong enough as an electoral constituency or as a reform movement to compel Roosevelt to support a civil rights agenda.

Mexican Americans

The Mexican American experience in the Great Depression was particularly harsh. In 1931, Hoover's secretary of labor, William N. Doak, announced a plan for repatriating illegal aliens (returning them to their land of origin) and giving their jobs to American citizens. The federal campaign quickly focused on Mexican immigrants in California and the Southwest. The U.S. Immigration Service rounded up large numbers of Mexicans and Mexican Americans and demanded that each detainee prove his or her legal status. Those who failed to produce the necessary documentation were deported. Local and state governments pressured many more Mexicans into leaving. The combined efforts of federal, state, and local governments created a climate of fear in Mexican communities that prompted 500,000 to return to Mexico by 1935. This total equaled the number of Mexicans who had come to the United States in the 1920s. Los Angeles lost one-third of its Mexican population. Included in repatriate ranks were a significant number of legal immigrants who were unable to produce their immigration papers, the American-born children of illegals, and some Mexican Americans who had lived in the Southwest for generations.

The advent of the New Deal in 1933 eased but did not eliminate pressure on Chicano communities. New Deal agencies made money available for relief; Mexican Americans who worked in urban, blue-collar industries joined unions in large numbers. Most Chicanos, however, lived in rural areas and labored in agricultural jobs, and the New Deal offered them little help. The National Labor Relations Act did not protect their right to organize unions, and the Social Security Act excluded them from the new federal welfare system. Where Mexicans gained access to relief rolls, they often received payments lower than those given to "Anglos" (whites). New Dealers also did not do much to dissuade local officials from continuing their campaign to deport Mexican immigrants.

Life grew harder for immigrant Mexicans who stayed behind. The Mexican cultural renaissance that had emerged in 1920s Los Angeles (see Chapter 24) stalled. Mexicans in the city retreated into the separate community of East Los Angeles. To many, they became the "invisible minority."

American Indians

From the 1880s until the early 1930s, federal policy had contributed to the elimination of American Indians as a distinctive population. The Dawes Act of 1887 (see Chapter 18) had called for tribal lands to be broken up and allotted to individual owners in the hope that Indians would adopt the work habits and lifestyles of white farmers. But American Indians had proved stubbornly loyal to their languages, religions, and cultures. Few of them succeeded as farmers, and many lost land to white speculators. By 1933, nearly half the American Indians living on reservations whose land had been allotted were landless, and many who retained allotments held land that was largely desert or semidesert.

The shrinking land base in combination with a growing population deepened American Indian poverty. The assimilationist pressures on American Indians, meanwhile, reached a climax in the 1920s, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) outlawed Indian religious ceremonies, forced children from tribal communities into federal boarding schools, banned polygamy, and imposed limits on the length of men's hair.



Buyenlarge/Archive Photos/Getty Images

Mexican Hardship. *The Great Depression made it difficult for Mexican agricultural workers in California to find adequate work. Many suffered additional injury when state and local authorities pressured them into returning to Mexico.*

Government officials working in the Hoover administration began to question this assimilationist policy, but its reversal had to await the New Deal and Roosevelt's appointment of **John Collier** as the commissioner of the BIA. Collier pressured the CCC, AAA, and other New Deal agencies to employ Indians on projects that improved reservation land and trained Indians in land conservation methods. He prevailed on Congress to pass the Pueblo Relief Act of 1933, which compensated Pueblos for land taken from them in the 1920s, and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, which provided funds to the states for Indian health care, welfare, and education. As part of his campaign to make the BIA more responsive to American Indian needs, Collier increased the number of Indian BIA employees from a few hundred in 1933 to 4,600 in 1940.

Collier also took steps to abolish federal boarding schools, encourage enrollment in local public schools, and establish community day schools. He insisted that American Indians be allowed to practice their traditional religions, and he created the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1935 to nurture traditional Indian artists and to help them market their work.

The centerpiece of Collier's reform strategy was the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act) of 1934, which revoked the allotment provisions of the Dawes Act. This landmark act recognized the rights of Native American tribes to chart their own political, cultural, and economic futures. It reflected Collier's commitment to "cultural pluralism," a doctrine that celebrated the diversity of peoples and cultures in American society and sought to protect that diversity against the pressures of assimilation (for the origins of cultural pluralism, see Chapter 20). Specifically, the IRA restored land to tribes, granted Indians the right to establish constitutions and bylaws for self-government, and provided support for new tribal corporations that would regulate the use of communal lands.

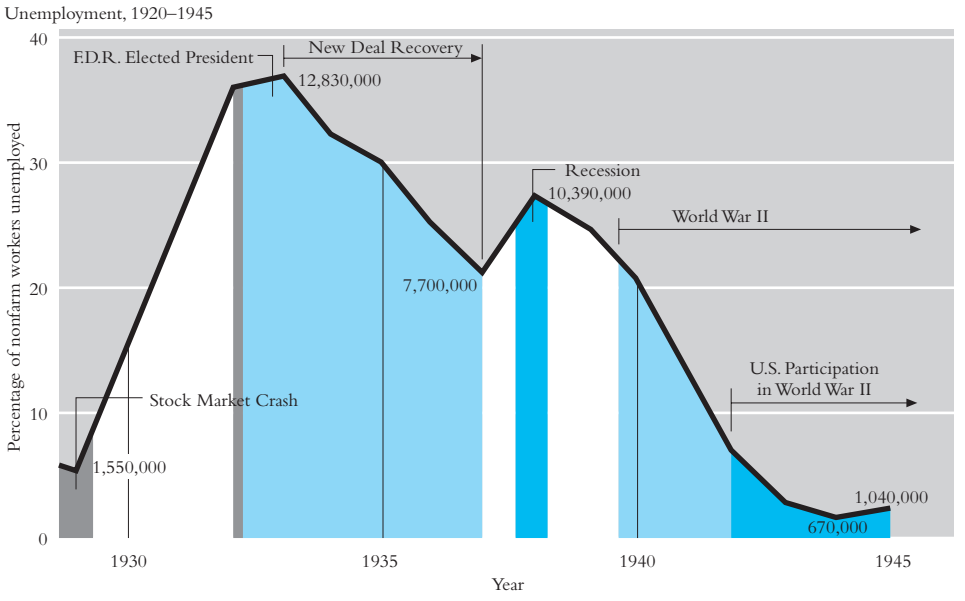
Collier encountered opposition everywhere: from Protestant missionaries and cultural conservatives who wanted to continue an assimilationist policy; from white farmers and businessmen who feared that the new legislation would restrict their access to Native American land; and even from a sizable number of Indian groups, some of which had embraced assimilation and others that viewed the IRA cynically, as one more attempt by the federal government to impose "the white man's will" on the Indian peoples. This opposition made the IRA a more modest bill than the one Collier had originally championed.

A vocal minority of Indians continued to oppose the act even after its passage. The Navajo, the nation's largest tribe, voted to reject its terms as did 76 other tribes. Still, 181 tribes, nearly 70 percent of the total, supported Collier's reform and began organizing new governments under the IRA. Although their quest for independence would suffer setbacks, these tribes gained significant measures of freedom and autonomy during the New Deal.

The New Deal Abroad

When he first entered office, Roosevelt favored a nationalist approach to international relations. The United States, he believed, should pursue foreign policies to benefit its domestic affairs, without regard for the effects of those policies on world trade and international stability. Thus, in June 1933, Roosevelt pulled the United States out of the World Economic Conference in London, a meeting called by leading nations to strengthen the gold standard and thereby stabilize the value of their currencies. Roosevelt feared that the United States would be forced into an agreement designed to keep the gold content of the dollar high and U.S. commodity prices low, which would frustrate New Deal efforts to inflate the prices of agricultural and industrial goods.

Soon after his withdrawal from the London conference, however, Roosevelt put the United States on a more internationalist course. In November 1933, he became the first president to recognize the Soviet Union and to establish diplomatic ties with its Communist rulers. In December 1933, he inaugurated a **Good Neighbor Policy** toward Latin America by formally renouncing U.S. rights to intervene in the affairs of Latin American nations. To back up his pledge, Roosevelt ordered home the Marines stationed in Haiti and Nicaragua; scuttled the Platt Amendment



Unemployment in the Nonfarm Labor Force, 1929–1945

Source: Data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1989), p. 126.

that had given the United States control over the Cuban government since 1901; and granted Panama more political autonomy and a greater administrative role in operating the Panama Canal (see Chapter 22).

None of this, however, meant that the United States had given up its influence over Latin America. When a 1934 revolution brought a radical government to power in Cuba, the U.S. ambassador there worked with conservative Cubans to replace the government with a regime more favorable to U.S. interests. The United States did refrain from sending troops to Cuba. It also kept its troops at home in 1936 when Mexico nationalized several U.S.- and British-owned petroleum companies. Instead, the United States demanded that Mexico compensate the oil companies for their lost property, which Mexico eventually did. In such ways, the United States exercised restraint while remaining the dominant force in hemispheric affairs.

The Roosevelt administration's internationalism also reflected its interest in stimulating trade. American businessmen wanted access to the Soviet Union's domestic market. Latin America was already a major market for the United States, but one in need of greater stability. To win the support of American traders and investors, Roosevelt stressed how the Good Neighbor Policy would improve the region's business climate.

Roosevelt further expressed his commitment to international trade through his support for the Reciprocal Trade Agreement, passed by Congress in 1934. This act allowed the United States to lower its tariffs by as much as 50 percent in exchange for similar reductions by other nations. By the end of 1935, the United States had negotiated reciprocal trade agreements with 14 countries. Roosevelt's emphasis on international trade—a move consonant with the Second New Deal's program of

increasing the circulation of goods and money through the economy—further solidified support for the New Deal in parts of the business community, especially among those firms, such as United Fruit and Coca-Cola, with large overseas investments.

Actually increasing the volume of international trade was more difficult than passing legislation to encourage it. In Germany and Italy, belligerent nationalists Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini told their people that the solution to their ills lay not in foreign trade but in military strength and conquest. Throughout the world, similar appeals to national pride proved more popular than calls for tariff reductions and increases in global trade. In the face of this historical current, the New Deal's internationalist economic policies made limited headway.

Stalemate, 1937–1940

By 1937 and 1938, the New Deal had begun to lose momentum. One reason was an emerging split between working-class and middle-class Democrats. After the UAW's victory over General Motors in 1937, other workers began to imitate the successful tactics of the Flint, Michigan, militants. Sit-down strikes spread to many industries and regions, a development that worried many middle-class Americans.

The Court-Packing Fiasco

The president's proposal on February 5, 1937, to alter the makeup of the Supreme Court exacerbated middle-class fears. Roosevelt asked Congress to give him the power to appoint one new Supreme Court justice for every member of the court who was older than age 70 and who had served for at least 10 years. His stated reason was that the current justices were too old and feeble to handle the large volume of cases coming before them, but his real purpose was to prevent the conservative justices on the court—most had been appointed by Republican presidents—from dismantling his New Deal. His proposal, if accepted, would have given him the authority to appoint six additional justices, thereby securing a pro-New Deal majority.

The president seemed genuinely surprised by the indignation that greeted his **"court-packing"** proposal. Although working-class support for Roosevelt remained strong, many middle-class voters turned away from the New Deal. In 1937 and 1938, a conservative opposition took shape, uniting Republicans and conservative Democrats (many of them southerners) who believed that the changes unleashed by the New Deal had gone too far.

Ironically, Roosevelt's court-packing scheme may have been unnecessary. In March 1937, just one month after he proposed his plan, Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, a former opponent of New Deal programs, decided to support them. In April and May, the Court upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act and Social Security Act, both by a 5-to-4 margin. The principal reforms of the New Deal would endure. Roosevelt allowed his court-reform proposal to die in Congress that summer. Within three years, five of the aging justices had retired, giving Roosevelt the opportunity to fashion a court more to his liking. Nonetheless, Roosevelt's reputation had suffered.

The Recession of 1937–1938

Whatever hope Roosevelt may have had for a quick recovery from his attempt at court-packing was dashed by a sharp recession that struck the country in late 1937 and 1938. The

New Deal programs of 1935 had stimulated the economy, prompting Roosevelt to scale back relief programs. Meanwhile, new payroll taxes took $2 billion from wage earners' salaries to finance the Social Security pension fund even though the government did not intend to begin paying benefits until 1941. Thus, the government substantially shrunk the volume of dollars it was putting into circulation. Starved for money, the economy and stock market crashed once again. Unemployment, which had fallen to 14 percent, shot back up to 20 percent. In the 1938 elections, voters vented their frustration by electing many conservative Democrats and Republicans who were opposed to the New Deal. These conservatives could not dismantle the New Deal reforms already in place, but they did block the passage of new programs.

Conclusion

Roosevelt first assumed the presidency in the same week that Adolf Hitler established a Nazi dictatorship in Germany. Some feared that Roosevelt, by accumulating more power into the hands of the federal government than had ever been held in peacetime, aspired to autocratic rule. Nothing of the sort happened. Roosevelt and the New Dealers not only strengthened democracy, they also inspired millions of Americans who had never before voted to go to the polls. Groups that had been marginalized—Eastern and Southern European ethnics, unskilled workers, American Indians—now believed that their political activism could make a difference.

Not everyone benefited to the same degree from the broadening of American democracy. Northern factory workers, farm owners, European American ethnics, and middle-class consumers (especially homeowners) were among the groups who benefited most. In contrast, the socialist and communist elements of the labor movement failed to achieve their radical aims. Unionization proceeded far more slowly among southern industrial workers, black and white. Sizable occupational groups, such as farm laborers and domestic servants, were denied Social Security benefits. Feminists made little headway. African Americans and Mexican Americans gained meager influence over public policy.

New Deal reforms might not have mattered to any group if the Second World War had not rescued the New Deal economic program. With government war orders flooding factories from 1941 on, the economy grew vigorously, unemployment vanished, and prosperity finally returned. The architects of the Second New Deal, who had argued that large government expenditures would stimulate consumer demand and trigger economic recovery, were vindicated.

The war also solidified the political reforms of the 1930s: an increased role for the government in regulating the economy and in ensuring the social welfare of those unable to help themselves; strong state support of unionization, agricultural subsidies, and progressive tax policies; and the use of government power and money to develop the West and Southwest. In contrast to progressivism, the reforms of the New Deal endured. Voters returned Roosevelt to office for unprecedented third and fourth terms, and these same voters remained wedded for the next 40 years to Roosevelt's central idea: that a powerful state would enhance the pursuit of liberty and equality.

26

America During the Second World War

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• The Road to War: Aggression and Response • Fighting the War in Europe and the Pacific • The War at Home: The Economy • The War at Home: Social Issues • Shaping the Peace

The Second World War vastly changed American life. The United States abandoned isolationism, moved toward military engagement on the side of the Allies, and emerged triumphant in a global war.

The mobilization for war finally lifted the United States out of the Great Depression. The nation's productive capacity—spurred by innovative technologies and by a new working relationship among government, business, labor, and scientific researchers—dwarfed that of all other nations and provided the economic basis for military victory.

At home, Americans reconsidered the meanings of liberty and equality. Although a massive publicity campaign initially stressed how wartime sacrifices would protect and preserve an "American way of life," the war raised questions. How would the nation, while striving for victory, reorder its economy, its politics, and the cultural and social patterns that had shaped racial, ethnic, and gender relationships during the 1930s? What processes of reconstruction, at home and abroad, might be required to build a prosperous and lasting peace?

The Road to War: Aggression and Response

The road to the Second World War began at least a decade before U.S. entry in 1941. In Japan, Italy, and Germany, economic stagnation created political conditions that nurtured ultranationalist movements bent on territorial expansion. Elsewhere in Europe and in the United States, economic problems made governments turn inward, concentrating on domestic recovery and avoiding foreign entanglements.

CHRONOLOGY

1931	Japanese forces seize Manchuria
1933	Hitler takes power in Germany
1936	Spanish Civil War begins ◆ Germany and Italy agree to cooperate as the Axis Powers
1937	Neutrality Act broadens provisions of Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1936 ◆ Roosevelt makes "Quarantine" speech ◆ Japan invades China
1938	France and Britain appease Hitler at Munich
1939	Hitler invades Poland; war breaks out in Europe ◆ Congress amends Neutrality Act to assist Allies
1940	Paris falls after German *blitzkreig* ◆ Roosevelt makes "destroyers-for-bases" deal with Britain ◆ Selective Service Act passed ◆ Roosevelt wins third term
1941	Lend-Lease established ◆ Roosevelt creates Fair Employment Practices Commission ◆ Roosevelt and Churchill proclaim the Atlantic Charter ◆ Congress narrowly repeals Neutrality Act ◆ Japanese forces attack Pearl Harbor (December 7)
1942	President signs Executive Order 9066 for internment of Japanese Americans ◆ General MacArthur driven from Philippines ◆ U.S. victorious in Battle of Midway ◆ German army defeated at Battle of Stalingrad ◆ Operation TORCH begins
1943	Axis armies in North Africa surrender ◆ Allies invade Sicily and Italy ◆ "Zoot suit" incidents in Los Angeles; racial violence in Detroit ◆ Allies begin drive toward Japan through South Pacific islands
1944	Allies land at Normandy (D-Day, June 6) ◆ Roosevelt reelected to fourth term ◆ Bretton Woods Conference creates IMF and World Bank ◆ Dumbarton Oaks Conference establishes plan for UN
1945	U.S. firebombs Japan ◆ Yalta Conference ◆ Roosevelt dies; Truman becomes president ◆ Germany surrenders ◆ Hiroshima and Nagasaki hit with atomic bombs ◆ Japan surrenders ◆ United Nations established

The Rise of Aggressor States

On September 18, 1931, Japanese military forces seized Manchuria and created Manchukuo, a puppet state of Japan. This action violated the League of Nations charter, the Washington Naval Treaties, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (see Chapter 24). Focused on domestic matters, the international community hesitated to oppose Japan's move. The Hoover-Stimson Doctrine (1931) announced a U.S. policy of "nonrecognition" toward Manchukuo, and the League of Nations condemned Japan's action. Japan simply ignored these rebukes.

Meanwhile, ultranationalist states in Europe also sought to alleviate domestic ills through military aggression. **Adolf Hitler's** National Socialist (Nazi) Party came to power in Germany in 1933 and instituted a fascist regime, a one-party dictatorial state. Hitler denounced the Versailles peace settlement of 1919, blamed Germany's problems on a Jewish conspiracy, claimed a genetic superiority for the "Aryan

race" of German-speaking peoples, and promised a new Germanic empire, the **Third Reich.** His regime withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and, in a blatant violation of the Versailles Treaty, dramatically boosted Germany's military budget. Another fascist government in Italy, headed by Benito Mussolini, also launched a military buildup and dreamed of empire. In October 1935 Mussolini's armies took over Ethiopia, an independent nation in Africa.

U.S. Neutrality

Many Americans wished to isolate their nation from these foreign troubles. Antiwar movies, such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1931), implicitly portrayed the First World War as a power game played by business and governmental elites, who used appeals to nationalism to dupe young soldiers into serving as cannon fodder. During the mid-1930s a Senate investigating committee headed by Republican Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota held well-publicized hearings and concluded that the United States had been maneuvered into the First World War to preserve the profits of bankers and munitions makers. By 1935, opinion polls suggested that Americans overwhelmingly opposed involvement in foreign conflicts.

To prevent a repetition of the circumstances that had supposedly drawn the United States into the First World War, Congress enacted neutrality legislation. The **Neutrality Acts** of 1935 and 1936 mandated an arms embargo against belligerents, prohibited loans to them, and curtailed travel by Americans on ships belonging to nations at war. The Neutrality Act of 1937 extended the embargo to include all trade with any belligerent, unless the nation paid in cash and carried the purchases away in its own ships.

Critics charged that foreswearing U.S. intervention actively aided expansionist powers such as Nazi Germany. In March 1936 Nazi troops seized the Rhineland, a German area from which the 1919 peace settlement had barred military installations. A few months later, Hitler and Mussolini began assisting General Francisco Franco, a fellow fascist seeking to overthrow Spain's republican government. Republicans in Spain appealed to nonfascist nations for assistance, but only the Soviet Union responded. Britain, France, and the United States, fearing that the conflict would flare into world war if more nations took sides, remained uninvolved.

Although the United States remained officially aloof, the **Spanish Civil War** precipitated a major debate. Conservative groups generally hailed Franco as a staunch anticommunist who supported the Catholic Church and social traditionalism in Spain. In contrast, the political left championed republican Spain and denounced the fascism sweeping Europe. Cadres of Americans, including the famed "Abraham Lincoln Brigade," crossed the Atlantic to fight alongside republican forces in Spain. American peace groups splintered over the question of how to avoid a wider war. Some continued to advocate neutrality and isolation, but others argued for intervention against the spread of fascism.

In October 1937 Roosevelt called for international cooperation to "quarantine" aggressor nations and suggested that Congress should modify its earlier Neutrality measures. Still suspicious of foreign entanglements, a majority of legislators refused to budge, even when this meant a victory by Franco in Spain's civil war.

The Mounting Crisis

As Americans debated how to deal with foreign aggression, Japan attacked China. In summer 1937, after an exchange of gunfire between Japanese and Chinese troops at the Marco Polo

Bridge near Beijing, Japanese armies invaded and captured Shanghai, Nanjing, Shandong, and Beijing. Japan demanded that China become subservient to Tokyo. It also proposed an **East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere** that would supposedly liberate Asian nations from Western colonialism and create a self-sufficient economic zone under Japanese leadership. In late 1937 Japanese planes sank the American gunboat *Panay* as it evacuated Americans from Nanjing. Japan's quick apology defused a potential crisis. Still, the *Panay* incident and Japan's brutality in occupying Nanjing—where perhaps 300,000 Chinese civilians were killed—alarmed Roosevelt.

Meanwhile, in Europe, Germany continued on the march. In March 1938 Hitler annexed Austria to the Third Reich and announced his intention to seize the Sudetenland, a portion of Czechoslovakia inhabited by 3.5 million people of German descent. In May FDR began a program of naval rearmament. French and British leaders, still hoping to avoid war, met with Hitler at the **Munich Conference** in September 1938. They acquiesced to Germany's seizure of the Sudetenland in return for Hitler's promise to seek no more territory. Hailed by Britain's prime minister as a guarantee of "peace in our time," the arrangement soon became a symbol of what interventionists called the "appeasement" of aggression.

In March 1939 Germans marched into Prague and, within a few months, annexed the rest of Czechoslovakia. In August 1939 Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, previously his bitter enemy. In a secret protocol, Hitler and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin agreed on a plan to divide up Poland and permit Soviet annexation of the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia).

The Outbreak of War in Europe

When Hitler's armies stormed into Poland on September 1, 1939, the Second World War officially began in Europe. Britain and France declared war against Germany, but these Allied powers could not mobilize in time to help Poland, which fell within weeks. Then an eerie calm settled over Europe during the winter.

In April 1940 a full-scale German *blitzkrieg,* or "lightning war," began moving swiftly, overrunning Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. The speed of the Nazi advance, employing massed tanks, motorized infantry, and air support, shocked Allied leaders in Paris and London. Britain barely managed to evacuate its troops, but not its equipment, from the French coastal town of Dunkirk, just before it fell to a German onslaught. Early in June, Italy joined Germany to form the Axis Powers, and they declared war on the Allies. Later in June, France fell, and Hitler installed a pro-Nazi government at Vichy in southern France. In only six weeks, Hitler's army had seized complete control of Europe's Atlantic coastline, from the North Sea south to Spain, where Franco remained officially neutral but decidedly pro-Axis. The Axis gained another member in September 1940, when Japan joined Germany and Italy in a Tripartite Pact.

The U.S. Response to War in Europe

Meanwhile, alarmed at the Nazi surge, Roosevelt pressured Congress to modify its neutrality legislation and called for other measures, "short of war," to help Britain and France. Late in 1939 Congress did lift the ban on selling military armaments to belligerents and substituted a cash-and-carry provision that permitted arms sales to

belligerents who could pay cash and use their own ships for transport. This arrangement minimized risks to American exporters. Because its naval forces dominated the Atlantic sea lanes, Britain primarily benefited from this change in policy. Congress also boosted military funding and passed the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, the first peacetime draft in U.S. history. Abandoning any pretense of neutrality, the United States also facilitated Britain's direct acquisition of U.S. "surplus" war materiel. In an attempt to broaden bipartisan support for these controversial measures, Roosevelt added pro-interventionist Republicans to his cabinet—Henry Stimson as secretary of war and Frank Knox as secretary of Navy.



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MAP 26.1 German Expansion at Its Height

This map shows the expansion of German power from 1938 through 1942. Which countries fell to German control? Why might Americans have differed over whether these moves by Germany represented a strategic threat to the United States?

Meanwhile, from August through October 1940 Germany's *Luftwaffe* (air force) conducted daily raids on British air bases and nearly knocked out its Royal Air Force (RAF). On the verge of a knock-out, however, Hitler suddenly changed strategy and ordered, instead, the bombing of London and other cities. The use of airpower against civilians in the Battle of Britain, as it was called, steeled Britain's resolve and aroused sympathy among Americans who heard of events during dramatic radio broadcasts from London. CBS's Edward R. Murrow, observed the writer Archibald MacLeish, "skillfully burned the city of London in our homes, and we felt the flames."

In September 1940 Roosevelt agreed to transfer 50 First World War-era naval destroyers to the British navy. In return, the United States gained the right to build eight naval bases in British territories in the Western Hemisphere. This "destroyers-for-bases" deal infuriated isolationists. The America First Committee, organized by General Robert E. Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck, and Company, launched a campaign to shore up isolationist sentiment in Congress and among the public. The aviator hero Charles A. Lindbergh, America First's most famous member, flew around the country attending pro-isolationist rallies that denounced aid to Britain.

Although those who favored staying out of the war were generally lumped together as **"isolationists,"** this single term obscures their ideological diversity. Some pacifists opposed all wars as immoral, even those against fascist regimes. Some political progressives disliked fascism but feared even more the centralization of governmental power that conducting a war would require in the United States. Some conservatives sympathized with the anticommunism of fascist states, and some Americans shared Hitler's anti-Semitism.

A current of anti-Jewish sentiment existed in the United States. In 1939 congressional leaders had quashed the Wagner-Rogers bill, which would have boosted immigration quotas in order to allow for the entry of 20,000 Jewish children otherwise slated for Hitler's concentration camps. Bowing to anti-Semitic prejudices, the United States adopted a restrictive refugee policy. The consequences of these policies became especially grave after June 1941, when Hitler established the death camps that would systematically exterminate millions of Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, communists, and anyone else whom the Nazis deemed unfit for life in the Third Reich and its occupied territories. In September 1941 Burton K. Wheeler of Montana created a special Senate committee to investigate whether Hollywood movies were being used to promote pro-war views. Some isolationists, pointing out that many Hollywood producers were Jewish, expressed blatantly anti-Semitic views.

To counteract the isolationists, those who favored supporting the Allies also organized. The Military Training Camps Association lobbied on behalf of the Selective Service Act. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, headed by William Allen White, a well-known Republican newspaper editor, organized more than 300 local chapters in just a few weeks. Similar to the isolationists, interventionist organizations mobilized a diverse group of supporters. All, however, sounded alarms that fascist brutality, militarism, and racism might overrun Europe and threaten America as well.

Presidential electoral politics in 1940 forced Roosevelt, nominated for a third term, to tone down his pro-Allied rhetoric. The Republicans nominated Wendell Willkie, a lawyer and business executive with ties to the party's liberal, internationalist wing. To differentiate his policies from Willkie's, the president played to the popular opposition to war, promising not to send American troops to fight in "foreign

wars." Once he had won an unprecedented third term, however, Roosevelt unveiled his most ambitious plan yet to support Britain's war effort.

An "Arsenal of Democracy"

Britain was nearly out of money, so the president proposed that the United States would now "lend-lease," or loan rather than sell, munitions to the Allies. Making the United States a "great arsenal of democracy," FDR claimed, would "keep war away from our country and our people." Congressional debate over the **Lend-Lease Act** was bitter, but it passed as House Resolution 1776 on March 11, 1941. When Germany turned its attention away from Britain and suddenly attacked in June its recent ally, the Soviet Union, Roosevelt extended Lend-Lease assistance to the communist regime of Joseph Stalin.

Roosevelt next began coordinating military strategy with Britain. He secretly pledged to follow a Europe-first approach if the United States were drawn into a two-front war against both Germany and Japan. Publicly, Roosevelt deployed U.S. Marines to Greenland and Iceland to free up the British forces that had protected these strategic Danish possessions after Germany's 1940 conquest of Denmark. In August 1941 Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met on the high seas off the coast of Newfoundland to forge a formal wartime alliance.

They agreed to an eight-point Atlantic Charter that disavowed territorial expansion, endorsed protection of human rights and self-determination, and pledged the postwar creation of a new world organization that would ensure "general security." Roosevelt also agreed to Churchill's request that the U.S. Navy convoy American goods as far as Iceland. Soon, in an undeclared naval war, Germany's formidable submarine packs began attacking U.S. ships.

By this time Roosevelt and his advisors believed that defeating Hitler would require U.S. entry into the war, but public support still lagged. Privately, the president likely hoped that Germany would commit some provocative act in the North Atlantic that would jar public opinion. The October 1941 sinking of the U.S. destroyer *Reuben James* did just that. Congress repealed its earlier neutrality legislation, but the vote was so close and debate so bitter that Roosevelt knew he could not yet seek a formal declaration of war.

Pearl Harbor

As it turned out, Japan, rather than Germany, sparked America's involvement. In response to Japan's 1937 invasion of China, the United States extended credit to China and curtailed sales of equipment to Japan. In 1939 the United States abrogated its Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Japan, an action that further restricted U.S. exports to the island nation. A 1940 ban on the sale of aviation fuel and high-grade scrap iron to Japan was also intended to slow Japan's military advances.

These measures did not halt Japanese expansion but made it seem even more imperative to Japan's leaders. As the European war sapped the strength of France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, Japanese militarists hoped to grab Europe's Asian colonies and incorporate them into Japan's own East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan therefore pushed deep into French Indochina, seeking the raw materials it could no longer buy from the United States, and prepared to launch attacks on Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia), and the Philippines.

Roosevelt expanded the trade embargo against Japan, promised further assistance to China, and accelerated a U.S. military buildup in the Pacific. In mid-1941 he froze all Japanese assets in the United States, effectively bringing under presidential control all commerce between the two countries, including trade in petroleum, which was vital to the Japanese economy and war effort. Faced with impending economic strangulation, Japanese leaders did not reassess their plan to create an East Asian empire. Instead, they began planning a preemptive attack on the United States. With limited supplies of raw materials, especially oil, Japan had little hope of winning a prolonged war. Japanese military strategists gambled that a surprise, crippling blow would limit U.S. capabilities and force U.S. concessions. General Hideki Tojo, who became Japan's prime minister, knew the risks but remarked, "sometimes a man has to jump with his eyes closed."

On December 7, 1941, Japanese bombers swooped down on **Pearl Harbor,** Hawaii, and destroyed much of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. Altogether, 19 ships were sunk or severely damaged; nearly 200 aircraft were destroyed or disabled; and 2,200 Americans were killed. The attack could have been worse. U.S. aircraft carriers, out to sea at the time, were spared, as were the base's fuel storage tanks and repair facilities. In a dramatic message broadcast by radio on December 8, Roosevelt decried the attack and labeled December 7 as "a date which will live in infamy," a phrase that served as a battle cry throughout the war. Japan had rallied Americans, not brought them to terms.

A few Americans charged that Roosevelt had intentionally provoked Japan in order to open a "back door" to war. They asked why the fleet at Pearl Harbor lay vulnerable, not even in a state of full alert. The actions and inactions of leaders, however, were more confused than devious. Intelligence experts, who had broken Japanese diplomatic but



San Diego Historical Society

Is That a War Plant? *This photo from 1945 shows an aircraft plant near San Diego bedecked with camouflage.*

not military code, expected Japan to move toward Singapore or other British or Dutch possessions in Asia. Intercepted messages, along with visual sightings of Japanese ships, seemed to confirm preparations for a strike in Southeast Asia (which did occur). American leaders doubted that Japan would risk a direct attack and doubted that Japan's military planners had the skill to plan an air attack of such distance.

On December 8, 1941, Congress declared war against Japan. Japan's allies, Germany and Italy, declared war on the United States three days later. Hitler mistakenly assumed that the fight against Japan would keep the United States preoccupied in the Pacific. The three Axis Powers drastically underestimated America's ability to mobilize swiftly and effectively.

Fighting the War in Europe and the Pacific

Initially, the war went badly for the Allies. German forces controlled most of Europe from Norway to Greece and had pushed eastward into the Soviet Union. Now they rolled across North Africa, and German submarines endangered Allied supply lines in the Atlantic. Japan seemed unstoppable in the Pacific, overrunning Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines and moving against the British in Burma and the Australians in New Guinea.

The United States had been unprepared for war, but new bureaucracies and technologies quickly guided a crash program for mobilization. The newly formed Joint Chiefs of Staff, consisting of representatives from each of the armed services, directed Roosevelt's strategy. The War Department's **Pentagon** complex, a giant, five-story, five-sided building, was completed in January 1943 after 16 months of around-the-clock work. In 1942 aircraft equipped with radar, a new technology developed in collaboration with Britain, proved effective against submarines, and during 1943 Germany's U-boat threat faded "from menace to problem," in the words of one U.S. naval commander. Perhaps most critical, a massive Allied code-breaking operation, based at Bletchley Park in England and employing 4,000 people, perfected decryption techniques for use against Germany's supposedly inviolable encoding machine. Decrypted German messages, called "Ultra" for "ultrasecret," gave the Allies a crucial advantage. Throughout the war, Germans never discovered that many of their decoded radio communications were being forwarded to Allied commanders—sometimes even before they had reached their German recipients. In the postwar world, the code-breaking effort would contribute to the development of computer technology.

Campaigns in North Africa and Italy

Military strategy divided the Allied powers. All agreed that their primary focus would be on Europe, and Roosevelt and his military strategists established a unified command with the British. Stalin pleaded with Roosevelt and Churchill to open a second front in Western Europe, by way of an invasion across the English Channel into France, to relieve pressure on the Soviet Union. Many of Roosevelt's advisers agreed: If German troops succeeded in knocking the Soviet Union out of the war, Hitler could turn his full attention toward Britain. Churchill, however, urged instead the invasion of French North Africa, in order to nibble away at the edges of enemy power.

At a meeting in Casablanca, Morocco, in January 1943, Roosevelt sided with Churchill. He argued that a cross-Channel invasion of France carried too many

risks at that time. To assuage Stalin's fear that his two allies might sign a separate peace with Hitler, however, Roosevelt and Churchill promised to remain in the fight until Germany agreed to an "unconditional surrender."

The North African operation, code-named TORCH, began with Anglo-American landings in Morocco and Algeria in November 1942. As TORCH progressed, the Soviets turned the tide of battle on the eastern front with a decisive victory at Stalingrad. The epic battle of Stalingrad, which lasted nearly six months between July 1942 and February 1943 and killed well over one million people, was perhaps the bloodiest in modern history.

Hitler poured reinforcements into North Africa but could stop neither TORCH nor the British drive westward from Egypt. In the summer of 1943 the Allies followed up their successful North African campaign by overrunning the island of Sicily and then fighting their way, slowly, northward through Italy's mountains.

Some U.S officials worried about the postwar implications of wartime strategy. Secretary of War Henry Stimson, for example, warned that the Allied campaigns through Africa and Italy might leave the Soviets dominant in most of Europe. Acting on this advice, Roosevelt finally agreed to set a date for the cross-Channel invasion that Stalin had long been promised.

Operation OVERLORD

Operation **OVERLORD**, directed by General Dwight D. Eisenhower began on June 6, 1944, D-Day. During the preceding months, probably the largest invasion force in history had assembled in England. Disinformation and diversionary tactics fooled the Germans into expecting a landing at the narrowest part of the English Channel rather than in the Normandy region. After several delays, because of the Channel's unpredictable weather, nervous commanders finally ordered the daring plan to begin. The night before, as naval guns pounded the Normandy shore, three divisions of paratroopers dropped behind enemy lines to disrupt German communications. Then at dawn, more than 4,000 Allied ships landed troops and supplies on Normandy's beaches. The first American forces to come ashore at Omaha Beach met especially heavy German fire and took enormous casualties, but the waves of invading troops continued. Only three weeks after D-Day, more than a million Allied personnel controlled the French coast and opened the long-awaited Second Front.

Just as the 1943 Battle of Stalingrad had reversed the course of the war in the East, so OVERLORD changed the momentum in the West. Within three months, U.S., British, and Free French troops entered Paris. After repulsing a desperate German counteroffensive in Belgium, at the Battle of the Bulge in December and January, Allied armies swept eastward, crossing the Rhine, and headed toward Berlin to meet up with westward-advancing Soviet troops.

As the war in Europe drew to a close, the horrors perpetrated by the Third Reich became fully visible to the world. Hitler's campaign of extermination, now called the Holocaust, killed more than 5 million Jews out of Europe's prewar population of 10 million. Hundreds of thousands more from various other groups were also murdered. Although only a military victory put an end to German death camps, the Allies might have saved thousands of Jews by helping them escape and emigrate. Allied leaders, however, worried about how to deal with large numbers of Jewish refugees, and they also claimed they could not spare scarce ships to

History Through Film

Saving Private Ryan (1998)

Directed by Steven Spielberg.
Starring Tom Hanks (Captain John Miller), Matt Damon (Private James Ryan), Harve Presnell (General George Marshall).

Hollywood marked the 50th anniversary of the Allied effort in the Second World War with a series of films about "the good war." Although *Saving Private Ryan* invited comparison with *The Longest Day* (1962) because of its depiction of the D-Day invasion of Normandy, Steven Spielberg's battlefield sequences represented a considerable advance in the art of waging war on film. His production team employed sophisticated computer graphics and nearly deafening Dolby sound to mount battle scenes so realistic that reviewers cautioned veterans susceptible to post-traumatic stress syndrome about watching the film.

The film also suggested the kind of family-centered melodrama that Spielberg had grafted onto the sci-fi genre in *E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982). A heroic squad led by Captain John Miller is trying to locate a single U.S. soldier, Private James Ryan, whose mother has already lost her three other sons to the war. The film poses the question of whether such a family-related mission legitimates and sanctifies the sacrifices of the Second World War. *Private Ryan* answers "yes" to this question.

The major body of the film carefully justifies the rescue mission. Although Captain Miller wonders if his dangerous assignment is simply a public relations stunt, he quickly drops this idea and pursues his mission with the gallantry required of a Hollywood-commissioned officer. Later, his platoon members debate the morality of risking eight lives to save one, but the cause of Ryan's mother always seems overriding. General George Marshall cuts off debate over the appropriateness of the Ryan mission by invoking an earlier war leader, Abraham Lincoln, who once faced a similar dilemma. When Miller's troops finally locate Private Ryan, the film's audience discovers that he is the kind of clean-cut Iowa farm boy who will stay with his would-be saviors rather than retreat to safety. Ryan survives, although most of his comrades perish. Captain Miller, dying, implores young Ryan to lead a "good" life to justify the sacrifice of so many others.

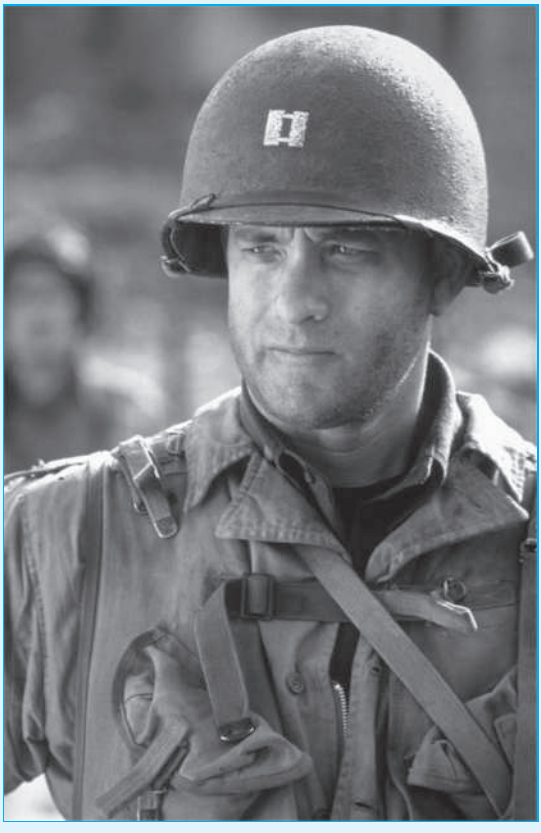
The film *Private Ryan,* in contrast to its characters, takes few risks. It secures its emotional investment in the rescue effort by bracketing the Second World War segments with two brief framing sequences in which an aging Ryan, along with his own

transport them to sanctuary. The Allies would, in 1945 and 1946, bring 24 German high officials to trial at Nuremberg for "crimes against humanity." Large quantities of money, gold, and jewelry that Nazi leaders stole from victims of the Holocaust and deposited in Swiss banks, however, remained concealed for more than 50 years. Not until 1997 did Jewish groups and the U.S. government force an investigation of the Swiss banking industry's holdings of stolen "Nazi gold," an inquiry that finally prompted some monetary restitution for victims' families.

With Hitler's suicide in April and Germany's surrender on May 8, 1945, the military foundations for peace in Europe were complete. Soviet armies controlled Eastern Europe; British and U.S. forces predominated in Italy and the rest of the

family, returns to Normandy and visits the grave of Captain Miller. In the final segment, Ryan's wife provides the final reassurance that the trauma of the Second World War served a good cause, because Private Ryan's own family life has justified Miller's sacrifice. "Tell me I've led a good life. Tell me I'm a good man," he implores his wife. After nearly three hours of this Spielberg epic, the question is rhetorical.

Saving Private Ryan, *which garnered four Academy Award nominations, celebrated the heroism of what popular historians called America's "greatest generation."*



David James/RAC/Dream Works/Getty Images

Mediterranean; Germany and Austria fell under divided occupation. Governmental leaders now needed to work out a plan for transforming these military arrangements into a comprehensive political settlement for the postwar era. Meanwhile, the war in the Pacific was far from over.

Seizing the Offensive in the Pacific

For six months after Pearl Harbor, Japan's forces steadily advanced. Singapore fell easily. Japan overwhelmed U.S. naval garrisons in the Philippines and on Guam and Wake islands. Filipino and American troops surrendered at Bataan

and Corregidor in the Philippines. Other Japanese forces headed southward to menace Australia and New Zealand.

When Japan finally suffered its first naval setback at the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942, Japanese naval commanders decided to hit back hard. They amassed 200 ships and 600 planes to destroy what remained of the U.S. Pacific fleet and to take Midway Island, from where they could assault Hawaii. U.S. Naval Intelligence, however, was monitoring Japanese codes and warned Admiral Chester W. Nimitz of the plan. Surprising the Japanese armada in the Battle of Midway, U.S. planes sank four Japanese carriers and destroyed a total of 322 planes.

Two months later, American forces splashed ashore at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. The bloody engagements in the Solomons continued for months on both land and sea, but they accomplished one major objective: seizing the military initiative in the Pacific. According to prewar plans, the war in Europe was to have received highest priority, but by 1943 the two theaters were receiving roughly equal resources.

The bloody engagements in the Pacific reinforced racial prejudices and brutality on both sides. Japanese leaders hoped the war would confirm the superiority of their divine Yamato race. Prisoners taken by the Japanese, particularly on the Asian mainland, were brutalized in almost unimaginable ways. The Japanese Army's Unit 731 tested bacteriological weapons in China and conducted horrifying medical experiments on live subjects. American propaganda images played on themes of racial superiority, portraying the Japanese people as animalistic subhumans. American troops often rivaled Japan's forces in their disrespect for the enemy dead and sometimes killed the enemy rather than take prisoners.

China Policy

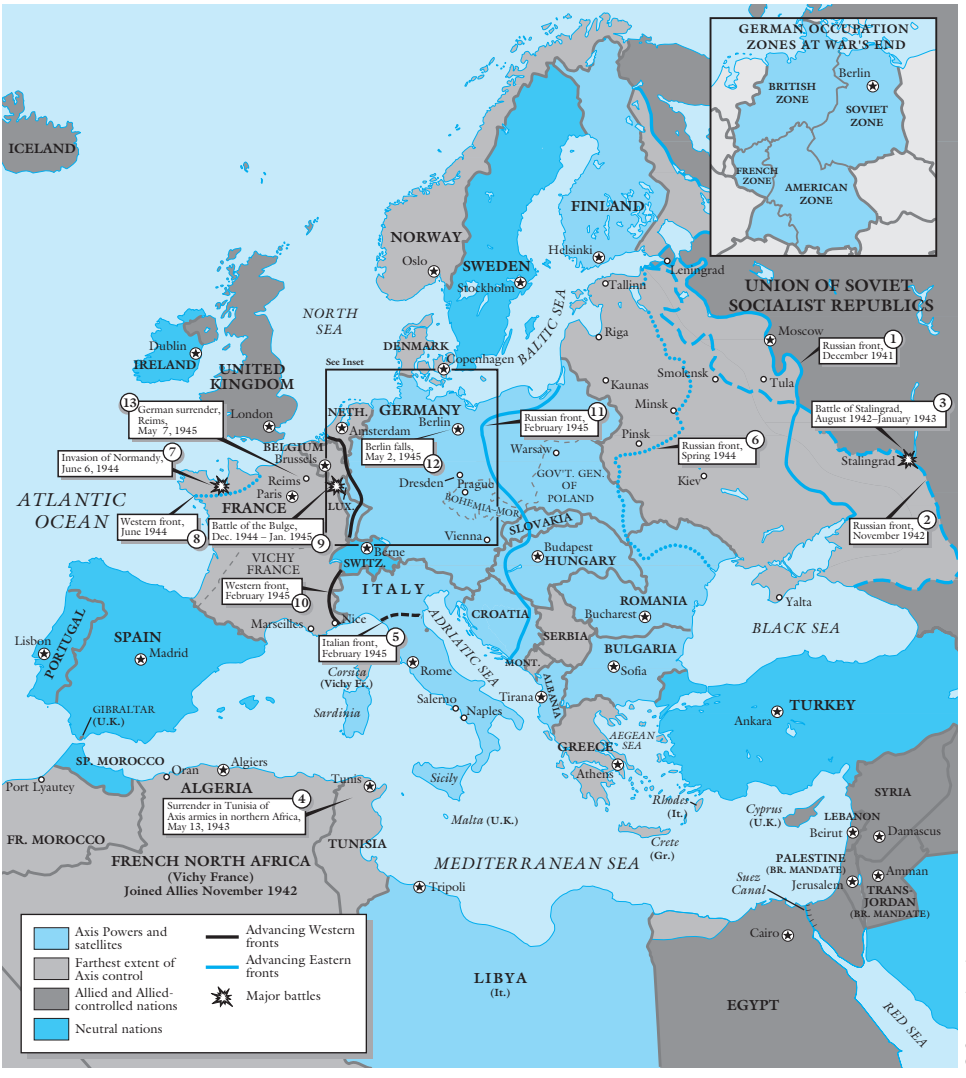
U.S. policymakers hoped that China would fight effectively against Japan and emerge after the war as a strong, united nation. Neither hope seemed realized. China was beset by civil war.

Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist government was incompetent and unpopular. It avoided engaging the Japanese invaders and still made extravagant demands for U.S. assistance. A growing communist movement led by Mao Zedong fought more effectively against the Japanese invaders, but U.S. policy continued to support Jiang as China's future leader. Meanwhile, Japan's advance into China continued, and in 1944 its forces captured seven key U.S. air bases in China.

U.S. Strategy in the Pacific

In contrast to the European Theater, no unified command guided the war in the Pacific, and military actions often emerged from compromise. General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the army in the South Pacific, favored an offensive launched from his headquarters in Australia through New Guinea and the Philippines and on to Japan. After Japan had driven him out of the Philippines in May 1942, he promised to return. Admiral Nimitz disagreed. He favored an advance across the smaller islands of the central Pacific, bypassing the Philippines. Unable to decide between the two strategies, the Joint Chiefs of Staff authorized both.

Both offensives moved forward, marked by fierce fighting and heavy casualties. MacArthur took New Guinea. Nimitz's forces liberated the Marshall Islands and the Marianas in 1943 and 1944. An effective radio communication system conducted by a Marine platoon of Navajo Indians, the Navajo Signal Corps, made a



© Cengage Learning

MAP 26.2 Allied Advances and Collapse of German Power

This map depicts the final Allied advances and the end of the war in Germany. Through what countries did Soviet armies advance, and how might their advance have affected the postwar situation? How was Germany divided by occupying powers, and how might that division have affected postwar politics?

unique contribution to success. Navajo, a language unfamiliar to Japanese intelligence officers, provided a secure medium for sensitive communications.

In late 1944 the fall of Saipan brought American bombers within range of Japan. The capture of the islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa during spring 1945 further shortened that distance. Okinawa illustrated the ferocity of the campaigns: 120,000 Japanese and 48,000 American soldiers died. Given these numbers, U.S. military planners dreaded the prospect of invading Japan's home islands.

Airpower looked more and more enticing. The results of the Allies' strategic bombing of Germany, including the destruction of such large cities as Hamburg and Dresden, were ambiguous, and military historians continue to debate whether the damage against military targets really offset the huge civilian casualties and the unsustainable losses of American pilots and aircraft. Nonetheless, U.S. strategists continued to claim that strategic bombing might provide the crucial advantage in the Pacific. In February 1944 General Henry Harley ("Hap") Arnold devised a plan for firebombing major Japanese cities. Bombers added to the horror of war and terrorized civilians, Arnold conceded, but when used "with the proper degree of understanding" could become "the most humane of all weapons" by shortening the war. Arnold's air campaign, operating from bases in China, turned out to be cumbersome. It was replaced by a more effective and lethal operation run from Saipan by General Curtis LeMay, whom Arnold dubbed "the Babe Ruth of bombers."

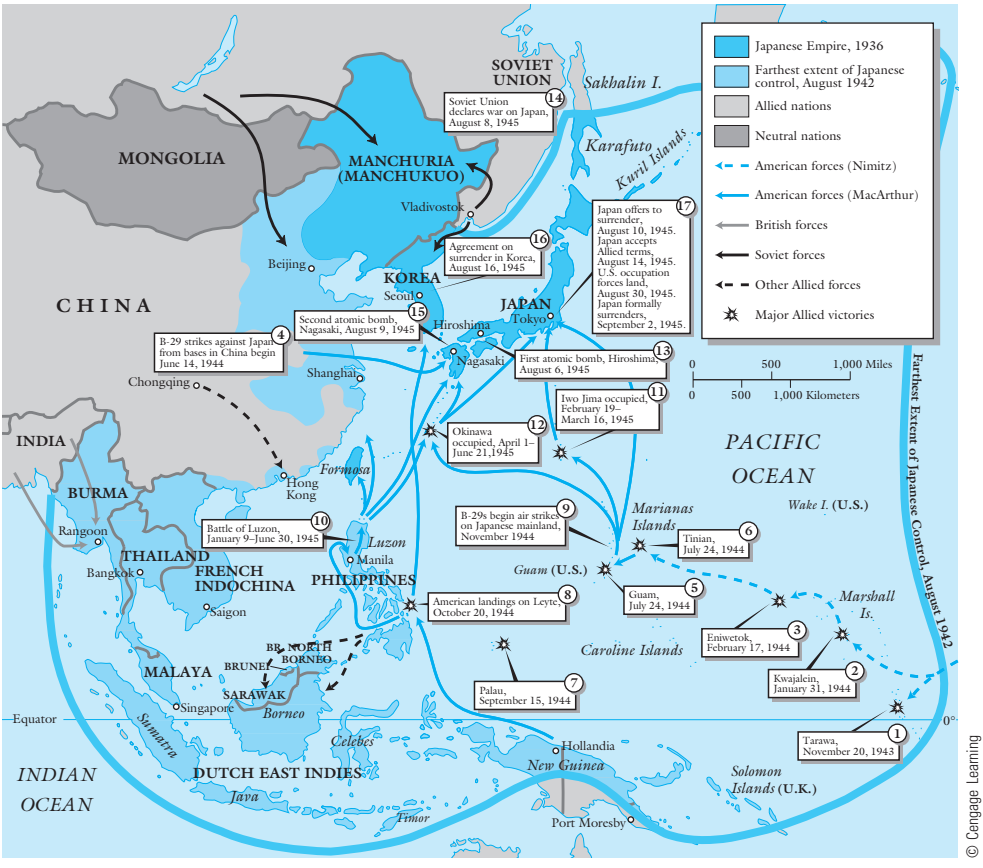
The official position on the incendiary raids against Japanese cities was that they constituted "precision" rather than "area" bombing. In actuality, the success of a mission was measured by the number of square miles it left scorched. The number of Japanese civilians killed in the raids is estimated to have been greater than Japanese soldiers killed in battle. Air attacks on Tokyo during the night of March 9/10, 1945, inaugurated the new policy. They leveled nearly a quarter of the city and incinerated more than 100,000 people. LeMay summarized his strategy: "Bomb and burn them until they quit."

By the winter of 1944–45, a combined sea and air strategy had emerged: The United States sought "unconditional surrender" by blockading Japan's seaports, bombarding its cities from the air, and invading only if necessary. Critics of the policy of unconditional surrender, which most Japanese assumed meant the death of their emperor, later suggested that it might have hardened Japan's determination to fight even after defeat had become inevitable. Defenders of the policy suggest that any softening of U.S. terms would have encouraged Japanese resistance. Whatever the case, American leaders decided that victory would only come through massive destruction.

A New President, the Atomic Bomb, and Japan's Surrender

On April 13, 1945, newspaper headlines across the country read "President Roosevelt Dead." After more than 13 years in office, the increasingly frail president had succumbed to a massive cerebral hemorrhage. Sorrow and shock spread through the armed forces, where many young men and women had hardly known any other president. Through diplomatic conference halls, Roosevelt's personal magnetism had often brought unity, if not always clarity; and among his many supporters, he had symbolized optimism through economic depression and war. Roosevelt had also accumulated a host of critics and enemies. He had defeated Republican Thomas E. Dewey in the 1944 presidential election by the smallest popular-vote margin in nearly 30 years, and Republicans had further cut into the Democrat's once overwhelming majorities in the House and Senate. Unaware of Roosevelt's precarious health, however, both Republican and Democrats assumed FDR would lead the United States into the postwar world.

Emerging from Roosevelt's shadow, the new president, Harry S Truman, seemed an unimposing presence. Born on a farm near Independence, Missouri, Truman served in France during the First World War, became a U.S. senator in 1934, and was tabbed as



MAP 26.3 Pacific Theater Offensive Strategy and Final Assault Against Japan

This map suggests the complicated nature of devising a war strategy in the vast Pacific region. What tactics did the United States use to advance upon and finally prevail over the island nation of Japan?

Roosevelt's running mate in 1944. Roosevelt offered an upper-class image of well-practiced and worldly charm. The blunt-spoken Truman proudly presented himself as a "little man from Missouri." He knew little about international affairs or about any informal understandings that Roosevelt may have made with foreign leaders.

Only after succeeding Roosevelt did Truman learn about events at Los Alamos, New Mexico. There, since the late 1930s, scientists from all across the world had been secretly working on a new weapon. Advances in theoretical physics had suggested that splitting the atom (fission) would release a tremendous amount of energy. Fearful that Germany was racing ahead of the United States in this research, Albert Einstein, a Jewish refugee from Germany, had urged Roosevelt to launch a secret program to build a bomb based on the latest atomic research. The government subsequently enlisted top scientists in the **Manhattan Project**, a huge, secret military operation. On July 16, 1945, the first atomic weapon was successfully tested at Trinity Site, near Alamogordo, New Mexico.

Truman and his top policymakers assumed that the weapon would be put to immediate use. They were eager to end the war, both because a possible land invasion of Japan might prove costly in American lives and because the Soviet Union was planning to enter the Pacific Theater, where Truman wished to limit Soviet power. Churchill called the bomb a "miracle of deliverance." Truman later publicly claimed that he had never lost a night's sleep over its use.

Privately, he and other U.S. officials admitted to more qualms. There was disagreement over where and how the bomb should be deployed. A commission of atomic scientists recommended a "demonstration" that would impress Japan with the bomb's power, yet cause no loss of life. General George C. Marshall suggested using it on purely military installations or only on manufacturing sites, after first warning away Japanese workers. Ultimately, the Truman administration discarded these options. The bomb, Secretary of War Henry Stimson said, had to make "a profound psychological impression on as many inhabitants as possible."

In the context of the earlier aerial bombardment of Japanese cities, dropping atomic bombs on the previously unbombed cities of **Hiroshima** and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, seemed only a small departure from existing policy. "Fat Man" and "Little Boy," as the two bombs were nicknamed, could be regarded as merely bigger, more effective firebombs. Atomic weapons did, however, produce a new level of violence. Colonel Paul Tibbets, who piloted the U.S. plane that dropped the first bomb, reported, "the shimmering city became an ugly smudge ... a pot of bubbling hot tar." Teams of U.S. observers who entered Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the aftermath were stunned at the instantaneous incineration of both human beings and manmade structures and shocked to contemplate the longer-lasting horror of radiation disease.

The mushroom clouds over Hiroshima and Nagasaki inaugurated a new "atomic age" in which dreams of peace mingled with nightmares of global destruction. Shortly after the bombing, Stimson wrote to Truman that atomic weapons represented "a new control by man over the forces of nature too revolutionary and dangerous to fit into old concepts." But in those late summer days of 1945 most Americans sighed with relief. News reports of August 15 proclaimed Japan's surrender, V-J Day. All across the nation people spontaneously flooded into the streets to celebrate the end of the Second World War.

The War at Home: The Economy

The success of the U.S. military effort depended on economic mobilization at home. This effort ultimately brought the Great Depression of the 1930s to an end and transformed the nation's government, its business and financial institutions, and its labor force.

Government's Role in the Economy

The federal bureaucracy nearly quadrupled in size during the war. New economic agencies proliferated. The most powerful of these, the War Production Board, oversaw the conversion and expansion of factories, allocated resources, and enforced production priorities and schedules. The War Labor Board adjudicated labor-management disputes. The War Manpower Commission allocated workers to various industries. The Office of Price Administration regulated prices to control inflation and rationed such scarce commodities as gasoline, rubber, steel, shoes, coffee, sugar, and meat. Although most of the controls were abandoned after the war, the concept of

greater governmental oversight of the economy survived, extending the New Deal's activist legacy that would begin to be called Keynesianism.

From 1940 to 1945 the U.S. economy expanded rapidly, and the gross national product (GNP) rose, year-by-year, by 15 percent or more. When Roosevelt called for the production of 60,000 planes shortly after Pearl Harbor, skeptics jeered. Yet within a few years the nation produced nearly 300,000 planes. The Maritime Commission oversaw the construction of millions of tons of new ships. The government's huge wartime spending provided a fiscal stimulus that eradicated the underconsumption of the Great Depression. The once stagnant economy sprang to life and spewed out prodigious quantities of all kinds of supplies, including 2.5 million trucks and 50 million pairs of shoes.

Striving to increase production, industry entered into a close relationship with government to promote scientific and technological research and development (R&D). Government money subsidized new industries, such as electronics, and transformed others, such as rubber and chemicals. Eventually, an Office of Scientific Research and Development contracted with universities and scientists for a variety of projects. Under this program, radar and penicillin (both British discoveries), rocket engines, and other new products were perfected for wartime use. The Manhattan Project, of course, provided the most dramatic example of the government's new involvement in military research. Refugees from Nazi tyranny contributed significantly to this scientific innovation.

Business and Finance

To finance the war effort, government spending rose from $9 billion in 1940 to $98 billion in 1944. In 1941 the national debt stood at $48 billion; by V-J Day it was $280 billion. With fewer goods to buy because of rationing, Americans invested in war bonds, turning their savings into tanks and planes. Although war bonds provided a relatively insignificant contribution to overall defense spending, they helped raise personal saving to record levels and gave those who purchased them a direct psychological and economic stake in the war effort.

As production shifted from autos to tanks, and from refrigerators to guns, consumer goods became scarce. Essentials such as food, fabrics, and gasoline were rationed and, consequently, were shared more equitably than before the war. Higher taxes on wealthier Americans redistributed income and narrowed the gap in wealth between the well-to-do and other citizens. War bonds, rationing, and progressive taxation encouraged a sense of shared sacrifice and helped ease the class tensions of the 1930s.

Even as the war fostered personal savings and lessened income inequality, however, it also facilitated the dismantling of some New Deal agencies most concerned with economic inequality. A Republican surge in the off-year elections of 1942—the GOP gained 44 seats in the House and 7 in the Senate—helped strengthen an anti-New Deal coalition in Congress. In 1943 legislators abolished the job-creation programs of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the National Youth Administration (NYA) (see Chapter 25). They also shut down the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) and Farm Security Administration (FSA), agencies that had assisted rural areas. As business executives flocked to Washington, D.C., to run the new wartime agencies, the Roosevelt administration adopted a relatively cooperative stance toward big business.

Corporations considered essential to wartime victory flourished under governmental subsidies. What was essential, of course, became a matter of definition. Coca-Cola and Wrigley's chewing gum won precious sugar allotments by arguing that GIs overseas "needed" to enjoy these products. Both companies prospered. The California-based Kaiser Corporation, whose spectacular growth during the 1930s had been spurred by federal dam contracts, now turned its attention to building ships, aircraft, and military vehicles such as the famous "Jeep." By 1943 Kaiser controlled nearly a third of the nation's military construction business and brought a boom to coastal California and Washington state. Federal subsidies and tax breaks enabled factories throughout the country to expand and retool. New manufacturing centers transformed the size and function of cities particularly in the South and West, areas previously dominated mostly by agricultural production.

The war concentrated power in the largest corporations. After Roosevelt ordered his justice department to postpone enforcement of antitrust laws, government lawyers tucked away long-planned legal cases, such as one against America's great oil cartel. Congressional efforts to investigate possible collusion in the awarding of large government contracts and to increase assistance to small businesses similarly made little headway. The top 100 companies, which had provided 30 percent of the nation's total manufacturing output in 1940, were providing 70 percent by 1943.



National Archives

Rita Hayworth Scraps Her Bumpers. *Movie stars aided the war effort by promoting the sale of war bonds and urging sacrifice. Here Hayworth urges Americans to scrap their unessential car parts.*

The Workforce During the early years of the military buildup, people who had scrounged for jobs during the Great Depression found work. Employment in heavy industry invariably went to men, and most of the skilled jobs went to whites. But as military service depleted the ranks of white males, women and minorities became more attractive candidates for production jobs. Soon, both private employers and public officials were encouraging women to go to work, southern African Americans to seek jobs in northern and western industrial cities, and Mexicans to enter the United States under the *bracero* guest farm worker program.

Hired for jobs never before open to them, women became welders, shipbuilders, lumberjacks, and miners. Women won places in prestigious symphony orchestras, and one Major League Baseball owner financed the creation of a women's league to give new life to the national pastime. Many employers hired married women, who before the war would have been lucky to obtain a position even in traditionally female occupations such as teaching. Minority women moved into clerical and sales jobs, where they had not previously been welcome. Most workplaces, however, continued to be segregated by sex.

The scope of unpaid labor, long provided primarily by women, also expanded. Volunteer activities such as Red Cross projects, civil defense work, and recycling drives claimed more and more of the time of women, children, and older people. As kids collected scrap and women rolled bandages, leisure time melted away and even seemed unpatriotic. Both in the home and in the workplace, women's responsibilities and workloads increased, but few complained. Government publications exhorted homemakers: "Wear it out, use it up, make it do, or do without." The Second World War became one in which people of all ages and occupations contributed either their fighting skills or their productive labor.

The new labor market improved the general economic position of African Americans. By executive order in June 1942, Roosevelt created the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), which aimed to ban discrimination in hiring. In 1943 his administration announced that it would not recognize as collective bargaining agents any unions that discriminated on the basis of race. The War Labor Board outlawed the practice of paying different wages to whites and nonwhites doing the same job. Before the war, the African American population had been mainly southern, rural, and agricultural; within a few years, a substantial percentage of African Americans had become northern, urban, and industrial. Although employment discrimination was hardly eliminated and many charged the FEPC with foot-dragging, twice as many African Americans held skilled jobs at the end of the war as at the beginning.

For both men and women, the war brought higher wages and longer work hours. Although the Roosevelt administration tried to limit wage increases during the war, overtime often raised paychecks. During the war, average weekly earnings for industrial workers rose nearly 70 percent. Farmers, who had suffered through many years of low prices and overproduction, doubled their income and then doubled it again.

The Labor Front The scarcity of labor during the war substantially strengthened the union movement. Union membership rose by 50 percent. Although women and workers of color joined unions in unprecedented numbers, the main beneficiaries of labor's new clout were the white males who still comprised the bulk of union workers.

Especially on the national level, the commitment of organized labor to female workers was weak. Not a single woman served on the executive boards of either the American Federation of Labor (AFL) or the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The International Brotherhood of Teamsters even required women to sign a statement that their union membership could be revoked when the war was over. Unions did fight for contracts stipulating equal pay for men and women who worked in the same job, but these benefited women only as long as they held "male" jobs. The unions' primary purpose in advocating equal pay was to maintain wage levels for the men who would return to their jobs after the war. During the first year of peace, as employers trimmed their workforces, both businesses and unions gave special preference to returning veterans and worked to ease women and minority workers out of their wartime positions. Unions based their policies on seniority and their wage demands on the goal of securing male workers a "family wage," one sufficient to support an entire family.

Some union leaders feared that hiring traditionally lower-paid workers (women and minorities) would jeopardize the wage gains and recognition that unions had won during the labor struggles of the 1930s. Early in the war, some union locals in the well-paying aircraft and shipbuilding industries refused to enroll African Americans and opposed the FEPC. As growing numbers of African Americans were hired, racial tensions in the workplace increased. All across the country—at a defense plant in Lockland, Ohio; at a transit company in Philadelphia; at a shipbuilding company in Mobile—white workers walked off the job to protest the hiring of African Americans, fearing that management might use the war as an excuse to erode union power.

The labor militancy of the 1930s, although muted by a wartime no-strike pledge, persisted into the 1940s. Wildcat strikes erupted among St. Louis bus drivers, Detroit assemblyline workers, and Philadelphia streetcar conductors. In Detroit, a group of aircraft workers, angry at the increasing regimentation of the production process, fanned out across a factory floor and cut off the neck ties worn by their supervisors. Despite the no-strike assurances, the United Mine Workers called a walkout in the bituminous coal fields in 1943. When the War Labor Board took a hard line against the union's demands, the strike was prolonged. The increasingly conservative Congress responded with the Smith-Connally Act of 1943, which empowered the president to seize plants or mines if strikes interrupted war production. Even so, the war helped to strengthen organized labor's place.

Assessing Economic Change

The economic impact of the war proved substantial. Most workplaces became more inclusive, in terms of gender and race, than ever before. So did labor unions. More people entered the paid labor force, and many earned more money than rationing restrictions on consumer goods allowed them to spend. Income inequality moderated. In a remarkable reversal of conditions during the Great Depression, jobs were plentiful and savings piled up.

More than anything else, the institutional scale of American life was transformed. Big government, big business, and big labor all grew even bigger during the war years. Science and technology forged new links of mutual interest among these three sectors and brought important new growth especially to still sparsely settled Western states. The old America of family farms, family-run businesses, and small towns did not disappear, but urban-based, bureaucratized institutions increasingly organized life.

A New Role for Government? The growth of governmental power during the war years prompted debates over what the role of government should be in a postwar world. During the heyday of the New Deal, a broad view of governmentally guaranteed "security" had resulted in programs such as the Social Security System and federal agencies to secure home mortgages and personal savings accounts. At the same time, community-based groups and labor unions had begun to build a set of cooperative social welfare and health institutions they hoped would create a vast, nonprofit security-safety net.

As military victory began to seem likely, President Roosevelt and his advisers talked of harnessing the national government's power behind expanded efforts to enhance personal security in everyday life. Some dreamed of extending wartime health-care and day-care programs into a more comprehensive social welfare system.

In 1944 FDR introduced his ideas for the kind of expansive social agenda that some European governments were embracing. Calling for a **"Second Bill of Rights,"** Roosevelt advocated measures to ensure that Americans could enjoy the "right" to regular employment, adequate food and shelter, appropriate educational opportunities, and guaranteed health care. Translating this vision into reality, its proponents generally assumed, would require the government to continue the kind of economic and social planning it was doing in wartime.

Large insurance companies and some private businesses, recognizing the popularity of security-focused proposals, came forward with private alternatives to governmental programs. Insurers expanded their earlier efforts to market individual policies that would pay in cases of sickness, disability, and unexpected death. At the same time, insurance companies worked with large corporations to develop group insurance plans that would make expansion of government programs less attractive and provide supplements for existing New Deal-era programs such as Social Security. Questions about what should be the proper role for government in providing social safety nets would roil American life in the postwar era.

The War at Home: Social Issues

Dramatic social changes accompanied the wartime mobilization. Many people, ordered by military service or attracted by employment, moved away from the communities where they had grown up. The war demanded sacrifice from all, and most Americans willingly obliged. The Roosevelt administration asked Americans to defend the "American way of life." Yet, for many, the war effort unsettled established patterns, and wartime ideals spotlighted the everyday inequalities that often clashed with rosy visions of the "American way."

Selling the War Hollywood studios and directors answered the government's call to mobilize the country for war. The film factories produced both commercial movies with military themes, such as *Destination Tokyo* (1943), and documentaries, such as the *Why We Fight* series, directed by Frank Capra. Capra contrasted images of wholesome and diverse Americans with harrowing portrayals of the tightly regimented lifestyles in the military-dominated dictatorships of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Other famous directors enlisted their skills: Darryl F. Zanuck filmed Allied troops in North Africa; John Ford recreated

the Pearl Harbor attack on film; Walt Disney's animation teams produced war-themed cartoons. Hollywood personalities sold war bonds, entertained the troops, and worked on documentaries for the Army's Pictorial Division.

Photojournalists helped bring the war into American living rooms. The U.S. Army, for example, accredited Margaret Bourke-White as a war correspondent, the first woman so designated. She saw action in North Africa, Italy, and Germany, and documented the horrors of the Nazi death camps in *Life* magazine. The government, however, exercised close censorship over all journalists' war photos. Any images that censors felt might damage morale at home never made it into publication.

The advertising industry, lacking many consumer products to sell, turned its talents to promoting the war effort. Roosevelt encouraged advertisers to sell the benefits of freedom. Most obliged, and "freedom" often appeared in the form of new washing machines, improved kitchen appliances, streamlined automobiles, a wider range of lipstick hues, and other consumer products. As soon as the fighting ended, wartime ads promised, technological know-how would transform the United States into a consumer's paradise.

In the spring of 1942 Roosevelt created the **Office of War Information (OWI)** to coordinate propaganda and censorship. Many New Deal Democrats saw it catering to advertisers who preferred imagery extolling the future joys of consumerism to ones promoting broader visions of liberty and equality. Some Republicans, by contrast, blasted the agency for cranking out crass political appeals for causes favored by Roosevelt's New Dealers. Despite criticism from both left and right, the OWI established branch offices throughout the world, published a magazine called *Victory,* and produced hundreds of films, posters, and radio broadcasts.

The work of illustrator Norman Rockwell exemplified wartime image making. Rockwell produced a set of paintings that visually represented the "Four Freedoms" for which President Roosevelt proclaimed Americans fought: Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear. Using his neighbors in Arlington, Vermont, as models, Rockwell depicted these values as rooted in small town America. Originally published in the *Saturday Evening Post* magazine in early 1943, the "Four Freedoms" came to adorn posters in millions of post offices and other buildings throughout the country.

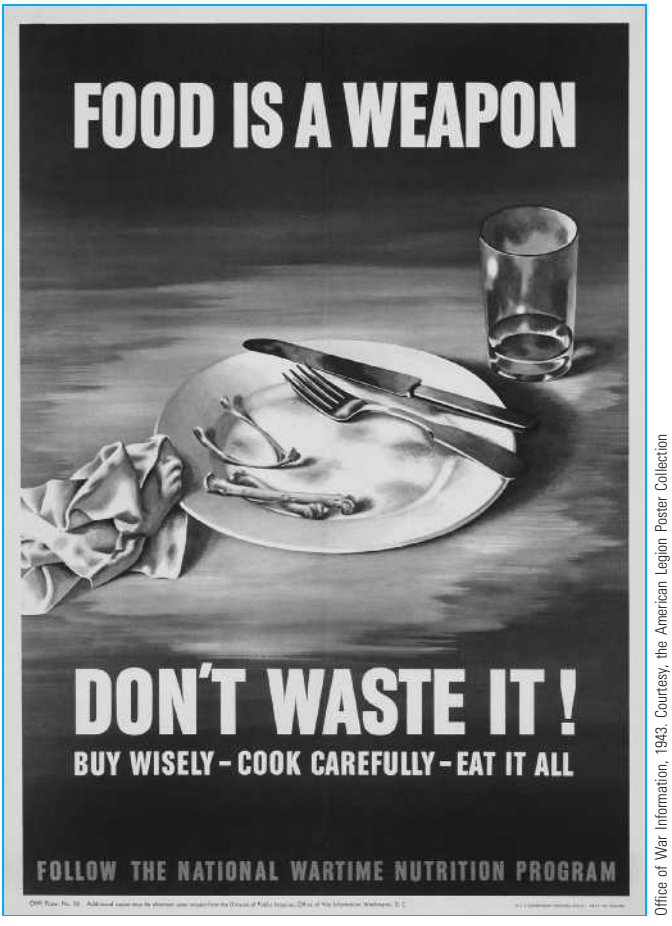
Gender Issues

The changes sweeping American life became apparent in a range of social issues affecting women.

The wartime United States called on women to serve their country as more than wives and mothers. Some 350,000 women volunteered for military duty during the war, and more than a thousand became pilots for the Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs). Not everyone approved. One member of Congress asked: "What has become of the manhood of America?" Most in Congress, however, supported the creation of a woman's corps in each branch of the military—an innovation proposed but never adopted during the First World War.

Even as the war narrowed gender differences in employment, widespread imagery frequently framed the changes as temporary. Women's expanded participation

"Food Is a Weapon." *This 1943 poster shows the Office of War Information skillfully extending its major theme: that people at home could assist the war by watching what they ate. The poster's final directive suggests how the war made better nutrition both a personal and patriotic goal.*



Office of War Information, 1943. Courtesy, the American Legion Poster Collection

in the workplace was often portrayed as a short-term sacrifice intended, ultimately, to preserve and protect their "natural" sphere in the home. Stereotypes abounded. A typical ad suggesting that women take on farm work declared: "A woman can do anything if she knows she looks beautiful doing it."

An Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution continued to be debated both within Congress and around the country. Should the Constitution guarantee women "equal" status with men, or should the law continue to allow women some kind of "protected" status in view of their special vulnerability to exploitation? The war raised but did not settle this issue, over which even women's advocates were split.

In some ways, the war may have even widened the symbolic gap between notions of femininity and masculinity. Military culture fostered a "pin-up" mentality toward women. Tanks and planes were decorated with images of female sexuality, and the home-front entertainment industry, led by Hollywood, promoted its glamorous female stars as anxious to "please" their "boys" in the military. Wartime popular culture often associated masculinity with misogyny. After the war, tough-guy fiction, on display in Mickey Spillane's "Mike Hammer" series of detective novels, portrayed female sexuality as both alluring and threatening to men.

Public policymaking sometimes worked to reinforce gender divisions. The military assigned most of the women who joined the armed services to stateside clerical and supply jobs. Day-care programs for mothers working outside their homes received reluctant and inadequate funding. The thousands of child-care centers set up during the conflict filled only a fraction of the need and were swiftly shut down after the war. Meanwhile, social scientists oftentimes blamed mothers for an apparent spike in rates of juvenile delinquency and divorce during the war years.

Racial Issues Messages about race were as ambiguous as those related to gender. Before the war, America had been a sharply segregated society. Disenfranchised in the South, African Americans in the rest of the country experimented with how best to use the political power they had gained during the 1930s. In California and throughout the Southwest, residents who traced their ancestry back to Mexico, including many who had long resided in the United States, also worked to address a wide range of discriminatory policies in employment, education, and housing.

President Roosevelt refused to abandon the policy of segregation in the armed forces. Although the Army integrated Latino and American Indian soldiers, along with those from various European ethnic groups, into its combat units, military leaders refused to do the same for people of African and Japanese ancestry. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and others pressed for integration, but Roosevelt's top advisers remained opposed to change. Desegregation of the armed forces found special opposition among politically powerful white Democrats in the South, who feared it might lead to broader demands for desegregation at home. The army even adopted the scientifically absurd practice of segregating donated blood into separate stores of "white" and "black" plasma. African Americans were relegated to inferior, often highly dangerous, jobs and excluded from combat duty. Toward the end of the war, when troop shortages forced the administration to put African American units into combat, they performed with distinction.

Meanwhile, on the home front, volatile social issues continued to simmer. As the wartime production system created more jobs, vast numbers of people from the rural South, including several hundred thousand African Americans, moved to cities such as Los Angles and Detroit. People already living in these areas often chafed at the influx of newcomers, who competed with them for jobs and housing and placed greater demands on public services such as transportation, education, and recreational facilities.

Social strains sometimes flared into violence. This escalation most often occurred in overcrowded urban spaces, where diverse populations and cultures already competed and clashed. In Detroit, in June 1943, conflict between white and black youth at an amusement park rapidly spiraled into a multiple-day riot. The violence left nearly 40 people, most of them African American, dead, injured hundreds, and inflicted millions of dollars worth of damage to property.

Racial disturbances were not restricted to confrontations between whites and blacks. In Los Angeles, complicated and long-standing ethnic tensions erupted in the "Zoot Suit Riots" of 1943. Soldiers and sailors from nearby military bases attacked young Mexican American and African American men wearing zoot suits: flamboyant outfits featuring oversized coats and trousers. Violence only escalated as the city's police force entered the fray, often beating and arresting Mexican

Americans. A military order restricting servicemen to their bases finally helped quell the disorder.

Even when wartime tensions did not produce the level of violence seen in Detroit and Los Angeles, the Second World War highlighted long-standing social divisions. For many Native Americans, for instance, the wartime years increased the pressures associated with longer-term patterns of migration and assimilation. Approximately 25,000 Indian men and several hundred Indian women served in the armed forces. Tens of thousands of other American Indians, many leaving their reservations for the first time, found wartime work in urban areas such as Rapid City, Minneapolis, Flagstaff, and Billings. Many Indians moved back and forth between city and reservation, seeking to live in two significantly different worlds.

Internment of Japanese Americans

People of Japanese descent faced a unique situation. Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, fear of sabotage by pro-Japanese residents engulfed West Coast communities. One military report claimed that a "large, unassimilated, tightly knit racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom, and religion … constituted a menace" that justified extraordinary action.

Although lacking evidence of disloyalty, the president in February 1942 issued Executive Order 9066, directing the relocation and **internment** of first- and second-generation Japanese Americans (called Issei and Nisei, respectively) at inland camps. Nearly 130,000 people were affected. Significantly, in Hawaii, where the presumed danger of subversion might have seemed much greater, military rule with intensive surveillance prevailed after the Pearl Harbor attack, and internment took place. There, people of Japanese ancestry constituted nearly 40 percent of the population and were essential to the economy. Some Italian and German Americans were also closely watched and several thousand were interned in camps across America, but these numbers paled beside the comprehensive internment of Japanese Americans.

Forced to abandon their possessions or sell them for a pittance, Japanese American evacuees were confined in flimsy barracks, enclosed by barbed wire and under armed guard. These camps, often located in remote locations such as Heart Mountain, Wyoming, offered only the barest accommodations: cots for beds, a low daily ration for food, overcrowded rooms. Two-thirds of the detainees were native-born U.S. citizens, and many gave up thriving agricultural enterprises that they had built in California over a generation. Some evacuated so quickly that they arrived in their camps with only the clothes they wore, hardly enough for cold-winter climates.

Internment was controversial. Civil libertarians charged that the measure was militarily unnecessary and unconstitutional. In December 1944, however, a divided U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Japanese relocation in *Korematsu* v. *U.S.* (1944). In 1988 Congress officially apologized for the internment, revealed that military investigators at the time had reported no cases of subversion, and authorized a cash indemnity for anyone who had been confined in the camps.

Challenging Racial Inequality

The global fight against fascism proved helpful to movements that were working for greater racial equality in America. Nazism, based on the idea of racial inequality,

exposed the racist underpinnings of older social-science research. The view that racial difference was not the result of biology but of culture gained wider acceptance during the war. "The Huns have wrecked the theory of the master race," stated an Alabama politician. The idea that a democracy could bridge racial differences provided a basis for the postwar struggle against discrimination.

The *Amsterdam News,* a Harlem newspaper, called for a **"Double V" campaign**—victory at home as well as abroad. In January 1941 the labor leader A. Philip Randolph promised to lead tens of thousands of black workers in a march on Washington to demand more defense jobs and integration of the military forces. President Roosevelt feared the event would embarrass his administration and urged that it be canceled. Randolph's persistence ultimately forced Roosevelt to create the FEPC. Although this new agency gained little effective power, its very existence helped advance the ideal of nondiscrimination.

Northward migration of African Americans accelerated demands for equality. Drawn by the promise of wartime jobs, nearly 750,000 African Americans relocated to northern cities, where many sensed the possibility of political power for the first time in their lives. They found an outspoken advocate of civil rights within the White House. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt repeatedly antagonized southern Democrats and members of her husband's administration by her advocacy of civil rights and her participation in integrated social functions.

Particularly in urban areas, civil rights groups emerged from the wartime years with a strong base from which to fight for jobs and political power. Founded in 1942, the interracial Committee (later, Congress) on Racial Equality (CORE) devised



Buyenlarge/Archive Photos/Getty Images

Internment of Japanese Americans. *Taken by the famous photographer Ansel Adams, this image shows internees walking in the snow at a remote relocation camp.*

new ways of opposing discrimination. CORE activists staged sit-ins to integrate restaurants, theaters, and other public facilities, especially in Washington, D.C.

In California and throughout the Southwest during the war years, Latino organizations also highlighted the irony of fighting overseas for a nation that denied equality at home. They challenged the United States to live up to its democratic rhetoric. Approximately 500,000 Mexican Americans served, often with great distinction, in the military. Not wishing to anger this constituency, the Roosevelt administration also feared discrimination might harm the credibility of its Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America (see Chapter 25). The president's Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs allocated federal money to train Spanish-speaking workers for wartime employment, improve education in barrios, and provide high school graduates with new opportunities to enter college.

Although legal precedents in California and other Southwestern states classified Latinos as "white," actual practices, especially in public schools, usually discriminated against people of Mexican descent. Organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) mounted several drives against such discrimination during the war, and they prepared for greater challenges in the postwar period.

People of Japanese descent, despite their internment, also laid the basis for postwar campaigns for equality. The courage and sacrifice of Japanese American soldiers became legendary. The 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, segregated units, suffered stunning causalities, often while undertaking extremely dangerous combat missions in Europe. Moreover, in the Pacific Theater, 6,000 Japanese-American members of the Military Intelligence Service provided invaluable service.

In the face of divisive issues and calls for greater equality in American life, wartime propaganda stressed national unity and contrasted America's "melting pot" ethos with German and Japanese obsessions about racial "purity." Wartime movies, plays, radio dramas, and music fostered a sense of national community by celebrating cultural diversity. As members of each of America's racial and ethnic groups distinguished themselves in the military, the claim of equality—"Americans All," in the words of a wartime slogan—took on greater moral force. Imagery extolling social solidarity and freedom provided a foundation for the antidiscrimination movements of the decades ahead.

Shaping the Peace

Even before the war ended, U.S. policymakers began considering postwar peace arrangements. The Truman administration built on Roosevelt's wartime conferences and agreements to shape the framework of international relations for the next half-century.

International Organizations

In the Atlantic Charter of 1941, and at a conference in Moscow in October 1943, the Allied powers had pledged to create a replacement for the defunct League of Nations. Internationalist-minded Americans hoped the new **United Nations (UN)** would offer a more realistic version of Woodrow Wilson's vision for a world body that could deter aggressor nations and promote peaceful political change. At the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington in August 1944, and at a subsequent meeting in San

Francisco in April 1945, the Allies worked out the UN's organizational structure. It included a General Assembly, in which each member nation would be represented and cast one vote. A smaller body, the Security Council, would include five permanent members from the Allied coalition—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France, and Nationalist China—and six rotating members. The Security Council would have primary responsibility for maintaining peace, but permanent members could veto any council decision. A UN Secretariat, headed by a Secretary General, would handle day-to-day business, and an Economic and Social Council would sponsor measures to improve living conditions throughout the world.

The U.S. Senate, with only two dissenting votes, approved joining the UN in July 1945. This victory for internationalism contrasted sharply with the Senate's 1919 rejection of membership in the League of Nations. Opponents of Wilson's dream had worried that internationalist policies might limit the ability of the United States to pursue its own national interests. Following the Second World War, however, a newly powerful United States appeared able to dominate international organizations such as the UN. It seemed unlikely that decisions by it or other international bodies could hamstring U.S. foreign policy. In addition, most U.S. leaders recognized that the war had partly resulted from the lack of a coordinated, international response to aggression during the 1930s.

Eleanor Roosevelt, the former first lady and a committed social activist, played a prominent role in building the new postwar internationalist ethos. A delegate to the first meeting of the UN's General Assembly, she chaired its Commission on Human Rights and guided the drafting of a **Universal Declaration of Human Rights,** adopted by the UN in 1948. The document set forth "inalienable" human rights and freedoms as cornerstones of international law.

Economic agreements also illustrated a growing acceptance of international organizations. They sought to remedy some of the causes of international instability that had touched off the Great Depression and the war. At the Bretton Woods (New Hampshire) Conference of 1944, assembled nations created the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which was designed to maintain stable currency exchange rates by ensuring that each nation's currency could be converted into any other national currency at a fixed rate. The U.S. dollar, initially pegged at a value of $35 dollars for an ounce of gold, would provide the lynchpin. Exchange rates could be altered only with the agreement of the IMF.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, later renamed the World Bank, was also created to provide loans to war-battered countries and promote the resumption of world trade. In 1948 the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established the institutional groundwork for breaking up closed trading blocs and implementing free and fair trade agreements.

Spheres of Interest and Postwar Settlements

In wartime negotiations, Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt all had assumed that powerful nations—their own—would enjoy special "spheres of influence" in the postwar world. As early as January 1942 the Soviet ambassador to the United States reported to Stalin that Roosevelt had tacitly assented to Soviet postwar control over the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In 1944 Stalin and Churchill agreed, informally and secretly, that Britain would continue its

sway over Greece and that the Soviets could control Romania and Bulgaria. U.S. leaders, meanwhile, assumed that Latin America would remain within their sphere of influence. Roosevelt sometimes seemed to imply that he accepted Stalin's goal of having states friendly to the USSR on his vulnerable western border, but at the Tehran Conference of November 1943 he also told Stalin that U.S. voters of Eastern European descent expected their homelands to be independent after the war.

Historians continue to differ on precisely how Roosevelt might have intended to reconcile his contradictory positions on a postwar Soviet sphere of influence. As long as the Soviet military remained essential to Germany's defeat—and Roosevelt also wanted the Soviet Union to join the war against Japan—the president struck a conciliatory tone with Stalin. After Roosevelt's death, however, the Soviets' powerful position in Eastern Europe became a focus of bipolar tensions.

Early in the war, both nations had urged the dismemberment and deindustrialization of a defeated Nazi Germany. At a conference held at Yalta, in Ukraine, in February 1945, the three Allied powers agreed to divide Germany into four zones of occupation (with France as the fourth occupying force). Later, as relations among the victors worsened, this temporary division of Germany hardened into a Soviet-dominated zone in the east and the other three zones to its west. Berlin, the German capital, also was divided, even though the city itself lay totally within the Soviet zone.

The future of Poland also posed difficult issues. At Yalta, the Soviets agreed to permit free elections in postwar Poland and to create a government "responsible to the will of the people," but Stalin believed that the other Allied leaders had tacitly accepted Soviet dominance over Poland. The agreement at Yalta was ambiguous at best. The war was still at a critical stage, and the western Allies chose to sacrifice clarity in order to encourage cooperation from the Soviets. After Yalta, the Soviets assumed that Poland would be in their sphere of influence, but many Americans charged the Soviets with bad faith for failing to hold free elections and for not relinquishing control.

In Asia, military realities likewise influenced postwar settlements. At Tehran and again at Yalta, Stalin pledged to send troops to fight Japan as soon as Germany surrendered. The first U.S. atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima, however, just one day before the Soviets were to enter the Pacific Theater of the war, and the United States assumed total charge of the occupation and postwar reorganization of Japan. The Soviet Union and the United States divided Korea, which had been controlled by Japan, into separate zones of occupation. Here, as in Germany, these zones would later emerge as two antagonistic states (see Chapter 27).

The fate of the European colonies seized by Japan in Southeast Asia was another contentious issue. Most U.S. officials preferred to see the former British and French colonies become independent nations, but they also worried about the left-leaning politics of many anticolonial nationalist movements. As the United States developed an anticommunist foreign policy after the end of the war, it moved to support British and French efforts to reassemble their colonial empires.

In the Philippines, the United States honored its long-standing pledge to grant independence. A friendly government that agreed to respect American economic interests and military bases took power in 1946 and enlisted American advisers to help suppress leftist rebels. In 1947 the United Nations designated the Mariana,

Caroline, and Marshall Islands as the "Trust Territories of the Pacific" and authorized the United States to administer their affairs.

Although the nations of Latin America had been only indirectly involved in military conflict and peace negotiations, the war directly affected U.S. relations with them. During the 1930s the Roosevelt administration's Good Neighbor Policy had helped improve U.S.–Latin American relations. The Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), created in 1937, further expanded cultural and economic ties. After the German invasion of Poland in 1939, Latin American leaders stood nearly united behind the Allies. After U.S. entry into the war, at a conference in Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, every Latin American country except Chile and Argentina broke diplomatic ties with the Axis governments. When naval warfare in the Atlantic severed commercial connections between Latin America and Europe, Latin American countries became critical suppliers of raw materials to the United States.

Wartime conferences avoided clear decisions about creating a Jewish homeland in the Middle East. The Second World War prompted survivors of the Holocaust and Jews from around the world to take direct action. Zionism, the movement to found a Jewish state in Palestine, attracted thousands of Jews to the Middle East. They began to carve out, against the wishes of Palestinians and other Arab people, the new nation of Israel.

Conclusion

The world changed dramatically during the Second World War. For the United States, wartime mobilization ended the Great Depression and focused attention on international concerns. The war brought victory over dictatorial, expansionist regimes, and the United States emerged as the world's preeminent power.

At home, a more powerful national government, concerned with preserving national security, assumed nearly complete power over the economy. New, cooperative ties were forged among government, business, and scientific researchers. These sectors worked together to provide the seemingly miraculous growth in productivity that ultimately won the war.

The early 1940s sharpened debates over liberty and equality. Many Americans saw the Second World War as a struggle to protect and preserve liberties they already enjoyed. Others, inspired by a struggle against racism and injustice abroad, insisted that a war for freedom overseas should extend to the redress of inequalities at home.

News of Japan's 1945 surrender prompted joyous celebrations throughout the United States. Still, Americans remained uncertain about postwar policies at home, where the dislocations of war would give way to the uncertainties of peace. They also worried about the recovery of Europe and relations with their wartime ally, the Soviet Union. And of course, the nation now faced the future without the charismatic leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

27

The Age of Containment, 1946–1953

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Creating a National Security State, 1945–1949 • The Era of the Korean War, 1949–1952 • Pursuing National Security at Home • Postwar Social-Economic Policymaking • Signs of a Changing Culture • The Election of 1952

The second world war, popularly portrayed as a struggle to preserve the "American way of life," ended up transforming it. The fight against fascism propelled foreign-policy issues to the forefront of American politics, and postwar tensions kept them there. As combat operations gave way to friction between the United States and the Soviet Union, U.S. leaders overhauled military strategy. They claimed broad powers for the executive branch and called for a global stand against communism. The effort to shore up "national security" soon translated into an ever-larger military establishment and an economic system that could supply its needs.

At home, debate over increased governmental power generated immediate controversy. Wartime production, overseen by government bureaucracies in Washington, had finally ended the economic downturn of the 1930s. Should Washington help organize a postwar economy that satisfied household as well as military consumption? Should a more powerful and active government in Washington assist movements seeking greater equality? Could such a government limit security threats at home without endangering liberty? Questions such as these enlivened, and embittered, public debate in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Creating a National Security State, 1945–1949

The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union proved little more than a brief marriage of convenience. Defeating the Axis had forced the two nations to cooperate, but collaboration began unraveling even before war's end. A **Cold War** between the United States and the Soviet Union would feature mutual

CHRONOLOGY

1946	Employment Act passed ◆ Republicans gain control of Congress
1947	Truman Doctrine announced ◆ George Kennan's "Mr. X" article published ◆ National Security Act passed ◆ Marshall Plan proposed ◆ Taft-Hartley Act passed
1948	Marshall Plan adopted ◆ Berlin Airlift begins ◆ Truman wins reelection
1949	NATO established ◆ Soviet Union explodes atomic device ◆ Truman unveils his Fair Deal
1950	NSC-68 adopted ◆ Korean War begins
1951	Truman removes General MacArthur as commander in Korea ◆ *Dennis* decision in Supreme Court
1952	National Security Agency (NSA) created ◆ Republican Dwight Eisenhower elected president

suspicion and massive military buildup but few direct confrontations between the two superpowers.

Onset of the Cold War

Historians have dissected the onset of the Cold War from different perspectives. A familiar view focuses on Soviet expansionism, stressing a historically rooted appetite for new territory, an ideological zeal to spread communism, or some interplay between the two. According to this interpretation, the United States needed to adopt firm, anti-Soviet policies. Other historians—generally called revisionists—see the Soviet Union's desire to secure its borders as an understandable response to the invasion of its territory during both world wars. The United States, in this view, should have tried to reassure the Soviet Union (USSR), pursing conciliatory measures instead of ones that intensified Soviet fears. Still other scholars maintain that assigning blame obscures how clashing interests and differing political cultures made postwar conflict between the two superpowers unavoidable.

Almost every view of the Cold War assigns the presidential administration of Harry Truman a central role. Truman initially hoped to bargain productively with the Soviet Union and its premier, Joseph Stalin. As differences between the former allies sharpened, however, Truman came to distrust Stalin and listen to hardline, anti-Soviet advisers.

The atomic bomb became an important source of friction. At the Potsdam Conference of July 1945, Truman had casually told Stalin, without mentioning the bomb, about a new U.S. weapon of "unusual destructive force." Well informed by Soviet intelligence operations about the Manhattan Project, Stalin calmly advised Truman to make "good use" of this weapon. Stalin also ordered Soviet scientists, with far less calm, to intensify their nuclear weapons program. Truman likely hoped that the bomb would scare the Soviets—and it did. Historians debate whether it frightened Moscow into more cautious behavior or made it a more aggressive Cold War adversary.

As atomic warfare against Japan gave way to atomic diplomacy with the Soviet Union, U.S. leaders differed over how to proceed. One group, recognizing the Soviets would soon possess atomic weapons, urged Truman to share technology with the USSR in hopes of forestalling a future arms race. Hardliners, fearing Soviet intentions and underestimating their nuclear knowledge, rejected this approach.

In 1946 Truman authorized Bernard Baruch, his special representative at the United Nations, to explore ways of controlling atomic power. The Baruch Plan proposed that the United States abandon its atomic weapons if the USSR met certain conditions. These included the Soviets agreeing to outside monitoring of their weapons program and surrendering their veto power in the UN on atomic issues. Soviet leaders, after dismissing the Baruch Plan, counter-proposed that the United States destroy its atomic weapons as the first step toward any bargain. The United States rejected this idea. Both nations used the deadlock to justify a stepped-up arms race.

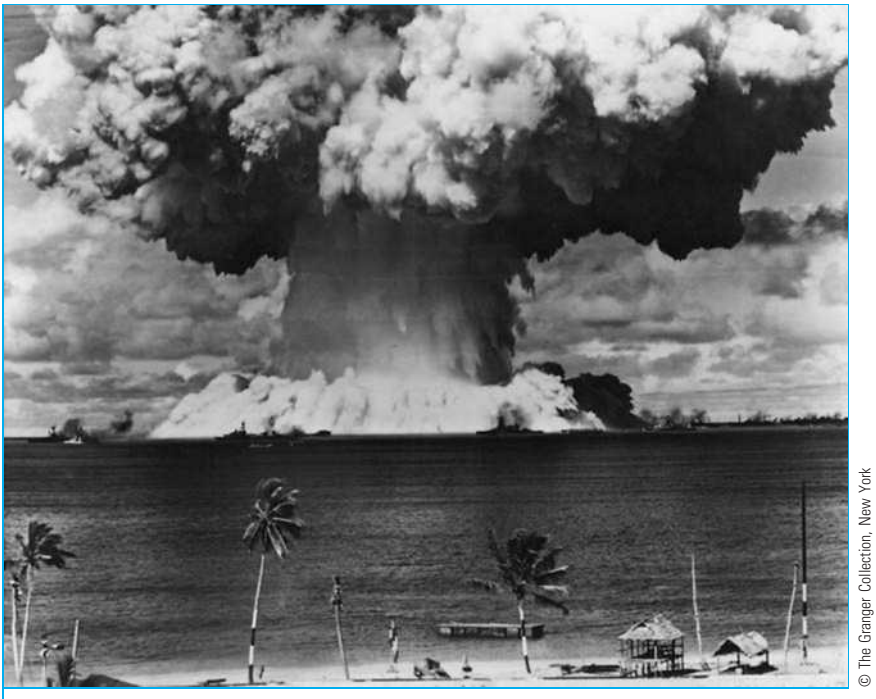
Other sources of friction involved U.S. loan policy and Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Truman ended Lend-Lease assistance to the Soviet Union at the end of the war and linked any new loans for postwar reconstruction to Soviet cooperation with the United States over the future of Europe. This linkage strategy failed. Lack of capital and suspicions about the intentions of the United States and its allies provided the Soviets with excuses for their own hard-line stance. A repressive Soviet sphere of influence, which Stalin called defensive and Truman labeled expansionist, spread over Eastern Europe. By 1946, the former allies seemed ready to become bitter adversaries. Early that year, Winston Churchill famously declared that an "Iron Curtain," with free nations on one side and communist ones on the other, had "descended across Europe." The communist countries to the East, under the control of the Soviet Union, threatened the security of Western Europe, the British leader proclaimed.

Truman agreed and pledged to stop any communist aggression. His anticommunist initiatives, in both foreign and domestic affairs, extended the reach and power of the executive branch.

The Truman Doctrine and Containment Abroad

In March 1947, the president announced what soon became known as the **Truman Doctrine** when speaking to Congress about a civil war in Greece, where communist-led insurgents threatened to topple a pro-Western government. In private, London had informed Washington that it lacked the economic and military resources to act in Greece, long within Great Britain's sphere of influence. Truman's advisers feared a leftist victory in Greece would expose Turkey, a nation considered critical to the U.S. strategic position, to Soviet expansionism. In publically justifying U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey, Truman asserted that U.S. security interests now spanned the globe and that the fate of "free peoples" everywhere hung in the balance. Unless the United States aided people "resisting attempted subversion by armed minorities or by outside pressures," totalitarian communism would spread and ultimately threaten the United States.

The Truman Doctrine's global vision of national security encountered some skepticism. Henry Wallace, the most visible Democratic critic, chided Truman for exaggerating the Soviet threat and urged a more conciliatory approach toward Moscow. Conservative Republicans, though fervently anti-communist, looked with suspicion at the increase in presidential power and the vast expenditures that implementing the Truman Doctrine would seemingly entail. If Truman wanted broad support for his



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Testing the Atomic Bomb at Bikini Atoll. *This atomic test, one of 23 detonations at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands during the late 1940s, raised a column of water 5,000 feet high. Although Bikini islanders were evacuated from the blast sites, the radiation still affected nearby people, including U.S. service personnel, and the area's ecology for years to come. As nuclear-related imagery spread through Cold War culture, new "bikini" swimsuits for "bombshell" women became a fashion rage.*

position, Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg had already advised, he should "scare hell" out of people, something Truman proved quite willing to do when justifying his new doctrine. With votes from Republicans and Democrats, the president gained Congressional approval for $400 million in assistance to Greece and Turkey, most of it for military aid, in the spring of 1947. This vote signaled broad, bipartisan support for a national security policy that came to be called **containment.**

The term *containment* first appeared in a 1947 article in the journal *Foreign Affairs* by George Kennan, the State Department's premier Soviet expert. Writing under the pseudonym "X," Kennan argued that the "main element" in U.S. policy "must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." The measured and limited containment policy, which Kennan later claimed he had outlined in this article, soon became associated with the urgent tone and expansive approach of the Truman Doctrine.

Containment thus became a catchphrase for a global, anticommunist national security policy. As popularly articulated, containment linked all leftist insurgencies, wherever they occurred, to a totalitarian movement controlled from Moscow that directly threatened American security. Even a small gain for the Soviets in one part of the world could encourage communist aggression elsewhere. Although foreign policy debates included sharp disagreements over precisely how to pursue

containment, most American leaders came to support an activist, anticommunist foreign policy that spanned the globe.

Truman's Loyalty Program and Containment at Home

Nine days after proclaiming the Truman Doctrine, the president issued Executive Order 9835. It authorized a system of government loyalty boards empowered to gather evidence in order to determine if there were "reasonable grounds" for concluding that a federal employee belonged to a subversive organization or espoused ideas that might endanger national security. Persons found to pose a "security risk" would lose their government jobs. The Truman administration also empowered the Justice Department to identify political organizations it deemed subversive and place them on a new Attorney General's List. The Loyalty Program, partly intended to show that Truman's administration considered communism a serious domestic threat, suggested that containing communist activities at home would require the type of aggressive measures being adopted overseas.

The Truman administration thus embarked on what became a controversial approach to containing communism, including Soviet espionage, at home. Although few people ever doubted that the Soviets were conducting spy operations inside the United States, there has long been sharp disagreement over their scope and effectiveness. Such debates now take place in light of recently declassified evidence from Soviet and U.S. surveillance files which reveal that both nations conducted a wide range of intelligence activity. By 1943, a U.S. Army unit had begun intercepting transmissions between Moscow and the United States. Collected as the VENONA files and finally released in 1995, these intercepted messages show that the Soviet Union had helped finance America's Communist Party, placed informants in governmental agencies, and obtained secret information about U.S. atomic work. Uncovering Soviet espionage, in short, was a legitimate objective. Historians remain divided, however, over the reliability and relevance of specific pieces of the evidence collected by the VENONA project—and also over how much of the intercepted information became immediately available to the Truman administration.

There is little doubt, though, that Truman's loyalty policy worried a diverse group of critics. The president defended the program by claiming that the harmful potential from a relatively few security risks demanded a response unprecedented in peacetime. Truman's position, however, angered more fervent anticommunists, particularly Republicans, who accused the president of doing too little to fight subversion at home. Civil libertarians, in contrast, charged Truman with whipping up fear about communist activity that far exceeded any actual threat. They called for a carefully targeted approach. Internal security policy, for example, needed to treat an atomic scientist with links to the Soviet Union differently from an outspoken clerical worker in a non-sensitive governmental position.

The National Security Act, the Marshall Plan, and the Berlin Crisis

Shaking off criticism, the Truman administration continued to extend its containment initiative. It secured congressional approval of the **National Security Act of 1947,** which created several new government bureaucracies. The old Navy and War Departments would become transformed, by 1949, into a new Department of Defense. An entirely new addition to the executive

branch, the National Security Council, obtained broad authority over planning the new containment policy. The Air Force became a separate service equal to the Army and Navy. The National Security Act also created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to gather information about communist threats and conduct covert activities outside the United States.

The CIA quickly became the most flexible arm of this new national security apparatus. A series of secret presidential directives expanded the CIA's role, while its activities and budget remained shrouded from public scrutiny. Soon, the CIA's covert operations crisscrossed the globe. CIA operatives cultivated ties with anti-Soviet groups in Eastern Europe and within the Soviet Union. The agency helped finance pro-U.S. labor unions in Western Europe to curtail the influence of leftist organizations. It orchestrated covert campaigns to prevent the Italian Communist Party from winning an electoral victory in 1948 and to bolster anticommunist political parties in France, Japan, and elsewhere.

The Truman administration also linked economic initiatives in Western Europe to its overall containment policy. Fearing that Europe's economic problems might create opportunities for local communist movements, Secretary of State General George C. Marshall sought to strengthen the region's economies. Under his 1947 proposal, known as the European Recovery Program or simply the Marshall Plan, U.S. funds would help postwar governments in Europe to coordinate programs of economic reconstruction. Although invited to participate, the Soviet Union quickly denounced the Marshall Plan as the economic component of a larger U.S. effort to dominate all of Europe.

The Marshall Plan, enacted by Congress in early 1948, ultimately achieved the hopes of its architects. It helped brighten the economic picture in Western Europe, where industrial production rebounded. Improved standards of living enhanced political stability and helped undercut the appeal of leftist movements. Between 1946 and 1951, the United States provided nearly $13 billion in assistance to 17 Western European nations. When critics in the United States condemned the Marshall Plan as an expensive "giveaway" scheme, supporters stressed how it would expand both overseas markets and investment opportunities for American businesses. They also hailed it for contributing to the larger containment strategy for safeguarding national security.

While lobbying for the Marshall Plan, the Truman administration also sought to expand U.S. military forces. The Soviet Union helped install a pro-Moscow government in Czechoslovakia in early 1948, and some U.S. officials warned of a Soviet military strike into Western Europe. Truman declared that "moral God-fearing peoples … must save the world from Atheism" and Soviet totalitarianism. As a brief war scare gripped Washington, national security planners successfully implored Congress to increase defense spending, largely for new aircraft, and reinstate a draft system for the military.

Policymakers in the United States viewed the future of Germany, initially divided into four zones of occupation, as crucial to the security of Western Europe. In June 1948, the United States, Great Britain, and France announced a program of currency reform as the first step toward integrating their separate sectors into a Federal Republic of Germany or West Germany. Having been invaded by German forces in both world wars, however, the Soviet Union worried about Germany again becoming an economic power. Hoping to sidetrack Western plans for strengthening Germany, the Soviets cut off all highways, railroads, and water routes into West Berlin, which was located within their zone of military occupation.

This **Berlin Blockade** failed. American and British aircraft, in what became known as the **Berlin Airlift,** delivered virtually all of the items West Berliners needed to continue their daily routines. Truman, hinting at a military response, dispatched to Great Britain two squadrons of B-29 bombers, reportedly able to bring atomic bombs within reach of Soviet territory. Unable to seal off West Berlin, Stalin abandoned his blockade in May 1949. The Soviets then created the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, out of their military sector. West Berlin, which survived as an anticommunist enclave inside East Germany, would remain a focus of Cold War tensions for years to come.

The Election of 1948

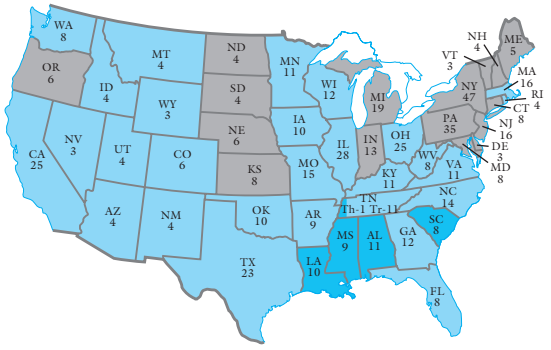
Meanwhile, national security issues helped Harry Truman win the 1948 presidential election. For several years, the president had been losing the support among those Democrats—led by his secretary of commerce, Henry A. Wallace—who considered Truman's containment policies overly confrontational. When Wallace continued to criticize these initiatives, the president had ousted him from the cabinet. Two months later, in the off-year national elections of November 1946, voters had given the Republicans control of Congress for the first time since 1928. Although Truman's political fortunes had improved somewhat by late 1947, few political handicappers liked his chances in 1948.

Truman faced three other presidential hopefuls. Challenged from the left by a new Progressive Party, which nominated Wallace, and from the right by Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee, and J. Strom Thurmond, the pro-segregationist candidate of the new States' Rights Party, or Dixiecrats, the president waged a vigorous campaign. Only months before Election Day, Truman called the GOP-controlled Congress into special session and presented it with a list of domestic programs, including a plan for national health care, abhorrent to most Republicans. Then he denounced "that do-nothing, good-for-nothing, worst Congress" for failing to enact his agenda.



AP Images/Byron Rollins

Dewey Defeats Truman? *U.S. President Harry S Truman holds up an Election Day edition of the* Chicago Daily Tribune, *which mistakenly announced "Dewey Defeats Truman" in the 1948 presidential election. The president told well-wishers, "That is one for the books!"*



	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	Number	%	Number	%
Truman (Democrat)	303	57	24,105,812	49.9
Dewey (Republican)	189	36	21,970,065	45.3
Thurmond (States' Rights)	39	7	1,169,021	2.4
Wallace (Progressive)	----	----	1,157,172	2.4

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MAP 27.1 Presidential Election, 1948

This electoral map helps show how, in this close election, Truman won the presidency with less than 50 percent of the popular vote.

Truman's victory now seems less surprising to historians than it had to analysts in 1948. Despite the GOP's electoral successes in 1946, the Democratic Party was hardly enfeebled. Democratic congressional candidates identifying with the legacy of Franklin Roosevelt, rather than with the presidency of his successor, generally polled more votes in their districts than did Truman in 1948. Loyalty to the memory of Roosevelt and his New Deal programs helped bring the Democrats their victory.

After Truman endorsed his party's call for new civil rights measures, the president survived the revolt of the Dixiecrats. Their presidential candidate, South Carolina's Thurmond, denounced Truman for backing a "civil wrongs" program and assailed the national Democratic Party for having fallen under the control of "radicals, subversives, and reds." Although the Dixiecrat movement portended a political shift among Southern whites, who had voted overwhelmingly Democratic since the late 19th century, Truman carried all but four states of the old Confederacy in 1948.

Truman's staunch anticommunism helped bury Henry Wallace's challenge. Hampered by his Progressive Party's refusal to reject support from the U.S. Communist Party, Wallace received less than 3 percent of the popular tally and no electoral votes. The 1948 election suggested a blueprint for winning elections to come: Successful presidential candidates must never appear "soft" on national security issues.

The Era of the Korean War, 1949–1952

To implement his containment policy, Truman continued to mobilize the nation's economic and military resources. A series of Cold War crises in 1949 and the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula in 1950, which heightened anticommunist fervor in the United States, boosted support for funding a vastly expanded national security state.

NATO, China, and the Bomb

In April 1949, the United States, Canada, and 10 European nations formed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).** They pledged that an attack against one nation would automatically be treated as if a strike against all. Republican Senator Robert Taft called NATO a provocation to the Soviet Union, an "entangling alliance" in violation of settled foreign policy principles, and a threat to Congress's constitutional power to declare war. Still, the NATO concept prevailed, and the United States would continue to pursue its containment policy in Europe through this important "mutual defense" pact.

Meanwhile, events in China heightened Cold War tensions. Although the United States had extended Jiang Jieshi's struggling Nationalist government billions in military aid and economic assistance, Jiang's forces had steadily lost ground to those of Mao Zedong's communist movement. Mao pledged to transform China into a major world power. Experienced U.S. diplomats privately predicted that incompetence and corruption would speed Jiang's downfall, but the Truman administration publicly portrayed Jiang as the respected leader of an embattled but "free" China.

In 1949, when Mao's armies forced Jiang off the mainland to the nearby island of Formosa (Taiwan), many Americans wondered how communist forces could have triumphed. Financed by conservative business leaders, the powerful "China lobby" blamed Truman and his new secretary of state, Dean Acheson, for having "lost" China to communism. This domestic political pressure and new international tensions quickly convinced the Truman administration to embrace Jiang's fledgling government on Taiwan and to refuse diplomatic recognition for Mao's "Red China."

The communist threat grew more alarming when, in 1949, the Soviets exploded a crude atomic device, marking the end of the U.S. monopoly. Besieged by critics who saw recent history marked by Soviet gains and U.S. losses, Truman authorized U.S. scientists to develop a deadly new weapon, the hydrogen or "Super" bomb. "It is part of my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief to see to it that our country is able to defend itself against any possible aggressor," Truman declared.

NSC-68 and the Korean War

The Truman administration also reviewed its core assumptions about foreign policy. The task of coordinating this review fell to Paul Nitze, a hardliner who shaped a top-secret policy paper, NSC-68 (National Security Council Document 68). It opened with a dramatic account of a global clash between "freedom," spread by U.S. power, and "slavery," promoted by the Soviet Union, the center of an international communist movement. Despairing of fruitful negotiations with the Soviets, NSC-68 urged a dramatic upgrade of U.S. national security capabilities. The United States should "find every weak spot in the enemy's armor" and "hit him with anything that comes to hand," one of NSC-68's architects insisted. NSC-68 thus endorsed covert action, economic pressure, propaganda campaigns, and a massive military buildup. Because Americans might oppose larger military spending and budget deficits, the report cautioned, U.S. actions should be labeled as "defensive" and spending increases presented as a stimulus to the economy rather than as a drain on national resources. The details of NSC-68 remained classified until 1975, but the Truman administration immediately invoked its assumptions when framing specific policies and shaping public opinion.

The alarmist tone of NSC-68 seemed to be confirmed in June 1950 when communist North Korea invaded South Korea. Truman characterized the invasion, which U.S.



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MAP 27.2 Divided Germany and the NATO Alliance

This map shows the geopolitics of the Cold War. Which countries aligned with the United States through NATO? Which aligned with the Soviet Union through the Warsaw Pact? Note how Berlin became a divided city, even though it was located within East Germany.

intelligence agencies had failed to anticipate, as a simple case of Soviet-inspired aggression and invoked the rhetoric of containment: "If aggression is successful in Korea, we can expect it to spread through Asia and Europe to this hemisphere," the president declared. The State Department characterized the relationship between the Soviet Union and North Korea as resembling "that between Walt Disney and Donald Duck."

The Korean situation, however, defied a one-dimensional analysis. Japanese military forces had occupied Korea between 1905 and 1945, and after Japan's defeat in the Second World War, Koreans had expected it to reemerge as one independent

nation. Instead, the Soviet and U.S. zones of occupation resulting from the war became the basis for two separate states, artificially divided at the 38th parallel. The Soviet Union backed a communist government in North Korea, headed by the dictatorial Kim Il-sung. The United States supported Syngman Rhee, the leader of an unsteady and autocratic, but anticommunist, government in South Korea.

On June 25, 1950, after consulting with Soviet and Chinese leaders and receiving their tacit approval, Kim Il-sung moved troops across the 38th parallel in an attempt to reunify Korea. Rhee appealed to the United States for military assistance, and Truman responded without consulting Congress.

Korea quickly escalated into an international conflict, the **Korean War.** The Soviets, unaware of the details of Kim's plans, were boycotting the UN when North Korea's military action began and could not veto a U.S. proposal to send a UN peacekeeping force to Korea. Acting under UN auspices, the United States rushed assistance to Rhee, who moved to quell dissent in the South as well as to repel the armies of the North.

The United States confronted several options in Korea. It could simply contain communism by driving North Korea's forces back across the 38th parallel. It could risk a wider war and seek to reunify Korea under Rhee's leadership. This option seemed somewhat fanciful when North Korean forces pushed rapidly southward. Within three months, they captured Seoul, the capital of South Korea, and approached the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula. UN troops, most of them from the United States, seemed initially unprepared. American firepower, however, gradually took its toll on North Korea's elite troops and on the untrained recruits sent to replace them.

General Douglas MacArthur, the U.S. Army commander who led UN forces in Korea, then devised a plan that most other strategists considered crazy: an amphibious landing behind enemy lines. Those stunned by his audacious proposal were even more astounded by its results. On September 15, 1950, General MacArthur's troops landed at Inchon, suffered minimal casualties, and quickly recaptured Seoul.

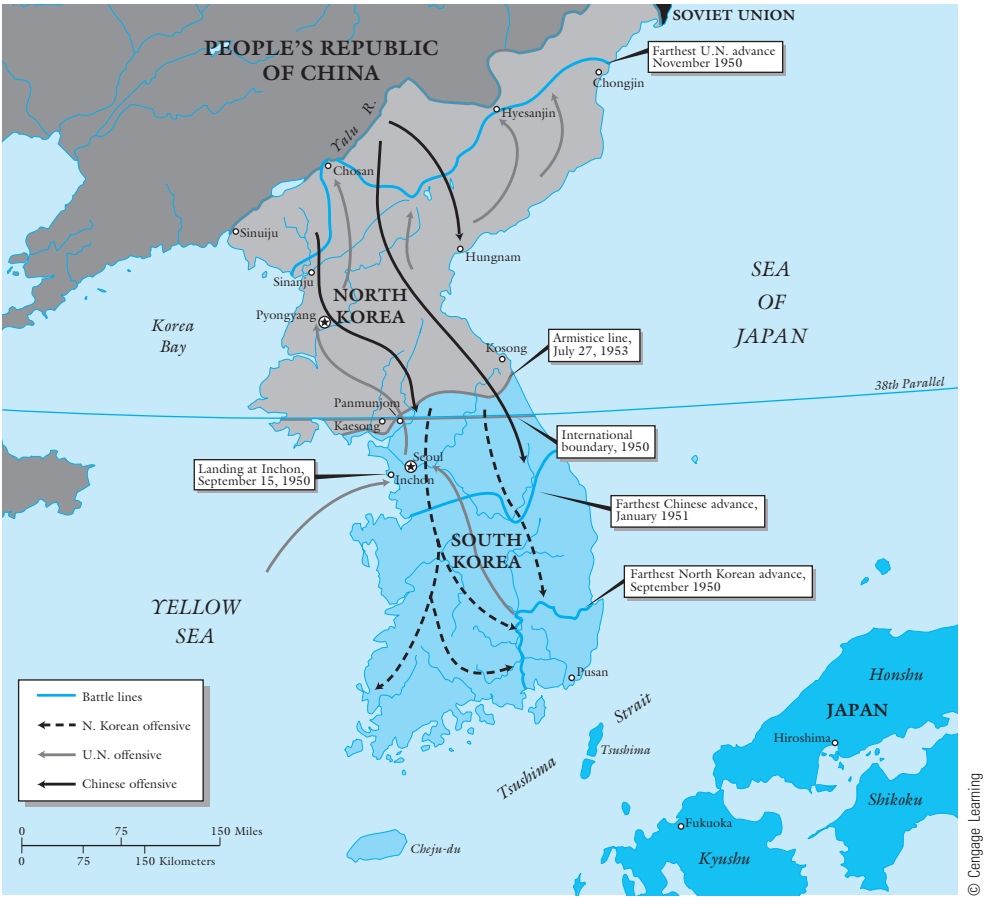
The shifting tide of battle devastated Korea. The Korean War is called a "limited" war because it never spread off the Korean Peninsula or involved nuclear weapons, but its impact was hardly narrow. Intense bombing preceded every military move, and neither side seemed particularly concerned about civilian casualties. The number of estimated dead and wounded reached perhaps one tenth of North and South Korea's combined population. While rival armies battled for Seoul, the city became rubble, with only the capitol building and a train station left standing.

As MacArthur's troops drove northward, Truman faced a crucial decision. Emboldened by success, MacArthur urged moving beyond containment to an all-out war of "liberation" and reunification. Other U.S. military strategists warned that China would retaliate if MacArthur's forces approached its border. Truman did allow the general to carry the war into the North but cautioned against provoking intervention by China or the Soviet Union.

When MacArthur pushed near to the Chinese–Korean border, however, China sent at least 400,000 troops into North Korea and forced MacArthur back across the 38th parallel. China's Mao Zedong envisioned helping unite Korea under communist control. With China now in the war and MacArthur seeking authority to use nuclear weapons, the Truman administration hastily reassessed U.S. priorities. "I could not bring myself to order the slaughter of 25,000,000 non-combatants" by using the atomic bomb, the president later claimed. Although Truman

maintained a "limited" war, MacArthur's troops eventually regrouped and regained the initiative. As they moved back northward, Truman ordered the general to negotiate a truce at the 38th parallel. MacArthur, challenging the president, argued for a victory over North Korea—and over China, too. Truman thereupon relieved MacArthur of his command in April 1951. The Constitution made military officers subordinate to the president, the nation's commander in chief, Truman declared.

MacArthur returned to the United States a war hero. Initial polls reported strong opposition to Truman's dumping the popular general. Truman's approval ratings dipped under 30 percent. Yet during Senate hearings on MacArthur's dismissal, other strategists dismissed his scenario for Korea as the "wrong war in the wrong place." Expanding and securing American power elsewhere around the world, particularly in Europe, should remain the central objective of U.S. policy. This broader goal dictated merely the containment, not a rollback, of communism in Korea, they successfully argued. MacArthur's once luminous image, along with his political ambitions, soon faded.



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MAP 27.3 Korean War

This map shows the ebb and flow of military action and the armistice line that still divides the two Koreas. Note the advances made first by North Korean and then by UN (United States–led) troops.

Truman still needed to secure a peace settlement for Korea. As negotiations stalled, another military hero, Dwight Eisenhower, the Republican candidate for president in 1952, promised to go to Korea if elected and accelerate the peace process. Harry Truman would leave office in 1953 without formally ending the Korean War.

Korea and Containment

Meanwhile, the Korean War, by seeming to justify a global anticommunist stance, helped the Truman administration implement the broad vision of NSC-68. The White House formulated plans to rearm West Germany, scarcely five years after the defeat of the Third Reich, and to expand NATO's military forces throughout Western Europe. Its proposal for direct military aid to Latin American governments, which had been rejected in the past, now slid through Congress. In the Philippines, the United States stepped up military and CIA assistance to the government of Ramon Magsaysay so it could suppress the leftist Hukbalahap (or Huk) movement. Here, Edward Lansdale, America's "super spy," played a key role in advising Magsaysay. In 1951, Washington finally signed a formal peace treaty with Japan and secured a security pact that granted the United States a sprawling military base on the island of Okinawa. The United States acquired similar bases in the Middle East, bolstering its strategic position in that oil-rich area. The ANZUS mutual defense pact of 1952 linked the United States to Australia and New Zealand.

In addition, Truman greatly expanded economic assistance for France's effort to retain its colonial possession in Indochina against the challenge from communist Ho Chi Minh's Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Policymakers in Washington had hardly favored a communist-led government in Indochina but worries about identifying the United States too closely with French colonialism in Southeast Asia had initially limited U.S. support for France's military effort against Ho's forces. Following the outbreak of the Korean conflict, however, the Truman administration elevated preventing a communist victory in Indochina into an important policy goal.

Warning of potential communist gains, U.S. policymakers became increasingly insistent about opposing overseas movements that seemed to lean toward the political left. The U.S. occupation government in Japan, for example, restricted the activities of labor unions, suspended an antitrust program that American officials had earlier implemented, and barred communists from posts in Japan's government and universities. As in Germany, the United States tried to contain communism elsewhere by strengthening pro-U.S. elites and by promoting economic growth through marketplace rather than state-directed mechanisms.

Containment considerations also prompted the United States to ally with South Africa. In 1949 the all-white (and militantly anticommunist) Nationalist Party instituted a legal-social system called apartheid, based on elaborate rules of racial separation and subordination of blacks. Some State Department officials warned that a close relationship with South Africa, by implying support for apartheid, would damage America's international reputation, but the Truman administration nonetheless supported South Africa's white supremacist regime.

Most importantly, the elaboration of containment during the Korean War era featured the military buildup proposed in NSC-68. When the Truman administration asked for a dramatic increase in U.S. military capacities, congressional Republicans complained but most ultimately joined Democrats in voting the needed funding. By

early 1953, U.S. military production totaled seven times what it had been before the North Korean attack. The United States also continued to expand its worldwide system of military bases. When later commenting on the importance of the Korean War, Dean Acheson reportedly claimed that "Korea came along and saved" the Truman administration's plans for implementing NSC-68.

This expanded containment policy, shaped in line with NSC-68, included more than military moves. Throughout the world, economic pressure, CIA covert activities, and propaganda campaigns helped implement containment objectives. Truman's global "Campaign of Truth," a sustained informational and psychological offensive, countered Soviet propaganda with mass-mediated imagery and cultural exchanges sponsored by Washington. A rhetoric organized around the concept of "national defense" took hold: the Defense Department replaced the War Department, and the new phrase *national security* supplanted the older, more limited language of gauging the best *national interest*.

NSC-68, in sum, provided a blueprint for how the United States, in the name of containment and national security, could reinvent itself as a global superpower. The United States extended its reach into Iran, Greece, and Turkey, all once inside Britain's sphere of influence; initiated the Marshall Plan and NATO; transformed former enemies—Italy, Germany, and Japan—into anti-Soviet bulwarks; assumed control of hundreds of Pacific islands; launched research to develop the H-bomb; winked at apartheid to win an anticommunist ally in South Africa; solidified its sphere of influence in Latin America; and acquired military bases around the world. NSC-68 became a master plan for using military, economic, and covert action to advance a worldwide national security policy.

While the Truman administration fortified strategic positions overseas, its national security policies produced what the historian Michael Sherry has called "the militarization of American life." By 1951, two-thirds of the federal budget went for military-related spending. With continued bipartisan support from Congress, the White House carried out a massive buildup that brought the increasing merger between military and economic policymaking. Congress granted a new Atomic Energy Commission broad authority to oversee development of a U.S. nuclear power industry. To develop ideas for advanced weaponry and the new policy initiatives that a global strategy of national security implied, Congress created a think tank called RAND, an acronym for Research and Development. Cost-conscious members of Congress complained about expensive defense contracts, but the prospect of these arrangements creating jobs in their home districts helped mute opposition.

Pursuing National Security at Home

Although containment abroad generally gained bipartisan support, Harry Truman's programs for containing subversive influences at home encountered bitter, sustained opposition. Civil libertarians continued to complain about "witch hunts" against people who merely expressed dissent on prevailing policies. Militant anticommunists, taking their cue from Truman's own rhetoric, leveled increasingly alarming allegations about internal communist subversion being left unchecked. Even dedicated anticommunists began to worry that exaggerated charges and wild goose chases after unlikely subversives harmed the effort to identify authentic Soviet agents. The search for supposed subversives eventually touched many areas of postwar life.

Anticommunism and the U.S. Labor Movement

The politics of anticommunism helped unsettle the U.S. labor movement. After the end of the Second World War, many workers took part in strikes for increased wages and benefits and a greater voice in workplace routines and production decisions. Strikes brought both the auto and the electronics industries to a standstill. In Stamford, Connecticut, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, general strikes led to massive work stoppages that spread to other cities. After Truman threatened to seize mines and railroads that had been shut down by work stoppages and to order strikers back to work, labor militancy began to subside.

In 1947 a Republican-controlled Congress effectively tapped anticommunist sentiment to help pass the Labor-Management Relations Act, popularly known as the **Taft-Hartley Act.** The law negated some gains made by organized labor during the 1930s. It limited a union's power to conduct boycotts, to compel employers to accept "closed shops" in which only union members could be hired, and to continue a strike that the president judged harmful to national security. In addition, the measure required union officials to sign affidavits stating that they did not belong to the Communist Party or any other "subversive" organization. A union that refused to comply was effectively denied protections under national labor laws. Truman vetoed Taft-Hartley, but Congress overrode him. By the end of the Truman era, some type of loyalty-security check had been conducted on about 20 percent of the U.S. workforce, more than 13 million people.

Anticommunism also affected internal union politics and labor-management relations. Some union members had long seen communist organizers as more loyal to the Communist Party than to their own unions or to the nation. Differences over whether to support the Democratic Party or Henry Wallace's Progressive effort in 1948 had also splintered a number of unions. In the years following Truman's victory, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) expelled 13 unions—a full third of its membership. Meanwhile, many workers found that their political commitments could put their own jobs at risk.

Containing Communism at Home

Anticommunists scrutinized workers in the entertainment industry with special zeal. In 1947, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) opened hearings into communist influences in Hollywood. Basking in the glare of newsreel cameras, members of this committee seized on the refusal of ten screenwriters, producers, and directors—all current or former members of the American Communist Party—to testify about political allegiances within the film community. "The Hollywood Ten" claimed that the First Amendment barred HUAC from scrutinizing their political activities. The federal courts upheld HUAC's investigative powers, however, and the Hollywood Ten eventually went to prison for contempt of Congress.

Meanwhile, heads of the Hollywood studios drew up a "blacklist" of workers, allegedly subversives whom they agreed not to hire. Leaders in other sectors of the entertainment industry, particularly television, adopted a similar policy. The fate of prominent performers dominated media accounts of blacklisting activities, but many anonymous labor union members, who worked behind the scenes in technical and support positions, also lost their source of livelihood.

Soon, many workers in the entertainment field were unable to find jobs unless they agreed to appear as "friendly witnesses" before HUAC or other investigative

committees. They were then asked to provide the names of people they had seen at some "communist meeting" in the increasingly distant past. Some of those called to testify, such as the screenwriter Lillian Hellman, refused to answer any questions. Others, such as the movie director Elia Kazan and the writer Budd Schulberg, cooperated. Decisions over whether or not to "name names" would divide people in the entertainment industry and the labor union movement for decades.

The search for subversives also created anticommunist celebrities. Ronald Reagan, who was president of the Screen Actors Guild and a secret informant for the FBI (identified as "T-10"), testified about communist influence in Hollywood. Richard Nixon, then an obscure member of Congress from California, began his remarkable political ascent in 1948 when Whittaker Chambers, a journalist formerly active in communist circles, came before HUAC. Chambers charged Alger Hiss, a prominent Democrat with a lengthy career in public service, with having been a party member and with passing classified information to Soviet agents during the late 1930s.

The Hiss-Chambers-Nixon affair continues to spark intense controversy. Hiss portrayed himself as the victim of a frame-up. Legal considerations barred an indictment of Hiss for espionage, but the government charged him with perjury for allegedly lying to Congress. Ultimately convicted on two counts, Hiss spent nearly four years in prison. To Nixon and his supporters, the case of Alger Hiss, who had advised Franklin Roosevelt during the Yalta Conference (see Chapter 26), demonstrated how deeply rooted communist subversion had become and how only new political leadership in Washington could uncover it.

In the mid-1990s long-classified documents made newly available revived the Hiss controversy. A few scholars continued to see the Hiss case, like that of the Hollywood Ten, as more hype than substance. The vast majority, however, concluded that Hiss (along with several other high-ranking government officials) had likely passed information to the Soviets during the 1930s and 1940s. Historians continue to differ, however, over the precise nature of this material and its value to Moscow.

Meanwhile, the Truman administration pursued its own anticommunist course at home. It dismissed hundreds of federal employees under its loyalty program. Truman's attorney general, Tom Clark, secretly authorized J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, to compile a list of alleged subversives the government could detain during any national emergency without any legal hearing.

Fear that subversives might immigrate to the United States helped shape several provisions of the **McCarran-Walter Act.** Also known as The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, this congressional statute authorized the denial of immigrant status to anyone who might compromise national security by bringing dangerous ideas into the country. The law also allowed the deportation of immigrants, even those who had become naturalized citizens, who belonged to organizations on the Attorney General's List. Calling these measures "un-American," Truman rejected McCarran-Walter, but Congress overrode his veto.

At the same time, Hoover's FBI undertook an extensive campaign of surveillance. It compiled confidential dossiers on a wide range of artists and intellectuals suspected of communist ties. Some of its targets, including the writers Ernest Hemingway and John Steinbeck, had no links to the Communist Party. The FBI often singled out prominent African Americans. Its agents kept close tabs, for instance, on civil rights activist Bayard Rustin. Richard Wright (author of the acclaimed novel *Native Son*), W. E. B. Du Bois (a celebrated African American historian),

and Paul Robeson (a well-known entertainer-activist) encountered trouble from the State Department and immigration officials. Their association with the U.S. Communist Party and identification with anti-imperialist and antiracist organizations throughout the world threatened their ability to travel overseas. In addition, suspicions of homosexuality could make people, including the nominally closeted Rustin, targets for governmental surveillance and discrimination.

Targeting Difference

Public focus on homosexual behavior generally increased during the postwar era. During the Second World War, very visible gay and lesbian subcultures had emerged, particularly in larger cities such as New York and San Francisco. After the war, Dr. Alfred Kinsey's research on sexual behavior—his first volume, on male sexuality, appeared in 1948—claimed that homosexuality could be found throughout American life and that many people pursued a wide range of sexual behaviors, from exclusively heterosexual to exclusively homosexual. In 1952, transsexuality hit the headlines when the press revealed that, after a series of "sex-change" operations in Europe, George W. Jorgensen, Jr. had become a "blonde beauty," Christine Jorgensen.

By this time, a small "homophile" movement had emerged to challenge the most egregious forms of discrimination. Gay men formed the Mattachine Society (in 1950), and lesbians later founded the Daughters of Bilitis, organizations that sought legal protection for the basic constitutional rights of people who were homosexual. They condemned police departments for singling out businesses catering to gays and lesbians when making raids for "disorderly conduct" and the Post Office for banning homosexual publications on the basis of "decency" requirements.

The homophile movement of the 1950s, however, confronted aggressive new efforts to restrict the visibility of homosexuality. The Kinsey Report's implicit claim that homosexuality was simply another form of sexuality, alongside the emergence of new gay and lesbian organizations, helped fuel this campaign. The fact that several founders of the Mattachine Society had also been members of the Communist Party, coupled with the claim that Soviet agents could blackmail homosexuals more easily than heterosexuals, helped link homosexuality with the communist threat to national security. "One homosexual can pollute a Government office," a U.S. Senate report claimed.

Today, historians of sexuality see a "Lavender Scare" about homosexuality accompanying the "Red Scare" about communism. Popular imagery portrayed both homosexuality and communism as subversive "diseases" that inwardly "sick" people, who seemed outwardly little different than other Americans, could spread throughout the body politic. Suspicion of "sexual deviance" became an acceptable basis for subjecting government employees to loyalty board hearings and, ultimately, denying them the legal and constitutional protections enjoyed by heterosexuals.

The "Great Fear"

The postwar search for subversion unfolded within an atmosphere of anxiety that some cultural historians call the "Great Fear." Genuine threats, such as the atomic program of the Soviets, helped heighten the impact of spurious claims about communist agents roaming military bases or gay subversives shaping foreign policy. A growing sense of insecurity, in turn, intensified efforts to safeguard national security.

As this sense of fear was settling over U.S. politics, the Justice Department announced the arrests, in 1950, of several members of a spy ring that had seemingly been channeling nuclear secrets to Moscow. Two of the arrested, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the parents of two young children and members of the Communist Party, became the central characters in a controversy over atomic espionage.

The Rosenberg spy case became a Cold War melodrama. The couple's trial, the guilty verdicts, the death sentences, the numerous legal appeals, the worldwide protests, and their 1953 executions for having committed espionage, captured media attention. To their supporters, the Rosenbergs (who died maintaining their innocence) had fallen victim to anticommunist hysteria. Federal officials, according to the couple's defenders, seemed primarily interested in sacrificing scapegoats at the altar of the Great Fear. To others, however, solid evidence pointed toward their involvement in an extensive operation, which included the confessed British spy Klaus Fuchs. Documents released after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 now clearly confirm Julius Rosenberg's spying activities. Ethel Rosenberg had apparently known about his work, but the evidence of her direct involvement in passing along information to the Soviets remains ambiguous.

The performance of the nation's criminal justice system in cases such as that of the Rosenbergs also helps to complicate the historical picture. Federal prosecutors never moved, for example, against some people who almost certainly were atomic spies. Theodore Hall, a physicist who worked on America's bomb and whose expertise about nuclear matters obviously exceeded that of Julius or Ethel Rosenberg, was among them. Officials may have feared revealing valuable counter-intelligence operations—or, perhaps, illegal surveillance activities. In any case, only the Rosenbergs, of all those who were prosecuted, faced a charge that carried the death penalty.

In addition, historians continue to differ over how well U.S. courts performed during the Great Fear. Did judges adequately balance the protection of national-security concerns with those for civil liberties? During a 1949 prosecution of leaders of the American Communist Party for sedition, the trial judge accepted the Justice Department's argument that the 11 defendants be considered participants in an international conspiracy. Their Marxist ideas and publications, even without any proof of subversive acts, could justify convicting them of sedition against the U.S. government. In contrast, civil libertarians insisted that government prosecutors never showed how Communist Party publications and speeches, by themselves, posed any "clear and present danger" to national security. In this view, *political expression* should enjoy the protection of the First Amendment and only *illegal activity* should be put on trial.

When the convictions of the Communist Party leaders were appealed to the Supreme Court in *Dennis* v. *U.S.* (1951), a majority of the justices endorsed the view of national security advanced by the Truman administration: The Soviet threat was so serious that pro-communist expression, in the absence of any overt illegal activity, could constitute sedition. Several years later, with the passing of the Great Fear, the Supreme Court would back away from the *Dennis* decision (see Chapter 28).

Meanwhile, the Truman administration continued incurring the ire of more zealous red-hunters. In Congress, Republicans and conservative Democrats denounced Truman's anticommunist initiatives as too limited and passed the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. It created a Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) to oversee the registration of groups allegedly controlled or infiltrated by communists. It barred

communists from working in the defense industry, holding a labor-union office, and acquiring a passport. Unaware of J. Edgar Hoover's secret detention program, Congress also authorized the confinement of alleged subversives during any national emergency.

Truman responded ambiguously to the Subversive Activities Control Act. He vetoed the law, a futile gesture that Congress quickly overrode, but his administration continued to pursue its own loyalty program and to sanction the FBI's covert detention plan, which offered fewer legal safeguards than the one created by Congress. Still, Truman failed to erase doubts about his anticommunist credentials. **Joseph McCarthy,** a Republican senator from Wisconsin, eventually became the Truman administration's most tenacious critic.

Joseph McCarthy

An intelligence officer during the Second World War, McCarthy had entered politics as a battle-tested combat vet, "Tailgunner Joe." Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946, McCarthy showed little interest in legislative matters, but he emerged as a two-fisted investigator of communist subversion during the height of the Great Fear.

McCarthy became a political celebrity when he claimed, during a 1950 speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, to have compiled a list of 205 communists then working in the State Department. Americans rightly feared the future, according to McCarthy, "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." Although McCarthy quickly shrank his number of subversives to 57, he also expanded his attacks. Secretary of State Dean Acheson and his predecessor, General George C. Marshall, soon came into range.

Adept at using political imagery and sexual innuendo, McCarthy linked the Lavender and Red Scares. He portrayed key members of Truman's administration as both overly privileged and insufficiently manly. People like Acheson who had been "born with silver spoons in their mouths" represented effete "enemies from within." McCarthy derided the smartly dressed Acheson as the "Red Dean of fashion" and as the leader of the "lace handkerchief crowd."

Initially, McCarthy seemed unstoppable. He substantiated none of his more sensational claims but lacked neither imagination nor targets. In the summer of 1950 a Senate subcommittee, after examining government files, concluded that McCarthy's charges against the State Department amounted to "the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruths in the history of this republic." McCarthy responded that the files had been "raped," and he went after Millard Tydings, the Democratic senator who had chaired the subcommittee. In the November 1950 elections, Tydings went down to defeat, in part because of a fabricated photograph that linked him to communist activities.

Despite McCarthy's erratic course, influential people initially tolerated, even encouraged, him. Conservative, anti-communist leaders of the Roman Catholic Church embraced McCarthy, himself a Catholic. Leading Republicans welcomed McCarthy's assaults on their Democratic rivals. Others insisted the senator's commitment to the cause of anticommunism outweighed complaints about his slapdash investigations and overzealous methods. In contrast, critics charged that the senator personified an old form of demagogic "attack politics," and they called his careless, flamboyant style "McCarthyism."

The National Security Constitution and the Structure of Governance

Focusing on the furor over the politics of McCarthyism, however, can obscure fundamental changes in constitutional governance that generated relatively little controversy. Except for the 22nd Amendment, adopted in 1951, which barred presidents from following Franklin Roosevelt's example and being elected to more than two terms, there were no formal modifications to the written Constitution during the era of the Great Fear. But congressional legislation, beginning with the National Security Act of 1947, and several executive orders by the office of the president significantly altered the nation's structure of governance. Scholars now see a new national security framework taking shape during the early postwar years.

The view that the office of the president possessed only limited powers, for example, gave way to the idea that protecting national security justified greatly extending the reach of the executive branch. Truman encountered no constitutional roadblocks when taking the United States into an undeclared war in Korea. Similarly, his desire to strengthen the executive branch's power to gather intelligence bore fruit. In 1952, Truman issued a secret executive order that created the super-secret National Security Agency (NSA). Using sophisticated technology, NSA began collecting any information, from communications networks around the globe, which might affect the nation's safety. Covert eavesdropping on a massive scale became part of the new, partially unwritten national security framework.

The specter of constitutional limitations on presidential power did arise in 1952, however, when Truman ordered his commerce secretary to seize control of the U.S. steel industry in order to prevent a threatened strike. Although Truman could have invoked a 60-day "cooling off" period under the Taft-Hartley Act, he sought to justify his action with a more fundamental, novel, and controversial constitutional claim: The president, as commander-in-chief, possessed extraordinary power whenever emergency action was required to safeguard national security. The steel companies quickly challenged this assertion in court.

When *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company* v. *Sawyer* (1952) reached the Supreme Court, three justices who had been nominated by Truman supported his broad claim of executive power. Six others, for differing reasons, rejected Truman's position in this particular instance, but all supported a relatively expansive view of presidential authority whenever national security seemed more clearly at stake. Constitutional scholars would come to see this "Steel Seizure Case," then, as a short-term defeat for Truman but a long-term victory for those who claimed that national security considerations had reshaped the fundamental framework of American governance.

Postwar Social-Economic Policymaking

Harry Truman embraced Franklin Roosevelt's domestic agenda, and many supporters of FDR's New Deal still championed his Second Bill of Rights of 1944 (see Chapter 26). This document envisioned all Americans someday having the "right" to a new set of substantive liberties, including employment, food and shelter, education, and health care. Whenever people could not obtain these "liberties," the national government should assume responsibility for providing access to them. Following the Second

World War, most Western European nations were creating or expanding "welfare states" that provided people a broad range of substantive rights, including healthcare. Their governments also adopted ongoing economic and social planning and used state power aggressively.

In the United States, however, proposals for government planning and new social welfare measures met determined opposition. Many of their opponents had earlier assailed wartime Washington's role in economic decision making and FDR's Second Bill of Rights. Any postwar attempt to build on the New Deal and wartime arrangements, insisted most Republicans and some Democrats, would threaten unconstitutional governmental intrusions into people's liberties and undermine individual initiative and responsibility. Dixiecrat Democrats joined conservative Republicans to block any legislation that they feared might threaten local and state laws upholding white supremacy in the South. Business organizations, such as the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), denounced the Truman administration as a menace to the nation's free-enterprise system. Fiscal conservatives worried about new commitments of tax money.

The Employment Act of 1946 and Economic Growth

The 1946 debate over the Full Employment Bill eventually provided a new template for domestic policymaking. This measure, initially, would have empowered Washington to ensure employment for all citizens seeking work. To the bill's opponents, the phrase "full employment" implied a step toward a European-style welfare state, even socialism.

As the effort to enact this bill stalled, a scaled-back approach emerged. The law that Congress finally passed, the **Employment Act of 1946,** called for "maximum" (rather than full) employment and specifically declared that private enterprise, not government, bore primary responsibility for economic decision making. This measure nonetheless created a new executive branch body, the Council of Economic Advisers, to formulate long-range policy recommendations, and it signaled that the national government would assume considerable responsibility for the performance of the economy. Constitutional observers thus judged the Employment Act of 1946, as with the National Security Act of 1947, as an informal amendment to the nation's fundamental framework of governance.

The Employment Act of 1946 also showed a growing faith that *advice* to public officials from economic experts, as an alternative to government *planning,* could guarantee a constantly expanding economy. Economic growth would, in turn, produce a growing number of jobs and, ultimately, an expanding array of consumer goods. An influential group of U.S. economists, disciples of Britain's John Maynard Keynes, were successfully arguing that their expertise could temper boom-and-bust cycles and rescue the nation's economy from uncoordinated decision making by private companies and poorly informed policymaking by government officials.

The promise of economic growth dazzled postwar leaders. Using the relatively new measure of gross national product (GNP), economists could calculate the nation's growing economic bounty. Developed in 1939, GNP—defined as the total dollar value of all goods and services produced in the nation during a given year—became the standard gauge of economic health. Corporate executives, who had feared that the end of the war would bring long-term labor unrest and trigger a deep recession, viewed a

rising GNP as a guarantor of social stability. *U.S. News and World Report,* a generally conservative news magazine, suggested that economists had "found the magic formula for almost endless good times." The Truman administration welcomed the prospect of an expanding economy, which would increase federal tax revenues and, in turn, finance its foreign and domestic agendas. "With economic expansion, every problem is capable of solution," insisted one policy analyst.

Truman and his advisers spread the gospel of economic growth. This new faith nicely dovetailed with their national security plans. Spending for the Cold War could serve as an automatic "pump primer" for the entire U.S. economy. The sharp increase in military expenditures soon signaled a tilt in economic policy that some observers began calling "military Keynesianism," a policy of economic stimulation through governmental spending on the perceived needs of the Pentagon. Moreover, Cold War assistance programs, such as the Marshall Plan, could create new markets, especially for agricultural products, and investment opportunities overseas. Economic growth at home during the postwar period thus became linked to development in the world at large—and to the all-pervasive concern with national security.

Truman's Fair Deal

In 1949, Harry Truman unveiled a series of legislative proposals he called the **"Fair Deal."** He called for extending popular New Deal programs such as Social Security and minimum wage laws; enacting legislation dealing with civil rights, national health care, and federal aid for education; and a measure repealing the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. The Fair Deal also envisioned substantial spending on public housing projects and a complicated plan to support farm prices. The Fair Deal's core assumption—that sustained economic growth could finance new government programs—came to focus the Truman administration's policy planning.

Two prominent programs illustrate the emerging approach to domestic social policy. The **GI Bill** (officially titled the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944), provided comprehensive benefits for those who had served in the armed forces. In theory, the measure applied to all veterans, but later studies showed that the 350,000 women who had served in the military tapped its provisions far less often than men, perhaps as a result of limited outreach by the Veterans Administration.

The GI Bill provided a wide array of assistance to those who used it. There was financial aid for college and job-training programs. By 1947, the year of peak enrollment, roughly half of the students enrolled in colleges and universities were receiving assistance under the GI Bill. Veterans also received preferential treatment when applying for government jobs; favorable financial terms when purchasing homes or businesses; and eventually, comprehensive medical care in veterans' hospitals. The Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, popularly known as the "GI Bill of Rights," extended these programs to those who had served during the Korean War. Although the postwar Congress never enacted FDR's Second Bill of Rights, it did extend some of its key provisions to veterans.

The Social Security program also expanded. Conservatives continually challenged this New Deal measure as fiscally unsound and an unwarranted extension of federal power, but supporters of Social Security always prevailed. They defended its provisions for the disabled and the blind and successfully argued that older people had earned the "income security" through years of work and monetary



© Margaret Bourke-White/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

The Postwar College Scene. *This picture by the famed photo journalist Margaret Bourke-White shows veterans of the Second World War dominating available space in a classroom at the University of Iowa. Tapping financial support offered under the GI Bill (1944), more than 600 vets enrolled in 1946 at Iowa. Returning servicemen, who at one point made up more than 60 percent of this university's total enrollment, often taxed existing facilities. Much the same pattern emerged at other colleges, universities, and technical schools throughout the country.*

contributions withheld from their paychecks. The combined magic of economic growth and compound interest rates promised to ensure Social Security's financial solvency. Under the Social Security Act of 1950, the level of benefits increased significantly; the retirement portions of the program expanded; and coverage was extended to more than 10 million people, including agricultural workers.

The more expansive (and expensive) proposals, however, either failed or were scaled back. One of the Fair Deal's key goals, a national health insurance program, faced opposition from several different quarters. Consumer groups and labor unions, intent on creating nonprofit, community-run health plans, feared that a centralized system would unnecessarily bureaucratize medical care. The American Medical Association (AMA) and the American Hospital Association (AHA) opposed any governmental intervention in the traditional fee-for-service medical system, and they had already steered Congress toward a less intrusive alternative—greater federal funding for the new hospitals authorized under the Hill-Burton Act (1946). Large insurance companies, which were continuing to push their own private plans, also opposed the Truman initiative. Opinion polls suggested that many voters, many of whom

were enrolling in private health insurance plans such as Blue Cross and Blue Shield, found Truman's proposals confusing. Truman, who had first proposed an expanded health care system in 1945, watched his Fair Deal version die in Congress.

The Fair Deal's housing proposals made some headway. Continued shortage of affordable housing in urban areas stirred support for home-building programs. Even some avowed conservatives such as Ohio's Senator Robert A. Taft supported the Housing Act of 1949. This law authorized construction of 810,000 public housing units and provided federal funds for "urban renewal" zones, areas to be cleared of rundown dwellings and replaced with new construction. The Housing Act proclaimed ambitious goals but provided relatively modest funding, especially for its public housing component. Private construction firms and real estate agents welcomed funding for federal home loan guarantee programs—such as those established under the GI Bill and through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA)—but they lobbied effectively against publicly financed housing projects.

An ambitious proposal for overhauling agricultural policy, which sought to address the continual problem of overproduction, produced more controversy than change. Supporters of New Deal era measures, which bolstered farm prices, credited them with balancing the interests of producers and consumers, but opponents complained they artificially inflated the cost of food. Truman's secretary of agriculture, Charles Brannan, unveiled a plan designed to guarantee farmers a minimum income but to allow commodity prices to fluctuate in line with marketplace conditions. Influential farming organizations saw the Brannan Plan as a bureaucratic nightmare, and congressional Republicans glimpsed a financial horror story. This Fair Deal idea joined national healthcare in the reject pile.

Postwar policymaking ultimately focused on specific groups, such as veterans and older Americans, rather than on more extensive programs such as national healthcare, a comprehensive housing program, or the Brannan Plan. With its opponents dismissing the Fair Deal as a move toward a European-style "welfare state," the White House found it easier to defend more narrowly targeted programs that it could present as economic security measures for specific recipients who deserved government assistance.

Civil Rights

The Truman administration also struggled to place the national government's power behind a growing civil rights movement. After returning to the home front, veterans of African, Latino, Asian, and American Indian descent increasingly refused to remain passive bystanders when laws and discriminatory practices reduced them to second-class citizens. Moreover, people of color who had moved to cities seeking to escape discrimination and find wartime employment wanted to build on the social and economic gains they had made during the earlier 1940s.

Drives to translate visions of liberty and equality into reality animated considerable grassroots pressure during the postwar period. African American organizations continued their earlier activism, including campaigns aimed at increasing job opportunities and access to affordable housing. On the West Coast, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) successfully campaigned against discriminatory laws affecting property ownership and immigration. The Community Service Organization (CSO) worked on issues that affected California's already sizeable Mexican American communities. These postwar activists hoped that the national government would assist their efforts.

During his 1948 presidential campaign, Truman did endorse the proposals of a civil rights commission he had established in 1946. Its report, entitled "To Secure These Rights," called for federal legislation against lynching; a special civil rights division within the Department of Justice; antidiscrimination initiatives in employment, housing, and public facilities; and desegregation of the military. These proposals helped prompt the Dixiecrat revolt of 1948, but they also gained Truman political support from civil rights groups that hoped for greater assistance in Washington.

Civil rights thus became an increasingly important political issue. After successive Congresses failed to enact any civil rights legislation—including a law against lynching and a ban on the poll taxes that prevented most Southern blacks from voting—leaders of the movement turned to the White House and to the federal courts. The Justice Department, under Truman, continued the Roosevelt-era practice of using its legal resources to intervene in civil rights cases, especially in the South. It showed particular concern for challenging work arrangements that burdened both female domestic workers and rural agricultural laborers of African descent. These private employment contracts, the Justice Department argued, violated fundamental constitutional guarantees and justified greater use of government power to remedy their inequities.

The drive to end racial segregation in the U.S. military also gained the Truman administration's attention. A plan by labor leader A. Philip Randolph to organize a protest campaign helped prompt Executive Order 9981 (1948), which called for gradual desegregation of the armed forces. Truman later claimed that the United States "could not endorse a color line at home and still expect to influence the immense masses that make up the Asian and African peoples." His executive order began a lengthy, halting process in which the separate branches of the military proceeded at their own pace. In 1954, the secretary of defense finally announced the formal integration of the U.S. military, but informal discrimination continued. Mechanisms for using government power on behalf of advancing liberty and equality emerged much earlier in the armed services, however, than in almost any other area of American life.

Meanwhile, Harry Truman continued to note how segregation tarnished America's image in a Cold War world "which is 90 percent colored." Although Cold War politics could help justify government action against African American leaders allegedly linked to subversive causes, the crusade against communism on behalf of the "free world" also made racial discrimination into a foreign policy liability.

Truman's Justice Department thus appeared in court to support litigants who were contesting government-required segregation. Most notably, it weighed in against "restrictive covenants" (legal agreements that prevented racial or religious minorities from acquiring real estate) and against segregated education. In 1946 the Supreme Court declared restrictive covenants unconstitutional and began chipping away at the "separate-but-equal" principle used since *Plessey* v. *Ferguson* (1896) to justify segregated schools. A federal court in California, ruling on a case brought the previous year in Orange County by LULAC and the NAACP, held that segregating students of Mexican descent in separate, and unequal, schools violated their constitutional rights. In 1948, a second federal court—with the case now entitled *Westminster School District* v. *Mendez*—agreed with the first. In 1950 the Supreme Court ruled that, under the 14th Amendment, racial segregation in state-financed graduate and law schools was unconstitutional. The familiar arguments used to legitimize racial segregation in public education seemed ripe for a successful challenge.

The years immediately after the Second World War, in sum, marked a turning point in domestic policymaking. The New Deal's vision of comprehensive socioeconomic by government planning gave way to a less expansive view: The nation could expect uninterrupted economic growth, enabling Washington to finance, through rising tax revenues, programs designed to assist specific groups. As one supporter of this new approach argued, postwar policymakers were sophisticated enough to embrace "partial remedies," such as the GI Bill, rather than to wait for fanciful "cure-alls," such as FDR's Second Bill of Rights.

Signs of a Changing Culture

The pace of cultural change accelerated during postwar years. Encouraged by the advertising industry, Americans seemed, in one sense, to view anything new as "progress." Yet, in another, the speed and scope of change appeared to accentuate feelings of uneasiness and anxiety. As a result, the impulse toward containment affected postwar culture as well as foreign and domestic policymaking.

The Baseball "Color Line"

The interplay between celebrating and containing change could be seen in the integration of organized baseball during the 1940s and early 1950s. In 1947, Jackie Robinson finally cracked Major League Baseball's policy of racial segregation. A graduate of UCLA who had battled segregation while serving in the U.S Army during the Second World War, Robinson had also played semi-professional football and in the Negro National Baseball League before joining the Brooklyn Dodgers. Some ballplayers opposed to integration, including several on Robinson's own club, considered a boycott. Baseball's leadership, seeking new sources of players and seeing a steady stream of African American fans coming through the turnstiles, threatened to suspend any player who would not play with or against Robinson.

Officially, organized baseball became desegregated. Shortly after Robinson's debut, the Cleveland Indians signed center fielder Larry Doby. Other top-flight players began abandoning the Negro leagues for clubs in the American and National circuits. Eventually, the skills of Robinson—named Rookie of the Year in 1947 and the National League's Most Valuable Player in 1949—and other players of African descent carried the day. Although light-skinned Latinos had long passed through the racial barrier, Orestes ("Minnie") Minoso, a Cuban-born veteran of the Negro circuits, became the first Afro-Latino to break into the big leagues in 1949. Major League teams began fielding greater numbers of African American and Latino players, and some accelerated recruitment efforts in Mexico and the Caribbean. During the 50th anniversary of Robinson's debut, Major League Baseball staged elaborate memorial ceremonies for Robinson, who had died in 1972, and congratulated the national pastime for having helped lead the fight for equal rights during the Cold War years.

These celebrations glossed over how postwar baseball's leadership had unofficially limited its own desegregation effort. Several teams waited years before integrating their rosters, claiming that they could find no talented African American or Latino prospects. More commonly, clubs restricted the number of nonwhite players they would take on and hired only whites as managers, coaches, and front-office personnel.

African American and Latino players who followed in Robinson's footsteps confronted continuing obstacles. They encountered overt, off-the-field discrimination during spring training in the South and Southwest and in many small towns elsewhere when playing in the minor leagues. Spanish-speaking players struggled to convince managers, sportswriters, and teammates that they could "understand" the subtleties of either baseball or North American culture.

The New Suburbia

In suburbia, too, change was simultaneously celebrated and feared—and thus subject to various strategies for limiting the impact of the new.

Suburban living had long been a feature of the "American Dream." The new Long Island town of Levittown, New York, which welcomed its first residents in October 1947, seemed to make that dream an affordable reality for middle-income families. Similar developments, such as Lakewood and Panorama City in California, soon began springing up in other parts of the country.

Nearly everything about Levittown and its counterparts seemed unprecedented. Levitt & Sons, a construction company that had mass-produced military barracks during the Second World War, claimed to be completing a five-room bungalow every 15 minutes. Architectural critics sneered at these "little boxes," but potential buyers stood in long lines for the chance to purchase one. By 1950, Levittown contained more than 10,000 homes and 40,000 residents. At the same time, bulldozers and construction crews were sweeping through other suburban developments across the country.

To assist potential buyers, the government offered an extensive set of programs. The FHA, established during the New Deal, helped underwrite an elaborate lending system. Typically, people who bought FHA-financed homes needed only 5 percent of the purchase price as a down payment; they could finance the rest with a long-term, government-insured mortgage. Veterans enjoyed even more favorable terms under the GI loan program. These government programs made it cheaper to purchase a suburban house than to rent an apartment in most cities. Moreover, the law provided suburban homeowners with an additional subsidy: They could deduct the interest payments on their mortgages from their federal income tax.

The new suburbs quickly gained a reputation for being ideal places for nurturing a **baby boom generation.** Sheer numbers helped identify "baby boomers," people born between 1946 and 1964, as a unique social and cultural force. The Great Depression and the Second World War had deflated the U.S. birth rate, but it began to soar even before the war's end. A number of factors, including earlier marriages and rising incomes, fueled a continuing boom in babies. More than 75 million babies were born in the United States during the baby boom era.

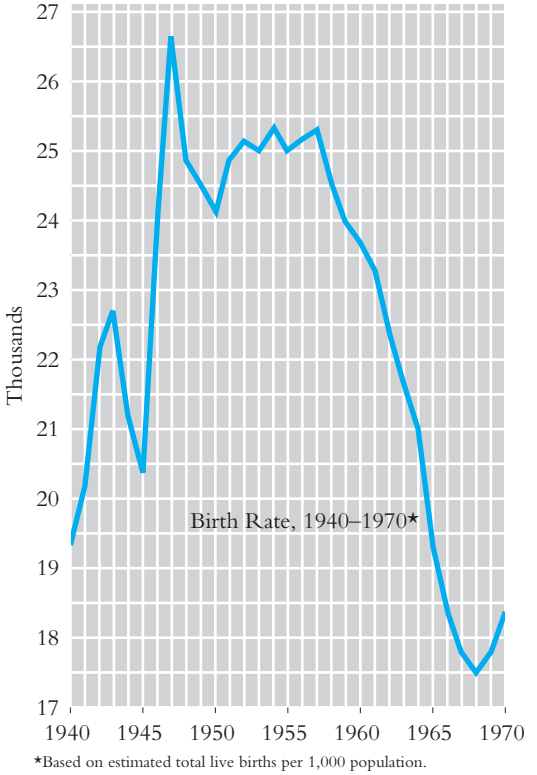
Although baby boomers lived everywhere, they became closely identified with the new suburbia. With houses occupying only about 15 percent of new suburban lots, large lawns served as private playgrounds. Suburban schools were as new as the homes, and their well-appointed facilities attracted both skilled, enthusiastic teachers and baby-boom children. In many respects, suburbia symbolized new possibilities, confidence in the future, and acceptance of change.

As contemporary observers noted, however, suburbia also appeared to offer a material and psychological refuge. Buying a suburban home seemed a way of containing

the impact of the social and cultural changes of the Cold War era. As African American families continued to migrate to Northern and Western cities in search of jobs and greater opportunity, for example, whites began to see a move to the new suburbs as a way to avoid living in racially integrated neighborhoods. Governmental policies contributed to this trend through the financial incentives provided to homebuyers. Even after the Supreme Court declared restrictive covenants unconstitutional, local officials often successfully undercut the ruling's immediate impact. Various informal and extralegal arrangements prevented, until well into the 1960s, any African American from buying a home in Levittown.

Other policies and practices helped to limit diversity within the new postwar suburbs. Local governments could veto public housing projects in their communities. Although land and building costs would have been cheaper in the suburbs, public housing remained concentrated on relatively expensive, high-density urban sites. At the same time, the lending industry channeled government-guaranteed loans away from most urban neighborhoods, and private lenders routinely denied credit to African Americans and Latinos seeking to buy new suburban housing.

Leaders of the postwar housing industry denied any discriminatory intent. William Levitt could identify his private housing projects with the public crusade against communism. "No man who owns his house and lot can be a Communist," he



*Based on estimated total live births per 1,000 population.

The Baby Boom



© Hulton Archive/Getty Images

The New Suburbia: Levittown. *The success of Levittown, New York, in the late 1940s provided a pattern for mass-produced homes in new suburban developments elsewhere in the United States. Assistance from government financing programs, such as the GI Bill, and standardized production methods brought the cost of new suburban homes within the reach of millions of buyers.*

remarked in 1948. "He has too much to do." Even as Levitt claimed he could help solve the problem of housing—and perhaps even that of communist subversion—he also resisted any suggestion that the private decisions of his construction business had anything to do with race.

Other architects of postwar suburbia saw nothing problematic about their operations. The private financial industry extended the vast majority of its loan guarantees to white men. Only rarely could single women, from any ethnic background, obtain loans. The FHA, a governmental agency, justified a similar policy on the grounds that men were the family breadwinners and that women seldom made enough money to qualify as good credit risks. Analogous justifications often kept men of non-European background from obtaining loans for housing in the new suburbs.

Postwar Hollywood

Hollywood turned out movies filled with powerful symbols of the Cold War era's fascination with—and containment of—change. The motion picture industry still commanded the nation's entertainment dollars at the start of the postwar period. As the overseas markets reopened and Hollywood's male stars returned from military service, the U.S. film industry expected to prosper and prepared to cheer the nation through the Cold



The Michael Barson Collection

Deadly Is the Female. *Also called* Gun Crazy *(1949), this example of a* film noir *played on fears of social breakdown and inspired the later movie* Bonnie and Clyde *(1967).*

War much as it had through the Depression and the Second World War. Attendance at movie theaters reached an all-time high in 1948.

The familiar musical genre, filled with lively stars, upbeat tunes, and flashy dance sequences, provided a ready formula for expressing postwar optimism. MGM's *On the Town* (1949) saturated movie screens with hopeful imagery. During 24 hours of shore leave, three U.S. sailors sing and dance their way through the streets of New York, sample the city's cultural life, and romance three equally vibrant young women. Ending with a title card proudly proclaiming it had been filmed in "Hollywood, USA," this musical seemed to herald the film industry's own bright future.

By the time *On the Town* arrived in movie theaters, however, Hollywood's fortunes were changing. Attendance figures— along with profits—began to plummet in 1949. A year before, the Supreme Court had ruled that antitrust laws required the major studios to give up their highly profitable ownership of local movie theaters. This decision rocked Hollywood just as it faced labor strife, internal conflict over blacklisting, and soaring production costs. The challenge of television delivered yet another blow to an industry already reeling backward.

Meanwhile, Hollywood continued to release a cycle of motion pictures that came to be called *film noir*, or "dark cinema." Almost always filmed in black and white and generally set in large cities, *film noir* purported to be peeking into the dark corner of postwar America. *Noir* characters still pursued their dreams and hopes but with little chance of attaining them. Failure and loss seemed to be the rule rather than the exception in these movies.

Film noir invariably featured alluring *femmes fatales*. These beautiful but dangerous female characters challenged the prevailing order, particularly its gender relationships. The *femme fatale* disdained the confinement that came with being a faithful, nurturing wife and mother. Usually unmarried and childless, her continual scheming to escape her containment threatened both men and women.

In *The File on Thelma Jordan* (1949), for instance, Barbara Stanwyck's title character destroys the marriage of a naïve district attorney. Neither love nor even lust drives her illicit affair with him. Instead, she seduces this public official as part of an ambitious, but ultimately unsuccessful, scheme to manipulate the criminal justice system. The postwar era's leading female stars—including Stanwyck, Joan Crawford, Rita Hayworth, and Lana Turner—achieved both popular and critical acclaim playing *femmes fatales*.

The Great Fear, at its height during the years from 1946 to 1953, accentuated pressure to contain supposed threats to domestic security. Still, economic growth, new expectations stemming from the war, and demographic shifts worked to alter many social and cultural patterns. The everyday lives of Americans—racial hierarchies, living arrangements, and social-cultural expectations—were changing.

The Election of 1952

Harry Truman, his popular approval rating ultimately falling to near 20 percent, declined to run for another term in 1952. His presidency had put his Democratic Party on the defensive, while denunciations of communism and of Truman's outgoing administration animated Republican campaign efforts.

Continuing Containment

Both major political parties embraced the policy of containment in 1952. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, the Democratic presidential candidate, warned that "Soviet secret agents and their dupes" had "burrowed like moles" into governments throughout the world. "We cannot let our guard drop for even a moment," he claimed. A solidly anticommunist stance, however, could not save Stevenson or his party. The Republicans linked Stevenson to the unpopular Truman presidency and highlighted several scandals that featured administration figures receiving kickbacks for granting government contracts. The GOP's vice presidential nominee, Senator Richard Nixon of California, called Stevenson "Adlai the appeaser." The Republican formula for electoral victory could be expressed in a simple equation, "K1C2": "Korea, corruption, and communism."

A Soldier-Politician

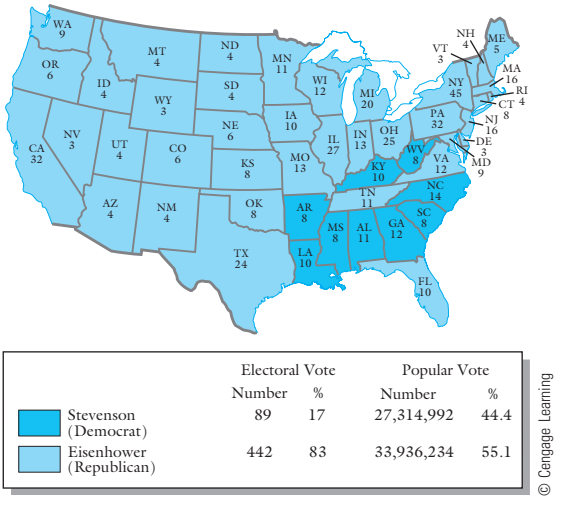
For a presidential candidate, Republicans ultimately turned to a hero of the Second World War, **General Dwight David Eisenhower,** popularly known as "Ike." Eisenhower grew up in Kansas; graduated from West Point; ascended through Army ranks; and, as

Supreme Allied Commander, directed the Normandy invasion of 1944. He served as Army Chief of Staff from 1945 to 1948 and, after an interim period as president of Columbia University, became the commander of NATO, a post he held until resigning to seek the U.S. presidency. Eisenhower had never before sought elective office, but a half-century of military service had honed his political instincts and administrative skills. Still vigorous at 62 years of age, Eisenhower seemed much younger than the departing Truman, only six years his senior.

Eisenhower's personal appeal dazzled political insiders, media commentators, and ordinary voters. Although his partisan affiliations seemed hazy enough that Democrats (as well as Republicans) had courted him as their presidential choice in 1948, Eisenhower eventually emerged as the standard bearer of the GOP in 1952.

The crucial political battle of that year took place, before the general election, within Republican ranks. The more conservative party stalwarts rallied behind Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and his goals of reversing the New Deal and tempering Truman's global foreign policy. GOP leaders from the East and West Coasts saw Taft, his strength centered in the Midwest and South, leaning too far rightward on domestic issues and expressing insufficient enthusiasm for containment overseas. In contrast, Eisenhower had helped implement postwar national security policies as head of NATO and did not share Taft's animus toward the New Deal. After a fierce intra-party struggle, Eisenhower gained a narrow, first-ballot victory at the GOP national convention. Ike consoled Taft's supporters by endorsing a balanced federal budget and condemning "socialistic" domestic programs.

From the very outset, though, Eisenhower's major policy preferences, especially overseas, tilted more toward those of the Democrats than ones favored by Taft's wing of the GOP. Marketed as a middle-of-the-road candidate, Eisenhower



MAP 27.4 Presidential Election, 1952

An overwhelming victory for Eisenhower, this election saw Stevenson carrying a handful of states. Note that the so-called "Solid South," though, remained largely Democratic. The nation's political configuration, especially for presidential elections, would change substantially over the next two decades.

appeared ready to direct the nation through a cold war as skillfully as he had led it through a hot one. The Republican effort of 1952, the first to feature televised appeals, downplayed Eisenhower's uncertain grasp of complicated policy issues in favoring of highlighting his winning personality. A GOP campaign button simply announced "I Like IKE!"

The first military leader to gain the presidency since Ulysses S. Grant (1869–77), Eisenhower could claim a great personal victory. The Eisenhower–Nixon ticket rolled up almost 7 million more popular votes than the Democrats and carried the Electoral College ballots by a nearly five-to-one margin. The Republican Party, however, made only modest gains. It managed a single-vote majority in the Senate and an eight-vote edge in the House of Representatives. The New Deal political coalition still survived but showed increasing signs of fraying in the South. There, some of the segregationist vote that had gone to the Dixiecrats in 1948 began moving toward the Republicans, and Eisenhower carried four states in the Democratic Party's once "Solid South" in 1952.

Conclusion

An emphasis on safeguarding national security helped reshape national life during the years that followed the Second World War. As worsening relations between the United States and the Soviet Union produced a Cold War, the Truman administration pursued foreign policy initiatives that expanded the power of the government, particularly the executive branch. The militarization of foreign policy intensified when the United States, after going to war in Korea in 1950, began implementing the assumptions laid out in NSC-68.

Americans also debated how best to safeguard security and calm cultural anxieties on the home front. Prospects for enacting any Second Bill of Rights faded, but postwar policymakers insisted that a careful application of Keynesian economic principles could guarantee economic growth and thereby provide tax revenues to underwrite a limited expansion of domestic programs. The Truman administration also expressed support, even when it alienated white Southerners, for a civil rights agenda.

The 1952 election of Dwight Eisenhower gave the Republicans the presidency for the first time in two decades. Eisenhower's personal appeal, however, did not signal the imminent demise of the New Deal coalition that had held sway since the 1930s or the postwar containment policies championed by his predecessor, Harry Truman.

28

Affluence and Its Discontents, 1953–1963

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Reorienting Containment, 1953–1960 • Affluence—A "People of Plenty" • Discontents of Affluence • Debating the Role of Government • New Frontiers, 1960–1963 • The Politics of Gender • The Expanding Civil Rights Movements, 1953–1963 • November, 1963

Containment of communism continued to dominate American foreign policy between 1953 and 1963. President Dwight David Eisenhower modulated the pitch of the anticommunist rhetoric coming from a Republican White House, but both he and his Democratic successor, John F. Kennedy, supported the national bureaucracy's plans for new ways to fight the Cold War.

At home, Ike and JFK supported, with differing degrees of enthusiasm, social and economic programs that were initiated during the 1930s and 1940s. Eisenhower nudged the GOP away from the conservatism of the last Republican president, Herbert Hoover. Ike reminded fellow Republicans that many voters still blamed Hoover and their party for the Great Depression. Eisenhower's administration thus accepted the key elements of the New Deal: the economic regulatory structure, the safety net of Social Security, the ability of labor to bargain collectively, and the building of infrastructure projects. Calling Eisenhower's policies too cautious, Kennedy came to the presidency promising more vigorous governmental action at home and, especially, overseas.

The 1950s and early 1960s marked the midpoint of an economic expansion that had begun during the Second World War and would continue until the early 1970s. Sustained growth encouraged talk about "affluence." Economic data bolstered such optimistic claims. Between 1941 and 1950, the real income of the bottom 50 percent of the population grew by more than one third. The bottom 20 percent saw its income rise by a higher percentage than the top 20 percent. Economic growth also generated discontent, particularly over conformity, restive young people, and commercial mass culture. At the same time, continued economic

CHRONOLOGY

1953	Eisenhower becomes president ◆ Korean War ends
1954	New Look in foreign policy unveiled ◆ *Brown* Cases decided ◆ Geneva Peace Accords signed
1955	Montgomery bus boycott begins ◆ *National Review* founded
1956	Federal Highway Act passed ◆ Eisenhower reelected
1957	Eisenhower sends troops to Little Rock ◆ Congress passes Civil Rights Act ◆ *Sputniks* orbited
1958	National Defense Education Act passes
1959	Khrushchev visits U.S. ◆ Castro overthrows Batista in Cuba
1960	Kennedy elected President
1961	Bay of Pigs Invasion fails ◆ Berlin Wall goes up
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis endangers world
1963	Civil Rights groups hold March on Washington ◆ Kennedy assassinated

disparities and racial discrimination sparked debate over greater use of governmental power—and the meanings of liberty and equality—in a time of affluence.

Reorienting Containment, 1953–1960

The U.S. strategy for containing communism shifted emphasis during the 1950s. Bipolar confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over European issues gave way to greater reliance on nuclear weaponry and on subtle power plays in the Third World: the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Eisenhower Takes Command

Eisenhower honored a campaign pledge to travel to Korea and help end U.S. military involvement there. Negotiations temporarily broke down, however, over whether North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war (POWs) might refuse repatriation to their home nations and remain in South Korea. Anxious to conclude matters, Eisenhower began to hint about using nuclear weapons if diplomacy failed. Talks resumed, and on July 27, 1953, both sides signed a truce that established a commission of neutral nations to handle the issue of repatriating POWs. (Subsequently, the POWs were given the choice to be repatriated or not.) A conflict that claimed the lives of more than 2 million Asians, mostly noncombatants, and 53,000 Americans finally ended. A formal peace treaty remained unsigned, however, and the 38th parallel between the two Koreas became one of the most heavily fortified borders in the world.

At home, Ike patiently wrested control of the national security issue from more militant anticommunists. Anticommunist forces in Congress exceeded the wishes of the Eisenhower administration when enacting the Communist Control Act of 1954, which barred the American Communist Party from running candidates in elections

and extended the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. With a GOP president in the White House, however, Republicans began turning away from the more confrontational styles of anticommunist politics associated with Joe McCarthy.

McCarthy finally careened out of control. He used his Senate subcommittee to rail against the Eisenhower administration and about supposed subversives in the U.S. Army. The senator also denounced, as "unfit to wear the uniform," a well-respected general who had denied McCarthy's charges. A special Senate committee began investigating the sensational allegations, and these "Army-McCarthy Hearings" turned into a television mini-series that began in April of 1954. Under the glare of TV lights, McCarthy could seem to be hurling slanders rather than offering evidence. And his habit of interrupting the proceedings with a "point of order" made for tiresome television. In late 1954 McCarthy's colleagues in the Senate, including half of his fellow Republicans, voted to "condemn" him for "unbecoming" conduct. Three years later, McCarthy died, still in office but exiled from the national spotlight. Eisenhower's decision to allow McCarthy to self-destruct, rather than to confront him head-on, seemed vindicated.

Indeed, presidential historians now generally see Eisenhower as a skilled chief executive. By expanding the White House staff, he could employ the full power of the presidency while seeming to do relatively little. Eisenhower, in the words of one scholar, conducted a "hidden hand presidency." Ike encouraged the idea that George Humphrey, his first secretary of the treasury, and Sherman Adams, his first chief of staff, directed domestic matters. In foreign policy, he initially allowed John Foster Dulles, secretary of state from 1953 to 1959, to take center stage. Recognizing how regular TV coverage would increase presidential visibility, Ike honed his folksy image and became a capable television performer.

The New Look, Global Alliances, and Summitry

Working behind the scenes, Eisenhower collaborated with his national security advisers to reinforce executive branch leadership in foreign policy. He allowed Dulles to warn, repeatedly, that a new administration might seek to "roll back," rather than simply to contain, communism. The excesses of legislators like McCarthy helped the White House justify its claims for a constitutional privilege to withhold national security materials from Congress and against a constitutional amendment to limit presidential power in foreign affairs. Eisenhower also extended Harry Truman's earlier programs of domestic surveillance and continued a secret program to develop new aerial surveillance capabilities.

The Eisenhower administration also secretly reviewed overall military policy. It initially decided to rein in the military budget by introducing a **New Look,** which emphasized nuclear weaponry and air power as a way to halt the spiraling military expenditures, which had begun during Truman's presidency. Ike calculated that he could never find enough domestic spending cuts to achieve his dream of balancing the federal budget. The former general and his allies in the military, moreover, recognized that the Cold War would not end any time soon and that they needed a national security policy that would be affordable over the "long haul."

Eisenhower's New Look became associated with the doctrine of **massive retaliation.** In early 1954, John Foster Dulles announced that the United States reserved the right to respond to military aggression "vigorously at places and

with means of our own choosing." This thinly veiled threat to unleash U.S. nuclear weaponry aimed at keeping Soviet expansion in check. To widen the U.S. nuclear umbrella, Eisenhower expanded NATO to include West Germany in 1955 and added other mutual defense pacts with noncommunist nations in Central and Southeast Asia.

The Eisenhower administration soon began modifying the New Look and massive retaliation by emphasizing more flexible approaches to national security policy. It embraced covert action and economic pressure as useful strategies. The administration also elevated psychological warfare and informational programs into additional weapons of the Cold War. The government-run Voice of America extended its radio broadcasts globally. Washington secretly funded Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty (beamed to the Soviet Union), and Radio Asia. In 1953 Eisenhower persuaded Congress to create the United States Information Agency (USIA) to coordinate anticommunist propaganda campaigns.

One piece of this cultural offensive fought the Cold War with jazz. Beginning in 1955, Willis Conover hosted a two-hour, six-night per week program that hailed jazz as "music of freedom." Opening with "Take the 'A' Train," Duke Ellington's signature tune, *Music USA: The Jazz Hour* reached more than 100 million listeners around the globe. After Conover's death in 1996, an admiring obituary quipped that his show would "bombard Budapest with Billy Taylor, strafe Poland with Oscar Peterson and drop John Coltrane on Moscow."

The United States and the USSR, in the hope of stabilizing their rocky relationship, began holding high-level "summit meetings" in 1955. In May, the same month the Warsaw Pact went into effect, U.S. and Soviet leaders finally agreed to end the occupation of Austria and to transform it into a neutral nation. Two months later, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France met in Geneva, Switzerland, and inaugurated cultural exchanges. Some optimistic observers began talking about the "Spirit of Geneva." During fall of 1959, hoping to heal a rift over the future of divided Berlin, Khrushchev toured the United States. He called on a farm family in Iowa, visited Hollywood, and toured Disneyland. Although a 1960 summit meeting in Paris fell apart after the Soviets shot down an American U-2 spy plane over their territory, the tone of Cold War rhetoric became somewhat less strident during Eisenhower's presidency.

The United States and the Soviet Union also began negotiations over their already vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Eisenhower's "Open Skies" initiative of 1955 proposed mutual reconnaissance flights over each other's territory to verify efforts at reduction. The Soviets balked, but some progress was made in limiting atomic testing. Responding to the health hazards of radioactive fallout, both nations slowed aboveground testing and discussed a broader test-ban agreement.

For some Americans, these efforts came too late. Documents finally declassified in the 1980s confirmed that people who had lived or worked "downwind" from nuclear test sites during the 1940s and 1950s suffered a number of atomic-related illnesses. More than one-third of the crew that worked on the Hollywood movie *The Conqueror* (1956), shot in a downwind area of Utah, contracted or died of cancer. Subsequent revelations also showed that the government had covertly experimented with radioactive materials on unsuspecting citizens.

Meanwhile, events in Eastern Europe tested the likelihood of the United States and the Soviet Union clashing militarily in this region. Dissidents within the Soviet-dominated "satellite" countries resented their badly managed communist economies and detested their police-state regimes. Seizing on hints that the Soviet Union might relax its heavy hand, insurgents in Poland staged a three-day rebellion in June 1956. They forced the Soviets to accept Wladyslaw Gomulka, an old foe of Moscow, as Poland's head of state.

Hungarians then rallied in support of Imre Nagy, a communist-nationalist who promised a multiparty political system for his country. After failed attempts at finding an accommodation, Soviet military forces moved against the new Hungarian government. Hungary's insurgents appealed to the United States for assistance. Apparently, they took seriously U.S. rhetoric from Secretary of State Dulles about "rolling back" Soviet power in Eastern Europe. Military strategists at the Pentagon, however, recognized the danger of mounting any military operation so close to Soviet territory. Soviet armies crushed the Hungarian uprising and killed thousands, including Nagy.

Covert Action and Economic Leverage

Meanwhile, the U.S. campaign to contain communism shifted toward the Third World, with covert action and economic pressure as primary tools. These approaches, less visible and less expensive than military deployments, also seemed less likely to provoke political controversy at home or a showdown with the Soviets abroad.

The CIA, headed by Allen Dulles, brother of the secretary of state, played a key role in advancing U.S. policy goals. In 1953 the CIA helped engineer the election of the anti-communist Ramón Magsaysay as president of the Philippines. That same year, the CIA facilitated a coup in Iran, overthrowing Mohammed Mossadegh's constitutional (and left-leaning) government and restoring Shah (emperor) Reza Pahlavi to power. The increasingly dictatorial Iranian leader ensured that his country would remain allied with Washington and supportive of American oil interests. In 1954 the CIA spearheaded a successful plot to topple President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán's elected government in Guatemala. Officials in Washington and executives of the United Fruit Company desired the ouster of Arbenz, whose broad support included that of Guatemala's communist party. The CIA strategy included a full-scale propaganda offensive that helped undermine Arbenz's popular appeal among Guatemalans.

Impressed by these covert operations, the National Security Council widened the CIA's mandate. By 1961 the CIA deployed approximately 15,000 agents, as compared to about 6,000 only eight years earlier, around the world.

Eisenhower also employed economic strategies—trade and aid—to contain communism and win allies. Governmental initiatives sought to open new opportunities for American enterprises overseas, discourage other countries from adopting state-directed economic systems, and encourage expanded trade ties. Supporters of these efforts credited U.S. policy with encouraging greater stability in recipient countries. U.S. military aid to the Third World nations also rose sharply between 1953 and 1963. This buildup of armaments provided the United States with stronger anticommunist allies but also contributed to the development of military dictatorships.

The Third World When pursuing containment, the Eisenhower administration employed a broad definition of "communist." In many nations, groups advocating labor rights and land redistribution had allied with local communist movements. Opponents of these groups could hope to win U.S. support by mentioning the word "communist" to policymakers in Washington, D.C.

In Latin America, the White House gravitated toward dictatorial regimes that welcomed U.S. economic investment and opposed leftist movements. Eisenhower publicly honored dictators in Peru and Venezuela and privately praised the anti-communism of Paraguay's General Alfredo Stroessner, a tyrant who sheltered former Nazis and ran his country as if it were a private fiefdom. Eisenhower's administration cultivated close ties with Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, and the CIA secretly trained Batista's repressive security forces.

Events in Cuba dramatized growing hostility to U.S. policy. In late 1959, a revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro toppled Batista's pro-U.S. regime and pledged to reduce Cuba's dependence on the United States. The Eisenhower administration responded with an economic boycott. Castro turned to the Soviet Union, openly embraced communism, squashed dissent at home, and promised to encourage Cuban-style insurgencies throughout Latin America.

This prompted the Eisenhower administration to revisit policies that seemed to be generating animosity and sparking anti-U.S. political movements throughout Latin America. Its review ultimately recommended greater emphasis on encouraging democratic political processes, human rights, and economic growth in Latin America. Meanwhile, the CIA pondered how best to hamstring, and then eliminate, Castro.

In the Middle East, distrust of nationalism and neutralism shaped U.S. policy. In 1954 when Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser led a successful military coup in Egypt against a corrupt monarchy, he promised to rescue other Arab nations from European domination and guide them toward "positive neutralism" in the Cold War. Nasser denounced Israel, boosted Egypt's economic and military power, extended diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China, and purchased advanced weapons from communist Czechoslovakia.

The Eisenhower administration viewed Nassar's moves as neither positive nor neutral. It cancelled loans for the Aswan Dam, a project designed to improve agriculture along the Nile River and provide power for new Egyptian industries. Nasser responded, in July 1956, by seizing the British-controlled Suez Canal, which remained of economic and symbolic importance to Britain. Its forces, joined by those of France and Israel, attacked Egypt in October and seized back the canal.

Eisenhower distrusted Nasser but also opposed Britain's blatant attempt to retain its imperial position. Denouncing the Anglo-French-Israeli action, he threatened to destabilize Britain's currency unless the invasion ended. Eventually, a plan supported by the United States and the UN gave Egypt control over the Suez Canal. Even so, U.S. influence in the area suffered as the Soviet Union underwrote construction of the Aswan Dam.

With Nasser-style nationalism now tilting toward Moscow, the Eisenhower administration feared "Nasserism" spreading throughout the energy-rich Middle East. In spring 1957 the **Eisenhower Doctrine** pledged that the United States would use military force to defend Middle Eastern countries "against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism." When governments

in Lebanon and Jordan faced revolts by domestic forces friendly to Nasser, Eisenhower dispatched U.S. Marines to Lebanon, and Britain helped Jordan's King Hussein retain his throne. These actions dovetailed with Eisenhower's preference for supporting governments that embraced the status quo, but they also intensified Arab nationalism and anti-Americanism.

The Eisenhower administration tried to squelch left-leaning political movements in other parts of the Third World as well. In 1958 the CIA furnished planes and pilots to rebels trying to overthrow Achmed Sukarno, leader of Indonesia, who drew support from that nation's large communist party. The rebellion failed, and Sukarno tightened his grip on power. CIA operatives also became involved in a plot against Patrice Lumumba, a popular black nationalist in the Congo. Lumumba's opponents assassinated him in 1961, and scholars still debate the precise role the CIA played in his death.

Eisenhower's effort to thwart communism and neutralism in the Third World set the stage for the most substantial U.S. commitment—in Indochina. During the Korean War, the Truman administration had dramatically increased economic aid for France's war to retain its colony in Indochina against a communist-nationalist movement led by Ho Chi Minh (Chapter 27). Eisenhower continued Truman's policy, but the French electorate increasingly soured on this colonial war. Then, during the early spring of 1954, French forces in the valley of Dien Bien Phu became surrounded by Ho's troops. France appealed to the Eisenhower administration for air support and, perhaps, for a nuclear strike. Opposition from both Great Britain and a bipartisan group in the U.S. Congress helped confirm Eisenhower's inclination to reject military invention. In May 1954, the trapped French troops surrendered, and previously scheduled peace negotiations opened in Geneva. The stunning defeat at Dien Bien Phu prompted France to abandon a colony it had created in 1887.

The **Geneva Peace Accords of 1954,** which the Eisenhower administration refused to sign, divided French Indochina into three new nations: Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The accords temporarily split Vietnam at the 17th parallel into two jurisdictions—North Vietnam and South Vietnam—until a subsequent election could unify the country under a single government. Ho Chi Minh and his communist allies in China and the Soviet Union accepted this settlement, confident that Ho would win the political contest scheduled for 1956.

Eisenhower's advisers feared that a communist electoral victory in Vietnam might set off a geopolitical chain reaction that could "endanger the stability and security" of noncommunist nations throughout Asia, a formulation known as the **"domino theory."** After Ho Chi Minh's communist government started consolidating its control over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), nearly 800,000 noncommunist Vietnamese ultimately moved southward. Eisenhower ordered covert operations and economic programs to forestall Ho Chi Minh from assuming control of a unified Vietnam.

The United States sought to create a viable, anticommunist ally in the southern part of Vietnam. The CIA helped orchestrate a program for training an anticommunist combat force and stage a rigged 1955 election that installed Ngo Dinh Diem as the first president of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). Once again, "super spy" Edward Lansdale played a key role in the U.S. effort.

An anticommunist Catholic, Ngo Dinh Diem soon renounced the Geneva Peace Accords and the election intended to create a unified government for all of

Vietnam. He consolidated his political power, augmented his military forces, and cracked down on his opponents. Diem's policies increasingly cost him support inside South Vietnam, especially among the sizeable Buddhist population, and encouraged the factions in North Vietnam that favored moving militarily against Diem rather than waiting for his regime to collapse from within. Diem became increasingly dependent on the United States and ever more disconnected from political conditions in his own country.

The Eisenhower administration sent billions of dollars and hundreds of military advisers to prop up Diem's government. Meanwhile, in early 1959, North Vietnam finally decided to send troops as well as supplies into the South. They traveled along a shifting route of highways and roads that became known as the "Ho Chi Minh Trail." Although Ike feared that any direct U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam would be a "tragedy," he supported increased aid and tied America's policy to Diem's shaky political and military fortunes. Any decision about whether Eisenhower's commitments would ever lead the United States to intervene with its own military forces would fall to his successors.

Affluence—A "People of Plenty"

In his farewell address of 1961, Dwight Eisenhower warned that the greatest danger to the United States was not communism but the nation's own **military-industrial complex.** This term signified an informal relationship among military, political, and economic elites committed to expanding national security capabilities. This complex, the former general said, threatened to so accelerate the costs of Cold War containment that the burden of military expenditures would eventually harm the U.S. domestic economy.

Eisenhower's speech contained several ironies. Most obviously, his administration, while trying to contain costs, failed to prevent ever-larger sums of money from flowing to the military. Moreover, Ike's selection of corporate executives to head the Department of Defense seemingly dramatized the very same linkage his farewell address had decried. In addition, Eisenhower's warnings about possible impending danger came after eight years during which his White House had praised the nation's continued economic growth.

In 1940 the United States had still teetered on the brink of economic depression. Twenty years later, it could claim a GNP more than five times that of Great Britain and roughly 10 times that of Japan. National security policies facilitated U.S. access to raw materials and energy. Government spending for these same policies, what economists sometimes called "military Keynesianism," also pumped money into the economy. By 1955, military expenditures accounted for about 10 percent of the GNP.

Economic Growth

The post-1953 decade, despite three brief recessions, would mark the midpoint of a period of steady economic growth that would eventually stretch from the Second World War to the early 1970s. During the Fifties, the historian David Potter called Americans a "people of plenty." Corporations turned out vast quantities of consumer goods and enjoyed rising profits. The label "Made in America" announced both the quality of particular products and the economic power of the United States.

Newer American-based industries, such as those involving chemicals and electronics, dominated world markets. Corning Glass reported that most of its sales in the mid-1950s came from products that had been unknown in 1940. General Electric proclaimed, "progress is our most important product."

The new suburbs displayed the fruits of this booming economy. Because these outlying areas invariably lacked adequate mass transit, life revolved around the automobile. Car buying expanded during the 1950s as the two-car family and new suburban shopping malls, surrounded by acres of free parking, became tangible symbols of economic growth. Widespread ownership of kitchen appliances, television sets, and automobiles supported the claim that Americans were a people of plenty.

Complaints about the success of capitalism, a feature of political discourse during the 1930s, largely disappeared. Capitalism seemed to work—and spectacularly well. Only a new vocabulary could describe its wonders. *Fortune* magazine celebrated "The Rich Middle-Income Class" and the "Wonderful Ordinary Luxury Market." Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith reached the bestseller lists at the end of the 1950s with a book entitled *The Affluent Society* (1958).

The idea of affluence fit nicely with the dominant vision that celebrated constant economic growth and steady improvement of living standards as a uniquely American way of life. The gulf between rich and poor no longer seemed to be between people with cars and those without them, but between people with Cadillacs and Lincolns and those with Fords and Chevrolets. "Luxury has reached the masses," proclaimed *Fortune* magazine.

Keynesian economists such as Galbraith argued that greater government expenditures would generate even faster growth, but the Eisenhower administration demurred. Fearing that increased spending would fuel inflation, it remained



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The "Mrs. America" Gas Kitchen. *In 1959, the American National Exhibition in Moscow featured a "typical housewife" working in this RCA/Whirlpool "Mrs. America" gas kitchen, a symbol of the streamlined material progress of the postwar United States.*



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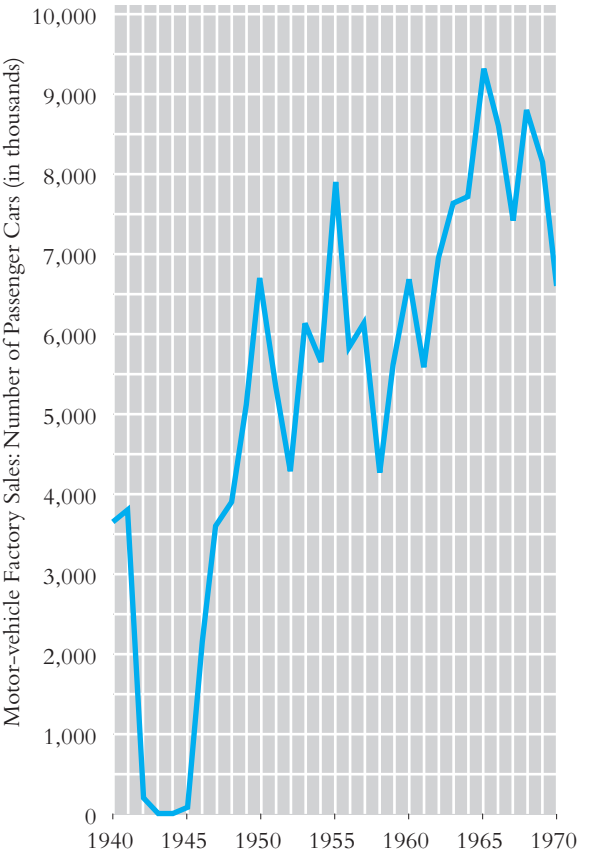
The Typical Housewife. *This photograph depicts a different view of the "typical housewife" in her kitchen.*

committed, at least rhetorically, to restraining even the Pentagon's budget. By the mid-1950s the federal government was running balanced budgets.

Highways and Waterways

Eisenhower did, however, endorse several costly new programs. He supported the **Highway Act of 1956,** citing national-security considerations. Financed largely by a national tax on gasoline, the act funded a nationwide system of limited-access expressways. It initially aimed at building, over a 10-year period, more than 40,000 miles of highway. Touted as the largest public works project in world history, this program delighted the oil, concrete, and tire industries; provided steady work for construction firms and labor unions; and boosted the interstate trucking business. It also confirmed the victory of the automobile over competing modes of surface transportation.

The White House also supported expensive water-diversion projects in the West. The Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, governmental agencies with powerful supporters in business and in Congress, spent billions of dollars on dams, irrigation canals, and reservoirs. Irrigation turned desert into cropland, and elaborate pumping systems even forced rivers to flow uphill. By 1960 much of the West enjoyed access to trillions of gallons of water per year, and governmental expenditures laid the basis for substantial economic growth in the "sunbelt states" of Texas, California, and Arizona.



Auto Sales, 1940–1970

These water projects came at a price. Technologically complicated and costly to build, they spawned similarly complex bureaucracies to operate them. As a consequence, local communities lost power to government agencies and large-scale entrepreneurs, who pushed aside smaller farmers and ranchers. American Indian tribes, especially, found sections of their land being flooded for reservoirs or purchased by agribusinesses. Moreover, these vast projects—which diverted surface waters, tapped into groundwater tables, and dotted the West with dams and reservoirs—produced ecological problems. They degraded habitats and contributed to the buildup of salt byproducts in the water and the soil. Some scientists began to warn about the overuse of pesticides such as DDT.

Owner of a hobby farm in Pennsylvania, Eisenhower took a personal interest in agricultural policy. Although the number of farms in the United States plummeted during the 1950s, new machine technologies, corporate-style operations, and hybrid seeds spurred greater agricultural production. As overproduction thus continued to drive down commodity prices, government support programs continued to prop up farm incomes. The idea that Washington should guarantee farmers "parity," or a fair price for their labor, remained the centerpiece of federal

agricultural policy. Despite some efforts to tinker with existing arrangements, the parity system survived. The Eisenhower administration also tried to increase agricultural exports and began the "Soil Bank Program" that paid farmers for taking land out of production.

Labor–Management Accord

Most corporate leaders, supportive of the kind of government involvement required to build highways and water projects, were learning to live with labor unions as well. The auto industry showed the way.

Union leaders recognized that closer cooperation with corporate management could guarantee employment stability and political influence for their members. Roughly 35 per cent of the nonagricultural workers held a union card during the 1950s. Taking its cue from the United Auto Workers (UAW), one of the most militant unions back in the 1930s, organized labor agreed to bargain aggressively on issues that immediately affected worker paychecks and fringe benefits but to abide by their contracts with management and to disavow aggressive tactics such as wildcat strikes. To police this new labor-management détente, both sides looked to the federal government's National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Meanwhile, in 1955, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), long at odds, merged. The 1950s thus seemed to signal an end to the kind of labor-capital conflict that had marked the 1930s and late 1940s.

Labor activists expressed concern. Nearly two-thirds of all unionized workers lived in only 10 states. Worse, companies in some areas of union strength, such as the Northeast, were already beginning to move jobs to states in the South, where the union movement lacked strong roots. The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, moreover, allowed for state laws that could frustrate new organizing drives, such as the unsuccessful effort in the South known as "Operation Dixie."

Business leaders, on the other hand, generally applauded the new direction in labor-management relations. *Fortune* magazine noted that General Motors had paid a price in terms of more costly employee benefits and higher wages, but that it "got a bargain" on the larger issue of labor peace. To safeguard their control over decision making, corporations expanded their supervisory personnel, a practice that increased consumer prices. The labor-management accord also divided the industrial work force: Workers in the more profitable sectors could bargain far more effectively over wages and benefits than those in areas with smaller profit margins.

Some non-unionized businesses voluntarily expanded benefits for their workers. Companies such as Sears and Eastman Kodak encouraged a cooperative corporate culture, which included health and pension plans, profit-sharing arrangements, and social programs. Some firms created private recreational parks for exclusive use by their employees. Satisfying workers, corporate executives reasoned, would reduce the appeal of both unionization and governmental welfare measures.

During the 1950s and early 1960s real wages (what workers make after adjusting their paychecks for inflation) rose steadily, and jobs were plentiful. The frequency of industrial accidents dropped; fringe benefits (health insurance, paid vacation time, and retirement plans) improved; and job security was generally high.

Political Pluralism

Economic growth also gained credit for producing political stability. Observers of the political scene often framed the politics of the 1950s in terms of memories of the past and visions of the future. After the conflicts of the 1930s, the disruptions during the Second World War, and the Great Fear of the early Cold War period, the 1950s seemed an era of relative tranquility. An increasingly prosperous nation, most observers agreed, would effectively mute social conflict and eventually solve major problems. The future, according to one prominent sociologist, would see the end of clashing political ideologies.

According to this dominant viewpoint, which political scientists called "pluralism" (or "interest-group pluralism"), American politics already featured a roughly equal bargaining process among well-organized interest groups. John Kenneth Galbraith coined the term "countervailing power" when claiming that labor unions, consumer lobbies, farm organizations, and other groups could check the desires of giant corporations. No single group could dictate terms to the others, celebrants of political pluralism claimed, because so many interests felt so securely empowered. Pluralists shrugged off signs of decline in political participation, clearly evident in how few people cast ballots on election days, by arguing that voter behavior showed widespread satisfaction with how well the process of political pluralism worked.

In addition to praising the process, pluralists praised the results. Public leaders, it seemed, could find a solution to problems. Short-term conflicts over specific issues would never disappear, but supporters of the pluralist vision insisted that America's growing economy would continue to help moderate political passions and point warring interests toward agreement on fundamental arrangements. As a professor at Harvard Law School put it, constant economic growth meant that "in any conflict of interest," it was "always possible to work out a solution" because an expanding economy guaranteed that any settlement would leave all interests "better off than before."

A Religious People

Most observers professed an analogous faith in religious pluralism. Congress, as part of the crusade against "atheistic communism," constructed a nondenominational prayer room on Capitol Hill; added the phrase "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance; and declared the phrase "In God We Trust," which had been emblazoned on U.S. currency for nearly a century, as the nation's official motto. In the view of pluralists, the intense religious allegiances no longer divided people as much as in the past. President Eisenhower declared that "our government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith—and I don't care what it is."

Religious leaders echoed the theme of pluralism. Will Herberg's *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1955) argued that these three faiths were really "saying the same thing" in affirming the "spiritual ideals" and "moral values" of the American way of life. The rabbi who headed the Jewish Chaplain's Organization reassured Protestants and Catholics that they and their Jewish neighbors shared "the same rich heritage of the Old Testament … the sanctity of the Ten Commandments, the wisdom of the prophets, and the brotherhood of man." A 1954 survey claimed that more than 95 percent of the population identified with one of the three major faiths, and religious commentators praised how the "Judeo-Christian tradition" enriched American life.

This tradition could also produce religious celebrities. The Baptist evangelist Billy Graham achieved superstar status during the 1950s. Norman Vincent Peale, a minister in the Reformed Church of America, sold millions of books which declared that belief in a Higher Power could bring "health, happiness, and goodness" to daily life. His most famous volume, *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952), remained a bestseller throughout the 1950s. The Catholic Bishop Fulton J. Sheen moved from radio to TV during the 1950s, and won an Emmy award for hosting a prime-time program entitled *Life Is Worth Living*.

Peale, Sheen, and Graham generally identified their religious ideals with conservative, anticommunist causes, but an emphasis on religious faith could be found all across the political spectrum. Dorothy Day, who had been involved in religiously based community activism since the early 1930s, continued to crusade for world peace and for domestic programs aimed at redistributing wealth. Church leaders and laypeople from all three major religions provided leadership in civil rights efforts. Refusing to preach to segregated audiences, Billy Graham gradually aligned his ministry with major goals of the movement.

Discontents of Affluence

A vibrant body of social criticism accompanied the celebrations of economic growth, political pluralism, and religious faith. By the late 1950s, a diverse body of critical commentary warned about the threat of conformity, the problems of young people, the disease of mass culture, the evils of discrimination, and the effects of economic inequality.

Conformity in an Affluent Society

The Organization Man (1956), written by the sociologist William H. Whyte, Jr., indicted corporate culture for contributing to an unwanted byproduct of affluence: conformity. This study saw corporate executives deferring to the dictates of their bosses, often at the expense of their own individual wishes and values. David Riesman, another sociologist, offered a broader critique of conformity in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950). This book envisioned a shift from an "inner-directed" culture, in which people looked to themselves and their immediate families for their sense of identity and self-worth, to an "other-directed" one, in which people looked to others for approval and increasingly measured their worth against images they saw in the mass media. An other-directed society, moreover, emphasized "adjustment" to the expectations of others rather than individual "autonomy."

The Lonely Crowd claimed that *Tootle the Engine,* a popular children's book, exemplified how mass culture taught baby boomers conformist values. After "Tootle" shows a preference for jumping the rails and frolicking in the fields, intense pressure from his community gets him "back on the tracks." If he remains on the straight-and-narrow and follows lines laid down by others, Tootle learns, his future as a powerful and fast-moving locomotive seems assured.

The critique of conformity informed the bestselling books of journalist Vance Packard. *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957) criticized the advertising industry's calculated appeals to the insecurities of consumers for encouraging conformist behavior. His book, Packard claimed, could help its readers "to achieve a creative life in these

conforming times" when so many people "are left only with the roles of being consumers or spectators."

Critics such as Whyte, Riesman, and Packard invariably highlighted signs of conformity and loss of selfhood supposedly evident among middle-class men, but Betty Friedan warned about an analogous malaise among women. Top business executives expected middle-class wives to help their husbands deal with the demands of corporate life, and many women found themselves trapped in a stultifying sphere of domestic obligations. A conformist "feminine mystique," Friedan wrote, stifled women's individuality and power.

The 1950s, then, hardly lacked for social and political criticism, some of it far more radical than complaints about conformity. The much-vaunted American way of life, according to the sociologist C. Wright Mills, suffered from increasingly regimented work routines and meaningless leisure-time activities that rarely produced genuine satisfaction. Mills also argued that a "power elite"—composed of corporate executives, military planners, political leaders, prominent academics, and media celebrities—set the agenda for crucial public policy discussions. As a result, this undemocratic group could dominate decisions about national security matters and domestic spending priorities.

Restive Youth Another body of critical analysis targeted the culture of young people. Some critics linked an apparent rise in juvenile delinquency to the sale of comic books. The *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954), by the psychologist Frederick Wertham, blamed comics featuring images of sex and violent crime for "mass-conditioning" children and stimulating social unrest. Responding to regulatory legislation by some U.S. cities and to calls for federal measures, the comic book industry drafted its own self-censorship code. Publishers who followed the code's guidelines for portraying violence and deviant behavior could display a seal of approval. The "great comic book scare" soon faded away.

Other worrisome signs persisted, however. In 1954 Elvis Presley, a former truck driver from Memphis, rocked the pop music establishment and cultural purists with a string of "rock 'n' roll" hits on the tiny Sun record label. Presley's sensual, electric stage presence thrilled his young admirers and outraged critics. Presley and other youthful exponents of Fifties rock—including Buddy Holly from West Texas, Richard Valenzuela (Richie Valens) from East Los Angeles, Frankie Lymon from Spanish Harlem, and "Little Richard" (Penniman) from Georgia—leaped over cultural and ethnic barriers. They reshaped older musical forms, especially African American rhythm and blues and the "hillbilly" music of southern whites, into new sounds. Rock 'n' rollers claimed to sing about the hopes and fears of the millions of their young fans. They celebrated the joy of "having a ball tonight"; decried the pain of the "summertime blues"; complained about the torment of being "a teenager in love"; and preached the promise of deliverance, through the power of rock, from "the days of old." Songs such as "Roll over Beethoven" by Chuck Berry became powerful teen anthems.

Guardians of more genteel cultural forms recoiled at the sounds and sights of rock 'n' roll. They denounced its lyrics, pulsating guitars, and screeching saxophones as an assault on the very idea of music. Even its name, critics complained, brazenly appealed to raging teenage hormones. Religious groups denounced rock as the "Devil's music"; anticommunists detected a covert Red strategy to corrupt

youth; and segregationists saw it as part of a plot to encourage "race-mixing." The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover called rock music "repulsive to right-thinking people" and a social force that would soon have "serious effects on our young people." The danger of rock 'n' roll seemed on display in *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), a movie about a racially mixed group of sexually active students who defy adult authority and terrorize high school classrooms.

Rock 'n' roll music spoke, however, to the concerns of its young fans. Chuck Berry's "School Days" challenged pieties about the benefits of schooling, as he sang of bored teenagers riding around "with no particular place to go." This kind of social criticism in songs anticipated the more overtly rebellious music of the 1960s.

At the same time, rock music and the larger youth culture of the 1950s could also merge into that era's general affluence. Sun Records, lacking sufficient capital to distribute Presley's hit songs and promote his image, sold his contract to RCA. Colonel Tom Parker, his personal promoter, soon had the "Elvis Brand" affixed to everything from 45 rpm records to Hollywood musicals. Record companies and Top-40 radio stations saw teenagers, with their part-time jobs and their own allowances, as a market segment worth targeting. In "Sweet Little Sixteen," Berry sang about an affluent teenager chasing after the latest fashions, the next rock 'n' roll show, and "about half-a million framed autographs." Record companies promoted performers who exalted the pursuit of "fun, fun, fun," which apparently required the latest in "cool" clothes, late-model automobiles, and rock 'n' roll records.

The Critique of Mass Culture

Concern about social conformity and youth culture merged into the wider **mass culture critique** of the 1950s. Much of the anxiety about the decline of individualism and the rise of disruptive young people stemmed from fears that the "hidden persuaders" who promoted the entire commercial culture industry could reach millions of people with standardized imagery and messages. Cosmopolitan cultural critics worried that "bad" art—seemingly evident in comics and rock 'n' roll—would eventually purge anything "good" from the cultural marketplace. Moreover, they warned, the superficial imagery manufactured for a "mass" national audience threatened to wipe out vibrant local and regional cultural traditions.

Network television, dominated by three large corporations (NBC, CBS, and ABC) and sustained by advertising revenue, provided a prominent target for this mass-culture critique. Picturing millions of passive viewers gathered around "the boob tube," critics decried both the quality and the presumed impact of mass-produced TV programming. By the late 1950s the television networks were stocking their prime-time hours with western-themed series (about a mythical Old West) and staged quiz programs (whose contestants had been supplied the answers that they pretended to be puzzling over). Independent stations without network ties programmed the cultural leftovers: ancient B-pictures from Hollywood's movie vaults, cheaply produced adventure series, and amateurish local programming. The head of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) would soon denounce TV as a "vast wasteland."

Critics also worried how TV was changing the fabric of everyday life. Architects rearranged living space so that the TV set could become the focal point of family gatherings. New products—such as the frozen TV dinner, the TV tray, the recliner chair, and *TV Guide* magazine—seemed banal.

The mass culture that critics decried, however, was embedded within the economic system and the pluralist political process that these same observers generally celebrated. Was it possible to eliminate the plague of mass culture without sacrificing economic growth and political pluralism? If, for example, Congress legislated against comic books, its effort at censorship might end up curtailing free expression. If local communities were to step in, as some had done with comics, the results might be even worse. The prospect of southern segregationists confiscating civil rights literature, or local censorship boards banning books by celebrated authors or "art films" from Europe, hardly appealed to the cosmopolitan, well-educated critics of mass culture. Their extensive critique seemed short on solutions. Criticism of mass culture thus did nothing to halt the flood of consumer products and forms of entertainment aimed at an ever-expanding popular audience.

Debating the Role of Government

Although Eisenhower occasionally hinted at rolling back the New and Fair Deals, he actually presided over a modest expansion of the reach of the federal government. There was a broader Social Security system, a higher minimum wage, better unemployment benefits, and a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Eisenhower liked to call his approach "modern Republicanism."

The New Conservatism

Eisenhower's brand of Republicanism angered members of a political movement eventually called the "new conservatism." This movement drew much of its energy from Republicans who conceded Eisenhower's popularity but questioned his commitment to conservative GOP principles. Moreover, Eisenhower appeared to be allowing too many congressional Republicans to cross the aisle and support Democratic-backed spending programs. And a leading modern Republican, New York's governor Nelson Rockefeller, seemed every bit as enamored of state-level welfare programs as his Democratic counterpart on the West Coast, California's Edmund (Pat) Brown.

Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater claimed to hear modern Republicans such as Rockefeller singing "the siren song of socialism." Goldwater emerged as the key political spokesperson for the new conservatism. After he won a second term in the U.S. Senate in 1958, a year when several other prominent GOP conservatives lost, a national magazine hailed him as "The Glittering Mr. Goldwater." Conservatives, Democrats as well as Republicans, saw a savior. Goldwater delighted them by assailing Eisenhower's policies as insufficiently conservative, overly enamored of elite constituencies on the East Coast, and too indebted to the Democratic Party's agenda. Modern Republicanism resembled a "Dime Store New Deal," a less expensive version of FDR's programs, according to Goldwater.

Goldwater's critique was summed up in a slim, ghostwritten book, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960). By refusing to take stronger military measures against the Soviet Union and by not making "victory the goal" of U.S. policy, Eisenhower was likely endangering the nation's security. The senator from Arizona portrayed most domestic programs, including those supported by Eisenhower, as threats to individual liberty and as steps toward national bankruptcy. The GOP needed a clean break from the Democratic Party's "New Deal antics."

For economic ideas, the new conservatism looked not only to Europeans, such as Friedrich von Hayek and Ludwig von Mises, but to their American disciples, particularly Milton Friedman. Once a Keynesian, the quick-witted, fast-talking Friedman had later reoriented his economic ideas in a decidedly libertarian direction. Governmental action, he argued, generally interfered with self-correcting marketplace forces and thus generated additional problems rather than genuine solutions. When government absolutely needed to act, as it should have done more forcefully during the Great Depression, its touch must be as light as possible. Friedman wrote as clearly, and as quickly, as he spoke and could claim an impressive list of popular and scholarly publications. Headquartered at the University of Chicago, he helped symbolize a persistent pattern: Economists generally sympathetic to Keynesianism tended to migrate to institutions on either coast, while those embracing more classical, free market approaches generally gravitated toward the heartland.

Meanwhile, Friedman's eventual ally, the author-publisher William F. Buckley, Jr., was framing a broad, ideological platform for the new conservatism. In *God and Man at Yale* (1952), the devoutly Roman Catholic Buckley had attacked what he saw as a "collectivist" and antireligious tilt in higher education. He and his brother-in-law had later defended Senator Joe McCarthy in a book entitled *McCarthy and His Enemies* (1954). Then, in 1955, Buckley began his most ambitious enterprise: a new conservative magazine, the ***National Review.*** This publication avoided the anti-Semitism of some old-line conservatives and adopted an organizational strategy for the long run. To this end, conservatives established Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) in 1960, several years before similar college-based political organizations emerged on the political left.

Buckley's group adopted another long-term approach to building a conservative movement, "fusionism." Avoiding political litmus tests, the *National Review* featured a creative tension that fused three broad constituencies: "traditionalist" conservatives, who insisted that social stability depended on the educated, talented few, such as themselves, dominating the nation's institutions; "libertarians," who favored drastically limiting the power of any governmental system and enlarging the realm of personal and entrepreneurial freedom; and staunch anticommunists, who endorsed the aggressive use of military power against the Soviets.

The *National Review* assembled an eclectic group of writers. Some of its older contributors had come from the political left of the 1930s, and a few younger ones would eventually move to that of the 1960s. While at the *National Review* of the 1950s, however, they collaborated on developing ideas that could guide the new conservatism. Any program for coexistence with communism, according to the magazine's manifesto, was "neither desirable nor possible, nor honorable." Excessive "bipartisanship" was robbing politics of necessary conflict, while "Big Brother government" and "union monopolies" were threatening economic freedom. In addition to taking strong stands on foreign and domestic policy, the *National Review* promised to cover cultural affairs from a conservative perspective that made "excellence (rather than 'newness')" and "honest intellectual combat (rather than conformity)" its watchwords.

A zest for cultural combat animated other projects of the new conservatism. The writer Ayn Rand's fierce brand of secular libertarianism and commitment to sexual experimentation made her unwelcome at the staid *National Review*. The novel *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), however, confirmed her iconic status among libertarians who endorsed her call for ignoring any "public good" and for advancing,

instead, one's own self interest. To irritate conservatives such as Buckley, Rand called herself a "radical for capitalism." A number of conservative groups, however, did spread the religious ideals that Rand ridiculed. The Campus Crusade for Christ urged college students to live their lives according to traditional religious ideals and to preach this message among their peers. Seeking a wider audience, Clarence Manion, a prominent Catholic Democrat and former dean of Notre Dame Law School, staked out a forceful conservative presence on the radio dial of the 1950s. Off-air, Mansion helped spearhead an effort to draft Barry Goldwater to run as Eisenhower's successor in 1960.

The Manion Forum of Opinion, broadcast weekly, also helped Goldwater's western brand of conservatism to gain ground in the new suburbs of the Sunbelt states. Many of these conservatives derived their family incomes from high-tech jobs in the military-related sector, a consideration that likely reinforced their call for increased spending on national defense. On domestic issues, however, these "suburban warriors" championed a vision of much more limited government. Their ideal examples of legislation were measures to prevent "outside" authorities, both state and national, from infringing on the local liberties of suburban communities.

The Case for a More Active Government

While a new conservatism argued for scaling back the domestic role of government, an even more eclectic group urged expanding its reach, at home as well as overseas. These activists criticized Eisenhower's reluctance to use the power of his office more forcefully. When unemployment shot up during an economic downturn in 1958–59, economists indebted to Keynesianism ridiculed Eisenhower's commitment to a balanced budget. They called for greater government spending, even if this meant a temporary deficit, to stimulate economic activity. Even after economic conditions improved, Keynesian economists such as John Kenneth Galbraith and Paul Samuelson urged significant deficit spending as a spur to greater growth. During the 1950s, Samuelson's Keynesian-oriented textbook (or a less-demanding knockoff) became the standard choice for younger professors who taught introductory economics.

Other advocates for more active government, while avoiding the rhetoric of conservatives such as Goldwater and his suburban warriors, still criticized Eisenhower's national security policies for their timidity. *Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age* (1957), better known as the **Gaither Report,** urged an immediate increase of about 25 percent in the Pentagon's budget. Prepared by analysts with ties to the defense industry and links to NSC-68 (see Chapter 27), the Gaither Report also endorsed building fallout shelters, developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and expanding conventional military forces. A report from the prestigious Rockefeller Foundation echoed the same themes and endorsed similar spending goals.

Eisenhower reacted cautiously. Keeping his defense budget well below the levels critics had proposed, he even reduced the size of several Army and Air Force units. As a consequence of super-secret U-2 surveillance flights over the Soviet Union, Eisenhower knew that the Soviets were lagging behind, rather than outpacing, the United States in military capability. Their missile program, he also learned, featured a few well-publicized successes but many unreported problems.

Concerns about national security and calls for greater government spending also affected U.S. educational policies. Throughout the 1950s critics complained about schools imparting "life-adjustment" skills instead of teaching traditional academic subjects. Rudolf Flesch's bestselling *Why Johnny Can't Read* (1956) anticipated books that asked why Johnny and his classmates couldn't add or subtract very well either, and why they lagged behind their counterparts in the Soviet Union in science. These critics urged more funding for public schools. Simultaneously, the nation's leading research universities sought greater federal aid for higher education, and prominent scientists urged expanded government funding for basic scientific research. The case for increased spending suddenly became more compelling when, in October 1957, the Soviets launched the world's first artificial satellite—a 22-inch sphere called *Sputnik* (Russian for "satellite") that circled the earth, initially accompanied by a "beep beep" soundtrack, for nearly three months.

A ***Sputnik* Crisis** soon gripped Washington when a second Soviet satellite, carrying a dog named Laika, went into orbit in early November. The USSR had seemingly soared beyond the United States in both space exploration and rocketry. The missile technology needed to lift up the *Sputniks,* argued Eisenhower's critics, could eventually rain down nuclear weapons on U.S cities. The United States needed, therefore, to expand its military arsenal, educational resources, and research capabilities.

After the *Sputniks,* phrases such as "national security" and "national defense" cleared the way for federal money to flow more freely to educational institutions. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 funneled financial aid to university programs in science, engineering, foreign languages, and the social sciences. This act marked a milestone in overcoming congressional opposition, especially from southerners who feared that economic aid could increase pressure for racial integration, to federal funding of education. The Soviets' apparent superiority in satellite technology also fueled an ambitious R&D effort overseen by a new National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Many hoped that domestic social welfare programs would become similar beneficiaries of increased federal spending. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* saw a dangerous tilt in the "social balance" away from "public goods." Affluent families could vacation in their new automobiles, but they needed to pass through shabby cities along litter-filled roadsides. The researcher who improved automobile performance was well rewarded. But anyone "who dreams up a new public service" is accused of wasting tax dollars, Galbraith's book sardonically noted.

Galbraith's critique seemed mild when compared to that of the socialist writer Michael Harrington. His passionate essays about economic inequality recalled the radical literature of the 1930s and his own apprenticeship at Dorothy Day's *Catholic Worker* during the early 1950s. At least one-third of the nation's people—living in rural areas, small towns, and cities—barely subsisted in a land of supposed abundance. Avoiding detached economic analysis, Harrington crafted dramatic stories about how poverty ravaged the health and spirit of people whose lives had been largely untouched by the economic growth of the post-Depression era.

During the early 1960s, when addressing social and economic issues became a legislative priority, Galbraith and Harrington became political celebrities. They first entered the public arena, however, through the critical culture of the 1950s. The 1960 election, moreover, promised to feature presidential and congressional candidates who

would generally draw on the calls for more active foreign and domestic policies that had emerged during the modern Republican administration of Dwight Eisenhower.

New Frontiers, 1960–1963

By 1960, it seemed that the time for translating some of the calls for a more active federal government into congressional legislation and executive orders was at hand. The off-year election of 1958 had not only deposed some conservative Republican stalwarts but helped embolden public officials sympathetic to more energetic government in both foreign and domestic policy. One of these people was John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

The Election of 1960

A wealthy, politically ambitious father claimed to have groomed John Fitzgerald Kennedy for the White House. The young Kennedy graduated from Harvard University, won military honors as a naval officer during the Second World War, became a representative from Massachusetts in 1946, and captured a Senate seat six years later. Kennedy was better known for his social life than his command of legislative details, but he parlayed charm and youthful good looks into political stardom. His 1953 marriage to Jacqueline Bouvier added another dash of glamour. A favorite of the media herself, Jackie won plaudits for her taste in the arts, stylish dress, and fluency in several languages. After John Kennedy narrowly missed winning the vice presidential nomination in 1956, he took aim at the top spot on the 1960 Democratic ticket.

Often accompanied by Jackie and by his brothers, Robert and Ted, John F. Kennedy (JFK), had begun barnstorming the country during the late 1950s. This early presidential campaigning, along with a talented staff and his family's vast wealth, helped Kennedy overwhelm two Democratic challengers, Senators Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Lyndon Johnson of Texas, who were also promising to support new governmental initiatives. By pledging to separate his Catholic religion from his politics and by confronting those who appealed to anti-Catholic prejudice, Kennedy defused the religious issue that had doomed the candidacy of Al Smith in 1928 (see Chapter 24).

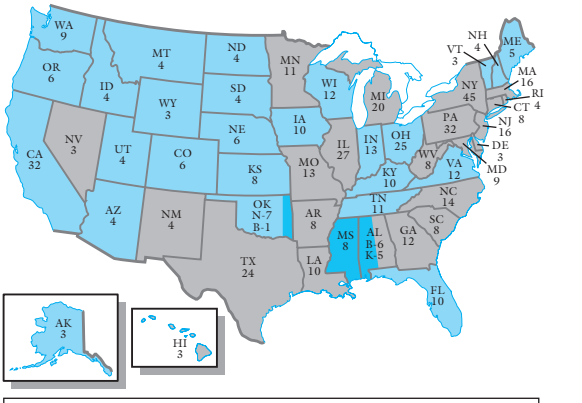
Eisenhower's Vice President Richard Nixon, running for the Republicans, defied easy labeling. Champions of the new conservatism hardly needed to be reminded of Nixon's anticommunist credentials, but his record during the Eisenhower administration, particularly on civil rights, appeared that of a modern Republican. Nixon was never likely to be, conservatives lamented, Barry Goldwater. Indeed, some Democrats with suspicions about Kennedy's personal makeup could arguably insist that Nixon's stand on policy issues hardly differed from that of JFK. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who would become Kennedy's "court historian," replied by dashing off an anti-Nixon manifesto that asked this rhetorical question: *Kennedy or Nixon: Does It Make Any Difference?*

Nixon spent much of the 1960 presidential campaign, however, on the defensive. Eisenhower would likely have run for a third term were it not for the 22nd Amendment, and he appeared unenthusiastic about Nixon's candidacy. Nixon himself seemed notably off-balance during the first of several televised debates in which a tanned, relaxed Kennedy emerged, according to surveys of TV viewers, with a clear victory over a pale, nervous Nixon. (Radio listeners, in contrast,

awarded Nixon no worse than a draw.) Despite chronic and severe health problems, which his entourage concealed, Kennedy projected personal vigor and energy, if not much experience in directing affairs of state.

Kennedy's 1960 campaign highlighted issues from the 1950s that, taken together, became the agenda for his **New Frontier.** Although Senator Kennedy's civil rights record had been mixed, candidate Kennedy declared support for new legislation and, in an important symbolic act, dispatched aides to Georgia to assist the civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., who was facing jail time for a minor traffic violation. Kennedy also endorsed new social programs to rebuild rural communities, increase educational opportunities, and improve urban conditions.

Two other key parts of Kennedy's New Frontier—promoting greater economic growth and conducting a more aggressive foreign policy—also emerged from the critical culture of the 1950s. Dismissing Eisenhower's policies as too moderate, Kennedy suggested using tax cuts and deficit spending to juice the economy. He also criticized Eisenhower for failing to rid the hemisphere of Castro in Cuba and for allowing a "missile gap" to develop in the arms race with the Soviet Union. By spending more on national security, Kennedy claimed, he could create a more "flexible response" against communism, especially in the Third World. Flexible response became the umbrella term to cover a wide range of military and non-military strategies that Kennedy promised to deploy against communism.



	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	Number	%	Number	%
Kennedy (Democrat)	303	56	34,226,731	49.7
Nixon (Republican)	219	41	34,108,157	49.5
Byrd (Independent)	15	3	501,643	----

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MAP 28.1 Presidential Election, 1960

In one of the closest elections in American history in terms of the popular vote, Kennedy only narrowly outpolled Nixon. Kennedy's more commanding victory in the electoral vote produced some discussion about the consequences of the Electoral College one day producing a president who had failed to carry the popular vote, a situation that the election of 2000 did produce.

The "American people are tired of the drift in our national course … and … they are ready to move again," Kennedy proclaimed.

The 1960 election brought Kennedy the narrowest of victories. He defeated Nixon by only about 100,000 popular votes, and his victory in the Electoral College rested on razor-thin margins in several states, including Illinois. Republicans urged their candidate to challenge Kennedy's suspicious vote total there, but Nixon chose to accept the disputed result. JFK's triumph owed a considerable debt to his vice presidential running mate, Lyndon Baines Johnson, whose regional appeal helped the Democratic ticket carry the Deep South and his home state of Texas. Even Johnson's political talents, though, could not help Kennedy when it came to the broader election results. The Democrats failed to duplicate their successes of 1958 and lost 20 seats in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate.

Supporters of the new president forgot about the closeness of his election, as JFK and Jackie, already first-name celebrities, riveted media attention on the White House. The couple hobnobbed with movie stars and hosted prominent intellectuals. Kennedy's inauguration featured designer clothing, a poignant appearance by the aged poet Robert Frost, and an oft-quoted speech in which JFK challenged people to "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." The "best and the brightest," the name a journalist later bestowed on the hard-driving people who joined Kennedy's administration, promised to launch exciting and difficult crusades, even to the frontier of outer space.

Foreign Policy

Implementing flexible response gained Kennedy's immediate attention. Although Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara quickly found that the alleged missile gap never existed, the Kennedy administration boosted the defense budget anyway. It supported military assistance programs, propaganda agencies, and covert-action plans. In one of his most popular initiatives, the president created the Peace Corps, a volunteer program that sent Americans, especially young people, to nations around the world to work on development projects that might undercut communism's appeal. Peace Corps volunteers gained valuable experience, and many later staffed the growing number of non-governmental organizations that operated overseas.

Eisenhower's effort to reorient U.S.-Latin American policy away from dictators and toward socioeconomic programs was repackaged as Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress." Unveiled in spring 1961 in hopes of checking the spread of insurgencies that looked to Fidel Castro for inspiration and aid, the Alliance promised $20 billion in loans over a 10-year period to Latin American countries that would undertake land reform and economic development measures. Many Latin Americans judged Kennedy's Alliance, which underestimated obstacles to social and economic change, as more symbolic than substantive.

Cuba and Berlin

The worst fiasco of the Kennedy presidency, an ill-conceived 1961 CIA mission against Cuba, also had its roots in the Eisenhower administration. The CIA had been secretly planning an invasion to oust Fidel Castro. Overriding the doubts of key advisers, Kennedy approved this Eisenhower-era plan. On April 17, 1961, however, when U.S.-trained forces

(mainly anticommunist Cuban exiles) landed at the Bahia de Cochinas (Bay of Pigs) on the southern coast of Cuba, the expected popular uprising against Castro failed to materialize. Instead, forces loyal to the Cuban revolution quickly surrounded and captured members of the mission. Kennedy rejected any additional steps, including the air strikes the Cuban exiles had expected, and initially denied any U.S. involvement in this **Bay of Pigs Invasion.** The CIA's role quickly became public knowledge, however, and anti-U.S. sentiment swept across Latin America. Castro tightened his grip over Cuban life and strengthened his ties to the Soviet Union.

Kennedy responded by calling the Bay of Pigs Invasion a mistake—and by devising a new, covert program called "Operation Mongoose." It abandoned the idea of an invasion in favor of destabilizing Cuba's economy and, in concert with organized crime figures, trying to assassinate the Cuban leader.

Meanwhile, two other dramatic confrontations began unfolding, more slowly, in Berlin and in Cuba. In June 1961 Nikita Khrushchev and Kennedy met in Vienna, Austria, where the Soviets proposed ending the Western presence in Berlin and reuniting the city as part of East Germany. Kennedy refused to abandon West Berlin, but in August 1961 the communist regime began to erect a barbed-wire fence and then a concrete barrier to separate East from West Berlin. This Berlin Wall became a symbol of communist repression. Kennedy's assertion in a 1963 speech, *"Ich bin ein Berliner,"* delivered in front of the wall to a cheering crowd of West Berliners, provided a memorable image of JFK's presidency.

Superpower confrontation, however, had already escalated to a potentially lethal level during the **Cuban Missile Crisis** of October 1962. The Soviet Union, responding to pleas from Castro, sent sophisticated armaments to Cuba. After U-2 spy planes revealed missile-launching sites in Cuba, the Kennedy administration declared it would never allow the Soviet Union to place nuclear warheads so close to U.S. soil. It demanded that the Soviets dismantle the missile silos and turn back supply ships heading for Cuba. After tense strategizing sessions with his top advisers, Kennedy rejected a military strike against Cuba, fearing it might lead to war with the Soviet Union. Instead, he ordered the Navy to "quarantine" Cuba. The Strategic Air Command went on full alert for a possible nuclear conflict. Both sides also began frantic, secret diplomatic maneuvers to forestall such a catastrophe.

Washington and Moscow, after 13 anxious days, did negotiate an end to this nuclear showdown. On October 28, 1962, Khrushchev ordered the Soviet missiles in Cuba dismantled and the supply ships brought home; Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba and secretly assured Khrushchev that he would complete a previously ordered withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Turkey. When Soviet archives were opened in the mid-1990s, Americans learned that the Missile Crisis had been even more dangerous than earlier imagined. Unknown to the Kennedy administration in 1962, the Soviets had already placed tactical nuclear weapons, which could have reached U.S. targets, inside Cuba. Some historical evidence suggests Castro favored atomic conflict over diplomatic concessions.

By underscoring the risk of nuclear conflict, however, the Cuban Missile Crisis made the two superpowers more cautious. To prevent a future confrontation or an accident, they established a direct telephone hot-line between Moscow and Washington, D.C.

Southeast Asia and Flexible Response

In Southeast Asia, Kennedy continued the U.S. effort to preserve a noncommunist state in South Vietnam. After the Bay of Pigs debacle, in which the overthrow of an already established communist government had failed, JFK became determined to prevent any communist-led "war of national liberation" from toppling a noncommunist regime.

Even so, the odds against nurturing a pro-U.S. government in South Vietnam seemed to grow longer as Kennedy's own presidency lengthened. Opposition to the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, in power since the mid-1950s, had now coalesced in the National Liberation Front (NLF). Formed in December 1960, the NLF included noncommunist groups that resented Diem's dependence on the United States; communists who demanded more extensive land reform; an array of political leaders fed up with Diem's corruption and cronyism; and groups directly beholden to Ho Chi Minh's communist government in the North. North Vietnam continued sending supplies and troops to the South in support of the anti-Diem coalition.

The Kennedy administration saw Vietnam as the crucial test case for flexible response. It dispatched the Green Berets, elite U.S. troops who were trained in "counterinsurgency" tactics, to aid the South Vietnamese government. It also sent teams of social scientists, charged with "nation building," to consult on socioeconomic reforms and internal security. Finally, JFK dispatched U.S. combat troops. These forces, numbering nearly 24,000 by late 1963, would supposedly only advise, rather than actively fight alongside, South Vietnam's forces.

South Vietnam still lacked a credible government. Diem miscalculated badly when responding to protests from independent Buddhist groups, estranged from the president and his Catholic advisers. The decision, in May 1963, to fire on Buddhist demonstrators in the city of Hue prompted a series of confrontations between protestors and Diem's government. As part of the anti-government effort, several Buddhist monks committed suicide by setting fire to their robes. The Kennedy administration recognized these self-immolations as a sign of the deep-seated opposition to Diem—and as a public relations disaster. Diem dismissed the Buddhists as communist dupes, and his sister-in-law announced that she welcomed another "monk barbecue show." The Kennedy administration signaled to South Vietnam's powerful military that U.S. support for Diem was nearing its end.

Domestic Policymaking

Kennedy's campaign had promised an ambitious domestic agenda, but relatively little happened immediately. To begin, conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats retained enough clout in Congress to stall or vote down proposals with which they disagreed. Despite his own lengthy service in Congress, Kennedy seemed initially uncertain about how to deal with its old-line leadership. He eventually sided with confidants who advised that a slow approach would reap success toward the end of his first term.

This strategy meant that Kennedy did not press for the government-spending measures he had promised would speed economic growth. He feared any action that might unbalance the federal budget and thus alienate fiscal conservatives and business leaders. Relations with corporate leaders nevertheless turned ugly in 1962, when Kennedy clashed with the president of U.S. Steel over that company's decision

to raise prices beyond the guidelines suggested by the White House. Kennedy's threat to retaliate against the steel company enraged his corporate critics, and his subsequent back peddling on price increases disappointed people desiring vigorous presidential leadership.

In 1962 the White House finally asked Congress to lower tax rates as a means of promoting economic growth. The economy continued its rebound from the downturn of 1957–58, but Kennedy now argued that lower tax rates for everyone, along with special deductions for businesses that invested in new plants and equipment, would produce more jobs and greater growth. Despite opposition from fiscal conservatives who feared an unbalanced federal budget and from those who thought Kennedy's proposal tilted toward corporations and the wealthy, the president's tax bill slowly moved through Congress. Kennedy publicly signaled support for Keynesian-style policies and denounced "myths" about an unbalanced budget, modest federal debt, and "big government."

On the social welfare issues, the Kennedy administration proposed a higher minimum wage and new urban rebuilding programs. It also supported the Area Redevelopment Bill of 1961, which called for directing federal grants and loans to impoverished areas such as Appalachia, the 13-state region running along the Appalachian Mountain chain from southern New York to northern Mississippi.

The Politics of Gender

The 1950s and early 1960s saw significant changes in how and where people lived and worked. This era produced especially important changes in the everyday politics of gender.

The New Suburbs and Gender Politics

In middle-class homes, especially in the new suburbs, women discovered the ambiguous impact of technological innovation. If new conveniences—automatic clothes washers, more powerful vacuum cleaners, home freezers—eased old burdens, they also created new ones. The time that women spent on domestic duties was not reduced so much as shifted to goals such as more frequently manicured floors and more carefully pressed clothes, which the latest household gadgets enabled.

Life in the new suburbs, moreover, was structured by a broad pattern of "separate spheres": a public sphere of paid work and politics dominated by men, and a private one of unpaid housework and childcare reserved for women. Because relatively few businesses initially located in the new suburbs, men commuted from home to work, while women found employment opportunities about as scarce as professional child-care facilities. Mothers thus spent considerable time tending to their baby-boomer children. In contrast to the urban neighborhoods or small-town communities where many suburban housewives had grown up, newly constructed suburbs contained few older relatives or younger single women who could help with household and child-care duties.

Without mothers or grandmothers living close by, young suburban mothers often turned to child-care manuals for advice. The various editions of *Baby and Child Care* (1946), written by Dr. Benjamin Spock, sold millions of copies. Like

earlier advice books, Spock's assigned virtually all child-care duties to women and implied that the family and the nation itself depended on how well mothers looked after the Baby-Boom generation.

An alarmist tone in these books reflected—and helped generate—a widespread concern about juvenile delinquency. A problem teen, according to one 1950s study, sprang from a "family atmosphere not conducive to development of emotionally well-integrated, happy youngsters, conditioned to obey legitimate authority." The ideal mother devoted herself to rearing her children. Women who sought careers outside of the home and marriage risked being labeled as maladjusted and deviant—real-life versions of the *femmes fatales* who populated *film noirs* (see Chapter 27).

Variations on this message appeared nearly everywhere. Even the nation's prestigious women's colleges assumed their graduates would pursue men and marriage. In a 1955 commencement address at Smith College, Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Party's urbane presidential aspirant, reminded graduates of their "duty" to keep a husband "truly purposeful, to keep him whole." Popular magazines, psychological literature, and pop-culture imagery suggested that wives and mothers held the keys to social stability. This meant that women who desired alternative arrangements, either in their work or their sexual preferences, needed to be pressured, much as *Tootle the Engine,* to return to the straight and narrow.

Competing portraits, however, painted a somewhat more complicated picture of gender arrangements. Most men told researchers that they preferred an "active partner" to a "submissive, stay-at-home" wife. Popular TV shows, such as *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver,* suggested that fathers should be more engaged in family life than they seemed to be. Advice manuals, while envisioning suburban husbands earning their family's entire income, increasingly urged them to be "real fathers" at home. Parenting literature increasingly emphasized family togetherness, and institutions such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) offered courses on how to achieve it.

This call for family togetherness was partly a response to what cultural historians now see as an incipient "male revolt" against the "male breadwinner role." Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine, which debuted in 1953, epitomized this trend. It ridiculed men who neglected their own happiness in order to support a wife and children as suckers rather than saints. *Playboy*'s first issue proclaimed: "We aren't a 'family magazine.'" In Hefner's version of the good life, a man rented a "pad" rather than owned a home, drove a sports car rather than a station wagon, and admired the Playmate of the Month rather than the Mother of the Year.

Signs of Women's Changing Roles

Meanwhile, greater numbers of women were working outside the house. Female employment, even among married women, rose steadily as jobs expanded in the clerical and service sectors. In 1948 about 25 percent of married mothers worked outside the home; at the end of the 1950s nearly 40 percent did. With the 1960 introduction of a new method of oral contraception, the birth control pill, women could enjoy greater control over family planning and career decisions—and over decisions about their own sexual behavior. By 1964 one-quarter of the couples that used contraception relied on "The Pill." At the same

time, activists began to press for an end to anti-abortion laws that restricted the ability of women to find legal and relatively safe ways to terminate pregnancies.

Employment opportunities still remained circumscribed. Virtually all of the nation's nurses, telephone operators, secretaries, and elementary school teachers were women. Historically, pay scales in these areas lagged behind those for men in occupations that required comparable training. Jobs for women in the unionized job sectors remained rare. And chances for advancement in the corporate field were similarly limited. As the number of low-paying jobs for women expanded during the 1950s, better-paying professional opportunities actually narrowed. Medical, law, and other professional schools admitted lower percentages of women than in the past. When Sandra Day (who would later become U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor) graduated with honors from a prestigious law school during the 1950s, not a single private firm offered her a job. She worked, without pay, in the public sector. The number of women on college faculties shrank even from the low levels of earlier decades.

Although employers still invoked the "family wage" to justify higher pay for men, more women than ever before were trying to support a family on their own paychecks. This was especially true for women of color. Recognizing that images of domesticity hardly fit the lives of many African American women, *Ebony* magazine celebrated black women who combined success in parenting and at work.

Mass-circulation magazines aimed at women of European descent also carried increasingly mixed messages about gender roles. Although social commentators commonly labeled a woman's pursuit of activities outside the home as "unnatural," popular magazines increasingly featured stories about women in public life and in business. The 1950s, in short, saw growing diversity in both the social roles that women were assuming and the ways in which mass culture represented them.

A New Women's Movement

The seeds of a resurgent **women's movement** were also being sown, although more quietly, between 1953 and 1963. All across the political spectrum, women began speaking out on contemporary issues. The energy of women such as Phyllis Schlafly, whose book *A Choice, Not an Echo* (1964) became a leading manifesto from the political right, helped fuel the new conservatism. African American activists such as Bernice Johnson Reagon (whose work with the Freedom Singers combined music and social activism) and Fannie Lou Hamer (who spearheaded the organization of a racially integrated Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi) fought discrimination based on both race and gender. Women union leaders pushed for greater employment opportunities and more equitable work environments. Chicana farm workers became key figures in union-organizing efforts in California. Women also played a central role in protests, through organizations such as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and the Women's Strike for Peace, against the U.S.–Soviet arms race. During Kennedy's final year in office, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*. Widely credited with helping to revive organized feminist activity in the United States, Friedan's book drew on her own social criticism from the late 1950s and articulated the dissatisfaction that many middle-class women felt about the narrow confines of domestic life and the lack of public roles available to them.



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Bernice Johnson Reagon. *During the civil rights crusade, "freedom songs" fostered solidarity. The singers pictured here include Bernice Johnson Reagon, a member of the Freedom Singers. Later, she founded the all-woman a cappella singing group, Sweet Honey in the Rock.*

To address women's concerns, Kennedy appointed a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. After negotiating differences between moderate and more militant members, the commission issued a report that documented discrimination against women in employment and wages. Kennedy responded with a presidential order to eliminate gender discrimination within the federal civil service. He also supported the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which made it a federal crime for employers to pay lower wages to women who did the same work as men.

The Expanding Civil Rights Movements, 1953–1963

When Dwight Eisenhower took office, the U.S. Supreme Court was preparing to rehear a legal challenge to racially segregated educational systems. The NAACP and its chief legal strategist, Thurgood Marshall, spearheaded this cause. Before the rehearing took place, Eisenhower appointed Earl Warren, a former Republican governor of California, as chief justice. The Supreme Court, with Warren in its center chair, entered the widening civil rights struggle.

The *Brown* Cases, 1954–1955

The Supreme Court litigation popularly known as "the *Brown* decision" actually included a series of constitutional rulings, the ***Brown* Cases.** In 1954, Chief Justice Warren wrote a unanimous opinion (in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka)* declaring that states could not segregate their public schools on the basis of race without

violating the constitutional right of African American students to equal protection of the law. A companion case decided the same day (*Bolling* v. *Sharpe*) outlawed racially segregated schools in the District of Columbia. Although the *Brown* and *Bolling* decisions technically applied only to schools, they suggested that other segregated public facilities could no longer survive constitutional challenge. In 1955, though, a follow-up Supreme Court decision, known as *"Brown II,"* decreed that the process of dismantling illegally segregated school systems should not go into effect immediately; desegregation could, instead, move forward "with all deliberate speed."

Implementing the *Brown* cases challenged the nation's political, social, and cultural institutions. The politics of civil rights sometimes seemed focused on the 16 states that the Census Bureau officially called "the South," but demographic changes helped make them more than a regional phenomenon.

During the 1950s the South was becoming more like the rest of the country. New cultural forces, such as network television, penetrated the region. Machines were displacing the region's predominantly black fieldworkers. The absence of strong labor unions and the presence of favorable tax laws attracted northern-based businesses. National chain stores extended throughout the South.

Meanwhile, the racial composition of cities in the West, Midwest, and Northeast became more like that of the South. In 1940, more than three-quarters of the nation's African Americans lived in the South, many on farms and in small towns. During and after the Second World War, much of this populaton left the rural South and became important to political life in northern urban areas, where Republicans joined Democrats in generally supporting efforts to end racial discrimination. As more African Americans voted Democratic, however, the GOP gained ground among white voters in the South and in the new suburban neighborhoods, especially in the Middle and Far West.

The most familiar stories about civil rights activities during the 1950s have long concentrated on the South, but recent histories emphasize how the struggle became nationwide in scope. Efforts to end segregation and racial discrimination emerged in virtually every Northern and Western city. These urban-based movements employed a variety of tactics, such as "shop where you can work" campaigns, which urged consumers to patronize only businesses that would employ them. They tried to bring more workers from non-European backgrounds into the union movement and the public-service sector, enlarging jobs in police and fire departments as well as in all of the agencies of state and local government. Increasingly, though, gaining legal-constitutional leverage seemed crucial to future successes.

As African Americans mounted new attacks on segregation and discrimination in the South, white segregationists pledged "massive resistance" to the *Brown* decisions and went to court with delaying tactics. One hundred members of Congress signed a "Southern Manifesto" in 1956 that condemned the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings as a "clear abuse of judicial power" and pledged support for any state that intended "to resist forced integration by any lawful means."

Defiance went beyond the courtroom. White vigilantes unfurled the banners of the Ku Klux Klan and formed new racist organizations, such as the White Citizens Council. People who worked in the civil rights cause constantly risked injury and death. Racial tensions escalated. In August 1955, two white Mississippians murdered 14-year-old Emmett Till, a visitor from Chicago, because they thought he had

acted "disrespectful" toward a white woman. Mamie Till Bradley insisted that her son's death not remain a private incident. She demanded that his maimed corpse be displayed for "the whole world to see" and that his killers be punished. When their case came to trial, an all-white Mississippi jury quickly found the two men—who would subsequently confess their crime to a magazine reporter—not guilty.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The southern civil rights movement increasingly supplemented legal maneuvering with direct action. Following an earlier, partially successful 1953 campaign to desegregate the transportation system in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, activists in Montgomery, Alabama, raised their sights. After police arrested Rosa Parks for defying a segregation ordinance that required segregated seating on municipal buses, Montgomery's black community demanded complete desegregation, boycotted public transportation, and organized carpools as alternative transit. Joining with Rosa Parks, a longtime bastion of the local NAACP chapter, many other black women in Montgomery helped coordinate the complicated, months-long boycott. Responding to events in Montgomery, the Supreme Court extended the premise of the *Brown* decisions on education and specifically declared segregation of public buses to be unconstitutional.

After a campaign lasting more than a year, the Montgomery bus boycott succeeded. City officials, saddled with financial losses and legal defeats, agreed to end Montgomery's separatist transit policy. Events in Montgomery suggested that black activists, even in the segregated South, could effectively mobilize—and then organize—community resources to fight racial discrimination.

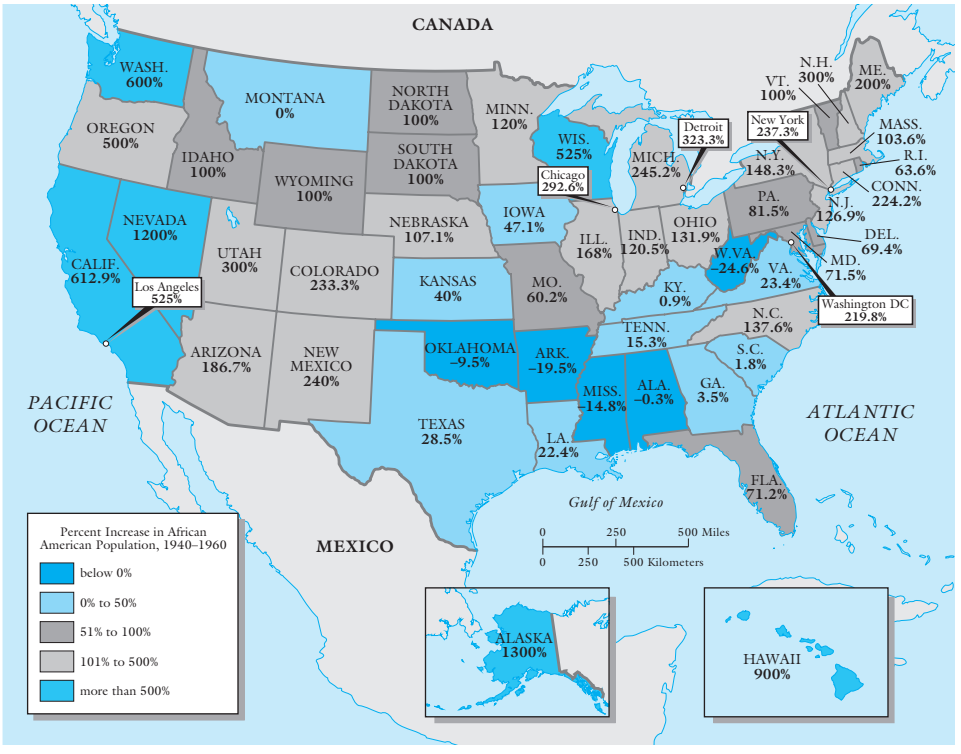
The bus boycott also vaulted **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,** one of its leaders, into the national spotlight. Born and educated in Atlanta, with a doctorate in theology from Boston University, King and other black ministers followed up the victory in Montgomery by forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In addition to demanding desegregated public facilities, the SCLC sought to organize an ongoing sociopolitical movement that would work for other changes.

The young, male ministers in the SCLC sought assistance across generational and gender divides. Tapping the strategic wisdom of Bayard Rustin, who had been involved in civil rights activism since the 1940s, and the tactical skills of Ella Baker, another veteran organizer, Dr. King led the SCLC's effort to register African American voters throughout the South.

King and the SCLC relied on civil disobedience to obtain change. According to Dr. King, nonviolent direct action would dramatize, through both word and deed, the evil of racial discrimination. King's powerful presence and religiously rooted rhetoric carried the message of civil rights to most parts of the United States and the world.

The Politics of Civil Rights: From the Local to the Global

All across the country, civil rights activities went forward. Shortly after the conclusion of the Montgomery bus boycott, New York City passed the nation's first "open housing" ordinance, a model for other local and state measures aimed at ending racial discrimination in the sale and rental of homes and apartments. Efforts to change housing patterns faced tough going, however. Typically, white homeowners in those urban and older suburban neighborhoods



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MAP 28.2 Shifts in African American Population Patterns, 1940–1960

During and after the Second World War, large numbers of African Americans left the rural South and migrated to new locations. Which states had the largest percentage of outmigration? Which saw the greatest percentage of population increase? How might this migration have affected American life?

where African Americans or Latinos might hope to buy or rent adopted the exclusionary strategies used so effectively by their counterparts in the new suburbs.

In cities and states outside the South, civil rights groups also sought legislation to outlaw discrimination in hiring. In 1958, for example, a labor union-civil rights coalition in California, joining under slogans such as "Fight Sharecropper Wages," defeated an anti-union right-to-work proposal they said threatened to drive down pay rates for all workers. Buoyed by this success, the same coalition began lobbying members of the legislature to enact a California-wide open housing measure.

Political institutions in Washington, D.C., felt similar pressure to act on civil rights. The Supreme Court lent its support at crucial times, such as during the Montgomery bus boycott, but Congress remained deeply divided on racial issues. With southern segregationists, all members of the Democratic majority, holding key posts on Capitol Hill, antidiscrimination measures faced formidable obstacles.

Even so, Congress did pass its first civil rights measure in more than 80 years. The **Civil Rights Act of 1957** expedited lawsuits by African Americans who claimed that southern states were systematically abridging their right to vote. The law also created a Commission on Civil Rights, an advisory body empowered to study

alleged violations and recommend remedies. In 1960, with the crucial support of Lyndon Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader in the Senate, a second civil rights act added more procedures to safeguard voting rights. These civil rights measures became law against fierce opposition from southern Democrats and conservative Republicans such as Barry Goldwater.

President Eisenhower initially hesitated to use his executive power to aid civil rights efforts. He did support the Civil Rights Act of 1957 but held back when some Republicans urged a dramatic presidential step—such as barring racial discrimination on all construction projects financed by federal funds. A confirmed gradualist, Eisenhower saw ending racial segregation as a slow, lengthy process. He also viewed desegregation as primarily a local matter and doubted that federal power could change the attitudes of people strongly opposed to integration.

In 1957, however, events in Little Rock, Arkansas, forced Eisenhower to invoke his executive power and enforce a federal court decree ordering the desegregation of the city's Central High School. Orval Faubus, the state's segregationist governor, had promised to prevent black students from entering the school building and deployed his state's National Guard to block them. Confronting this direct challenge to national authority, Eisenhower took command of the Arkansas National Guard and augmented its forces with members of the U.S. Army. Black students, escorted by armed troops, finally entered Central High. The primary issue at stake, Eisenhower insisted, was a state's defiance of a federal court order rather than school desegregation.

The confrontation in Little Rock also underscored the international dimension of civil rights politics in the United States. Washington often found itself on the defensive when foreign critics pointed to the U.S. record on civil rights. The Soviet Union delighted in telling people, particularly in the Third World, how racial discrimination showed "the façade of the so-called 'American democracy.'" When the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Cooper* v. *Aaron* (1958), unanimously invalidated an Arkansas law intended to block school integration, the Eisenhower administration's global informational campaign stressed America's support for liberty and equality, and it encouraged the world press to highlight this important constitutional decision.

Indeed the State Department during the 1950s sent Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and many other African American jazz musicians as "goodwill ambassadors" to build more cordial relationships with new states in Africa and Asia. These tours presented jazz as an authentic American art form symbolizing freedom. They tried to counter Soviet charges by highlighting the accomplishments of African Americans. America's cultural diplomacy, in fact, encouraged racially integrated musical acts to perform abroad—even though they might have been unwelcome in many venues at home. Racial discrimination and conflict, warned Secretary of State Dulles, was "not helpful to the influence of the United States abroad." The Cold War's battle for hearts and minds throughout the world provided yet one more pressure on behalf of civil rights efforts.

The Politics of American Indian Policy

The Eisenhower administration struggled with its policy toward American Indians. It attempted to implement two programs, **Termination and Relocation,** already underway before it took office. The first called for an end to the status

of Indians as "wards of the United States" and a grant of all the "rights and privileges pertaining to American citizenship." The goals of Termination, to be pursued on a tribe-by-tribe basis, were to abolish reservations, liquidate tribal assets, and curtail the social services offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

Under the Relocation program, which had begun in 1951, Indians were encouraged to leave rural reservations and seek jobs in urban areas. In 1954 the BIA intensified its relocation efforts, with Minneapolis, St. Louis, Dallas, and several other cities joining Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles as relocation sites. Proponents of Termination and Relocation insisted that American Indians could easily be assimilated into the mainstream of U.S. life.

These initiatives quickly failed. As several tribes were terminated during the 1950s, almost 12,000 people lost their status as tribal members, and the bonds of communal life for many Indians grew weaker. Land once held by tribes fell into the hands of commercial, non-Indian developers. Indians from terminated tribes also lost both their exemption from state taxation and social services from the BIA. They gained little in return. Relocation went no better. Most relocated Indians found only low paying, dead-end jobs and discrimination from both public and private institutions.

American Indian activists and their allies mobilized against Termination and Relocation. By 1957 their efforts forced the government to scale back the initial timetable, which had called for liquidating every tribe within five years. In 1960 the party platforms of both the Republicans and Democrats repudiated Termination, and in 1962 the policy was stopped. The Relocation program continued, however, and by 1967 almost half of the nation's Indians lived in relocation cities. This policy neither touched the deep-rooted problems that many Indians confronted, including a life expectancy only two-thirds that of whites, nor provided significantly better employment or educational opportunities.

Spanish-Speaking Communities and Civil Rights

Millions of Spanish-speaking people, many recently arrived in the United States, also began mobilizing in order to realize the nation's rhetorical commitment to liberty and equality. Puerto Ricans began moving in larger numbers from their island commonwealth to the mainland in the 1950s. By the early 1960s New York City's Puerto Rican population was nearly 100 times greater than it had been before the Second World War. Large numbers of Puerto Ricans also settled in Chicago, Boston, and Hartford, Connecticut. Officially U.S. citizens, most of the newcomers spoke only Spanish; social and cultural clubs helped them connect with the Puerto Rican communities they had left behind. At the same time, Puerto Ricans began to organize against the discrimination they faced in housing and jobs. The Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Forum, organized in 1957, presaged the emergence of groups that looked more to social and economic conditions—and, ultimately, greater political clout—in the United States than to cultural affinities with Puerto Rico.

Meanwhile, Spanish-speaking people from Mexico were continuing to move to California and the Southwest, where they joined long-established Mexican American communities. In 1940 Mexican Americans had been the most rural of all the major ethnic groups; by 1950, in contrast, more than 65 percent of Mexican Americans were living in urban areas, a figure that would climb to 85 percent during

the 1960s. Mexican Americans were becoming a political force in many southwestern cities and an important constituency for the national Democratic Party.

Beginning in 1942 and continuing until 1967 the U.S. government sponsored the *bracero* (or farmhand) program, which brought nearly 5 million Mexicans northward to fill agricultural jobs. Many *braceros* and their families remained in the United States after their work contracts expired. Legal immigrants from Mexico joined them, as did undocumented immigrants, who became targets of a government dragnet called "Operation Wetback." ("Wetback" was a term of derision, implying a person of Mexican descent had illegally crossed the Rio Grande River to reach the United States.) During a five-year period the government claimed to have rounded up and deported to Mexico nearly 4 million undocumented immigrants. This operation, critics charged, helped stigmatize even U.S. citizens of Mexican heritage and justify further discriminatory treatment.

As a result, civil rights groups representing Mexican Americans intensified earlier mobilization efforts. Labor organizers sought higher wages and better working conditions in the factories and fields, even as the FBI labeled their efforts "communist inspired" and harassed unions with large Mexican American memberships, such as the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA). A lengthy mining strike in New Mexico became the subject of the independent motion picture *Salt of the Earth* (1954). Pressure from Washington, the film industry, and anticommunist labor unions throughout the 1950s prevented distribution of this collaboration among blacklisted filmmakers, striking miners, and their families.

Civil rights organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Unity League sought to desegregate schools and other public facilities throughout California and the Southwest. Lawyers for these groups faced a strategic dilemma. Legal challenges brought on behalf of plaintiffs of African descent, as in the *Brown* cases, relied on the claim that state laws separating "whites" and "negroes" violated constitutional guarantees of equality. Most states, though, classified persons whose ancestors came from Mexico as legally "white." As earlier cases such as *Westminster* had shown (see Chapter 27), school officials in states such as California and Texas cited "language deficiencies," rather than "race," as justification for segregating students of Mexican descent. The "other white" legal status of Mexican Americans, in other words, complicated the ability of organizations such as LULAC to frame court challenges that could rely on legal precedents involving "white-against-black" discrimination.

Urban-Suburban Issues

The growth of suburbia during the 1950s helped to highlight urban issues, many of them related to changing racial patterns. Throughout this period, both public and private institutions began shifting financial resources away from cities, especially away from neighborhoods in which Latinos and African Americans lived. Adopting a policy called **redlining,** lending institutions generally denied loans for homebuyers and businesses in areas that were labeled "decaying" or "marginal" because they contained aging buildings, dense populations, and growing numbers of people of non-European descent. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and other governmental agencies channeled most lending toward the newer suburbs. In 1960, for example, the FHA failed to put up

a single dollar for home loan guarantees in Camden or Paterson, New Jersey—cities in which minority populations were growing—while it poured millions of dollars into surrounding, largely all-white suburbs.

Urban renewal programs, authorized by the Housing Act of 1949 (see Chapter 27), often seemed aimed at "urban removal." Although this Fair Deal measure had called for "a feasible method for the temporary relocation" of persons displaced, developers generally ignored the requirement. For several decades, the person who directed New York City's vast construction projects, Robert Moses, consistently understated the number of people dislocated by his urban renewal and highway building programs. Defenders of Robert Moses insisted that he pursued a progressive vision that ultimately benefited all New Yorkers, but the costs of progress—and perhaps its benefits—hardly seemed equally shared.

Meanwhile, plans for federally built public housing faltered. Although suburban areas, where land was abundant and inexpensive, seemed the obvious place to locate affordable housing, middle-income homeowners used their political clout and zoning laws to freeze out government sponsored housing projects. At the same time, private housing interests lobbied to limit the number of public units actually constructed in urban areas and to ensure that they would offer tenants fewer amenities, including closets with doors, than could be found in private units. Originally conceived as short-term alternatives for families who would soon move to their own homes, publicly built facilities became stigmatized as "the projects," permanent housing of last resort for people with chronically low incomes.

The urban-suburban policies came under sustained criticism. In 1960 both the Democratic and Republican Parties pledged to create a new cabinet office for urban affairs and to reconsider Washington's role in addressing the cycle of continued suburban growth and onrushing urban decay.

New Forms of Direct Action, 1960–1963

Although John F. Kennedy had talked about new civil rights legislation, his administration initially tried to placate the segregationist wing of his Democratic Party. The president and his brother, Robert, who had become attorney general, listened sympathetically when J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, falsely warned of continuing ties between Martin Luther King, Jr. and members of the Communist Party. To monitor King's activities, the FBI illegally recorded many of his private conversations and clamped a tight web of surveillance around his every move. King's movement also faced another challenge: that from activists who favored moving on to new forms of direct action.

In early 1960 African American students at North Carolina A & T College in Greensboro sat down at a drugstore lunch counter and politely asked to be served in the same manner as white customers. This was the beginning of the **sit-in movement,** a new phase of civil rights activism. In both the South and the North, young demonstrators staged nonviolent sit-ins at restaurants, bus and train stations, and other public facilities. Singing civil rights anthems such as "We Shall Overcome" to inspire solidarity, the sit-in movement encouraged further activism. In 1961 interracial activists from CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a student group that emerged from the sit-in movement, risked racist retaliation by reviving a form of direct action that CORE had first tried in the 1940s: "freedom rides" across the South.

The new **freedom riders** were challenging the Kennedy administration to enforce federal court decisions that had declared state laws requiring segregation on interstate buses (and in bus stations) to be unconstitutional.

The new grassroots activism forced the Kennedy administration into action of its own. It dispatched U.S. marshals and National Guard troops to protect the freedom riders. It also deployed federal power to help integrate educational institutions in the Deep South, including the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama. In November 1962 Kennedy issued the long promised executive order that banned racial discrimination in federally financed housing. The following February he sent Congress a civil rights bill that called for speedier trials in cases involving challenges to racial discrimination in voting.

Nearly 1,500 civil rights demonstrations took place across the country the following spring. Protests in the urban Northeast and Midwest generally focused on improving educational opportunities. Most of these called for accelerating school integration plans, but a "Walk to Freedom March" in Detroit attracted more than 125,000 people on behalf of a broad agenda that included job creation and open housing legislation.

Events in the South, however, continued to attract the most attention. Beginning in the spring of 1963, violent conflict convulsed Birmingham. Direct action in this Alabama industrial center, according to Dr. King, was to create a situation "so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation" over desegregation of public facilities. Instead, white police officers unleashed dogs and turned high-pressure water hoses on demonstrators, including children. Four young girls were later murdered (and 20 people injured) when white supremacists bombed Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a center of the local civil rights campaign. After thousands of African Americans rallied in protest—and two more children were killed, this time by police officers—the Kennedy administration again took action. It conceded that images from Birmingham played badly in the international scene and among African American communities outside of Alabama.

Birmingham's determined civil rights activists were starring in real-life dramas that were quickly reaching the entire world via television. Kennedy had already used the same medium when pleading for a national commitment to the battle against discrimination. Recent events had raised "a moral issue … as old as Scriptures and … as clear as the Constitution." Racial violence was "weakening the respect with which the rest of the world regards us," the president insisted in a June televised address.

The White House still hoped to influence the direction and pace of change. It crafted additional civil rights legislation designed to dampen enthusiasm for demonstrations and other forms of direct action. It now called for a ban against racial discrimination in public facilities and housing and for new measures to protect the voting rights of African Americans in the South. The administration soon recognized that its legislative proposals would not derail a **March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,** modeled after the earlier march in Detroit and sponsored by a coalition of civil rights and labor organizations scheduled for the late summer of 1963. It belatedly endorsed the demonstration.

On August 28, 1963, an integrated group of more than 200,000 people marched through the nation's capital to the Lincoln Memorial. There, Dr. Martin



AP Images/Bill Hudson

Racial Conflict in Birmingham. *Images such as this 1963 photograph of a confrontation in Birmingham, Alabama, in which segregationists turned dogs on youthful demonstrators, helped rally public support for civil rights legislation. Events in Birmingham, however, also presaged the increasingly violent clashes that would punctuate the efforts to end racial discrimination.*

Luther King, Jr., delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Speakers on that day generally applauded Kennedy's latest initiatives but urged a broader agenda, including a higher minimum wage and a federal program to guarantee new jobs. Well organized and smoothly run, the event received overwhelmingly favorable coverage from the national media and put additional pressure on the White House and Congress to lend a hand to civil rights efforts.

November, 1963

As fall turned to winter in 1963, the United States confronted three major policy issues. All had historical roots, but they now carried special urgency.

Policy Choices

First, there was the issue of using government power to stimulate the rate of economic growth. Candidate Kennedy and his economic advisers had promised a vibrant economy. During the fall of 1963, as his tax-cut proposal still languished in Congress, Kennedy presented his case to a radio and TV audience. He claimed that his plan would benefit the entire nation. "Every taxpayer and his family," Kennedy promised, "will have more money left over after taxes for a new car, a new home, new conveniences, education and investment. Every businessman can keep a higher percentage of his profits



Photograph by Cecil Stoughton, White House, in the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston

JFK and Jackie Arrive at Love Field, November 22, 1963. *President Kennedy and the First Lady, often treated in the manner of Hollywood movie stars, carefully orchestrated their public appearances. During Kennedy's final political trip to Texas, he and the First Lady traveled the short distance from Ft. Worth to Dallas by airplane, rather than automobile, as a way of making their arrival, marked by roses for the First Lady, appear more dramatic. Within hours, subsequent photographs of Jacqueline Kennedy would famously show her French-designed pink suit stained with the blood of the slain president, shot down while the presidential limousine passed through Dallas's Dealey Plaza.*

in his cash register or put it to work expanding or improving his business." And greater economic growth would mean that "the federal government will ultimately end up with more revenues."

Then, there were many questions about U.S. policy in Vietnam. The Kennedy administration puzzled over how to recast Eisenhower's containment policy and execute its own flexible response approach to counterinsurgency and nation building. U.S. officials concluded that the effort in South Vietnam suffered from the Diem government's incompetence, and they gave disgruntled South Vietnamese military officers the green light to orchestrate its overthrow. On November 2, 1963, Diem was routed from his presidential palace and—despite assurances to the contrary

from the coup's leaders—murdered. This coup, which brought a military regime to power in Saigon, bred even greater political instability throughout South Vietnam. The NLF and North Vietnam, in turn, ratcheted up their military pressure.

After nearly three years of constant fine-tuning, Kennedy's Southeast Asian policy appeared no more coherent than Eisenhower's. The overall goal remained consistent: prevent communist forces from toppling an anticommunist government in Saigon. The United States could not afford to "lose" South Vietnam. By late November 1963, however, Kennedy's policy in Vietnam again appeared in a state of flux, perhaps even disarray.

Finally, there were political dilemmas associated with civil rights. Constantly pushed by spreading campaigns of direct action, the Kennedy administration renewed efforts to mobilize its political resources on behalf of long-promised congressional legislation. Recognizing that a measure to address discrimination in housing would never pass, White House strategists concentrated on using federal power to eliminate state-sanctioned segregation in the South and to advance a "fair employment" agenda everywhere. The latter goal, however, faced considerable opposition from business groups and from segments of the labor movement.

The Assassination of John F. Kennedy

The Kennedy White House, although still struggling to reframe both its foreign and domestic policies, expected JFK would win re-election in 1964. The apparent GOP candidate, Barry Goldwater, could count on his new conservative base, but it seemed too narrow, and likely too fragile, to provide a genuine threat to another Kennedy campaign.

On November 22, 1963, however, John F. Kennedy was assassinated as his presidential motorcade moved through Dallas. Vice President Lyndon Johnson, who had accompanied Kennedy to Texas, took the oath of office and rushed back to Washington. Equally quickly, the Dallas police arrested Lee Harvey Oswald and pegged him as JFK's assassin. FBI surveillance had already discovered what most everyone else would soon know: Oswald had vague ties to organized crime; had once lived in the Soviet Union; and had a bizarre set of political affiliations, including shadowy ones with groups interested in Cuba. Oswald declared his innocence but never faced trial. Jack Ruby, a Dallas nightclub owner, killed Oswald on national television, while the alleged gunman was in police custody. An investigation by a special commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren concluded that both Oswald and Ruby had acted alone.

The motivations for the president's assassination and the Warren Commission's account of a lone gunman came under intense scrutiny. Competing theories about the number of shots, the trajectory of the bullets, the nature of Kennedy's wounds, and the twisted affiliations of the assassin proliferated. The tragedy in Dallas still provokes myriad conspiracy theories and controversies.

Kennedy's life and presidency remain topics of historical debate and tabloid-style speculation. Researchers have provided new details about his poor health, reliance on exotic medications, and dalliances with women—all of which were kept from the public at the time. Historians speculate about how Kennedy's lifestyle might have affected his ability to make crucial decisions, and they debate what

JFK might have done in Vietnam had he won the 1964 presidential election. The passage of time, in short, has diminished neither scholarly nor popular interest in John F. Kennedy and in his 1,000-day presidency.

Conclusion

Tensions with the Soviet Union, which brought the superpowers to the brink of nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, dominated national security calculations between 1953 and 1963. The United States stockpiled nuclear weapons, employed new forms of economic pressure, and expanded covert activities. Left-leaning movements in the Third World, particularly in Cuba and Southeast Asia, became of growing concern to U.S. policymakers.

At home, the post-1953 decade brought economic growth. A cornucopia of new consumer products encouraged talk about an age of affluence but also generated apprehension about conformity, unruly youth, and mass culture. At the same time, the millions of people whom economic growth bypassed and those who faced racial and ethnic discrimination, saw their causes move toward the center of public debates over the meaning of liberty and equality. Critics charged the Eisenhower administration with failing to use government power to support civil rights efforts and to promote faster and more equitably distributed economic growth. Policy initiatives of the early 1960s, associated with Kennedy's New Frontier, grew out of the critical culture of the 1950s. More quietly, in both the political and cultural arenas, a new conservative movement was also taking shape. It saw government's social-economic role needing to be reduced, not expanded.

Although the Kennedy administration preferred to focus on foreign policy, the press coverage of domestic events, particularly those associated with direct action on behalf of civil rights, forced it to consider how government power might be used to address the issues of liberty and equality at home.

The years that immediately followed Kennedy's assassination would continue to highlight questions about liberty, equality, and power. Was the United States spreading freedom in Vietnam? Was government sufficiently active in pursuing egalitarian initiatives at home? The troubled era of "America's longest war," 1963–74, would turn on how different people and activist groups attempted to respond to these questions.

29

America During Its Longest War, 1963–1974

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• The Great Society • Escalation in Vietnam • The War at Home • 1968 • Continued Polarization, 1969–1974 • Foreign Policy in a Time of Turmoil, 1969–1974 • A Crisis of Governance, 1972–1974

Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) promised to finish what John F. Kennedy (JFK) had begun. Ultimately, though, popular memories of LBJ's presidency would bear little resemblance to those of Kennedy's. At home, Johnson had already charted his course: He hoped to mobilize the power of government to promote liberty and advance equality. In Southeast Asia, however, Johnson saw no obvious route to follow. Should the United States pull back from earlier commitments to South Vietnam, roll out its vast military power, or follow some other course? Johnson's decisions about Vietnam generated political discord at home, and controversy also overtook his initially popular domestic moves. As America's longest war dragged on, public opinion turned against Johnson and his policies. By 1968, polarization over priorities at home and overseas embittered national politics.

The polarization so much in evidence during 1968 grew worse during the war years that followed. By the end of America's longest war and the Watergate crisis that brought President Richard Nixon's resignation, the nation's political culture and social fabric looked very different from how they had appeared in 1963.

The Great Society

Lyndon Baines Johnson lacked Kennedy's charisma, but he possessed other political assets. As a member of the House of Representatives during the late 1930s and early 1940s and as majority leader of the U.S. Senate during the 1950s, Johnson mastered the art of interest group horse-trading. Few issues, it appeared, defied an LBJ-forged solution. Johnson flattered, cajoled, or threatened people until they lent him their support. During Johnson's time in Congress, his already wealthy Texas

CHRONOLOGY

1964	Civil Rights Act of 1964 passes ◆ Congress approves Gulf of Tonkin Resolution ◆ Johnson defeats Barry Goldwater
1965	Congress passes Voting Rights Act ◆ Violence hits Watts ◆ U.S role in Vietnam dramatically expands
1966	Supreme Court decides *Miranda* v. *Arizona* ◆ U.S. begins massive air strikes in North Vietnam
1967	Large antiwar demonstrations begin
1968	Tet offensive begins ◆ Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy assassinated ◆ Civil Rights Act passed ◆ Richard Nixon wins presidency
1969	Nixon announces "Vietnamization" policy ◆ My Lai massacre becomes public
1970	U.S. troops enter Cambodia ◆ Congress creates Environmental Protection Agency
1971	Stagflation upsets U.S. economy ◆ U.S. dollar begins to "float" on currency markets
1972	Watergate burglars caught inside Democratic headquarters ◆ Nixon crushes George McGovern in presidential election
1973	OPEC oil embargo begins ◆ Paris peace accords signed ◆ Supreme Court decides *Roe* v. *Wade* ◆ Special Senate committee begins hearings into "Watergate"
1974	House votes impeachment and Nixon resigns ◆ Gerald Ford assumes presidency
1975	Saigon falls to North Vietnamese forces

benefactors gained valuable oil and gas concessions and lucrative construction contracts. Johnson's skill in gaining congressional funding for building projects boosted Texas cities such as Dallas and Houston, along with much of the Southwest. LBJ himself acquired a personal fortune.

Kennedy's death gave Johnson the opportunity to deploy his political skills on the presidential stage. No previous president had ever taken office after having served so long in Congress. Although eager to enact a bold social-economic program, Johnson began cautiously. He asked Congress to honor JFK's memory by addressing three legislative issues proposed by Kennedy's administration: tax cutting, economic inequality, and civil rights.

Closing the New Frontier

Working behind the scenes, Johnson easily secured passage of the Kennedy tax cut, the measure that JFK had promised would stimulate economic growth. Although analysts still differ on the precise design of this legislation and its contribution to the economic boom of the mid-1960s, the tax measure appeared to work. GNP rose 7 percent in 1964 and 8 percent the following year, unemployment dropped, and inflation remained low.

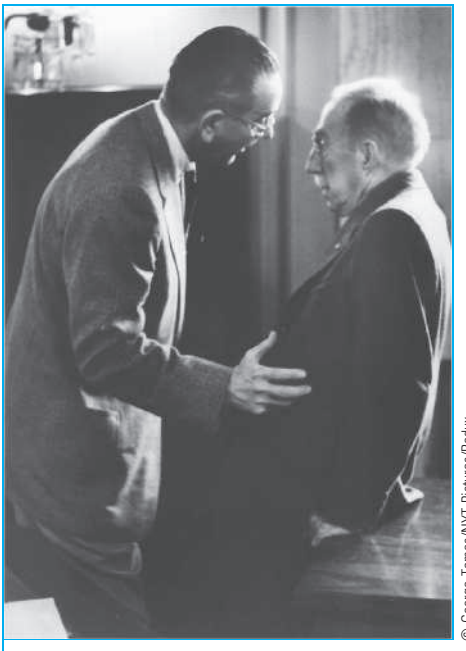
In his January 1964 State of the Union address, Johnson upped the ante on Kennedy's cautious effort to address economic inequality by calling for "an unconditional war on poverty in America." Relentlessly prodded by the White House, Congress soon passed The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It created the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to coordinate a multipart program. First headed by R. Sargent Shriver, a brother-in-law of John Kennedy, the OEO was charged with eliminating "the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty." In addition to establishing the OEO, the act mandated loans for rural and small-business development; established a work-training program called the Jobs Corps; created Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a domestic version of the Peace Corps; provided low-wage, public service jobs for young people; began a "work-study program" to assist college students; and authorized the creation of federally funded social programs to be planned in concert with local community groups.

Johnson also helped push an expanded version of Kennedy's civil rights proposal through Congress. Although championing the measure as a memorial to JFK, LBJ knew that Southerners in their own Democratic Party would try to block it. Consequently, he successfully sought Republican support to curtail a southern-led filibuster. Johnson also helped hammer out compromises on several key provisions and reconcile the differing bills enacted by the House and Senate.

In July, Congress passed a landmark measure. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** strengthened federal remedies, monitored by a new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), against racially inspired job discrimination. The act also prohibited racial discrimination in all public accommodations connected to interstate commerce, such as motels and restaurants. Moreover, Title VII, a provision added during congressional debate, barred discrimination based on sex and became important to the reviving women's movement. Although opponents of the 1964 act argued that its extension of federal power violated the Constitution, the Supreme Court, effectively a political ally of Lyndon Johnson during his presidency, curtly rejected such claims.

That same summer, a coalition of civil rights groups recruited nearly a thousand young volunteers for **Freedom Summer.** Sponsored by a coalition of activist groups and led by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), this project targeted Mississippi with an effort to register African American voters and to begin other civil rights projects. During that tension-filled summer, at least six civil rights workers met violent deaths. In the most notorious incident, a conspiracy among KKK leaders and law-enforcement officers from Neshoba County, Mississippi, brutally murdered three volunteers—James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman. This incident would roil Mississippi's legal and political life for years. Finally, in 2005, a Mississippi jury convicted a former KKK leader, by then in his eighties, of manslaughter for participating in the triple killing of 1964.

Meanwhile, supporters of Freedom Summer pressed forward, only to see the national Democratic Party reject their grassroots political work. Pressured by LBJ, the 1964 Democratic convention voted to seat Mississippi's "regular" all-white delegates rather than members of a new, racially diverse Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). The regulars had made clear their intention to support the GOP's presidential candidate, but Johnson declined to support the MFDP in hopes of keeping some other southern states in the Democratic camp in the fall election. LBJ's rebuff of the MFDP prompted its leaders, such as Fannie Lou Hamer, to question the president's


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The Presence of Lyndon B. Johnson. *As both senator and president, Lyndon Johnson employed body language—the "Johnson treatment"—as one means of gaining support for his policies.*

commitment to their cause. What would Johnson—and Hubert Humphrey, his hand-picked vice presidential running mate—do for civil rights after the 1964 election?

The Election of 1964

After a bruising battle within GOP ranks, the Republicans nominated Senator **Barry Goldwater** of Arizona, hero of the new conservatism, to challenge Johnson. Goldwater's strategists claimed that a stoutly conservative GOP campaign would attract the vast number of voters who supposedly rejected both Democratic policies and Dwight Eisenhower's "modern Republican" ones. Goldwater denounced Johnson's foreign policy for tolerating communist expansion and attacked his domestic agenda, including civil rights, for destroying individual liberties. One of only eight Republican senators who had opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Goldwater condemned the measure as an unconstitutional extension of national power on behalf of the laudable goal of combating discrimination. Issues of civil rights, Goldwater insisted, were matters for state and local governments.

The Goldwater campaign quickly fizzled. The Democratic campaign savaged the candidate's policies, his grasp of issues, and even his mental stability. A tendency to make ill-considered remarks already haunted Goldwater. He had suggested that people who feared nuclear war were "silly and sissified." He had wondered out loud if participation in the Social Security program should become voluntary. And during his acceptance speech at the 1964 Republican convention Goldwater proclaimed that "extremism in the pursuit of liberty is no vice" and "moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." The phrase fed Democratic claims that "extremist" forces on the "radical right" would dominate a Goldwater presidency.

Many moderate Republicans deserted Goldwater, who led the GOP to a spectacular defeat in November. Johnson carried 44 states and won more than 60 percent of the popular vote; Democrats also gained 38 seats in Congress. In the short run, the 1964 election seemed a triumph for Lyndon Johnson's vision of government power.

The 1964 election, however, foreshadowed deep-rooted political changes that would undermine Johnson's agenda and, in time, the Democratic Party. Indeed, during the Democratic primaries of 1964, Alabama's segregationist governor, George Wallace, had run strongly against the president in several states. Already well positioned as an opponent of civil rights movements, Wallace denounced any "meddling" by Washington in local affairs. The 1964 election proved the last, until that of 2008, in which the Democratic Party would capture the White House by proposing an expansion in the power of the national government.

Goldwater's defeat invigorated rather than discouraged supporters of the new conservatism. His staff pioneered innovative campaign tactics, such as direct-mail fundraising. By refining these techniques during future campaigns, conservative strategists helped make 1964 the beginning, not the end, of their plan to push the Republican Party, and the country, to the right. Goldwater's continued criticism of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 helped him carry five Southern states. These victories—along with Wallace's earlier appeal to "white backlash" voters—suggested that opposition to additional civil rights measures could woo Southern whites away from the Democratic Party.

An important electoral issue in California also gave conservatives hope. The Democratic national ticket easily carried the state, but real-estate interests joined with suburban conservatives to sponsor a referendum measure that repealed the recently enacted "Rumford Act." This 1962 law had prohibited racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing in California. Opponents of this open-housing measure adopted a political strategy that conservatives would increasingly embrace: downplay racial issues and, instead, denounce governmental regulations such as the Rumford Act for violating the principles of equal rights and individual liberties.

Finally, the Goldwater campaign introduced a new corps of conservative activists, many of them from the Sunbelt, to national politics. Ronald Reagan championed the new conservatism so effectively that Goldwater Republicans in California began grooming the former movie and TV actor for a political career. Younger conservatives, such as William Rehnquist and Newt Gingrich, entered the national arena as supporters of Goldwater's vision. Goldwater also enlisted Milton Friedman, the staunchly conservative economist and a critic of Keynesian policies, as an advisor. Historians now credit the Goldwater effort of 1964, for spearheading the overhaul of American conservatism—and the Republican Party.

Lyndon Johnson's Great Society

Lyndon Johnson rushed to capitalize on his electoral victory. Enjoying broad support in Congress, Johnson unveiled plans for a **Great Society,** an array of federal programs designed to "enrich and elevate our national life." Some of the programs fulfilled the dreams of his Democratic predecessors. Nationally funded medical coverage for the elderly (Medicare) and for low-income citizens (Medicaid) grew out of healthcare proposals from the New- and Fair-Deal eras. Similarly, a new cabinet office, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), built on earlier plans for coordinating urban revitalization programs.

The **Voting Rights Act of 1965,** which created mechanisms for national oversight of state and local elections in the South, capped the long-term effort to eliminate racial and ethnic discrimination, especially sham "literacy tests," from political life. The measure gave the Justice Department broadly defined authority to monitor electoral procedures in jurisdictions with a history of discriminating against African American voters. Modified and extended over the years, most recently in 2008, the Voting Rights Act also came to require ballots printed in languages other than English.

Meanwhile, Congress enacted another milestone measure that addressed matters long discussed—and long avoided. The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** finally abolished the discriminatory "national origins" quota system established in 1924 (see Chapter 24). Henceforth, roughly the same set of rules would apply to people wishing to immigrate to the United States from any part of the world. This change, in practice, would allow the entry of far more people from Asia and Africa than had previously been allowed.

Many of the Great Society's new proposals rested on the mid-century "affluence" that the Johnson administration expected to continue for years to come. Even a costly war in Southeast Asia could not dampen its optimism. Ongoing economic growth could provide the tax dollars to underwrite a bold expansion of national power without any overhaul of fundamental political and economic arrangements.

The array of Great Society initiatives that rolled through Congress during the mid-1960s heartened LBJ's supporters and appalled his critics. The Model Cities Program (1966) offered smaller-scale alternatives to urban renewal efforts. Rent supplements and an expanded food stamp program went to help low-income families. The Head Start Program (1965) provided help for children considered educationally unprepared for kindergarten. Other new federal educational programs aimed to upgrade classroom instruction, especially in low-income neighborhoods, and a legal services initiative provided lawyers to clients who could not afford to hire an attorney. These measures aimed at providing low-income people with the kind of professional expertise, routinely available to the more affluent, that could help them fight their way out of social and economic distress. The Great Society's service-based approach, Johnson insisted, would give people a "hand up" rather than a "handout."

The Community Action Program (CAP) promised a different tack. It authorized grassroots activists, working through neighborhood organizations, to design community-based projects that could gain funding from Washington. By promoting "maximum feasible participation" by ordinary citizens rather than relying on planning experts, the architects of CAP proposed to nurture a grassroots democracy that could revitalize American politics from the bottom up.

Evaluating the Great Society

How did the Great Society become so controversial? Most obviously, the extension of Washington's reach rekindled old debates about the use, as both an issue of political principle and pragmatic policymaking, of the power of the national government. In addition, Johnson's rhetorical extravagance, such as promising an "unconditional" victory over poverty, announced long-term objectives that failed to survive the short-term rhythms of partisan politics. Republicans rebounded from the Democratic landslide of 1964 and picked up 47 seats in Congress in the midterm elections of 1966. The Great Society ideal would never again enjoy the overwhelming congressional support that had accompanied Johnson's initial proposals.

Finally, the expectation that continued economic growth would generate tax revenues sufficient to finance new social programs faded during the early 1970s. Worsening economic conditions, exacerbated by the escalating cost of the war in Vietnam, made social welfare measures more politically vulnerable than during the prosperous mid-1960s. Facing financial worries of their own, people who had been initially supportive of the Great Society became receptive to the claim, first championed by George Wallace and the Goldwater campaign in 1964, that bureaucrats in Washington would waste their hard-earned tax dollars on flawed social experiments.

Historians disagree about the impact of Johnson's programs. Charles Murray's *Losing Ground* (1984) charged the Great Society with encouraging antisocial behavior. This book argued that too many people, lured by welfare payments, abandoned the goals of marrying, settling down, and seeking jobs. Money spent on Johnson's programs, moreover, created government deficits that slowed economic growth. Had ill-advised social spending not undermined personal initiative and disrupted the nation's economy, its continued growth would have ultimately provided most Americans with a comfortable lifestyle, according to *Losing Ground*. A central text of the new conservatism, Murray's book saw Johnson's Great Society as a cause of, not a solution for, economic distress.

Other analysts more sympathetic to the Great Society rejected this view. First, where was the evidence for the claim that most people preferred welfare to meaningful work? Second, funds actually spent on Great Society programs neither matched Johnson's promises nor reached the lavish levels claimed by the new conservatism. Moreover, the charge that government expenditures choked off growth ignored the systemic economic problems that emerged in the early 1970s. In addition, Great Society advocates pointed to the significant decline in poverty rates, which fell from 19 percent in 1962 to 10 percent in 1969.

Antipoverty activists developed another critique that faulted the architects of the Great Society for not doing enough. They charged that the Johnson administration failed to challenge the prevailing distribution of political and economic power and favored large-scale bureaucratic solutions forged by people beholden to power-brokers in Washington. They noted that the administration jettisoned the CAP model of grassroots empowerment almost as soon as local politicians began complaining about having to compete for federal funding. In this view, the assumption that economic growth would fund the Great Society had precluded any serious attempt, such as a revised tax code, to redistribute income and wealth. The Johnson administration always lacked a viable plan to confront inequality, according to this critique.

Despite disagreements over how to interpret the Great Society, historians nevertheless concur over its impact on the federal budget. Washington's financial outlay for domestic programs increased more than 10 percent during every year of LBJ's presidency. In 1960, federal spending on social welfare constituted 28 percent of total governmental outlays; by 1970, this figure had risen to more than 40 percent. Moreover, Great Society programs such as Medicaid, legal assistance, and job training gave low-income families access to social services and slightly narrowed the disparity between rich and poor.

From the perspective of political viability, though, the Great Society proved a failure. Opposition to the assumptions and goals of Johnson's Great Society gave new energy to the conservative surge. As support for domestic spending programs waned, even some Democrats hesitated to defend Lyndon Johnson's vision. LBJ's domestic policies, based on extending national power, inflamed partisan passions; and calls for limiting the reach of Washington increasingly dominated political discussion and

reshaped American political culture. For many years, the Democratic Party rarely recalled Lyndon Johnson's memory. Finally, in 2007, a Republican president signed a bill renaming the Department of Education Office Building in Johnson's honor.

Escalation in Vietnam

Lyndon Johnson's divisive crusade to build a Great Society at home found its counterpart abroad. His pledge to protect South Vietnam from communism demanded ever more of the nation's human and material resources. Johnson's foreign policy diminished the nation's international standing, further polarized its domestic politics, and strained its economy.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

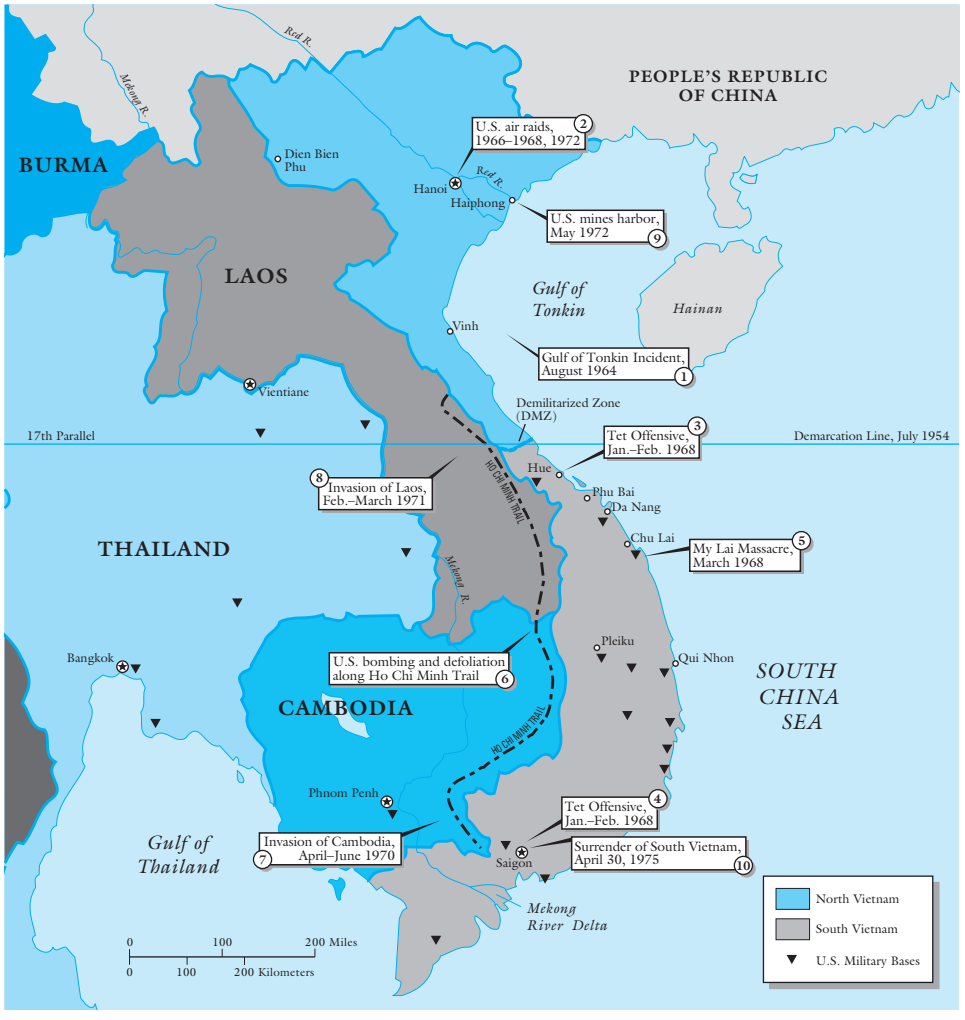
Immediately after John Kennedy's assassination, Johnson resisted additional support for South Vietnam. His fears of appearing soft on communism, however, soon led him to side with those advisers who saw air strikes against North Vietnam as the necessary first step toward preserving an anticommunist government in South Vietnam. Johnson prepared a congressional resolution authorizing this escalation of hostilities.

Events in the Gulf of Tonkin, off the coast of North Vietnam, provided the rationale for taking the resolution to Capitol Hill. On August 1, 1964, the U.S. destroyer *Maddox,* while on an intelligence-gathering mission, exchanged gunfire with North Vietnamese ships. Three days later, the *Maddox* returned with the *Turner Joy* and, during severe weather, reported what seemed to be signs of a failed torpedo attack. Although the *Maddox*'s commander advised that the episode needed further analysis, Johnson immediately denounced "unprovoked aggression" by North Vietnam against the United States. (A later study concluded that there had never been a North Vietnamese attack.) With only two dissenting votes in the Senate, Congress passed the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution,** which authorized Johnson to take "all necessary measures to repel armed attack."

This resolution seemed to give Johnson what he needed. His strong stand against apparent aggression was politically popular, and the resolution gave the president numerous military options in Southeast Asia. He immediately began bombing strikes against North Vietnam and used the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution as tantamount to a congressional declaration of war.

The congressional resolution also helped Johnson position himself as a cautious moderate during the presidential campaign of 1964. When Barry Goldwater demanded stronger measures against North Vietnam and even hinted at possible use of tactical nuclear weapons, Johnson's campaign managers portrayed Goldwater as a threat to the survival of civilization. Johnson seemingly promised not to commit U.S. troops to any land war in Southeast Asia during the 1964 campaign.

Soon after the November election, however, Johnson faced a complicated decision. More than a year after the 1963 coup against Diem (see Chapter 28), South Vietnam still faced political disarray. The failure of successive military governments in Saigon was fueling popular discontent, and South Vietnamese troops were deserting at an alarming rate. North Vietnam continued expanding its military aid to the National Liberation Front (NLF) and then began sending a sizable number of its own troops into South Vietnam. By the beginning of 1965, the NLF controlled much of the countryside. Only in Saigon and other urban areas was national authority still relevant. In January, another Saigon regime collapsed, and factionalism stalled the emergence of any viable alternative.



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MAP 29.1 Vietnam War

The war in Vietnam spread into neighboring countries as the United States sought to prevent North Vietnam from bringing supplies and troops southward along a network called the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Unlike the Korean War the guerrilla-style war in Indochina had few conventional battle "fronts."

Lacking an effective ally in Saigon, Johnson pondered conflicting advice. National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy predicted Saigon's defeat unless the United States greatly increased its military role. Another key aide, Walt W. Rostow, assured Johnson that North Vietnam would give up its aggressive plans if the United States clearly showed its determination to oppose them. Undersecretary of State George Ball, by contrast, warned that U.S. troops could never prop up South Vietnam. He wrote, "no one has demonstrated that a white ground force of whatever size can win a guerrilla war—which is at the same time a civil war between Asians—in jungle terrain in the midst of a population that refuses cooperation to the white forces." Senate Majority Leader Mike

Mansfield, an expert in Asian history, urged finding some way of reuniting Vietnam as a neutral country. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, afflicted by inter-service rivalries, provided differing military assessments and, thus, no clear guidance.

Johnson was left wondering and worrying. He still privately doubted the chances for a successful U.S. intervention but seemed incapable of translating these doubts into a decision to alter the U.S. commitment to containing communism in Vietnam. Johnson became obsessed about the adverse political and diplomatic consequences of a U.S. pull-out or compromise. He feared that domestic criticism of anything looking like a communist victory in Vietnam would endanger his Great Society programs and embolden the new conservatives.

Moreover, Johnson accepted the familiar domino theory. This theory held that a U.S. withdrawal could lead to further communist aggression in Asia, encourage communist-leaning insurgencies in Latin America, increase Soviet pressure on West Berlin, and damage U.S. credibility around the world. Both Eisenhower and Kennedy had staked U.S. prestige on a noncommunist South Vietnam. Johnson either had to revise that commitment or chart an uncertain course by ordering the direct infusion of U.S. combat troops.

Ultimately, Johnson greatly expanded U.S. military involvement. A deadly attack on the U.S. military outpost at Pleiku in early 1965 prompted retaliatory bombing against North Vietnam. Within a month, the United States inaugurated a sustained campaign of bombing, code-named Rolling Thunder. Washington also began deploying U.S. ground forces to regain lost territory in the South, expanding covert operations, and boosting economic aid to the beleaguered South Vietnamese government. Only six months after the 1964 election, with his advisers still divided, Johnson had decisively committed the United States to a wider war.

The War Continues to Widen

Combat operations in Vietnam grew steadily more intense. Hoping to break the enemy's spirit, U.S. military commanders sought to inflict more casualties. The Johnson administration authorized the use of napalm, an incendiary and toxic chemical that charred both foliage and people, and allowed the Air Force to bomb new targets. Additional U.S. combat troops arrived, but every escalation seemed to require a further one. After North Vietnam rejected a Johnson peace plan that Hanoi viewed as tantamount to its surrender, the United States again escalated its effort. North Vietnam's leadership, pursuing a long-term strategy of attrition in South Vietnam, became convinced that Johnson would eventually lose public and congressional support for continuing the costly intervention.

In April 1965 Johnson applied his Cold War, anticommunist principles closer to home. Responding to exaggerated reports about a communist threat in the Dominican Republic, Johnson sent U.S. troops to unseat a left-leaning, elected president and to install a government supportive of U.S. interests. This incursion violated a longstanding "good neighbor" pledge not to intervene militarily in the Western Hemisphere. Although the action angered critics throughout Latin America, the overthrow of a leftist government in the Dominican Republic seemed to steel Johnson's determination to hold the line against communism in Vietnam.

Later that spring, as another South Vietnamese government was forming in Saigon, U.S. strategists were still seeking a politically stable anticommunist ally. **General William Westmoreland,** who directed the U.S. effort, recommended using

"search and destroy" missions against communist forces. By relying on helicopters to deploy U.S. forces quickly, Westmoreland envisioned that U.S. troops would engage enemy units, inflict as many casualties as possible, and withdraw without trying to secure the battleground. "Body count"—the number of enemy forces killed or disabled—became the key measure of success for these missions. This strategy aimed at incapacitating NLF and North Vietnamese forces and at allowing a viable Saigon government the time to take shape.

In July 1965, Johnson publicly agreed to send 50,000 additional military personnel to Vietnam. Privately, he pledged to send another 50,000 and left open the possibility of deploying even more. LBJ also approved saturation bombing in the South Vietnamese countryside and intensified bombardment of the North.

Some advisers urged Johnson to inform the public candidly about the expanded U.S. military effort. They recommended seeking an outright declaration of war from Congress or at least legislation allowing the president to wield the economic and informational controls that previous administrations had used during wartime. But Johnson worried about provoking antiwar members of Congress and expanding a still-small antiwar movement. Rather than risk ramping up dissent, Johnson decided to stress the administration's willingness to negotiate and to act as if the war he was expanding was not really a war. The Johnson administration talked of seeing "light at the end of the tunnel" and apparently hoped that most people in the United States would remain largely in the dark about events in Vietnam.

Over the next three years, U.S. involvement steadily increased. The number of U.S. troops in Vietnam grew to 535,000. Operation Ranch Hand scorched South Vietnam's croplands and defoliated half its forests in an effort to eliminate the natural cover for enemy troop movements. Operation Rolling Thunder, despite several brief pauses, continued until the Pentagon finally declared it a strategic failure in late 1968. Overall, U.S. planes dropped approximately 1.5 million tons of bombs—more than all the tonnage dropped during the Second World War—that pounded North Vietnamese cities and pummeled the villages and hamlets of the South.

Despite this level of violence, Vietnam remained a "limited" war. The United States avoided bombing close to the Chinese border. China had stationed more than 300,000 troops in North Vietnam, and Johnson feared provoking their entry, or possibly even that of forces from the Soviet Union, into the conflict. The strategy remained one of containing the NLF and North Vietnam by steadily escalating the cost they would pay in lost lives and bombed-out infrastructure.

Body count continued to be the primary measure for gauging progress toward the goal of saving Saigon. Estimates that a kill ratio of 10 to 1 would force North Vietnam and the NLF to pull back encouraged the U.S. military command to unleash more firepower and further inflate enemy casualty figures. This same calculation provided an automatic justification for seeking additional U.S. troops. Whenever the number of enemy forces seemed to increase, the Pentagon required more U.S. troops to maintain the desired kill ratio.

Johnson, whose notorious temper flared at the first hint of bad news, used body count numbers to justify claims of victory being "just around the corner." Privately, though, a different picture began to emerge. Enjoying material assistance from the Soviet Union and China, North Vietnam could match every U.S. escalation. The North Vietnamese funneled troops and supplies into the South through the shifting network of roads and paths, primarily through Laos, called the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

By the end of 1967, several of Johnson's key aides, most notably Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, decided that the United States could not sustain its commitment to South Vietnam. The price for containing North Vietnam, McNamara now concluded, had become far too steep. He left office, he later recalled, in a daze. He had trouble remembering whether he had resigned or had been fired. The majority of Johnson's advisors, however, refused to accept McNamara's assessment.

Meanwhile, the destruction wreaked by U.S. forces was giving the NLF, North Vietnamese, Chinese, and Soviet leaders a decided propaganda advantage in what had become an international war of imagery. Pictures from Southeast Asia allowed critics from around the world to condemn the U.S. bombardments and its search-and-destroy strategy. In Western Europe, demonstrations against the United States became prominent features of political life. Antiwar protesters at home constantly hounded the president and members of his administration, and Johnson eventually complained of being a prisoner in his own White House.

He also continued to lack an effective ally in Saigon. The devastation of the countryside from the U.S. military strategy, the economic destabilization from the flood of U.S. dollars, and the political corruption of Saigon officials took their toll. The "pacification" and "strategic hamlet" programs, which gathered Vietnamese farmers into tightly guarded villages, sounded viable in Washington but created greater instability by uprooting many South Vietnamese from their villages and ancestral lands. Buddhist priests persistently demonstrated against foreign influence. In 1967, Generals Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky, having sustained a military regime in Saigon longer than any of their predecessors, tried to legitimate their rule by holding a new election. The effort failed. A voting process shot through with corruption only highlighted the precarious political position of Thieu and Ky and their dependence on aid from Washington.

The Media and the War

Johnson lectured the American public about upholding the nation's honor and diplomatic commitments, but dissent continually mounted. In previous wars, Washington had restricted media coverage. Hoping to avoid the controversy that overt censorship would surely cause, the Johnson administration employed informal ways of managing information. With television making Vietnam a "living room war"—one that people could watch in their own homes—Johnson kept three TV sets playing in his office in order to monitor what viewers were seeing. Most of what he saw, early on, he liked.

Antiwar activists initially assailed what they considered the media's uncritical reporting. American journalists, they claimed, generally accepted story frames constructed by the White House. Few reporters wrote stories that dissected either the limits of the U.S. military effort or the travails of its South Vietnamese ally. TV camera crews, trailing behind U.S. combat forces and reliant on them for protection, invariably framed their stories from perspectives supportive of "our guys." *Time* magazine initially praised General Westmoreland's leadership and named him its "Man of the Year" for 1965.

In time, however, media coverage changed. Images of unrelenting destruction coming across TV screens undercut the optimistic words coming from the White House and U.S. officials in Saigon. After gazing at his TV sets, LBJ started telephoning network executives, castigating them for broadcasts to which he objected. More and more journalists and reporters, finally following the lead of David Halberstam,

began challenging the reassuring reports. Gloria Emerson's grim stories portrayed the war as one in which poor and disproportionately nonwhite troops fought and died so that wealthy families, with draft-exempt "fortunate sons," might reap war-related profits. Harrison Salisbury sent dispatches from North Vietnam that detailed the destructive impact of U.S. bombing missions. Younger journalists who traveled alongside U.S. troops, such as Michael Herr, came to represent the American mission as a drug-drenched trip into the surreal.

As the conflict dragged on, the media began to talk about a "war at home." Initially, commentators generally adopted a stark, bipolar story frame. It pitted the "hawks," people who wanted to fight in Vietnam until the United States "won," against those who desired to end U.S. involvement as quickly as possible, the "doves." Decrying media coverage, Johnson claimed to be following the time-tested policy of containment. Secretary of State Dean Rusk warned of the dangers of "appeasement." But influential U.S. politicians—led by J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—complained of misplaced priorities in Vietnam and of an "arrogance of power" by the Johnson administration.

In time, stories about a war at home expanded beyond those about hawks and doves. It came to seem as if the fundamental structures of domestic politics, society, and culture were up for grabs.

The War at Home

Even as Lyndon Johnson's policy in Southeast Asia was coming under attack from antiwar activists, a broader culture of dissent emerged. Growing tensions produced a political landscape marked by bitterness, confrontation, polarization, and violence on a scale not seen in the United States for many years.

The Movement of Movements

The 1960s came to feature a variety of movements on the political and cultural left. These movements not only opposed the war in Vietnam but also demanded dramatic domestic changes that went beyond those envisioned in Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. A "New Left" sought to re-orient politics. Cultural activists urged people to expand their minds, often with a little help from drugs and rock music, and to seek alternative ways of living their lives. Iconic images from the 1960s provide a kaleidoscopic panorama of what can be called a "movement of movements."

This movement of movements rejected a dominant ideal of the 1950s and early 1960s: the faith that political pluralism would almost always unite the nation (see Chapter 28). As the war in Vietnam dragged on and conflict emerged at home, activists from different movements increasingly doubted that the existing political system could actually solve problems. At the same time, disparate movements based on deeply held values—involving issues such as war and peace, race relations, gender politics, the environment, and sexuality—appeared to head in different directions or to collide. Taken together, this complex movement of movements soon became central to the historical era already being called "the Sixties."

Although media imagery alone could not create any particular movement, most activists sought the media spotlight to help demonstrate their disdain for policies they opposed and to attract support for their visions of change. Often beginning

with posters and pamphlets, movement activists produced increasingly sophisticated imagery and eye-catching public demonstrations.

No single group can lay exclusive claim to the Sixties, the period from roughly 1963 to 1974 that coincided with America's longest war. Numerous movements sought to redirect national life down different paths, often with no clear maps. Still, those on the political and culture left, gaining recruits from the huge baby boom generation, initially dominated media accounts and the earliest histories of the Sixties. Four of the most prominent of the movements involved a New Left, a counterculture, a Black Power movement, and an antiwar coalition.

A New Left

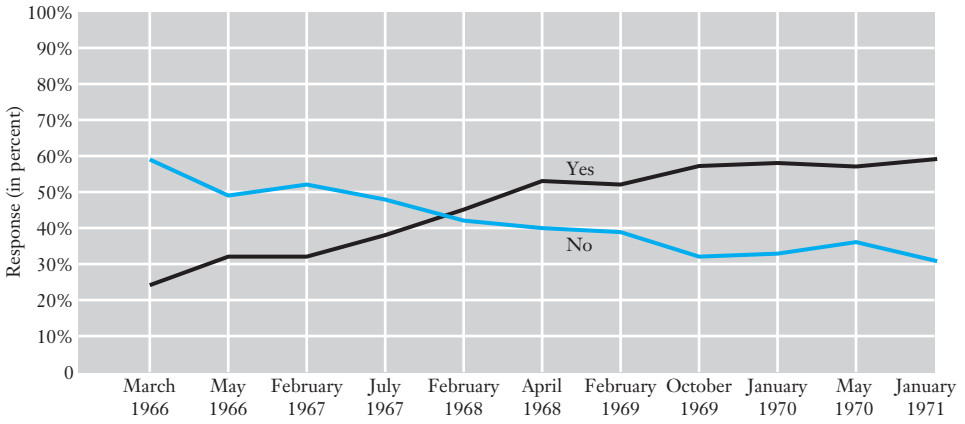
While relatively few college students actually became active in left-leaning political movements, the activities of a **New Left** dominated politics on many campuses, attracted significant media attention, and in time generated popular controversy.

In 1962, two years after the new conservatism had given birth to Young Americans for Freedom (see Chapter 28), the left-leaning Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) emerged. Although SDS endorsed familiar causes, especially civil rights, it also attracted attention for the personalized style of its politics. SDS's *Port Huron Statement* (1962) pledged to fight the "loneliness, estrangement, isolation" that supposedly afflicted many people. Charging that the dominant political culture valued bureaucratic expertise over citizen engagement and economic growth over meaningful work, SDS spoke for alternative visions. In politics, it called for "participatory democracy"—grassroots activism and institutions responsive to local needs. Historians once framed SDS as *the* epicenter of the New Left, but recent accounts see it as only one of the left-leaning movements seeking a new politics.

Indeed, grassroots political efforts such as Freedom Summer in Mississippi provided tangible examples of participatory democracy. Organizing efforts in the Deep South attracted idealistic volunteers from the North. Risking racist violence, they joined local activists in registering African American voters and organizing for political action. Some volunteers remained in the South, working for civil rights; others returned to the North and joined neighborhood-based political projects. Small-scale movements of various kinds promised young people and their older allies the chance to reenergize political life and reorient its moral compass.

New Left activists constantly expanded their view of what counted as "politics." Although voter registration drives remained important in the South, for example, local movements came to place greater emphasis on alternative political forms, such as sit-ins and demonstrations. Young people claimed that their generation's numbers and educational attainments made them ideally suited to confront a political system dominated by powerful and entrenched interests.

On campus, discontent simmered. Even students generally indifferent to larger issues chafed at classes that seemed irrelevant to the issues of the day and at college bureaucracies that imposed restrictions on their living arrangements and lifestyle choices. Many students, for example, challenged whether deans of students should be able to establish dress codes and restrict visiting hours in dorms for students that, off campus, qualified as adults. Far worse, according to New Left activists, giant universities compromised their independence and integrity by welcoming funding from the military-industrial complex. Too many faculty members seemed oblivious to the social and moral implications of their war-related research.



American Attitudes Toward the Vietnam War

Responses to the question: "Do you think that the United States made a mistake in sending troops to fight there?"

The "Berkeley Revolt" of 1964 and 1965 saw dissident students and sympathetic faculty expand their activism. They first protested how the University of California restricted political activity on campus and then began speaking out against its complicity in the Vietnam War and in racial discrimination. The long-running drama of protest at Berkeley, which disrupted classes and polarized one of the world's most prestigious universities, came to symbolize the turmoil that the media began calling "the war on campus."

The Counterculture

Berkeley also hosted some of the earliest encounters between the political movements of the New Left and the vertiginous energies of a youth-dominated **counterculture.**

The counterculture of the mid-1960s remains a difficult "movement" to identify. One of its own slogans, after all, proclaimed "Do Your Own Thing." The counterculture elected no officers, held no formal meetings, and maintained no central office to issue manifestos. It first burst into view in low-income neighborhoods, such as San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury area, and along the streets bordering college campuses, such as Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue. Its self-appointed spokespeople embraced values, lifestyles, and institutions hailed as alternatives to those of the dominant culture.

Countercultural ventures drew on earlier models, especially those of the "Beat movement" of the 1950s. A loosely connected group of writers and poets, the Beats had denied that either the material abundance or conventional spiritual ideals of the 1950s provided fulfillment. Rejecting the benefits of "affluence" (see Chapter 28), the Beats claimed that an excess of consumer goods and oppressive technologies condemned most people to wander through alienated lives feeling oppressed, emotionally crippled, or just plain bored. Beat writers such as Jack Kerouac, author of *On the Road* (1957), praised the rebels and nonconformists for challenging settled routines and seeking more instinctual, sensual, and authentic ways of living. The Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, in works such as *Howl* (1956), decried soulless materialism and puritanical moral codes. He celebrated the kind of personal freedom that he found in

drugs, Eastern mysticism, and same-sex love affairs. Ginsberg and other celebrities from the Beat era soon became iconic figures in the counterculture of the 1960s.

Countercultural energies eventually left their imprint on a wide range of social and cultural movements, including the cooperative movement, radical feminism, environmentalism, and the fight against legal restrictions on lifestyle choices. The counterculture also affected mainstream consumer culture. The mass media, for example, invariably highlighted the flamboyant clothing, hairstyles, and uninhibited sexuality among younger devotees of the counterculture. They liked to portray countercultural "hippies" as being on the cutting edge of a massive, fun-filled "youth rebellion" and focused on use of drugs, such as marijuana and LSD, communal living arrangements, and new forms of music, such as the folk-rock of the Byrds and the acid rock of the Grateful Dead.

As the counterculture developed its own soundtrack, it created its own media as well. Music-oriented publications such as *Rolling Stone* magazine (founded in 1967) celebrated singer-songwriters, such as Bob Dylan and Joni Mitchell, as the counterculture's prophet-laureates. Many radio stations featured folk-rock and other sounds associated with the counterculture. In a pre-Internet age, they also provided community billboards for promoting musical and political events. Some stations joined print publications, such as the *Berkeley Barb,* in dispatching youthful journalists to report on—and participate in—the countercultural scene.

Images and products from the counterculture soon found a ready market among otherwise conventional consumers. The ad agency for Chrysler Motors urged car buyers to break from older patterns, purchase a youthful-looking 1965 model, and thereby join the "Dodge Rebellion." Recognizing the appeal of bands such as San Francisco's Jefferson Airplane, the music industry, too, saw profits to be made. An early countercultural happening, the "Human Be-In," organized by community activists from San Francisco in early 1967, provided a model for subsequent, commercially dominated music festivals such as "Monterrey Pop" (later in 1967) and "Woodstock" (in 1969).

Back on college campuses, some of the students and faculty attracted to New Left political movements seemed initially baffled by the counterculture. The novelist Ken Kesey shocked a 1965 political demonstration at Berkeley with a style of politics indebted to the theatrics of the counterculture. Accompanied by veterans from the Beat movement and youthful members of his communal group, "the Merry Pranksters," Kesey alternated between singing choruses of "Home on the Range" and urging students to ignore politics and to refashion, especially through drugs such as LSD, how they lived their own lives.

Civil Rights and Black Power

The movement of movements of the mid-1960s also reshaped efforts to achieve liberty and equality for African Americans. Again, the media played an important and controversial role.

Civil rights leaders, of course, had long recognized the value of media coverage. TV images of the violence in Selma, Alabama, in 1965 had helped Dr. King's SCLC galvanize support for federal voting-rights legislation. At one point, ABC television interrupted a special showing of the anti-Nazi film *Judgment at Nuremberg* to show white Alabama state troopers beating peaceful, mostly African American, voting-rights marchers. Lyndon Johnson used television to promise, "we shall overcome" the nation's "crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice."



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Violence in Detroit, 1967. *Outbreaks of violence swept through many U.S. cities between 1965 and 1969. The 1967 upheaval in Detroit, which federal troops had to quell, left many African American neighborhoods in ruin.*

The turmoil associated with the civil rights campaigns prompted different views. Conservatives insisted that favorable media coverage of activism encouraged conflict and violence and that only a renewed commitment to law and order would ease social tensions. Movement activists who looked to Dr. King replied that racism, lack of opportunity, and inadequate government remedies produced the frustration that spawned violence. Other more militant voices within the broad movement of movements argued that governments could not be relied upon to address race-related issues effectively and that aggrieved groups needed to mobilize themselves.

In 1965, this debate intensified in the wake of racial conflict in Los Angeles. An altercation between a white highway patrol officer and a black motorist escalated into six days of violence, centered in the largely African American community of Watts in the South-Central area of Los Angeles. Thirty-four people died; hundreds of businesses and homes were burned; heavily armed National Guard troops patrolled the streets; and television camera crews carried images of the destruction across the nation and around the world.

What provoked this conflagration? Had TV cameras and radio reports helped to fan the flames? What should be the response to the violence in Watts? Stunned by what his trio of TV sets was showing, Lyndon Johnson responded according to his style of politics and ordered up new social welfare resources for Watts. "Let's move in—money, marbles, and chalk," LBJ reportedly ordered. The mayor and police chief of Los Angeles, conversely, blamed civil rights "agitators" and sought new resources for law enforcement. Local cultural leaders mobilized and created new organizations, such

History Through Film

Malcolm X (1992)

Directed by Spike Lee. Starring Denzel Washington (Malcolm X), Angela Bassett (Betty Shabbaz), Al Freeman, Jr. (Elijah Muhammad).

For more than 25 years, Hollywood tried to make a movie portraying the foremost advocate of Black Power, Malcolm X, whose *Autobiography* (1965) is a literary classic. Delays in obtaining financing, crafting a script, and finding a director always stymied production plans. Spike Lee, America's best-known African American film director, insisted that only he could do justice to the story of Malcolm X, who was assassinated by rivals at a speaking engagement in Harlem in 1965 at the age of 40. Finally, in 1992, with a budget of $34 million, Lee's independent production company (named Forty Acres and a Mule, after the land-distribution program for former slaves advocated after the Civil War) released a movie that argues for Malcolm X's continuing relevance.

The montage sequences that begin and end the movie underscore the film director's outlook. Against the backdrop of the Warner Brothers logo, the soundtrack introduces the actual voice of Malcolm X decrying the nature of racial politics over the course of U.S. history. Malcolm X's accusations continue as a giant American flag appears on screen and is cut into pieces by jagged images from an amateur video of Los Angeles police officers beating Rodney King, a notorious instance of police misconduct that took place in 1991. Next, the flag begins to burn until, revealed behind it, a giant "X," adorned with remnants of the flag, fills the frame. Some three hours later, the ending of the movie presents archival footage of Malcolm X, along with images of South African freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, while the voice of Ozzie Davis, the celebrated African American actor, gives a eulogy.

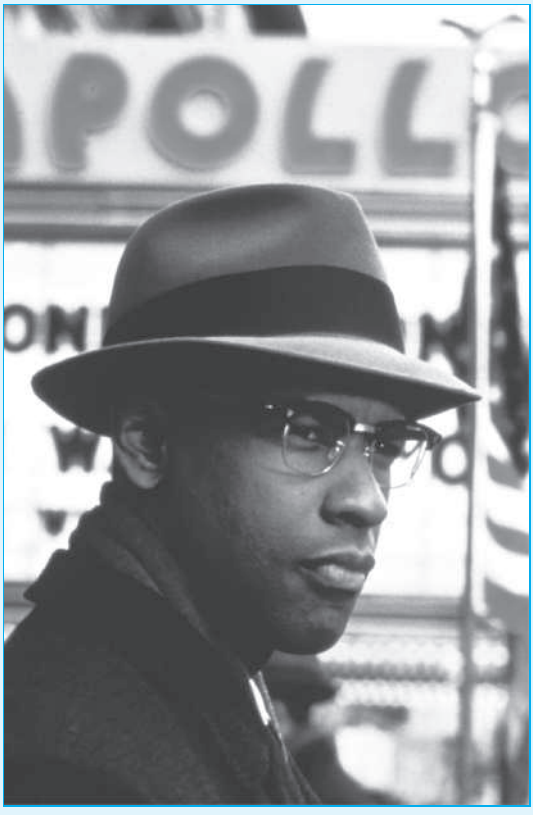
When first released, the film opened to packed movie houses. Despite a multimedia publicity blitz, box-office revenues steadily declined. Viewers reported that the lengthy, episodic movie taxed their patience and attention span.

Watching *Malcolm X* on video or DVD today, however, allows today's viewers to concentrate on its best sequences, speeding

as the Watts Writers Workshop. When Dr. King rushed to the scene, preaching the politics of nonviolence, local activists generally ignored or even ridiculed him. They endorsed more militant action to gain political power. The previous year, they noted, white Californians from suburbia had voted overwhelmingly to junk the Rumford Act, the state's hard-won open housing law. Only a strategy of empowerment could produce access to more equitable policing practices, higher paying jobs, and better housing.

The basic structure of the post-Watts debate would change relatively little as violence continued to rock, usually during the summer, other urban neighborhoods. Commentators from different political camps applied their own value-soaked labels, including "riot," "rebellion," and "insurrection." The major outbreaks produced investigative commissions that debated these labels, parsed increasingly familiar arguments about causes, and pondered equally common recommendations for responding to the violence. According to one estimate, there were more than 300 cases of serious urban violence between 1965 and 1969. Property damage reached

Denzel Washington stars as Malcolm X.



Everett Collection

by ones that seem to drag, and returning to those that initially might seem muddled. *Malcolm X* offers a complex account of the early Black Power movement and the social ferment that gripped the nation during the 1960s.

into the billions, and hundreds of people lost their lives. Significant portions of major cities—but almost never the more affluent areas or nearby suburbs—became battlegrounds that would bear the scars of the Sixties for years to come.

How do these "long hot summers" fit into a history of the 1960s? The earliest narrative saw escalating violence producing movements that helped to splinter the earlier, more united, civil rights cause. The competing story about a "movement of movements," however, suggests that there was never one single civil rights *movement* that splintered. Long before Watts, a variety of black activist movements were advocating different ways to gain greater power for black communities.

Many efforts during the late 1950s and early 1960s looked to **Malcolm X**, who had initially gained attention as a minister in the Nation of Islam, a North American-based group popularly known as the "Black Muslims." In 1954, the same year as the *Brown* decisions (see Chapter 28), Malcolm X assumed leadership of the Nation of Islam's temple in Harlem. Using it as his base of operations, he

forged ties with activist groups in other cities, particularly Detroit and Los Angeles. He oftentimes criticized Dr. King's gradual, nonviolent approach as largely irrelevant to the everyday problems of most African Americans and questioned the desirability or feasibility of racial integration. Malcolm X never advocated initiating confrontation, but he did endorse self-defense "by any means necessary."

Portrayed as a dangerous subversive by the FBI and most mainstream media, Malcolm X offered more than angry rhetoric. He also established a formidable presence among people and groups that would soon embrace what came to be called **Black Power.** Malcolm urged African Americans to "recapture our heritage and identity" and "launch a cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people." Seeking a broad movement, Malcolm X eventually broke from the Black Muslims and established his own Organization of Afro-American Unity. Murdered in 1965 by enemies from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X remained, especially after the posthumous publication of his *Autobiography* (1965), a powerful symbol for black-centered political and cultural visions of the future.

These visions increasingly diverged from those of LBJ's administration. Officially committed to additional civil rights legislation, the president privately struggled to understand movements with goals that differed from his. In fall 1965, the president hosted a "racial summit" at the White House. Among the several hundred black leaders who attended were two veteran activists: A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. They used this occasion to highlight their "Freedom Budget," an implicit criticism of their host's spending priorities. They called for spending $100 billion on infrastructure projects in low-income neighborhoods. Johnson privately denounced the sponsors of the Freedom Budget for "raising un-shirted hell and saying it's got to be a 100 billion" at *his* summit.

Meanwhile, events in the South highlighted other variations among the movements. SNCC and Dr. King's SCLC pressed forward, increasingly along separate paths. Both groups faced the constant threat of racist violence. State and local legal systems seemed unable to restrain or punish the segregationist vigilantes who attacked, or even killed, civil rights workers. White Southern legal officials appeared no better at overseeing electoral contests. Charging an SNCC-sponsored slate had been robbed of victory in a 1965 election in Lowndes County, Alabama, a young black activist named Stokely Carmichael organized a third-party movement. SNCC commissioned a special logo for it: a coiled black panther.

Carmichael himself achieved celebrity status the following summer. In June 1966, a KKK gunman shot James Meredith, who had integrated the University of Mississippi several years earlier and was conducting a one-person March against Fear from Tennessee to Jackson, Mississippi. Carmichael joined other activists in hastily organizing an enlarged March against Fear that would complete Meredith's walk. This was the first large-scale movement project—in contrast to the 1963 March on Washington and the 1965 voting-rights campaign in Alabama—that did not seek new civil rights legislation. It sought, instead, to demonstrate that movements for liberty and equality could focus on everyday struggles for safety, dignity, pride, and empowerment. The march also tried to capitalize on the national media coverage that Meredith's shooting had already attracted.

As Stokely Carmichael played to the omnipresent TV cameras, Dr. King, an old hand at this movement art form, admiringly acknowledged the younger activist's grasp of media routines. Shortly after having been jailed on a trumped-up charge,

Carmichael delivered an emotional speech that secured his celebrity status. He questioned an unwavering commitment, no matter what the circumstances, to nonviolence. The speech also explicitly urged that the civil rights struggle not remain just one for "Freedom," the byword of the SCLC, but for "Black Power." Black Power, Carmichael insisted, best described the objectives that direct-action movements must seek. As he later explained, Black Power was "a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community." They should "define their own goals" and "lead their own organizations."

Black Power thus provided a sometimes inflammatory label for an often pragmatic set of claims that local civil rights groups had been making for some time. They sought greater on-the-ground power both in and for their own communities. Operating from this perspective, in 1966, several college students from Oakland announced a new Black Power organization that borrowed its name and logo from Carmichael's earlier movement in Lowndes County. The Black Panther Party's platform employed militant rhetoric on behalf of 10 objectives, including greater opportunities for housing, education, and employment; legal protections, especially against police misconduct; and improved health and nutrition initiatives in low-income black neighborhoods.

The Panther leadership quickly joined Carmichael as media-certified celebrities. A trio of its media-savvy young members—Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Eldridge Cleaver—adapted symbolism and rhetoric from Third World revolutionary movements. A 1967 rally in Sacramento, California, on behalf of the Second Amendment right to use firearms for self-defense attracted the notice of J. Edgar Hoover. He made destroying the Black Panther Party a key goal of his FBI.

Less flamboyant groups and movements were also invoking the Black Power approach. Fully embracing the word *black* and a political-cultural agenda based on racial identity, they sought the power to pursue separate, African American-directed routes not just toward liberty and equality but also toward "liberation" from the prevailing political culture. "Black Is Beautiful" became a watchword. James Brown, the "Godfather of Soul," captured this new spirit with his song, "Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud" (1968).

Within this context, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1968.** One provision of this omnibus measure, popularly known as the "Fair Housing Act," followed in the wake of earlier state-level measures. It aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in the national real estate market but contained exemptions that enfeebled its own enforcement. Moreover, another section in the law declared it a crime to cross state lines in order to incite a "riot." Supporters hailed this provision as a law-and-order measure, while critics countered that it targeted political activists, especially those in the Black Power movement. Whenever tested in federal courts, though, this section passed constitutional scrutiny.

The Antiwar Movement

Meanwhile, another of these multifaceted movements was coming to overshadow all others: the one to end the war in Vietnam.

The antiwar movement, like its counterparts, never fell into neat categories. Some of the strongest "antiwar" sentiment, for example, blamed LBJ for not prosecuting the war *aggressively enough*. At the other end of the spectrum, several small movements called for a North Vietnam-NLF victory. The chant, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh/NLF is Gonna Win" enraged Johnson and distressed most others in the antiwar coalition.

The antiwar effort faced the same questions as the other movements of the Sixties. What kind of politics best expressed its ethical and spiritual values? How might it reach out to people not already in the movement? How could it mobilize enough support to change public policy?

The antiwar movement inexorably expanded the scope of its activism. On college campuses, for example, supporters and opponents of the war initially debated at "teach-ins." These academic-style events soon gave way to demonstrations and sit-ins. A draft-resistance effort emerged, often symbolized by the burning of draft cards, which urged young men to help alter Lyndon Johnson's policies by refusing to serve in the military. This movement gained its most celebrated member when the heavyweight boxing champion Muhammed Ali refused induction into the military. Campus protests passed into a new phase when a pitched, bloody battle broke out between antiwar demonstrators and police at the University of Wisconsin in Madison in 1967.

That same year, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. crossed an important threshold in his personal politics. Antiwar clergy had been pressing him to proclaim publicly his opposition to the war, connect it to the civil rights cause, and elaborate his vision of the moral-spiritual issues at stake. Speaking at New York's Riverside Church in April 1967, Dr. King highlighted a black-and-white truth. African American troops, mostly from low-income communities, served and died in numbers far greater than their proportion of the U.S. population "for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools." The immoral "madness" in Vietnam "must cease," Dr. King concluded.

This speech provided a gauge of both the growing antiwar movement and the expanding polarization over the war. Many voices from the political-media mainstream, which had been supportive of Dr. King's civil rights activities, condemned his antiwar address. Although the *New York Times* did not follow some other newspapers in calling King a "traitor," it read his antiwar pronouncement through the narrow frame of interest-group politics. Dr. King risked damaging the civil rights cause by addressing a matter about which, according to the *Times,* he lacked any authority to speak. As Dr. King continued to broaden his political agenda, criticism from one-time supporters commonly followed.

Dr. King's speech at Riverside Church raised the same issues—the nature of politics and the role of the media—that surrounded popular discussion of a massive 1967 antiwar demonstration in Washington. This event underscored how the politics of the New Left and the spirit of the counterculture could march together, at least when opposing LBJ's policies in Vietnam. Noting the visual media's voracious appetite for pictures of colorful dissenters, a small group of activists had invented a kind of "non-movement movement" that bypassed mobilization and organization in favor of making the media its primary constituency. Two members of this group, Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, proclaimed themselves leaders of a (nonexistent) Youth International Party (or YIPPIE!) and waited for media coverage to surround their activities, as they knew it would.

Hoffman and Rubin raised the curtain on a new style of countercultural-political performance. In one incident, they mocked the symbolic value of stocks on the New York Exchange by tossing real dollar bills onto the trading floor. Invoking the sit-in movement, they joked about staging department store

"loot-ins." Their contribution to the 1967 antiwar march in Washington would be to lead a separate trek to the Pentagon, where marchers would chant mystical incantations and try to levitate the building.

Although the Pentagon remained firmly planted, the march against it generated eye-catching media imagery. The event also gained the novelist and antiwar activist Norman Mailer a National Book Award for *Armies of the Night* (1968). Mailer's book, which wove together personal impressions and journalistic observation, helped to reinvent political reporting. Cultural observers identified accounts such as Mailer's as a "new journalism" and saw this form of reportage paralleling how political activists were creating a "new politics" that expanded ideas about what counted as political involvement.

But the relationship between this new politics and the media seemed uncertain. Might not images of colorful quipsters such as Hoffman and Rubin help fuel cultural polarization rather than political action? Was the media's taste for spectacular demonstrations trivializing underlying issues? Such questions became even more pressing during the tumultuous 12 months of 1968.

1968

This single year remains an important signpost in virtually every history of the period known as the Sixties. As world leaders rang in the New Year, many expressed hope that 1968 would bring better days. But the year ended on a very different note. Too many problems seemed to have grown worse; too many hopes appeared dashed.

Turmoil in Vietnam, 1968

At the end of January 1968, during a supposed truce in observance of Tet, the Vietnamese lunar New Year celebration, NLF and North Vietnamese forces suddenly went on the attack throughout South Vietnam. U.S. military leaders had expected some kind of enemy offensive but badly underestimated its potential breadth and ferocity. A small NLF force even temporarily seized the grounds of the U.S. embassy in Saigon. Very quickly, General Westmoreland's troops recovered and regained the areas that the other side had overrun, but the **Tet Offensive** nonetheless became a turning point.

Militarily, this offensive gained the NLF and the North relatively little territory at a very high cost. The NLF lost three-quarters of its military forces and much of its civilian support structure. Americans who backed the war blamed the antiwar movement and media imagery for exaggerating the early attacks, ignoring NLF and North Vietnamese losses, and thereby portraying a U.S. "victory" as a "defeat." Other observers, however, countered that the offensive discredited General Westmoreland's pre-Tet forecasts about seeing "light at the end of the tunnel." Even after rolling back the communist onslaught, the U.S. military command appeared ill prepared to pursue the badly mauled enemy forces.

Most importantly, the mere fact of a Tet Offensive undercut the optimistic story that the Johnson administration had been spinning. After CBS-TV anchor Walter Cronkite returned from a post-Tet trip to Vietnam, he told a national audience that the United States would never prevail militarily. Lyndon Johnson reportedly lamented that if he had lost "the most trusted person in America," as Cronkite was then known, he had lost the rest of the country on the issue of the Vietnam War.

Johnson received more bad news after summoning his most trusted advisers and a select group of senior outsiders, such as Dean Acheson, for advice on General Westmoreland's call for an additional 206,000 U.S. troops. Most criticized Westmoreland's request and insisted that South Vietnamese troops shoulder more of the military burden. The views of the senior members, the so-called "Wise Men," proved especially sobering since they had formulated America's anticommunist containment policy following the Second World War (see Chapter 27). Dean Acheson now advised the president that the United States "could no longer do the job we set out to do" in Vietnam "in the time we have left, and we must begin to take steps to disengage."

Other factors weighed on Johnson as well. As before, any plan for using U.S. military power to crush North Vietnam carried an unthinkable risk: a larger conflict with China and/or the Soviet Union. Now, public-opinion polls showed rapidly declining confidence in Johnson's more limited containment policy. And Westmoreland's call for another large increase in U.S troops, even if forces could be spared from other duties, would further fan antiwar opposition. Pressured by his new Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, another early architect of Cold War containment, Johnson changed his guiding assumption about Vietnam. The cost of continuing the U.S. intervention vastly outweighed whatever benefit might accrue from continuing the effort against North Vietnam. He turned toward negotiations but found little success.

Turmoil at Home

The Tet offensive also destroyed Lyndon Johnson's political plans. The antiwar wing of the Democratic Party was trying to do what seasoned political pundits had declared impossible: deny Johnson renomination. The dissidents backed **Senator Eugene McCarthy** of Minnesota, the only prominent Democrat willing to challenge LBJ. An unorthodox candidate who avoided bombastic rhetoric in favor of calm warnings about how Johnson's course in Vietnam was dividing the nation, Gene McCarthy fronted an unusual campaign. The McCarthy movement's version of new politics relied on the wisdom of a few seasoned political strategists and the energy of thousands of college students. Young people packed away grubby campus attire, donned fresh clothing to "come clean for Gene," and stumped New Hampshire in the initial primary of 1968. Because Johnson refused to campaign personally, this "Dump Johnson" effort enjoyed unexpected media coverage. Johnson's forces actually won the New Hampshire's primary, but McCarthy came close enough to claim a symbolic victory. Polls predicted he would easily beat Johnson, head-to-head, in the upcoming Wisconsin primary.

McCarthy's "children's crusade" thus rocked the Democratic Party—and U.S. policy in Vietnam. Even before McCarthy could claim the Wisconsin contest, Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, brother of the slain president, jumped into the race. He had refused earlier entreaties to challenge Johnson but now declared that the nation's "perilous course" impelled him to seek the presidency. Facing two Democratic challengers, President Johnson surprised all but his closest confidants when, during a live TV address in late March about Vietnam, he suddenly announced that he would not seek reelection. He also limited U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and signaled a readiness to begin peace negotiations in Paris.

Johnson's withdrawal created a three-way race for the Democratic nomination. McCarthy now faced Robert Kennedy and Johnson's ever-loyal vice president, Hubert H. Humphrey, who had entered the fray after LBJ's surprise announcement. Humphrey, however, steered clear of the remaining primaries, leaving the two senators to fight a

series of brass-knuckled contests that pitted McCarthy's new politics against Kennedy's blend of the new and the old. Kennedy once quipped that the "'A' students may have already flocked to McCarthy but that he was locking up those receiving 'Bs.'" The Democratic Party's A-level celebrities generally divided their support between the two, while Humphrey courted the Democratic powerbrokers who had been allied with LBJ.

Martin Luther King, Jr. welcomed LBJ's withdrawal and hoped that an antiwar candidate, ideally Kennedy, would head the Democratic ticket in November. On April 4, 1968, however, Dr. King took a break from planning an upcoming "Poor Peoples' March" on Washington and visited Memphis, Tennessee, in support of a strike by African American sanitation workers. There, he was assassinated while standing on the balcony of his motel. Law enforcement officials identified James Earl Ray, a career criminal, as the lone killer. Ray was eventually captured and charged with Kennedy's murder. He waived a jury trial, pleaded guilty, and received a 99-year prison sentence. Subsequently, Ray recanted and claimed to have been a pawn in a conspiracy directed by white supremacists. He died in prison still insisting on his innocence, but few people credit his claims.

News of Dr. King's murder immediately prompted another wave of violence. It swept through more than 100 cities and towns; 39 people died; 75,000 regular and National Guard troops were called to duty. When President Johnson proclaimed Sunday, April 7, as a day of national mourning for the slain civil rights leader, parts of the nation's capital city remained ablaze.

Following Dr. King's memorial service, Gene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy returned to campaigning. Their primary contests took on an increasingly surreal quality since the party insiders who controlled the selection of a majority of delegates to the Democratic national convention had unofficially anointed Hubert Humphrey as the party's presidential nominee. Campaigning at a breakneck pace, with only a minimal security detail, Robert Kennedy sought to demonstrate that popular opinion endorsed his candidacy. He also hoped to convince the insiders now backing Humphrey that only a Democrat without ties to Lyndon Johnson, especially another Kennedy, could capture the White House in November.

On June 5, an ebullient Robert Kennedy defeated Gene McCarthy in California's Democratic Primary. He relished his dream of wresting the presidential nomination from Humphrey for only a few minutes, however. While preparing to leave the hotel that had hosted his victory celebration, Kennedy was slain by yet another political assassin. Bystanders grabbed Sirhan Sirhan, a Palestinian immigrant, who was later convicted of the killing. Television coverage of Kennedy's body being returned by train to Washington and his state funeral were reminders of Dr. King's recent murder and of the 1963 assassination of RFK's own brother. Bowing to the reality of Humphrey's delegate total, McCarthy effectively closed down his campaign.

Questions abounded. Was some "sickness" plaguing American political culture? Did "government by gunplay," rather than political pluralism, best describe the current system? Could the presidential election of 1968 possibly produce a legitimate victor?

The violence of 1968 continued. During the Republican national convention in Miami, as its presidential nominee **Richard Milhous Nixon** was promising to restore law and order, racial conflict produced considerable property damage and took the lives of four people. Later that summer, thousands of antiwar demonstrators converged on Chicago, site of the Democratic Party's convention, to protest the nomination of Hubert Humphrey, still supporting Johnson's policy in Vietnam. Responding

to provocative acts by some demonstrators, including Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin of the Yippies, police officers attacked antiwar protestors and some nearby journalists. Tensions from this "Siege of Chicago" filtered into the convention hall, and antiwar delegates squared off, verbally, with supporters of the vice president. Humphrey easily captured the Democratic presidential nod, but disagreements over Johnson's Vietnam policy and the conduct of Chicago's police force left his party bitterly divided. Opinion polls showed that most people supported the use of force against the demonstrators, a judgment subsequently challenged by a special commission, whose report assessed the violence in Chicago as a "police riot."

The Election of 1968

Both Humphrey and Nixon worried about Alabama's George Wallace, who was running for president as a third-party candidate on the American Independent ticket. With his opposition to civil rights well established, Wallace concentrated his fire on the counterculture and the antiwar movement. If any "hippie" protestor ever blocked his motorcade, he once announced, it would "be the last car he'll ever lay down in front of." Although Wallace had generally supported the Democratic Party's domestic spending programs, he now courted voters who saw themselves the captives to "tax-and-spend" bureaucracies in Washington.

Wallace never expected to gain the presidency. If a candidate from the two major parties failed to win a majority of the electoral votes, however, the Constitution required that the president be selected by the House of Representatives. The Wallace strategy called for holding his core southern constituency, enticing conservatives elsewhere away from Nixon, and tipping several swing states into the Humphrey camp. If everything fell into place, Wallace hoped to play the power-broker role when the House of Representatives selected the nation's next president.

As Wallace figured his odds and the new journalists wrote about a new politics, Humphrey and Nixon recalled the days of old. Humphrey promised fellow Democrats, still a majority of those likely to vote, the continuation of New Deal-Great Society programs. He struggled, though, with antiwar Democrats over his inability, until late in the campaign, to break from the Vietnam policies of Lyndon Johnson, his political patron. Conservative Republicans who favored Ronald Reagan as the GOP's 1968 nominee still suspected Richard Nixon to be an Eisenhower moderate. They also recognized, however, that the former vice president clearly stood to Humphrey's political right and that he appeared a safer guardian of conservative values than the mercurial Wallace. Nixon promised to restore order at home and hinted at a secret plan for ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Nixon narrowly prevailed in November. Although he won 56 percent of the electoral vote, Nixon outpolled Humphrey in the popular vote by less than 1 percent. George Wallace's plan collapsed when he picked up only 46 electoral votes, all from the Deep South, and just 13.5 percent of the popular vote nationwide. Nixon won five crucial Southern states and attracted, all across the country, votes from people he called "the forgotten Americans, the non-shouters, the non-demonstrators."

The results in several states, however, were so close that relatively small shifts could have produced a victory for Humphrey or the scenario that Wallace had envisioned playing out in the House of Representatives. Humphrey's campaign suddenly gained momentum when normally Democratic voters decided they could not support Nixon or "waste a vote" on Wallace. Humphrey also benefited when

Lyndon Johnson temporarily halted all bombing of North Vietnam and sought to accelerate the peace talks in Paris. Nixon's forces responded with back-channel overtures to South Vietnamese leaders about getting a better deal if they stalled peace negotiations until a Nixon presidency. Although illegal wiretaps informed Johnson of this maneuver, he never intervened on Humphrey's behalf.

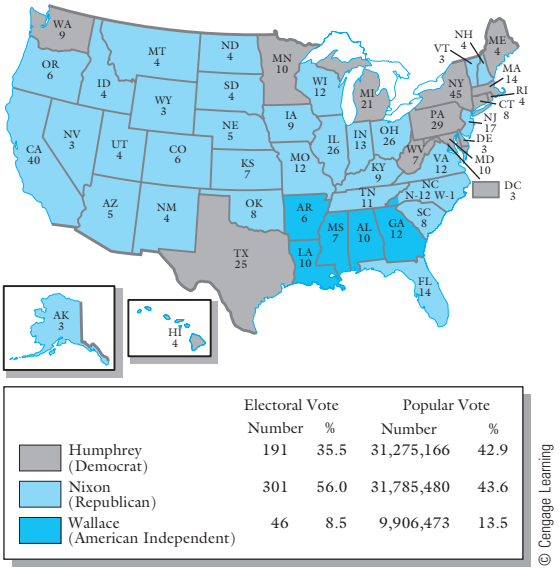
Continued Polarization, 1969–1974

Raised as Quaker, Richard Nixon had campaigned as someone able to restore the kind of tranquility he had known when growing up in Yorba Linda, California. His presidency, however, failed to calm the troubled waters.

Lawbreaking, Violence, and a New President

A handful of people on the leftist fringe embraced violence, generally through bomb attacks. There were nearly 200 actual and attempted bombings on college campuses during the 1969–70 academic year; an explosion at the University of Wisconsin claimed the life of a graduate student. Non-lethal attacks rocked other targets, including several large banks and the U.S. Capitol building. In 1970, three members of a small faction that had broken with SDS, "the Weather Underground," blew themselves apart when their bomb factory in New York City exploded.

At the same time, government officials stepped up their use of violent force. Fred Hampton of the Black Panthers and prison activist George Jackson died under circumstances their supporters called political assassination and public officials considered normal law enforcement. J. Edgar Hoover's FBI harassed activists, planted



MAP 29.2 Presidential Election, 1968

George Wallace sought to throw the 1968 presidential election into the House of Representatives with his independent, third-party candidacy. What does this map suggest about the political changes already sweeping through the once solidly Democratic South?

damaging rumors, and even dispatched *agent provocateurs* who incited protestors to undertake actions that officials could later prosecute as crimes.

State and local officials redoubled their efforts to bring order. During the fall of 1971, New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller broke off negotiations with inmates at Attica State Prison, who had seized several cell-blocks and taken guards hostage in a protest over living conditions. He then ordered heavily armed state troopers and National Guard forces into the complex. When this "Attica Uprising" finally ended, 29 prisoners and 11 guards lay dead. On college campuses, too, local officials and administrators were increasingly ready to employ force against demonstrators.

Richard Nixon insisted that his vast public experience made him the ideal leader for such turbulent times. After graduating from Whittier College in California, Nixon studied law at Duke University and served in the Navy during the Second World War. He then began a political career that took him from a small-town law practice to the House of Representatives in 1946, the Senate in 1950, and the vice presidency in 1952.

Nixon claimed to thrive on confronting personal and political challenges. He entitled an early memoir *Six Crises*. After his narrow loss to Kennedy in 1960 and his failure, in 1962, to win the California governorship, Nixon denounced the media and announced his retirement from politics. He campaigned, however, loyally for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and tirelessly on behalf of Republican candidates in 1966. The GOP's comeback in that year's balloting boosted Nixon's stature within his party and even won him plaudits from media pundits. As he geared up for 1968, supporters talked about a "New Nixon" while detractors complained of "the same Old Nixon, now just a little older." Nixon narrowly captured the 1968 Republican nomination for president and emerged from his equally slim victory over Humphrey and Wallace with a new confidence.

Social Policy

Although Richard Nixon considered foreign policy to be his specialty, he initially crafted an ambitious domestic agenda. At the urging of Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a special presidential adviser on domestic issues, Nixon decided he could push through bolder programs than any Democratic president. Moynihan encouraged Nixon to think of himself as a conservative who could bring about progressive change. In 1969, Nixon thus proposed his **Family Assistance Plan (FAP),** a dramatic overhaul of welfare policy. FAP proposed replacing most existing welfare measures, including the controversial Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). AFDC provided government payments to cover the basic costs of care for low-income children who had lost the support of a bread-winning parent.

Under the FAP proposal, *every* low-income family would be guaranteed an annual income of $1,600. Moynihan and Nixon touted FAP as advancing equality since it replaced existing arrangements that assisted only those with special circumstances, such as low-income mothers with small children. Nixon liked the measure because it promised to cut out the layers of bureaucracy needed to administer the requirements of a complicated program such as AFDC.

Nixon's FAP proposal debuted to tepid reviews. Conservatives claimed that income supplements for families with regularly employed, albeit low-paid, wage earners would be too costly. Proponents of more generous governmental assistance programs argued that FAP's income guarantee was too miserly. The House of

Representatives approved a modified version of FAP in 1970, but a curious alliance of senators who opposed Nixon's proposal for very different reasons blocked its passage. Nixon eventually abandoned FAP, and the nation's welfare system would not be overhauled until the 1990s.

Although FAP failed to pass, other significant innovations in domestic policy were enacted. In an important move, Congress passed Nixon's revenue-sharing plan, part of his "new federalism," which returned a portion of federal tax dollars to state and local governments in the form of block grants. Instead of Washington specifying how these funds could be used, the block-grant concept allowed state and local officials, within general guidelines, to spend the funds as they saw fit.

A Democratic-controlled Congress and a Republican White House also cooperated to continue and even increase funding for many Great Society initiatives: Medicare, Medicaid, rent subsidies for low-income people, and Supplementary Security Insurance (SSI) payments to those who were elderly, blind, or disabled. In 1972, Social Security benefits were "indexed," which meant they would increase along with the inflation rate.

Nixon had adopted a complicated approach to civil rights during his campaign. He commonly criticized existing policies, such as the busing of children to advance school integration, but carefully distinguished his stance from that of George Wallace. The new Nixon administration, moreover, included Republicans anxious to aid civil rights causes. It thus allowed, and sometimes urged, federal bureaucracies to extend the reach civil rights measures when interpreting antidiscrimination legislation passed during the Great Society. In line with candidate Nixon's call for supporting "black capitalism" through small business loans, the new president helped extend the plan to other minority entrepreneurs, particularly Hispanics. His administration also helped implement the bilingual education programs that had been authorized in 1968 legislation. Indeed, the reach of many federal social welfare programs expanded during Nixon's first term, and the percentage of people living below the poverty line declined.

Environmentalism

Nixon also worked with the new environmental movement that became a significant political force during his presidency. Landmark legislation of the 1960s—such as the Wilderness Act of 1964, the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968, and the National Trails Act of 1968—had already protected large areas of the country from commercial development. In the 1970s, a broader environmental movement focused on people's health and on ecological balances. Accounts such as *The Silent Spring* (1962) by Rachel Carson raised concerns that the pesticides used in agriculture, especially DDT, threatened bird populations. Air pollution (smog) in cities such as Los Angeles had become so toxic that simply breathing became equivalent to smoking several packs of cigarettes per day. Industrial processes, atomic weapons testing, and nuclear power plants prompted fear of cancer-causing materials. The Environmental Defense Fund, a private organization formed in 1967, went to court to try to limit DDT and other dangerous toxins. Earth Day, a festival first held in 1970, aimed to raise awareness about the many newly publicized hazards of environmental degradation.

The Nixon administration, although not a sponsor of Earth Day, took environmental issues seriously. The president supported creation of the Environmental

Protection Agency (EPA) and signed major pieces of congressional legislation: the Resources Recovery Act of 1970 (dealing with waste management), the Clean Air Act of 1970, the Water Pollution Control Act of 1972, the Pesticides Control Act of 1972, and the Endangered Species Act of 1973. National parks and wilderness areas were expanded, and a new law required that "environmental impact statements" be prepared in advance of any major government project.

The new environmental standards brought both unanticipated problems and significant improvements. The Clean Air Act's requirement for taller factory smokestacks, for example, moved pollutants higher into the atmosphere, where they produced a dangerous byproduct, "acid rain." Still, the act's restrictions on auto and smokestack emissions cleared smog out of city skies and helped people with respiratory ailments. The law reduced six major airborne pollutants by one third in a single decade. Lead emissions into the atmosphere declined by 95 percent.

Controversies over Rights

Activism on social and environmental concerns accompanied fierce debate over the federal government's responsibility to protect the rights and liberties of citizens. The struggle to locate and define these rights soon embroiled the nation's constitutional culture in controversy.

A majority of the justices on the Supreme Court of the Sixties had supported the Great Society's political vision and sought to bring an expanding list of rights under constitutional protection. As this group charted the Court's path, two Eisenhower appointees, Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justice William Brennan, often led the way. Although many of the Warren Court's decisions involving rights issues drew critical fire, the case that raised the most public controversy involved handling criminal suspects. *Miranda* v. *Arizona* (1966) held that the Constitution required police officers to advise persons suspected of having committed a felony offense of their constitutional right to remain silent and to consult an attorney, which would be provided to indigents by the government. Defenders of this decision, which established the famous "Miranda Warning," saw it as the logical extension of settled precedents. The Court's critics, in contrast, accused its majority of "inventing" liberties not found in the Constitution. Amid rising public concern over crime, political conservatives made *Miranda* a symbol of the judicial "coddling" of criminals and the Warren Court's supposed disregard for constitutional law.

Richard Nixon had campaigned for president as an opponent of the Warren Court and promised to appoint federal judges who would "apply" rather than "make" the law on matters such as criminal rights and court-ordered school busing. As candidate Nixon continued to assail the Warren Court, the chief justice announced his retirement, and Lyndon Johnson's plan to anoint his close confidante, Associate Justice Abe Fortas as Warren's successor, stalled in congress. Consequently, the victorious Nixon appointed a Republican loyalist, Warren Burger, as chief justice. Subsequent vacancies allowed Nixon to appoint three other Republicans to the High Court.

This new "Burger Court" immediately faced controversial rights-related cases of its own. Lawyers sympathetic to the Great Society vision of social welfare advanced the argument that access to adequate economic assistance from the federal government was a constitutionally protected right. The Burger Court, however, narrowly rejected this claim when deciding *Dandridge* v. *Williams* (1970). With the new chief justice casting the deciding vote, it held that a state could limit the amount it paid to

welfare recipients. Payment schedules that varied from state to state did not violate the constitutional requirement of equal protection of the law.

Rights-related claims involving health-and-safety legislation generally fared better. A vigorous consumer movement, which had initially drawn inspiration from Ralph Nader's exposé about auto safety (*Unsafe at Any Speed,* 1965), joined with environmentalists to bolster rights claims in the context of workplace safety, consumer protection, and nontoxic environments. Their efforts, overcoming opposition from many business groups, found expression in such legislation as the Occupational Safety Act of 1973 and stronger consumer and environmental protection laws. The Burger Court invariably supported the constitutionality of these measures.

At the same time, the newly energized women's rights movement pressed another set of issues. The **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA),** initially proposed during the 1920s, promised to explicitly guarantee women the same legal rights as men. Easily passed by Congress in 1972 and quickly ratified by more than half the states, the ERA suddenly stalled. Conservative women's groups, such as Phyllis Schlafly's "Stop ERA," charged that this constitutional amendment would undermine traditional "family values" and expose women to new dangers such as military service. The ERA failed to attain approval from the three quarters of states needed for ratification. Ultimately, women's groups abandoned the ERA effort in favor of using the courts to adjudicate equal rights claims on a case-by-case, issue-by-issue basis.

One of these issues, whether a woman possessed a constitutional right to terminate a pregnancy, became far more controversial than the ERA. The abortion issue, in contrast to controversies over busing and criminal procedure, had never played a prominent role in Nixon's 1968 campaign, and his administration thus paid little attention to this rights-related question when nominating federal judges. In ***Roe* v. *Wade*** (1973), the Burger Supreme Court ruled, in a 7–2 decision, that a state law making abortion a criminal offense violated a woman's "right to privacy." Two of the three justices appointed by Nixon voted with the majority. The *Roe* decision outraged antiabortion groups, who rallied under the "Right-to-Life" banner on behalf of the unborn fetus, providing new support for the already expanding conservative wing of the Republican Party. On the other side, feminist groups made the issue of individual choice in reproductive decisions a central rallying point.

Meanwhile, with little controversy, President Nixon supported other rights-related issues. He signed an extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and in 1972 approved another civil rights measure popularly known as "Title IX." It banned sexual discrimination in higher education and became the legal basis for requiring colleges and universities to adopt "gender equity" in all areas, including intercollegiate athletics. The Nixon administration also refined the "affirmative action" concept, which had surfaced during Lyndon Johnson's presidency, and required that all hiring and contracting that depended on federal funding take "affirmative" steps to enroll greater numbers of African Americans as union apprentices.

The Economy

Richard Nixon eventually confronted economic problems that had been unthinkable only a decade earlier. No single cause can account for them, but most analyses begin with the war in Vietnam. This expensive military commitment, along with increased domestic spending and a

volatile international economy, began to curtail economic growth. Lyndon Johnson had been determined to contain communism in Indochina without cutting Great Society programs or raising taxes, and thus he had concealed the true costs of the war. Nixon inherited a deteriorating (although still favorable) balance of trade and rising rate of inflation. Between 1960 and 1965, consumer prices grew only about 1 percent per year; in 1968, this figure exceeded 4 percent.

By 1971, the unemployment rate topped 6 percent. According to conventional wisdom, expressed in an economic concept called "the Phillips curve," when unemployment rises, prices should remain constant or even decline. Yet *both* unemployment and inflation numbers were going up simultaneously. Economists coined the term **stagflation** to describe this puzzling convergence of economic stagnation and price inflation. Along with stagflation, U.S. exports were becoming less competitive in international markets and in 1971, for the first time in the 20th century, the United States ran a trade deficit, importing more products than it exported.

Nixon never expected to grapple with a faltering economy. One of his economic advisers conceded that the president had "an almost pathological block about economics." Although long critical of economic regulations, Nixon now needed a quick cure for the nation's economic ills. His narrow victory in 1968 and setbacks in the midterm election of 1970 left him fearful of the political fallout from stagflation and trade imbalances. In January 1971 he suddenly, and surprisingly, announced, "I am now a Keynesian in economics" and began proclaiming his faith in governmental remedies. In August, he unveiled a "New Economic Policy" that included a 90-day freeze on any increases in wages and prices, to be followed by government monitoring to detect "excessive" increases in either arena.

Nixon simultaneously took an even more daring step. Dating from the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement (see Chapter 26), the value of the U.S. dollar had been tied to the value of gold—at $35 for every ounce. This meant that the United States would exchange its dollars for gold at that rate whenever any other nation's central bank requested it to do so. Other countries had fixed their own currency exchange rate in relation to the values of the U.S. dollar. But U.S. trade deficits were undermining the dollar and allowing foreign banks to exchange U.S. dollars for gold at rates far more favorable than $35 per ounce. In response, the Nixon administration abandoned the fixed gold-to-dollar ratio. Henceforth, the U.S. dollar would "float" in value against the prevailing market price for gold and against all other currencies in the world. This change would devalue the dollar and hopefully make American exports more competitive in the global marketplace. The strategy fundamentally altered the international economic order by allowing the value of all currencies to float and fluctuate.

In October 1973, oil-producing nations in the Middle East further changed international economic arrangements. Citing the declining U.S dollar and falling oil revenues as justifications, petroleum producers began curtailing exports as a means of raising prices. About a week later, in response to U.S. military aid for Israel, then engaged in the Yom Kipper War with Egypt and Syria, Arab nations temporarily embargoed oil shipments to the United States. Nixon and Congress responded with a series of measures that included rationing, lowered speed limits, and the naming of a new "energy czar." As U.S. oil reserves declined, the days of "cheap oil" were coming to an end.

Foreign Policy in a Time of Turmoil, 1969–1974

Even as it wrestled with divisive domestic concerns, the Nixon administration was far more interested in international affairs. Henry Kissinger, Nixon's national security adviser and then secretary of state, laid out a grand strategy: **détente** with the Soviet Union, normalization of relations with China, and disengagement from direct military involvement in South Vietnam.

Détente

Although Nixon had built his early political career on hard-line anticommunism, he and Kissinger worked to ease tensions with the two major communist nations: the Soviet Union and China. The Nixon–Kissinger team expected that improved relations might lead these nations to reduce their support for North Vietnam, increasing chances for a successful U.S. pull-back of U.S. combat troops.

Arms control talks took top priority in U.S.–Soviet relations. In 1969, the two–superpowers opened the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT); after several years of high-level diplomacy, they signed an agreement (SALT I) that limited further development of both antiballistic missiles (ABMs) and offensive intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). SALT I's impact on the arms race was limited because it said nothing about the number of nuclear warheads that a single missile might carry. Still, the ability to conclude any arms-control pact signaled improving relations.

Nixon's overtures toward the People's Republic of China eventually brought an even more dramatic break with the Cold War past. Secret negotiations, often conducted personally by Kissinger, led to a slight easing of U.S. trade restrictions and then to an invitation from China for Americans to compete in a table tennis match. This celebrated "ping-pong diplomacy" presaged more significant diplomatic exchanges. Most spectacularly, Nixon visited China in 1972, posing for photos with Mao Zedong and strolling along the Great Wall. A few months later, the UN admitted the People's Republic as the sole representative of China, and in 1973 the United States and China exchanged informal diplomatic missions.

Vietnamization and the Nixon Doctrine

In Vietnam, the Nixon administration decided to speed withdrawal of U.S. ground forces by embracing a policy called "Vietnamization," which had already informally begun during Lyndon Johnson's administration. Put simply, it meant that South Vietnamese, rather than U.S. troops, should bear the burden of ground combat operations. In July 1969, the **Nixon Doctrine** announced a broader version of this approach. It pledged that the United States would extend military assistance to anticommunist governments in Asia but would require them to supply their own combat forces. From the outset, the Nixon Doctrine for Vietnam envisioned the eventual removal of U.S. ground troops without accepting compromise or defeat. While officially adhering to Johnson's 1968 bombing halt over the North, Nixon and Kissinger accelerated both the ground and air wars by launching new offensives and by approving a military "incursion" into Cambodia, an ostensibly neutral country. The 1970 operation into Cambodia, which targeted a command center from which North Vietnam conducted the war in the South, aimed at shortening U.S. military engagement in Southeast Asia by temporarily expanding it.

The invasion of Cambodia set off a new wave of protests in the United States and around the world. U.S. campuses exploded in angry demonstrations against this apparent widening of the war, and a number of institutions began the summer vacation early. White police officers fatally shot two students at the all-black Jackson State College in Mississippi, and National Guard troops at Kent State University in Ohio fired on unarmed protestors, killing four students. As antiwar demonstrators descended on Washington, D.C., Nixon seemed personally unnerved by the furor, especially during an unscheduled, late-night meeting with protesting students.

A continuing controversy over the **My Lai Incident** further polarized sentiment over the war. Shortly after the 1968 Tet offensive, U.S. troops had entered the small South Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai and murdered more than 200 civilians, most of them women and children. This massacre only became public in 1969 and quickly refocused debate over U.S policy. Military courts convicted only one officer, Lieutenant William Calley, of any offense. Critics charged that the military was using Calley as a scapegoat for a failed strategy that emphasized body counts and lax rules of engagement. Injecting the White House into this controversy, Nixon ordered that the young lieutenant be confined to his officer's quarters pending the results of his appeal. Ultimately, Calley was ordered released based on procedural irregularities. The controversies over this case inflamed tensions between those Americans who backed and those who protested the war.

Meanwhile, the Nixon administration widened military operations to include Laos as well as Cambodia. Although it denied waging any such campaign, large areas of those agricultural countries were ravaged. As the number of refugees inside Cambodia swelled and food supplies dwindled, the communist guerrilla force there—the Khmer Rouge—became a well-disciplined army. The Khmer Rouge eventually came to power and in a murderous attempt to eliminate dissent turned Cambodia into a "killing field." It slaughtered more than 1 million Cambodians. While Nixon continued to plan U.S. troop withdrawals and conduct peace negotiations with North Vietnam in Paris, the Vietnam War broadened into a conflict that destabilized all of Indochina.

Even greater violence was yet to come. U.S. aid beefed up South Vietnam's army, but it never became a reliable fighting force. During the spring of 1972, North Vietnam's "Easter Offensive" approached within 30 miles of Saigon before falling back. The surge showed the limits of Vietnamization and swelled South Vietnam's refugee population. Nixon responded with an escalation as great as that by Lyndon Johnson in 1965. He ordered the systematic bombing of North Vietnam, the mining of its harbors, and the institution of a naval blockade. Just weeks before the November 1972 elections in the United States, Henry Kissinger declared that "peace is at hand" and announced a cease-fire. After Nixon's reelection, however, the impending peace deal fell apart in Paris, and the United States unleashed even greater firepower over North Vietnam. During the "Christmas bombing" of December 1972, the heaviest bombardment in history, B-52 planes pounded military and civilian targets in North Vietnam around the clock. North Vietnam, which was also feeling diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union and China, decided to conclude peace negotiations with Washington and Saigon.

Jackson State. *The era of America's longest war was a time of violence overseas and at home. In May 1970, police gunfire killed two students and wounded 15 others at Jackson State University in Mississippi. This picture was taken through a bullet-riddled window in a women's dorm.*



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The United States Leaves Vietnam

Much of the U.S. media, Congress, and public were also calling for an end to the war. Many were tired of the violence in Asia and of the administration's effort to stem dissent at home. In addition, sagging morale among U.S. troops hindered the missions that the U.S. command was still conducting. Soldiers questioned the purpose of their sacrifices; some refused to engage the enemy; and a few openly defied their superiors. At home, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), a new organization, joined the antiwar coalition. Running out of non-bombing options, Nixon proceeded with full-scale Vietnamization.

In January 1973, the warring parties signed peace accords in Paris that provided for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The actual terms closely resembled those in the pre-election deal that Kissinger had celebrated but which had later fallen apart. By allowing North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South, the Paris accords left Nguyen Van Thieu's government in an unenviable position, and Nixon may have anticipated preserving it by future bombing campaigns. As U.S. ground forces departed, the South Vietnamese army continued to fight, increasingly demoralized and ineffectual. In spring 1975, nearly two years after the Paris accords,

South Vietnam's army and Thieu's government collapsed as North Vietnamese armies entered the capital of Saigon (see Chapter 30). America's longest war ended with its objective of maintaining a noncommunist South Vietnam unfulfilled.

Between 1960 and 1973, approximately 3.5 million American men and women served in Vietnam: 58,000 died, 150,000 were wounded, and 2,000 were classified as missing. In the aftermath of this costly, divisive war, Americans struggled to understand why their country failed to defeat a small, barely industrialized nation. Those still supporting the war argued that it had been lost on the home front. They blamed an irresponsible media, a disloyal antiwar movement, and a Congress afflicted by a "failure of will." The war, they insisted, had been for a laudable cause. Politicians, setting unrealistic limits on the Pentagon, had prevented strategists from attaining victory. By contrast, those who had come to oppose the war stressed the overextension of U.S. power, the misguided belief in national omnipotence, the dangers of touching off a wider war with China, and the strategic miscalculations of decision makers. For them, the United States had waged a war in the wrong place for the wrong reasons. The human costs in both the United States and Indochina outweighed any possible gain.

Regardless of their position on the war, most Americans seemed to agree on a single proposition: There should be "no more Vietnams." The United States should not undertake another military operation unless it involved clear and compelling political objectives, sustained public support, and realistic means to accomplish its goals. Eventually, people who wanted to reassert U.S. power in the world came to worry that such caution, which they dismissed as "the Vietnam syndrome," might shape a timid foreign policy. The legacy of Vietnam era divisions would continue far beyond the era of America's longest war.

Expanding the Nixon Doctrine

Although the Nixon Doctrine initially applied to the Vietnamization of the war in Indochina, Nixon and Kissinger extended its premise to the entire world. The White House made clear that the United States would not dispatch its troops to quash insurgencies but would generously aid anticommunist regimes or factions willing to fight their own battles.

During the early 1970s, U.S. Cold War strategy came to rely on supporting staunchly anticommunist regional powers. These included nations such as Iran under Shah Reza Pahlavi, South Africa with its apartheid regime, and Brazil with its military dictatorship. All of these countries built large, U.S. trained military establishments. U.S. military assistance, together with covert CIA operations, also incubated and protected anticommunist dictatorships in South Korea, the Philippines, and much of Latin America. U.S. arms sales to the rest of the world skyrocketed. In one of its most controversial foreign policies, the Nixon administration employed covert action against the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile in 1970. After Allende took office, Kissinger pressed for the destabilization of his government. On September 11, 1973, the Chilean military overthrew Allende, immediately suspended democratic rule, and announced that Allende had committed suicide.

Critics charged that the United States, in the name of anticommunism, too often linked its diplomatic fortunes to questionable covert actions and unpopular military governments. In 1973, Democratic Senator Frank Church conducted Senate hearings into abuses of power by the executive branch, especially the CIA's actions in Chile.

Supporters of Nixon and Kissinger, however, gave the pair high marks for a pragmatic foreign policy that combined détente toward the communist giants with containment directed against the spread of revolutionary regimes.

A Crisis of Governance, 1972–1974

Nixon's presidency came under constitutional scrutiny as a result of decisions made in the Oval Office. A political loner who ruminated about taking revenge against his enemies, Nixon often seemed his own greatest foe. He ordered the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to harass prominent Democrats with expensive audits; placed antiwar and Black Power activists under surveillance; and conducted risky covert activities on the domestic front that even rattled the constitutional sensibilities of an old ally, J. Edgar Hoover. Isolated with a close-knit group of advisers, Nixon eventually created his own secret intelligence unit, "the Plumbers," which set up shop in the White House.

During the summer of 1971, Daniel Ellsberg, an antiwar activist who had once worked in the national security bureaucracy, leaked to the press a top-secret, highly critical history of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, subsequently known as the "Pentagon Papers." Nixon responded by seeking, unsuccessfully, a court injunction to stop publication and, more ominously, by unleashing his Plumbers unit to stop leaks to the media. Seeking something that might discredit Ellsberg, the Plumbers burglarized his psychiatrist's office. Thus began a series of secretive political "dirty tricks" and clear-cut crimes, sometimes financed by funds solicited for Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign.

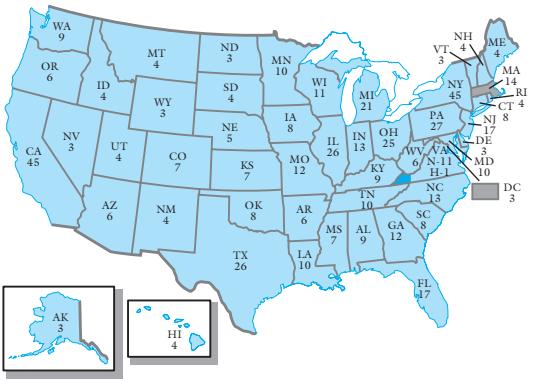
The Election of 1972

Nixon's political strategists worried that domestic troubles and the war in Vietnam might deny the president another term. Creating a campaign organization separate from that of the Republican Party, with the ironic acronym of CREEP (Committee to Re-elect the President), they secretly raised millions of dollars, much of it from illegal contributions.

As the 1972 campaign took shape, Nixon's chances for reelection dramatically improved. An assassin's bullet crippled George Wallace and kept him from playing the spoiler's role in November. Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, initially Nixon's leading Democratic challenger, made a series of blunders (some of them, perhaps, precipitated by Republican "dirty tricksters") that derailed his campaign. Eventually, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam War but a lackluster campaigner, won the Democratic nomination.

McGovern never seriously challenged Nixon. The Democratic candidate called for higher taxes on the wealthy, a guaranteed minimum income for all Americans, amnesty for Vietnam War draft resisters, and the decriminalization of marijuana. In foreign policy, he urged deep cuts in defense spending and peace in Vietnam—proposals that Nixon successfully portrayed as signs that McGovern would "weaken" national security. Nixon won an easy victory in November, receiving the Electoral College votes of all but one state and the District of Columbia. Although the 26th Amendment, ratified one year before the election, had lowered the voting age to 18, relatively few of the newly enfranchised voters cast ballots.

While helping achieve this victory, however, the president's supporters left a trail of crime and corruption that eventually led to a crisis of governance. The election of 1972 initially seemed a simple triumph for Richard Nixon, but the other



	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	Number	%	Number	%
McGovern (Democrat)	17	3.1	29,170,383	37.5
Nixon (Republican)	520	96.7	47,169,911	60.7
Hospers (Libertarian)	1	0.2	3,673	----
Schmitz (American)	----	----	1,099,482	1.4

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MAP 29.3 Presidential Election, 1972

In contrast to the closely contested election of 1968, the 1972 election produced a landslide victory for Richard Nixon. What helps explain the stark difference between these two elections? What events would force Richard Nixon, in 1974, to leave an office to which he had been overwhelmingly returned?

branches of government soon began scrutinizing its legitimacy. In June 1972, a surveillance team with links to both CREEP and the White House had been arrested while fine-tuning eavesdropping equipment in the Democratic Party's headquarters in Washington's Watergate office complex. In public, Nixon's spokespeople dismissed the Watergate break-in as a "third-rate burglary"; privately, the president and his inner circle launched a cover-up. They paid hush money to the Watergate burglars and ordered CIA officials to misinform the FBI that any investigation into the episode would jeopardize national security. Nixon succeeded in containing the political damage through the 1972 election, but events associated with **Watergate** soon overtook him.

The Watergate Investigations

While reporters from the *Washington Post* pursued the taint of scandal coming from the election, Congress, the federal courts, and government prosecutors also sought evidence of illegal activities during the 1972 campaign. Federal District Judge John Sirica, a Republican appointee presiding over the trial of the Watergate burglars, suspected a cover-up and continually pressed the defendants before his court for additional information. In May 1973, U.S. Senate leaders convened a special, bipartisan Watergate Committee, headed by North Carolina's conservative Democratic Senator Sam Ervin, to investigate. Federal prosecutors uncovered evidence that seemed to

link key administration figures, including John Mitchell, Nixon's former attorney general and later the head of CREEP, to illegal activities.

The Ervin hearings, carried live on TV, eventually attracted the most public attention. A succession of witnesses testified about illegal activities committed by CREEP and the White House. The Watergate Committee called Nixon's closest aides before the committee, and its sessions became a daily political drama that much of the country watched. Testimony from John Dean, who had been the president's chief legal counsel, linked Nixon himself to attempts to cover up Watergate and to other illegal activities. The president steadfastly denied Dean's charges.

Along the way, though, Senate investigators discovered that a voice-activated taping system had recorded every conversation in Nixon's Oval Office. These tapes made it possible to determine whether the president or Dean, Nixon's primary accuser, was lying. While contending he was not "a crook," Nixon also claimed an "executive privilege" to keep the tapes from being released, but Judge Sirica, Archibald Cox (a special, independent prosecutor in the Watergate case), and Congress all demanded access to them.

If Nixon's Watergate-related problems were not enough, his vice president Spiro Agnew suddenly resigned in October 1973 after pleading no contest to income-tax evasion. Agnew agreed to a plea-bargain arrangement to avoid prosecution for having accepted illegal kickbacks while in Maryland politics. Acting under the 25th Amendment (ratified in 1967), Nixon appointed—and both houses of Congress confirmed—Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, a Republican Party stalwart, as the new vice president.

Nixon's Resignation

Nixon's clumsy efforts to protect himself backfired. During the fall of 1973, Nixon had abruptly fired Archibald Cox, hoping to prevent him from gaining access to the tapes. When this firing prompted an outcry, the president appointed an equally tenacious replacement, Leon Jaworski. Nixon's own release of edited transcripts of some Watergate-related conversations, including one key transcript reflecting an 18-minute gap in the tape, merely strengthened demand for the original recordings. Finally, by proclaiming that he would obey only a "definitive" Supreme Court decision, Nixon all but invited the justices to deliver a unanimous ruling on the question of the tapes. On July 24, 1974, the Burger Court did just that in the case of *U.S.* v. *Nixon*. No claim of executive privilege could justify the refusal to release evidence in a criminal investigation. With Nixon refusing to consider resignation, the House of Representatives began to consider his impeachment.

After televised deliberations, a bipartisan majority of the House Judiciary Committee voted three formal articles of impeachment against the president for obstruction of justice, violation of constitutional liberties, and refusal to produce evidence. Nixon promised to rebut these accusations before the Senate, the body authorized by the Constitution (Article I, Section 3) to render a verdict of guilty or not guilty after impeachment by the House.

Nixon's aides, however, were already orchestrating his departure. One of his own attorneys had discovered that a tape Nixon had been withholding contained the long-sought "smoking gun," clear evidence of a criminal offense. It confirmed that during a 1972 conversation, Nixon had helped hatch a plan by which the CIA would advance a fraudulent claim of national security in order to stop the FBI from investigating the

Watergate break-in. At this point, Nixon's own secretary of defense ordered military commanders to ignore any order from the president, the constitutional commander-in-chief, unless the secretary had countersigned it. Abandoned by almost every prominent Republican and confronted by a Senate prepared to vote him guilty on the impeachment charges, Nixon went on television on August 8, 1974, to announce his resignation. On August 9, Gerald Ford became the nation's 38th chief executive. He assumed the post never having been elected president or vice president.

In 1974, most people told pollsters that the string of abuses collectively known as "Watergate" was one of the gravest crises in the history of the republic and that the Nixon administration had posed a serious threat to constitutional governance. As time passed, though, the details of Watergate-related events faded from memories. Opinion polls conducted on the 20th anniversary of Nixon's resignation suggested that Americans now only dimly recalled the crisis of governance that had once gripped the nation.

What might account for this change? First, although nearly a dozen members of Nixon's administration—including its chief law enforcement officer, John Mitchell—were convicted of criminal activities, the president avoided prosecution. Gerald Ford granted him an unconditional pardon. The nation was spared the spectacle of a former president undergoing trial, but it was also denied an authoritative accounting, in a court of law, of Nixon's misdeeds.

Another reason for fading memories may be the media's habit of attaching the Watergate label to nearly every political scandal of the post-Nixon era. The suffix *-gate* became affixed to grave constitutional episodes and to obviously trivial political events. Over time, then, "Watergate" became almost a synonym for "politics as usual." Finally, images of what the historian Stanley Kutler calls the "Wars of Watergate" have tended to blend into the broader picture of political, social, economic, and cultural turmoil that accompanied U.S. involvement in the nation's longest war.

Conclusion

The power of the national government expanded between 1963 and 1974. Lyndon Johnson's Great Society provided a blueprint for policymaking at home even as his administration dramatically escalated the war in Vietnam. This growth of government power prompted divisive debates that polarized the country. During Johnson's presidency, both the war effort and the economy faltered, top leaders became discredited, and Johnson abandoned the office he had so long sought. The use of presidential power by Johnson's Republican successor, Richard Nixon, prompted a crisis of governance that ultimately forced Nixon from office. The hopes of the early 1960s—that an active national government could promote liberty and equality both at home and throughout the rest of the world—ended in frustration.

The era of America's longest war was a time of political passion, cultural and racial conflict, and differing definitions of patriotism. It saw the slow convergence of an antiwar movement, along with the emergence of youthful dissent, Black Power, women's activism, and contests over what constituted Americans' basic rights. Different groups have invoked divergent explanations for the fates of both the Great Society and the war effort, and the divisions from this era shaped politics and culture for years to come. Many Americans became skeptical, many even cynical, about expanding the power of the federal government in the name of expanding liberty and equality.

30

Uncertain Times, 1974–1992

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• Searching for Direction, 1974–1980 • The Reagan Revolution, 1981–1992 • Renewing and Ending the Cold War • The Politics of Social Movements

The national government continually expanded its power following the onset of the Second World War. Most Americans supported increasing military and intelligence capabilities and using domestic programs to cushion against economic downturns and assist needy families.

Events of the 1960s and early 1970s, particularly Vietnam and Watergate, however, shook faith in government. Secrecy, corruption, and economic problems bred further disillusionment. During the 1970s and 1980s Americans debated how to respond to an aging industrial economy, a ballooning federal deficit, and a beleaguered social welfare system. Did the country need new governmental programs, or might conditions improve if Washington reduced its role?

Disagreement extended to foreign policy. Should the United States minimize anticommunism to pursue other goals, as Democratic president Jimmy Carter (1977–81) initially urged, or should it wage the Cold War even more vigorously, as his successor, Republican Ronald Reagan (1981–89), advocated? After 1989, when the Cold War ended unexpectedly, the United States needed to find a foreign policy for a post-Cold War world, a task that fell to the post-Reagan generation of national leaders.

Meanwhile, the "movement of movements," a legacy of the 1960s, refused to fade away. Social movements associated with women's rights, gay rights, and racial and ethnic identities affected how Americans saw themselves and their nation's future. Some of the goals of these movements, however, met strident opposition from the New Right that had helped build Reagan's popularity. During these years, the polarization of American politics that had become so evident during the Vietnam War and Watergate eras deepened and broadened, sparking new controversies over issues such as abortion, taxation, affirmative action, and environmental regulations.

CHRONOLOGY

1974	Nixon resigns and Ford becomes president ◆ Ford soon pardons Nixon
1975	South Vietnam falls to North Vietnam ◆ Ford asserts U.S. power in *Mayaguez* incident
1976	Jimmy Carter elected president ◆ OPEC sharply raises oil prices
1978	Carter helps negotiate Camp David peace accords on Middle East
1979	Soviet Union invades Afghanistan ◆ *Sandinistas* come to power in Nicaragua ◆ U.S. hostages seized in Iran
1980	Reagan elected president ◆ U.S. hostages in Iran released
1981	Reagan tax cut passed
1983	U.S. troops removed from Lebanon ◆ Reagan announces SDI ("Star Wars") program
1984	Reagan defeats Walter Mondale
1986	Reagan administration rocked by revelation of Iran-*Contra* affair
1988	George H. W. Bush defeats Michael Dukakis in presidential election ◆ Congress enacts Indian Gaming Regulation Act
1989	Communist regimes in Eastern Europe collapse ◆ Berlin Wall falls ◆ Cold War, in effect, ends
1990	Bush angers conservative Republicans by agreeing to a tax increase
1991	Bush orchestrates Persian Gulf War against Iraq
1992	Bill Clinton defeats Bush

Searching for Direction, 1974–1980

When Richard Nixon resigned in August 1974, **Gerald R. Ford,** his vice president, moved from one office to which voters had never elected him to another, the presidency. Emphasizing his long career in the House of Representatives, Ford promised to "heal the land," but he achieved limited success. A genial, unpretentious former college football star, Ford preferred that his public appearances be accompanied by the fight song of his alma mater, the University of Michigan, rather than "Hail to the Chief." He tried to present his administration as an updated version of the "modern Republicanism" of the 1950s, but this effort quickly foundered. His appointment of Nelson Rockefeller as vice president infuriated GOP conservatives, and his pardoning of former president Nixon, in September 1974, angered almost everyone. Ford's approval rating skidded downward, and his presidency proved to be short lived.

Ford nearly lost the GOP's 1976 presidential nomination. Conservative Republicans rallied behind Ronald Reagan, who ignited his effort by campaigning as a "true conservative" owing nothing to Washington insiders. Ford had already won just enough delegates in the early primaries, however, to eke out a narrow first-ballot victory at the Republican Party's national convention.

The Democrats did turn to an outsider, **James Earl (Jimmy) Carter.** A retired naval officer, engineer, peanut farmer, and former governor of Georgia, Carter campaigned

by stressing personal character. He highlighted his small-town roots and his Southern Baptist faith. To balance the ticket, he picked Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate. In November of 1976 Carter won a narrow victory over Ford.

Carter's election rested on a transitory coalition. He carried every southern state except Virginia, running well among both whites who belonged to fundamentalist and evangelical churches and African Americans. Carter also courted former antiwar activists by promising to pardon most Vietnam-era draft resisters. Walter Mondale's appeal helped capture the Democratic strongholds of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The election was close, however, and voter turnout hit its lowest mark (54 percent) since the end of the Second World War.

Jimmy Carter's lack of a popular mandate and his outsider status proved serious handicaps. After leaving government, Carter reflected on his difficulties: "I had a different way of governing.... I was a southerner, a born-again Christian, a Baptist, a newcomer." Moreover, Carter was caught between advisers who, on the one hand, claimed that the national government exercised too much power and, on the other, argued that Washington did too little to address domestic and foreign problems. His policies often seemed hesitant and inconsistent.

The 865-day presidency of Ford and the one-term administration of Carter reflected the uncertainties of post-Vietnam and post-Watergate America. The sense of national crisis seemed unrelenting, as politicians and citizens alike attempted to cope with a staggering economy, disruptive energy shortages, and sensationalized foreign challenges.

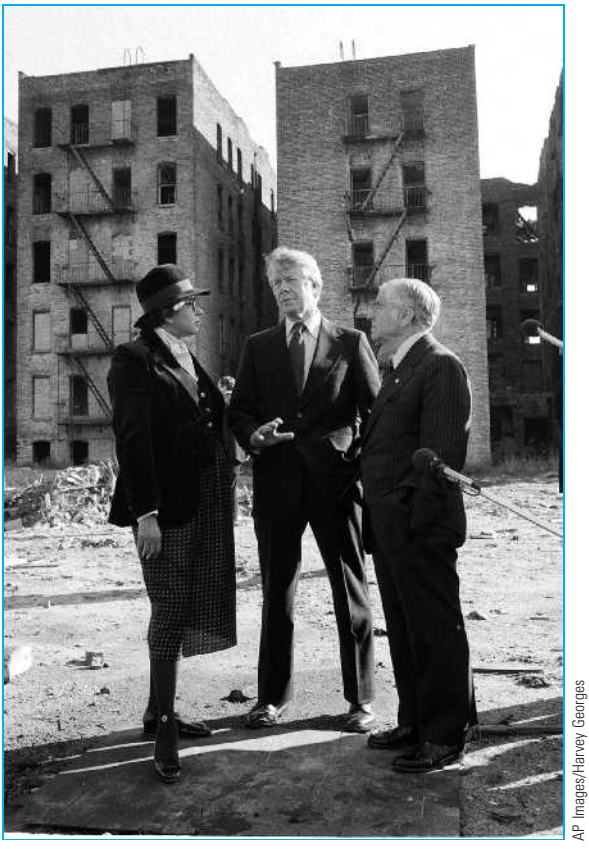
A Faltering Economy

Economic problems dominated the domestic side of Ford's caretaker presidency. Upon assuming the presidency after Nixon's resignation, Ford touted a program called "Whip Inflation Now" (WIN), which included a one-year surcharge on income taxes and cuts in federal spending as solutions. After both unemployment and prices still crept higher, Ford conceded WIN to be a loser. During 1975 unemployment reached 8.5 percent, and the inflation rate topped 9 percent.

Meanwhile, Ford clashed with the Democratic-controlled Congress over how to deal with the ever-rising price of oil and with stagflation, which combined economic stagnation with price inflation. Democrats tended to favor programs that might stimulate employment and economic growth; Republicans leaned toward policies that cut government spending. Ford, who vetoed nearly 40 spending bills while in office, finally agreed to a congressional economic package forged from an uneasy compromise of diverse goals. It included a tax cut, an increase in unemployment benefits, an unbalanced federal budget, and limited controls on oil prices. Democrats charged that Ford could not implement coherent programs of his own. Many Republicans complained that he could not stand up to congressional Democrats.

Once Carter took office, the problems of oil prices and stagflation only worsened. Carter pledged to lower both unemployment and inflation, rekindle economic growth, and balance the federal budget (which showed a deficit of about $70 billion in 1976). He pushed for tax cuts, increased public works spending, and pro-growth Federal Reserve Board policies. These measures, however, seemed to further aggravate matters. By 1980 the economy had virtually stopped expanding; unemployment (after temporarily dipping) continued to rise; and inflation topped an alarming 13 percent. Most voters told pollsters that their economic fortunes had deteriorated while Carter was in office.

Confronting Urban Decay in the 1970s. *Some of financially strapped New York City's most pressing problems during the 1970s were in the South Bronx area. Here, President Jimmy Carter (in the center) poses with his Housing and Urban Development secretary and New York's mayor in front of several of the thousands of buildings that had fallen victim to decay, neglect, and arson. This widely circulated photo was intended to signal that national and local officials hoped to devise rebuilding programs for urban areas such as this.*



AP Images/Harvey Georges

Economic distress spread beyond individuals. New York City, beset by long-term economic problems and short-term fiscal mismanagement, faced bankruptcy. Private bankers and public officials had to secure congressional "bailout" legislation that granted special loan guarantees to America's largest city. Its troubles were hardly unique. According to one estimate, Chicago lost 200,000 manufacturing jobs during the 1970s. Bricks from demolished buildings in St. Louis became one of that city's leading products. Soaring unemployment, rising crime rates, deteriorating downtowns, and shrinking tax revenues afflicted most urban areas, even as inflation further eroded the buying power of city budgets.

Conservative economists and business interests charged that domestic programs favored by most congressional Democrats contributed to economic distress. Increasing the minimum wage and enforcing stringent safety and antipollution regulations, they argued, drove up the cost of doing business and forced companies to raise prices to consumers. During his last two years in office, Carter seemed to agree with some of this analysis. Defying many Democrats in Congress, he cut spending for social programs, sought to reduce capital gains taxes to encourage investment, and inaugurated the process of "deregulating" various industries, beginning with the financial and transportation sectors. This policy of deregulation would become a major emphasis that Republican administrations would pursue after 1980.

Welfare and Energy Initiatives

As the economic crisis spread during his presidency, Carter puzzled over how to respond to people's distress. His staff differed over whether to propose increasing monetary assistance to low-income families or to advocate federal spending to create several million public service jobs. A proposed compromise failed in Congress, although Carter did expand the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973, an act that offered temporary public service jobs to people, especially students, with low incomes. Despite economic hardships, no agreement could be forged on behalf of a broad vision to overhaul the nation's social welfare system. Republicans tended to argue on behalf of less government spending on welfare programs; Democrats generally favored greater assistance to the underemployed.

The president pushed harder on energy issues. The United States obtained 90 percent of its energy from fossil fuels, much of it from imported petroleum. In 1978, as in 1973, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), a cartel dominated by oil-rich nations in the Middle East, dramatically raised the price of crude oil and precipitated acute worldwide shortages. As gasoline became expensive and scarce, drivers denounced high prices. Long lines at the gas pumps around the country sparked anger both at OPEC and at the administration. Carter, in response, promised to make the United States less dependent on imported fossil fuel.

The president had earlier charged James Schlesinger, head of a new Department of Energy, with developing a plan. Schlesinger outlined ambitious goals to decrease U.S. reliance on foreign sources: (1) expand domestic energy production through tax incentives and deregulation; (2) levy new taxes to discourage consumption; (3) foster conservation; and (4) promote non-petroleum energy sources, especially coal and nuclear power. Neither Carter nor Schlesinger consulted Congress or even some key members of the president's own administration. Instead, in early 1977, Carter announced that the **energy crisis** represented "the moral equivalent of war," and he abruptly advanced a complex plan that included more than 100 interrelated provisions.

Congress quickly rejected it. Gas and oil interests opposed higher taxes. Consumer activists blocked deregulation. Environmentalists charged that greater use of coal would increase air pollution. Carter, nonetheless, continued to press for energy conservation; for development of renewable sources, such as solar and wind-generated energy; and for greater use of nuclear power.

The nuclear option generated especially sharp controversy. In theory, nuclear reactors could provide inexpensive, almost limitless amounts of energy. The cost of building and maintaining them, however, far exceeded original estimates and posed safety risks. In 1979 a serious reactor malfunction at **Three Mile Island,** Pennsylvania, along with a popular movie about a similar event (*The China Syndrome*) heightened fears of a nuclear-reactor meltdown. Responding to growing concerns, power companies canceled orders for new reactors, and the nuclear power industry's expansion halted.

Meanwhile, OPEC oil prices continued to rise, from about $3.60 a barrel in 1971 to nearly $36 a decade later, at the end of Carter's presidency. Such dramatic price increases in a basic commodity that fueled the American economy helped drive the damaging stagflation of the 1970s. Although few Americans agreed on how to solve this oil crisis and America's broader energy problems, many lost confidence in Carter's leadership.

Negotiation and Confrontation in Foreign Policy

Foreign policy lurched along a similar uncertain course during the mid and late 1970s. Upon assuming office in late 1974, President Ford pledged a renewal of U.S. military support to the government in South Vietnam, if North Vietnam ever directly threatened its survival. The antiwar mood in the United States and battlefield conditions in Vietnam, however, made fulfilling this commitment impossible. North Vietnam's armies stormed across the South in March 1975, and Congress, relieved that U.S. troops had finally been withdrawn after the 1973 Paris peace accords, refused any new American involvement. Conducting their last mission in Vietnam, U.S. helicopters scrambled to airlift U.S. officials and top-ranking South Vietnamese officers off the American embassy's rooftop.

Spring 1975 brought new communist victories in Indochina. In early April, Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia drove a U.S.-backed government from the capital of Phnom Penh, and on April 30, 1975, North Vietnamese troops finally overran the South Vietnamese capital of Saigon, renaming it Ho Chi Minh City. Debate over U.S. policy in Indochina became especially heated in the months that followed.

Within this charged atmosphere, Ford tried to demonstrate U.S military power. In May 1975 a contingent of Khmer Rouge boarded a U.S. ship, the *Mayaguez,* taking its crew hostage. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger declared that it was time to "look ferocious" and convinced Ford to order bombing strikes against Cambodia and a rescue operation for the crew. This military response, coupled with Chinese pressure on the Khmer Rouge, secured the release of the *Mayaguez* and its crew. Although the *Mayaguez* rescue cost more lives than it saved, Ford's approval ratings briefly shot up. His other foreign policy initiatives, which included extending Nixon's policy of détente with the Soviet Union and pursuing peace negotiations in the Middle East, achieved little.

Carter promised new directions away from the Nixon-Ford record on foreign policy. On his first day in office, he granted amnesty to most Vietnam-era draft resisters. He soon declared that he would not display an "inordinate fear of Communism" and would endorse human-rights initiatives. After four years, however, Carter's foreign policy initiatives seemed in as much disarray as were his economic and energy policies.

Carter had little background in foreign policy. Furthermore, his top aides—Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski—pursued contradictory agendas. Vance preferred quiet diplomacy and avoidance of confrontations, while Brzezinski favored a hard line, anti-Soviet policy with an emphasis on military muscle. Pulled in divergent directions, Carter's foreign policy seemed to waffle. Carter himself favored settling disputes through negotiation, not military threats, and he elevated the promotion of human rights overseas into one of his most important priorities.

Carter's faith in negotiation and in his own skills as a facilitator yielded some successes. On the issue of the Panama Canal, the object of diplomatic negotiations for 13 years, Carter secured treaties that granted Panama increasing authority over the waterway and full control in 2000. Carter convinced skeptical senators, whose votes he needed in order to ratify any treaty, that the canal was no longer an economic or strategic necessity.

Carter's personal touch also emerged during the **Camp David Peace Talks of 1978.** Relations between Egypt and Israel had been strained since the Yom Kippur War of 1973, when Israel repelled an Egyptian attack and seized the Sinai Peninsula and territory along the West Bank (of the Jordan River). Reviving earlier

Republican efforts to broker a peace settlement, Carter brought Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, leaders of Israel and Egypt, respectively, to the presidential retreat at Camp David. After 13 days of difficult bargaining, the three leaders announced a framework for further negotiations and a peace treaty. Middle East tensions hardly vanished, but the accords reached at Camp David kept alive high-level discussions, lowered the level of acrimony between Egypt and Israel, and bound both nations to the United States through Carter's promises of economic aid.

In Asia, the Carter administration built on Nixon's initiative, expanding economic and cultural relations with the communist government in China. The United States finally established formal diplomatic ties with the People's Republic on New Year's Day 1979.

Carter's foreign policy became best known for its emphasis on **human rights.** Carter argued that Cold War alliances with repressive dictatorships, even in the name of anticommunism, undermined U.S. influence in the world. The policy, however, proved difficult to orchestrate. His administration continued to support some harsh dictators, such as Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines. Moreover, rhetoric about human rights helped justify uprisings against longstanding dictator-allies in Nicaragua and Iran. Revolutions in these countries, fueled by resentment against the United States, brought anti-American regimes to power and presented Carter with difficult choices.

In Nicaragua, the *Sandinista* movement toppled the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, which the United States had long supported. The *Sandinistas,* initially a coalition of moderate democrats and leftists, soon tilted toward a militant Marxism and began to expropriate private property. Republican critics charged that Carter's policies had given a green light to communism throughout Central America, and some pledged to oust the *Sandinistas*.

If events in Nicaragua brought dilemmas to Carter, those in Iran and Afghanistan all but shattered his uncertain presidency. The United States had steadfastly supported the dictatorial Shah Reza Pahlavi, who had reigned in oil-rich Iran since an American-supported coup in 1953. The shah's overthrow in the **Iranian revolution of January 1979,** by a movement dominated by Islamic fundamentalists, signaled a massive repudiation of U.S. influence. When the White House allowed the deposed shah to enter the United States for medical treatment in November 1979, Iranians seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and 66 American hostages. Iran demanded the return of the shah in exchange for the hostages' release.

In response, Carter turned to tough talk, levied economic sanctions against Iran, and—over the objections of Cyrus Vance (who subsequently resigned)—sent a combat team to rescue the hostages. This military effort ended in an embarrassing failure. Carter's critics cited this "hostage crisis" as conclusive proof of his incompetence and used the issue relentlessly in the next presidential campaign. After Carter's defeat in the 1980 election, diplomatic efforts finally freed the hostages, but the United States and Iran remained at odds.

Criticism of Carter also focused on the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan, a move primarily sparked by Soviet fear of the growing influence of Islamic fundamentalists along its borders. Carter responded in a nonmilitary manner. He halted grain exports to the Soviet Union (angering his farm constituency), organized a boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, withdrew a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) from the Senate, and revived registration for the military draft. Still, Republicans (along with some Democrats) charged Carter with allowing

U.S. power and prestige to decline. They saw the Soviet Union embark on a new campaign of expanding communism, attempting to add new clients not only in Central America and in Afghanistan but also in other areas of the world.

For a time, after Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts entered the 1980 presidential primaries, it seemed as if Carter's own Democratic Party might deny him a second term. Although Kennedy's challenge eventually fizzled, it popularized anti-Carter themes that Republicans would gleefully embrace in the election of 1980. "It's time to say no more hostages, no more high interest rates, no more high inflation, and no more Jimmy Carter," was Kennedy's standard stump speech.

The New Right

By 1976, the idea of preventing another Carter or another Kennedy presidency animated a diverse coalition of conservatives: a **New Right.** This broadly based movement succeeded in holding together several different constituencies. The already disparate group that had initially gathered around William F. Buckley's *National Review* during the 1950s provided one of these constituencies. Even as Buckley continued to use his magazine to push conservative ideas, he reached out to new converts through television. His long-running interview show, *Firing Line,* debuted on PBS in 1971 (and ran for another 28 years). The economist Milton Friedman—a frequent Buckley guest, 1976 Nobel laureate, and creator of a PBS series touting free-market economic principles—provided another important link between the conservatism of the 1950s and 1970s. In addition, many of the then-youthful conservatives who had energized Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, such as Patrick Buchanan, came to the New Right after having worked in Richard Nixon's administration.

In contrast, the "neoconservative" (or "neocon") wing of the New Right of the 1970s had generally identified with Democrats, rather than Republicans, during the 1950s and much of the 1960s. Fiercely anticommunist, writers and academics such as Norman Podhoretz, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Irving Kristol saw too many Democrats criticizing Lyndon Johnson and then rallying behind George McGovern and his theme of "Come Home America." Fearful that the Democratic Party might abandon a strong anticommunist stance, neoconservatives also viewed most domestic movements of the 1960s, particularly those displaying countercultural values, as threatening the social stability and intellectual values they admired. This initial generation of neoconservatives, often the offspring of European-Jewish immigrants, also complained that U.S. foreign policy, even under Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, failed to support Israel strongly enough.

Conservative business leaders provided another important New Right constituency. Convinced that anti-corporate professors and students dominated most colleges and universities, business magnates such as Joseph Coors, of the Colorado brewing family, placed at least portions of their fortunes at the service of their convictions. In their view, new regulatory legislation accepted by the Nixon administration, especially measures dealing with workplace safety issues and environmental concerns, threatened "economic freedom" and "entrepreneurial liberty." If colleges and universities could not provide intellectual support for conservative perspectives, then businesses should create counter-institutions in the form of right-leaning think tanks. Conservative business leaders and their philanthropic foundations generously funded existing

research institutions, such as the American Enterprise Institute (founded in 1943), and created new ones, such as The Heritage Foundation (established in 1973).

Money from New Right businesspeople also financed lobbying efforts, such as those mounted by the Business Roundtable (created in 1973) and the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD). This bipartisan group, which took its name and much of its leadership from a similarly named group of the 1950s, argued that the foreign policy establishment of the 1970s, including "realists" such as Henry Kissinger, underestimated the threat that the Soviet Union still posed to the United States. The CPD's successes included persuading Gerald Ford's appointee as CIA director, George H. W. Bush, to order a review of the CIA's assessment of the communist menace by a group of outside analysts. Ultimately known as "Team B" and dominated by people close to the CPD, this panel warned of CIA complacency in the face of Soviet aggressiveness.

Groups such as the CPD also operated effectively outside of the Washington, D.C., beltway. In 1975, activists who had worked for Goldwater's 1964 campaign formed the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the first of many similar organizations aimed at organizing at the grassroots. Initiatives by the NCPAC backed conservative political candidates and advocated a wide range of policies. Forging a political strategy aimed at defending "family values," they opposed policies identified with feminism, such as legalized abortion, and with LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) lifestyles.

The New Right of the 1970s also attracted grassroots support from Protestants in fundamentalist and evangelical churches. People from these religious groups had generally stayed clear of overtly partisan politics since the 1920s but continued to express concern, exemplified in the work of Billy Graham's organization, about public issues that involved spiritual and social matters. Already angered by Supreme Court decisions that seemed to eliminate religious prayers from public schools, many expressed greater outrage over *Roe* v. *Wade* (1973), the landmark abortion ruling. Reaching out to anti-abortion Catholics, people whom most members of southern Protestant congregations would have shunned a generation earlier, "Religious Right" slowly took shape. The Reverend Jerry Falwell of the Thomas Road Baptist Church and the Old Time Gospel Hour television ministry declared that *Roe* showed the necessity of political action. Anti-religious elites in Washington "have been imposing morality on us for the last fifty years," Falwell proclaimed.

Leaders of the Religious Right insisted that sacred values should actively shape political policymaking. A clear separation between church and state, a guiding principle of constitutionalism during the era of Earl Warren's Supreme Court, struck the Religious Right as a violation of a right specifically mentioned in the First Amendment: the "free exercise of religion." Particularly in the South, conservatives embarked on a lengthy legal struggle to prevent the Internal Revenue Service from denying tax-exempt status to the private Christian colleges and academies that opposed racial integration. Challenging older constitutional precedents against state aid to religious institutions, they also urged that government should use tax monies to help fund church-centered education and "faith-based" social programming. Most spokespeople for the Religious Right championed foreign policies that maximized the use of U.S. military power, especially on behalf of Israel. Protestants who embraced "dispensational premillennialism," the belief that the Second Coming of Christ would occur in their lifetimes, saw the survival of a Jewish state in the

Middle East as crucial to the future they expected to unfold according to Biblical prophesy.

Especially in the South, the process of a political switch to the GOP could almost seem comparable to that of a religious conversion. In 1976 most evangelicals and fundamentalists from the South, including Jerry Falwell, supported Jimmy Carter. His religious values made him seem less committed to the *Roe* decision than Gerald Ford, whose spouse, Betty Ford, often identified herself with women's issues. Very soon, however, Falwell and others on the Religious Right began realigning their politics with those of the GOP's conservative bloc, placing their growing movement behind a refashioned Republican party under the leadership of Ronald Reagan.

The Reagan Revolution, 1981–1992

Ronald Reagan courted the New Right on national security, economic, and social issues. He used the hostage crisis with Iran as a symbol of Carter's failures, while his revitalized anticommunist rhetoric called for a stronger military posture and greater defense spending. At the same time, a taxpayer revolt that had swept through California politics during the late 1970s provided a model for Reagan's attack on "tax-and-spend" policymaking at the federal level. (The situation was ironic, however, because California's tax revolt had emerged in response to tax increases adopted while Reagan was the state's governor.) Across the country, people increasingly responded to the tax-reduction message. In addition to urging large tax cuts, Reagan opposed abortion rights, advocated prayer in school, and extolled conservative family values. Even Jimmy Carter's own Southern Baptists, who had rallied behind him in 1976, along with born-again Christians across the country, began flocking to Reagan.

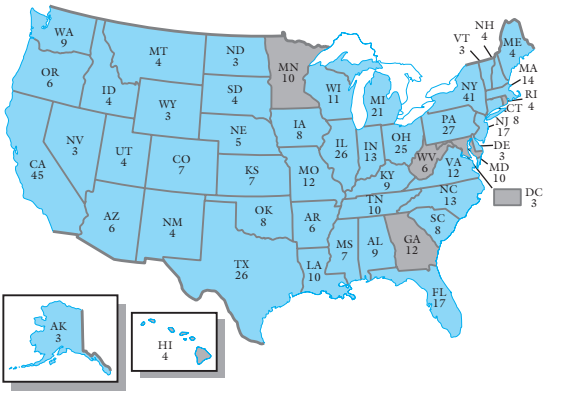
The Election of 1980

Easily capturing the Republican nomination, and anointing one of his defeated rivals, George H. W. Bush, as a running mate, Ronald Reagan advanced an optimistic vision of a rejuvenated America. Punctuating his speeches with quips inspired by Hollywood movies, he stressed his opposition to domestic social spending and high taxes while promising support for a stronger national defense. To underscore the nation's economic problems under Carter, Reagan asked repeatedly, "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" Quickly offering his own answer, Reagan cited what he called a "misery index," which added the rate of inflation to the rate of unemployment.

Reagan also seized issues that the Democratic Party had long regarded its own: economic growth and increased personal consumption. In 1979 one of Jimmy Carter's advisers had gloomily portrayed the nation's economic and energy problems as so severe that there was "no way we can avoid a decline in our standard of living. All we can do is adapt to it." In contrast, Reagan promised that sharp tax cuts and policies to increase the supply of oil would restore robust economic expansion.

The Reagan-Bush team swept to victory. Although it gained only slightly more than 50 percent of the popular vote (John Anderson, a middle-of-the-road Republican who ran as an independent, won about 7 percent), the GOP ticket captured the Electoral College tally by a 489 to 49 margin. Moreover, Republicans took away 12 Democratic Senate seats, gaining control of the Senate, though not the House of Representatives.

Although conservative think tanks deluged the Reagan administration with policy suggestions, the president focused on three major priorities: cutting federal



	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	Number	%	Number	%
Carter (Democrat)	49	9.1	35,483,883	41
Reagan (Republican)	489	90.9	43,904,153	51
Anderson (Independent)	----	----	5,720,060	7

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MAP 30.1 Presidential Election, 1980

taxes, reducing the governmental regulatory structure, and boosting national security capabilities.

Supply-Side Economics

To justify cutting taxes, Reagan touted **supply-side economics.** This economic theory held that tax reductions targeted toward investors and businesses would stimulate production, create jobs, and ameliorate the economic stagnation of the 1970s. Reagan pushed a tax-reduction plan through Congress in 1981. Many Democrats, who had supported more limited tax cuts during Carter's presidency, endorsed the plan. At the same time, the Federal Reserve Board under Paul Volker, a Carter appointee, kept interest rates high to drive down inflation.

In the short run, high interest rates continued to choke off growth, and economic conditions deteriorated. A severe economic downturn in 1981 and 1982 sent Reagan's approval ratings diving below 40 percent, and the Republican Party experienced losses in the off-year election of 1982. Slowly, however, inflation moderated, and the economy rebounded to enter a period of non-inflationary growth. According to one study, the economy added nearly 17 million new jobs; figures on real income, after having declined throughout the 1970s, began to rise; and inflation dropped from double digits to around 2 percent. Although unemployment figures did not fall as sharply, Reagan's supporters hailed a "Reagan revolution" that had rescued the country from stagflation.

This revival and its causes, however, were controversial. Reagan had not matched tax cuts with sufficient spending reductions, and budget deficits soared. Reagan constantly inveighed against deficits and "big spenders," but his eight years

in Washington, even after some of the early tax reductions were rolled back, saw annual deficits triple to nearly $300 billion. To finance such deficit spending, the United States borrowed abroad and piled up the largest foreign debt of any nation in the world at that time. Reagan's revolution, critical economists charged, stimulated recovery through unbalanced budgets but courted long-term problems with federal deficits and trade imbalances.

Moreover, the surge of the Reagan era prosperity brought upward mobility for some but growing uncertainty for others. Partisans of the Reagan revolution promised that its effects would ultimately "trickle down" and benefit everyone. Its detractors, however, countered that the country was developing a "Swiss-cheese" economy, in which many groups were falling through the holes. Farmers in the Midwest watched falling crop prices hamper their repayment of high-interest loans they had contracted during the inflation-ridden 1970s. Mortgage foreclosures, reminiscent of the 1930s, hit the farm states, and the ripple effect decimated the economies of small towns across the country. Urban areas fared even worse. Federal spending for urban areas declined, even as cities faced growing unemployment, population loss, and falling tax revenues. Federal funds for public transit and housing declined even as job-training programs such as CETA lost funding. One historian estimates that urban America bore two-thirds of the cost of Reagan-era budget cuts. The minimum wage, when adjusted for inflation, also declined in value during Reagan's presidency.

For African Americans, this mixed picture proved especially clear. The number of African American families earning a solid middle-class income, for example, more than doubled between 1970 and 1990. People with educational credentials and marketable skills made significant economic gains, and African American college graduates could expect incomes comparable to those of their white classmates. Partly as a result of affirmative action hiring plans put in place by the Nixon and Carter administrations, many could afford to leave problem-plagued inner-city neighborhoods. The situation looked different, however, for those who remained persistently unemployed, perhaps trapped in declining urban centers. At the end of the 1980s one-third of all African American families lived in poverty, and the number earning less than $15,000 per year had doubled since 1970. In inner cities, fewer than half of African American children were completing high school, and more than 60 percent were unemployed. The gap between the well off and the disadvantaged widened during the 1980s.

Curtailing Unions, Regulations, and Welfare

Meanwhile, Reagan pursued his second major goal: cutting back the role of the federal government in supporting labor unions and regulatory structures.

In 1981 Reagan fired the nation's air traffic controllers after their union refused to halt a nationwide strike. The action portended more aggressive anti-union strategies that both his administration and business interests would pursue during the 1980s. The percentage of unionized workers fell to just 16 percent by the end of Reagan's presidency. Recognizing the balance of power tilting against them, workers increasingly turned away from strikes as an economic weapon.

Reagan had entered office promising to tame OPEC by encouraging the development of new sources of supply. Rejecting environmentalists' calls to decrease U.S. dependence on fossil fuels by promotion of renewable sources, Reagan and his successor, George H. W. Bush, pursued a "cheap oil" policy. The tapping of new oil

fields at home and abroad, together with rivalries among OPEC's members, weakened the cartel's hold on the world market and reduced energy prices worldwide. Lower energy costs, in turn, helped moderate the inflationary pressures.

To oversee environmental issues, Reagan appointed James Watt, an outspoken critic of governmental regulation, as secretary of the interior. Watt supported the so-called "sagebrush rebellion," in which western states demanded fewer federal restrictions on the use of public lands within their borders. Particularly in the timber states of the Pacific Northwest, people hotly debated protection of endangered species, such as rare bird populations, if it interfered with lumber-related opportunities. Reagan's first two appointees to the Department of Energy actually proposed eliminating the cabinet office they headed—an idea that Congress blocked. In both the Interior and Energy Departments, the White House relaxed enforcement of federal safety and environmental regulations.

Reagan's agenda for **deregulation** focused especially on the financial system. His economic advisers insisted that financial markets were largely self-regulating and self-correcting. Minimal governmental interference in the marketplace, they argued, would bring greater economic efficiencies and therefore greater prosperity overall. The Carter administration had previously pursued programs of deregulation especially in the transportation sector, and many Democrats in Congress now joined Republicans in crafting a looser environment for banks. Before the 1980s, state usury laws limited the interest rates that lending institutions could charge their clients and "Savings and Loan" (S & L) institutions issued home mortgages under carefully controlled rules. Several pieces of legislation in the 1980s, however, wiped away these and other regulations, and the banking sector rapidly consolidated and transformed. More credit became available to more people, as a new "sub-prime loan" industry boomed. But there were hazards.

During Reagan's second term, corruption and mismanagement in the financial industry increasingly appeared as toxic byproducts of deregulation. S & L companies had ventured into risky loans, particularly in real estate. Regulators and politicians ignored forecasts of an impending meltdown until bankruptcies began to cascade through the S & L industry, eventually forcing the closure of 747 institutions. Finally, in 1989, Congress created a bailout plan designed to save some S & Ls and to transfer assets from already failed institutions to solvent ones. The plan proved astronomically expensive, and taxpayers footed costs that eventually reached around $125 billion. Meanwhile, the process by which large, well-connected commercial banks purchased the remaining assets of bankrupt S & Ls at bargain-basement prices reeked of corruption and scandal. As a result of the S & L debacle of the 1980s, the banking industry went through a sudden, unplanned consolidation. Many people lost savings.

The Reagan administration also sought a somewhat more limited role for government in social welfare spending. It decreased funding for various kinds of public-benefit programs, particularly Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The Family Support Act of 1988 pressured states to inaugurate work-training programs and to begin moving people, including mothers receiving AFDC payments, off the welfare rolls. Reductions in food stamps and other programs increased poverty rates and fell disproportionately on female-headed households and on children. By the end of the 1980s, one of every five children was growing up in a household where the income fell below the official poverty line.

The president nevertheless steadfastly rejected suggestions of eliminating the basic set of New Deal programs that he called a "social safety net." Specifically, he rejected calls for curtailing the Social Security or Medicare systems. During the 1970s Social Security payments had been "indexed" to automatically increase along with the rate of inflation. Larger Social Security checks, along with Medicare benefits, enabled millions of Americans over 65 to do relatively well during the Reagan years.

The Reagan administration also placed its stamp on the federal legal system, nudging it in a more conservative direction. Almost immediately, Reagan nominated a Supreme Court justice, Sandra Day O'Connor (the first woman to sit on the Court), who appeared to be a conservative. With the Republican Party controlling the Senate until 1986, Reagan also named prominent conservative jurists, such as Robert Bork and Antonin Scalia, to lower federal courts. The New Right, which had decried the "rights revolution" of the Warren Supreme Court, welcomed the influx of conservative judges. Civil libertarians, by contrast, complained that the federal courts were becoming less hospitable to the legal-constitutional arguments of criminal defendants, labor unions, and political dissenters.

In 1986 the resignation of Warren Burger allowed Reagan to elevate **William Rehnquist** to the position of chief justice and appoint Antonin Scalia, a staunch conservative, to replace Rehnquist as an associate justice. In 1987 however, the Senate, now with a Democratic majority following the 1986 elections, rebuffed Reagan's attempt to place Robert Bork, a particular favorite of the New Right, on the High Court. Bork's rejection enraged conservatives, some blaming Reagan for not working hard enough on Bork's behalf. Still, by 1990, because of retirements, about half of all federal judges had reached the bench during Ronald Reagan's presidency. Reagan also sought out staunch conservatives for non-judicial appointments. He staffed the Justice Department with young attorneys, such as John Roberts and Samuel Alito, who expressed a desire to help conservative judges whittle back Warren-era judicial precedents.

Despite sometimes sharp criticism, especially over the soaring federal deficit, the widening gap between rich and poor, and the role that government should play in regulation and welfare, Reagan remained popular. His genial optimism seemed unshakable. His smile, jokes, and confident air disarmed and inspired many. He even appeared to rebound quickly—although close observers noted a clear decline in his energies—after being shot by a would-be assassin in March 1981. No matter what problems beset his administration, criticism rarely stuck to Reagan, whom one frustrated Democrat dubbed the "Teflon president."

Reagan to Bush

Democrats continually underestimated Reagan's appeal—a miscalculation that doomed their 1984 presidential effort. Walter Mondale, Jimmy Carter's vice president, ran on a platform calling for "the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life" and for an expansion of social welfare programs. Mondale proposed higher taxes to fund this agenda and chose as his running mate Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York, the first woman to stand for president or vice president on a major party ticket.

Republican campaign ads—often framed by the slogan "It's Morning Again in America"—portrayed a glowing landscape of bustling small towns and lush farmlands. They attacked Mondale's support from labor unions and civil rights groups as a vestige of the "old politics" of "special interests" and his tax proposal as a return to the policies popularly associated with the stagflation of the 1970s. The

1984 presidential election ended with Mondale, who projected the opposite of charisma, carrying only his home state of Minnesota and the District of Columbia.

Reagan never lacked for critics during his second term. Even some of his New Right supporters charged that he was insufficiently zealous in promoting Bork's appointment, antiabortion efforts, and other causes. Still, conservatives would increasingly hail Ronald Reagan as a giant of their movement. Indeed, the Reagan revolution succeeded in advancing a new Republican agenda that helped change the nation's political vocabulary. Democrats had once invoked "liberalism" to stand for governmental initiatives to stimulate the economy, promote greater equality, and advance liberty for all. Republicans, however, deployed the term "liberal" as a code word for wasteful social programs devised by a bloated federal government that gouged hardworking people and squandered their tax dollars. By contrast, the new Republican Party that coalesced behind Reagan advanced the term "conservative" to stand for economic growth through the curtailment of governmental power and support for traditional sociocultural values. By the end of Reagan's presidency, the once-dominant Democratic Party of the New Deal, Fair Deal, and Great Society confronted a strong and refashioned Republican Party.

In the election of 1988, the Reagan legacy fell to the president's heir-apparent, Vice President **George H. W. Bush.** Born into a wealthy Republican family and educated at Yale, Bush had prospered in the oil business, served in the House of Representatives, and headed the CIA. To court the New Right, decidedly lukewarm to his candidacy, he pledged "no new taxes" and chose Senator J. Danforth (Dan) Quayle, a youthful conservative from Indiana, as a running mate. Quayle would soon delight political comedians who highlighted his verbal blunders.

Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts emerged as the Democratic presidential candidate. Hoping to distance himself from the disastrous Mondale-Ferraro effort in 1984, Dukakis avoided talk of new domestic programs and higher taxes. Instead, he pledged to bring competence and honesty to the White House.

Although Bush emerged the winner, Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress. The turnout was the lowest for any national election since 1924, and polls suggested that many voters remained unimpressed with either Bush or Dukakis.

Once in the White House, Bush began to lose crucial support. He angered New Right Republicans by agreeing to an increase in the minimum wage and by failing to veto a law that allowed for some affirmative action in the hiring of women and people of color into occupations where they were underrepresented. The Religious Right detected tepid support from the president in its campaigns against abortion and in favor of religious prayers in public schools. Most important, in 1990 Bush broke his "no new taxes" campaign pledge. Taxation had emerged as one of the New Right's central issues, even though Reagan himself had raised taxes during his second term. When Bush agreed to an upward revision in tax rates, trying to deal with the still-rising federal deficit, the New Right bitterly denounced his decision.

Meanwhile, the Democratic-controlled Congress and the Republican-occupied White House deadlocked over how to address key domestic issues such as reorganization of the health care and social welfare systems. Worse for the president's political future, the economic growth of the Reagan years began slowing while the budget deficit continued to grow. George H. W. Bush's popularity and his chances for a second term dwindled. Meanwhile, both the Reagan and then Bush

presidencies participated in one of the most momentous changes of the 20th century—the end of the Cold War.

Renewing and Ending the Cold War

In foreign policy, Reagan promised to reverse what he derided as Carter's passivity. He declared that the Vietnam War had been a "noble cause" that politicians had refused to win. Renewing the rhetoric of strident anticommunism, Reagan denounced the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and promised a military buildup to confront communism. This renewal of the Cold War, however, proved short lived. By the late 1980s, a variety of internal and external circumstances brought communist regimes under unsustainable pressure. Reagan had begun his presidency by renewing the Cold War; but he and his successor, George H. W. Bush, also presided over its end.

The Defense Buildup

In response to his campaign promises, Reagan's administration led off with dramatic increases in military spending, even as tax cuts reduced federal revenues. The Pentagon enlarged the Navy and expanded strategic nuclear forces, deploying new missiles throughout Western Europe. At the height of Reagan's military buildup, which produced gaping budget deficits, the Pentagon was purchasing about 20 percent of the nation's manufacturing output.

In 1983 Reagan proposed the most expensive defense system in history: a space-based shield against incoming missiles. Beginning as a vague hope, this **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)** soon had its own Pentagon agency, which sought $26 billion, over five years, for research costs alone. Controversy swirled around SDI. Skeptics dubbed it "Star Wars" and shuddered at its astronomical costs. Although most scientists dismissed the plan as too speculative, Congress voted appropriations for SDI, and Reagan steadfastly insisted that a defensive missile shield could work. Reagan also suggested that, as Moscow increased the burden on its own fragile economy in order to compete in the accelerating arms race, the Soviet Union might collapse under the economic strain. SDI dominated both strategic debates at home and arms talks with the Soviets.

Reagan's foreign policy agenda included numerous nonmilitary initiatives. A new "informational" offensive funded conservative media groups around the world and established Radio Martí, a Florida station beamed at Cuba and designed to discredit Fidel Castro's communist government. When the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted an allegedly anti-American tone, Reagan cut off U.S. contributions to this agency. The White House also championed free markets, pressing other nations to minimize tariffs and restrictions on foreign investment. The Caribbean Basin Initiative, for example, rewarded with aid small nations in the Caribbean region that adhered to free-market principles.

The CIA, headed by William Casey, stepped up its covert activities. Some became so obvious they hardly qualified as covert. It was no secret, for instance, that the United States sent aid to anticommunist forces in Afghanistan, many of them radical Islamic fundamentalist groups. The CIA also helped train and support the *contras* in Nicaragua, a military force fighting to topple the *Sandinista* government. To contain the power of Iran, assistance went to its bitter enemy, Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Many of these moves would, in the future, have unintended and unwelcome consequences for U.S. policy.

Deploying Military Power

In renewing the global Cold War, Reagan promised military support to "democratic" revolutions anywhere, a move designed to contain the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. Reagan's UN ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, wrote that "democratic" forces included almost any movement, no matter how autocratic, that was anticommunist. The United States thus funded opposition forces in countries aligned with the Soviet Union: Ethiopia, Angola, South Yemen, Cambodia, Guatemala, Grenada, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua. Reagan called the participants in such anticommunist insurgencies "freedom fighters," although few displayed any visible commitment to democratic values or institutions.

The Reagan administration also deployed U.S. military power, initially in southern Lebanon in 1982. Here, Israeli troops faced off against Islamic groups supported by Syria and Iran. Fearing loss of influence within Lebanon, the Reagan administration convinced Israel to withdraw and sent 1,600 U.S. Marines as part of an international "peacekeeping force." Islamic militias, however, turned against the U.S. forces. After a massive truck bomb attack against a military compound killed 241 U.S. troops, mostly Marines, in April 1983, Reagan decided to end this ill-defined undertaking. In February 1984 Reagan ordered the withdrawal of U.S. troops and disengaged from Lebanon.

Another military intervention seemed more successful. In October 1983 Reagan sent 2,000 U.S. troops to the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, whose socialist leader was forging ties with Castro's Cuba. U.S. troops swept aside Grenada's government and installed one friendlier to U.S. policies.

Buoyed by Grenada, the Reagan administration fixed its sights on Nicaragua. Here, the Marxist-leaning *Sandinista* government was trying to break Nicaragua's dependence on the United States. The Reagan administration responded with economic pressure, a propaganda campaign, and greater assistance to the *contras*. These initiatives stirred considerable controversy, however, because of mounting evidence of the *contras'* corruption and brutality. Finally, Democrats in Congress broke with the president's policy and barred additional military aid to the *contras,* a group that Reagan had once compared to America's own Founding Fathers. Policymakers in the administration then encouraged wealthy American conservatives and foreign governments to help fund the *contra* cause.

Meanwhile, violence continued to escalate throughout the Middle East. Militant Islamic groups increased attacks against Israel and Western powers. Bombings and kidnappings of Westerners became more frequent. Apparently, Libya's Muammar al-Qaddafi and Iranian leaders encouraged such activities. In the spring of 1986 the United States launched an air strike into Qaddafi's personal compound. It killed his young daughter, but Qaddafi and his government survived. Despite what looked like a long-range assassination attempt against a foreign leader, an action outlawed by Congress, Americans generally approved of using strong measures against sponsors of terrorism and hostage taking.

The Iran-*Contra* Controversy

In November 1986 a magazine in Lebanon reported that the Reagan administration was selling arms to Iran in order to secure the release of Americans being held hostage by Islamic militants. These alleged deals violated the Reagan administration's own pledges against selling arms to Iran or rewarding hostage taking by negotiating for the release of captives. During the 1980 campaign, of course, Reagan had made

History Through Film

The First Movie-Star President

Ronald Reagan began his presidency in Hollywood. The political career of the "Great Communicator" built on, rather than broke away from, his days in the entertainment industry. His media advisers could count on directing a seasoned professional. Reagan always knew where to stand; how to deliver lines effectively; how to convey emotions through both body language and dialogue; and when to melt into the background so that other players in the cast of his presidency might carry a crucial scene.

Several of Reagan's movies provided rehearsals for roles he would play in the White House. Initially, Reagan's opponents thought that his old film parts, particularly in *Bedtime for Bonzo* (1947), where he co-starred with a chimpanzee, would be political liabilities. Instead of disavowing his days in Hollywood, Reagan accentuated his fluency with film-related imagery. His efforts to cheer on the nation during the 1980s consciously invoked his favorite film role, that of the 1920s Notre Dame football star, George Gipp, who Reagan played in *Knute Rockne, All American* (1940). Similarly, when tilting with a Democratic-controlled Congress over tax policy, Reagan invoked Clint Eastwood's famous screen character "Dirty Harry," promising to shoot down any tax increase. "Go ahead, make my day," he taunted. On another occasion, he cited *Rambo* (1982), an action thriller set in post-1975 Vietnam as a possible blueprint for dealing with countries that had seized U.S. hostages. As he freely drew from Hollywood motion pictures, Reagan occasionally seemed unable to separate "reel" from "real" life. During one session with reporters, he referred to his own dog as "Lassie," the canine performer who had been Reagan's Hollywood contemporary during the 1940s and 1950s.

Life in Hollywood also provided a prologue to President Reagan's conservative policies. Early in his film career, Reagan appeared in four films as the same character, a government agent named "Brass Bancroft." In these B-grade thrillers, Reagan developed an image that he later deployed in politics: the action-oriented character who could distinguish (good) friends from (evil) foes. *Murder in the Air* (1940), one of the Brass Bancroft movies, even featured a science fiction-style "death ray" that resembled the SDI ("Star Wars") armaments that President Reagan would champion more than 40 years later.

Subsequent film roles refined his Hollywood image. Poor eyesight kept Reagan out of combat during the Second World War, but he served long hours as an Army Air Corps officer, producing movies in support of the war effort. He appeared in several films, such as *For God and Country* (1943), and more often provided upbeat voiceovers, once even sharing a soundtrack with President

hostages in Iran a symbol of U.S. weakness under Carter. When Iranian-backed groups continued to kidnap Americans during Reagan's own presidency, it seemed that Reagan had sought clandestine ways to recover hostages and avoid such charges being leveled at him.

As Congress began to investigate, the story became more bizarre. It appeared that the operatives in the Reagan administration had not only secretly sold arms

Ronald Reagan as the "Gipper" in Knute Rockne, All American.



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Franklin Roosevelt. He also starred, on loan from the Air Corps, in *This Is the Army* (1943), one of the most successful of wartime Hollywood's military-oriented musicals. After the war, Reagan increasingly directed his energies toward Cold War politics in the film capital. His tenure as the anticommunist president of the Screen Actors Guild—and as a secret FBI informant—likely speeded his conversion from New Deal Democrat to right-leaning Republican. In his final onscreen roles Reagan usually portrayed the kind of independent, rugged individualist—often in westerns such as *Law and Order* (1953)—that he would later lionize in his political speeches.

Nancy Reagan, who costarred with her husband in *Hellcats of the Navy* (1957) and later as the nation's First Lady, offered her close-up view of the relationship between Reagan the actor and Reagan the politician: "There are not two Ronald Reagans." During the 1980s Hollywood and Washington, D.C., became embodied in the same character, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

to Iran but had funneled profits from these back-channel deals to the *contra* forces in Nicaragua, thereby circumventing the congressional ban on U.S. military aid. Oliver North, an aide to the national security adviser, had directed the effort, working with international arms dealers and private go-betweens. North's covert activities seemingly violated both the official policy of the White House and an act of Congress.

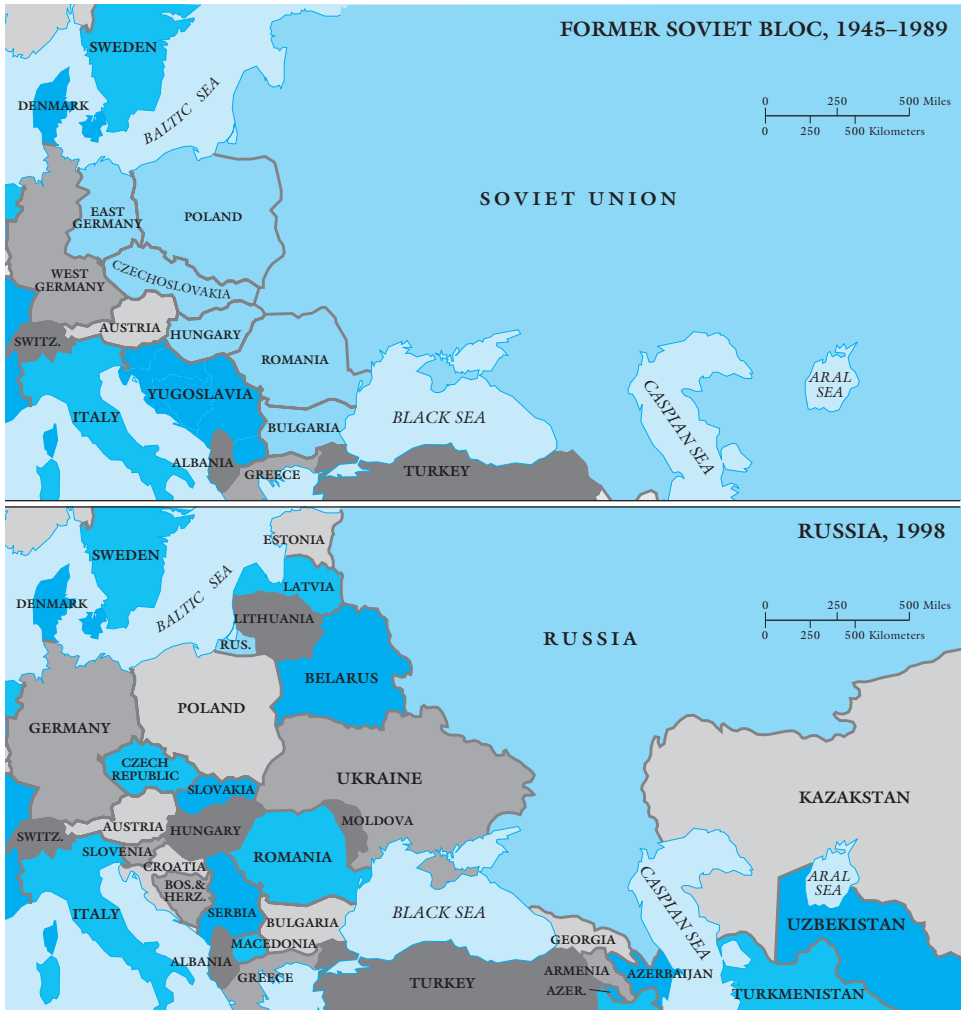
This **Iran-*contra* affair** never reached the proportions of the Watergate scandal. In contrast to Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan stepped forward and testified, through a deposition, that he could not recall any details about either the release of hostages or the funding of the *contras*. His management skills might deserve criticism, Reagan admitted, but he had never intended to break any laws or violate any presidential promise. Vice President George H. W. Bush, whom investigators initially linked to Oliver North's machinations, also claimed ignorance. North and several others in the Reagan administration were convicted of felonies, including falsification of documents and lying to Congress, but appellate courts later overturned these verdicts. North destroyed so many documents and left so many false paper trails that congressional investigators struggled even to compile a simple narrative of his activities. Finally, in 1992, just a few days before the end of his presidency, George H. W. Bush pardoned six former Reagan-era officials connected to the Iran-*contra* controversy.

The Cold War Eases

After six years of renewed Cold War confrontation, Reagan's last two years saw a sudden thaw in U.S.–Soviet relations. The economic cost of superpower rivalry was burdening both nations. Moreover, political change swept the Soviet Union and eliminated reasons for confrontation. **Mikhail Gorbachev,** who became general secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, promised a new style of Soviet leadership. He understood that his nation faced economic stagnation and environmental problems brought on by decades of poorly planned industrial development. To redirect the Soviet Union's course, he withdrew troops from Afghanistan, reduced commitments to Cuba and Nicaragua, proclaimed a policy of *glasnost* ("openness"), and began to implement *perestroika* ("economic liberalization") at home.

Gorbachev's policies gained him acclaim throughout the West, and summit meetings with the United States yielded breakthroughs in arms control. At Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, Reagan shocked both Gorbachev and his own advisers by proposing a wholesale ban on nuclear weapons. Although negotiations at Reykjavik stumbled over Soviet insistence that the United States abandon SDI, Gorbachev later dropped that condition. In December 1987, Reagan and Gorbachev signed a major arms treaty that reduced each nation's supply of intermediate-range missiles and allowed for on-site verification, which the Soviets had never before permitted. The next year, Gorbachev scrapped the policy that forbade nations under Soviet influence from renouncing Communism. In effect, he declared an end to the Cold War.

Within the next few years, communist states began to topple like dominoes, falling out of the Soviet sphere of influence. In 1989, the first year of George H. W. Bush's presidency, Poland made the most significant move when its anticommunist labor movement, Solidarity, ousted a pro-Soviet regime. The pro-Moscow government in East Germany fell in November 1989. Both West and East Germans hacked down the Berlin Wall and then began the difficult process of reunifying Germany as a single nation. Popular movements similarly forced out communist governments throughout Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia quickly disintegrated, and warfare ensued as rival ethnic groups recreated separate states in Slovenia, Serbia,



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MAP 30.2 Collapse of the Soviet Bloc

These contrasting maps show the Soviet Union and the countries it dominated before and after the fall of communist governments. What countries in Eastern Europe escaped Russian control after 1989? What new countries emerged out of the old Soviet Union?

Bosnia, and Croatia. Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, which had been under Soviet control since the Second World War, declared their independence.

Most dramatically, the major provinces that had anchored the Soviet Union assumed self-government. The president of the new state of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, put down a coup by hard-line communists in August 1991, and he soon solidified his political position. In December 1991 Yeltsin brokered a plan to abolish the Soviet Union and replace it with 11 separate republics, loosely joined in a commonwealth arrangement.

Post-Cold War Policy and the Persian Gulf War

In response, the Bush administration set about redefining U.S. national security in a post-Cold War era. The collapse of the Soviet Union weakened support for the leftist insurgencies in Central America that had so preoccupied the Reagan administration. Nicaraguans voted out the *Sandinistas,* who became just another political party in a multiparty system. The Pentagon pondered new military missions, imagining rapid, sharply targeted strikes rather than lengthy, conventional campaigns. The armed forces assessed how they would serve in the "war against drugs," an effort that Bush had suggested during his 1988 presidential campaign.

General Manuel Noriega, the president of Panama, was deeply involved in the drug trade, and the Reagan administration had secured an indictment against him for international narcotics trafficking. Confronting Noriega posed a potentially embarrassing problem for the Bush administration. The anticommunist general had been recruited as a CIA "asset" during the mid-1970s, when Bush had headed the Agency. Nevertheless, the United States needed a friendly and a stable government in Panama in order to complete the transfer of the Panama Canal to Panamanian sovereignty in 2000. Bush finally decided to topple the mercurial Noriega. During "Operation Just Cause," U.S. Marines landed in Panama in December 1989 and laid siege to the president's headquarters. Noriega soon surrendered, was extradited to Florida, and went to prison after a 1992 conviction for trafficking in cocaine.

The Panamanian operation carried major implications. Deposing the leader of a foreign government by unilateral military action raised questions of international law, but this operation, which involved 25,000 U.S. troops and few casualties, provided a model for the post-Cold War era. The Pentagon firmed up plans for creating highly mobile, rapid deployment forces. A test of its new strategy came during the Persian Gulf War of 1991.

On August 2, 1990, Iraq's Saddam Hussein ordered his troops to occupy the neighboring oil-rich emirate of Kuwait. U.S. intelligence analysts had been caught off guard, and they now warned that Iraq's next target might be Saudi Arabia, the largest oil exporter in the Middle East and a longtime U.S. ally.

Moving swiftly, Bush orchestrated a multilateral, international response. Four days after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, he launched Operation Desert Shield by sending several hundred thousand U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia. Bush convinced the Saudi government, concerned about allowing Western troops on sacred Islamic soil, to accept a U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia. After consulting with European leaders, Bush approached the UN, which denounced Iraqi aggression, ordered economic sanctions against Iraq, and authorized the United States to lead an international force into the Gulf region if Saddam Hussein's troops did not withdraw from Kuwait.

Bush assembled a massive coalition force, ultimately nearly 500,000 troops from the United States and some 200,000 from other countries. He claimed a moral obligation to rescue Kuwait, and his policymakers also spoke frankly about the economic threat that Hussein's aggression posed for the oil-dependent economies of the United States and its allies. These arguments persuaded Congress to approve a resolution backing the use of force.

In mid-January 1991 the United States launched an air war against Iraq and, after a period of devastating aerial bombardment, began a ground offensive in late

February. Coalition forces, enjoying air supremacy, decimated Saddam Hussein's armies in a matter of days. U.S. casualties were relatively light (148 combat deaths). Estimates of Iraqi casualties ranged from 25,000 to 100,000 deaths. Although this **Persian Gulf War** lasted scarcely six weeks, it took an enormous toll on highways, bridges, communications, and other infrastructure facilities in both Iraq and Kuwait.

In a controversial decision, Bush stopped short of ousting Saddam Hussein, a goal that the UN had never approved and that U.S. military planners considered too costly and risky. Instead, the United States, backed by the UN, maintained its economic pressure, ordered the dismantling of Iraq's capability to produce nuclear and bacteriological weapons, and enforced "no-fly" zones over northern and southern Iraq to help protect the Kurds and Shi'a Muslims from Hussein's continued persecution. The Persian Gulf War temporarily boosted George H. W. Bush's popularity. An increasingly vocal and influential group of critics, however, argued that Saddam Hussein should have been overthrown. Ten years later, with President Bush's son as president, they would get another chance.

Bush's economic foreign policy, although less visible than his leadership during the Persian Gulf War, comprised a key part of his post-Cold War vision. It pressed a program of international economic integration. During the mid-1980s huge debts that Third World nations owed to U.S. institutions had threatened the international banking system, but most of these obligations had been renegotiated by the early 1990s. Market economies, which replaced centrally planned ones, began to emerge in former communist states. Western Europe moved toward economic integration. Most nations of the Pacific Rim experienced steady economic growth. The president supported (but was unable to pass) a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which proposed to eliminate tariff barriers and join Canada, the United States, and Mexico together in the largest free-market zone in the world.

Ultimately, however, voters judged Bush's record on foreign affairs as something of a muddle. He had organized an international coalition against Iraq, assisted a peaceful post-Cold War transition in Russia and Eastern Europe, and embraced global economic integration. Despite these successes, the president publicly projected indecisiveness. The United States remained on the sidelines as full-scale warfare erupted among the states of the former Yugoslavia, with Serbs launching a brutal campaign of territorial aggrandizement and "ethnic cleansing" against Bosnian Muslims. In Africa, when severe famine wracked Somalia, Bush ordered U.S. troops to secure supply lines for humanitarian aid, but the American public remained wary of this military mission. As the old goal of containing the Soviet Union became irrelevant, George H. W. Bush failed to effectively articulate new ones that might inspire voters.

The Election of 1992

The inability to project a coherent vision for either domestic or foreign policy threatened Bush's reelection and forced concessions to the New Right. Dan Quayle, although clearly a liability with voters outside his conservative constituency, returned as Bush's running mate. The president allowed New Right activists, who talked about "a religious war" for "the soul of America" and pictured Democrats as the enemy of family values, to dominate the 1992 Republican National Convention. Conservative Democrats and independents that supported Ronald Reagan and Bush in the previous three presidential elections, found this rhetoric unsettling and looked back toward the Democratic side.

Bush's Democratic challenger, Governor William Jefferson Clinton of Arkansas, stressed economic issues. Campaigning as a "New Democrat," Bill Clinton promised job creation, deficit reduction, and an overhaul of the nation's healthcare system. Sounding almost like a Republican, Clinton pledged to shrink the size of government and to "end this [welfare] system as we know it." "People who can work ought to go to work, and no one should be able to stay on welfare forever," he insisted. This rhetoric made it difficult for Bush to label Clinton as a "big government liberal."

Clinton's focus on the economy helped deflect attention from the sociocultural issues on which he was vulnerable. As a college student, he had avoided service in Vietnam and, while in England as a Rhodes Scholar, had demonstrated against the Vietnam War. When Bush, a decorated veteran of the Second World War, challenged the patriotism of his Democratic challenger, Clinton countered by emphasizing, rather than repudiating, his roots in the 1960s. He appeared on MTV and touted his devotion to (relatively soft) rock music. In addition, he chose Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, a Vietnam veteran, as his running mate.

The 1992 election brought Clinton a surprisingly easy victory. The quixotic campaign of Ross Perot, a Texas billionaire who financed his own third-party run, took votes from both insider Bush and outsider Clinton. With Perot in the race, Clinton garnered only 43 percent of the popular vote but won 370 electoral votes by carrying 32 states and the District of Columbia. Bush won a majority only among white Protestants in the South. In contrast, Clinton carried the Jewish, African American, and Latino vote by large margins and even gained a plurality among people who had served in the Vietnam War. He also ran well among independents that had supported Reagan and Bush during the 1980s. Perhaps most surprising, about 55 percent of eligible voters went to the polls, a turnout that reversed 32 years of steady decline in voter participation.

The Politics of Social Movements

The activism associated with the 1960s became firmly embedded in most areas of American life in the decades that followed. The proliferation of locally based activism, often focused on neighborhood-related projects, such as safer streets and cleaner parks, prompted one historian to see a "backyard revolution" taking place during the 1970s and 1980s. Even the U.S. Congress, hardly an institution inclined to fund domestic revolutions, recognized the value of locally based activism and created, in 1978, the National Consumer Cooperative Bank. Legislators envisioned it providing loans to support grass-roots enterprises. By the early 21st century, virtually every public forum featured the influence, and the clash, of activists who claimed to represent some particular constituency or goal.

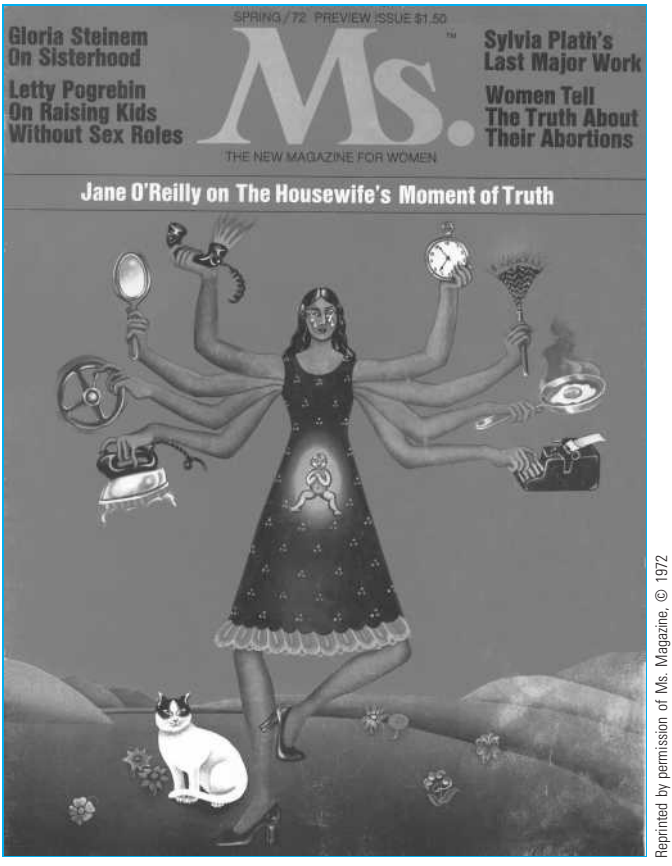
Mass demonstrations reminiscent of those against the Vietnam War remained one tool of advocacy and protest. Both anti-abortion and pro-choice forces, for example, regularly demonstrated in Washington, D.C. During the 1980s, the Clamshell Alliance conducted a campaign of civil disobedience against a nuclear reactor being built in Seabrook, New Hampshire, and a coalition of West Coast activists waged a lengthy, unsuccessful struggle to close the University of California's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, which was developing nuclear weapons. In nearly every major city and many smaller towns, women's groups staged annual Take Back the Night rallies to call attention to the issue of sexual assault.

The media increasingly ignored most mass demonstrations, however, unless they sparked violent conflict. In 1991, for example, 30,000 Korean Americans staged a march for racial peace in Los Angeles. Although it was the largest demonstration ever conducted by any Asian American group, even the local media failed to cover it. Only C-Span, a niche network devoted to public affairs programming, provided minimal coverage of events of social and political protest. Social activism from all parts of the political spectrum and all sections of the country, in short, did not go away during the 1980s, but it did take forms less reliant than during the Sixties on media spectacles.

Women's Issues In this political environment, women's groups adopted a range of methods to rally new supporters and re-energize their core constituencies. Struggles over gender-related issues had emerged within the labor movement and the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s. Initially, many of the men involved in these causes complained that issues of gender equality interfered with broader fights to redirect labor, racial, or foreign policies. Women, however, insisted on calling attention to their second-class status in movements that claimed to be egalitarian. The spread of the birth control pill during the 1960s gave women greater control over reproductive choices but also complicated the meaning of "sexual freedom." Throughout the 1970s women promoted "consciousness-raising" sessions to discuss how *political* empowerment was inseparable from *personal* power relationships involving housework, child rearing, sexuality, and economic independence. "The personal is political" became a watchword for the new women's movement.

The number of groups addressing issues of concern to women continually expanded. As part of the new activism, the National Organization for Women (NOW) became generally identified with the rights-based agenda of the mainstream of the Democratic Party. African American women often formed separate organizations that emphasized issues of cultural and ethnic identity. Chicana groups coalesced within the United Farm Workers' (UFW) movement and other Mexican American organizations. Lesbians also organized their own groups, often allying with an emerging gay rights movement. Many U.S. feminist organizations joined with groups in other nations on behalf of international women's rights. Although never embracing the word "feminism," conservative women also played important leadership roles in causes associated with the New Right.

With agendas often varying along lines of class, race, ethnicity, and religion, the women's movement remained highly diverse, but women from different backgrounds often cooperated to build new institutions and networks. Their efforts included battered-women's shelters; health and birthing clinics specializing in women's medicine; rape crisis centers; economic development counseling for women-owned businesses; union-organizing efforts led by women; organizations of women in specific businesses or professions; women and gender studies programs in colleges and universities; and academic journals and popular magazines devoted to women's issues. Pressure for gender equity also affected existing institutions. Country clubs and service organizations began admitting women members. Many Protestant denominations came to accept women into the ministry, and Reform Judaism placed women in its pulpits. Educational institutions adopted "gender-fair" hiring practices and curricula. American women by the beginning of the 21st century lived in an environment significantly different from that of their mothers.



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***Ms.* Debuts.** *Styling itself as "More than a Magazine—a Movement,"* Ms. *has always featured eye-catching covers that help to chart the changing priorities of feminist activists. Initially an experimental offshoot of* New York *magazine,* Ms. *debuted in January 1972, under the editorship of Gloria Steinem, with this surrealistic, vividly symbolic cover.*

Economic self-sufficiency became an especially pressing issue. Increases in AFDC payments and an expansion of the Food Stamp program had boosted social welfare payments for single mothers with children during the 1960s, but the economic dislocations of the following decades undercut the value, measured in constant dollars, of these benefits. Reagan-era budget cuts for social programs also took their toll, especially in urban locales. Homeless shelters, which once catered almost exclusively to single men, began serving growing numbers of women and children. As this feminization of poverty became of major concern, proposals proliferated on the state and federal levels for reshaping patterns of governmental support by limiting direct governmental payments and emphasizing strategies to move women, even those with young children, into the workforce.

The job market, however, remained laced with inequalities. Women constituted 30 percent of the labor force in 1950 and more than 45 percent in 2001. Although women increasingly entered the professions and gained unionized positions (by 2000 nearly 45 percent of union members were women, compared with 18 percent in 1960), the average female worker still earned around 75 cents for every dollar taken home by men. "Glass ceilings" limited women's chances for promotion, and childcare expenses often fell disproportionately on women who worked outside the home.

Sexual harassment on the job became a controversial issue. Most women's groups pressed government and private employers to curtail sexually charged behaviors that they saw demeaning women and exploiting their lack of power vis-à-vis male

supervisors and coworkers. In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that sexual harassment constituted a form of discrimination covered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In 1991, the issue gained national attention when Anita Hill, an African American law professor, accused Clarence Thomas, an African American nominee for the U.S. Supreme Court, of having sexually harassed her when both worked for the federal government. Feminists denounced the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee, which was responsible for considering Thomas's nomination, for failing even to understand, let alone investigate seriously, the issue of sexual harassment. Although the Senate narrowly approved Thomas for the High Court, women's groups mobilized female voters and elected four women as U.S. senators in 1992.

Sexual harassment also became of concern to the U.S. military, which began to recruit women more actively. The service academies accepted female cadets, and women found places within the military hierarchy. Soon, however, revelations about harassment and even sexual assaults against female naval officers by male comrades revealed problems. Attempts by Navy officials to cover up sexual harassment during the 1991 "Tail-hook" convention provoked outrage, and several high-ranking officers were forced to step down.

Sexual Politics Issues involving gays and lesbians also became more public and political. In 1969 New York City police raided the Stonewall Inn, a bar in Greenwich Village with a largely homosexual clientele. Patrons resisted arrest, and the resultant confrontations pitted the neighborhood's gay and lesbian activists, who claimed to be the victims of police harassment, against law enforcement officials.

Historians of sexuality have come to criticize what they call "the Stonewall Narrative," in which events at a single Greenwich Village bar ignited what would become known as the Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgendered (LGBT) movement. Recent studies emphasize that LGBT activism did not suddenly emerge in 1969 but instead grew out of earlier movements, such as the Mattachine Society, and cultural communities such as the Beats (see Chapter 29).

Still, the 1969 events at the Stonewall Inn, because of the prominence they received in mainstream and alternative media, marked an important benchmark in sexual politics. Gay and lesbian activism became an important part of the larger "movement of movements" that continued during the 1970s and 1980s. Thousands of advocacy and support groups, such as New York City's Gay Activist Alliance (GAA), sprang up. As many individuals "came out of the closet," newspapers, theaters, nightspots, and religious groups proudly identified themselves as activists. LGBT communities emerged particularly in larger cities and benefited from a general relaxation of legal and cultural controls over the portrayal and practice of sexuality. They demanded that law enforcement officials treat attacks against them no less seriously than attacks against all other communities. They also asserted constitutional claims to equal access to housing, jobs, and benefits for domestic partners.

One issue, with international implications, was especially urgent. A human immunodeficiency virus produced an immune deficiency syndrome, HIV-AIDS, a contagious disease for which medical science offered virtually nothing in the way of cure. The disease could be transmitted through the careless use of intravenous drugs, tainted blood supplies, and unprotected sexual intercourse. At first, the incidence of HIV-AIDS in the United States was primarily limited to gay men, and activists charged that, as a consequence, cultural and religious conservatives placed a low priority on medical efforts to

understand its causes, check its spread, or devise a cure. The resultant controversy over medical funding galvanized empowerment efforts among LGBT organizations, such as the Aids Coalition to Unleash Power, or ACT UP. With the development of prevention programs and drugs that could combat HIV-AIDS, however, most public figures came to support new efforts both at home and overseas, particularly in Africa, to address HIV-AIDS. It has remained a modern scourge threatening advancement in many parts of the world, but its specific identification with LGBT rights has faded.

Activism Among African Americans

The emphasis on group identity as the fulcrum for social activism became especially strong among racial and ethnic communities. Extending the movement of movements of the 1960s, groups emphasized pride in their distinctive cultural traditions and insisted that differences should be affirmed rather than feared.

Having accomplished many of the legislative goals of the 1960s, African American activists, one observed, were "heading into a completely new era, and we don't know what to make of it." Mobilizing to promote political and economic advancement, however, continued in many directions.

African American leaders became increasingly prominent in national and local politics. One media spotlight fell on the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Jackson had spent the late 1960s in Chicago directing a local effort sponsored by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). After Dr. King's 1968 assassination, Jackson soon clashed with the SCLC's new leadership, and in 1971 he created his own Chicago-based organization, Operation PUSH. One of many local efforts, Operation PUSH pressured public officials and corporations to create jobs and promote community development projects. Abundant media coverage, however, made Reverend Jackson best known for addressing a wide range of national and international issues, including the status of the Palestinians and apartheid in South Africa. During the 1980s, he formed the National Rainbow Coalition to provide a broad geographic and ethnic umbrella for his movement and to facilitate his campaigns for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988. Jackson's efforts garnered some primary victories but made only a minimal impact on national or even Democratic Party politics.

Other types of political activism, however, left a significant imprint on electoral politics during the 1970s and 1980s. The civil rights movement of the 1960s (see Chapter 29) provided the legal-constitutional basis for greater political participation by African Americans, and change came rapidly. In 1970, 13 African American members of Congress established the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to form a common front on a wide range of foreign and domestic issues. Picking up the mantle of A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin's "Freedom Budget" of the 1960s, the CBC regularly issued a hypothetical "Alternative Budget," which targeted more money toward social initiatives. The caucus also campaigned on behalf of better relations between the United States and African nations and took stands on issues, such as inequities in drug sentencing, that particularly affected African Americans.

Hoping to create a more broadly based movement, a diverse group convened in 1972 at a National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana. They pieced together a National Black Political Agenda, a lengthy list of far-reaching social and economic initiatives. The document's divergent goals and conflicting principles ultimately divided more than it unified, but the Gary gathering did anticipate African American

political movements that gained momentum during the two decades that followed. By the end of the 1980s, more than 7,000 African Americans (including nearly 1,500 women) held political office. The year the Voting Rights Act passed, 1965, there had been fewer than 200. Urban centers with significant African American populations, such as Gary and Detroit, elected black mayors, but so did cities such as Denver, where African American candidates successfully formed cross-ethnic alliances. The new direction pursued by the Republican Party during the 1970s and 1980s meant that virtually all of this political activity occurred within Democratic ranks.

In addition to experiencing ballot-box victories, African Americans also moved into government-related employment. By the end of the 1980s, nearly half of all black professionals worked at some level of government or in some public sector position. These jobs provided the economic basis for an expanding African American middle class.

This form of black political activism confronted clear limits. Few mayors, whatever their ethnic identity, could mobilize the economic resources that large cities required to deal with rising crime rates, decaying infrastructures, and galloping inflation. African American voters had been crucial to Jimmy Carter's 1976 victory, and his administration did use CETA job-training money and public works spending to try to stabilize employment opportunities. Still, the stagnant economy under Carter and the urban budget cutting, which characterized the Reagan years, hit African Americans in inner cities with severity.

In addition to political activism, a diverse set of cultural movements sought to build on the identity politics that had emerged during the 1960s. The hyper-violent cycle of "Blaxploitation movies," such as *Shaft* (1971) and *Coffy* (1973), of the 1970s prompted heated debate over whether representing urban black life "like it [supposedly] was," rather than "like it [supposedly] should be," advanced African American interests. The 1980s movies of Spike Lee also created controversy by tackling issues such as politics of gender and "light skin" in African American life. *Do the Right Thing* (1989), arguably an even more ambitious movie—though smaller budgeted—than the epic *Malcolm X* (1991), provided a complex meditation about African American heroes, multiculturalism, law enforcement patterns, and personal activism amidst the uncertainties of urban life in the 1980s.

Prominent academics such as **Henry Lewis Gates, Jr.** worked in another venue to complicate the study of the African American experience and to challenge the movement that advocated creating an "Afrocentric" school curriculum. African American culture, in the view of Gates, was not "a thing apart, separate from the whole, having no influence on the shape and shaping of American culture." Gates insisted on viewing African American authors, such as Toni Morrison and Alice Walker, as writers who take "the blackness of the culture for granted" and use this as "a springboard to write about those human emotions that we share with everyone else." The cultural works of African Americans, in short, could simultaneously be seen as unique and different, *and also* be viewed in relationship to broader cultural traditions.

Activism Among American Indians

Native Americans mounted activist movements along two broad fronts. Indians had, of course, longstanding identities based on their tribal affiliation, and many issues, particularly those involving land and treaty disputes, turned on specific, tribal-based claims. Other questions, which seemed to require strategies that extended beyond a single tribe or band, became identified as "pan-Indian" in nature.

In 1969 people from several tribes began a two-year sit-in designed to dramatize a history of broken treaty promises, at the former federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco harbor. Expanding on this tactic, the American Indian Movement (AIM), created in 1968 by young activists from several Northern Plains tribes, adopted even more confrontational approaches. Violent clashes with both federal officials and older American Indian leaders erupted in 1973 on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. In response, federal officials targeted members of AIM with illegal surveillance and a series of controversial criminal prosecutions.

Meanwhile, important social and legal changes were taking place. In the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which contained several sections that became known as the "Indian Bill of Rights," Congress extended most of the provisions of the constitutional Bill of Rights to Native Americans living on reservations, while reconfirming the legitimacy of tribal laws. Federal legislation and several Supreme Court decisions in the 1970s subsequently reinforced the principle of "tribal self-determination." Tribal identification itself required legal action. By the early 21st century, the federal government officially recognized nearly 600 separate tribes and bands. After 1978 Congress also provided funds for educational institutions that would teach job skills and preserve tribal cultures.

Tapping the expertise of the Native American Rights Fund (NARF), tribes pressed demands that derived from old treaties with the U.S. government. Some campaigns sought recognition of fishing and agricultural rights and often provoked resentment among non-Indians who argued that these claims, based on federal authority, should not take precedence over state and local laws. American Indians also sued to protect tribal water rights and traditional religious ceremonies, some of which included the ritualistic use of drugs such as peyote. In 1990, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which required universities and museums to return human remains and sacred objects to tribes that requested them.

Claiming exemption from state gaming laws, Native Americans began to open bingo halls and then full-blown casinos. In 1988 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states could not prohibit gambling operations on tribal land, and Congress responded with the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. Gambling emerged as one of the most lucrative sectors of the nation's entertainment business, and Indian-owned casinos thrived. Ironically, the glitzy, tribal-owned casinos often financed tribal powwows and other efforts to nurture traditional cultural practices. Sometimes the competition to establish casinos in prime locations prompted intertribal political and legal conflicts.

To forestall the disappearance of native languages, American Indian activists urged bilingualism and renewed attention to tribal rituals. Indian groups also denounced the use of stereotypical nicknames, such as "Chiefs" and "Redskins," and Indian-related logos in amateur and professional sports. The federal government assisted this cultural-pride movement by funding two National Museums of the American Indian, one in New York and the other in Washington, D.C. The National Park Service changed the name of "Custer Battlefield" in Montana to "Little Bighorn Battlefield," redesigning its exhibits to honor American Indian culture.

Activism in Spanish-Speaking Communities

Spanish-speaking Americans, who constituted the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States, highlighted the diversity and complexity of identity. Many Spanish-speaking people, especially in the Southwest, preferred the umbrella term "Latino," whereas others, particularly in Florida, used the term "Hispanic." At the

same time, people the U.S. Census began (in 1980) labeling "Hispanic" most frequently identified themselves according to the specific Spanish-speaking country or commonwealth from which they or their ancestors had immigrated.

Mexican Americans, members of the oldest and most numerous Spanish-speaking group, could tap a long tradition of social activism. The late 1960s saw an emerging spirit of **Chicanismo,** a populist-style pride in a heritage that could be traced back to the ancient civilizations of Middle America. Young activists made "Chicano/a," terms of derision that most Mexican Americans had generally avoided in the past, into a rallying cry.

In cities in the Southwest during the 1970s, advocates of *Chicanismo* gained considerable cultural influence. Members of La Raza Unida, a political party founded in 1967, began to win local elections. At the same time, Mexican American communities experienced a cultural flowering. New Spanish-language newspapers and journals reinforced a growing sense of pride, and many churches sponsored festivals with ethnic dancing, mural painting, poetry, and literature. Mexican Americans successfully pushed for programs in Chicano/a Studies at colleges and universities.

Developments in San Antonio, Texas, a city with a large Mexican American population, suggested the potential fruits of grassroots political organizing. In the 1970s Ernesto Cortes, Jr., took the lead in founding Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), a group that brought the energy and talents of Mexican Americans, particularly women, into the city's public arena for the first time. Mexican American activists worked with Anglo business leaders and Democratic politicians such as Henry Cisneros, who became the city's mayor in 1981. Other locally based organizations formed on the model of COPS, such as United Neighborhood Organization (UNO) in Los Angeles, also worked on community concerns.

On the national level, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), established in 1968, emerged as a highly visible advocacy group ready to lobby or litigate. Professional groups, such as the National Network of Hispanic Women, also proliferated. Mexican American activists, however, became especially well known for their labor-organizing efforts, particularly among farm workers and in the rapidly expanding service sector.

Efforts to organize agricultural workers, who were largely of Mexican and Filipino descent, dramatized both the successes and the difficulties of expanding the union movement to largely immigrant workers. **Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez,** charismatic leaders who emulated the nonviolent tactics of Martin Luther King, Jr., vaulted the United Farm Workers (UFW) into public attention during the 1970s. Chavez undertook personal hunger strikes, and Huerta helped organize well-publicized consumer boycotts of lettuce and grapes to pressure growers into collective bargaining agreements with the UFW. Despite some successes, the UFW steadily lost ground during the later 1970s and the 1980s. Strong anti-union stands by growers and the continued influx of new immigrants eager for work undercut the UFW's efforts. When Chavez died in April 1993, the UFW was struggling.

Social activism among Puerto Ricans in the United States emerged more slowly. Some stateside Puerto Ricans focused their political energy on the persistent "status" question—that is, whether Puerto Rico should seek independence, strive for statehood, or retain a commonwealth connection to the mainland. New York City's Puerto Rican Day Parade became the city's largest ethnic celebration and an important focus of cultural pride. A 1976 report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,



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Mural Art in Chicago. *Themes in Mexican history and culture, inspired by the great Mexican muralists, appeared in Mexican American communities throughout the country.*

however, concluded that Puerto Ricans remained "the last in line" for government-funded benefits and opportunity programs. Over time, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and allied groups helped Puerto Ricans surmount obstacles to the ballot box and political office.

Cuban Americans, who had begun immigrating in large numbers to south Florida after Fidel Castro came to power, generally enjoyed greater access to education and higher incomes. These Cuban immigrants also tended to be politically conservative, generally voted Republican, and lobbied for a hard line toward Castro's communist government. Cuban Americans quickly developed a dense network of institutions that leveraged them into positions of power in Florida politics and civic affairs.

Beneath a common Spanish language, then, lay great diversity in terms of economic status, national and cultural identification, political affiliation, and activist goals and organizations. Established communities that identified with Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba developed a wide range of mobilizing and organizing styles. More recent immigrants from the Dominican Republic and Central America, who were the most economically deprived and the least organized, also began to add their voices and concerns.

Activism Among Asian Americans

Americans of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and other backgrounds began to create an Asian American movement in the 1970s. Organizations such as the Asian Pacific Planning Council (APPCON), founded in 1976, lobbied to obtain government funding for projects that benefited Asian American communities. The Asian Law Caucus, founded during the early 1970s by opponents of U.S.

intervention in Vietnam, and the Committee against Anti-Asian Violence, created a decade later in response to a wave of racially motivated attacks, mobilized for a wide range of legal battles. During the 1970s Asian American studies programs also took shape at colleges and universities, particularly on the West Coast. By the early 1980s, Asian American political activists enjoyed growing influence, especially within the Democratic Party, and began gaining public office.

Emphasizing a broad, Asian American identity, however, raised questions of inclusion, exclusion, and rivalry. Filipino American activists, members of the second largest Asian American group in the United States in 1990, often resisted the Asian American label because they believed that Chinese Americans or Japanese Americans dominated groups such as APPCON. Many people of Filipino descent focused on specific goals, particularly an effort to obtain citizenship and veteran's benefits for former soldiers of the Second World War who had fought against Japan in the Philippines. Japanese American groups also lobbied on behalf of specific issues, and in 1988 Congress formally apologized and voted to approve a reparations payment of $20,000 to every living Japanese American who had been confined in internment camps during the Second World War. Similarly, Hmong and Vietnamese groups pursued their own concerns related to the aftermath of the struggles in Indochina.

Socioeconomic differences often made it difficult to frame a single Asian American agenda. Although many groups showed remarkable upward educational and economic mobility during the late 1980s and early 1990s, immigrants who were especially recent or impoverished often struggled to find jobs that paid more than the minimum wage.

As a result of combined pressure from different ethnic groups, the federal government finally decided to designate "Asian or Pacific Islanders" (API) as a single pan-ethnic category in the censuses of 1990 and 2000. It also provided, however, nine specifically enumerated subcategories (such as Hawaiian or Filipino) and allowed other API groups (such as Hmong or Samoan) to write in their respective ethnic identifications. Thus, the term Asian American—which by the beginning of the 21st century applied to more than 10 million people and dozens of different ethnicities—both reflected, and was challenged by, the new emphasis on ethnic identity.

Anti-Government Activism

Ronald Reagan's first Inaugural Address declared that "government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem." As president, Reagan exempted national security institutions from this principle and rarely applied it literally to basic safety-net programs such as Social Security and Medicare. In the face of budget deficits, Reagan proved willing to raise taxes to support government's expenditures. His claim that government action was almost always harmful, however, did appeal to the all-important New Right segment of the larger Reagan coalition, reason enough for its titular leader to lace his speeches with condemnations of the same government over which he presided. During the 1980s, denunciations of federal power spread throughout the culture, propelled especially by controversies over affirmative action and various regulatory rules.

Affirmative action programs had grown from bi-partisan roots in the administrations of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. Public officials, proponents argued, should act affirmatively to help people who belonged to groups with a shared history of discrimination—especially African Americans, Latinos, and

women—obtain an equitable share of the nation's jobs, public spending, and educational programs. Affirmative action would help compensate for past discrimination and for continued, sometimes hidden, prejudice that laws merely guaranteeing formal equality failed to reach. Advocates of affirmative action emphasized that *any* process of selection inevitably "affirmed" some qualities, such as family or old school lineages, at the expense of others. Efforts at undoing years of discrimination against entire groups of people, in this view, required a complicated, seemingly paradoxical view of what counted as "equal" treatment by government.

Critics of affirmative action, however, began to identify it as one of the most dangerous examples of increased governmental power. They delighted in noting that until the mid-1960s even supporters of civil rights had opposed government officials categorizing individuals according to group identities based on race or ethnicity. They often quoted Dr. King's words about judging people by the "content of their character" rather than the "color of their skin" and argued that government should remain "blind" to color and gender by treating everyone equally. They rejected the claim that policymakers needed to craft special rules or programs in order to eliminate discriminatory barriers to individual opportunity. Even some beneficiaries of these programs, such as the Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, charged that the derogatory label of "affirmative action applicant" threw into question the talents and capabilities of individuals. More broadly, critics of affirmative action programs denounced "set aside" job programs and special educational admission procedures for previously disadvantaged groups as examples of illegal quotas, violations of constitutional guarantees, and even harbingers of totalitarianism. Did not affirmative action *on behalf of* people in some groups always constitute "reverse discrimination" *against* those in others? The claim of reverse discrimination became particularly emotional when members of one affirmative action group, despite apparently inferior scores on aptitude or admissions exams, received preferences for employment or for entry into educational institutions.

In the midst of this controversy, federal courts managed to square affirmative action programs with older antidiscrimination precedents. They struck down affirmative action plans that contained inflexible quotas but upheld ones that made group identity only one of several criteria for making hiring or educational decisions. In the celebrated Supreme Court decision popularly known as the *Bakke* case (1978), a majority of justices endorsed affirmative action. Affirmative action programs in educational settings could pass constitutional muster because they aimed at redressing past discrimination *and* because they contributed to "diversity," an intangible social and psychological quality important in any social, educational, or business environment. Many leaders of corporations, educational establishments, and the military came to endorse this *Bakke* principle: Diversity benefited not just applicants from historically discriminated groups but *all* people who worked within those environments as well as *all* those who relied on their services and expertise.

This apparent acceptance of affirmative action programs, which government power would ultimately enforce, mobilized anti-government activists who opposed such programs. They mounted new informational, as well as political offensives, and found a close ally in New Right radio. During the 1970s the FM dial had become dominated by musical programming, and many AM radio stations switched to an all-talk format. One of the personalities who made the switch was Rush Hudson

Limbaugh, III. Raised in a staunchly conservative Republican family, Limbaugh broke into AM as a radio host in several different markets under (as was the custom) several different names. Then in 1984 Limbaugh took over an already-prominent New Right talk show in California. Four years later, Limbaugh's ability to galvanize anti-government listeners earned him a spot in New York City and propelled him to the top ranks of a rapidly expanding, informal network for anti-government activism.

New Right radio also thrived by attacking federal environmental regulations in the name of defending property rights. During the 1970s, western entrepreneurs associated with the sagebrush rebellion advocated transferring to state and private hands some of the vast amount of land held by the federal government for recreational parks and environmental purposes. Freed of restrictions from Washington, the rebels argued, the land could be developed. As part of a broader effort sometimes called the "wise use movement," they insisted that westerners knew better than far-away government bureaucrats how to make productive use of lands that lay within their states. A parallel effort, the "property rights movement" emerged across much of the country, particularly in areas of scenic beauty and where plans of suburban developers encountered environmental restrictions. Private builders denounced government for insisting on environmental impact assessments, thus limiting the ability of property owners to do what they thought best with their land. In this movement, anti-government activists fought not only regulations from Washington but from any governmental body that claimed the power to regulate the use of private property in the name of some larger public purpose.

The New Right radio programs that denounced government rules flourished within a freshly deregulated communications industry. Beginning in 1949, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the government agency that regulated broadcasting, had required stations to represent a diversity of viewpoints. This "Fairness Doctrine" survived constitutional challenge in the courts. Anti-government activists in the legal community, however, persevered in their effort to overturn the doctrine. In 1986, two conservative jurists, Atonin Scalia and Robert Bork, authored a federal court decision ruling that congress had never given the FCC any authority to mandate fairness. One year later, this decision prompted an FCC dominated by members appointed by Ronald Reagan to eliminate the Fairness Doctrine. New Right radio now enjoyed freedom to ramp up its rhetoric against governmental power.

The overturning of the Fairness Doctrine dovetailed with perhaps the central tenet of the new anti-government activism: "Free markets," not government, provided the best structure for enhancing individual freedom and ensuring social-economic progress. The faith that markets served people better than governments, an idea older than the U.S. Constitution, had taken a considerable hit during the economic disarray of the 1930s. As a consequence, New Dealers had built on a very different conviction popularized under the label of Keynesianism: that government regulation must tame market excesses and prevent them from unleashing irrational and self-destructive forces into the larger political economy (see Chapters 25, 27, and 28). In the 1950s and 1960s, conservative academics such as Milton Friedman had fired away at the Keynesian underpinnings of the New Deal-Great Society governmental structure, but during the 1970s and 1980s, conservatives rolled out much heavier weaponry.

A talented group of activist-academics in the fields of law and economics at the University of Chicago took the lead. The economists crafted highly technical,



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Anti-Abortion Protest, 1989. *Legalized abortions became a major political issue after the 1973 Supreme Court decision in* Roe *v.* Wade. *Here, on the 16th anniversary of* Roe, *protesters assemble in front of the Supreme Court building.*

mathematically complex arguments for ideas that soon became the new economic orthodoxy. Government regulators could never understand the risks from economic activities such as trading stocks or lending money as well as the people who actually worked in the marketplace. Markets almost always got things right, at least in the long run, while government regulators invariably got them wrong. Moreover, governmental bureaucracies such as the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Federal Reserve Board were not really regulating markets in the public interest. Government bureaucrats were just another "special interest" looking out for themselves or for some other interest groups. They seldom acted as honest brokers between contending interests, as the interest-group pluralist model of the 1950s had claimed.

Most importantly, the argument went, bureaucrats armed with the power of government invariably interfered with the most magical quality of free markets—their ability to provide self-correcting mechanisms that allowed a complex economy to run efficiently with little intervention. On those rare occasions when economic markets seemingly failed, such as during the 1930s, the failure would be temporary. From this perspective, the flood of government regulations unleashed during the New Deal era had prolonged, rather than ended, the economic downturn by preventing the free market from correcting itself. Moreover, the continued reliance on government regulation explained the economic malaise of the early 1970s. The market's ability to rebound during the deregulation of the 1980s seemed proof of the new economic assumptions.

A widening circle of academic and legal proponents of these anti-government ideas actively pressed this case. New economic textbooks challenged the Keynesian-oriented ones that had once dominated college and university classrooms. A new legal field, called "law and economics," attracted lawyers and judges (including Bork and Scalia) who began to craft doctrines that accorded with free-market assumptions rather than the pro-regulatory ones that had guided New

Deal-Great Society jurisprudence. Economist-activists carried the case against government regulation into the conservative think tanks, such as the Heritage Foundation, which were helping to shape public policy during the late 1970s and 1980s. Taking advantage of the loosened regulations, the business and financial world began to test the theories of self-regulating markets on Wall Street by devising new modes of investment and creative financial instruments.

By the end of the 1980s, opposition to government had become a prominent feature of American political culture. Although the left-leaning movements of the 1960s still argued for an activist government to promote social equality and economic fairness, they found a significant challenge in those who claimed that reducing the power of government would be the best way to solve social-economic problems and preserve liberty. Within this debate, anti-government activists, like other activists, hardly moved in lockstep. Some cared deeply about opposing new rules for affirmative action; others placed greater priority on economic or environmental deregulation. While remaining a coalition of disparate parts, however, anti-government activism (always linked to anti-tax sentiment) became a powerful force. It drew populist strength from the expertly crafted speeches of Ronald Reagan and the bombast of New Right radio. It found justification within the mathematically informed papers of Nobel Prize winners and top-rung law professors. Successfully challenging the once-dominant political agendas of the Democratic Party, it propelled the mainstream of the Republican Party decidedly rightward, established a strong foothold in public policy and media discussions, and succeeded in remapping the nation's cultural and informational landscape.

Conclusion

The Reagan revolution of the 1980s rested on a conservative movement that had been taking shape for several decades. New Right Republicans distrusted extending federal government power, advocated sharp tax cuts with deregulation, and stressed a sociocultural agenda emphasizing "traditional" values. The dozen years of Republican dominance of the White House, from 1980 to 1992, helped shift the terms of political debate in the United States. The "liberal" label became one that most Democrats sought to avoid. In the international realm, the Reagan and Bush presidencies facilitated the end of the Cold War, a struggle that had defined U.S. foreign policy since the end of the Second World War.

Meanwhile, American society seemed to fragment into specialized identifications. Social activism increasingly organized around sexual, racial, ethnic, and ideological identities. The New Right's stress on limiting the power of government and promoting conservative values increasingly reconfigured discussions about how government power could best promote liberty and equality.

31

Economic, Social, and Cultural Change in the Late 20th Century

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• A Changing People • Economic Transformations • Culture and Media

The final decades of the 20th century brought sweeping change to American life. A dramatic increase in immigration, along with movements of people throughout metropolitan areas and into states in the West and South, altered the demographic landscape. The continuing decline of employment in the manufacturing sector changed the workplace for many Americans. A digital revolution transfigured how people communicated in both the public and private spheres. A vast entertainment-informational complex, with an emphasis on professional sports, also emerged. At the same time, religious life in America became more diverse and more closely intertwined with the nation's politics.

A Changing People

America's population changed significantly during the final three decades of the 20th century, becoming older, more metropolitan, and more ethnically and racially diverse. Moreover, the nation's centers of power continued shifting away from the Northeast and toward the South and West.

An Aging, Shifting Population

During the 1950s, the height of the Baby Boom, the population had grown by 1.8 percent per year; after 1970, even with new waves of immigration and longer life expectancies, the growth rate slowed to about 1 percent per year. Younger people were delaying marriage until well into their 20s; most raised smaller families than had their parents; and many adults remained unmarried for much of their lives.

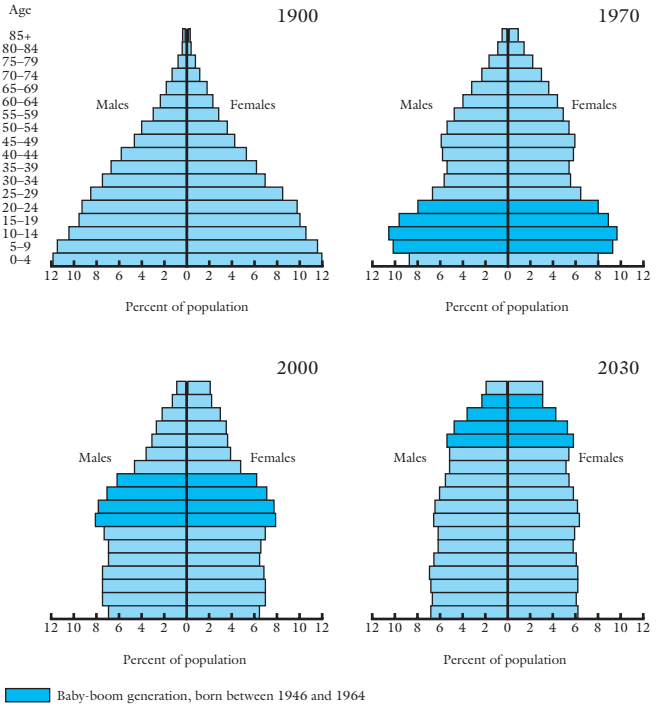
CHRONOLOGY

1971	Starbucks Coffee opens first store
1972	Congress passes Title IX (Patsy Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act)
1973	Federal Express opens for business
1977	Congress passes Community Reinvestment Act
1978	Supreme Court decision frees banks to relocate credit-card operations
1979	ESPN joins the cable TV lineup
1981	MTV and CNN debut on cable TV
1982	Congress relaxes regulations on S&Ls
1986	Congress passes Immigration Reform and Control Act
1987	Prices crash on NY Stock Exchange and then rebound
1988	Fox television network begins
1989	Congress enacts bailout plan for S&L industry
1990	Congress passes another Immigration Act
1991	First McDonald's opens in Moscow
1995	Amazon.com begins selling books online
1996	Fox News Network debuts
2000	Human Genome Project issues preliminary draft

The number of households with at least one child under 18 continually shrank. In 1960, nearly half fell into this category; by 1999, only about a third of U.S. households contained even one person under the age of 18. Consequently, by the mid-1980s, people in the 25–44 age category constituted a larger slice of the U.S. population than any other, and the number of teens to early twenties was relatively small.

The steady rise of the median age of the population brought public policy, as well as personal, dilemmas. As aging baby boomers pondered retirement, policymakers began exploring various ways of covering projected Social Security and Medicare payouts to the Baby Boom generation of retirees. Trend watchers of the 1960s had talked of a "youth revolt." By the end of the 20th century, their counterparts pondered the "graying of America."

The changing geographical distribution of population restructured political and economic power. After 1970, most of the population growth occurred in the South and the West. Nevada, California, Florida, and Arizona became the fastest growing states, and by 2000 more than one in ten Americans lived in California. Between 1990 and 2001, California gained eight seats in the House of Representatives, Florida added six, New York lost five, and several Northeastern states shed two or three. Presidential politics increasingly focused on Florida, Texas, and California. Many reasons helped account for this demographic shift: affordable air-conditioning; the expansion of tourism and new retirement communities; and for businesses, the attraction of lower labor costs and the absence of strong unions.



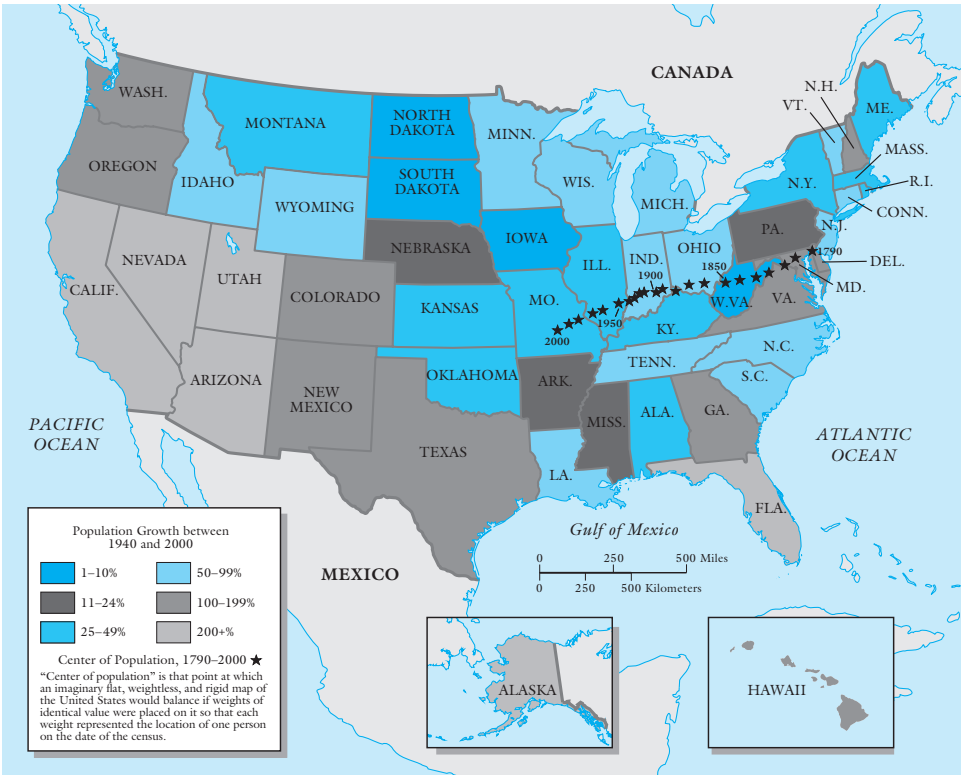
The Aging of America

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Adapted from C. L. Himes, "Elderly Americans," *Population Bulletin* 2002, 56(4), p. 4.

The development of high-tech industries connected to military-related spending and the computer revolution also played an important role. California's Santa Clara County, a once rural area near San Francisco, exemplified the trend. Eventually propelled by spectacular growth in its semiconductor industry and its network of computer-related enterprises, this locale became known as "Silicon Valley" during the early 1970s. It spawned companies such as Google and Yahoo!

The government-financed space program, directed from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) installations in Texas and Florida, signified the shift of research and technology to the Sun Belt. In 1961, President Kennedy had announced plans for the manned Apollo program, and in July 1969, astronaut Neil Armstrong had walked on the lunar surface. Apollo flights continued until 1972, when NASA began to develop a space station. In the 1980s, NASA started operating space shuttles, manned craft that served as scientific laboratories in outer space and could be flown back to earth for reuse. In early 1986, the program suffered a tragic setback when a *Challenger* shuttle exploded shortly after liftoff. After a hiatus of more than two years, the program resumed its operations, with new safety procedures in place.

Individual entrepreneurs and giant corporations also migrated to the Sun Belt and crafted multiple versions of a single product: *entertainment*. The Sun Belt featured a host of "magical" places such as Disneyland and Las Vegas. These tourist destinations predated the 1970s, but they boomed during the final decades of the 20th century. The sundrenched sites constantly expanded their offerings in search of ever-larger crowds



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MAP 31.1 Population Shifts Toward the Sun Belt

In the era after the Second World War, Americans gravitated toward the South and West. Which states grew the fastest? What might be some of the causes and consequences of such population shifts?

and ever-greater profits. An enlarged version of Disneyland in Florida, Walt Disney World, opened in 1971. From the 1970s through the 1990s Las Vegas morphed from an underworld-controlled outpost for sin, a jungle with green felt gaming tables, into an entertainment magnet that added family-oriented attractions to the mix. A spectacle itself, Las Vegas hosted other spectacles: architecture that replicated the world's greatest cities, past and present; performers that came from every area of show business; art collections that rivaled those in museums; and luxurious resort-hotels that could house and feed thousands of guests. The Las Vegas "strip," retrofitted with mass transit, remained a round-the-clock entertainment venue that spawned smaller-scale versions in other cities.

The New Immigration

A dramatic increase in immigration from countries mostly to the south and west of the United States accounted for much of the U.S. population growth in the late 20th century. The vast bulk of post-1970 immigration came from Asia, Oceania, Latin America, and Africa rather than from Europe, which had previously been the primary source of immigrants. In 2000, roughly 12 percent of the U.S. population had been born outside the United States, compared to the all-time high of 15 percent in 1890.

The largest number of non-European immigrants came from Mexico. Responding to labor shortages in the United States and poor economic prospects at home, immigration from Mexico rose substantially in every decade. Many immigrants from Mexico arrived as seasonal agricultural workers, but most formed permanent communities. Ninety percent of all Mexican Americans lived in the Southwest, primarily Texas and California.

Most people moving from Puerto Rico to the mainland settled around New York City, but sizeable Puerto Rican communities developed in Chicago and in cities in New England and Ohio as well. The economic problems of the 1970s prompted some to return to the island, but the flow reversed again after about 1980. By 2000, the Puerto Rican population on the U.S. mainland totaled about 3 million, compared to a population of nearly 4 million in Puerto Rico.

Cubans had begun immigrating in large numbers in response to Fidel Castro's revolution. In 1962, Congress had designated people fleeing from Castro's Cuba as refugees eligible for admittance, and during the next 20 years, more than 800,000 Cubans from every strata of society came to the United States. They gradually moved northward into many major American cities, but the greatest impact was in south Florida. An agreement with Castro in 1995 brought the first U.S. restrictions on the flow of immigrants from Cuba. By 2000, however, about half of all Miamians were of Cuban descent.

The number of Spanish-speaking people in the United States at the end of the 20th century exceeded that of all but four countries of Latin America. Los Angeles became the second largest "Mexican city" in the world, trailing only Mexico City, and its Salvadoran population just about equaled that of San Salvador. More Puerto Ricans lived in New York City than in San Juan, and the Big Apple's Dominican population rivaled that of Santo Domingo.

The broad changes in immigration patterns began with the landmark **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965**, which spurred not only population growth but diversity as well. Since the 1920s, rates of immigration were determined by quotas based on national origin (see Chapter 24). The 1965 act abolished these. Instead, it placed a ceiling of 20,000 immigrants for every country, gave preference to people with close family ties in the United States, and accorded priority to those with special skills and those classified as "refugees." Although largely unforeseen at the time, this legislation laid the basis for not only a resumption of high-volume immigration but also for a substantial shift in region of origin.

International events also affected U.S. immigration policy. Following the American withdrawal from Vietnam, for example, U.S. officials facilitated the admittance of many Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong (an ethnically distinct people who inhabited lands extending across the borders of these three Asian countries). The goal was to resettle some of the people who had allied with the United States during the Vietnam War and whose families were consequently in peril.

In response to the growing number of people seeking admission to the United States, Congress passed the Refugee Act of 1980. It favored political refugees, "those fleeing overt persecution," over people seeking simply to improve their economic circumstances. In practice, U.S. officials interpreted the terms "political" and "economic" so that people leaving communist regimes were admitted but those fleeing right-wing dictatorships were turned away or deported. For example, Cubans and Soviet Jews were admitted, but Haitians often were not. Many Guatemalans and Salvadorans, hoping to escape repressive military governments backed by the United States during the 1980s, stood little chance of being admitted.

Immigration became an ongoing political issue. **The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986** (or the **Simpson-Mazzoli Act)** imposed stricter penalties on businesses employing undocumented workers and granted permanent residency to people who could prove that they had been living in the United States since 1982. Immigration continued to soar as the economic upturn of the 1990s acted as a magnet for newcomers. Another Immigration Act in 1990 raised the number of people who could be admitted on the basis of special job skills or the investment capital they could bring into the United States. The prosperity of the 1990s encouraged a continuing flow of immigrants. Those favoring continued high levels of immigration saw potential benefits for the entire nation, but proponents of more rigorous restrictions decried the economic, social, and cultural burdens that newcomers supposedly posed. Starkly conflicting perspectives stalemated any further change in immigration policy.

The new immigration likely affected California more than any other state. In the Golden State, Los Angeles and Orange counties seemed microcosms of world culture. By 2000, more than half of schoolchildren in LA lacked proficiency in English, and no single ethnic group represented a majority of the city's population. Like the wave of immigration that had peaked shortly after 1900, the immigration of the late 20th century produced ethnic rivalries and tensions but also cooperation and hope.

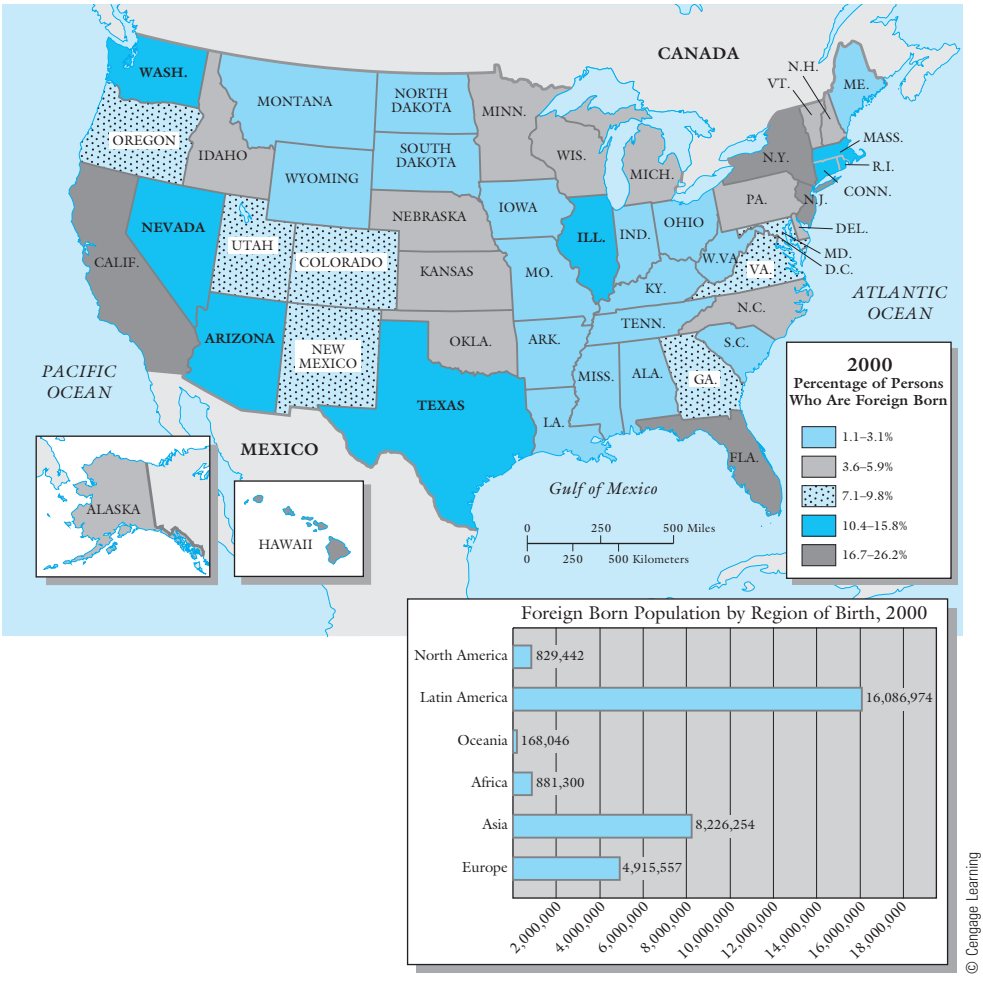
The Metropolitan Nation

Urban–suburban demographics, too, were in a state of flux. At the end of the 20th century, more than 80 percent of Americans lived in vast metropolitan areas. With the overall population growing, the relationship between central cities and adjacent suburbs changed. The suburbs melded into "urban corridors," metropolitan strips running between older cities such as Seattle and Tacoma or Washington and Baltimore. Outlying areas sprouted "edge cities" such as Irvine in California or Boca Raton in Florida. These areas competed with older urban centers for businesses, job opportunities, retail shopping outlets, and residents. People living in edge cities, according to surveys, rarely found the need to visit the nearby center cities such as Los Angeles or Miami.

Demographic patterns within suburban areas also changed. Especially in the last decade of the century, more people from non-European backgrounds began moving to suburbs, just as more Americans of European descent were relocating in cities. As a result, the percentage of African Americans residing in urban centers steadily declined, and the percentage living in suburbia increased. With immigrants settling outside central cites, some suburbs—even in urban areas such as Chicago and Minneapolis—came to contain more foreign-born residents than the central cities they surrounded.

Moreover, new suburbs sprouted up further and further away from either core or edge cities. A frenzy of new construction, financed by innovative lending arrangements, transformed farmland and small towns into a series of sprawling housing developments, which demographers called **"exurbs."** Built on relatively inexpensive land, exurbs offered homebuyers more space for less money. When commuting to work, however, these exurbanites could easily spend several hours every day trapped inside a car, inching in and out of these areas where transportation seldom kept pace with home construction.

Meanwhile, central cities were transformed. During the 1970s and 1980s, as manufacturing jobs left urban areas and as retail shopping shifted to suburban malls, cities became primarily financial, administrative, and entertainment centers. Most large cities faced rising rates of homelessness and crime and deterioration in schools and infrastructure, especially sewage and water systems. Big-city mayors complained that



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MAP 31.2 New Americans: Percentage of Persons Who Are Foreign Born and Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth, 2000

This map and chart illustrate the wave of new immigration into the United States. Which regions of the world contributed the most immigrants? Which states received the most, and the least, immigration?

the government in Washington did little to address urban problems. Federal funding decreased from $64 per urban resident in 1980 to less than $30 by the early 1990s.

At the same time, however, certain areas within many central cities underwent stunning revivals. A building boom brought new office towers, residential buildings, arts complexes, and sports facilities to many downtowns across the country. People with cash or credit to spend on housing, restaurants, and entertainment began returning to select areas, which became labeled as "gentrified."

This urban renaissance, which especially gained momentum during the 1990s, sprang from many sources. A vibrant national economy and improved air and water quality helped. Innovations in urban design skillfully integrated diverse architectural

styles with new green spaces and revitalized riverbanks and lakefronts. Community development corporations (CDCs), grassroots efforts indebted to movement cultures of the 1960s, supported initiatives for affordable housing, better childcare facilities, and expanded employment opportunities. The **Community Reinvestment Act of 1977**, which obliged banks to finance some home buying in low-income neighborhoods, stimulated economic activity. Subsequently, both major political parties pressed lenders to adopt policies and practices that favored expanded opportunities for home ownership. Community policing, a trend toward harsher sentencing, and an aging population lowered urban crime rates during the 1990s. Moreover, commuters, frustrated by increasingly clogged freeways, discovered that they could save both time and money by moving from distant suburbs to the revitalizing downtowns. In addition, new immigrants repopulated once-declining neighborhoods, refurbishing the housing stock and reviving the commercial zones. Many U.S. cities featured vibrant, transnational spaces.

Urban life often attracted college-educated professionals who had benefited from the dramatic expansion of higher education. In the 1960s, colleges and universities had doubled their enrollment. The boom continued as the federal government's Pell Grant program softened the impact of uncertain economic times. (Created in 1973, the Pell program financially assists students from low-income families.) More students of non-European ancestry and increasing numbers of women enrolled. By 1980, more than 50 percent of students were women. Gaining a college degree increased a person's income and occupational mobility. By the end of the 20th century, a college graduate's median income was nearly double that of someone with a high school diploma.

The ability to live and play in the new metropolitan spaces, of course, largely depended on household income. During the two decades after 1980, households in the top 10 percent of the income pyramid saw a substantial increase. The incomes of those at the *very* top, the super wealthy, fared even better. The vast majority of individuals and families, by contrast, saw far more modest if any gains. An important part of this story involved the transformations that were occurring throughout the U.S. and international economies.

Economic Transformations

A latter day "Rip van Winkle," awakening from a 30-year sleep in 1999, would have marveled at the consumer products in daily use. People could awaken to sounds from a digital device; glance at the morning news on a personal computer; use the same PC or Mac to work from home; and later watch a daytime soap opera they had recorded earlier. They could also enter a fantasy world through a video game or catch up with the world and friends via the Internet or mobile phone. If one could look past large pockets of persistent poverty, it would seem as if Americans lived in a consumption paradise provided by new technologies and innovative businesses.

New Technologies

The computer revolution, which had begun during the 1940s, entered a new phase after 1970. Microchips increased hardware capacity and reduced the size and cost of computers. Microsoft and Apple, two companies founded during the 1970s, challenged mighty IBM for supremacy in the personal computer market and introduced competing

operating systems and Web browsers. Their celebrity CEOs, Bill Gates and Steve Jobs, became two of the wealthiest and most influential people in the world—and came to symbolize key differences between these cyber-era giants. Although Microsoft quickly beat out Apple for domination in the war over lucrative operating systems, the companies continued to battle over virtually everything else, from their complex technologies to the design details of their products. They also fought over that all-important intangible: the loyalty of customers who saw their computers, especially if they owned a Mac, as part of their personal identity.

Changes in the speed and accessibility of informational systems rearranged how people interacted with the larger economy and lived their daily lives. Enhanced memory capacity and parallel processors, which allow many computer operations to run simultaneously, rapidly transformed the handling of words and images. Enhanced by new communications technologies, such as fiber optic networks and then satellite transmission, successive generations of computers fueled an **"information revolution."** Libraries replaced card catalogs with networked computer databases; screens replaced paper. Voicemail, fax transmissions, e-mail, and text messaging came to supplement or substitute for posted mail and telephone conversations. The use of cellular phones spread rapidly during the 1990s and, along with improved computer access, made telecommuting from home to work an attractive option.

Technological innovations in other fields such as biotechnology promised to produce the same kind of dramatic effects. Beginning in 1990, for example, the **Human Genome Project** sought to map the genetic code. This international effort, which unveiled a preliminary draft of the human genome in 2000, sought to introduce new techniques for gene transfer, embryo manipulation, tissue regeneration, and even cloning. Other biotechnological research portended new approaches to the treatment of cancer and other diseases.

Some of the more immediate, and controversial, results of work in biotechnology occurred in the genetic manipulation that began to revolutionize farming, waste conversion, and toxic cleanup. Large food producers, for example, heralded the use of genetically modified crops as an extension of the earlier "green revolution," which had boosted agricultural yields. Foods that had been modified, beginning with those derived from soybeans and corn, first reached consumers during the early 1990s. A genetically modified tomato, which would ripen without softening, debuted in 1994.

These new technologies raised legal and ethical questions. How would the computer revolution, for example, affect traditional ideas and laws about privacy? Biotechnological research generated even more controversial questions. Almost immediately after the Supreme Court decided the abortion case of *Roe* v. *Wade,* for instance, Congress banned federal funding for research involving fetal tissue. Fears that experimentation with embryonic stem cells would increase abortions blocked federal support for research, except when an executive order from Bill Clinton was briefly in effect. Proponents of stem cell research, sustained by other sources of funding, however, argued for its benefits in regenerating human tissue. Controversy, more gradually, came to swirl around genetically modified foods (or GM for short). By the end of the 20th century, critics asked how GM foods might affect individuals with allergies. More ominously, they wondered, could GM crops harm biodiversity across the entire planet and drive out small producers?

Changes in the Structure and Operations of Business

Computerization encouraged businesses to change their modes of operation. Computer networks helped lower costs and boost productivity (the output of goods per labor hour). Companies increasingly abandoned paperwork in favor of computerized tracking systems. The resulting improvement in information processing helped businesses more accurately calculate the relationship between what they produced (or ordered from suppliers) and sales projections. Computers thus enabled "just in time production" or JIT. This streamlined process eliminated waste throughout the production–consumption loop and permitted the downscaling of warehousing operations for unsold products and unused supplies.

The computer revolution also speeded the continued expansion of chain and franchise businesses. McDonald's and Holiday Inn had pioneered nationwide standardization in the fast food and travel industries during the late 1950s. Similarly organized operations adapted their models after 1970. Starbucks Coffee Company began as a local operation in 1971, rapidly expanded beyond Seattle during the 1980s, and opened a new store somewhere in the world every day during the 1990s. Starbucks helped to add a new term to the labor lexicon, *barista,* and to elevate a once-simple beverage into a pricey designer commodity.

Sam Walton's Wal-Mart chain prospered by moving in the opposite direction: the company promised customers it was constantly rolling back prices. Wal-Mart initially avoided the upscale metropolitan areas where Starbucks was thriving. During the 1970s and 1980s, as Wal-Mart slowly moved beyond its base of operations in Bentonville, Arkansas, it focused on small towns and exurban areas, places where someone other than a *barista* was likely to be preparing coffee. Here, the company could find workers, called "associates," willing to work part-time at relatively low pay. Wal-Mart's labor force thus contained many people, such as married women and retirees, who could not find or did not desire full-time employment. After undertaking an aggressive outreach effort, Wal-Mart became the largest private employer in the United States. By the end of the century, one of about every 120 workers, and nearly one of every 20 in the retail sector, worked for Wal-Mart. Communities were often divided over the arrival of a Wal-Mart. While the retail giant did offer consumers a wide array of merchandise at lower prices, it also crushed local, independent retailers in thousands of midsized and small towns.

U.S.-owned chain and franchise businesses also expanded overseas, especially after the end of the Cold War. In 1991, McDonald's opened to great fanfare in Moscow, and its Pushkin Square restaurant immediately claimed the title of the world's busiest "Mickey D's." U.S.-based hotel chains such as Hilton and Sheraton opened competing, luxury facilities in the former Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe. The demise of the Soviet Union also allowed Pepsi and Coke to carry their ongoing "cola wars" into new territory. During the 1970s, Pepsi had struck a special deal with the Kremlin that allowed its cola to be the first American product sold in the Soviet Union. During the 1990s, however, Coca Cola debuted and quickly challenged its rival for cola supremacy in Russia's newly competitive soft-drink market.

A byproduct of the spread of personal computers, Amazon.com led a different kind of retailing revolution during the 1990s—e-commerce, or the practice of selling over the Internet. Launched in 1995, Amazon.com began with books but soon added other products. Toward the very end of the 1990s, a wave of new "dot-com" businesses flooded the Internet and set off a short-term bubble in dot-com stocks

that Amazon.com managed to survive. Buying and selling over the Internet quickly became a settled feature of consumer culture. Amazon and the online auction site, eBay, became models for doing business in cyberspace.

Important changes in the transportation of products, when joined to the computer revolution, transformed the global economic marketplace—and the place of the United States within it. Air cargo service improved dramatically after 1970. The fledgling Federal Express Corporation (or FedEx), for example, could claim annual revenues of $1 billion dollars only a decade after its debut in 1973. The greatly expanded use of **steel cargo containers** similarly facilitated national and international commerce. Containers could be easily stacked, insulated, and refrigerated. Even when stretched to 40 feet in length, they could be unloaded from a boat or plane and trucked to their final destination. Containers dramatically lowered the cost of transporting finished goods and raw materials over long distances.

As suppliers and markets increasingly gave businesses worldwide scope, commercial publications began to refer to the process as **"globalization."** U.S. automakers, for example, increasingly looked outside the United States to procure parts and even to assemble its automobiles and trucks. The trend toward the privatization (the sale of government-owned industries to private business) in many overseas economies provided firms based in the United States with new opportunities for acquisitions. Conversely, foreign buyers purchased U.S. companies and real estate holdings. RCA, Doubleday, Mack Truck, and Goodyear were just some of the traditionally American brands owned by foreign-based corporations during the 1990s. So many industrial giants had become globalized by the end of the 20th century that it became difficult to define what constituted a U.S. company or a foreign one.



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Lattes in Shanghai. *American chain businesses spread throughout the world, part of the process known as globalization.*

New technologies and globalization interacted to change the basic structure of American businesses and their workforces. Citing pressure from declining profits and international competitors, which usually paid workers a fraction of the U.S. wage rate, many industrial companies cut back their labor pools and trimmed their management staffs. This process became known as **"downsizing."** The U.S. auto industry began to lay off thousands of workers, and many older steel plants closed entirely. During the 1990s, the auto and steel industries temporarily regained profitability, but other sectors took their turn at downsizing.

Business restructuring, encouraged by globalization and generous interpretations of anti-trust laws by both Republican and Democratic administrations, touched off a merger boom. During the late 1990s, huge mergers, with acquisitions totaling more than $1.6 trillion per year, brought a concentration in production unseen since the 1890s.

As employment in traditional manufacturing and extractive sectors (such as mining) declined, jobs in service, high-tech, and information and entertainment sectors increased. In 1960, the production of goods, as opposed to services, engaged roughly a quarter of the U.S. workforce. By the end of the 20th century, the comparable figure stood at about 15 percent. Positions in financial services, computing, and other high-tech industries offered high salaries—astronomical ones for top management—but most jobs in the rapidly expanding service sector, such as clerks and cleaners, remained low paying, part-time, and non-unionized. Wal-Mart's enormous non-union workforce, for example, earned an average of $7 to $8 per hour, and had limited, or no, health benefits. Moreover, U.S. manufacturers, wanting to lower costs to compete for the huge Wal-Mart purchasing contracts, moved plants to countries with cheap labor environments. Such moves further contributed to the decline of relatively better-paid manufacturing jobs in the United States.

Some economists worried that this shift toward a "post-industrial" service economy would effectively change the domestic wage-structure, "de-skill" the American labor force, and eventually erode the standard of living in the United States. They warned that the widening gulf between highly paid, skilled positions and minimum-wage jobs with low wages and few benefits would undermine the middle-class nature of American society.

Other economists were more sanguine. Globalization and corporate downsizing would temporarily mean lost jobs, but gains in productivity would soon translate into lower consumer prices and a rise in living standards for everyone. Celebrants of change also pointed to many success stories, especially in high-tech industries, where constant technological innovation paved a broad avenue of upward economic mobility for people with skills in post-industrial areas such as computing. Real wages did rise a little in the late 1990s, especially for women.

The structure of the labor market changed in other ways. Skilled workers during the middle of the 20th century, for example, tended to stick to one profession and even the same place of employment throughout their working life. By the end of the century, however, both blue- and white-collar workers were likely to switch employers several times before retiring. The need for training and retraining programs that served people of all ages transformed ideas about the relationship between education and work.

Economic restructuring also contributed to a dramatic drop in labor union membership. During the 1950s, more than 30 percent of American workers belonged to a union. By the end of the 20th century, the figure stood at only 13 percent. Although

the labor movement mounted organizing drives among clerical, restaurant, and hotel workers, it struggled to make significant inroads into these sectors of the economy. The major growth for organized labor came among government employees and healthcare workers. Most businesses adamantly fought unionization. The health and retirement benefits that American companies had once proudly offered, inexorably began to disappear.

The system of benefits found in the United States, which many companies had greatly expanded after the Second World War, came under increasing pressure. During the 1940s and 1950s, a generous benefit package helped employers attract workers without having to pay dramatically high wages and salaries. Moreover, the amount of money a company paid toward its share of a health plan did not count, under federal law, as part of an employee's taxable compensation. Labor and management both stood to gain, it had seemed, from generous benefit programs.

Things began to change, however, during the 1970s as U.S. companies faced increasing foreign competition and rising costs for healthcare. In 1960, only about 7 percent of the entire U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) went for healthcare; some 40 years later, the comparable figure neared 15 percent, a greater percentage than people paid for food. (In Canada, by contrast, healthcare totaled less than 10 percent of GDP.) The annual cost of providing healthcare for a family, according to most estimates, came to about what a full-time, minimum-wage worker would earn over a year and twice the pay of the average Wal-Mart employee. U.S. companies facing foreign competition, such as the large auto manufacturers, complained about maintaining extensive benefit packages that included healthcare for their aging work forces.

Individuals and families increasingly maintained their lifestyles by incurring rising levels of debt. Economists began to analyze the **"household deficit"**—the difference between what U.S. households earned and what they spent. As late as 1980, the rate of indebtedness for households, though higher than that during the 1950s, still remained lower than it had been during the 1920s. The 1980s, however, inaugurated a trend that would accelerate into the next century. As more people shouldered greater debt, the number of personal bankruptcies increased, and the rate of personal savings in the United States fell to the lowest in the industrialized world.

The Financial Sector

The household deficit became intertwined with one of the most dramatic post-1970 economic changes: The expansion of a vast, highly innovative financial industry. A wide range of financial institutions—from international "super banks" such as Citigroup and Bank of America, to payday loan institutions like Check 'n Go and Moneytree, to pawnshop chains such as Pawn America, right on down to illegal loan-sharking operations—profited from people who seemed increasingly unable to balance their personal books. By the end of the century, loans to homebuyers who lacked the resources to repay them were helping to sustain the financial industry. The industry also thrived, however, on wealthy investors who appeared awash in assets to invest. By the end of the 20th century, according to one estimate, more than 40 percent of U.S. corporate profits came from the financial services sector while only about 10 percent derived from manufacturing.

The computer revolution helped the financial industry expand and changed its everyday relationship to customers. American consumers had long used a variety of credit arrangements, for example, but bank-issued credit cards, monitored through

computerized systems, vastly expanded their reach after 1970. Issuing credit via "plastic" became a highly lucrative enterprise, especially after a 1978 U.S. Supreme Court decision declared that national banks headquartered in one state could move their card operations to any other. This decision effectively eliminated anti-usury laws, which had traditionally limited interest rates, as states competed to attract the credit-card operations of giant banks. These institutions deluged potential cardholders, particularly college students, with competing enticements. "Free" credit cards, once interest and service charges began piling up, proved anything but free to those who used them. Other innovations of the 1980s and 1990s—automated teller machines (ATMs), automatic deposits, debit cards, and electronic bill payment—moved Americans ever closer to a cashless economy.

The financial system increasingly shed the regulatory restrictions crafted earlier in the century, particularly during the New Deal (see Chapter 25). As free-market economists criticized government bureaucrats for ignoring the magical qualities of markets, deregulating the financial industry seemed an obvious way to free up the flow of investment capital. Congress thus lifted many of the restrictions on Savings and Loan institutions (S&Ls) in 1982. Long limited in the services they could provide and the interest rate they could pay depositors, S&Ls boomed. Too many, however, enjoyed deregulation far too much. They made risky loans, speculated in real estate, or simply cooked their books. By the end of the 1980s, the S&L industry was in turmoil and required a massively expensive governmental bailout (see Chapter 30).

The problems elsewhere in the financial sector, however, seemed limited to individual firms and to specific times, such as the meltdown on the New York Stock Market in October 1987. A rapid rebound seemingly confirmed claims that all markets, including the larger financial ones, were self-correcting, even self-regulating. The S&L debacle, from this perspective, signaled no structural problem in the larger financial industry.

During the last two decades of the 20th century, then, most observers applauded the financial sector's remarkable growth and dynamism. Wall Street investment firms, such as Lehman Brothers, and large banks, such as Chase Manhattan, did well. Newer types of financial ventures, such as the "hedge fund" operations, which managed complicated investment portfolios for a limited number of affluent clients, performed *very* well. Taking in vast pools of money and paying out sizeable profits to their investors, these funds came to make up a "shadow banking system"—one whose financial dealings were not covered by the regulatory system that oversaw more traditional banking institutions. Financial investments—whether in real estate, individual stocks, corporate bonds, or hedge funds—still risked losing money, but a new generation of managers claimed the ability to forecast and thus *manage* risk.

The financial sector could also create, and then trade, new forms of investment that carried the generic name of "derivatives," because they had been "derived" from other financial transactions. During the late 1980s, for example, entrepreneurs in the financial sector began purchasing individual home-loan contracts. Combining those of dubious value with sounder ones, they would market the resultant package of loan contracts as a new form of investment called a "collateralized debt obligation" (CDO). Complex mathematical calculations, which relatively few people in the financial industry fully understood, supposedly ensured that a CDO carried little risk to the financial firm that had created it or to investors who purchased it. Financial analysts argued that the chance of so many different loan contracts defaulting at the same time were so slim that a CDO carried virtually no risk to investors.

CDOs based on home loans were only one of many different types of new securities derived from other kinds of financial transactions. This part of the larger financial system produced huge profits. It also provided similarly outsized payouts, in bonuses and stock options, to the people who worked in this largely unregulated, little understood enterprise. Economists and public officials, including those at the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve System, cheered the creation of new types of securities. Governmental regulation of them, according to Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board from 1987 to 2006, would discourage innovation and prevent the financial system from performing the task it seemed to be doing so well: delivering an ever-increasing array of secure investments to clients all over the world. The deregulation and globalization of the financial industry, then, echoed other economic transformations of the last three decades of the 20th century transformations. The hazards would become apparent in 2008.

The Sports-Entertainment Industry

The sports-entertainment industry also grew exponentially during this era. Metropolitan areas competed to obtain—or retain—professional teams. TV contracts and tax write-offs tempted tycoons such as George Steinbrenner of the New York Yankees to run a sporting empire. An older generation of owners such as the Halas family in football and the Griffiths in baseball, who had supported themselves only through a sports franchise, passed from the scene.

Baseball led off this expansionist era. Seeking a better fit with emerging economic, demographic, and social forces, the leadership of Major League Baseball (MLB) realigned the "national pastime." During a single decade, the 1970s, MLB shuffled teams in and out of Milwaukee, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. By relocating franchises from struggling to thriving metropolitan areas, MLB acquired new ticket buyers, advantageous TV deals, and stadiums financed by public money. If moving existing franchises made sense, creating new ones seemed an even shrewder option. During the mid-1950s, there had been only 16 Big League teams, none located west of Chicago; at the end of the 20th century, 30 MLB franchises stretched across the United States and into Canada.

The National Football League (NFL) and the National Basketball Association (NBA) challenged MLB for the professional sports spotlight. Surveys showed fans shifting their allegiances from baseball to faster-paced sports. Having operated in the shadow of MLB until the 1960s, the NFL and the NBA expanded into new metropolitan areas and created lengthy schedules that overlapped with the once sacrosanct baseball season.

Just in time for the 1970 season, the NFL merged with the American Football League (AFL), with which it had been playing a "Super Bowl" since 1967. In contrast to the economic philosophy of MLB, that of the revamped NFL helped small-market teams such as the Green Bay Packers remain competitive with larger market franchises over the long run. During the 1970s, ABC began televising an NFL game during primetime hours, and the success of *Monday Night Football* signaled the growing importance of football to TV and to the nation's popular culture.

Basketball's small court made NBA games more TV-friendly than those of football and baseball, and entrepreneurs easily gained television contracts to underwrite new professional franchises. As a result, the NBA faced a lengthy off-the-court rivalry with the upstart American Basketball Association (ABA). When the two leagues finally merged in 1976, the NBA jettisoned the ABA's garish, multicolored basketball

but retained its 3-point shot and emphasis on marketing African American stars like Julius ("Dr. J") Irving. After joining the league in 1984, Michael Jordan soon became the preeminent symbol for marketing the NBA and anchored the "Dream Team" of professionals that captured basketball's Gold Medal at the 1992 Olympic Games. The NBA also elevated African Americans into coaching and management positions far more quickly than did the NFL and MLB.

Several efforts to make soccer a major attraction in the United States faltered, but most other sports-entertainment operations flourished. The venerable National Hockey League (NHL) outlasted the rival league World Hockey Association (WHA) and entered the 1980s with a 21-team operation that stretched across both Canada and the United States. By the end of the 20th century, the NHL supported 28 franchises, three fewer than the NFL and only one fewer than the NBA. Professional play in tennis, aided by TV coverage, featured rapidly expanding tours for both men and women.

Professional golf for men—tightly controlled by the Professional Golfing Association (PGA)—continually grew in popularity, especially after it found its own version of Michael Jordan, Eldrick (Tiger) Woods, during the early 1990s. Woods soon became *the* brand name for a sports-business that attracted corporate sponsors, sold a vast array of high-end products, and sustained a media presence that included a separate Golf Channel (1995–) on cable TV. Although the economic and cultural impact of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) lagged behind that of the men's, the women's tour prospered. It also emulated the post-Woods PGA and the NBA by attracting a growing number of players from outside the United States to its ranks.

The national romance with automobiles helped to speed the growth of auto racing. The Indianapolis 500 initially vied with the Super Bowl for recognition as the most spectacular one-day event in sports, but events sponsored by the National Association for Stock Car Racing (NASCAR) eventually overtook those of Indy-style racing. As new technologies brought TV viewers onto the track and even into the race cars, NASCAR moved beyond its traditional base in the South. Its signature event, the Daytona 500, replaced the Indy 500 as the nation's premier automobile race.

College sports grew in similar fashion. Television coverage mushroomed, especially after TV entrepreneurs created **ESPN** (1979–), a cable network devoted entirely to sports. ESPN initially helped so-called minor collegiate sports, such as gymnastics and lacrosse, gain TV time, but college football and basketball ultimately benefited the most. Television allowed football's longstanding post-season bowl system to create more games and reap greater revenues. The playoff arrangement in college basketball, which had begun in 1939, evolved into an extended extravaganza that became known during the 1980s as "March Madness." University administrators often claimed that success on their playing fields and arenas, which became ever larger and more luxurious, translated into greater visibility and prestige, and garnered more donations for the educational mission of their institutions.

The glamour and excitement generated by the sports-entertainment industry increasingly merged with political culture. Candidates competed to sign up prominent athletes for their campaign squads, and some retired players, including football's Jack Kemp and Hall of Fame hurler Jim Bunning, made the transition from the sports to the political field. In addition to tapping his family connections, George W. Bush used his partial ownership of the Texas Rangers baseball team as an entrée into electoral politics. The position that Bush reportedly desired more than any other, however, was that of MLB's commissioner.

With the business of sports booming, its legal foundations inevitably shifted. MLB's star players, armed with union advisers and attorneys, successfully spearheaded new legal challenges to old doctrines that contractually bound players to a single franchise year after year. Court rulings eventually brought differing versions of "free agency" to the major team sports. These systems soon produced powerful new players in the sporting world: sports agents who could help professional athletes auction their services and marketing potential to the highest bidder. Although some fans and sportswriters grumbled when highly paid players seemed to under perform, owners discovered that steadily rising TV revenues, tax breaks, and favorable stadium deals allowed them to adjust to the new salary structures and strong union movements. Knowledgeable fans became as conversant in contract law and labor-management relations as with more traditional matters such as batting averages and yards-per-carry.

Sports and legal disputes also became intertwined with social issues. Women's rights advocates condemned big-time sports for promoting sexism—pointing, for example, to NFL cheerleading squads that resembled Las Vegas chorus lines—and urged equality for women athletes. One result of this pressure was **"Title IX"** of a 1972 congressional measure, which was later re-titled the **Patsy Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act**. By mandating gender equity in intercollegiate sports activities, Title IX required colleges and universities to upgrade the financing and promotion of women's sports. A 1973 exhibition tennis match between Billy Jean King, the leading women's player of the day, and a former male star from the 1940s, Bobby Riggs, helped dramatize the gender-equity issues that Title IX addressed. (Billy Jean King won the match.) Over time, professional tennis surpassed every other sport in narrowing the gender gap in prize money, endorsement contracts, and media coverage.

The sports-entertainment industry continued to provide a cultural mirror on racial issues. The effort to measure how much opportunity sports really offered to African American athletes, especially at the collegiate level, remained a persistent concern. By the end of the 20th century, for example, the number of African Americans playing professional baseball was in decline while the number of Latino ballplayers was soaring. And as NBA scouts began identifying talented international players, especially from Eastern Europe, some observers predicted that the strong African American presence in the NBA might suffer as well.

While the sports-entertainment complex was growing in visibility and profitability, traditionalists detected signs of decline. The familiar complaint about intercollegiate athletics corrupting educational standards gained new force. Critics also found many sporting enterprises awash in hyper-commercialism, financial double-dealing, and on-field cheating. The success of MLB, for example, seemingly owed much to the prodigious feats of homerun hitters led by Mark McGwire of the St. Louis Cardinals, who hit a record 70 home runs in 1998. It soon became apparent, however, that performance-enhancing drugs—and perhaps souped-up baseballs—were aiding sluggers like McGwire. Sports historians now argue that the late 1980s ushered in baseball's "Steroid Era." The super-knowledgeable sports fan might wish for a background not only in legal but in pharmaceutical matters as well.

Culture and Media

A broader range of knowledge could also prove handy for fans of all forms of popular culture. New technologies significantly altered how people received and used books, movies, TV, music, and other sources of information and entertainment. By the end of the 20th century, virtually every home or apartment had at least one television and an accompanying recording device. About 80 percent had a personal computer. People began using the Internet to access newspapers, books, music, and movies. E-mail became, before the popularity of text messaging, the first choice for contacting friends. The omnipresent video screen, more portable than ever before, seemed the preeminent symbol of American culture by the end of the 20th century.

The Video Revolution

At the beginning of the 1970s, TV broadcasters still expected a hit program to attract more viewers in a single evening than did a successful motion picture over an entire year. The three networks could also promise advertisers that a rough cross-section of the American public would be watching their nighttime sales pitches.

During the 1970s, however, viewing trends increasingly forced the networks to embrace the strategy called **"narrowcasting"** in which programmers fragmented the TV audience into carefully targeted segments. CBS replaced several highly watched programs, such as *The Beverly Hillbillies,* with "edgier" shows aimed at viewers under the age of 40, who were coveted by advertisers because they were most likely to purchase products and services. *All in the Family,* a sitcom about intergenerational conflict within a blue-collar family, made its proudly bigoted protagonist, "Archie Bunker," a lightning rod for issues involving race and gender. Although *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* rarely took overtly feminist positions, it did address the personal politics of working women. Other CBS shows, such as *M*A*S*H,* also merged comedy with social commentary.

With CBS leading the way, the new programming strategy helped the entire TV industry prosper between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. ABC found its niche among high school- and college-age viewers, emphasizing sex-and-action programs (*Charlie's Angels*), mildly risqué sitcoms (*Three's Company*), and shows about teen life (*Happy Days*). NBC belatedly brought the barbed humor of the 1960s counterculture to network television by nurturing *Saturday Night Live.* At the end of the 1970s, 9 of every 10 television sets were tuned to a network program during primetime viewing hours.

A decade later, however, people were beginning to desert network TV, and programmers were struggling to attract viewers. NBC could claim two now-classic hits, *The Cosby Show* (featuring an affluent African American family), and *Cheers* (which was set in a Boston tavern where "everybody knows your name"). Its other primetime programs, however, garnered disappointing ratings. Facing a similar situation, the other two networks joined NBC in slashing budgets and staff, especially in their news divisions. Local stations, which had been limping along without a network affiliation, began picking up viewers who were deserting network offerings. These independents programmed older Hollywood films, sporting events, and reruns of canceled primetime shows now being syndicated to individual stations. Several hundred independent television stations debuted during the 1980s.

Capitalizing on the rise of these independents, the media mogul Rupert Murdoch introduced his Fox TV network in 1988. Using a pattern later imitated by far less-successful challengers, Fox offered a limited schedule to previously nonaffiliated stations. Fox's first big hit, *The Simpsons* (1989–), an animated send-up of the standard family sitcom, became a pop culture phenomenon and mass-marketing bonanza. In 1993 Fox outbid CBS for the TV rights to carry NFL games. Throughout the 1990s, Fox and the other fledgling networks introduced programs—such as *In Living Color* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*—for audiences that contained more minority, young, and urban viewers than those of the three older networks.

New technologies, which promised viewers greater choice, challenged all four networks. The remote control, an innovation introduced during the 1960s that finally clicked during the 1980s, created a television aesthetic called "channel surfing," in which viewers flip rapidly from program to program. Videocassette recorders (VCRs), introduced during the 1970s, became the first of the record-and-view-later technologies allowing viewers to create their own TV schedules.

The primary challenge to the networks came from cable television, which had wired nearly three-quarters of the nation's homes by 2000. The expansion of cable during the 1980s accelerated audience fragmentation and narrowcasting. Atlanta's Ted Turner led the way by introducing the Cable News Network (CNN), several movie channels, and an all-cartoon network before his communication empire merged with that of Time-Warner in 1996. Challenging the networks and cable, companies selling direct satellite transmission began gaining an important share of the viewing audience. By the end of the 20th century, the percentage of viewers watching primetime network programs had fallen to less than 60 percent, and cable shows were beginning to compete with those carried on the networks for the industry's annual Emmy awards.

Hollywood

Hollywood also adapted to changing business arrangements and new technologies. With movie attendance in 1970 about the same as it had been in 1960, the film industry began raising ticket prices, betting on a few blockbuster films such as the highly profitable *Star Wars* series (1977–2005), and hoping for a surprise hit such as *The Blair Witch Project* (1999). Although Hollywood endured super-expensive flops such as *Heaven's Gate* (1980) or *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), motion pictures survived and even thrived through adaptation.

Volatility in the movie market encouraged most filmmakers to play it safe. Many of them recycled titles and special effects that had made money in the past. They transferred popular stories, such as *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (2000), and TV shows, such as *The Brady Bunch* (1995), to the big screen and produced sequels for any movie, such as *Speed* (1992), that had even approached blockbuster status. In addition, Hollywood expanded the older practice of targeting younger viewers with movies such as *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* (1986). Meanwhile, celebratory stories that tapped themes in popular history, such as *Braveheart* (1995) and *Titanic* (1997), impressed both ticket buyers and industry insiders.

At the same time, however, a cultural complex that nurtured "independent" films emerged. Woody Allen became one of the first U.S. filmmakers to specialize in movies, such as *Annie Hall* (1977), which borrowed techniques and themes from European cinema. In 1981, Robert Redford launched the Sundance Film Institute in hopes of encouraging innovative screenwriting and direction. Its annual



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Family Guy. *As the U.S. TV audience began to fragment, animated shows increasingly found exceedingly loyal niche markets. The Fox network introduced* Family Guy *in 1999 but canceled the series in 2000. Noting the popularity of* Family Guy *in reruns and the strong DVD sales, Fox soon began producing new episodes. Although the inept antihero of the series, Peter Griffin, recalls Fred Flintstone and Homer Simpson, aficionados of this series consider his antics and* Family Guy*'s references to popular culture several cuts above those found on* The Flintstones *and* The Simpsons*.*

Sundance Festival, held in Park City, Utah, began attracting Hollywood moguls. They sought the next small movie, such as *The Brothers McMullan* (1995), that might find a large audience. Sundance supported the work of African American, Latino, and Asian American directors by showcasing movies like *Hoop Dreams* (1994), *El Mariachi* (1993), and *Picture Bride* (1995). It also celebrated women directors such as Lizzie Borden (*Working Girls,* 1986) and Barbara Kopple (*American Dream,* 1990). The Landmark movie chain led the way in screening independent films unlikely to find space in any of the growing number of suburban multiplexes. Major studios even created special divisions, such as Fox Searchlight Pictures, which specialized in so-called independent films.

Hollywood became increasingly intertwined with the changing television establishment, once its feared rival, and with the emerging home-viewing industries. Hollywood gained badly needed revenue by licensing its offerings to TV and for VCR and DVD distribution. For a brief time, during the early 1990s, the United States could claim

more video rental outlets than movie theaters. Advances in DVD technology gave viewers improved visual imagery, bonus attractions (such as footage that had been cut from a theatrical release), wide-screen prints, and the kind of expert commentary hitherto available only at film schools. As the Hollywood movie industry discovered that DVD sales could match theatrical receipts, it came to favor action films with elaborate special effects that promised to sell well in the home-viewing and international markets. Filmmakers also confronted new "pirating" technologies that meant their movies might appear in bootlegged editions at virtually the same time they debuted in theaters.

The Changing Media Environment for Pop Music

New business ventures and technologies also transformed the relationship between the media and the lucrative pop music industry. A music television channel (MTV) debuted in 1981 and subsequently adjusted to changes in the cable TV and music industries. Initially offering a 24-hour supply of rock videos, MTV came under fire for portraying women as sex objects and excluding artists of color. Eventually, however, MTV defused complaints, especially after featuring Michael Jackson's 29-minute video based on his hit single "Thriller" (1983). By the end of the 20th century, MTV and other cable channels programmed videos that represented the increasingly multiethnic nature of the music industry.

MTV also seemed on the cutting edge of changes in media programming. MTV's stars of the 1980s such as Jackson and Madonna used MTV to forge a new relationship between music and visual imagery: the **"MTV aesthetic."** This fast-paced visual style played with traditional ideas about time and space, recycled images from earlier movies and TV programs, and often carried a sharply satirical edge. During the 1990s, MTV introduced a wide range of youth-oriented programming such as *The Real World* (1992–). MTV's longest running program, *The Real World* inaugurated the "reality TV" genre that spread to other cable channels and the broadcast networks.

Entertainment conglomerates began marketing music in ever-newer formats. The 45-rpm record and the long-play album (LP), associated with the musical revolutions of the 1950s and 1960s, all but disappeared. Analog cassette tapes, which could be played through a variety of portable stereo devices including Sony's Walkman, arrived during the 1970s. The compact discs (CDs) of the early 1980s changed not only the technology for delivering pop music but also, eventually, the nature of the product and the listening experience. The now-classic rock LPs of the 1960s and early 1970s, such as the Beatles' *Magical Mystery Tour* (1967), had featured 10 to 12 songs, split between the two sides and often organized around a core concept. By the late 1990s, however, CD offerings were coming to mirror those that MP3 technology was just beginning to provide by offering unusual musical mixes that generally lacked any unifying theme.

New formats enabled listeners to obtain, preserve, and exchange music in entirely new ways. FM radio stations began to stream their programs over the Internet during the early 1990s, and one of rock's most venerable bands, The Rolling Stones, was the first to simulcast a live concert in 1994. After several years in which Internet users experimented with the sharing of musical files, in 1999 a college student introduced Napster. This short-lived venture provided a technology by which users could freely share music gleaned from commercially produced CDs. Artists as well as corporate executives confronted a serious threat to CD sales—and the future of their

industry. They charged Internet technologies with facilitating the "pirating" of copyrighted material. Their legal actions prompted a prolonged battle—which extended into the new century—over how music was made, stored, and distributed.

The New Mass Culture Debate

New trends in mass commercial culture generated other controversies, many of them also legalistic ones. In 1975, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ordered the television networks to dedicate the first 60 minutes of primetime each evening to "family" programming free of violence and "mature" themes. Eventually, federal courts struck down this family-hour requirement as a violation of the First Amendment. Demands that Congress regulate rock lyrics and album covers also ran afoul of complaints that legislation of this kind would be unconstitutional. TV programmers, record producers, and new Internet gaming ventures, following the example of the Hollywood film industry, began to adopt "warning labels" that supposedly informed parents about products with violent and sexually explicit imagery.

Commercial pop culture also produced new aesthetic disputes. Unlike the cultural critics of the 1950s, who had dismissed mass fare as trivial and degenerate (see Chapter 28), analysts from the new academic field of "cultural studies" often seemed unabashed fans of the commercial products they studied. They jettisoned any bright-line distinction between lowbrow and highbrow as untenable. The music of the Beatles could be studied along with that of Beethoven, Bob Dylan's lyrics alongside classic poetry. Rejecting the elitist-themed criticism of the 1950s, which had seen consumers as cultural dupes who passively soaked up junk, cultural studies stressed people's creative interaction with commercial culture. Scholarly accounts of *Star Trek,* for example, examined how, through self-produced magazines (called "fanzines"), conventions, and the Internet, Trekkies created a grassroots subculture that used the original TV series and its spinoffs to launch serious discussions about social and political issues. The cultural studies approach also tended to embrace multiculturalism, highlighting works produced by women, political outsiders, and non-Western writers and artists. It encouraged students to see traditional texts within their political and historical contexts rather than as timeless works. Traditionalists condemned this "cultural turn" as a legacy of the counterculture of the 1960s and blamed it for eroding settled ideas about the quality and value of artistic expression.

Some of the fiercest debates over popular culture involved the impact of "infotainment." An imprecise cultural category, infotainment signaled that the always-delicate balance between actually informing and merely amusing audiences had tilted decisively toward the latter.

Cable TV's news operations, for example, emphasized infotainment in ways that the major networks had long avoided. While maintaining a 24/7 schedule, CNN initially followed the networks in pursuing a "hard-news" agenda from camera crews and correspondents stationed around the globe. CNN's motto was "news is the star." CNN also introduced, however, programs such as *Crossfire,* which featured the in-studio pyrotechnics of verbally dueling pundits. The cacophony of claims and counter-claims, indebted to the legal-drama format popularized throughout the 1990s (see Chapter 32), increasingly bore slight resemblance to the kind of news analysis that network radio and TV had traditionally offered. CNN's eventual rival, the Fox News Channel (FNC), which debuted in 1996, retrofitted the *Crossfire*

approach to much of its programming. FNC featured verbally nimble personalities who covered the news from studio sets and emphasized, despite labels such as "fair and balanced," political opinions that tilted toward those of the New Right.

Public affairs broadcasting on cable TV increasingly adopted a narrowcasting strategy. This represented a significant break with the traditional broadcast format, going back to network radio, which had always sought a "big tent" audience. FNC made clear, for example, that its idea of "balance" would attract viewers who saw the major networks and CNN as "biased." CNN and MSNBC, in response, began positioning their coverage toward people uncomfortable with FNC. This new approach, critics charged, featured news programming that reinforced rather than broadened the perspectives of core constituencies. A "fake" news program, *The Daily Show,* satirized the narrowness of its cable TV counterparts. It also arguably produced—or simply attracted—viewers more broadly informed about issues than were the aficionados of "real" newscasts. After Jon Stewart assumed the "anchor desk" in January 1999, *The Daily Show* quickly became a favorite news source for college students.

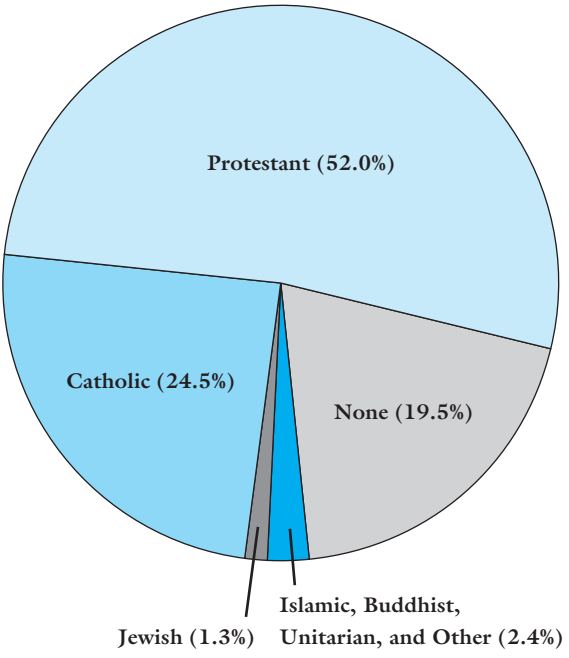
The Religious Landscape

A pervasive religiosity differentiated the United States from most European nations during the last decades of the 20th century. Attention commonly focused on Americans drawn to the Religious Right, but a propensity to see daily life and world events through religious teachings spanned the political and cultural spectrum. Polls taken at the end of the 20th century suggested that more than three-quarters of Americans believed in a divine being that performed miracles on earth.

The nation's religious landscape showed greater diversity than ever before. During the 1950s, for example, Will Herberg could see his book entitled *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1955) as characterizing the religious dimensions of the "American way of life." A half-century later, however, these three faiths represented only some of the religious denominations in the United States.

After about 1970, cultural and social change helped produce this religious diversity. Movements such as the Jesus People were loosely associated with the counterculture. A few other countercultural groups withdrew to communal retreats organized around religious teachings. Many people drawn to alternative cultures also embraced spiritual and religious impulses outside of the Protestant-Catholic-Jewish triad. Asian-inspired traditions, such as Transcendental Meditation and Buddhism, proved particularly appealing. A variety of New Age spiritual movements, which stressed individual insights over group doctrines, also traced their most immediate origins back to the early 1970s.

The same era also saw the beginnings of a significant movement toward Islam among Americans of African descent, especially those who had been affected by the Black Power movement. Following the 1975 death of Elijah Muhammad, the longtime leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) or "Black Muslims," his successors moved closer to Sunni Islam. The dynamic and outspoken Louis Farrakhan, once a rival to Malcolm X, revived the NOI during the 1980s, but it attracted far fewer members than other versions of Islam. By 1990, American-born converts, the majority of them of African descent, comprised more than 40 percent of those who practiced Islam in the United States.



Religion in America, 2001

This chart shows the self-described religious affiliations of the American people compiled through sampling techniques.

Source: Data adapted from *The American Religious Identification Survey,* Graduate Center, City University of New York.

Meanwhile, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 enabled larger numbers of immigrants from many religious backgrounds, including Islam, to settle in the United States. As the array of different faiths expanded, for instance, the weekly directory of religious services in the *Los Angeles Times* noted times and places for nearly 600 different denominations. Immigration from countries with large Islamic populations brought several million Muslims to the United States during the 1990s. According to some estimates (the official U.S. Census does not track religious affiliations) the number of residents who were practicing Muslims by the year 2000 surpassed those practicing Judaism, and even those identifying with several mainline Protestant denominations, including Presbyterian and Episcopalian. Adapting to American cultural practices, mosques began making Sunday, rather than the traditional Friday, the week's major Islamic holy day. The faith's leading institutions, such as the Islamic Center of Southern California, provided a variety of religious and nonreligious services for their congregations. They also sought to inform non-Muslims about Islam, which claimed more followers worldwide than any other religion.

Other religions experienced similar growth. The number of Protestant evangelicals grew faster than the U.S. population. Between 1970 and the late 1990s, the Southern Baptist Convention expanded beyond its traditional regional base and added 6 million new members. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints (the Mormon faith) gained more than half that many. Along with augmenting their



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The Islamic Center of America, Dearborn, Michigan. *This 70,000-square-foot facility dramatizes the growing presence of Islam in the United States. It features building materials imported from all over the world, a gold dome, twin minarets, and a prayer hall that accommodates a thousand worshippers.*

membership rolls at home, many of these groups greatly expanded their international missionary activities.

Religious faith did not determine political belief. Most fundamentalists and evangelicals favored the politics of the New Right, but there were evangelical groups that espoused diametrically opposed political-social positions. As Jim Wallis of the Sojourner movement wrote in 1995, an "illness of spirit has spread across the land, and our greatest need" was a "new kind of politics—a politics with spiritual values" that pursued many of the "social justice" issues identified with the political left. Moreover, some evangelicals joined mainline religious movements in espousing environmental causes that were generally anathema to the New Right. "Justice-seeking work without concern for the earth is naïve and narrow minded," another leader of the Sojourners insisted in a 1990 article. The following year, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a lengthy document focused on the relationship between Church teachings and environmental movements for the "planetary common good."

Most organized religious groups also struggled with the relationship between their spiritual faith and other social and cultural causes. Religious communities offered very different responses, for example, to the emergence of Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgendered (LGBT) movements. Most leaders of the Religious Right, such as Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, mobilized against what they saw as the "moral decay" posed by LGBT activism. Orthodox Judaism, Islam, and Catholicism, without mobilizing on the scale of the Religious Right, still labeled same-sex relationships as sinful. In stark contrast, a minority of churches, synagogues, and temples—especially in larger cities—welcomed LGBT members. A few denominations accepted gays and lesbians

as ministers and rabbis, and recognizable bodies of "gay theology," grounded in specific Biblical passages and on more general principles of tolerance, began to emerge. Churches also confronted, along with the nation at large, growing pressure to address the legality of gay marriages (see Chapter 32).

Religious divisions emerged over foreign policy questions. The movement to contain the spread of nuclear weaponry attracted a number of religious groups. After prolonged internal debate, for example, the Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a pastoral letter entitled "The Challenge of Peace" (1983). It joined statements by several Protestant groups and, in effect, declared U.S. nuclear policy in conflict with religious teachings. At about the same time, some Catholic priests joined dissident Protestant congregations in offering sanctuary to undocumented refugees from Latin America, particularly El Salvador and Guatemala, who were fleeing U.S.-supported military regimes and, once they reached the United States, American immigration authorities. On the other hand, many spiritual leaders and laypeople, particularly those associated with evangelical churches, gravitated toward the fervent anticommunist initiatives supported by the New Right and the Reagan administration.

Three prominent religious figures, who entered the partisan arena, exemplified the diversity of religion's relationship to political action. Father Robert F. Drinan, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1971 to 1981, often embraced positions on issues, such as abortion, contrary to the pronouncements of his own Roman Catholic Church. Eventually, the Church hierarchy decreed that no priest should hold a political office, and Father Drinan resigned. The presidential bids, in 1984 and 1988, of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, a Baptist, recalled movement-style politics that looked back to the religious fervor of the civil rights crusade but also moved in step with the largely secular multiculturalism of the 1980s. Pat Robertson, in contrast, hoped he could use his firm identification with the Religious Right to successfully challenge Vice President George H. W. Bush for the 1988 GOP presidential nomination. After some success in early Republican primaries, which prompted a reticent Bush to highlight his religious faith, Robertson's presidential effort ultimately attracted few Republicans not already aligned with the Religious Right.

Pat Robertson did, however, shore up his religious empire at a time when several other media-enabled religious movements were being swamped by controversy. Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker of the "Praise the Lord" (PTL) movement and Jimmy Lee Swaggart saw their multimillion-dollar, multimedia operations collapse as a result of violating the financial and moral values their ministries preached. After being convicted on multiple counts of fraud, Jim Bakker landed in jail. Swaggart's dalliances with prostitutes left his ministry, which had once claimed a worldwide media audience of more than 500 million people, with a drastically scaled back outreach that included appearances on cable TV's public access channels.

Others religious ministries, however, prospered in the manner of Pat Robertson's. The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association crusade (created in 1950) avoided even the hint of financial or moral malfeasance, and Reverend Graham himself remained one of the nation's most admired—and officially nonpartisan—citizens. Another charismatic Baptist minister, Rick Warren, painstakingly established one of the important evangelical "mega-churches" in Southern California in 1980. Within 20 years, Warren's Saddleback Church ranked among the 10 largest congregations in the country.

Successful movements on the Religious Right, such as Falwell's and Warren's, became cultural conglomerates. They established publishing enterprises, bookstores, radio and TV outlets, Christian academies and other "charter" schools, religiously affiliated colleges and seminaries, and even schools of law and of public policy. Apocalyptic novels from this religious milieu featured page-turning tales about Earth's "final days" before the Rapture that would carry true believers to heaven. The *Left Behind Series,* authored by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins, became a publishing phenomenon that sold tens of millions of books. *A Thief in the Night* (1972), by the evangelist-director Donald W. Thompson, demonstrated that Christian-themed movies could find a sizeable audience, and a Christian music industry, also a product of the early 1970s, easily surpassed the classical and jazz genres in sales by the end of the 20th century.

The Religious Right framed several influential cultural narratives about the nation's past and the role that people of faith must play in shaping its future. The influential historian-theologian Francis Schaeffer, a committed evangelical, offered a powerful story that pictured the Enlightenment as giving birth to a "secular humanism" that opposed religious faith. The secularist ideas on which the United States had been founded, argued Schaeffer, bequeathed an insufficiently solid religious base. According to an alternative history that slowly gained ascendancy over that of Schaeffer, the original intent of the Founding Fathers was to create a "Christian Nation." The subsequent movement toward secularism, grounded in mistaken claims about a "separation between church and state," lacked historical and, more importantly, legal-constitutional grounding. Both of these historical narratives, of course, pointed toward forging a politics devoted to joining the sacred with the secular.

The Republican Party remained the primary political vehicle for this project. The Religious Right, in addition to gravitating to the post-Reagan GOP at the national level, became a vital force in state and local politics, steadily pressing Republican organizations toward its perspective on issues such as school curricula and textbook selection. It also placed supporters on officially non-partisan bodies such as local school boards. From the grassroots to the White House, then, the Religious Right began to play an increasingly active role in American political culture.

Conclusion

Sweeping changes occurred in demographics, economics, culture, and society during the last quarter of the 20th century. The nation aged, and more of its people gravitated to the Sun Belt. Sprawling urban corridors challenged older central cities as sites for development. Rapid technological change fueled the growth of globalized industries and the restructuring of the labor force to fit a postindustrial economy.

The most prominent development in American popular culture was the proliferation of the video screen. Television, motion pictures, the Internet, and even services for phones increasingly targeted specific audiences, and the fragmented nature of cultural reception was exemplified by the rise of new, particularistic media ventures.

32

A Time of Hope and Fear, 1993–2011

CHAPTER OUTLINE

• The Politics of Polarization, 1993–2008 • Foreign Policies of Hope and Terror: 1993–2008 • An Economy of Bubble and Bust, 1993–2008 • Changing Times, 2009–

The decades that directly proceeded and followed the turn of the 21st century featured a tension between hope and fear. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, it seemed that America's military, economic, and cultural institutions had not only survived the challenge of communism but had become the envy of the world. American consumers enjoyed an expanding array of products and services, and stock markets reached record highs in early 2000 and again in late 2007.

Hopes for the future, however, found their match in new fears. Were the nation's economic and cultural institutions strong enough to withstand domestic changes such as the restructuring of the economy and increased immigration? Was its political structure flexible enough to meet the challenges of 21st century governance? Could the nation's economic and military power overcome new threats from terrorist networks? The attacks of September 11, 2001, brought a new urgency to fears about the future. How could Americans best protect national security? Might new powers for fighting terrorism endanger liberty and equality at home?

The two-term presidencies of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush inspired both adoration and contempt. These leaders tried, in different ways, to redesign the political landscape, yet the nation remained polarized. The sudden economic meltdown in 2008 helped bring a new Democratic face to the White House, Barack Obama. The first African American president and the second youngest in U.S. history, Obama offered what he called "the audacity of hope" in a time of war and economic uncertainty.

CHRONOLOGY

1993	Congress approves North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
1994	Republicans gain control of Congress ◆ O. J. Simpson saga begins
1996	Congress overhauls national welfare system ◆ Clinton reelected president ◆ *FOX Cable News* debuts
1997	Congress and White House agree on deficit reduction plan
1998	House of Representatives impeaches Clinton
1999	Senate trial ends with Clinton's acquittal
2000	*Bush* v. *Gore* decision clears way for George W. Bush to become president
2001	Congress passes Bush tax cut ◆ Terrorists from al-Qaeda destroy World Trade Center and attack Pentagon ◆ Congress passes Patriot Act ◆ U.S. forces invade Afghanistan
2002	*National Security Strategy of 2002* reasserts the Bush Doctrine
2003	Congress enacts Medicare Drug Plan ◆ Bush secures another tax cut
2004	Bush defeats Kerry in the presidential race ◆ Facebook debuts at Harvard
2005	Hurricane Katrina hits Gulf Coast ◆ YouTube goes online ◆ Insurgency in Iraq continues as permanent Iraqi government debuts
2006	Democrats gain control of Congress ◆ Housing "bubble" reaches its peak
2007	"Surge" begins in Iraq ◆ Housing "bubble" bursts
2008	Bush administration and Federal Reserve Board respond to financial meltdown ◆ Great Recession, worst since 1930s, begins ◆ Barack Obama wins presidential race
2009	Obama administration passes economic stimulus plan ◆ U.S. devotes more resources to war in Afghanistan
2010	Congress passes Affordable Health Care for America Act ◆ BP's massive oil spill endangers the Gulf Coast

The Politics of Polarization, 1993–2008

William Jefferson Clinton, the first Democratic president since Jimmy Carter, brought images of youth, vitality, and cultural diversity to Washington. Events at his inauguration included separate parties for different musical tastes, including one broadcast on MTV. His initial cabinet included three African Americans and two Latinos; three cabinet posts went to women. Ruth Bader Ginsburg, his first nominee to the Supreme Court, became only the second woman to sit on the High Court. As ambassador to the United Nations, Clinton named Madeleine Albright, who, during his second term, would become the country's first female secretary of state.

A New Democrat

The Clinton administration moved quickly on the domestic front. It steered a family leave plan for working parents through Congress; helped establish AmeriCorps, a program that allowed students to repay college loans through community service; and secured passage of the Brady Bill, which instituted restrictions on handgun purchases that the Supreme Court subsequently declared unconstitutional. A presidential order ended the Reagan era's ban on federal funding for abortion counseling.

Vice President Al Gore's tiebreaking vote in the Senate allowed passage of Clinton's 1993 economic package. It featured a modest tax increase and a spending-cut package aimed at reducing the federal deficit and lowering interest rates to stimulate economic growth. The plan also expanded an existing governmental program, the **Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)**, which assisted low and moderate income households with children. This provided an important safety net for millions of people.

Identifying himself as a **"New Democrat"** (see also Chapter 30), Clinton broke with his party's recent orthodoxy on criminal justice issues. He backed a 1994 law that provided funding for more police officers and more prisons. Its controversial "three strikes" provision required a life sentence for a third felony conviction. Clinton later supported limiting appeals by prisoners on death row and an anti-terrorist bill opposed by civil libertarian groups.

The administration's ambitious effort to revamp the nation's healthcare system, though, ended in failure. A task force chaired by Hillary Rodham Clinton began with two basic goals: extend coverage to the tens of millions who lacked insurance and contain the rising cost of care, which was burdening the larger U.S. economy. The plan that emerged, however, contained exceedingly complex mechanisms for financing and delivering healthcare. Republicans denounced it, extolled the existing healthcare system, and assailed the president as a proponent of "big government." Sick on arrival, the healthcare proposal died in Congress during early 1994.

Clinton's hope for another try at overhauling healthcare ended when the November 1994 elections brought dramatic victories for the GOP. An aggressive campaign spearheaded by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia produced Republican majorities in both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years. Republicans also won several new governorships, gained ground in most state legislatures, and made significant headway in many city and county elections, particularly across the South. Gingrich claimed a mandate for what he called a **"Contract with America."** It drew from Ronald Reagan's 1985 State of the Union Address and included calls for dramatically overhauling the welfare system, enacting anti-crime legislation, streamlining federal legal procedures, requiring a three-fifths majority for any increase in taxation, and revising the nation's relationship to the UN.

Gingrich downplayed polls that showed few voters knew much about the Contract and overplayed his new role as Speaker of the House. A deadlock between a Democratic president and a GOP Congress over spending issues produced two brief shutdowns of federal agencies in late 1995 and early 1996. Most people blamed Gingrich and the Republicans rather than Clinton and the Democrats for interrupting the delivery of government services.

A continually improving economy sustained Clinton's approval ratings. The annual rise in GDP averaged nearly 4 percent. Clinton's economic team shared

credit with Alan Greenspan, head of the Federal Reserve Board since 1987. Admirers hailed Greenspan as "the Maestro" for keeping down inflation, adroitly managing interest rates, and encouraging rising productivity. Clinton and Congress agreed that Greenspan should begin a third term at the Fed in 1996 and a fourth in 2000. Economic growth spurred millions of new jobs, decreased the federal deficit, boosted corporate profits, propelled stock and bond markets to new heights, and enabled the astronomical boom in the financial sector.

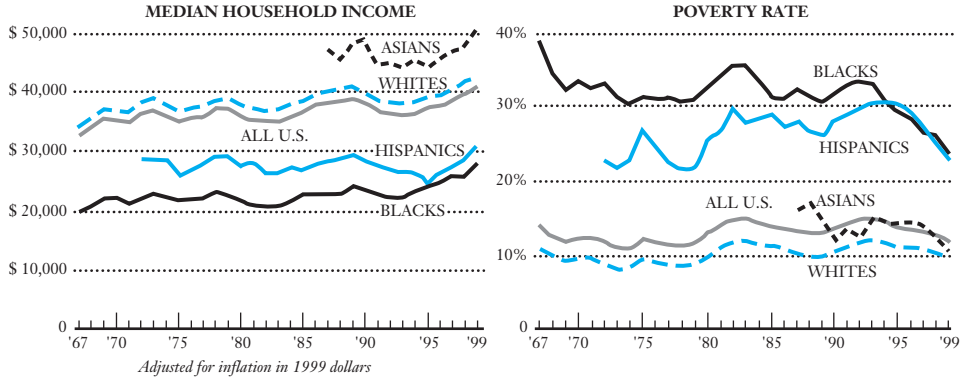
The fruits of economic expansion, however, were distributed unequally. An increasingly corporatized agricultural economy continued to push smaller farmers off the land. The gap between earnings of corporate executives, especially in the financial sector, and the earnings of their employees grew steadily wider. And the income gulf between the wealthiest 1 percent of households and the other 99 percent deepened. Still, most people did see their economic fortunes improve, however slightly. Unemployment fell, averaging less than 2 percent a year during the 1990s, and real income headed upward for the first time in nearly 15 years.

Surveying the political and economic landscapes, Clinton focused on an agenda that built on his self-identification as a New Democrat. He hired Dick Morris, a conservative political consultant who was shunned by most other Democrats. In his 1996 State of the Union address, the president declared the end of the era of "big government" and suggested a willingness to work with congressional Republicans in reducing social welfare costs.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 incorporated a series of accommodations between the Republican dominated Congress and Clinton, who had vetoed two earlier welfare measures. Although critical of some provisions of this law, Clinton embraced its central feature: eliminating the controversial AFDC program. AFDC provided funds and services to poor families headed by single, unemployed women. The new law supplanted AFDC with a program called **Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF)** that allowed the 50 states to design, under general federal guidelines, their own welfare-to-work programs.

TANF angered many traditional Democrats who did not share Clinton's vision. Provisions limiting governmental assistance over a person's lifetime to five years and authorizing states to suspend benefits if recipients failed to find employment within two years seemed blind to the difficulties faced by people without job skills. TANF's opponents also feared its impact on children, particularly in states with already minimal child care, nutrition, and medical care programs. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who had earlier devised Richard Nixon's FAP program (see Chapter 28), denounced TANF as "the most brutal act of social policy" since the 19th century. Edward Kennedy condemned it as "legislative child abuse."

New Democrats such as Clinton and Al Gore, however, claimed that it merged political principle with electoral reality. It expressed the conservative Republican faith in a smaller federal government; the widespread criticism of the existing system; and the ideal of work, rather than welfare, being the primary source of personal income. TANF's New Democratic supporters predicted it would encourage states to experiment with programs to reduce welfare costs, devise job-training programs, and even create jobs. It immediately benefited the Clinton-Gore team by eliminating the welfare issue from partisan debate and re-emphasizing the president's claim that he was reducing the size and cost of government.



Hispanics may be of any race. Data are not available for Hispanics before 1972 and for Asians before 1987.

Income and Poverty in the Late 20th Century

Two reports by the Census Bureau in 2000 showed the economic expansion of the 1990s reaching all racial and ethnic groups.

In the 1996 election, Clinton and Gore defeated Republicans Robert Dole and Jack Kemp by about the same margin they had beaten George H. W. Bush and Dan Quayle four years earlier. Although Ross Perot, as a third-party candidate, again denied the Democratic ticket a popular majority, his low-key campaign effort gained less than 10 percent of the vote. Clinton became the first Democratic president since Franklin D. Roosevelt to win back-to-back terms. Republicans retained control of Congress, however, and gained several new governorships.

Clinton and congressional Republicans soon agreed on a timetable for eradicating the federal deficit, which the president accurately predicted would begin to disappear. He also secured Republican support for the State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP), a 1997 measure extending medical care coverage to several million children from moderate-income families that made too much money to qualify for the Medicaid program. The White House even seemed poised, in early 1998, to work with congressional Republicans on reshaping the Social Security and Medicare programs. The nation's political culture, however, was about to start revolving around a legal-constitutional debate over the future of Bill Clinton's presidency rather than policy initiatives.

A Decade of Legal Investigations and Trials

Intensive inquiries into Clinton's public and private life capped a decade of popular fascination with investigations and trials. Americans, of course, had long been drawn to legal spectacles—such as the Scopes Trial of the 1920s (see Chapter 24) and the trials of communists during the early Cold War era (see Chapter 27). During the 1990s, however, investigative and courtroom dramas, both fictional and real, came to dominate popular culture.

Fictive accounts that featured legal pyrotechnics did big business. The legal thrillers of John Grisham catapulted this former attorney into the best-selling fiction writer of the 1990s. Six of his ten novels became feature motion pictures. Tom Cruise, perhaps Hollywood's most famous male star of the decade, played a lawyer in two Oscar-nominated legal movies, *A Few Good Men* (1992) and *The Firm* (1993), adapted from Grisham

novels. 1990 marked the debut of what would become one of TV's longest running drama series, *Law & Order* (1990–2010). It divided every episode between investigative and courtroom segments. And the much anticipated final episode of the comedy series *Seinfeld* (1989–98) revolved around a satirical trial sequence that featured all the fictional crimes the leading characters had allegedly committed during the 1990s.

Coverage of real trials, long a feature of mass culture, began a new phase when Court TV (renamed truTV in 2008) arrived in 1991. This cable channel helped drive the media feeding frenzy that surrounded the trials of O. J. Simpson, which began in mid-1994. The Simpson saga—which involved race, sex, money, and a celebrity defendant—ran for nearly three years. TV cameras closely followed an investigation into the double homicide of Simpson's former wife and one of her acquaintances that led to the indictment of Simpson, a football star turned actor. Simpson's high-profile attorneys, known as the "dream team," argued to a jury with an African American majority that racist police officers had conspired to frame an innocent black person.

As cable TV news stations fixated on Simpson's case, pundits christened the result "All OJ, All-the-Time." Television coverage featured legal commentators able to subject the smallest bits of evidence to the maximum amount of analysis. These adversarial analysts became surrogate attorneys, arguing on behalf of Simpson or his prosecutors. The trial itself finally ended in October 1995 with the jury quickly returning a "not guilty" verdict. Debates over whether their decision represented a reasonable view of the evidence or an emotional rebuke to the police system sustained innumerable media retrospectives. A sequel to this criminal trial featured relatives of the victims bringing a civil suit against Simpson for monetary damages. TV cameras were barred from the courtroom, but legal commentators continued to dissect the case, which ended with Simpson being held liable for damages. Eventually, however, a new round of investigations and legal actions, these involving the president of the United States, commandeered the media spotlight.

The Investigation and Trial of a President

Long before the Simpson saga ended, groups on the New Right were bankrolling private inquiries into Bill Clinton's past. Hardcore critics attacked not simply the propriety of Clinton's activities but the legitimacy of his presidency. New Right stalwarts such as the Reverend Jerry Falwell insisted that "Sixties radicalism" had shaped Clinton's allegedly flawed character and morally disqualified him for the White House. Falwell even endorsed a scurrilous video alleging that Clinton had silenced a former aide from Arkansas by arranging his murder.

Two less extreme charges against Clinton also concerned his pre-presidential activities. One concerned a scandal-plagued real-estate venture called "Whitewater," to which Hillary and Bill Clinton had been financially connected. Confident of rebutting the Whitewater allegations, the Clinton administration asked for the appointment of a special independent prosecutor to investigate them. The president also faced a seemingly frivolous civil suit for monetary damages by Paula Corbin Jones, who alleged that Clinton, while governor of Arkansas, had sexually harassed her. After the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that this private legal action could proceed while Clinton still held public office, the Jones case became entangled with the Whitewater inquiry when Kenneth Starr replaced the initial head prosecutor. A conservative attorney with Supreme Court ambitions, Starr had little background in criminal work. Starr's ultra-conservative staff pressed him to extend the Whitewater investigation into allegations that Clinton was concealing sexual encounters with other women.

Clinton's denial of sexual liaisons crumbled in early 1998 after conservative activists helped Starr obtain irrefutable evidence of White House trysts between Clinton and a young intern, Monica Lewinsky. The president's problems further escalated when Republican leaders in the House of Representatives claimed that Clinton's conduct justified his removal from office. Democrats condemned Clinton's behavior but supported his legal-constitutional claim: Congress could not impeach, let alone convict, a president for private failings that did not qualify as "high crimes or misdemeanors."

GOP leaders, however, pressed on. At Newt Gingrich's insistence, Republicans made Clinton's character their major issue during the off-year elections of 1998, but Clinton won this informal political trial. Republicans surprisingly lost five seats in the House of Representatives. Even worse for Gingrich, public revelation of his long-term extramarital affair forced his own resignation from the House. Although Kenneth Starr conceded that all the original charges against Clinton lacked merit, the official report of his lengthy investigation detailed the dalliances with Monica Lewinsky and highlighted Clinton's efforts to conceal them when testifying under oath in the Jones lawsuit and the Whitewater investigation. Using evidence gathered by Starr's investigators, the Republican majority in the lame-duck House of Representatives mobilized enough votes, in mid-December 1998, for two articles of impeachment (one for perjury and another for obstruction of justice) against Clinton.

Thirteen Republican members of the House, called "Managers," served as Clinton's prosecutors during the televised trial in which members of the U.S. Senate served as jurors. This legal-constitutional showdown lacked first-rate dramatic quality, however, as the Managers' courtroom skills proved no match for those of Clinton's own "dream team" of defense lawyers. The Senate trial concluded on February 12, 1999, with both articles of impeachment gaining nowhere near the 67 votes that the Constitution required for conviction on an impeachment charge.

Although Clinton could justifiably complain about a well-funded public-private campaign to unseat him, more than a partisan vendetta produced his legal-constitutional trials. First, of course, the president was hardly an innocent. He would ultimately be ordered to pay $850,000 to settle the Jones lawsuit, be cited for contempt of court for "misleading" testimony, and be forced to surrender his license to practice law.

In addition, the transition from "All OJ, All the Time" to "All Clinton, All the Time" meant that an adversarial, legalistic model would shape media coverage of the president's problems. Indeed, commentators who had made their TV debut during the OJ era, such as Greta van Susteren, reappeared during the Clinton impeachment saga. TV news, in short, began featuring dueling opinions—for or against—about every rumor or potential legal charge, however far-fetched, involving Clinton and other public figures.

The Fox News Channel's 1996 launch added a spicy new ingredient to the cable TV mix. Fox's rightward political slant was less important initially than its role in refining the adversarial OJ format for TV news. The channel perfected a cost-cutting technique by which its camera crews gathered eye-catching imagery and brief interviews for re-editing and recycling. On-air commentators became ever more skillful in using fleeting imagery and brief sound bites as the basis for trading opinions and speculation without leaving the studio or doing any actual reporting. New digital technologies, moreover, facilitated the retrieval of archived footage. After the Clinton-Lewinsky story became a media obsession, a fleeting glimpse of the two passing one another during a public reception began accompanying virtually every mention of the president's legal troubles.

History Through Film

The Big Lebowski (1998)

Director: Joel Coen. Starring: Jeff Bridges (“The Dude”), John Goodman (Walter), Steve Buscemi (Donny), and Sam Elliott (“The Stranger”).

There are many possible ways of recalling the 1990s and almost as many reasons to begin with *The Big Lebowski.* This loosely structured, irony-soaked comedy is set at the decade’s beginning, “just about the time of your conflict with Saddam and the Iraqis,” according to its narrator, “The Stranger” (Sam Elliot).

The Big Lebowski meanders through historical events such as military interventions in Korea and Vietnam, the New Left and counterculture of the Sixties, the sexual revolution, and the new immigration. The film also wanders through the history of the Hollywood film industry, drawing snippets from the western, the musical, and the *film noirs* of the 1940s, particularly *The Big Sleep* (1945, 1946). It also reworks the Hollywood “bio-pic,” a traditional genre that offers highly sanitized biographies of invariably male heroes.

The heroic figure for the nineties is “Jeffrey Lebowski” (Jeff Bridges). Portrayed as a burnout from the Sixties, he claims that he wrote the initial draft of the *Port Huron Statement* (the 1962 manifesto of the Students for a Democratic Society). Known as “the Dude,” he embraces the “slacker life” and concentrates on, in no particular order, White Russian cocktails, pot, and bowling. One of his bowling buddies, “Walter Sobchak” (John Goodman), is a satirical portrayal of a gun-toting whacko, mocking Hollywood’s representation of veterans of the Vietnam War.

The storyline, such as it is, begins with a gang of thugs mistaking “the Dude” for “the Big Lebowski,” a paraplegic veteran of the Korean conflict and celebrated philanthropist, whose young wife, “Bunny,” owes a gambling debt. Loosely paralleling *The Big Sleep,* the “Big Lebowski” improbably hires “the Dude” to broker a ransom deal for “Bunny,” who has allegedly been kidnapped. Falling into the role of private investigator, “the Dude” must survive a series of trial-like encounters in order to save, as did noble knights of old, a “damsel in distress.”

In this film, however, the surreal misadventures of a private investigator of the 1990s provide another opportunity

Finally, a medium newer and more adversarial than cable TV—political sites on the Internet—came online at a critical point in the Clinton investigation. Although other outlets eventually might have reported rumors about the president’s involvement with Monica Lewinsky, there was a long history (most evident during John Kennedy’s presidency) of burying such stories as purely private matters. In any event, the first news of the Clinton-Lewinsky relationship came from a fledgling Internet enterprise, *The Drudge Report,* a conservative opinion-gossip site that other media had previously disdained. Very quickly, *The Drudge Report* became a much-visited stop on the Internet and a model for subsequent sites that featured an adversarial approach to political coverage. Over the course of the 1990s, in short, discussions of public affairs increasingly took on the investigative format that came to envelop—indeed, almost paralyze—the work of the Clinton administration.



POLYGRAM/WORKING TITLE/THE KOBAL COLLECTION

The Dude abides.

for the reworking of various Hollywood movie clichés. It all ends with "the Dude" drinking beer at his favorite bowling alley, talking to "the Stranger" and telling him (and all of us) that all the "strikes and gutters, ups and downs" of life will never bother or change him. We are thus assured that "the Dude abides."

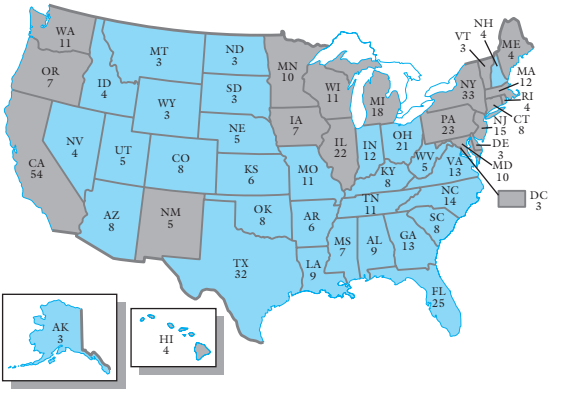
Initially a box-office disappointment, the movie subsequently spawned the inevitable 10th Anniversary DVD, a series of Facebook sites, and the annual "Lebowski Fests" where the movie's devoted fans bowl, dress in costume, sip White Russians, and shout out its signature line: "I'm a Lebowski. You're a Lebowski."

In *The Big Lebowski,* the 1990s randomly unfolds as a time that lacks a coherent theme. Coming after the end of the Cold War, and with 9/11 still unimaginable, the movie portrays an era that, much like "the Dude," simply "abides."

The Long Election and Trials of 2000

The lengthy presidential election of 2000 also ended in a legal drama that attracted this same style of coverage, especially on cable TV news programs.

A retro aura initially surrounded the presidential campaign of 2000. Al Gore, Clinton's vice president for eight years, reappeared as the Democratic presidential nominee and selected Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut as his running mate. The Republican ballot, for the fifth time in the last six elections, bore the name of Bush. **George W. Bush** chose **Richard (Dick) Cheney**—a conservative Republican stalwart who had served in Bush senior's administration—to be his vice-presidential running mate. The veteran lawyer-activist Ralph Nader ran on the Green Party ticket but attracted less than 3 percent of the popular vote, a far less impressive showing than Ross Perot had made in 1992 or even in 1996.



	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	Number	%	Number	%
Gore (Democrat)	267	49.6	50,996,582	48.4
Bush (Republican)	271	50.4	50,456,062	47.8
Nader (Green)	----	----	2,858,843	2.7
Buchanan (Reform)	----	----	483,760	.4

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MAP 32.1 Presidential Election, 2000

Although Gore won the popular vote, Bush won the electoral vote after a bitter fight over disputed ballots in Florida.

The campaign of 2000 energized the Republican Party's base but stirred less passion elsewhere. Bush claimed his record as governor of Texas showed he could work with Democrats, appeal to African Americans and Hispanics, and pursue a "compassionate conservatism." While the Bush camp stayed on message, Gore's disorganized campaign struggled to articulate coherent themes. By distancing himself from Clinton, the vice president likely squandered his primary asset—eight years of economic prosperity—and kept some Democratic voters at home. In contrast, New Right voters who reviled Clinton did turn out—and overwhelmingly favored Bush over Gore.

Still, barely 50 percent of eligible voters went to the polls in 2000. Following a pattern evident since the presidency of Ronald Reagan, the vote highlighted the gender, racial, and ethnic differences between the two parties. According to exit polls, Bush attracted 54 percent of the ballots cast by men but only 43 percent of those from women. He received 38 percent of the votes from Latinos, 37 percent from Asian Americans, and 9 percent from African Americans.

The election of 2000 ended in a near dead heat. Republicans narrowly maintained control of the House of Representatives, and the Senate ended up evenly split between the two parties. Al Gore carried the popular vote by about 500,000 ballots, but the only tally that mattered, the one in the Electoral College, turned on the 25 votes from Florida. Only about 1,000 popular votes initially separated the two candidates. As other media outlets held back, Fox News, at the urging of an employee who was also Bush's cousin, declared that the Republican ticket had carried Florida—and gained the presidency. Most other media, and even Al Gore for a time, accepted this verdict.

When it became evident that no clear winner had emerged in Florida, the partisan fervor that had remained muted during the campaign suddenly flared. Cable TV news shifted to an "All Election, All the Time" focus on Florida, where Bush's brother Jeb was governor and the GOP dominated the state legislature. After a count of absentee ballots, Republican officials declared Bush the victor in Florida by a margin of 930 votes. Democrats charged that numerous irregularities—including antiquated voting machines, deliberately confusing ballots, and apparent efforts to discourage voting by African Americans—had distorted the count. A torrent of lawsuits, by Democrats and Republicans alike, quickly ensued. Both parties, especially the GOP, flooded Florida with cadres of lawyers and party activists who performed for the benefit of TV cameras. Florida's highest court finally ordered hand recounts in several counties where Gore's totals seemed suspiciously low. When early results seemed to be reducing Bush's already slim margin, Republicans charged Democrats with stealing his victory and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

As the nation's highest court heard the case of ***Bush* v. *Gore*** (2000), legal reporting and TV commentary approached a near-frenzied state. On the evening of December 12, 2000, the Court handed down its final decision. Five conservative Republicans (over the dissents of two other Republicans and two Democrats) ruled that no more ballots could be recounted. Moreover, they announced that their legal holding only applied to this particular case and should not be cited as precedent for any future lawsuit. Outflanked in court, Gore conceded political defeat, and George W. Bush became the 43rd president of the United States. Statisticians later advised that no procedure for hand counting so many disputed Florida ballots could have yielded a universally agreed-upon result in such a close election.

A Conservative Washington, 2001–2008

The Bush presidency's program for tax cuts, educational reform, and expanding oil drilling got off to a fast start, using the Reagan administration's high-octane entry into Washington, D.C., as its model. Conservative think tanks had already assembled thousands of policy proposals and a similar number of resumes from reliably conservative job seekers. Bush chose a cabinet and White House staff as diverse in gender and ethnicity as Clinton's first one. It included General Colin Powell in the key post of secretary of state, three women, two Asian Americans, and even a Democrat who had briefly served in Clinton's administration.

Several divisive issues immediately dominated Bush's presidency. An economic downturn accompanied by an early 2001 plunge in U.S stock markets—a consequence of a bubble in high-tech stocks and fraudulent activities by several large corporations—signaled the end of the boom of the 1990s. Revenue surpluses at the national and state levels began dwindling and then turning to deficits. Consumer confidence slumped. The Bush administration responded by urging a tax cut to provide an economic stimulus.

The White House pressed two other proposals. First, Vice President Cheney put together an ambitious energy plan, focused on easing restrictions on oil drilling and regulations on pricing. Critics complained that it primarily benefited large oil and gas firms—many headquartered in Texas—and did little to develop alternative sources of energy. Second, the president himself championed an educational program called "No Child Left Behind" that would require nationwide testing to determine which schools were teaching students effectively.

Bush's initiatives were bolder than either his campaign rhetoric or his loss of the popular vote might have suggested. A revised tax plan, which phased in the substantial cuts that tilted toward the wealthiest 1 per cent of Americans, became law in June 2001. "No Child Left Behind," supported by Democratic icon Ted Kennedy, also passed. Opponents of the pro-oil and gas energy bill blocked its passage but only until 2005. In 2003 the administration narrowly passed a costly addition (the first in 35 years) to the Medicare system. **The Medicare Prescription Drug Improvement and Modernization Act** created complex rules by which federal funds would pay for some, but not all, of the drug costs of Medicare recipients. Benefiting drug companies as well as patients, this measure helped further increase the federal deficit.

In contrast to Clinton, who preferred lengthy, loosely structured intellectual give-and-take sessions, Bush favored brief, tightly controlled meetings that moved toward clearly delineated decisions. According to some members of his administration, Bush rarely seemed interested in exploring, or sometimes even hearing or reading, ideas in conflict with his instincts. He initially allowed Vice President Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, the secretary of defense, wide latitude to set policy directions. Bush also proclaimed that religious faith *directly* shaped his political outlook.

The president's approval ratings, which had hovered under 50 percent, soared after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The mid-term elections of 2002 left the GOP with secure control of the U.S. Senate and an even larger margin in the House of Representatives.

Downplaying the rapidly growing federal deficit, largely the result of Bush's earlier tax reductions, the White House secured yet another tax cut in 2003. It again insisted that this measure would spur economic growth. Democrats condemned these cuts for tilting toward the already wealthy in an economy that had shed nearly 3 million jobs and had shown a widening gap between rich and poor.

The White House's political strategy for the 2004 elections, fine-tuned by consultant Karl Rove, stressed Bush's role in combating terrorism. The Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, had served in Vietnam during the 1960s before becoming an antiwar activist. Kerry endorsed the Bush administration's national security initiatives but criticized its strategy and tactics and kept his distance from the small antiwar movement.

A fiercely partisan campaign ensued. Some Bush supporters disparaged Kerry's Vietnam War record, and his campaign portrayed a Kerry presidency as a danger to national security. Democrats charged Bush with bumbling leadership, saddling future generations with a horrendous burden of debt, and enabling a small percentage of the wealthy to enjoy tax cuts. The GOP's mobilization effort produced an unusually large turnout and charges of voter fraud, especially in Ohio. Bush defeated Kerry by about 3 percent of the popular vote and 15 electoral ballots. As in 2000, Bush did best in suburbia and small towns, among men, and with people who attended church regularly. Kerry failed to do as well as had Al Gore in 2000 among white voters—still more than three-quarters of the electorate—or to win enough middle-income voters, who Democrats had claimed were suffering from Bush's economic policies.

Bush claimed an electoral mandate and announced an ambitious second-term agenda that featured substantial overhauls of the Social Security system and the tax code. He barnstormed the country on behalf of these initiatives, but most people appeared wary. A shaky economy and a yawning federal deficit seemed reason

George W. Bush Shows Texas Style. *The 43rd president, in contrast to his father, George H. W. Bush, always emphasized his Texas roots. Here, he steps out at an Inaugural Ball.*



AP Images/Pablo Martinez Monsivais

enough to defer action on significant policy changes with uncertain economic consequences. Moreover, a Republican-controlled Congress became less of an asset to the White House. Revelations of illegal contributions from lobbyists and personal misconduct forced the resignation of several GOP legislators, including the powerful Tom DeLay, and sent Congress's approval skidding below that of Bush.

Politics and Social-Cultural Issues

On most domestic issues, differences between the national Republican and Democratic parties widened and deepened. It became increasingly difficult to find common ground on a wide range of political and social questions. With the major political parties locked in partisan stalemate, a variety of movement groups tried to seize the initiative on specific issues.

Immigration policy emerged as one of the most contentious problems. Entering the United States in near-record numbers, immigrants were now seeking jobs throughout

the country, particularly in the South. This encouraged organizations that opposed immigration to mobilize on a national scale. A few formed militia-like patrols and threatened to turn back people trying to enter the United States along the southwestern border. Others lobbied Congress, demanding new immigration restrictions, tighter border security, and stronger penalties for employers of undocumented immigrants.

Pro-immigrant organizations responded, particularly in California and other states with large Mexican American populations. Tapping the power of Spanish-language radio and TV, they staged temporary work stoppages and street demonstrations intended to demonstrate the economic importance of immigrant workers and the political clout of their movement. They cited economic studies that challenged claims that immigrants "took away" jobs and depressed wage levels.

Political leaders moved cautiously. House Republicans from districts with strong anti-immigration movements favored new restrictions, but enough Republicans in the Senate joined Democrats to block any such measure. The Bush administration promised a more vigorous effort to secure the U.S.-Mexican border but angered congressional Republicans by endorsing a "guest worker" arrangement, an option favored by most business interests. Uncertain about how immigration legislation might affect electoral results in 2008, Republicans backed off taking action at the national level.

Differences over the role of government in dealing with possible public health risks also sharpened. Business interests joined prominent Republicans in supporting continued deregulation and opposing new governmental restrictions. The free market, they contended, would self-correct to protect the public, and regulators would stifle business growth.

In response to this position, environmentalist groups increasingly merged social-justice concerns with quality of life issues. They argued that hazardous wastes, though a potential threat to everyone, most directly affected people with low incomes who lacked the political power to keep toxic byproducts out of their neighborhoods and off their lands. Activists also highlighted how the relatively few corporations that dominated the global production and sale of beef, poultry, grains, and other foodstuffs did business. They charged that large feed lot complexes and poultry factories brutalized animals, overused antibiotics, and polluted the environment with waste products. Grain corporations used their financial leverage to press farmers in the United States and overseas to produce single crops, often soybeans or corn (which were found in more and more non-food products), and to use agricultural methods that threatened soil quality and vital rain forests. Governmental regulations, they argued, were needed to protect the quality of soil and water as well as to insure the health and safety of consumers.

Critics of the food industry especially examined the patterns of distribution and consumption. By buying from the largest producers at the lowest possible prices, the giant fast-food and grocery chains contributed to environmental problems. "Good food" advocates who were also environmentalists, such as Alice Waters and Michael Pollan, spearheaded a "local food" movement that sparked a growing consumer demand for organic products, local farmers' markets, and well-prepared "slow food."

The issue of "gay marriage" also emerged as a major political-cultural flashpoint, as LGBT movements sought legal recognition of long-term partnerships that they viewed to be as legitimate as heterosexual marriages. When the U.S. Supreme Court struck down state anti-sodomy laws (in *Lawrence* v. *Texas,* 2003), it signaled that the same constitutional logic might apply to bans on same-sex marriage. Opinion polls suggested sharply divided views about gay marriage but fairly broad

support for civil unions or other legal arrangements that would recognize LGBT partnerships. In several states, though, courts held that the bedrock principle of legal constitutional equality guaranteed gays and lesbians a "right to marry," a liberty that a controversial 2008 referendum in California rejected but one that several state legislatures subsequently affirmed.

Conservative organizations, which usually gained support from the GOP, responded by reiterating their case against gay marriage. They claimed that gay couples were unsuited for raising children and joined the Bush administration in seeking an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which specifically declared marriage as a "union between a man and a woman." Opponents of the amendment narrowly turned back a congressional effort to send such a measure to the states for ratification in 2006. In response, conservatives mobilized to overturn, by constitutional amendment or referendum, legislative and court actions that legalized gay marriage in a number of states.

Mobilization on the political right also highlighted conflict between religious belief and scientific-medical research. Moving beyond opposition to abortion, "right-to-life" activists condemned other practices, such as assisted suicide and removal of feeding tubes; anti-pregnancy drugs; and medical research that used stem cells from human embryos. In July 2006, after Congress passed a measure in support of stem cell research, President Bush responded by issuing, on live television, the first veto of his presidency, on "culture-of-life" grounds.

Many of these political-cultural issues involved court decisions, and a conservative legal movement enjoyed considerable success in elevating lawyers who had worked for previous Republican administrations to federal judgeships. During Bill Clinton's presidency, conservative Republican lawyers had worried that an influx of Clinton appointees might cancel out the impact of Reagan-era appointees. Following the GOP electoral surge of 1994, they had managed to block confirmation of the Clinton nominees they labeled "liberal activists." With Bush doing the nominating during the early 2000s, the GOP's Senate leadership, however, threatened to change longstanding rules that enabled filibusters if Democrats sought to block Bush's judicial choices.

Despite an embarrassing misfire, when a Bush nominee for the Supreme Court, Harriet Myers, met determined opposition from within Republican ranks, the conservative legal movement succeeded in placing many jurists on lower federal courts. In addition, the White House easily obtained Senate confirmations for two staunchly conservative Supreme Court nominees who had done legal work in the Reagan administration. In 2005, John Roberts replaced William Rehnquist as Chief Justice of the United States, and the following year Samuel Alito (rather than Harriet Myers) succeeded the retiring Sandra Day O'Connor as an associate justice.

The **"Roberts Court"** seemed even more attuned to the conservative legal movement than its predecessor, headed by the conservative William Rehnquist. In one of several key decisions breaking 5–4—with Justice Anthony Kennedy replacing Justice O'Connor as the swing vote—the Roberts Court limited women's access to abortion without accepting Justice Clarence Thomas's invitation to overrule *Roe* v. *Wade*. It rebuffed traditional civil rights groups with a similarly restrictive view of the ability of local school districts to use racial identification when assigning students to particular schools in pursuit of a desegregation strategy. In a 5–4 decision that thrilled Second Amendment activists, the Roberts Court ruled that the right to bear arms included that of individual citizens to possess firearms and struck down an ordinance regulating gun ownership in the nation's capital. The logic of this decision, *District of Columbia* v. *Heller* (2008),

suggested that the ruling would extend to similar regulations at the state and local levels, a step taken in *McDonald* v. *City of Chicago* (2010). And the Court invariably sided with claims made by corporations fighting government regulations.

Foreign Policies of Hope and Terror: 1993–2008

For nearly half a century, the goal of containing Soviet communism had shaped U.S. foreign policy. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, George H. W. Bush's measured attempt to fashion new goals for a post-Cold War world had failed to impress either his Democratic or Republican critics (see Chapter 30). Thus, Bill Clinton came to the White House with a more ambitious foreign policy agenda. A committed internationalist, he assigned top priority to devising guidelines for military intervention, improving relations with the UN, promoting free-market policies that supported globalization, addressing environmental concerns that were both global and local in nature, and reducing threats from nuclear materials.

Clinton's Internationalist Agenda

One of the most perplexing foreign policy issues involved decisions about when to employ U.S. military power in localized conflicts that no longer could automatically be connected to the now-defunct Soviet Union. No consistent guidelines for intervention ever emerged. In Somalia, U.S. troops, under the umbrella of a UN mission since May 1992, had been assisting a humanitarian effort to provide food and relief supplies. After a battle in Mogadishu (subsequently portrayed in the book and movie *Black Hawk Down*) took the lives of 18 U.S. service personnel in the fall of 1993, however, domestic criticism mounted. Clinton ordered a pullout the following spring. Recalling the criticism of involvement in Somalia, Clinton withheld support from a UN peacekeeping effort in Rwanda, where 500,000 Tutsis died during a genocidal civil war. In Haiti, though, Clinton dispatched U.S. troops, in cooperation with the UN, to reinstall the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who had been ousted in a coup. The White House, in cooperation with NATO, also sent 20,000 U.S. troops to Yugoslavia to prevent Bosnian Serbs from massacring Bosnian Muslims. U.S. forces remained in Bosnia to oversee a ceasefire and peace-building process that resulted from the U.S.-brokered Dayton (Ohio) Peace Accords of 1995.

In March 1999 Clinton supported a NATO bombing campaign to protect Albanian Muslims from an "ethnic cleansing" program in the Serbian province of Kosovo carried out by Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic. The Albanian Muslims constituted nearly 90 percent of the population in Kosovo. After 78 days of bombardment had decimated Serbia's infrastructure, Milosevic withdrew his forces from Kosovo. Serbs soon elected a new president supportive of multi-ethnic democracy and the West, and Milosevic faced trial before an international human rights court. As in Bosnia, U.S. and allied troops remained in Kosovo as peacekeepers.

Clinton's military moves in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo provoked controversy. Republican critics accused the president of lacking clear guidelines about when, where, and how to employ U.S. force. Suspicious of cooperating with the UN, they denounced peacekeeping and "nation-building" programs, and demanded clear-cut exit strategies to prevent the United States from getting bogged down in lengthy occupations. Defenders of intervention insisted that Clinton's flexibility

and willingness to work with NATO and the UN were strengths, not weaknesses, in a post-Cold War world.

Globalization

In addition, the Clinton administration placed great emphasis on lowering barriers to trade and expanding global markets to advance the international economic process called "globalization." Building on Reagan-Bush policies, Clinton argued that globalization would boost prosperity and foster democracy around the world, to the ultimate benefit of the U.S. economy. His stance angered many labor leaders, who warned that globalization was contributing to the loss of industrial jobs in the United States. It also sparked a highly visible anti-globalization movement that emerged in most nations during the 1990s.

In pursuit of his support for globalization, Clinton first promoted the stalled North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. In late 1993 he pushed NAFTA through Congress in a close vote that depended on Republican support and faced fierce opposition from normally pro-Democratic labor unions. Then in early 1995, Mexico's severe debt crisis and a drastic devaluation of its currency prompted Clinton to extend a $20 billion loan. Unprecedented and controversial, this loan stabilized the Mexican economy and, within a few years, had been repaid with $1 billion in interest. When Asian economies later faltered, Clinton lobbied the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to provide emergency credits to shore up financial systems from Korea to Indonesia.

Clinton's administration signed more than 300 trade agreements. Its trade negotiators, promising that expanded trade ties would benefit all nations, completed the so-called Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in late 1993. In early 1995 GATT was replaced by a more powerful **World Trade Organization (WTO)**. Anxious to move China toward a market economy, Clinton reversed his earlier position and backed China's entry into the WTO, in exchange for its promise to relax trade restrictions. Similarly, in February 1994, the United States ended its 19-year-old trade embargo against Vietnam. Everywhere he went, Clinton extolled the coming of a "New Century" in which freer trade would expand prosperity, and "liberty will spread by cell phone and cable modem."

Protecting the Planet

International environmental issues were a third area of major concern for the Clinton administration. At home, it negotiated plans to manage and protect old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest, implement a conservation framework in nine national forests in the Sierra Nevada, and handle the crowds of tourists in Yosemite National Park. In controversial moves, Clinton's secretary of the interior set aside 16 new national monuments and blocked road construction and logging in nearly 60 million acres of wild areas in national forests. Building on the work of its Republican predecessors, Clinton's administration placed almost 6 million new surface and underwater acres under federal protection. It preferred to promote change through incentives rather than penalties. The Conservation Reserve Program, a farm subsidy program that earlier paid farmers to remove land from tillage, for instance, began payments to those who would restore their wetlands to decrease polluted runoff into streams and preserve wildlife habitat.

The U.S. government, however, often seemed to be one of the country's most flagrant polluters. Throughout the Cold War, governmental nuclear facilities had spewed toxic wastes, and workers had been inadequately warned about the dangers of radiation. In 1993 Clinton's energy secretary released long-secret medical records relating to radiation and promised programs to inform and compensate victims. The legacy of other military-related pollutants also became evident after many of the nation's military bases were shut down during the post-Cold War 1990s.

Most importantly, Clinton supported the environmental movement's increasing focus on international ecological dangers. Environmentalists warned of holes in the ozone layer caused by chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), potentially catastrophic climate change associated with deforestation and desertification, pollution of the world's oceans, and the decline of biodiversity in plant and animal species. Solutions to global environmental problems seemingly required worldwide cooperation toward "sustainable development," and international meetings on environmental issues became more frequent. An "Earth Summit" was held in Brazil in 1992. International conventions signed in Kyoto in 1997 and at The Hague in 2000 pointed toward establishing international standards on emissions of CFCs and gases that contributed to global climate changes. The climate-change issue, however, was becoming increasingly polarized as some Republicans began insisting that the issue was a scientific hoax that would cripple the American economy.

Clinton's post-Cold War agenda included several other priorities. Clinton supported nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. He dismantled some of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and increased economic aid to Ukraine, then the third greatest nuclear power in the world, in exchange for a pledge to disarm its 1,600 Soviet-era warheads. After promises of U.S. help, North Korea also agreed to begin halting its fledgling nuclear program and permitting international inspections—agreements it later repudiated. The White House successfully pressed for a new Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in the spring of 1995, and three years later neared the brink of war with Iraq to maintain international inspections of Saddam Hussein's weapons programs. After enduring punishing air strikes, however, Iraq still expelled the investigators and left analysts wondering if Hussein had resumed building weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

September 11, 2001, and the Bush Doctrine

During the 1990s, intelligence experts highlighted a growing concern about attacks by a foreign terrorist network called al-Qaeda. Its operatives bombed the World Trade Center in New York City in 1993; U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998; and a U.S. battleship, the *Cole,* docked in Yemen in 2000. These bombings prompted heightened security efforts and special efforts that began to track al-Qaeda's leaders. As the Clinton administration left office, however, national security officers worried about what al-Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden, an Islamic fundamentalist from Saudi Arabia, might be plotting next.

On September 11, 2001, 19 suicide terrorists, organized in separate squads, seized four jetliners, already airborne and loaded with highly flammable jet fuel, for use as high-octane, human-guided missiles. Two planes toppled the Twin Towers of New York's World Trade Center; another ripped into the Pentagon in

Washington; and only the courageous action of passengers on a fourth plane, which crashed in Pennsylvania, prevented a second attack against the nation's capital. Nearly 3,000 people, including several hundred passengers and an even larger number of police and fire officers in New York City, perished.

President Bush, donning the mantle of a wartime president, declared a war on terrorism. Tracing the attacks to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda operating out of Afghanistan, the Bush administration organized a multinational invasion force. In December 2001, U.S.-led troops toppled the Taliban regime that had been dominating Afghanistan with bin Laden's help and installed a pro-U.S. government in Afghanistan's capital city of Kabul. The effort failed, however, to secure that nation's countryside or to capture bin Laden and his top aides.

Meanwhile, the president proclaimed what became known as the **Bush Doctrine**. As fully expressed in the **National Security Strategy of 2002**, it denounced not only terrorist networks but any nation sponsoring terrorism or accumulating WMD that terrorists might use. The Bush Doctrine additionally proclaimed that the United States possessed the unilateral authority to wage preemptive war against any force, including any foreign nation, that endangered American security.

Congressional legislation bolstered the Bush doctrine. Many Democrats joined Republicans in passing the USA Patriot Act, which gave the executive branch broad latitude to watch over and detain people it considered threats to national security. A newly created agency, the Department of Homeland Security, launched an array of new measures including screenings for all passengers at airports. Fear of more terrorist attacks, heightened by mysterious mailings of deadly anthrax bacteria to several public officials, reverberated through American culture and strengthened the case for extending the power of the executive branch.

Unilateralism and the Iraq War

As Osama bin Laden dropped from sight, the White House invoked the Bush Doctrine against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, the old nemesis of the president's father, who controlled some of the richest oil reserves in the world. The Bush administration contended that Iraq posed a clear and immediate danger to the United States. Claiming that intelligence reports showed that Saddam possessed WMDs and had ties to al-Qaeda, the Bush administration called for "regime change." The White House asked the UN and other nations to support a military strike to remove Hussein on the claim that Iraq had frustrated the weapons inspections mandated by the Gulf War settlement of 1991. Led by France, Germany, and Russia, however, the UN favored giving weapons inspectors another try.

Bush's presidential campaign had emphasized conservative Republicans' distrust of working with international bodies and a preference for unilateralism. Moreover, the president had appointed to his administration a group of **neoconservatives** who had called throughout the 1990s for "regime change" in Iraq. According to neoconservative advisers to Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, the United States should use its enormous military power to go on the offensive and clear away threatening, repressive regimes, beginning with that in Iraq. In this effort to spread liberty around the globe and enhance U.S. influence especially in the Middle East, they argued, the United States could not be hampered

by international organizations and agreements. Unlike his father, an internationalist who had carefully courted UN backing for the Persian Gulf War, Bush proved determined to overthrow Hussein regardless of the UN's position.

Acting without UN authorization, in early 2003 the Bush administration assembled its own "coalition of the willing"—troops from the United States and Great Britain, plus smaller contingents from Poland, Italy, Spain, and several other countries. On March 20, the coalition launched an air and ground assault against Iraq. Overriding military planners who desired at least 300,000 U.S. troops, Operation Iraqi Freedom deployed only one-third that many forces. Saddam Hussein's regime did fall in less than two months, and on May 1 President Bush proclaimed, from the deck of the aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln,* that "significant combat" had ended in Iraq. This carefully crafted media event quickly rebounded against the president, however, as resistance flared against the American-dominated occupation, which aimed at creating a pro-U.S. government and a new economic order closely tied to U.S. companies. Iraqi insurgents also attacked aid workers from the United Nations, the Red Cross, and other international relief agencies.

As U.S. officials and cooperating Iraqis tried to create a system of governance, they faced an evolving insurgency that brought rising American and Iraqi casualties. In part, violence stemmed from Iraq's ethnic, religious, and regional divisions. Under Hussein, Sunni Arabs who lived in areas around Baghdad had dominated political power. The Shi'a Arabs, a majority of the nation's population who were concentrated in the South, and the northern Kurds, mostly Sunni but non-Arabs, had been persecuted outsiders. They now wanted a share of governmental power. Divisions also emerged between Iraqis who insisted that any new government remain secular (as it had been under Hussein) and those who desired one based on Islamic law. Moreover, terrorist groups from outside Iraq, particularly ones claiming connections to al-Qaeda, joined the insurgency.

Factional struggles, complicated by the presence of Western troops with little knowledge of Iraq's socio-religious dynamics, embroiled the country in civil war. The Joint Chiefs of Staff warned that the Iraq war was stretching the military so thin that it might not be able to respond in other areas of the globe. As U.S. casualties in Iraq mounted, so did the costs. The lack of international support for U.S. action meant that, unlike the 1991 Persian Gulf War, U.S. taxpayers directly bore the costs of this operation. The Bush administration had suggested that the sale of Iraqi oil could pay for the "liberation" effort, but revenues remained low as financial mismanagement of the occupation left billions of U.S. dollars in aid unaccounted for. The administration repeatedly needed to ask Congress for additional billions of dollars to fund ongoing operations in Iraq. Meanwhile, the war in Afghanistan stalled, the Taliban regrouped, and the al-Qaeda leaders who had attacked on September 11, 2001, retreated into mountainous safe havens.

As the Iraqi operation became more and more difficult, the Bush administration's public rationale for having undertaken it fell apart. The White House never documented any connection between al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein, and an exhaustive official report concluded that Iraq had possessed no biological or nuclear WMD at the time of the invasion. Later evidence suggested that intelligence had been distorted to bolster the justification for war. In response to the clear failures in intelligence gathering and assessment, Congress in December 2004 placed existing efforts



AP Images/Khalid Mohammed

Baghdad, Iraq, 2006. *Bombings aimed at both Iraqis and U.S. personnel followed the fall of Saddam Hussein. In May 2006, a bomb attack hit a news crew from CBS, underscoring the danger that journalists, as well as troops, confronted whenever they left the relative safety of the U.S.-controlled "Green Zone" in central Baghdad.*

under a new umbrella agency and created a new director of national intelligence as the key coordinating official.

As the initial case for war came under fire, so did its conduct. Photographs showing abuse of detained Iraqis, especially at Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison, and stories of a few U.S. troops deliberately killing civilians called into question the wisdom of having U.S. forces occupy a country about which they knew relatively little. Controversy developed over whether methods of what the Bush administration called "enhanced interrogation" had been a euphemism for what others called "torture."

During 2005, conditions in Iraq continued to deteriorate. Iraqis elected a national assembly, chose an interim prime minister, and produced a constitution that gained popular approval. The civil war, however, only intensified. Evergrowing Iranian influence within Iraq was especially irksome to those neoconservatives who had claimed that deposing Saddam Hussein would increase U.S. power in the Middle East. Furthermore, the Iraqi government included factions that opposed the U.S. presence and expressed scant sympathy for Western-style democracy. In addition, widespread hatred for U.S. intervention in Muslim lands inflamed many people across the Middle East. The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians consequently became more complicated than ever. Contrary to the Bush Doctrine, it seemed that regime change in Iraq was producing neither a stable nor a pro-American region.

National Security and Presidential Power

Hurricane Katrina, slamming into the U.S. Gulf Coast region in late August 2005, prompted an intense, if temporary, debate over national security on the home front. Local and state officials bumbled through the first post–9/11 emergency. The Department of Homeland Security, presumably created to deal more efficiently with threats, seemed unprepared to assist people battered by the storm or caught in its aftermath. Although the White House would claim no one had "anticipated the breach of levees" intended to protect New Orleans from flood waters, videotapes later showed the president receiving precisely such a warning. Katrina exacted an especially heavy toll on the Gulf Coast's oldest, poorest, and African American residents. After failing to provide effective aid to hundreds of thousands, neither state nor national authorities could supply a precise figure, presumably in the several thousands, of those who perished as a result of Katrina.

The Bush administration's limited response to Katrina departed from its usual preference for expanding the reach of the executive branch. On issues that involved national security and the president's role as commander-in-chief, Vice President Cheney and Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, who had served in the executive branch during the immediate post-Watergate era of the 1970s, were especially insistent that Bush challenge the congressional and judicial restrictions that had been put in place in response to Richard Nixon's actions. The Bush administration convinced Congress to renew the Patriot Act, which otherwise would have automatically expired in 2006. Bush's nomination of John Bolton to become ambassador to the UN faced bipartisan opposition. Bolton had long been an arch-critic of the UN, and critics doubted his ability to work effectively with ambassadors from other nations. Bush, however, used an interim process that did not require Senate confirmation to send Bolton to the UN.

Several issues raised special controversy over presidential power. Initially, when dealing with alleged terrorists captured overseas, especially in Afghanistan, the Bush administration chose to operate outside both domestic and international agreements and detain captives at a new facility in the U.S. enclave at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Later, it devised special legal proceedings for trying detainees, which the U.S. Supreme Court, on three separate occasions, declared unconstitutional. The Bush administration also bypassed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA), which mandated special procedures before undertaking domestic wiretaps. The White House insisted that the post-September 11 congressional resolution on fighting terrorism and the president's inherent powers as commander-in-chief allowed him to forgo FISA's provisions in order to save lives. Congress and the White House agreed on revisions to FISA, in 2007 and 2008, that granted surveillance agencies, in the name of national security, broader power to monitor communication networks.

Changes in Washington drained some urgency and partisan discord from the issues of the war and presidential powers during the final years of the Bush presidency. An apparent antiwar backlash helped the Democratic Party capture control of Congress in the mid-term elections of November 2006. The following month, Bush named Robert Gates, a skillful bureaucratic manager, to replace the mercurial Donald Rumsfeld as head of the Defense Department. Gates helped the Bush administration adopt a new strategy for Iraq: **"the surge."** It temporarily increased U.S. troop levels and placed in command **General David Petraeus**, an expert on

counter-insurgency warfare. Deploying U.S. troops more selectively, General Petraeus also stepped up training for Iraqi forces and ramped up payments to Sunni factions in Iraq to rebuff foreign insurgents in favor of political participation. The "surge" strategy soon reduced the level of civil violence and decreased political tension within Iraq as Bush prepared to leave office.

Divisions over Foreign Policy Direction

By the end of Bush's presidency, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq had claimed the lives of nearly 5,000 U.S. troops. Iraqi civilian casualties numbered, by the most conservative estimates, in the tens of thousands. The ongoing occupation of Iraq was costing the United States $6 billion per month. George W. Bush, who had run for office as a critic of "nation-building" projects, had embarked on just such an effort in Iraq, the largest in the history of the United States. With Americans deeply divided over the justification for the invasion and the conduct of the occupation, popular support for Bush dropped below 30 percent.

Democratic critics, looking toward the election of 2008, developed a foreign policy agenda that would repudiate the Bush administration's policies and offer new approaches. They advocated a timetable for removing U.S. combat troops from Iraq, a renewed military and diplomatic effort to stabilize Afghanistan, and a clearer focus on al-Qaeda, which seemed increasingly entrenched in remote areas of Pakistan and Yemen. Critics also urged moving away from the military emphasis of the Bush years. In their view, Bush had neglected threats to national security that required international cooperation. One involved securing loose stockpiles of nuclear material before they fell into the hands of terrorists.

Another threat involved climate change. Republican neoconservatives had opposed the Clinton-era Kyoto Protocol, under which nations would agree to curb emissions that contributed to global warming. The Bush administration claimed that the science behind climate change remained uncertain. It also objected to the fact that targets would not be applied equally to developed nations and to certain developing nations, especially China. The Republican-dominated Senate failed to approve the Kyoto Protocol, but some prominent Democrats such as the former vice-president Al Gore continued to publicize the dangers of climate change and advocate rejoining the international forums working on the issue. They also pressed for development of "green energy" sources that would both lessen U.S. reliance on supplies of oil from the Middle East and help reduce carbon output.

An Economy of Bubble and Bust, 1993–2008

In 2003, the Nobel Prize-winning economist Robert Lucas credited his generation with effectively mastering the "central problem of depression-prevention." He spoke for those who believed that the U.S. and world economies were enjoying "The Great Moderation," a term that signified a faith that the economy, increasingly free from the burdens of government regulations, would no longer face the extremes of boom and bust. At times, the economy might not perform to its optimum level, but downturns would be temporary—and moderate. This conviction dominated economic thought and policymaking during the 1990s and the first years of the 21st century. Then, beginning in 2006, the American economy reached

the highpoint of what, in retrospect, was an economic-financial bubble that helped conceal other, dismal economic trends. During the 96 months of the Bush presidency, for example, the economy gained only about 3 million new jobs, a fraction of the total added during the 1990s. Economic trouble loomed on the horizon.

Deregulation of the Financial Sector During the 1990s

The financial sector had become, of course, the most dynamic and exciting part of the economy during the 1990s (see Chapter 31). Its leaders could take credit for generating roughly 30 percent of all domestic profits by the mid-nineties. The financial industry produced more than profits and wealth. It gained an aura of excitement and innovation. Talented college graduates, primarily but not exclusively men, began abandoning plans to become physicians or engineers in favor of careers in the financial sector.

Robert Rubin, the Clinton administration's leading economic celebrity, accepted a huge pay cut when leaving Goldman Sachs to head up the National Economic Agency (NEC). Created by Clinton with Rubin in mind, the NEC assumed responsibility for coordinating economic policymaking. To execute this demanding and delicate task, which centered on promoting globalization and reducing the federal government's deficit, Rubin recruited talented theorists and technicians from academia and the financial industry. In 1995, he left the NEC to become secretary of the treasury, a post that he passed along in 1999 to Larry Summers, a Rubin protégé whose resume included stints at Harvard University and the World Bank.

Clinton's economic brain trust concluded that the late 20th-century economy had outgrown the New Deal regulatory structure, but it still saw a limited economic role for government. If the economy were to continue growing, these New Democrats argued, Washington occasionally needed to mount activist rescue efforts both at home and abroad to ensure that problems remained moderate in nature. They viewed the effort that helped restore Mexico's financial, economic, and political stability in 1995 and another that bailed out a shoddily run financial venture known as Long-Term Capital Management in 1998 as textbook examples of their preference for government rescuing rather than regulating. When the economy appeared to be running smoothly, though, government needed to stay out of the way, except to remove outmoded regulations that might frustrate innovative financiers.

The Clinton administration and the Federal Reserve Board under Alan Greenspan thus showed scant reverence for financial regulations from the New Deal era. In 1999, Rubin and Summers supported Republican Senator Phil Gramm's effort to repeal the Glass-Steagall Act (see Chapter 25). "We have learned government is not the answer," according to Gramm. "We have learned that freedom and competition are the answers" in the financial world.

The Clinton administration also resisted regulating new financial products because it feared hampering financial innovation. Applying regulatory ideas of the 1930s to securities trading in the 1990s, Larry Summers once quipped, would be akin to forcing modern tennis pros play with outmoded wooden rackets. Advocates of "Rubinomics" sided with forces outside the administration that wanted to translate the dominant faith in minimal regulation into congressional legislation. The Commodities Futures Modernization Act of 2000 prohibited Washington from regulating the new financial inventions called "derivatives."

Economics for a New Century, 2000–2006

The administration of Republican George W. Bush surpassed that of New Democrat Bill Clinton in its enthusiasm for supporting deregulation and promoting financial innovation. Bush's first two heads of the Treasury Department had come from the manufacturing and transportation sectors, but Henry (Hank) Paulson, who became secretary of the treasury in 2006, was another alumnus of Goldman Sachs. Just before joining the Bush administration, Paulson had successfully pressed the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to exempt the five largest investment houses, which included Goldman Sachs, from a general regulation that required investment firms to reserve a specific amount of capital to cover their debt obligations. This SEC ruling dramatically increased these five firms' capacity to borrow and, consequently, their ability to speculate in risky investments.

Observers skeptical of deregulation noted early signs of trouble. During 2002, several fraud-plagued firms fell into bankruptcy. The most spectacular case involved Enron, a Texas-based energy firm with close ties to members of the Bush administration. Enron had gained an ill-deserved reputation for innovation among market analysts of the 1990s, and the value of its stock had soared. The absence of effective regulation, however, allowed the company to engage in legally suspect speculation in the trading of energy-related contracts and in illegal bookkeeping that lifted its profits to fictional heights. Seeking to restore popular confidence, Congress passed regulatory legislation (the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002) that mandated new rules designed to prevent publically traded companies from fraudulently reporting their financial condition as Enron and others had done.

The political and financial impact of the scandals of the early 2000s soon paled in comparison to the systemic problems posed by the real estate and financial industries. The Bush administration quickly abandoned its predecessor's commitment to balanced budgets and a small federal deficit, but it retained its goal of promoting home ownership. Owning a home, according to conventional wisdom, increased peoples' commitment to their communities and provided a rock-solid financial investment. Bush touted the importance of an "ownership society," and his administration emulated Clinton's in pressing government connected financial institutions to help low-income buyers find the house of their dreams. These policies helped to create a residential real estate market that boosted the financial sector and, in turn, the larger economy. By 2006, nearly 70 percent of households lived in their own homes, an all-time high.

Why had the nation become caught up in an unsustainable **housing "bubble"** rather than a genuine "boom"? First, as more buyers entered the housing market, prices for new and existing homes moved upward and then skyrocketed toward the stratosphere. This meant that many people who desired—and were being urged—to become home owners lacked household incomes that could handle a conventional mortgage.

Second, the home lending industry responded by devising an array of "non-conventional" mortgages for people whose incomes or credit histories disqualified them from obtaining a fixed rate loan. By 2006, far too many new loans involved **"sub-prime mortgages,"** meaning that they, unlike those of higher quality, carried a "high risk" of defaulting. In 2001, less than 10 percent of home mortgages qualified as less than "prime" quality. In contrast, 40 percent of the new loans processed between 2001 and 2006 fell into this category.

Worse, problems extended beyond sub-prime mortgages. People with houses whose market value had dramatically increased could refinance their existing mortgage at a lower interest rate. As if by magic, refinancing on the basis of the higher valuation gave them more money to spend on consumer purchases or on investments even riskier than their new mortgages. Mortgage refinancing, then, helped stimulate overall economic activity but at the risk of creating mortgage holders who would, if the economy seriously faltered, be unable to meet their payments.

Third, people at the commanding heights of the financial system worked overtime to boost the residential housing market. They recognized that the home-buying and home-building industries were the primary engines driving the U.S., and even much of the world, economy. The Federal Reserve Board, under Alan Greenspan (who began a fifth term in 2002) and his successor Ben Bernanke (who took over in 2006), kept interest rates at historic lows. This allowed relatively "cheap money" to continue flowing through the financial sector—and kept the residential housing market bubbling. Greenspan and Bernanke insisted, however, that "the fundamentals" remained sound.

Finally, the giant firms at the top of the financial structure kept their optimistic risk assessments in place. Compliant investing services such as Moody's provided "low risk" ratings for the mortgage-backed CDOs that investment firms such as Goldman Sachs and Lehman Brothers were marketing as top-grade securities (see, also, Chapter 31).

By 2006, some people detected a bubble about to burst. Perceptive lenders at the grass roots privately joked about offering "pick-a-payment loans" and dealing with "zombie buyers," whose newly minted mortgages were virtually certain to go into default. Further up the analytical ladder, several prominent economists such as Joseph Stiglitz and Robert Shiller came to similar, and better articulated, judgments. The famed investor Warren Buffett called mortgage-backed CDOs "financial weapons of mass destruction" and forecast trouble for the home loan industry: "Dumb lending always has its consequences."

The Bubble Bursts, 2006–2008

Buffett, hailed as "the Oracle of Omaha," proved prophetic. Beginning in late 2006, the rise in housing prices first slowed and, then, home prices headed rapidly downward. The financial industry—riddled by its unrealistic assessments of risk, unsound lending practices, and fraudulent activities—soon fell victim to the housing bubble it had helped inflate. Self-correcting mechanisms, contrary to what free-market economists promised, had never appeared.

As loans went into default, the ripple effect cascaded into financial institutions overloaded with mortgage-derived securities. Credit stopped flowing, and economies throughout the world began to contract. Stock and bond values reversed course, leaving individual and institutional investors to watch the worth of their portfolios shrink. As economic growth halted in most places in the world, future factory orders declined, and unemployment figures rose.

The Bush administration and the Fed's Bernanke sought to respond. First, the Fed extended massive financial assistance to the banking industry. Then, during spring 2008, Bernanke's Fed and the Treasury Department's Hank Paulson helped J. P. Morgan Chase acquire Bear Stearns, a rival Wall Street firm headed for bankruptcy, but later allowed Lehman Brothers, another Wall Street stalwart, to

collapse. The Bush administration and the Fed appeared to be signaling that a short-lived era of governmental rescue was over.

Almost instantaneously, a complete global financial meltdown loomed. In a massive sell-off, the Dow Jones stock average plummeted nearly 20 percent during a single week in early October. People began draining their savings and money market accounts. The world's financial system seized up, as it had done at the start of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Bush's Treasury Department, the Fed, and governments around the world recognized the need for a coordinated, dramatic response. Paulson hastily designed a rescue plan and Congress passed a revised version as the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008, enacted with greater support from Democrats than from Republicans. It included the **Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP)**. Implicitly based on the principle that giant financial institutions were "too big to fail" or go through normal bankruptcy procedure, TARP empowered the Treasury Department, guided only by loosely defined rules, to spread $700 billion throughout the financial system.

The Election of 2008

Differences over how to respond to this Great Recession dominated the 2008 political season. The presidential contest featured septuagenarian Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona and his much-younger senatorial colleague, Democrat **Barack Obama**. The first major-party presidential candidate of African descent, Obama capitalized on a media-savvy campaign staff, an innovative fundraising operation, his skills at oratory, and the unpopularity of the outgoing Bush administration. The Obama campaign also energized many of the movements, such as those opposing immigration restriction and favoring gay rights, which had become so active during the early years of the 21st century. Many voters blamed Bush for the economic morass and viewed McCain, who admitted to knowing little about the economy, as lagging behind Obama in economic sagacity. Obama's campaign featured two words: "HOPE" and "CHANGE."

McCain's zigzag effort undercut his always slim chances. He admirably rejected conducting a smear campaign that falsely claimed Obama had not been born in the United States (and therefore was ineligible for the presidency) or secretly practiced Islam. McCain's biggest gamble, selecting Alaska's half-term Governor Sarah Palin as a running mate, produced scant returns at the polls. By inching away from the political center, McCain mollified some of the most conservative Republicans but also lost independents and crossover Democrats.

Although veteran prognosticators who personally admired McCain expected a closer presidential finish, younger Internet-based forecasters anticipated an Obama victory. FiveThirtyEight.com, a blog site which employed rigorous statistical analysis, almost precisely predicted Obama's margin of victory. Young black voters, especially women, turned out in record numbers. The turnout among Latinos and Asian Americans also reached all-time highs. In contrast, the percentage of Americans of European descent casting ballots fell slightly from that of 2004. Forty-three percent of this vote, a slight increase from what Kerry had gained four years prior, went to Obama. In addition to the presidency, the Democratic Party picked up seats in both branches of Congress and in many state and local races, especially outside the South.

Barack, Michelle, Malia, and Sasha Obama. *When the Obama family moved into the White House in 2009, Sasha became the first resident to have been born in the 21st century.*



AP Images/Pablo Martinez Monsivais

Changing Times, 2009–

Barack Obama's administrative team brought even greater diversity—and more star power—than those of Clinton and Bush. The key position of secretary of state went to Hillary Clinton. Steven Chu, a Nobel Prize winner, became secretary of energy. General Eric Shenseki, forced into retirement by the Bush administration, became head of Veterans Affairs. The actor Kal Penn left the TV series *House* for a brief stint in the White House's office of Public Engagement. Perhaps most crucially, Robert Gates, a Republican who had been a calming presence toward the end of Bush's presidency, agreed to remain as secretary of defense. The president's inaugural address urged the nation to tackle the current crises with "hope and virtue."

Political Polarization

The appointment of Gates signaled Obama's inclination for continuing some Bush-era policies and thus disappointed supporters hoping for fundamental changes. The new administration's stance on counter-terrorism, for instance, initially resembled that employed during the final years of the Bush presidency. It set aside, in response to fierce criticism from Republicans, Obama's earlier pledge to close the detention facility at Guantanamo and try terrorist suspects in U.S. courts. Similarly, civil libertarians found only minor differences between the broad legal-constitutional claims for executive power made by the Bush and Obama administrations. On the crucial economic front, Timothy Geithner, a Federal Reserve official who

had helped devise the Bush administration's financial bailout of 2008, became Obama's treasury secretary, and the new president re-appointed Ben Bernanke to lead the Fed.

In the Middle East the Obama administration brought modest changes of emphasis. In Afghanistan and along that nation's border with Pakistan, Obama upped troop levels, placed increased reliance on air attacks by drones operated by computer technicians, and budgeted additional financial resources. It authorized Generals David Petraeus and Stanley McChrystal to devise an ambitious counter insurgency effort, modeled on the "surge" in Iraq, against the Taliban. The United States tried to increase pressure on Afghanistan's Hamid Karzai, to rein in corruption and pressed Pakistan's government to move more determinedly against Taliban forces. These moves won more support from Republican than Democratic ranks.

Most domestic initiatives produced steadily escalating Republican opposition. The Obama administration could claim some victories—Senate confirmation of two Supreme Court nominees (Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan), a law regulating tobacco products, another extending land conservation policies, and yet another creating a "bill of rights" for credit card holders. It encountered fierce GOP opposition on almost everything else. Only three Republican senators (and no representatives in the House) supported its plan to stimulate the economy through greater government spending, The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 provided $212 billion in tax cuts and $575 billion in federal spending to halt the spreading recession. A congressional measure to re-regulate parts of the financial industry passed in the face of Republican criticism.

Months of negotiation among the White House, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, and Senator Majority Leader Harry Reid also yielded the **Affordable Health Care for America Act** of 2010. Republicans revived the strategy used to derail the Clinton healthcare plan sixteen years earlier and unanimously opposed the measure. Its proponents, however, rounded up just enough Democratic votes to pass a law designed to extend, over time, coverage to some 30 million people. The act also expanded the Medicaid system, created mechanisms (called "exchanges") for increasing competition among insurance companies, and prohibited the use of pre-existing health conditions to deny coverage. Its most controversial provision required every American to carry health insurance. Critics warned that this complex legislation might cost much more than official estimates, endanger the Medicare program, and create uncertainty throughout the healthcare system.

Republican resistance to healthcare legislation signaled even broader opposition to Obama and his presidency. The GOP's most conservative factions rebranded themselves as part of a "Tea Party" movement and threatened primary challenges to any Republican incumbent tempted to support White House initiatives. Pressed by its Tea Party wing, the GOP increasingly portrayed Obama as a danger to fundamental liberties. It assailed his economic suggestions, including hints about the need for additional spending to stimulate a still-sputtering economy, as misguided. To the horror of economists supportive of Keynesian policies, Republicans insisted that cutting governmental programs and lowering the federal deficit should take precedence over increased spending for job creation and aid to unemployed workers. Familiar questions resurfaced: Was domestic action the core of economic problems or could it be part of their solutions?

The explosion on April 30, 2010, of a BP (formerly British Petroleum) pumping rig in the Gulf of Mexico—which took 11 lives and sent 62,000 barrels of oil a day spilling into the water and fragile coastal habitats—focused further debate over these contentious questions. The White House immediately joined BP in devising a response effort, but environmental groups criticized Obama for having failed to change the regulatory approach of its predecessor quickly enough and for permitting BP to direct the clean-up. Republicans simultaneously blamed the president for over-managing the federal government's response and for pressuring BP and the oil industry to change their drilling practices.

The GOP ran squarely against Obama and his domestic policies in the mid-term elections of 2010. The party's most conservative activists, rebranded as the Tea Party movement, denounced Democrats as well as Republican Rhinos ("Republicans in Name only"), whom they considered insufficiently oppositional. GOP primary contests eliminated a number of Republican stalwarts in favor of Tea Party activists and accelerated the party's decades-long move toward the political right. Democratic candidates, especially those who had benefitted in 2006 and 2008 from economic turmoil and an unpopular Republican president, found themselves burdened by a jobless economic recovery and their own embattled president. In contrast to 2008, many younger voters stayed home in 2010 while older ones, who tended to favor Republican candidates, turned out in higher numbers. Republicans linked Obama to continued high unemployment and federal budget deficits, legacies of the Great Recession that began before his presidency. As a result, the 2010 mid-term elections followed a long-familiar pattern: The party controlling the White House and Congress almost always lost legislative seats.

The results of the GOP's well-funded electoral effort, however, exceeded the historical averages and the early projections of most analysts. Republicans took control of the House of Representatives, cut into the Democrats' majority in the Senate, and gained more than 600 legislative seats and 20 gubernatorial offices in states throughout the country. A national political culture marked by extreme partisanship, dramatically shifting electoral outcomes, and new communication technologies seemed likely to continue into a new decade.

The Culture of Social Networking and Liberty, Equality, Power

The Obama administration and its critics increasingly drew on the culture of **social networking sites**. The Obama electoral movement had successfully employed the Internet to gain the Democratic nomination and the presidency. One of the creators of the networking service Facebook joined the Obama team and helped elaborate its Internet operations. In contrast, the McCain effort attracted few tech-savvy people, and its main site earned low marks for both style and performance. The Obama effort ultimately raised more far more money over the Internet than McCain's campaign gathered from all of its outreach to individual contributors.

Use of various Internet-based sites to create communities of people with similar interests, while transcending boundaries of time and space, quickly became perhaps the most important new cultural-social force of the early 21st century. It transformed not only political mobilization but nearly everything else. LinkedIn and

MySpace went online in 2003. Facebook, created in 2004 by undergraduates at Harvard University to facilitate links with other students, quickly attracted wealthy investors from Silicon Valley and tapped enough advertising revenues to make its operations profitable in 2009.

YouTube, developed by Silicon Valley entrepreneurs in 2005, offered a different kind of social networking model. It allowed people to post footage derived from motion picture and TV sources; music from just about anywhere; and, most importantly, original material created by individual users. Its rate of growth, a measure of the popular desire to produce as well as consume visual imagery, surpassed even that of Facebook. Google soon purchased YouTube for $1.65 billion. *Time* magazine, perhaps seeing the handwriting (or imagery) on the wall, selected "You," all of the millions of people using networking sites, as its "Person of the Year" for 2006.

The changes brought by the Internet and social networking worried some people. They feared that Internet news and commentary only made the adversarial framework that had come to dominate cable TV news more ubiquitous. They saw Internet journalism preying on the legwork of writers for print publications rather than encouraging original reporting by its bloggers. At the same time, online journalism helped to lure readers from print publications and to diminish their value to potential advertisers. Losing readers and revenue, magazines and newspapers began to cease publication. Frequent Internet postings, moreover, seemed to be making the 24/7 news cycle move even faster. American politics "has become an almost minute-by-minute spectacle," growled an editor at the embattled *New York Times*. While voicing analogous concerns about the cultural impact of social networking sites, critics also feared that the process of "linking up" was destroying traditional notions of privacy as well as threatening the safety of the young and the innocent.

The most enthusiastic champions of social networking, however, praised it—and the larger Internet environment—for creating patterns that could not only transcend old barriers of time and space but help people re-imagine liberty, power, and equality. Freely shared and communally developed software might liberate communication from corporate control. Interactive Internet sites might empower ordinary people and challenge hierarchical arrangements. Political figures used websites and Facebook to issue policy pronouncements that bypassed the traditional process media gatekeepers. Bloggers took on, and sometimes took down, media commentators and special interests. Networking sites such as Yelp helped reconfigure restaurant, TV, and motion picture reviews by drawing upon audience and user responses. Wikipedia supplanted hard-copy encyclopedias with a collaboratively written, ever-changing, and controversial source on virtually everything. And even history textbooks began to devise more participatory formats.

Conclusion

Two presidents, one Democrat and one Republican, dominated political life at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. Bill Clinton's administration pressed a modest domestic agenda that moved the Democratic Party away from its "big government" image. Although failing to achieve its major goal of healthcare overhaul, it cut back the welfare system and eliminated the federal deficit. As political polarization escalated during the 1990s, however, Clinton's

Appendix A

The Declaration of Independence

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 shewn, 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.

Text is reprinted from the facsimile of the engrossed copy in the National Archives. The original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained. Paragraphing has been added.

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 for 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 legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

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 and 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 attentions 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 the 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.

Appendix B

The Constitution of the United States of America

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 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[1] 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.[2] 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.

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When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

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.[3]

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.[4]

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.

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 Regulation, 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.[5]

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 Behaviour, 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 encreased 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 become 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 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 Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

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 the 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.

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 Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of 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.[6]

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.[7]

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased 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 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;[8]—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under 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 the 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.

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,

Articles in Addition to, and Amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, Proposed by Congress, and Ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, Pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Original Constitution.

Amendment I[9]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise there-of; 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.

Amendment II

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 III

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 IV

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 V

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 VI

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 witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment VII

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 VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X

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.

Amendment XI[10]

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.

Amendment XII[11]

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 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 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.

Amendment XIII[12]

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[13]

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. But 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 the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV[14]

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 conditions of servitude—

Section 2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XVI[15]

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[16]

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 the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

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.

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[17]

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 in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XIX[18]

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.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XX[19]

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[20]

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 hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII[21]

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 electesd to the office of the 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.

Amendment XXIII[22]

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 the 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 power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV[23]

Section 1 The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election 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 power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV[24]

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 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 department 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 of 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 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[25]

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.

Amendment XXVII[26]

No law, varying the compensation for the service of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

NOTES

1. Modified by the Sixteenth Amendment.
2. Replaced by the Fourteenth Amendment.
3. Superseded by the Seventeenth Amendment.
4. Modified by the Seventeenth Amendment.
5. Superseded by the Twentieth Amendment.
6. Superseded by the Twelfth Amendment
7. Modified by the Twenty-fifth Amendment.
8. Modified by the Eleventh Amendment.
9. The first ten amendments were passed by Congress September 25, 1789. They were ratified by three-fourths of the states December 15, 1791.
10. Passed March 4, 1794. Ratified January 23, 1795.
11. Passed December 9, 1803. Ratified June 15, 1804.
12. Passed January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.
13. Passed June 13, 1866. Ratified July 9, 1868.

14. Passed February 26, 1869. Ratified February 2, 1870.
15. Passed July 12, 1909. Ratified February 3, 1913.
16. Passed May 13, 1912. Ratified April 8, 1913.
17. Passed December 18, 1917. Ratified January 16, 1919.
18. Passed June 4, 1919. Ratified August 18, 1920.
19. Passed March 2, 1932. Ratified January 23, 1933.
20. Passed February 20, 1933. Ratified December 5, 1933.
21. Passed March 12, 1947. Ratified March 1, 1951.
22. Passed June 16, 1960. Ratified April 3, 1961.
23. Passed August 27, 1962. Ratified January 23, 1964.
24. Passed July 6, 1965. Ratified February 11, 1967.
25. Passed March 23, 1971. Ratified July 5, 1971.
26. Passed September 25, 1789. Ratified May 7, 1992.

Glossary

1919 steel strike Walkout by 300,000 steelworkers in the Midwest demanding union recognition and an eight-hour day. It was defeated by employers and local and state police forces, who sometimes resorted to violence.

40 acres and a mule Largely unfulfilled hope of many former slaves that they would receive free land from the confiscated property of ex-Confederates.

9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry African American army units that played pivotal roles in the Spanish-American war.

abolitionism Movement begun in the North about 1830 to abolish slavery immediately and without compensation to owners.

abolitionist A person who wanted to abolish slavery.

abrogating a treaty Process of abolishing a treaty so that it is no longer in effect.

affirmative action Program or policy that attempted to compensate for past injustice or discrimination to ensure more employment and educational opportunities.

affluence Abundance of material goods or wealth.

Affordable Health Care for America Act Designed to extend health care to some 30 million people, expand the Medicaid system, create mechanisms for increasing competition among insurance companies, prohibit the use of pre-existing health conditions to deny coverage, and provide every American health insurance.

Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) 1933 attempt to promote economic recovery by reducing supply of crops, dairy, and meat produced by American farmers.

Aguinaldo, Emilio Anti-colonial leader who fought for independence of the Philippines first from Spain and then from the United States.

Alamo Battle between Texas revolutionaries and the Mexican army at the San Antonio mission called the *Alamo* on March 6, 1836, in which all 187 Texans were killed.

Albany Congress An intercolonial congress that met in Albany, New York, in June 1754. The delegates urged the Crown to assume direct control of Indian relations beyond the settled boundaries of the colonies, and they drafted a plan of confederation for the continental colonies. No colony ratified it, nor did the Crown or Parliament accept it.

Algonquians Indian peoples who spoke some dialect of the Algonquian language family.

alien Person from another country who is living in the United States.

American Anti-Slavery Society Organization created by northern abolitionists in 1833 that called for immediate, uncompensated emancipation of the slaves.

American Colonization Society Established by elite gentlemen of the middle and upper-south states in 1816, this organization encouraged voluntary emancipation of slaves, to be followed by their emigration to the West African colony of Liberia.

American System Program proposed by Henry Clay and others to foster national economic growth and interdependence among the geographical sections. It included a protective tariff, a national bank, and internal improvements.

American Temperance Society Society established in 1826 by northeastern evangelicals that headed the crusade for alcohol temperance.

Amerind The forerunner of the vast majority of Indian languages in the Americas.

amnesty General pardon granted to a large group of people.

anarchist Activist who called for the violent destruction of the capitalist system so that a new socialist order could be built.

Anasazi An advanced pre-Columbian cliff-dwelling culture that flourished for two centuries in what are now the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado before abandoning these sites in the late 13th century A.D.

Anderson, Marian Black opera singer who broke a color barrier in 1939 when she sang to an interracial audience of 75,000 from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Anglican A member of the legally established Church of England, or that church itself.

Anglos English-speaking people.

anxious bench Bench at or near the front of a religious revival meeting where the most likely converts were seated.

apartheid Legal system practiced in South Africa and based on elaborate rules of racial separation and subordination of blacks.

armistice A temporary stop in fighting. Often in effect before a final peace treaty is signed.

Article X of the Covenant Addendum to the Treaty of Versailles that empowered the League of Nations to undertake military actions against aggressor nations.

artisan A skilled laborer who works with his hands. In early America, artisans often owned their own shops and produced goods either for general sale or for special order.

Association Groups created by the First Continental Congress in local committees to enforce its trade sanctions against Britain. The creation of these groups was an important sign that Congress was beginning to act as a central government.

associationalism Herbert Hoover's approach to managing the economy. Firms and organizations in each economic sector would be asked to cooperate with each other in the pursuit of efficiency, profit, and the public good.

astrolabe A device that permitted accurate calculation of latitude or distances north and south.

Atlantic slave trade A European commerce that led to the enslavement of millions of people who were shipped from their African homelands to European colonies in the Americas.

attrition A type of warfare in which an effort is made to exhaust the manpower, supplies, and morale of the other side.

Auburn system Prison system designed to reform criminals and reduce expenses through the sale of items produced in workshops. Prisoners slept in solitary cells, marched in military formation to meals and workshops, and were forbidden to speak to one another at any time.

Australian ballot (secret ballot) Practice that required citizens to vote in private rather than in public and required the government (rather than political parties) to supervise the voting process.

Aztec The last pre-Columbian high culture in the Valley of Mexico. It was conquered by the Spaniards in 1519–1521.

Baby Boom Sudden increase in births in the years after World War II.

Baby Boom Generation People born between 1946 and 1964; more than 75 million babies were born in the U.S. during this time.

backcountry Term used in the 18th and early 19th centuries to refer to the western settlements and the supposed misfits who lived in them.

Bacon's Rebellion The most serious challenge to royal authority in the English mainland colonies prior to 1775. It erupted in Virginia in 1676 after the governor and Nathaniel Bacon, the principal rebel, could not agree on how best to wage war against frontier Indians.

balance of trade The relationship between imports and exports. The difference between exports and imports is the balance between the two. A healthy nation should export more than it imports. This is known as a favorable balance of trade.

bandeirantes Brazilian frontiersmen who traveled deep into South America to enslave Indians. The slaves then were worked to death on the sugar plantations.

banknotes Paper money, issued by banks, that circulated as currency.

barrios Spanish-speaking urban areas, usually separate districts in southwestern towns and cities.

bateau A light, flat-bottomed boat with narrow ends that was used in Canada and the northeastern part of the colonies.

Battle of Lexington The first military engagement of the Revolutionary War. It occurred on April 19, 1775, when British soldiers fired into a much smaller body of minutemen on Lexington Green.

Battle of Little Big Horn A battle in eastern Montana Territory on the bluffs above Little Big Horn River on June 25, 1876.

Bay of Pigs Site of an ill-fated 1961 invasion of Cuba by a U.S.-trained force that attempted to overthrow the government of Fidel Castro.

Beatles Preeminent musical group associated with the "British invasion" in the 1960s.

belligerent Country actively engaged in a war.

Beringia A land bridge during the last ice age across the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska. It was once an area where plants, animals, and humans could live.

Berlin Airlift American and British aircraft that provided all of the items needed in West Berlin during the Berlin Blockade.

Berlin Blockade Soviet Union cut off all highways, railroads, and water routes into West Berlin, Germany, in an attempt to weaken the nation.

bicameral legislature A legislature with two houses or chambers.

Bill of Rights First ten amendments to the Constitution, which protect the rights of individuals from abuses by the federal government.

Black Codes Laws passed by southern states that restricted the rights and liberties of former slaves.

Black Power Mid-1960s movement that called for modifying integrationist goals in favor of gaining political and economic power for separate black-directed institutions and emphasized pride in African American heritage.

Black Republicans Label coined by the Democratic Party to attack the Republican Party as believers in racial equality. The Democrats used this fear to convince many whites to remain loyal to them.

blacklist In the postwar years, a list of people who could no longer work in the entertainment industry because of alleged contacts with communists.

blitzkrieg A "lightning war"; a coordinated and massive military strike by German army and air forces.

block grants Part of Nixon's new economic plan in which a percentage of federal tax dollars would be returned to state and local governments to spend as they deemed fit.

blockade The closing of a country's harbors by enemy ships to prevent trade and commerce, especially to prevent traffic in military supplies.

blockade runner A ship designed to run through a blockade.

blockhouse A wooden fort with an overhanging second floor. The white settlers of Kentucky used blockhouses to defend themselves against Indians.

blood sports Sporting activities emphasizing bloodiness that were favored by working-class men of the cities. The most popular in the early 19th century were cockfighting, ratting, dogfights, and various types of violence between animals.

bonanza farms Huge wheat farms financed by eastern capital and cultivated with heavy machinery and hired labor.

Bonus Army Army veterans who marched on Washington, D.C., in 1932 to lobby for economic relief but who were rebuffed by Hoover.

Boone, Daniel A pioneer settler of Kentucky, Boone became the most famous American frontiersman of his generation.

border ruffians Term used to describe proslavery Missourians who streamed into Kansas in 1854, determined to vote as many times as necessary to install a proslavery government there.

Boston Massacre The colonial term for the confrontation between colonial protestors and British soldiers in front of the customs house on March 5, 1770. Five colonists were killed and six wounded.

Boston Tea Party In December 1773, Boston's Sons of Liberty threw 342 chests of East India Company tea into Boston harbor rather than allow them to be landed and pay the hated tea duty.

bounty jumpers Men who enlisted in the Union army to collect the bounties offered by some districts to fill military quotas; these men would enlist and then desert as soon as they got their money.

Boxers Chinese nationalist organization that instigated an uprising in 1900 to rid China of all foreign influence.

braceros Guest workers from Mexico allowed into the United States because of labor shortages from 1942 to 1964.

"broad" wives Wives of slave men who lived on other plantations and were visited by their husbands during off hours.

Brown* v. *Board of Education 1954 case in which the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously overruled the "separate but equal" doctrine and held that segregation in the public schools violated the principle of equal protection under the law.

***Brown* Cases** Refers to several Supreme Court cases that challenged the nation's political, social, and cultural institutions by outlawing racial segregation in public schools and public facilities.

Brown, John Prominent abolitionist who fought for the antislavery cause in Kansas (1856) and led a raid to seize the Harpers Ferry arsenal in 1859.

Bryan, William Jennings A two-term Democratic congressman from Nebraska who won the party's presidential nomination in 1896 after electrifying delegates with his "Cross of Gold" speech. Bryan was twice more nominated for president (1900 and 1908); he lost all three times.

Bull Moosers Followers of Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 election.

bulldozing Using force to keep African Americans from voting.

Burr, Aaron Vice President under Thomas Jefferson who killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel and eventually hatched schemes to detach parts of the west from the United States.

Bush Doctrine Denounced terrorist networks and proclaimed that the U.S. had the right to wage war against any force that endangered Americans as expressed in the National Security Strategy of 2002.

Bush* v. *Gore Court case over the 2000 election between George W. Bush and Al Gore; the courts ceased the recounting of ballots in Florida and ruled George W. Bush the 43rd president of the United States.

Bush, George H. W. Republican president (1989–1993) who directed an international coalition against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War.

Bush, George W. Republican president (2001–2009) elected in the highly disputed 2000 contest decided by the Supreme Court.

bushwhackers Confederate guerrilla raiders especially active in Missouri. Jayhawkers were the Union version of the same type of people. Both groups did a tremendous amount of damage with raids, arson, ambush, and murder.

Butternuts Democrats from the southern river-oriented counties of the Northwest region whose name came from the yellow vegetable dye with which they colored their homespun clothing.

Cahokia The largest city created by Mississippian mound builders. Located in Illinois near modern St. Louis, it thrived from A.D. 900 to 1250 and then declined.

californios Spanish-speaking people whose families had resided in California for generations.

Camp David Peace Talks of 1978 President Carter negotiated a peace treaty with Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, leaders of Israel and Egypt.

camp meeting Outdoor revival often lasting for days; a principal means of spreading evangelical Christianity in the United States.

Capone, Al Chicago mobster who made a fortune from gambling, prostitution, and bootleg liquor during Prohibition.

Capra, Frank Popular 1930s filmmaker who celebrated the decency, honesty, and patriotism of ordinary Americans in such films as *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*.

caravel A new type of oceangoing vessel that could sail closer to a head wind than any other sailing ship and make speeds of from three to twelve knots per hour.

Carnegie, Andrew A Scottish immigrant who became the most efficient entrepreneur in the U.S. steel industry and earned a great fortune.

carpetbaggers Northerners who settled in the South during Reconstruction.

Carson, Rachel American marine biologist and author best known for *Silent Spring* (1962), a widely read book that questioned the use of chemical pesticides and helped stimulate the modern environmental movement.

Carter, Jimmy Democratic president (1977–1981) whose single term in office was marked by inflation, fuel shortages, and a hostage crisis.

cash and carry U.S. foreign policy prior to American entry into World War II that

required belligerents to pay cash and carry products away in their own ships. This arrangement minimized risks to American exports, loans, and shipping.

Cavaliers Supporters of the Stuart family of Charles I during the civil wars.

changing system Elaborate system of neighborhood debts and bartering used primarily in the South and West where little cash money was available.

Chavez, Cesar Political activist, leader of the United Farm Workers of America, and the most influential Mexican American leader during the 1970s.

Cheney, Richard (Dick) Conservative republican who served as vice president to George W. Bush.

Cherokee War Between December 1759 and December 1761, the Cherokee Indians devastated the South Carolina backcountry. The British army intervened and in turn inflicted immense damage on the Cherokee.

Chicanismo Populistic pride in the Mexican American heritage that emerged in the late 1960s. Chicano, once a term of derision, became a rallying cry among activists.

chinampas The highly productive gardens built on Lake Taxcoco by the Aztecs.

Chinese Exclusion Act Suspended Chinese immigration for 10 years with the exception of a few job categories.

Chisholm Trail Trail used to get longhorn cattle from Texas to Abilene, Kansas, where they were loaded into railcars and shipped to Kansas City or Chicago.

CIO The Committee (and then Congress) for Industrial Organization, founded in 1935 to organize the unskilled and semiskilled workers ignored by the AFL. The CIO reinvigorated the labor movement.

circuit court Court that meets at different places within a district.

circuit-riding preachers Methodist ministers who traveled from church to church, usually in rural areas.

City Beautiful movement A movement of urban architectural renovation.

Civil Rights Act of 1957 First civil rights act since Reconstruction, aimed at securing voting rights for African Americans in the South.

Civil Rights Act of 1964 Bipartisan measure that denied federal funding to segregated schools and barred discrimination by race and sex in employment, public accommodations, and labor unions.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 Measure that banned racial discrimination in housing and made interference with a person's civil rights a federal crime. It also stipulated that crossing state lines to incite a riot was a federal crime.

Civilized Tribes 60,000 Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles who remained on their ancestral lands in the Old Southwest and were considered sovereign peoples.

Clay, Henry Speaker of the House, senator from Kentucky, and National Republican presidential candidate who was the principal spokesman for the American System.

Clinton, Bill Democratic president (1993–2001) whose two-term presidency witnessed rapid economic growth but also a sexual scandal that fueled an impeachment effort, which he survived.

close-order assault Military tactic of attacking with little space between men. In the face of modern weapons used during the Civil War, such fighting produced a high casualty rate.

Clovis tip A superior spear point developed before 9000 B.C. It was in use nearly everywhere in North and South America and produced such an improvement in hunting ability that it contributed to the extinction of most large mammals.

Coercive (Intolerable) Acts Four statutes passed by Parliament in response to the Boston Tea Party, including one that closed the port of Boston until the tea was paid for, and another that overturned the Massachusetts Charter of 1691. The colonists called them the Intolerable Acts and included the Quebec Act under that label.

Cold War The political, military, cultural, and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that developed after the Second World War and lasted until the disintegration of the Soviet State after 1989.

collective bargaining Negotiations between representatives of workers and employers on issues such as wages, hours, and working conditions.

Collier, John Activist head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs who improved U.S. policy toward Native Americans and guided the landmark Indian Reorganization Act through Congress.

colonial economy Economy based on the export of agricultural products and the import of manufactured goods; sometimes used to describe the dependence of the South on the North.

Columbian Exchange A term coined by Alfred W. Crosby to describe the exchange of plants, animals, diseases, culture, and people between the American and European continents following the Spanish discovery of the New World.

Columbus, Christopher The Genoese mariner who persuaded Queen Isabella of Spain to support his voyage of discovery across the Atlantic in 1492. Until his death in 1506, he believed he had reached East Asia. Instead he had discovered America.

Committee on Public Information U.S. government agency established in 1917 to arouse support for the war and, later, to generate suspicion of war dissenters.

committees of correspondence Bodies formed on both the local and colonial levels that played an important role in exchanging ideas and information. They spread primarily anti-British material and were an important step in the first tentative unity of people in different colonies.

common law The heart of the English legal system was based on precedents and judicial decisions. Common-law courts offered due process through such devices as trial by jury, which usually consisted of local men.

common schools Tax-supported public schools built by state and local governments.

Communist Party Radical group that wanted America to follow the Soviet Union's path to socialism. The CP organized some of the country's poorest workers into unions and pushed the New Deal leftward, but was never popular enough to bid for power itself.

Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 Forced banks to finance home buying in low-income neighborhoods to stimulate economic activity.

commutation fee $300 fee that could be paid by a man drafted into the Union army to exempt him from the current draft call.

compensated emancipation Idea that the federal government would offer compensation or money to states that voluntarily abolished slavery.

competence Understood in the early republic as the ability to live up to neighborhood economic standards while protecting the long-term independence of the household.

Compromise of 1850 Series of laws enacted in 1850 intended to settle all outstanding slavery issues.

Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Congressional group formed in 1969 that focused on eliminating disparities between African Americans and white Americans.

congressional caucus In the early republic, the group of congressmen who traditionally chose the party's presidential candidates. By the 1820s, the American public distrusted the caucus as undemocratic because only one party contested for power. The caucus was replaced by the national nominating convention.

conquistadores The Spanish word for conquerors.

Conscience Whigs A group of antislavery members of the Whig Party.

Conservation Movement that called for managing the environment to ensure the careful and efficient use of the nation's natural resources.

conservationist Scientific environmentalists who were concerned with making sure the nation's resources were not being wasted.

consumer durable Consumer goods that were meant to last, such as washing machines and radios.

containment Label used to describe the global anticommunist national-security policies adopted by the United States to stop the expansion of communism during the late 1940s.

contraband of war Term used to describe slaves who came within the Union lines.

"Contract with America" Headed by Newt Gingrich, called for an overhaul of the welfare system, endorsement of an anti-crime legislation, reform for federal legal procedures, a three-fifths majority for any increase in taxation, and a revised relationship with the UN.

contras Military force in Nicaragua, trained and financed by the United States, that opposed

the Nicaraguan socialist government led by the Sandinista Party.

convention In England, a meeting, usually of the houses of Parliament, to address an emergency, such as the flight of James II to France in 1688. The convention welcomed William and Mary, who then restored the traditional parliamentary system. In the United States by the 1780s, conventions had become the purest expression of the popular will, superior to the legislature, as in the convention that drafted the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.

cooperatives Marketing groups established by such groups as the Farmers Alliance that eliminated "middlemen" and reduced prices to farmers. The idea also was tried by some labor groups and included other types of businesses, such as factories.

Copperheads Term used by some Republicans to describe Peace Democrats to imply that they were traitors to the Union.

corrupt bargain Following the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson and his supporters alleged that, in a "corrupt bargain," Henry Clay sold his support during the House vote in the disputed election of 1824 of John Quincy Adams in exchange for appointment as secretary of state.

Cortés, Hernān The Spanish conquistador who vanquished the Aztecs.

cosmopolitanism Ideal of American nationality developed by Randolph Bourne that encouraged creating new cultural forms from the combinations of peoples and cultures.

cotton Semitropical plant that produced white, fluffy fibers that could be made into textiles.

Coughlin, Father Charles The "radio priest" from the Midwest who alleged that the New Deal was being run by bankers. His growing anti-Semitism discredited him by 1939.

counterculture Antiestablishment movement that symbolized the youthful social upheaval of the 1960s. Ridiculing traditional attitudes toward such matters as clothing, hair styles, and sexuality, the counterculture urged a more open and less regimented approach to daily life.

coureur de bois A French phrase interpreted as "a roamer of the woods," referring to French colonists who participated in the fur trade with the Indians and lived part of the year with them.

court-packing plan 1937 attempt by Roosevelt to appoint one new Supreme Court justice for every sitting justice over the age of 70 and who had sat for at least 10 years. Roosevelt's purpose was to prevent conservative justices from dismantling the New Deal, but the plan died in Congress and inflamed opponents of the New Deal.

Covenant Chain of Peace An agreement negotiated by Governor Edmund Andros in 1677 that linked the colony of New York to the Iroquois Five Nations and was later expanded to include other colonies and Indian peoples.

covenant theology The belief that God made two personal covenants with humans: the covenant of works and the covenant of grace.

coverture A common-law doctrine under which the legal personality of the husband covered the wife, and he made all legally binding decisions.

Crazy Horse War chief of the Oglala Lakota (Sioux) Indians, who forged an alliance with Cheyenne chiefs to resist white expansion into the Black Hills in 1874–1875; led the attack on Custer's 7th Cavalry at Little Big Horn.

Credit Mobilier Construction company for the Union Pacific Railroad that gave shares of stock to some congressmen in return for favors.

crisis conversion Understood in evangelical churches as a personal transformation that resulted from directly experiencing the Holy Spirit.

crop lien system System of credit used in the poor rural South, whereby merchants in small country stores provided necessary goods on credit in return for a lien on the crop. As the price of crops fell, small farmers, black and white, drifted deeper into debt.

Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) Serious Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over the installation of Soviet missiles in Cuba.

cultural pluralism Doctrine that encouraged Americans to celebrate their ethnic differences.

Custer, George A. Civil War hero and postwar Indian fighter who was killed at Little Big Horn in 1876.

Dartmouth College* v. *Woodward 1816 Supreme Court case that showcased one of many important decisions made by John Marshall to protect the sanctity of contracts and corporate charters against state legislatures.

Davis, Jefferson Mississippi planter and prominent leader of the Southern Democrats in the 1850s, who later served as president of the Confederacy.

Dawes Plan 1924 U.S.-backed agreement to reduce German reparation payments by more than half. The plan also called on banks to invest $200 million in the German economy.

Dawes Severalty Act 1887 legislation that called for the dissolution of Indian tribes as legal entities, offered Indians citizenship, and allotted each head of family 160 acres of farmland or 320 acres of grazing land.

Debs, Eugene V. Leader of the Socialist Party who received almost a million votes in the election of 1912.

Declaration of Independence A document drafted primarily by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia; this document justified American independence to the world by affirming "that all men are created equal" and have a natural right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The longest section of the Declaration condemned George III as a tyrant.

deflation Decline in consumer prices or a rise in the purchasing power of money.

Deism Belief that God created the universe but did not intervene in its affairs.

deists People who believed that God made the universe but did not intervene in its affairs.

Denmark Vesey Leader of a slave conspiracy in and around Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822.

deregulation To reduce or remove government rules or policies; Reagan's deregulation agenda focused on the financial system.

deskilling Process in which the employment market produces jobs requiring fewer skills (and offering less income) than in the past.

détente An easing of tensions, particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Dewey, John Philosopher who believed that American technological and industrial power could be made to serve the people and democracy.

direct election of senators Constitutional amendment that mandated the election of senators by the people rather than by selection by state legislatures.

dirty tricks Actions designed to destroy the reputation and effectiveness of political opponents of the Nixon administration.

disfranchisement Process of barring groups of adult citizens from voting.

dissenter Person who disagrees openly with the majority opinion.

Dix, Dorothea Boston reformer who traveled throughout the country campaigning for humane, state-supported asylums for the insane.

dollar diplomacy Diplomatic strategy formulated under President Taft that focused on expanding American investments abroad, especially in Latin America and East Asia.

Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez Political activists, leaders of the United Farm Workers of America, and the most influential Mexican American leaders during the 1970s.

domestic fiction Sentimental literature that centered on household and domestic themes that emphasized the toil and travails of women and children who overcame adversity through religious faith and strength of character.

"domino theory" Refers to the threat of communism spreading throughout Asia as the result of a communist electoral victory in Vietnam.

"Double V" campaign Urged for a victory against racial discrimination abroad as well as at home during World War II.

Douglas, Stephen A. Senator from Illinois who emerged as a leading Democrat in 1850 and led efforts to enact the Compromise of 1850.

downsizing Process of cutting back in labor pools and management staffs by businesses usually due to declining profits.

doves Opponents of military action, especially those who wanted to end quickly U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

dower rights The right of a widow to a portion of her deceased husband's estate (usually one-third of the value of the estate). It was passed to their children upon her death.

dowry The cash or goods a woman received from her father when she married.

drawbacks Form of rebate offered to special customers by the railroads.

Dred Scott Missouri slave who sued for freedom on grounds of prolonged residence in a free state and free territory; in 1857, the Supreme Court found against his case, declaring the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

Du Bois, W. E. B. Leader of the NAACP, the editor of its newspaper, *The Crisis,* and an outspoken critic of Booker T. Washington and his accomodationist approach to race relations.

Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) Assisted lower and moderate income households with children.

East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere Proposition from Japan to China that would liberate Asian nations from Western colonialism and create a self-sufficient economic zone under Japanese leadership.

economy of scale Term used in both industry and agriculture to describe the economic advantages of concentrating capital, units of production, and output.

Edison, Thomas Alva Inventor of the 1800s who developed an array of devices including the phonograph, incandescent light bulb, and movie camera.

Eisenhower Doctrine Policy that stated that the United States would use armed force to respond to imminent or actual communist aggression in the Middle East.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, orchestrator of the Normandy Invasion, and president of the United States (1953–1961).

elect Those selected by God for salvation.

Electoral College The group that elects the president. Each state receives as many electors as it has congressmen and senators combined and can decide how to choose its electors. Every elector votes for two candidates, one of whom has to be from another state.

emancipation Refers to release from slavery or bondage. Gradual emancipation was introduced in Pennsylvania and provided for the eventual freeing of slaves born after a certain date when they reached age 28.

embargo Government order prohibiting the movement of merchant ships or goods in or out of its ports.

Employment Act of 1946 Called for maximum employment and declared private enterprises responsible for economic decision making.

encomienda A system of labor introduced into the Western Hemisphere by the Spanish. It permitted the holder, or *encomendero,* to claim labor from Indians in a district for a stated period of time.

energy crisis OPEC raised the price of crude oil and precipitated acute worldwide shortages in 1978; gasoline became expensive and scarce.

enfranchise To grant the right to vote.

Enlightenment The new learning in science and philosophy that took hold, at least in England, between 1660 and the American Revolution. Nearly all of its spokesmen were religious moderates who were more interested in science than religious doctrine and who favored broad religious toleration.

entail A legal device that required a landowner to keep his estate intact and pass it on to his heir.

enumerated commodities A group of colonial products that had to be shipped from the colony of origin to England or another English colony. The most important commodities were sugar and tobacco.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Organization established in 1970 that brought under a single institutional umbrella the enforcement of laws intended to protect environmental quality.

environmentalism Movement with roots in earlier conservation, preservation, and public health movements that grew in power after 1970, when concern mounted over the disruption of ecological balances and critical habitats.

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) Proposed amendment to the Constitution providing that equal rights could not be abridged on account of sex. It won congressional approval in 1972 but failed to gain ratification by the states.

Erie Canal Canal linking the Hudson River at Albany with the Great Lakes at Buffalo that helped commercialize the farms of the Great Lakes watershed and channel that commerce into New York City.

Espionage, Sabotage, and Sedition Acts Laws passed in 1917 and 1918 that gave the federal government sweeping powers to silence and even imprison dissenters.

ESPN Cable network devoted entirely to sports.

established church The church in a European state or colony that was sustained by the government and supported by public taxes.

evangelical A style of Christian ministry that includes much zeal and enthusiasm. Evangelical ministers emphasized personal conversion and faith rather than religious ritual.

evangelicals Religious groups that generally placed an emphasis on conversion of non-Christians.

excise tax Internal tax on goods or services.

Exodusters Name given to the 20,000 African Americans who moved to Kansas believing rumors of free land for settlers and supplies from the government in 1879.

external taxes Taxes based on oceanic trade, such as port duties. Some colonists thought of them more as a means of regulating trade than as taxes for revenue.

exurbs Housing developments that expanded further away from larger cities into farmlands and small towns.

factories A term used to describe small posts established for the early slave trade along the coast of Africa or on small offshore islands.

Fair Deal Proposed in 1949 by President Truman to extend New Deal programs, enact legislation dealing with civil rights, national health care, and federal aid for education, provide funds for public housing, and support farm prices.

fall line A geographical landmark defined by the first waterfalls encountered when going upriver from the sea. These waterfalls prevented oceangoing ships from sailing further inland and thus made the fall line a significant early barrier. Land between the falls and the ocean was called the tidewater. Land above the falls but below the mountains was called the piedmont.

Family Assistance Plan (FAP) Proposed by Nixon in 1969 to replace the existing welfare policy; it called to provide every low-income family an annual income of $1,600.

fascism Type of highly centralized government that used terror and violence to suppress opposition. Its rigid social and economic controls often incorporated strong nationalism and racism. Fascist governments were dominated by strong authority figures or dictators.

favorite son Candidate for president supported by delegates from his home state.

Federal Reserve Act Act that brought private banks and public authority together to regulate and strengthen the nation's financial system.

Federalists Supporters of the Constitution during the ratification process. Anti-Federalists resisted ratification.

feminism Desire for complete equality between men and women.

feudal revival The reliance on old feudal charters for all of the profits that could be extracted from them. It took hold in several colonies in the mid-18th century and caused serious problems between many landowners and tenants.

fiat money Paper money backed only by the promise of the government to accept it in payment of taxes. It originated in Massachusetts after a military emergency in 1690.

filibuster Congressional delaying tactic involving lengthy speeches that prevent legislation from being enacted.

filibustering A term used to describe several groups that invaded or attempted to invade various Latin American areas to attempt to add them to the slaveholding regions of the United States. The word originated from *filibustero,* meaning a freebooter or pirate.

fire-eaters Southerners who were eager, enthusiastic supporters of southern rights and later of secession.

First Continental Congress This intercolonial body met in Philadelphia in September and October 1774 to organize resistance against the Coercive Acts by defining American rights, petitioning the king, and appealing to the British and American people. It created the Association, local committees in each community to enforce nonimportation.

Five-Power Treaty 1922 treaty in which the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to scrap more than 2 million tons of their warships.

flappers Rebellious middle-class young women who signaled their desire for independence and equality through style and personality rather than through politics.

flexible response Kennedy's approach to the Cold War that aimed to provide a wide variety of military and nonmilitary methods to confront communist movements.

Ford, Gerald A GOP member of the House of Representatives, Gerald Ford became the first person to be appointed vice president of the United States. When Richard Nixon resigned in 1974, Ford became president.

Fort Sumter Fort in Charleston's harbor occupied by United States troops after the secession of South Carolina.

Fourteen Points Plan laid out by Woodrow Wilson in January 1918 to give concrete form to his dream of a "peace without victory" and a new world order.

Freemasons A religion of manliness, complete with mysterious rituals that extolled sobriety, industry, brotherhood, benevolence, and citizenship.

free silver Idea that the government would purchase all silver offered for sale and coin it into silver dollars at the preferred ratio between silver and gold of 16 to 1.

Freedmen's Bureau Federal agency created in 1865 to supervise newly freed people. It oversaw relations between whites and blacks in the South, issued food rations, and supervised labor contracts.

freedom riders Members of interracial groups who traveled the South on buses to test a series of federal court decisions declaring segregation on buses and in waiting rooms to be unconstitutional.

Freedom Summer Summer of 1964 when nearly a thousand white volunteers went to Mississippi to aid in voter registration and other civil rights projects.

free-labor ideology Belief that all work in a free society is honorable and that manual labor is degraded when it is equated with slavery or bondage.

Free-Soilers A term used to describe people who opposed the expansion of slavery into the territories. It came from the name of a small political party in the election of 1848.

French and Indian War Popular name for the struggle between Britain and France for the control of North America, 1754 to 1763, in which the British conquered New France. It merged into Europe's Seven Years' War (1756–1763) that pitted Britain and Prussia against France, Austria, and Russia.

Friedan, Betty Author of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) and founder of the National Organization for Women (1966).

frontier An area on the advancing edge of American civilization.

fugitive slaves Runaway slaves who escaped to a free state.

Fulton, Robert Builder of the *Clermont,* the first practical steam-driven boat.

fundamentalists Religious groups that preached the necessity of fidelity to a strict moral code, individual commitment to Christ, and faith in the literal truth of the Bible.

funded national debt The state agreed to pay the interest due to its creditors before all other obligations.

Gabriel's rebellion Carefully planned but unsuccessful rebellion of slaves in Richmond, Virginia, and the surrounding area in 1800.

gag rule Procedure in which Congress voted at each session from 1836 to 1844 to table antislavery petitions without reading them in order to avoid any debate.

Gaither Report Report that encouraged President Eisenhower to increase national security and government spending in 1957.

gang labor A system where planters organized their field slaves into gangs, supervised them closely, and kept them working in the fields all day. This type of labor was used on tobacco plantations.

Garrison, William Lloyd Abolitionist and publisher of the first issue of the *Liberator.*

Garvey, Marcus Jamaican-born black nationalist who attracted millions of African Americans in the early 1920s to a movement calling for black separatism and self-sufficiency.

gas and water socialists Term used to describe evolutionary socialists who focused their reform efforts on regulating municipal utilities in the public interest.

Gates, Henry Lewis, Jr. Activist for the academics of African Americans in the 1990s.

General William Westmoreland Recommended the "search and destroy" method in North Vietnam to incapacitate NLF and North Vietnamese forces and to allow Saigon government time to develop.

Geneva Peace Accords of 1954 Divided French Indochina into three new nations: Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam; Vietnam was also split into two jurisdiction at the 17th parallel until an election could unify the country.

gentleman Term used to describe a person of means who performed no manual labor.

gentlemen's agreement (1907) Agreement by which the Japanese government promised to halt the immigration of its adult male laborers to the United States in return for President Theodore Roosevelt's pledge to end the discriminatory treatment of Japanese immigrant children in California's public schools.

Ghost Dance Indian ritual involving days of worship expressed in part through dance.

GI Bill Officially called the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944. It provided veterans with college and job-training assistance, preferential treatment in hiring, and subsidized home loans, and was later extended to Korean War veterans in 1952.

girdled trees Trees with a line cut around them so sap would not rise in the spring.

glasnost Russian term describing increased openness in Russian society under Mikhail Gorbachev.

globalization Spread of businesses throughout world.

Glorious Revolution The overthrow of King James II by Whigs and Tories, who invited William of Orange to England. William landed in November 1688, the army defected to him, James fled to France, and in early 1689, Parliament offered the throne to William and his wife Mary, a daughter of James. Contemporaries called the event "glorious" because almost no blood was shed in England.

gold bugs "Sound money" advocates who wanted to keep the United States on the international gold standard and believed the expanded coinage of silver was foolhardy.

Goldwater, Barry Republican candidate defeated by Lyndon B. Johnson in the 1964 presidential election.

Gompers, Samuel F. America's most famous trade unionist while serving as president of the AFL (1896–1924). He achieved his greatest success in organizing skilled workers.

Good Neighbor Policy Roosevelt's foreign policy initiative that formally renounced the right of the United States to intervene in Latin American affairs, leading to improved relations between the United States and Latin American countries.

Gorbachev, Mikhail Became general secretary of the Communist Party in 1985; he agreed to Reagan's proposal to ban nuclear weapons and eliminated the policy that prohibited nations under Soviet influence from rejecting Communism, which brought an end to the Cold War.

governor-general The French official responsible for military and diplomatic affairs and for appointment of all militia officers in a colony.

graduated income tax Tax based on income with rates that gradually rise as the level of income rises.

Grangers Members of the Patrons of Husbandry (a farmers' organization) and a contemptuous name for farmers used by ranchers in the West.

Grant, Ulysses S. General-in-chief of Union armies who led those armies to victory in the Civil War.

Great American Desert The treeless area in the plains that most Americans considered unsuitable for settlement. It generally was passed over by settlers going to the Pacific Coast areas.

Great Awakening An immense religious revival that swept across the Protestant world in the 1730s and 1740s.

Great Depression Economic downturn triggered by the stock market crash in October 1929 and lasting until 1941.

Great Railroad Strike of 1877 Strike that occurred during a time of depression that caused employers to cut wages and lay off workers.

Great Society Series of domestic initiatives announced in 1964 by President Lyndon Johnson to "end poverty and racial injustice." They included the Voting Rights Act of 1965;

the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Head Start, and job-training programs; Medicare and Medicaid expansion; and various community action programs.

Great White Fleet Naval ships sent on a 45,000-mile world tour by President Roosevelt (1907–1909) to showcase American military power.

Greeley, Horace Editor of the *New York Tribune*, one of the most influential newspapers in the country.

greenbacks Paper money issued by the federal government during the Civil War to help pay war expenses. They were called greenbacks because of their color.

Greene, Nathanael A general from Rhode Island whose superb strategy of irregular war reclaimed the Lower South for the American cause in 1780–1781.

Greenwich Village Community of radical artists and writers in lower Manhattan that provided a supportive environment for various kinds of radical ideals.

Grenville, George As head of the British government from 1763 to 1765, Grenville passed the Sugar Act, Quartering Act, Currency Act, and the Stamp Act, provoking the imperial crisis of 1765–1766.

Grimke, Sarah Along with her sister Angelina, this elite South Carolina woman moved north and campaigned against slavery and for temperance and women's rights.

gross national product (GNP) Total value of all goods and services produced during a specific period.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Measure passed by Congress in August 1964 that provided authorization for an air war against North Vietnam after U.S. destroyers were allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese torpedoes. Johnson invoked it as authority for expanding the Vietnam War.

Gullah A language spoken by newly imported African slaves. Originally, it was a simple second language for everyone who spoke it, but it gradually evolved into modern black English.

habeas corpus Right of an individual to obtain a legal document as protection against illegal imprisonment.

haciendas Large, landed estates established by the Spanish.

Hale, Sarah Josepha Editor of *Godey's Ladies Book* and an important arbiter of domesticity and taste for middle-class housewives.

Half-Way Covenant The Puritan practice whereby parents who had been baptized but had not yet experienced conversion could bring their children before the church and have them baptized.

Hamilton, Alexander Secretary of the treasury under Washington who organized the finances of the new government and led the partisan fight against the Democratic Republicans.

Hard Money Democrats Democrats who, in the 1830s and 1840s, wanted to eliminate paper money and regarded banks as centers of trickery and privilege.

Harlem Renaissance 1920s African-American literary and artistic awakening that sought to create works rooted in black culture instead of imitating white styles.

Harpers Ferry Site of John Brown's 1859 raid on a U.S. armory and arsenal for the manufacture and storage of military rifles.

hawks Supporters of intensified military efforts in the Vietnam War.

Haymarket Bombing at an Anarchist protest meeting at Haymarket Square in Chicago on May 4 resulting in 10 deaths, 6 of them policemen.

Haywood, William Labor organizer known as "Big Bill," who led the radical union Industrial Workers of the World.

headright A colonist received 50 acres of land for every person whose passage to America he financed, including himself. This system was introduced in Virginia.

heathen A term used sometimes by Christians to refer to anyone who was not a Christian or a Jew.

***herrenvolk* democracy** Concept that emphasized the equality of all who belonged to the master race—not all mankind.

Hessians A term used by Americans to describe the 17,000 mercenary troops hired by Britain from various German states, especially Hesse.

hidalgos The minor nobility of Spain. Many possessed little wealth and were interested in improving their position through the overseas empire.

High Federalists A term used to describe Alexander Hamilton and some of his less-moderate supporters. They wanted the naval war with France to continue and also wanted to severely limit the rights of an opposition party.

Highway Act of 1956 Act that appropriated $25 billion for the construction of more than 40,000 miles of interstate highways over a 10-year period.

hippies People who identified with the 1960s counterculture. They were often depicted as embracing mind-altering drugs, communal living arrangements, and new forms of music.

Hiroshima Japanese city destroyed by an atomic bomb on August 6, 1945.

Hiss, Alger High-level State Department employee who was accused, in a controversial case, of being a communist and Soviet spy.

Hitler, Adolph German fascist dictator whose aggressive policies touched off the Second World War.

HIV-AIDS Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) resulting from infection with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). It progressively impedes the body's ability to protect itself from disease.

Hmong Ethnically distinct people who inhabited lands extending across the borders of the Indochinese countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Homestead (Strike) Carnegie Steel Company closed its Homestead plant planning to reopen with nonunion workers; the union went on strike refusing to leave the building, which led to a gun battle and several deaths.

Homestead Act Legislation that took effect on January 1, 1863, to provide free land for western settlers.

House of Burgesses The assembly of early Virginia that settlers were allowed to elect. Members met with the governor and his council and enacted local laws. It first met in 1619.

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) Congressional committee (1938–1975) that zealously investigated suspected Nazi and Communist sympathizers.

household deficit Difference between what U.S. households earned and what they spent.

household industry Work such as converting raw materials into finished products done by women and children to provide additional household income.

housing "bubble" Refers to people who became home owners but lacked the incomes to handle a conventional mortgage.

Howe, William (General) Howe commanded the British army in North America from 1776 to 1778. He won major victories in New York and northern New Jersey in 1776, but Washington regained control of New Jersey after his Trenton-Princeton campaign. Howe took Philadelphia in September 1777 but was recalled in disgrace after Britain's northern army surrendered at Saratoga.

Huguenots French Protestants who followed the beliefs of John Calvin.

Hull House First American settlement house established in Chicago in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr.

Human Genome Project Program launched in 1985 to map all genetic material in the 24 human chromosomes. It sparked ongoing debate over the potential consequences of genetic research and manipulation.

human rights Rights and freedoms that all people deserve; this was a major emphasis of Carter's foreign policy.

Hutchinson, Anne A religious radical who attracted a large following in Massachusetts, especially in Boston. She warned that nearly all of the ministers were preaching a covenant of works instead of the covenant of grace. Convicted of the Antinomian heresy after claiming that she received direct messages from God, she and her most loyal followers were banished to Rhode Island in 1638.

hydraulic mining Use of high-pressure streams of water to wash gold or other minerals from soil.

Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act) Limited immigration to the United States to 165,000 per year, shrank immigration from southern and eastern Europe to insignificance, and banned immigration from East and South Asia.

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 Law eliminating the national-origins quota system

for immigration and substituting preferences for people with certain skills or with relatives in the United States.

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (Simpson-Mazzoli Act) Created stricter penalties for employing undocumented workers and provided residency for people that had lived in the U.S. since 1982.

Immigration Restriction Act of 1917 Measure that denied any adult immigrant who failed a reading test entry into the United States, and banned immigration from the "Asiatic Barred Zone."

impeach To charge government officeholders with misconduct in office.

impeachment Act of charging a public official with misconduct in office.

imperialists Those who wanted to expand their nation's world power through military prowess, economic strength, and control of foreign territory (often organized into colonies).

impressment Removal of sailors from American ships by British naval officers.

Inca The last and most extensive pre-Columbian empire in the Andes and along the Pacific coast of South America.

indentured servants People who had their passage to America paid by a master or ship captain. They agreed to work for their master for a term of years in exchange for cost of passage, bed and board, and small freedom dues when their terms were up. The number of years served depended on the terms of the contract. Most early settlers in the English colonies outside of New England arrived as indentured servants.

Independent Treasury Bill 1840 bill that permitted the federal government to hold and dispense money without depositing it in banks and required that customs and land purchases be paid in gold and silver coins or notes from specie-paying banks.

Indian Removal Act (1830) Legislation that offered the native peoples of the lower South the option of removal to federal lands west of the Mississippi. Those who did not take the offer were removed by force in 1838.

indigo A blue dye obtained from plants that was used by the textile industry. The British government subsidized the commercial production of it in South Carolina.

information revolution Acceleration of the speed and availability of information resulting from use of computer and satellite systems.

initiative Reform that gave voters the right to propose and pass a law independently of their state legislature.

Inns of Court England's law schools.

intendant The officer who administered the system of justice in New France.

interchangeable parts Industrial technique using machine tools to cut and shape a large number of similar parts that can be fitted together with other parts to make an entire item such as a gun.

internal improvements 19th-century term for transportation facilities such as roads, canals, and railroads.

internal taxes Taxes that were imposed on land, people, retail items (such as excises), or legal documents and newspapers (such as the Stamp Act). Most colonists thought that only their elective assemblies had the constitutional power to impose internal taxes.

***Iran-contra* affair** Reagan administration scandal in which the U.S. secretly sold arms to Iran, a country implicated in holding American hostages, and diverted the money to finance the attempt by the *contras* to overthrow the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Both transactions violated acts of Congress, which had prohibited funding the *contra* and selling weapons to Iran.

Iranian revolution of January 1979 Islamic fundamentalists overthrew Iranian dictator Shah Reza Pahlavi; the rebellion led to 66 Americans taken hostage when Carter allowed the shah into the U.S. for medical assistance.

Iroquois League A confederation of five Indian nations centered around the Mohawk Valley who were very active in the fur trade. They first worked with the Dutch and then the English. They were especially successful in using adoption as a means of remaining strong.

irreconcilables Group of 14 midwestern and western senators who opposed the Treaty of Versailles.

irregular war A type of war using men who were not part of a permanent or professional

regular military force. It also can apply to guerilla-type warfare, usually against the civilian population.

isolationists Name given to people who were not in favor of war during World War II.

itinerant preachers Ministers who lacked their own parishes and who traveled from place to place.

Jackson State (incident) Killing of two students on May 13, 1970, after an escalation in tensions between students at Jackson State University, a historically black institution, and National Guard troops in Mississippi.

Jackson, Andrew President of the United States (1829–1837) who founded the Democratic Party, signed the Indian Removal Act, vetoed the Second Bank, and signed the Force Bill.

Jackson, Thomas J. ("Stonewall") A native of Virginia, he emerged as one of the Confederacy's best generals in 1861–1862.

Jamestown Founded in 1607, Jamestown became England's first permanent settlement in North America. It served as the capital of Virginia for most of the 17th century.

Japanese internment Removal of first- and second-generation Japanese Americans into secured camps, a 1942 action then justified as a security measure but since deemed unjustified by evidence.

Jim Crow laws Laws passed by southern states mandating racial segregation in public facilities.

Johnson, Lyndon B. President (1963–1969) who undertook an ambitious Great Society program and a major military effort in Vietnam.

joint resolution An act passed by both houses of Congress with a simple majority rather than the two-thirds majority in the Senate.

joint-stock company A form of business organization that resembled a modern corporation. Individuals invested in the company through the purchase of shares. One major difference between then and today was that each stockholder had one vote regardless of how many shares he owned. The first permanent English colonies in North America were established by joint-stock companies.

journeyman Wage-earning craftsman.

judicial review Supreme Court's power to rule on the constitutionality of congressional acts.

Kansas-Nebraska Act Law enacted in 1854 to organize the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska that effectively repealed the provision of the 1820 Missouri Compromise by leaving the question of slavery to the territories' settlers.

Kennan, George (Mr. X) American diplomat and historian who recommended the policy of containment toward Soviet aggression in a famous article published under the pseudonym "X."

Kennedy, John F. President from 1961 to 1963, noted for his youthful charm and vigor and his "New Frontier" vision for America.

Kent State (incident) Killing of four students on May 4, 1970, by the National Guard at a Kent State University protest against the U.S. incursion into neutral Cambodia.

King George's War Popular term in North America for the third of the four Anglo-French wars before the American Revolution (1744–1748). It is sometimes also applied to the War of Jenkins's Ear between Spain and Britain (1739–1748).

King, Martin Luther, Jr. African American clergyman who advocated nonviolent social change and shaped the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Knights of Labor Secret fraternal organization founded in 1869 in Philadelphia.

Know-Nothings Adherents of nativist organizations and of the American party who wanted to restrict the political rights of immigrants.

Korean War Conflict lasting from 1950 to 1953 between communist North Korea, aided by China, and South Korea, aided by United Nations forces consisting primarily of U.S. troops.

Ku Klux Klan White terrorist organization in the South originally founded as a fraternal society in 1866. Reborn in 1915, it achieved popularity in the 1920s through its calls for Anglo-Saxon purity, Protestant supremacy, and the subordination of blacks, Catholics, and Jews.

La Raza Unida Mexican American–based movement that scored some political successes in the Southwest in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

lame duck Elected official who is about to reach the end of service and/or whose successor is already elected.

lame-duck administration Period of time between an incumbent party's or officeholder's loss of an election and the succession to office of the winning party or candidate.

League of Women Voters Successor to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, it promoted women's role in politics and dedicated itself to educating voters.

Lee, Robert E. U.S. army officer until his resignation to join the Confederacy as general-in-chief.

legal tender Any type of money that the government requires everyone to accept at face value.

Lend-Lease Act A 1941 act by which the United States "loaned" munitions to the Allies, hoping to avoid war by becoming an "arsenal" for the Allied cause.

levee Earthen dike or mound, usually along the banks of rivers, used to prevent flooding.

Lewis and Clark Explorers commissioned in 1804 by President Jefferson to survey the Louisiana Purchase.

liberal Protestants Those who believed that religion had to be adapted to science and that the Bible was to be mined for its ethical values rather than for its literal meaning.

Liberty bonds Thirty-year government bonds with an annual interest rate of 3.5 percent sold to fund the war effort.

liberty tree A term for the gallows on which enemies of the people deserved to be hanged. The best known was in Boston.

limited liability Liability that protected directors and stockholders of corporations from corporate debts by separating those debts from personal liabilities.

Lincoln, Abraham Illinois Whig who became the Republican Party's first successful presidential candidate in 1860 and who led the Union during the Civil War.

Lincoln-Douglas debates Series of seven debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas in their contest for election to the U.S. Senate in 1858.

Lindbergh, Charles A. First individual to fly solo across the Atlantic (1927) and the greatest celebrity of the 1920s.

lintheads Term used by wealthier whites to describe poor whites who labored in southern cotton mills.

living room war Phrase suggesting that television coverage had brought the Vietnam War into the living rooms of Americans and may have led many to question the war.

lockout Act of closing down a business by the owners during a labor dispute.

Lodge, Henry Cabot Republican senator from Massachusetts who led the campaign to reject the Treaty of Versailles.

logistics Military activity relating to such things as the transporting, supplying, and quartering of troops and their equipment.

long knives The term Indians used to describe Virginians.

Long, Huey Democratic senator and former governor of Louisiana who used the radio to attack the New Deal as too conservative. FDR regarded him as a major rival.

longhorn Breed of cattle introduced into the Southwest by the Spanish that became the main breed of livestock on the cattle frontier.

Lost Generation Term used by Gertrude Stein to describe U.S. writers and artists who fled to Paris in the 1920s after becoming disillusioned with America.

Louisiana Purchase Land purchased from France in 1803 that doubled the size of the United States.

Lowell, Francis Cabot Wealthy Bostonian who, with the help of the Boston Associates, built and operated integrated textile mills in eastern Massachusetts.

loyalists People in the 13 colonies who remained loyal to Britain during the Revolution.

Ludlow massacre Murder of 66 men, women, and children in April 1914 when company police of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company fired randomly on striking United Mine Workers.

Luftwaffe German air force.

Lusitania British passenger ship sunk by a German U-boat on May 7, 1915, killing more than 1,000 men, women, and children.

MacArthur, Douglas Supreme commander of Allied forces in the southwest Pacific during the Second World War; leader of the occupation forces in the reconstruction of Japan; and head of United Nations forces during the Korean War.

magistrate An official who enforced the law. In colonial America, this person was usually a justice of the peace or a judge in a higher court.

Mahan, Alfred Thayer Influential imperialist who advocated construction of a large navy as crucial to the successful pursuit of world power.

Malcolm X Charismatic African American leader who criticized integration and urged the creation of separate black economic and cultural institutions. He became a hero to members of the Black Power movement.

mandamus A legal writ ordering a person, usually a public official, to carry out a specific act. In Massachusetts in 1774, the new royal councilors were appointed by a writ of mandamus.

Manhattan Project Major secret military operation that involved the development of the first atomic weapon.

manifest destiny The belief that the United States was destined to grow from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the tropics. Providence supposedly intended for Americans to have this area for a great experiment in liberty.

manumission of slaves The act of freeing a slave, done at the will of the owner.

Marbury* v. *Madison 1803 case involving the disputed appointment of a federal justice of the peace in which Chief Justice John Marshall expanded the Supreme Court's authority to review legislation.

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom On August 28, 1960, 200,000 people marched through Washington, D.C., to the Lincoln Memorial for the rights of African Americans; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech on this day.

maritime Of, or relating to, the sea.

Marshall Plan Plan of U.S. aid to Europe that aimed to contain communism by fostering postwar economic recovery. Proposed by Secretary of State George C. Marshall in 1947, it was known formally as the European Recovery Program.

Marshall, John Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835. Appointed by Federalist President John Adams, Marshall's decisions tended to favor the federal government over the states and to clear legal blocks to private business.

martial law Government by military force rather than by citizens.

mass culture critique Fear that the cultural traditions of the 1950s would be drastically altered due to the influences of art, music, and TV.

mass production High-speed and high-volume production.

Massachusetts Bay Company A joint-stock company chartered by Charles I in 1629. It was controlled by Non-Separatists, who took the charter with them to New England and, in effect, converted it into a written constitution for the colony.

massive retaliation Assertion by the Eisenhower administration that the threat of U.S. atomic weaponry would hold Communist powers in check.

matrilineal A society that determines inheritance and roles in life based on the female or maternal line.

Maya A literate, highly urbanized Mesoamerican civilization that flourished for more than a thousand years before its sudden collapse in the ninth century A.D.

McCarran-Walter Act Authorized the denial of immigrant status to anyone who might compromise national security by bringing dangerous ideas into the country; it also allowed the deportation of immigrants who belonged to organizations on the attorney general's list.

McCarthy, Joseph 1946 U.S. senator who unfairly accused numerous people of being Communists.

McCarthy, Senator Eugene Senator of Minnesota who challenged Lyndon B. Johnson for the presidency in 1968; McCarthy shut

down his campaign upon realizing Johnson's vice president, Hubert Humphrey, was the favored Democrat candidate.

McCarthyism Public accusations of disloyalty made with little or no regard to actual evidence. Named after Senator Joseph McCarthy, these accusations and the scandal and harm they caused came to symbolize the most virulent form of anticommunism.

McClellan, George B. One of the most promising young officers in the U.S. Army, he became the principal commander of Union armies in 1861–1862.

McCulloch* v. *Maryland Supreme Court case in which the Bank of the United States Baltimore branch challenged the Maryland legislature's attempt to tax the bank; led by John Marshall, the Court decided in favor of the bank and denied Maryland's right to tax the bank or any other federal agency.

McKinley, William A seven-term Republican congressman from Ohio whose signature issue was the protective tariff. He was the last Civil War veteran to be elected president.

melting pot Term first used in the early 1900s that referred to the fusing of immigrants' culture with American culture as a continuous rebirth of the nation.

Menéndez, Francisco An escaped South Carolina slave who fought with the Yamasee Indians against the colony, fled to Florida, was reenslaved by the Spanish, became a militia captain, was freed again, and was put in charge of the free-black town of Mose near St. Augustine in the late 1730s, the first community of its kind in what is now the United States.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles The Spanish Admiral charged with Havana's protection after it was sacked by the Huguenots. Forces under Aviles' command expanded Spanish influence in the region, attacking and conquering settlements on Florida's Atlantic coast in 1565.

Mercantilism An economic theory that stresses a direct relationship between a nation's wealth and its power. Mercantilist nations in the 17th century sought to increase their wealth and power through aggressive trade expansion within their colonies.

merger movement Late-19th and early 20th-century effort to integrate different enterprises into single, giant corporations able to eliminate competition, achieve economic order, and boost profits.

Mesoamerica An area embracing Central America and southern and central Mexico.

Metacom's War (King Philip's War) A war that devastated much of southern New England in 1675–1676. It began as a conflict between Metacom's Wampanoags and Plymouth Colony but soon engulfed all of the New England colonies and most of the region's Indian nations.

Mexican repatriation Secretary of Labor William Doak's plan to deport illegal Mexican aliens to Mexico. By 1935, more than 500,000 Mexicans had left the United States.

microchips Technological improvement that boosted the capability and reduced the size and cost of computer hardware.

middle class Social group that developed in the early 19th century comprised of urban and country merchants, master craftsmen who had turned themselves into manufacturers, and market-oriented farmers—small-scale entrepreneurs who rose within market society.

Middle Ground The area of French and Indian cooperation west of Niagara and south of the Great Lakes. No one exercised sovereign power over this area, but the French used Indian rituals to negotiate treaties with their Algonquian trading partners, first against the Iroquois and later against the British.

midnight judges Federal judicial officials appointed under the Judiciary Act of 1801, in the last days of John Adams's presidency.

Midway Plaisance A section of the Columbia Exposition of 1893 that included concessions, games, the Ferris Wheel, traveling museums, and freak shows.

military-industrial complex Refers to the relationship between military, political, and economic elites committed to expanding national security capabilities.

militia A community's armed force, made up primarily of ordinary male citizens rather than professional soldiers.

Millennium The period at the end of history when Christ is expected to return and rule with his saints for a thousand years.

minstrel show Popular form of theater among working men of the northern cities in which

white men in blackface portrayed African Americans in song and dance.

missions Outposts established by the Spanish along the northern frontier to aid in Christianizing the native peoples. They also were used to exploit these peoples' labor.

Missouri Compromise Compromise that maintained sectional balance in Congress by admitting Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state and by drawing a line west from the 36°30′ parallel separating future slave and free states.

modernists Those who believed in science rather than religion and in moving toward equality for men and women and for whites and nonwhites.

Monroe Doctrine Foreign policy doctrine proposed by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams in 1823 that denied the right of European powers to establish new colonies in the Americas while maintaining the United States' right to annex new territory.

Montgomery bus boycott Political protest campaign mounted in 1955 to oppose the city's policy of racial segregation on its public transit system. The Supreme Court soon declared segregation on public transit unconstitutional.

morale The general feeling of the people toward such events as a war. Good morale greatly enhances an ability to fight or sacrifice for a cause.

Morgan, J. P. Most celebrated and powerful banker of the late 19th century.

Mormons Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, founded by Joseph Smith in 1830; the *Book of Mormon* is their Bible.

Mourning War An Indian war often initiated by a widow or bereaved relative who insisted that her male relatives provide captives to repair the loss.

MTV aesthetic Created a relationship between music and visual imagery.

muckrakers Investigative journalists who propelled Progressivism by exposing corruption, economic monopolies, and moral decay in American society.

Munich Conference French and British leaders met with Adolf Hitler in 1938 to avoid war.

My Lai Incident U.S. troops murdered more than 200 civilians, most of them women and children, in the small South Vietnamese village of My Lai in 1968.

napalm Incendiary and toxic chemical contained in bombs used by the United States in Vietnam.

narrowcasting Tactic used by TV programmers to target specific audiences with corresponding shows.

National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA) Organization established in 1890 to promote woman suffrage; stressed that women's special virtue made them indispensable to politics.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Organization launched in 1910 to fight racial discrimination and prejudice and to promote civil rights for blacks.

National Recovery Administration (NRA) 1933 attempt to promote economic recovery by persuading private groups of industrialists to decrease production, limit hours of work per employee, and standardize minimum wages.

National Review Magazine started in 1955 by William F. Buckley Jr. that represents conservative opinions and commentary about current events and politics.

National Road A road that attempted to link west and east through the Chesapeake by connecting the Potomac River with the Ohio River at Wheeling, Virginia, in 1818.

National Security Act (1947) Reorganized the U.S. military forces within a new Department of Defense, and established the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency.

National Security Strategy of 2002 Denounced terrorist networks and proclaimed that the U.S. had the right to wage war against any force that endangered Americans.

National War Labor Board U.S. government agency that brought together representatives of labor, industry, and the public to resolve labor disputes.

nativism Hostility of native-born Americans toward immigrants.

naturalization Process by which people born in a foreign country are granted full citizenship with all of its rights.

Navajo Signal Corp Navajo Indians who conveyed military intelligence in their native language to preserve its secrecy.

naval stores Items such as pitch, resin, and turpentine that were used to manufacture ships. Most of them were obtained from pine trees.

neoconservatives Group of intellectuals, many of whom had been anticommunist Democrats during the 1950s and 1960s, who came to emphasize hard-line foreign policies and conservative social stances.

neo-Federalists Nationalist Republicans who favored many Federalist economic programs, such as protective tariffs and a national bank.

Neolithic The period known also as the late Stone Age. Agriculture developed, and stone, rather than metal, tools were used.

neutrality U.S. policy toward World War I from 1914 to 1917 that called for staying out of war but maintaining normal economic relations with both sides.

Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1936 Legislation that restricted loans, trade, and travel with belligerent nations in an attempt to avoid the entanglements that had brought the United States into the First World War.

"New Democrat" Refers to Clinton and his series of political decisions that clashed with the classic democratic viewpoint.

New Freedom Wilson's reform program of 1912 that called for temporarily concentrating government power so as to dismantle the trusts and return America to 19th-century conditions of competitive capitalism.

New Frontier Term used by John F. Kennedy in his 1960 campaign as a reference to what lay ahead for the country. Kennedy spoke of new social programs to rebuild rural communities, increase educational opportunities, and improve urban conditions; he also promoted economic growth and more aggressive foreign policy.

New Left 1960s movement that sought to re-orient politics; people were urged to expand their minds and seek alternative ways of living.

New Lights Term used to describe pro-revival Congregationalists.

New Look President Eisenhower's attempt to minimize the military budget by focusing on nuclear weaponry and air power.

New Nationalism Roosevelt's reform program between 1910 and 1912, which called for establishing a strong federal government to regulate corporations, stabilize the economy, protect the weak, and restore social harmony.

New Right A diverse coalition of conservatives that focused on social issues and national sovereignty; they supported the Republican party under the leadership of Ronald Reagan.

New Sides Term used to describe evangelical Presbyterians.

"New Woman" 1890s depiction of women in cartoons, paintings, and short stories as a public figure who was athletic, self-confident, young, and independent.

New York's 369th Regiment Black army unit recruited in Harlem that served under French command and was decorated with the *Croix de Guerre* for its valor.

New York Magdalen Society Female-established society whose mission was to separate prostitutes from male power, pray with them, and convert them to middle-class morality.

nickelodeons Converted storefronts in working-class neighborhoods that showed early, short, silent films usually lasting 15 minutes, requiring little comprehension of English, and costing only a nickel to view.

Nixon Doctrine Pledged that the U.S. would extend military assistance to anticommunist governments in Asia but would require them to supply their own combat forces.

Nixon, Richard President of the United States (1969–1974) during the final years of the Vietnam War. He resigned the presidency when he faced impeachment for the Watergate scandals.

nonimportation agreements Agreements not to import goods from Great Britain. They were designed to put pressure on the British economy and force the repeal of unpopular parliamentary acts.

Non-Separatists English Puritans who insisted that they were faithful members of the Church

of England while demanding that it purge itself of its surviving Catholic rituals and vestments.

normal schools State colleges established to train teachers.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 1994 agreement that aimed to lower or eliminate barriers restricting the trade of goods and services among the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Established by treaty in 1949 to provide for the collective defense of noncommunist European and North American nations against possible aggression from the Soviet Union and to encourage political, economic, and social cooperation.

Northwest Ordinance Established the Northwest Territory between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. Adopted by the Confederation Congress in 1787, it abolished slavery in the territory and provided that it be divided into three to five states that would eventually be admitted to the Union as full equals of the original thirteen.

NSC-68 National Security Council Document number 68 (1950) that provided the rationale and comprehensive strategic vision for U.S. policy during the Cold War.

nullification Beginning in the late 1820s, John C. Calhoun and others argued that the Union was a voluntary compact between sovereign states, that states were the ultimate judges of the constitutionality of federal law, that states could nullify federal laws within their borders, and that they had the right to secede from the Union.

Obama, Barack 44th president of the United States and the first president of African descent; voted into office in 2008 with a campaign for "hope" and "change."

Office of War Information (OWI) Created in 1942 by President Roosevelt to coordinate propaganda and censorship.

Old Lights Antirevival Congregationalists.

Old Northwest The region west of Pennsylvania, north of the Ohio River, and east of the Mississippi River.

Old Sides Antirevival Presbyterians.

oligarchy A society dominated by a few persons or families.

Olmec The oldest pre-Columbian high culture to appear in what is now Mexico.

Olmsted, Frederick Law Principal designer of Central Park in New York City.

Onontio An Algonquian word that means "great mountain" and that was used by Indians of the Middle Ground to designate the governor of New France.

Open Door notes (1899–1900) Foreign policy tactic in which the United States asked European powers to respect China's independence and to open their spheres of influence to merchants from other nations.

Open Skies Eisenhower's proposal that U.S. and Soviet disarmament be verified by reconnaissance flights over each other's territory.

open-field agriculture A medieval system of land distribution used only in the New England colonies. Farmers owned scattered strips of land within a common field, and the town as a whole decided what crops to plant.

OVERLORD Massive invasion of Germany that began on June 6, 1944, known as D-Day; this event was the beginning of the end to the war in Europe.

pacifist A person opposed to war or violence. The religious group most committed to pacifism is the Quakers.

Panama Canal An engineering marvel completed in 1914 across the new Central American nation of Panama. Connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, it shortened ship travel between New York and San Francisco by 8,000 miles.

parish A term used to describe an area served by one tax-supported church. The term was used primarily in regions settled by members of the Church of England.

Parks, Rosa African American seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, who, after refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man, was arrested and fined. Her protest sparked a subsequent bus boycott that attracted national sympathy for the civil rights cause and put Martin Luther King, Jr., in the national spotlight.

parochial schools Schools associated with a church, usually Roman Catholic. The funding of these schools became a major political issue in the 1850s.

passive civil disobedience Nonviolent refusal to obey a law in an attempt to call attention to government policies considered unfair.

patronage The act of appointing people to government jobs or awarding them government contracts, often based on political favoritism rather than on abilities.

patronships Vast estates along the Hudson River that were established by the Dutch. They had difficulty attracting peasant labor, and most were not successful.

Peace of Paris The 1763 treaty that ended the war between Britain on the one side and France and Spain on the other side. France surrendered New France to Britain. Spain ceded Florida to Britain, and France compensated its ally by ceding all of Louisiana to Spain.

peace without victory Woodrow Wilson's 1917 pledge to work for a peace settlement that did not favor one side over the other but ensured an equality among combatants.

Pearl Harbor Japan's December 7, 1941, attack on a U.S. base in Hawaii that brought the United States into the Second World War.

Penn, William A convert to the Society of Friends in the 1660s, Penn used his friendship with Charles II and James, Duke of York, to acquire a charter for Pennsylvania in 1681, and he then launched a major migration of Friends to the Delaware Valley.

Pentagon Completed in January of 1943, this five-story, five-sided building houses the United States' War Department.

people's capitalism An egalitarian capitalism in which all Americans could participate and enjoy the consumer goods that U.S. industry had made available.

per capita Term used to measure the wealth of a nation by dividing total income by population.

perestroika Russian term describing the economic liberalization that began in the late 1980s.

Perkins, Frances Secretary of Labor under Roosevelt and the first female Cabinet member.

Pershing, John J. Commander of the American Expeditionary Force that began landing in Europe in 1917 and that entered battle in the spring and summer of 1918.

Persian Gulf War Conflict that lasted six weeks in 1991 between the U.S. and Iraq; Bush ordered aid to Kuwait when Saddam Hussein and his armies invaded their land.

personal liberty laws Laws enacted by nine northern states to prohibit the use of state law facilities such as jails or law officers in the recapture of fugitive slaves.

Petraeus, General David Expert on counterinsurgency warfare, recommended into command by Robert Gates.

piedmont A term referring to the land above the fall line but below the Appalachian Mountains.

Pilgrims A pious, sentimental term used by later generations to describe the settlers who sailed on the Mayflower in 1620 and founded Plymouth Colony.

Pitt, William One of the most popular public officials in 18th-century Britain, he was best known as the minister who organized Britain's successful war effort against France in the French and Indian War.

Placemen Appointed officeholders who sat in the British Parliament. The Country party in 18th-century England lobbied to ban placemen, whom they saw as a threat to the natural balance of the British system of government.

placer mining Mining where minerals, especially gold, were found in glacial or alluvial deposits.

Platt Amendment Clause that the U.S. forced Cuba to insert into its constitution giving the U.S. broad control over Cuba's foreign and domestic policies.

Plessy* v. *Ferguson 1896 Supreme Court case that sanctioned Jim Crow laws as long as the separate facilities for black and whites were equal.

plumbers Nixon's secret intelligence unit designed to stop information leaks to the media.

Plymouth Founded by Separatists in 1620, Plymouth was England's first permanent colony in New England.

political machines Organizations that controlled local political parties and municipal governments through bribery, election fraud, and support of urban vice while providing some municipal services to the urban poor.

politics of harmony A system in which the governor and the colonial assembly worked together through persuasion rather than through patronage or bullying.

politique A man who believed that the survival of the state took precedence over religious differences.

poll tax A tax based on people or population rather than property. It was usually a fixed amount per adult.

polygamy The act of having more than one wife.

Pontiac An Ottawa chief whose name has been attached to the great Indian uprising against the British in 1763–1764.

Pontiac's War A large group of Indians, including Seneca, Mingo, Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, Miami, Ottawa, and other warriors, joined forces in 1763, attacking 13 British posts in the West in hopes to drive British settlers back to the Eastern seaboard.

pools Technique used by railroads to divide up traffic and fix rates, thereby avoiding ruinous competition.

popular sovereignty The concept that settlers of each territory would decide for themselves whether to allow slavery.

postal campaign Abolitionist tactic to force the nation to confront the slavery question by flooding the mails, both North and South, with antislavery literature. Their hope was to raise controversy within an area that was the province of the federal government.

postmillennialism Belief (held mostly by middle-class evangelists) that Christ's Second Coming would occur when missionary conversion of the world brought about a thousand years of social perfection.

postmillennialists Middle-class evangelicals that believed that Christ's Second Coming would occur at the end of 1,000 years of social perfection brought about by the missionary conversion of the world.

powwow Originally, a word used to identify tribal prophets or medicine men. Later it was used also to describe the ceremonies held by them.

praying Indians The Christian Indians of New England.

predestination A theory that states that God has decreed, even before he created the world, who will be saved and who will be damned.

premillennialism A view assumed by Baptists, Methodists, and Disciples of Christ that the millennium would arrive with world-destroying violence, followed by 1,000 years of Christ's rule on Earth.

Presbytery An intermediate level of organization in the Presbyterian church, above individual congregations but below the synod. One of its primary responsibilities was the ordination and placement of ministers.

presidios Military posts constructed by the Spanish to protect the settlers from hostile Indians. They also were used to keep non-Spanish settlers from the area.

Presley, Elvis Known as "the King" of Rock and Roll, he was the biggest pop star of the 1950s.

Primogeniture The right, by law or custom, of the first-born to inherit the entire estate, to the exclusion of younger siblings.

private fields Farms of up to five acres on which slaves working under the task system were permitted to produce items for their own use and sale in a nearby market.

privateers A privately owned ship that was authorized by a government to attack enemy ships during times of war. The owner of the ship got to claim a portion of whatever was captured. This practice damaged any enemy country that could not dramatically increase naval protection for its merchant ships.

Proclamation of 1763 Issued by the Privy Council, it tried to prevent the colonists from encroaching upon Indian lands by prohibiting settlement west of the Appalachian watershed unless the government first purchased those lands by treaty.

Progressive Party Political party formed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 when the Republicans refused to nominate him for president. The party adopted a sweeping reform program.

Prohibition Constitutional ban on the manufacture and sale of alcohol in the United States (1920–1933).

proprietary colony A colony owned by an individual(s) who had vast discretionary

powers over the colony. Maryland was the first proprietary colony, but others were founded later.

protective tariff Tariff that increases the price of imported goods that compete with American products and thus protects American manufacturers from foreign competition.

Protestant Reformation A religious movement begun by Martin Luther in 1517 that led to the repudiation of the Roman Catholic Church in large parts of northern and central Europe.

provincial congress A type of convention elected by the colonists to organize resistance. They tended to be larger than the legal assemblies they displaced, and they played a major role in politicizing the countryside.

public Friends The men and women who spoke most frequently and effectively for the Society of Friends. They were as close as the Quakers came to having a clergy. They occupied special elevated seats in some meetinghouses.

public virtue Meant, to the revolutionary generation, patriotism and the willingness of a free and independent people to subordinate their interests to the common good and even to die for their country.

Pueblo Revolt In the most successful Indian uprising in American history, the Pueblo people rose against the Spanish in 1680, killed most Spanish missionaries, devastated Spanish buildings, and forced the surviving Spaniards to retreat down the Rio Grande. The Pueblos maintained their autonomy for about a decade, but Spain reasserted control in the early 1690s.

Pullman Strike 1894 labor strike that became the first nationwide workers' strike against the railroad.

Puritans An English religious group that followed the teachings of John Calvin. They wanted a fuller reformation of the Church of England and hoped to replace The Book of Common Prayer with sermons. They wanted to purify the Church of England of its surviving Catholic ceremonies and vestments.

Quakers A term of abuse used by opponents to describe members of the Society of Friends, who believed that God, in the form of the Inner Light, was present in all humans. Friends were pacifists who rejected oaths, sacraments, and all set forms of religious worship.

quasi-slavery Position that resembled slavery, such as that created by the Black Codes.

quitrent A relic of feudalism, a quitrent was a small required annual fee attached to a piece of land. It differed from other rents in that nonpayment did not lead to ejection from the land but to a suit for debt.

R&D Research and development.

racial profiling Law enforcement practice of using racial appearance to screen for potential wrongdoing.

railhead End of a railroad line, or the farthest point on the track.

railroad gauge Distance between the rails on which wheels of railroad cars fit.

"rainfall follows the plow" Erroneous belief that settlement and cultivation somehow changed the weather. It evolved due to heavier-than-normal precipitation during the 1870s and 1880s.

RAND Think tank developed by the U.S. military to conduct scientific research and development.

Reagan, Ronald Republican president (1981–1989) who steered domestic politics in a conservative direction and sponsored a huge military buildup.

real wages Relationship between wages and the consumer price index.

realism Form of thinking, writing, and art that prized detachment, objectivity, and skepticism.

rebates Practice by the railroads of giving certain big businesses reductions in freight rates or refunds.

recall Reform that gave voters the right to remove from office a public servant who had betrayed their trust.

Red Scare Widespread fear in 1919–1920 that radicals had coalesced to establish a communist government on American soil. In response, U.S. government and private citizens undertook a campaign to identify, silence, and, in some cases, imprison radicals.

redemptioners Servants with an indentured contract that allowed them to find masters after they arrived in the colonies. Many German immigrant families were redemptioners and thus were able to stay together while they served their terms.

redlining Refusal by banks and loan associations to grant loans for home buying and business expansion in neighborhoods that contained aging buildings, dense populations, and growing numbers of nonwhites.

referendum Procedure that allows the electorate to decide an issue through a direct vote.

Refugee Act of 1980 Law allowing refugees fleeing political persecution entry into the United States.

Rehnquist, William Appointed to Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by Reagan in 1986.

religious bigotry Intolerance based on religious beliefs or practices.

religious right Christians who wedded their religious beliefs to a conservative political agenda and gained growing influence in Republican party politics after the late 1960s.

Republic of Texas Independent nation founded in 1836 when a revolution by residents in the Mexican province of Texas won their independence.

republics Independent Indian villages that were willing to trade with the British and remained outside the French system of Indian alliances.

Restoration era The period that began in 1660 when the Stuart dynasty under Charles II was restored to the throne of England. It ended with the overthrow of James II in 1688–1689.

restorationism Belief that all theological and institutional changes since the end of biblical times were manmade mistakes and that religious organizations must restore themselves to the purity and simplicity of the apostolic church.

restraint of trade Activity that prevented competition in the marketplace or free trade.

revival A series of emotional religious meetings that led to numerous public conversions.

revolving gun turret A low structure, often round, on a ship that moved horizontally and contained mounted guns.

rifling Process of cutting spiral grooves in a gun's barrel to impart a spin to the bullet. Perfected in the 1850s, it produced greater accuracy and longer range.

"robber barons" Industrial leaders who began to restrain their displays of wealth and make significant philanthropic contributions to the public.

"Roberts Court" Refers to the Supreme Court after John Roberts became Chief Justice in 2005.

Robinson, Jackie African American whose addition to the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 began the lengthy process of integrating Major League Baseball.

rock 'n' roll Form of popular music that arose in the 1950s from a variety of musical styles, including rhythm and blues, country, and gospel. Its heavily accented beat attracted a large following among devotees of the emerging youth culture.

Rockefeller, John D. Founder of the Standard Oil Company, whose aggressive practices drove many competitors out of business and made him one of the richest men in America.

Roe* v. *Wade Supreme Court decision in 1973 that ruled that a blanket prohibition against abortion violated a woman's right to privacy and prompted decades of political controversy.

rolling stock Locomotives, freight cars, and other types of wheeled equipment owned by railroads.

Roosevelt corollary 1904 corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, stating that the United States had the right to intervene in domestic affairs of hemispheric nations to quell disorder and forestall European intervention.

Roosevelt liberalism New reform movement that sought to regulate capitalism but not the morals or behavior of private citizens. This reform liberalism overcame divisions between southern agrarians and northeastern ethnics.

Roosevelt, Eleanor A politically engaged and effective First Lady, and an architect of American liberalism.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. President from 1933 to 1945 and the creator of the New Deal.

Rough Riders Much-decorated volunteer cavalry unit organized by Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood to fight in Cuba in 1898.

royal colony A colony controlled directly by the English monarch. The governor and council were appointed by the Crown.

Russo-Japanese War Territorial conflict between imperial Japan and Russia mediated by Theodore Roosevelt at Portsmouth, New

Hampshire. The peace agreement gave Korea and other territories to Japan, ensured Russia's continuing control over Siberia, and protected China's territorial integrity.

Sacco and Vanzetti Case (1920) Controversial conviction of two Italian-born anarchists accused of armed robbery and murder.

sachem An Algonquian word that means "chief."

Safety-Fund Law New York state law that required banks to pool a fraction of their resources to protect both bankers and small stockholders in case of bank failures.

Salem witch trials About 150 people were accused of witchcraft in Massachusetts between March and September 1692. During the summer trials, 19 people were hanged and one was pressed to death after he refused to stand trial. All of those executed insisted they were innocent. Of the 50 who confessed, none was executed.

Sand Creek massacre Attack led by Colonel John Chivington that killed 200 Cheyenne Indians that returned in peace to their Colorado reservation.

Saratoga A major turning point in the Revolutionary War. American forces prevented John Burgoyne's army from reaching Albany, cut off its retreat, and forced it to surrender in October 1777. This victory helped bring France into the war.

saturation bombing Intensive bombing designed to destroy everything in a target area.

scabs Strikebreakers who were willing to act as replacements for striking workers, thus undermining the effect of strikes as leverage against company owners.

scalawags Term used by southern Democrats to describe southern whites who worked with the Republicans.

scientific management Attempt to break down each factory job into its smallest components to increase efficiency, eliminate waste, and promote worker satisfaction.

secession The act of a state withdrawing from the Union. South Carolina was the first state to attempt to do this in 1860.

"Second Bill of Rights" President Roosevelt's ambition to ensure that Americans could enjoy regular employment, adequate food and shelter, educational opportunities, and health care.

Second Continental Congress The intercolonial body that met in Philadelphia in May 1775 a few weeks after the Battles of Lexington and Concord. It organized the Continental Army, appointed George Washington commander-in-chief, and simultaneously pursued policies of military resistance and conciliation. When conciliation failed, it chose independence in July 1776 and in 1777 drafted the Articles of Confederation, which finally went into force in March 1781.

sedentary Societies that are rooted locally or are nonmigratory. Semisedentary societies are migratory for part of the year.

seditious libel The common-law crime of openly criticizing a public official.

seigneurs The landed gentry who claimed most of the land between Quebec and Montreal. They were never as powerful as aristocrats in France.

Seneca Falls Convention (1848) First national convention of women's rights activists.

separation of powers The theory that a free government, especially in a republic, should have three independent branches capable of checking or balancing one another: the executive, the legislative (usually bicameral), and the judicial.

Separatists One of the most extreme English Protestant groups that were followers of John Calvin. They began to separate from the Church of England and form their own congregations.

September 11, 2001 Day on which U.S. airliners, hijacked by Al Qaeda operatives, were crashed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, killing around 3,000 people.

serfdom Early medieval Europe's predominant labor system, which tied peasants to their lords and the land. They were not slaves because they could not be sold from the land.

Seward, William H. Secretary of state under Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Jackson. He was best known for his purchase of Alaska from Russia.

share wages Payment of workers' wages with a share of the crop rather than with cash.

sharecropping Working land in return for a share of the crops produced instead of paying cash rent.

Shays's Rebellion An uprising of farmers in western Massachusetts in the winter of 1786–1787. They objected to high taxes and foreclosures for unpaid debts. Militia from eastern Massachusetts suppressed the rebels.

Sheppard-Towner Act Major social welfare program providing federal funds for prenatal and child health care, 1921–1929.

Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 Intended to declare any form of trade restraint illegal, but proved to be useless in prosecution of corporations.

sickle cell A crescent- or sickle-shaped red blood cell sometimes found in African Americans. It helped protect them from malaria but exposed some children to the dangerous and painful condition of sickle cell anemia.

Sir Walter Raleigh An Elizabethan courtier who, in the 1580s, tried but failed to establish an English colony on Roanoke Island in what is now North Carolina.

sit-down strike Labor strike strategy in which workers occupied their factory but refused to do any work until the employer agreed to recognize the workers' union. This strategy succeeded against General Motors in 1937.

sit-in movement Activity that challenged legal segregation by demanding that blacks have the same access to public facilities as whites. These nonviolent demonstrations were staged at restaurants, bus and train stations, and other public places.

Sitting Bull Hunkapapa Lakota (Sioux) chief and holy man who led warriors against the U.S. Army in Montana Territory in 1876, culminating in the Battle of Little Big Horn.

slash and burn A system of agriculture in which trees were cut down, girdled, or in some way destroyed. The underbrush then was burned, and a crop was planted. Men created the farms, and women did the farming. The system eventually depleted the fertility of the soil, and the entire tribe would move to a new area after 10 or 20 years.

Smith, Alfred E. Irish American, Democratic governor of New York who became in 1928 the first Catholic ever nominated for the presidency by a major party.

Smith, John (Captain) A member of the Virginia Council; his strong leadership from 1607 to 1609 probably saved the colony from collapse.

Smith, Joseph Poor New York farm boy whose visions led him to translate the *Book of Mormon* in late 1820s. He became the founder and the prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons).

Social Darwinism Set of beliefs explaining human history as an ongoing evolutionary struggle between different groups of people for survival and supremacy that was used to justify inequalities between races, classes, and nations.

social networking sites Internet-based sites that unite communities of people based on similar interests.

Social Security Act Centerpiece of the welfare state (1935) that instituted the first federal pension system and set up funds to take care of groups (such as the disabled and unmarried mothers with children) that were unable to support themselves.

socialism Political movement that called for the transfer of industry from private to public control, and the transfer of political power from elites to the laboring masses.

sodbuster Small farmer in parts of the West who adapted to the treeless plains and prairies, such as the construction of homes out of sod.

soddies Houses built by Great Plains settlers made from prairie sod that was cut into blocks and stacked to form walls.

southern yeoman Farmer who owned relatively little land and few or no slaves.

sovereign power A term used to describe supreme or final power.

space shuttle Manned rocket that served as a space laboratory and could be flown back to the earth for reuse.

Spanish Civil War Conflict between Spain's republican government and nationalist rebels led by General Francisco Franco.

specie Also called "hard money" as against paper money. In colonial times, it usually meant silver, but it could also include gold coins.

Specie Circular Provision added to the Deposit Act in 1836 that required speculators to pay in silver and gold coins when buying large parcels of public land.

spirituals Term later devised to describe the religious songs of slaves.

Spock, Dr. Benjamin Pediatrician who wrote *Baby and Child Care* (1946), the most widely used child-rearing book during the baby boom generation.

spoils system System by which the victorious political party rewarded its supporters with government jobs.

Sputnik First Soviet satellite sent into orbit around the earth in 1957.

Sputnik Crisis Following Russia's second successful satellite launch, the possibility of nuclear weapons development forced President Eisenhower to expand military arsenal, educational resources, and research capabilities.

stagflation Condition of simultaneous economic stagnation and price inflation.

Stalin, Joseph Soviet communist dictator who worked with Allied leaders during Second World War.

Stamp Act Passed by the administration of George Grenville in 1765, the Stamp Act imposed duties on most legal documents in the colonies and on newspapers and other publications. Massive colonial resistance to the act created a major imperial crisis.

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady Feminist abolitionist who organized the Seneca Falls Convention.

staple crop A crop grown for commercial sale. It usually was produced in a colonial area and was sold in Europe. The first staple crops were sugar and tobacco.

Starr, Kenneth Republican lawyer appointed as independent counsel to investigate possible wrongdoing by President Clinton.

States General The legislative assembly of the Netherlands.

stay laws A law that delays or postpones something. During the 1780s, many states passed stay laws to delay the due date on debts because of the serious economic problems of the times.

steel cargo containers Made shipping goods and raw materials long distances easier and less expensive.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) Popularly termed "Star Wars," a proposal to develop technology for creation of a space-based defensive missile shield around the United States.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Interracial civil rights organization formed by young people involved in the sit-in movement that later adopted a direct-action approach to fighting segregation.

"sub-prime mortgages" Mortgages that carried a high risk of defaulting.

subtreasuries Plan to help farmers escape the ruinous interest rates of the crop lien system by storing their crops in federal warehouses until market prices were more favorable. Farmers could draw low-interest loans against the value of these crops.

subversive Systematic, deliberate attempt to overthrow or undermine a government or society by people working secretly within the country.

Sun Belt Southern rim of the United States running from Florida to California.

Sunday schools Schools that first appeared in the 1790s to teach working-class children to read and write but that by the 1820s and 1830s were becoming moral training grounds.

supply-side economics Economic theory that tax reductions targeted toward investors and businesses would stimulate production and eventually create jobs.

sweated Describes a type of worker, mostly women, who worked in her home producing items for subcontractors, usually in the clothing industry.

synod The governing body of the Presbyterian church. A synod was a meeting of Presbyterian ministers and prominent laymen to set policies for the whole church.

table a petition or bill Act of removing a petition or bill from consideration without debate by placing it at the end of the legislative agenda.

Taft-Hartley Act Limited a union's power to conduct boycotts, force employers to hire only union members, and to continue a strike harmful to national security; it also required union officials to sign affidavits stating that they did not belong to the Communist Party.

Taft, William Howard Roosevelt's successor as president (1909–1913), who tried but failed to mediate between reformers and conservatives in the Republican Party.

Tallmadge Amendments Two amendments proposed by James Tallmadge Jr. to be added to the Missouri statehood bill before Missouri's admission to the union; the first barred slaves from being brought into Missouri and the second emancipated Missouri slaves born after admission once they reached their 25th birthday.

tariff A tax on imports.

"Tariff of Abominations" Refers to the protective tariffs passed by the Democratic Congress in 1828 that hurt the South by diminishing exports of cotton and raised prices of manufactured goods.

task system A system of slave labor under which slaves had to complete specific assignments each day. After these assignments were finished, their time was their own. It was used primarily on rice plantations. Slaves often preferred this system over gang labor because it gave them more autonomy and free time.

Taylor, Frederick Winslow Chief engineer at Philadelphia's Midvale Steel Company whose goal was to make human labor mimic the efficiency of a piece of machinery.

Teapot Dome scandal Political scandal by which Secretary of Interior Albert Fall allowed oil tycoons access to government oil reserves in exchange for $400,000 in bribes.

Tecumseh Shawnee leader who assumed political and military leadership of the pan-Indian religious movement began by his brother Tenskwatawa.

tejanos Spanish-speaking settlers of Texas. The term comes from the Spanish word *Tejas* for Texas.

temperance Movement that supported abstaining from alcoholic beverages.

Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) Program that allowed each state to design its own welfare-to-work programs under general federal guidelines.

tenancy System under which farmers worked land that they did not own.

Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Ambitious and successful use of government resources and power to promote economic development throughout the Tennessee Valley.

Tenochtitlān The huge Aztec capital city destroyed by Cortés.

Tenskwatawa Brother of Tecumseh, whose religious vision of 1805 called for the unification of Indians west of the Appalachians and foretold the defeat and disappearance of the whites.

termination and relocation Policies designed to assimilate American Indians by terminating tribal status and relocating individuals off reservations.

Tet offensive Surprise National Liberation Front (NLF) attack during the lunar new year holiday in early 1968 that brought high casualties to the NLF but fueled pessimism about the war's outcome in the United States.

The Medicare Prescription Drug Improvement and Modernization Act 2003 act that created Medicare Part D, a new program that would provide prescription drug benefits for Medicare recipients. The law was controversial because of its enormous cost and because the federal government was prohibited from negotiating discounts with drug companies.

The Man That Nobody Knows Bruce Barton's best-selling, 1925 book depicting Jesus as a business executive.

"the strenuous life" A time in the 1890s when middle-class and wealthy Americans took great interest in competitive sports, physical fitness, and outdoor recreation.

"the surge" Strategy developed by Robert Gates, temporarily increased U.S. troops in Iraq and placed General David Petraeus in command; reduced the level of civil violence and decreased political tension.

think tank Group or agency organized to conduct intensive research or engage in problem solving, especially in developing new technology, military strategy, or social planning.

Third Reich New empire that Adolf Hitler promised the German people would bring glory and unity to the nation.

Third World Less economically developed areas of the world, primarily the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Three Mile Island Housed a nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania that experienced a major

reactor malfunction in 1979; the industry stopped development following this event.

Tierra del Fuego The region at the southern tip of South America.

tithe A portion of one's income that is owed to the church. In most places, it was one-tenth.

Title IX or Patsy Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act Required colleges and universities to improve the financing and promotion of women's sports in 1972.

toll roads Roads for which travelers were charged a fee for each use.

tories A term for Irish Catholic peasants who murdered Protestant landlords. It was used to describe the followers of Charles II and became one of the names of the two major political parties in England.

total war New kind of war requiring every combatant to devote virtually all his or her economic and political resources to the fight.

totalitarian movement Movement in which the individual is subordinated to the state and all areas of life are subjected to centralized, total control—usually by force.

Townshend Revenue Act Passed by Parliament in 1767, this act imposed import duties on tea, paper, glass, red and white lead, and painter's colors. It provoked the imperial crisis of 1767–1770. In 1770, Parliament repealed all of the duties except the one on tea.

traditionalists Those who believed that God's word transcended science and that America should continue to be guided by older hierarchies (men over women, whites over nonwhites, native-born over immigrants).

transcontinental railroad Railroad line that connected with other lines to provide continuous rail transportation from coast to coast.

treasury notes Paper money used by the Union to help finance the Civil War. One type of treasury note was known as a greenback because of its color.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty that authorized the purchase of California, New Mexico, and a Texas border on the Rio Grande from Mexico for 15 million dollars.

Triangle Shirtwaist Company New York City site of a tragic 1911 industrial fire that killed 146 workers who were unable to find their way to safety.

Triple Alliance One set of combatants in World War I, consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. When Italy left the alliance, this side became known as the Central Powers.

Triple Entente One set of combatants in World War I, consisting of Britain, France, and Russia. As the war went on, this side came to be known as the Allies or Allied Powers.

Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) Section of the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 that authorized the Treasury Department to spread $700 billion throughout the financial system.

Truman Doctrine Policy established by President Truman in 1947 to aid Greece and Turkey in order to prevent Soviet expansionism and the spread of communism.

Truman, Harry S. Franklin Roosevelt's vice president who became president when Roosevelt died on April 13, 1945.

trust Large corporations that controlled a substantial share of any given market.

Turner, Nat Baptist lay preacher whose religious visions encouraged him to lead a slave revolt in southern Virginia in 1831 in which 55 whites were killed—more than any other American slave revolt.

Turner's frontier thesis Theory developed by historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who argued that the frontier had been central to the shaping of American character and the success of the U.S. economy and democracy.

Twenty Negro Law Confederate conscription law that exempted from the draft one white man on every plantation owning 20 or more slaves. The law's purpose was to exempt overseers or owners who would ensure discipline over the slaves and keep up production but was regarded as discrimination by nonslaveholding families.

U-2 spy plane Aircraft specializing in high-altitude reconnaissance.

Ulster The northern province of Ireland that provided 70 percent of the Irish immigrants in the colonial period. Nearly all of them were Presbyterians whose forebears had moved to Ireland from Scotland in the previous century. They sometimes are called Scots-Irish today.

Uncle Tom's Cabin Published by Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852, this sentimental novel told the story of the Christian slave Uncle Tom and became a best seller and the most powerful antislavery tract of the antebellum years.

underconsumptionism Theory that underconsumption, or a chronic weakness in consumer demand, had caused the depression. This theory guided the Second New Deal, leading to the passage of laws designed to stimulate consumer demand.

underground railroad A small group who helped slaves escape bondage in the South. It took on legendary status, and its role was much exaggerated.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) UN organization intended to create peace and security through collaboration among member nations.

unicameral legislature A legislature with only one chamber or house.

Union Leagues Organizations that informed African American voters of, and mobilized them to, support the Republican Party.

Unionists Southerners who remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War.

United Nations (UN) An international organization of Allied powers formed in 1945 to promote peaceful political change and to deter aggressive nations.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights Document adopted by the United Nations in 1948 that established human rights and freedoms as cornerstones of international law.

universal male suffrage System that allowed all adult males to vote without regard to property, religious, or race qualifications or limitations.

urban corridors Metropolitan strips of population running between older cities.

vaqueros Mexican cowboys who rounded up cattle, branded them, and drove them to San Francisco.

vestry A group of prominent men who managed the lay affairs of the local Anglican church, often including the choice of the minister, especially in Virginia.

vice-admiralty courts These royal courts handled the disposition of enemy ships captured in time of war, adjudicated routine maritime disputes between, for example, a ship's crew and its owner, and occasionally tried to decide cases involving parliamentary regulation of colonial commerce. This last category was the most controversial. These courts did not use juries.

Victorianism Moral code of conduct that advocated modesty, sexual restraint, and separate spheres of activity and influence for men and women.

Vietnam War Conflict lasting from 1946 to 1975, with direct U.S. military involvement from 1964 to 1973. Highly controversial, the war devastated the Vietnam countryside, spilled into all of Indochina, and ended in a victory for communist North Vietnam, which then united the country under its rule.

Vietnamization Policy whereby the South Vietnamese were to assume more of the military burdens of the war and allow the United States to withdraw combat troops.

Villa, Francisco ("Pancho") Favored by Woodrow Wilson to be elected Mexico's leader in 1913.

virtual representation The English concept that members of Parliament represented the entire empire, not just a local constituency and its voters. According to this theory, settlers were represented in Parliament in the same way that nonvoting subjects in Britain were represented. The colonists accepted virtual representation for nonvoting settlers within their colonies but denied that the term could describe their relationship with Parliament.

VJ Day August 15, 1945, day on which the war in the Pacific was won by the Allies.

Voting Rights Act of 1965 Law that provided new federal mechanisms to help guarantee African Americans the right to vote.

Wagner Act (NLRA) Named after its sponsor Senator Robert Wagner (D-NY), this 1935 act gave every worker the right to join a union and compelled employers to bargain with unions in good faith.

Walker, Madame C. J. Black entrepreneur who built a lucrative business from the hair and skin lotions she devised and sold to black customers throughout the country.

walking cities Compact residential areas near working districts with different income and ethnic groups living in close proximity.

Waltham A town in Massachusetts that was the site of the first mill built by the Boston Manufacturing Company in 1813.

War Hawks Members of the 12th Congress, most of them young nationalists from southern and western areas, who promoted war with Britain.

War Industries Board U.S. government agency responsible for mobilizing American industry for war production.

war on terrorism Global effort, adopted after the attacks of September 11, 2001, by the United States and its allies to neutralize international groups deemed "terrorists," primarily radical Islamic groups such as Al Qaeda.

Washington, Booker T. Founder of Tuskegee Institute and most famous for his controversial speech at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition.

Washington, George A veteran of the French and Indian War, Washington was named commander-in-chief of the Continental Army by the Second Continental Congress in 1775 and won notable victories at Boston, Trenton, Princeton, and Yorktown, where Lord Cornwallis's army surrendered to him in 1781. His fellow delegates chose him to preside over the deliberations of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, and after the federal Constitution was ratified, he was unanimously chosen the first president of the United States for two terms.

Washington Temperance Society Society established in 1840 by reformed drinkers of the laboring classes who operated separate from the church and converted drinkers through compassion and persuasion.

Watergate Business and residential complex in Washington, D.C., that came to stand for the political espionage and cover-ups directed by the Nixon administration. The complicated web of Watergate scandals brought about Nixon's resignation in 1974.

Wells, Ida B. Anti-lynching activist who wrote and spoke in protest, gaining the attention of the North only after taking her campaign to England.

Western development Disproportionate amount of New Deal funds sent to Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast areas to provide water and electricity for urban and agricultural development.

Western Federation of Miners (WFM) Association of union mine workers established in 1893 to protect their rights.

wheat blast A plant disease that affected wheat and first appeared in New England in the 1660s. There were no known remedies for the disease, and it gradually spread until wheat production in New England nearly ceased.

Wheatley, Phillis Eight-year-old Phillis Wheatley arrived in Boston from Africa in 1761 and was sold as a slave to wealthy John and Susannah Wheatley. Susannah taught her to read and write, and in 1767 she published her first poem in Boston. In 1773, she visited London to celebrate the publication there of a volume of her poetry, an event that made her a transatlantic sensation. On her return to Boston, the Wheatleys emancipated her.

Whigs The name of an obscure sect of Scottish religious extremists who favored the assassination of Charles and James of England. The term was used to denote one of the two leading political parties of late 17th-century England.

Whiskey Rebellion Revolt in Western Pennsylvania against the federal excise tax on whiskey.

whiskey ring Network of distillers and revenue agents that cheated the government out of millions of tax dollars.

White City Monument created for the Columbia Exposition of 1893 in Chicago.

Whitney, Eli The Connecticut-born tutor who invented the cotton gin.

Wilmot Proviso Famous proviso made by Congressman David Wilmot regarding an amendment to an army appropriations bill that framed the national debate over slavery for the next 15 years.

"Wisconsin Idea" Refers to Wisconsin's decision to bring together employers, trade unionists, and professionals and give them power to control relations between industry and labor; many states followed this model.

wolfpacks German submarine groups that attacked enemy merchant ships or convoys.

women's movement Took place between 1953 and 1963; women began speaking out about their political rights, race and gender discrimination, employment opportunities and

equitable working environments, and the lack of public roles available to them.

Works Progress Administration Federal relief agency established in 1935 that disbursed billions to pay for infrastructural improvements and funded a vast program of public art.

World Trade Organization Established in 1995 to head international trade between nations.

Wounded Knee Site of a shootout between Indians and Army troops at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in southwestern South Dakota.

XYZ Affair Incident that precipitated an undeclared war with France when three French officials (identified as X, Y, and Z) demanded that American emissaries pay a bribe before negotiating disputes between the two countries.

Yankee A Dutch word for New Englanders that originally meant something like "land pirate."

yankeephobia Popular term describing strong dislike of the United States, whose citizens were referred to as "yankees," in Latin America.

yellow dog contracts Written pledges by employees promising not to join a union while they were employed.

yellow journalism Newspaper stories embellished with sensational or titillating details when the true reports did not seem dramatic enough.

yeoman A farmer who owned his own farm.

"Young America" movement A group of young members of the Democratic Party who were interested in territorial expansion in the 1840s.

Yorktown The last major engagement of the Revolutionary War. Washington's army, two French armies, and a French fleet trapped Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown and forced his army to surrender in October 1781.

Zenger, John Peter Printer of the *New York Weekly Journal* who was acquitted in 1735 by a jury of the crime of seditious libel after his paper sharply criticized Governor William Cosby.

Zimmerman telegram Telegram from Germany's foreign secretary instructing the German minister in Mexico to ask that country's government to attack the United States in return for German assistance in regaining Mexico's "lost provinces" (Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona).

Zion A term used by the Mormons to describe their "promised land" where they could prosper and live without persecution.

Index

A

AAA. *See* Agricultural Adjustment Administration
Abbott, Edith, 708
ABC television, 955, 996, 1072, 1075. *See also* Television
Abell, Mary, 609, 611, 622
Abenaki Indians, 55, 121
Abercrombie, James, 161–163
Abilene, Kansas, 617
ABMs. *See* Antiballistic missiles
Abolition and abolitionism. *See also* specific individuals
  beginnings of, 431–432
  education for freedpeople and, 585–586
  Fugitive Slave Law and, 461–452
  Niagara movement and, 725–728
  in North, 537, 540–541, 547
  in Pennsylvania, 233
  postal campaign by, 433–434
  Quakers and, 233
  Texas annexation and, 448
  Tubman, Harriet, and, 464
  Virginia consideration of, 233, 317, 322, 336
  women's rights and, 437
  women's roles in, 322
Abortion,
  anti-abortion, 967, 1011, 1029, 1030, 1056, 1099
  rights to, 1029, 1044, 1066, 1087, 1099
  right wing and, 1035
Abraham Lincoln (ship), 1104
Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 878
Abrogation, of treaties with France, 252
Absolutism, in New York, 75–78
Abyssinian Baptists, 368
Academies, for women, 234, 1047
Acadia (Nova Scotia)
  expulsion from, 157
  immigrants to Louisiana from, 157–158
Accidents. *See also* Safety
  industrial, 658, 951
  in mining, 616
Accommodationism
  failure of, 725
  Washington, Booker T., and, 725
Accounting, 290, 650
Acheson, Dean, 920, 925, 1004
Acid rain, 1010
Acid-rock music, 996
Acquired immune deficiency syndrome. *See* AIDS
Activism. *See also* Civil-rights movement; Grassroots activism; specific issues and movements
  African American, 333–334, 827–832, 1048–1049
  American Indian, 972–973, 1049–1050
  Asian Americans, 1045, 1052–1053
  anti-government, 997, 1002, 1053–1057
  in Great Depression, 870–872
  trans-Mississippi west, 624–637
  American Rattle Snake, The, cartoon, 231
  Asian American, 1045, 1052–1053
  civil-rights, 970, 975, 976, 955, 997, 1010–1011
  environmental, 1098, 1101–1102
  government, 843
  labor, 661, 1011
  Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgendered (LGBT) movement and, 1047–1048
  mass demonstrations and, 1014, 1044–1045
  Mexican American, 1051
  of New Left, 1045
  Puerto Rican, 1051–1052
  after Second World War, 1053
  in Spanish-speaking communities, 1050–1052
  by women, 656, 707–711, 1044
Act of Union (1717), 111
ACT-UP. *See* "Aids Coalition to Unleash Power"
Adams, Ansel, 902
Adams, Charles Francis, 525
Adams, Henry, 414
Adams, John, 214–215
  Boston Massacre and, 181, 183
  courts and, 218, 246–247, 266
  constitution and, 217
  as diplomat, 219, 231
  election of 1796 and, 257
  France and, 257–259
  on president's title, 246
  resistance by, 185
  separation of powers and, 214–216
  Treaty of Paris and, 231
Adams, John Quincy, 387–393
  abolition and, 399, 400
  Corrupt Bargain and, 385–386
  election of 1828 and, 389–391
  election of 1824 and, 386 (map)
  vs. Jackson, 384, 387–393
  nationalism of, 387
  presidency of, 384
  as secretary of state, 381, 385
  on separation of powers, 214–215
  on slave vs. free state, 381
Adams, Samuel, 197, 198, 219
Adams, Sherman, 942
Adams-Onis Treaty (1819), 319
Addams, Jane
  female sexuality and, 710
  Hull house, 708
  immigrant culture and, 708–709
  as NAACP founder, 717, 797
  peace movement and, 774
  Settlement house movement, 709
Addiction. *See* Alcohol and alcoholism; Drugs
Addison, Joseph, 135
Adena-Hopewell culture, 2, 33 (map)
Adger, John, 365
Administration of Justice Act, 193
Adolescents. *See* Youth
Adoption, by Iroquois, 31, 97
Adultery, protests against, 331, 363, 364
Adventists, 351
  Millerite, 353
Advertising, 803–804
  of appliances, 804
  of automobiles, 803,
  of cigarettes, 804
  counterculture and, 996
  in 1920s, 803–804
  of ragtime music, 831
  in Second World War, 898
  of soap, 305
  visual imagery in, 803–804
Advocate of Moral Reform, 436
AEF. *See* American Expeditionary Force
AFDC. *See* Aid to Families with Dependent Children
Affirmative action
  Bush, 1035
  Johnson and, 1053
  Nixon and, 1011, 1053
  Reagan, 1053
  Supreme Court and, 1054

Affluence, 947–956. *See also* Prosperity; Wealth and wealthy
  Beats and, 995
  discontents of, 953–956
  Great Society and, 986–988
  in post-1953 decade, 947–953
Affluent Society, The (Galbraith), 948, 959
Affordable Health Care for America Act (2010), 1113
Afghanistan
  bin Laden and, 1103, 1113, 1116
  Carter and, 1027–1028
  Soviet withdrawal from, 1040
  U.S. aid to, 1107, 1116
AFL. *See* American Federation of Labor
Africa. *See also* African Americans; Africans; North Africa; Slaves and slavery; specific regions
  caravan trade in, 9
  famine in, 1043
  immigration from, 1064
  slavery and, 10–13, 11 (map)
African Americans. *See also* Civil-rights movement; Slaves and slavery
  activism by, 1048–1049
  affirmative action and, 1054
  alliance movement and, 1049
  banjo and, 590
  baseball and, 932–933
  Black Codes and, 583
  Brown Cases and, 968–970
  as business owners, 368
  in Chesapeake region, 333–334
  Christianity among, 333–334
  citizenship and, 371–372
  civil rights for, 903–932, 996–1001
  in Civil War, 464, 562
  clubwomen and, 711
  colonization, 430–431
  Columbian Exposition and, 682
  communities of, 827–832
  as cowboys, 616
  discrimination against, 431, 550, 561, 604, 633, 693, 727, 728, 869, 974, 976–979
  election of 1963 and, 979
  as Exodusters, 633
  FBI and, 975, 1007
  after First World War, 797–799
  in First World War, 780–781, 783
  flight to Canada, 463
  gold rush and, 457
  as "goodwill ambassadors," 972
  Great Railroad Strike and, 644
  Harlem Renaissance and, 832–833
  Homestead Act and, 611–612
  in 1920s, 827–832
  Jim Crow laws and, 635–637
  Ku Klux Klan and, 597, 600
  labor of, 692–694
  labor unions and, 1034
  as loyalists, 220
  lynching of, 725, 727, 728
  Malcolm X and, 999–1000
  Malcolm X (movie) and, 998–999
  in middle class, 634–635
  migrations by, 902
  minstrel shows and, 359
  Mississippi Plan and, 602–603
  in New Deal, 869
  in New Orleans, 588
  in New South, 631–632, 633–634
  as officeholders, 596
  orchestra of, 701, 708
  in professional sports, 1073–1074
  rock 'n' roll and, 954–955
  segregation of, 636, 693, 725, 728, 829–830, 869, 900, 931, 932–933, 955, 969, 970, 971, 972, 976, 977, 985, 1000
  shifts in population patterns of (1940–1960), 971 (map)
  as slaves, 10–13, 330–333
  in social hierarchy, 190–191, 429
  in Spanish-American War, 749
  in sports, 1073–1074
  in state constitutional conventions, 367, 372, 485, 590
  as street vendors, 367
  as teachers, 585, 586
  voting and, 603, 635–637
  Wilson and, 739
  in women's club movement, 634–635
  women's organizations of, 634–635
  Zoot Suit Riots and, 900
African Dorcas Society, 368
Africanization myth, of southern governments, 596
African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, 635
Afrocentric curriculum, 1049
Afro-Latinos, in baseball, 933
Age, of American population, 1058–1061
Agent provocateurs Hoover and, 1007–1008
Age of containment, 907–939
Age of Democratic Revolution, 245, 336
Agnew, Spiro, 1019
Agrarianism. *See* Agriculture; Farms and farming
Agrarian republic, of Jefferson, 263, 268, 284, 300, 400, 413
Agribusiness, 733, 818, 823, 950
Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933), 849, 850
Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), 850–852
Agriculture. *See also* Farms and farming; specific locations
  in Americas, 3–4
  big businesses in, 71, 283
  cash crop, 283–284, 285, 301
  crop lien system in, 632–633, 668
  decline in, 315
  depression in (1920s), 816–818
  Eisenhower and, 950–951
  in Europe, 7, 52–53, 382
  in Great Depression, 850–852
  great extinction and, 3–5
  immigrant labor in, 686, 690
  market-based, 301
  Mexican Americans in, 833
  Neolithic, 5
  in New England, 299–300
  overproduction and, 666, 852
  pesticides and, 1009
  rise of, 3–5
  settlements and, 4 (map)
  slash and burn, 17
  in South, 315, 319, 340, 489, 632–633
  steamboat and, 294
  surplus and, 66, 118, 282, 285, 306, 818
  tariffs on, 841
  workforce in, 340, 833
Agriculture Department, 611
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 752
AIDS, HIV and, 1047–1048
"Aids Coalition to Unleash Power" (ACTUP), 1048
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 1008, 1033
AIM. *See* American Indian Movement
Air cargo, 1068
Aircraft Production Board, 778
Air Force, 912, 958, 990
  in Second World War, 788, 881
Air pollution, 1009, 1025. *See also* Environment; Pollution
Air power
  Earhart and, 809–810
  Lindbergh and, 805–806
  military expenditures and, 942
  Second World War and, 890
  women pilots and, 810, 898
  Air traffic controllers, firing of, 1032
Alabama
  cotton in, 319
  racial violence in, 976–977
Alabama (commerce raider), 526
Alabama Claims, 594
Alamance Creek, regulators at, 190
Alamo, battle at, 447
Alamo, 447
Alamogordo, New Mexico, atomic testing at, 891

Alaska, 3, 212, 621–622, 672, 759 (map), 971 (map), 1061 (map)
Albania, 822, 1100
Albany
  Fort Orange, 50, 76
  in Revolution, 154–156
Albany & Susquehanna Railroad, 646
Albany Congress (1754), 154–156
Albemarle region, 74, 75, 129
Albright, Madeleine, 1086
Albuquerque, 517
Alcatraz Island, Indian occupation of, 1050
Alcohol and alcoholism. *See also* Prohibition
  ethnicity and, 427
  on frontier, 626
  Indians and, 276, 700
  organized crime in 1920s and, 820
  politics of, 422–423
  prohibition, origins of, 424–445
  reformers and, 423–424, 426–427, 427–428
  Washingtonians and, 425–426
Alcott, Louisa May, 655
Alexander VI (Pope), 15
Alexandria, 131, 156, 536 (map)
Algeria, 885
Algonquian Indians, 96
  Dutch and, 92, 96
  France and, 115–116 (map), 147
Algonquian speakers, 115–116
Ali, Muhammad, 726
Alien (enemy), 259
Alien and Sedition Acts, 259–260
Alien Land Law (California, 1913), 690
Alito, Samuel, 1034, 1099
All-American Canal, 856, 857 (map)
All Creation Going to the White House (Cruikshank), 392
Allen, Richard, 368
Allen, Woody, 1076
Allende Gossens, Salvador, 1016
Alliance for Progress, 962
Alliances. *See also* specific alliances
  ANZUS, 919
  Atlantic Charter and, 882, 903
  Aztec, 2
  in First World War, 771
  NATO, 915, 916 (map)
Allies (First World War), 768, 773, 776–777. *See also* First World War
  U.S. intervention and, 776–777
Allies (Second World War). *See also* Second World War
  advances and collapse of German power, 889 (map)
  bombings by, 890
  Latin America and, 906
  North Africa campaign of, 884–885
  In Nicaragua, 1027
  at Potsdam Conference (1945), 908
  United Nations and, 904
  wartime conferences of, 903, 906
All Quiet on the Western Front (Remarque), 878
al-Qaeda, 1102–1104
  Iraq and, 1103
Alternating current (AC), 645
"Alternative Budget" (CBC), 1048
Altgeld, John P., 664, 708
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, 663
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 808, 866
Amaranth (cereal), 5
Amazon.com, 1067–1068
AME Church. *See* African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church
Amendments. *See also* specific amendments
  Bill of Rights as, 248
America First Committee, 881
American Antislavery Society, 433, 437
American Bar Association, 657
American Basketball Association (ABA), 1072
American Board of Customs Commissioners, 178, 180
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Scopes Trial and, 824
American Colonization Society, 430
American Communist Party (CP), 859–860
  election restrictions on, 941–942
  homosexuals and, 923
  labor unions and, 859
  movie industry and, 921–922
  sedition trial and, 924
  Soviets and, 859–860
American Communist Party, election restrictions on, 941–942
"American dream," 494, 673, 842, 852, 933
American Economic Association, 657
American Empire, 114, 268, 752
American Enterprise Institute, 1029
American Equal Rights Association (AERA), 590, 899
American Expeditionary Force (AEF), in First World War, 777
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 662–663
  CIO and, 866
  First World War and, 780
  women in, 663
American-Filipino War, 753–754
  casualties in, 753
American Football League (AFL), 1072
American Historical Association, 657
American Hospital Association (AHA), 929
American Impressionism, 654
American Independent Party, 1006, 1007 (map)
American Indian Movement (AIM), 1050
American Indians. *See also* Indian policy; Mound builders; specific groups
  activism of, 1049–1050
  Albany Congress and, 154–156
  Andes culture of, 154–156
  in backcountry, 132
  Bacon's Rebellion and, 102–104
  "Bill of Rights" for, 1050
  buffalo extermination and, 627
  of Caribbean region, 16–17
  Christianity and, 627
  citizenship for, 627
  Columbus and, 15
  cultural misunderstandings with Europeans, 28–29
  Dawes Severalty Act and, 628–629
  enslavement of, 116, 121–122
  European diseases and, 40, 117
  farming by, 18
  ranching, 617
  in French and Indian War, 147
  gambling casinos of, 1050
  Ghost Dance and, 629
  in Hispanic Southwest, 443
  Homestead Act and, 611–612
  imperial wars and, 146
  lifestyle of, 5, 17–18
  Lord Dunmore's War and, 199
  mission Indians and, 121, 170, 221
  mourning wars and, 96–97
  Paxton Boys and, 170
  peace policy for, 627–628
  Pennsylvania and, 170–171
  Pontiac's War and, 169–171
  "praying towns" of, 97–98
  Puritans and, 97–98
  religions of, 28, 29–30
  Relocation program and, 394
  republics, 147
  reservations for (1875 and1900), 626 (map)
  resistance by, 45
  Revolution and, 221–223
  Sand Creek massacre and, 627
  schools for, 628–629
  Sioux uprising and, 625–626
  in South, 393–394
  in Southeast, 151–153
  in Southwest, 28
  Spanish and, 16–17, 25
  survival strategies of, 96–97
  Tecumseh in, 275–277, 278–279
  Tenskwatawa, and, 276–277
  Termination program and, 972–973

American Indians *(continued)*
in trans-Mississippi West, 624–330
Vikings and, 6
as wards of nation, 628
western problems with, 254
western water projects and,
westward expansion and, 234–235
Wounded Knee massacre and, 629
Americanization
ethnic groups and, 700, 784, 796, 826
after First World War, 784, 787, 796
of immigrant workers at Ford, 724
American Legion, 796
American Medical Association (AMA), 929
American Museum of Natural History, 678
American National Exhibition (Moscow), 948
American nationality, 700–703
Bourne and, 700–703–702
Kallen and, 701–702
Zangwill and, 700–702
Americanos conquest of California by, 451
American Party, 407–411. *See also* Know-Nothings; Nativism
election of 1840 and, 409–411
second, 407–411
American Philosophical Society, 135
"American Prisoners" (Trumbull), 224
American Protective League, 787, 796
American Railway Union (ARU), 664
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (1977), 1065
American Red Cross, 553
American Review, The, 415
American Revolution. *See* Revolutionary War
American River (California), 456
American Smelting and Refining Company, 673
American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, 423
American System (Clay), 298, 374–380
roads and canals in, 378
Whig Party and, 374–411
American system of manufactures, 298
American Temperance Society, 422–423
American theater, 358–359
American Tobacco Company, 648
American Union Against Militarism, 774
"American way of life", Roosevelt, Franklin D., and, 897, 948, 952, 954
American Woman Suffrage Association, 591
Americas. *See also* Western Hemisphere; specific regions
migration to, 2
morality of European conquest of, 39–40
naming of, 16
in 1640s, 91–92
societies of, 17–29
AmeriCorps, 1087
Amerind languages, 3
Ames, Adelbert, 602
Amherst, Jeffrey, 161–163, 165, 170
Amistad (movie), 400
Amlie, Tom, 859
Amnesty
for ex-Confederates, 581
for Vietnam-era draft resisters, 1017
Amnesty Proclamation (1865), land for freedpeople and, 585
Amsterdam, 47, 50, 78, 92
Amsterdam News (newspaper), 902
Amusement parks, 695
Amusements, at Columbian Exposition, 681
Anaconda Plan, 528
Anacostia Flats, Bonus Army at, 843
Anarchists, 661–662, 683, 796
Haymarket bombing and, 661–662
Anasazi, 2, 28 (map), 28
Anderson, "Bloody Bill," 515
Anderson, John, 1030
Anderson, Marian, 869
Anderson, Robert, 511
Anderson, Sherwood, 749, 838
Andersonville (prison camp), 569–570
Andes region
cultures of, 18–20
mita (tribute labor) in, 37
Andrews Sisters, 226
Andros, Edmund
in Dominion of New England, 107
Dutch and, 77–78
Indians and, 97
Metacom's War and, 97, 100
overthrow of, 107
Anemia, sickle cell, 129
Angel Island, Asian immigrants on, 685, 868
Anglicans, 135–136. *See also* Church of England; Episcopalians
Book of Common Prayer and, 52, 70, 73, 140
colleges of, 142–143
as lawyers, 136
realignment of, 142, 153
after Revolution, 143
Ulster immigrants and, 131
Anglicization, of colonies, 124–128, 134–138
Anglo-Americans
in gold rush, 457
Indians and, 170
Mexican American lands and, 443
Anglo-Dutch wars, 77–78, 94, 101–102, 105
Anglo-Saxons
attitudes of superiority, 655
Protestant missionaries and, 744
racism and, 368–370
Angola, 11, 49, 1037
Animals
ancient, 3–4
after great extinction, 3–5
horses and mules in Civil War, 522, 541
production and sale of meats, 619, 648, 693, 710, 711–712, 731, 733
Annapolis, convention in, 240
Annapolis Royal, 150
Anne (England), 150
Annexation
of Oregon, 448–449
of Puerto Rico, 755
of Texas, 448–449
Anshutz, Thomas, 654
Anson, George, 150
Antebellum era, 413–439. *See also* South; specific issues and regions
alcohol, politics of in, 422–428
asylums in, 422
banks, 416
canals, 417
gender and sex in, 434–438
governments in, 414–416
markets in, 414–416
prisons in, 420–422
roads,417
schools in, 417–420
slavery in, 429–434
Anthony, Susan B.
woman suffrage and, 554, 591, 718
women's rights and, 591
Antiabortion groups, demonstrations by, 1056
Antiballistic missiles (ABMs), limitations on, 1013
Anti-Catholicism, 476, 869
Anticommunism
Carter and, 1021, 1027
Eisenhower and, 945
in entertainment industry, 921–923
homosexuality and, 922, 923
labor movement and, 921
McCarthy, Joseph, and, 925
of neoconservatives, 1103–1104
Nixon and, 1013
in Paraguay, 945
Reagan and, 1036
Truman and, 914
Antidiscrimination efforts, 903, 931, 971, 1009, 1054. *See also* Discrimination

Antidraft riots, 551–552
Antietam, Battle of, 544–546
Anti-Federalists, 242–243. *See also* Democratic Republicans
Anti-government activism, 1053–1057
Antigua, 63
Anti-immigration sentiment, 1098
Anti-Imperialist League, 752
Antikidnapping laws, fugitive slaves and, 461
Anti-Leislerians, 108–109
Anti-lynching campaign, 727
Antimonopoly parties, 666
Anti-Nebraska coalitions, 473, 474
Anti-New Deal coalition, 893
Antinomian heresy, 70, 72
Antirevivalist denominations, 142, 143
Anti-Saloon League, 710
Anti-Semitism. *See also* Jews and Judaism
  of Coughlin, 857–858
  immigration and, 881
  in New Deal, 857–858, 869
Antislavery clause, in Northwest Ordinance, 238
Antislavery movement. *See also* Abolition and abolitionism; Slaves and slavery
  agitation of, 433–434
  anti-immigrant sentiments of, 420, 501
  before 1830, 430–431
  British, 433–434
  Know-Nothings and, 477–478
  in Mexican War, 453–455
  in North, 398, 448, 461, 481
  protests by, 501
  in 1700s, 190–192
  Whigs in, 434, 436, 472, 474
  women's rights and, 192, 437–438
Anti-trust laws, mergers and, 1069
Antitrust legislation, 649
Anti-usury laws, 1071
Antiwar movements, in Vietnam War, 1001–1003
Antiwar movies, 878
Antwerp, 43
"Anxious bench," 346
ANZUS, 919
Apache Indians, 34, 40, 114, 148 (map), 626 (map)
Apartheid, in South Africa, 919, 920, 1016, 1048
Appalachia
  loans to, 965
  mountaineers in, 267, 328
APPCON. *See* Asian Pacific Planning Council
Appeals courts, 71, 81, 105, 109
Appeal to Reason (socialist publication), 711
Appeasement
  of Hitler, 879
  Vietnam War and, 993, 879
Apple computers, 1065–1066
Appleseed, Johnny. *See* Chapman, John
Appliances
  advertising of, 804
  consumer, 803–804
Appomattox, Lee's surrender at, 573–575
Apportionment, in Congress, 219, 498
Arabella (ship), 422
Arab world, 1012, 1042, 1104. *See also* Middle East; specific countries
  Nasser and, 945–946
Aragon, 14
Arapaho Indians, 626
Arawaks. *See* Taino Indians
Arbenz Guzmán, Jacobo, covert actions against, 944
Arbitration, in UMW strike, 731
Arbuckle, Fatty, 697–699
Architecture
  in Andes region, 18, 19
  Anasazi, 28 (map)
  Beaux-Arts, 679
  Chicago School of, 680
  City Beautiful, 681
  European, 7
  Los Vegas, 1061
  Pueblo, 28
  skyscrapers and, 703
  of White City, 680–681
Area Redevelopment Bill (1961), 965
Argentina, Second World War and, 906
Arguin, 12
Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 816, 1100
Aristocracy. *See also* Elites
  in Carolina, 74
  Mayan, 23
Arizona, 32, 455, 457, 616, 720
Arkansas
  integration in, 972
  secession of, 514–515
Arkansas Territory, slavery in, 514
Arkwright, Richard, 307
Armada, Spanish, 53, 54
Armed forces. *See also* Continental Army; Military; Militia; Redcoats; specific branches and wars
  African Americans in, 780, 781, 797, 931
  blood segregated by, 900
  in Civil War, 569
  after Cold War, 1042–1043
  Continental Army as, 199, 209–210
  desegregation of, 900, 931
  in First World War, 780–781
  Hamilton and, 260
  Mexican Americans in, 903
  segregation in, 781
Armenia, 788
  immigrants from, 683, 822
  Soviet Bloc and, 1014 (map)
Armies of the Night (Mailer), 1003
Armistice
  in First World War, 777
  in Mexican War, 451
  in Spanish-American War, 751
Armistice line, dividing Korea, 918 (map)
Armories, as urban fortresses, 659
Armour (meatpacking), 648
Arms and armaments. *See* Arms race; Weapons
Arms-control talks, with Soviets, 1013
Arms race, 909, 961
  Cold War and, 909, 1036
  protests against, 967
  Reagan and, 1036
  SALT I and, 1013
Armstrong, Louis, 972
Army Chief of Staff, Eisenhower as, 938
Army Corps of Engineers, 949
Army-McCarthy Hearings, 942
Army of Northern Virginia, 516 (map), 534, 535 (map), 544, 554, 573
Army of Tennessee, 534, 548, 560, 572
Army of the Cumberland, 548, 559
Army of the Potomac, 516 (map), 529, 534–535, 546, 548, 563–565
Army of Virginia, 534
Army of West Tennessee, 534
Arnold, Benedict
  in Revolution, 200, 206, 210
  treason by, 225
Arnold, Henry Harley ("Hap"), 890
Arrowsmith (Lewis), 835
"Arsenal of democracy," U.S. as, 882
Art(s). *See* Intellectual thought; specific forms and works
American music
  economic elites in cities and, 675
  in Harlem Renaissance, 832–833
  masculinism in, 866
  "New Woman" in, 656–657
  WPA and, 861
Arthur, Chester A., 639
Arthur, Timothy Shay, 347
Articles of Confederation, 205. *See also* Constitution (U.S.)
  amending, 229, 238
  Congress under, 218–219, 228, 240, 241
Article X (Covenant), of League of Nations, 790
Artisans. *See also* Crafts
  in Boston, 145
  in cities, 291
  resistance by, 186
  as wage earners, 292

"Aryan race," in Nazi Germany, 598
Asbury, Francis, 350–351
Ashley-Cooper, Anthony. *See* Shaftesbury, Earl of
Asia. *See also* Vietnam War; specific regions
  domino effect in, 946–947
  economic crisis in, 879
  after First World War, 785, 787
  immigration from, 687, 763, 1061
  migration to Americas from, 1064 (map)
  Portuguese Empire in, 13
Asian Americans. *See also* specific groups
  activism of, 1052–1053
  movies by, 1077
  prejudice against, 1053
Asian American studies programs, 1053
Asian Law Caucus, 1052–1053
"Asian or Pacific Islanders" (API), on census, 1053
Asian Pacific Planning Council (APPCON), 1052–1053
Asiatic Barred Zone, 785
  Assassinations 769
  of Garfield, 639
  of Kennedy, John F., 979–980
  of Kennedy, Robert F., 1005
  of King, Martin Luther, Jr., 1048
  of Lincoln, 575
  of Madero, 765
  of McKinley, 758
Assemblies. *See also* Legislature; Legislatures; specific colonies and states
  colonial, 144
  in Georgia, 144
  of Knights of Labor, 660–661
  in Maryland, 62
  in New York, 76–78
  in Pennsylvania, 82–83
Assembly line, at Ford, 723
Assimilation
  ethnic groups and, 130, 690
  immigrants and, 701
  of Indians, 628, 870–872
Assisted suicide, 1099
Association, the, Continental Congress and, 196–197
Associationalism, of Hoover, 814–815, 842
Astor, John Jacob, 290, 382
Astrolabe, 10
Astronomy, 268, 388
  of Anasazi, 28
Aswan Dam, 945
Asylums, reform of, 422
Atahualpa (Incas), 31–34
AT&T, 648, 803
Atchison, David R., 471–472
Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, 612
Athapaskan languages, 3
Athletics. *See also* Sports
  Title IX and, 1074
Atkin, Edmund, 156
Atlanta
  capture of, 571
  Union campaign for, 565–566
Atlanta Constitution, 630
Atlanta Exposition, Washington, Booker T., at, 636
Atlantic Charter (1941), 882, 903
Atlantic Monthly, The, 707
Atlantic Ocean region
  chronology of, 86
  settlement in, 85–91
Atlas Shrugged (Rand), 958–959
Atmosphere, pollution in, 1010
ATMs (automated teller machines), 1071
Atomic age, 892
Atomic bomb
  Baruch Plan and, 909
  Cold War and, 908–909, 910, 911, 913
  development of, 891–892
  Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and, 892
  Soviets and, 915, 923–924
  testing of, 891, 915
Atomic Energy Commission, 920
Atomic spies, 924
Attica State Prison, protests at, 1008
Attorney General's List, of subversives, 922
Attrition, 223
  in Civil War, 563, 566
  in Revolutionary War, 223–224
  in Vietnam, 990
Attucks, Crispus, 183
Auburn system, of prisons, 421–422
Austerlitz, Battle of, 270
Authority, reconstitution debates of 1776, 213–219
Austin, Stephen F., 446–447
Australia
  ANZUS and, 919
  in Second World War, 884, 888
  Australian ballot (secret ballot), 716
Austria
  German annexation of, 879
  in Seven Years' War, 159
Austria-Hungary, 770 (map). *See also* First World War
Autobiography (Franklin), 118
Autobiography (Malcolm X), 1000
Automated teller machines. *See* ATMs
Automobiles and automobile industry,
  emissions and, 1010, 1102, 1107
  globalization and, 1068
  highways and, 949
  marketing of, 898, 955
  mass production of, 649, 745
  in 1950s, 948
  racing and, 1073
  safety issues and, 1011
  sales of (1940–1970), 950
  scientific management in, 723–724
  in suburbs, 1065
Aviation. *See* Air power
Axis Powers, 879, 880 (map), 884, 889 (map)
Azores, 11 (map), 12, 14
Aztecs
  Cortés and, 16–17
  skull rack altar of, 30

B

Babbitt (Lewis), 835
Baby and Child Care (Spock), 965
Baby Boom, 933–934, 1058–1061
  aging, 1059
  population growth during, 933, 934
  women and, 935
Bachelor girls, 655
Backcountry, 292–293
  Cherokee War in, 165
  Indians in, 132
  land inheritance and, 289
  in Northwest, 292–293
  settlement of, 132, 293
  use of term, 132
Backyard revolution, 1044
Bacon, Nathaniel, 102–104
Bacon's Rebellion, 102–104
Baer, George F., 730–731
Baghdad, Iraq, 1105
Bailout
  of New York City, 1024
  of S & Ls, 1033, 1071
  of 2008, 1113
Baja California, 486
Baker, Ella, 970
Baker, Josephine, 832
Bakke case, 1054
Bakker, Jim and Tammy Faye, 1083
Balanced budget. *See also* Budget
  Bush administration, 1109
  Eisenhower and, 949, 958
  as goal, 405
  Jackson and, 405–407
  Kennedy, John F., and, 965
  Keynes and, 965
Balance of trade, 94
Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 16
Balkan region
  in First World War, 769
  Turks in, 7
Ball, Charles, 320, 335
Ball, George, 989

Ballinger, Richard A., Pinchot controversy and, 734
Ball parks, 695
Baltic region
immigrants, 684
after Second World War, 904
Soviets and, 879
Baltimore
growth of, 60–62
in Civil War, 515
Baltimore (Lords). *See* Calvert family
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 660
Bancroft, George, 416
Bandeirantes, 37
Bangladesh, 7
Banjo, 590, 848
Banking. *See also* specific banks
Antebellum era, 416–417
changes in, 856–858
deregulation of, 1033–1034
failures of, 848–849
Emergency Banking Act, 848–849
Federal Reserve system and, 738–739
Giannini and, 690
in Great Depression, 847–849
National Banking Act and, 524
Roosevelt, F. D., and, 848–849
S & L debacle and, 1033
state systems of,
Banking Act, 861
Banknotes
of Bank of the United States, 524
state, 524
Bank of America, 690, 864, 1070
Bank of England, 113, 223, 407–408
Bank of North America, 229
Bank of the United States
American System and, 377
constitutionality of, 251–252
Hamilton on, 250–251
Jackson and, 402–403
Jefferson on, 251
Panic of 1819 and, 382
Second, 376–378, 402
war, 376, 402–404
Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania, 408
Bankruptcies, 416–417
in 1870s, 644
of New York City, 1024
during panic of 1893, 664
personal, 1070
Reagan and, 1033
during 2000–2006, 1109
Banks, Nathaniel P., 478
Bank Veto Message, of Jackson, 402–403
Bank War, 402–403
Baptism
Calvinists, 43
Freewill, 349, 351
Great Awakening and, 138
Indians, 34
Infant, 71–72
New Light, 143
Baptists
Calvinists, 43
Freewill, 349, 351
Great Awakening and, 138
New Light, 142–143
slavery and, 233
Bara, Theda, 697
Barbados, 63
Carolina settlers from, 74–75
Dutch and, 63, 91–92, 94
Navigation Act and, 94
slavery in, 63
Barber of Seville, The (Beaumarchais), 211
Barnard, Henry, 418, 419
Barnum, P. T., 288, 355
Barré, Isaac, 160
Barrios, 903
Barrow, Bennet H., 323
Barton, Bruce, 804, 807
Barton, Clara, 553
Baruch, Bernard, 909
Baruch Plan, 909
Baseball
color line in, 932–933
desegregation of, 932–933
steroid use in, 1074
women's league in, 895
Basie, Count, 831
Bataan, 887–888
Batavia (Jakarta), 48
Bates, Edward, 547
Batista, Fulgencio, 945
Baton Rouge, 532, 970
Battle of Britain, 880 (map), 881
Battles. *See* specific battles and wars
Bay Colony. *See* Massachusetts Bay Colony
Bay of Pigs Invasion, 963–964
Bayonet rule, in South, 600, 601, 602, 606
Beacon Hill, 126, 127, 135
Beadle, William, 223
"Bear-flag revolt," 451
Bear Stearns, 1110
Beatles, 1078, 1079
Beat movement (1950s), 995, 996
Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de, 211
Beauregard, Pierre G. T., 450
in Civil War, 511, 513, 529, 532, 565
Beauséjour, Fort, 152, 157 (map), 157, 159 (map)
Beaux-Arts architecture, 679
Beckley, John, 257
Bedford, Gunning, 241
Beecher family. *See also* Stowe, Harriet Beecher
Catharine, 466
Henry Ward, 466
Lyman, 466
Beef
as cash crop, 300
cattle, in United States (1867–1897), 617, 619
embalmed, 749
global, 1098
Beer-Wine Revenue Act (1933), 849
Begin, Menachem, 1027
Behrman, Martin, 691
Beijing, 756
Japan and, 879
Belgium, 792, 879
First World War in, 771
Second World War in, 885
Bell, Alexander Graham, 645
Bell, John, 504, 505
Bell, John Hood, 566
Bellamy, Edward, 654
Bemis Heights, battle at, 210
Benefits, for workers, 951, 1009, 1034, 1069
Benezet, Anthony, 190
Benin, 12
Benito Cereno (Melville), 430
Benjamin, Judah P., 510
Bennington, Vermont, battle at, 210
Berbers, 14
Berger, Victor, 712
Beringia, 3 migration from, 4 (map)
Berkeley, John (Baron), 76
Berkeley, William, 101
Bacon's Rebellion and, 103–104
Berkeley Revolt. *See* University of California
Berkman, Alexander, 672
Berkshire County, Massachusetts, 217
Berle, Adolph, 847
Berlin
occupation zones in, 889 (map)
U.S.-Soviet crisis over, 913
Berlin, Irving, 868
Berlin Airlift, 913
Berlin Blockade, 912–913
Berlin Decree (France), 270, 273
Berlin Wall, 963, 1040
Bermuda, 56, 103 (map), 431
Bernanke, Ben, 1110, 1113
Bernard, Francis, 175, 180
Bernays, Edward, 804
Berry, Chuck, 954, 955
"Bertha the Sewing Machine Girl; or, Death at the Wheel" (Libbey), 695
Beverages, trade and, 700, 710
Beveridge, Albert J., 733
Bible, 420
Protestant fundamentalists on, 477, 823–824
in schools, 477
Scopes Trial and, 824–825
slaves and, 191

Bible Belt, 361–362
Bicameral legislature
  Adams, John, and, 214
  in Carolina, 74
  in Maryland, 61
  in Massachusetts, 71
  in Pennsylvania, 240
Bicycles, 654, 657
Biddle, Nicholas, 402, 403, 405
Big business. *See also* Business
  changes in, 896
  Democratic Party and, 864
  Duke and, 648
  mining and, 615–616
  railroads as, 646–647
  ranching as, 161
  rise of, 646–647
Big Four, after First World War, 788
"Big Four" of the Central Pacific, 612
Big government, Clinton on, 1044
Big Lebowski, The (movie), 1092–1093
Biglow, Hosea (fictional philosopher), 453
Big stick policy, of Roosevelt, T., 763, 764
Big Three, after First World War, 788
Bikini Atoll, atomic testing at, 910
Bilingual education, 420, 1009
Bilingualism, Indians and, 1050
Bill of Rights, 248
  Second, 897
  in Massachusetts, 233
  at national level, 248
  in Virginia, 216
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association crusade, 953, 1083
Bin Laden, Osama, 1002–1003
Biodiversity, in West, 1066, 1102
Biotechnology, 1066
Bipartisanship, new conservatism and, 957
Birmingham, Alabama
  iron industry in, 693
  racial conflict in, 976–977
Birney, James G., 410 (map), 448
Birth control
  Comstock Law and, 657
  pill for, 966, 1045
  Sanger and, 697
Birth of a Nation, The (movie), 598–599
Birthrate. *See also* Baby Boom
  in colonies, 88
  rural, 304
  of Virginia slaves, 317
Bison. *See* Buffalo
Bivens, Mary, 364
Blackboard Jungle, The (movie), 955
Black capitalism, Nixon and, 1009
Black Codes, 583
Black Death, 7
Black English, 130
Blackface, minstrels and, 359
Black Hawk Down (movie), 1100
Black Hills, Sioux and gold discovery in, 625
"Black Is Beautiful," 1001
Black Kettle (Cheyenne chief), 627
Blacklisting, in movie industry, 921–922, 936
Black Muslims, 999–1000, 1080
Black nationalist movement (Garvey), 798–799
Black Panthers, 1007
Black Power movement, 996–1001
  Malcolm X and, 998–1000
Black Republicans, 482–483
Black Robe (movie), 48–49
Blacks. *See also* African Americans; Slaves and slavery
  antislavery movement of, 431
  exclusion from schools, 931, 969, 972, 974, 976
  in office, during reconstruction, 594–595
Black Star Line, 798
Blackwell, Elizabeth, 553, 657
Blackwell, John, 83
Blaine, James G., 639–640
Blair, Francis Preston (father), 398, 402
Blair, Frank (son), 592
Blair, Montgomery, 543, 547
Bland-Allison Act (1878), 667
Blanket amnesty, for ex-Confederates, 581
"Blaxploitation movies," 1049
Blease, Coleman, 859
"Bleeding Kansas," 477–481
Bleeding Sumner, 480
Bletchley Park, code-breaking at, 884
Blitzkrieg ("lightning war"), 879
Block, Herbert. *See* Herblock (Herbert Block)
Blockade(s)
  of Berlin, 912–913
  in Civil War, 524–528
  in First World War, 770 (map), 772–773
  in Mexican War, 451, 452 (map)
Blockade runners, 525
Block grants, 1009
Blood sports, 357–358
Blues music, 831, 834, 954
Boarding schools, for Indian children, 628–629
Board of Indian Commissioners, 627
Board of Trade, 111, 156
Body count (Vietnam War), 991, 1014
Bohemians, as immigrants, 683
Bolingbroke (viscount). *See* St. John, Henry
Bolling v. Sharpe, 969
Bolsheviks and Bolshevism, 776, 794–795
Bolton, John, 1106
Bombs and bombings. *See also* Atomic bomb; Nuclear weapons
  in Birmingham, 976
  on colleges campuses (1969–1974), 1007
  in Haymarket Square, 662
  of Iraq, 1102, 1105
  in Korean War, 917
  of Marine barracks (Lebanon), 1037
  in Serbia, 1100
  in Second World War, 883, 889, 890–892
  of Vietnam, 988, 989 (map), 990–993, 1014
Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon I Bonaparte (France)
Bonds, Liberty, 782
Bondsmen. *See* Slaves and slavery
Bonneville Dam, 856
Bonnie and Clyde (movie), 936
Bonsack, James Albert, 650
Bonus Army, 843
Book(s), 311, 312, 320, 343. *See also* Novels Nazi burning of; specific names of
Book burning, by Davenport, 141
Book of Common Prayer, 52, 70, 73, 140
Book of Mormon, The, 356
Boom-and-bust cycles, 642, 927
"Boomers", in Indian Territory, 628
Boone, Daniel, 234, 292–293
Boonesborough, 222 (map), 235
Booth, John Wilkes, 181–182, 196, 223, 526, 575
Booth, Sherman, 463
Borah, William, Versailles Treaty ratification and, 790
Borden, Lizzie, 1077
Border(s). *See also* Boundaries
  between Canada and U.S., 282
  immigration and, 1098
  of Texas, 454
  Texas-New Mexico dispute over, 461
Borderlands communities, railroads and, 615–615
Border Patrol, 823, 833
Border ruffians, in Kansas Territory, 479
Border states
  Civil War and, 514–515, 542
  emancipation and, 542
Bork, Robert, 1034–1035
Born-again Christians, 1023
Bosnia, 769, 1041, 1043, 1100
Bosnian Muslims, 1043, 1100
Bosses (political), 691

Boston. *See also* Massachusetts
Revolutionary War, 200 (map)
British landing in, 180
growth of, 67
Kennedy family in, 691
lawyers in, 136
Quincy Market in, 311
resistance in, 179
in Revolution, 193–196
siege of, 198–200
Stamp Act protests in, 174–175
strike in, 793, 814
Boston Associates, 308–310
Boston Brahmins, 310
Boston Chronicle, 181
Boston Female Antislavery Society, 434
Boston Gazette, 179
Boston Massacre, 182–184
Boston News-Letter, 134
Boston Port Act (1774), 193
Boston Public Library, 679
Boston School Committee, 370
Boston Tea Party, 193
Boulder Dam, 855
Boundaries. *See also* Border(s)
Oregon-British dispute (1846), 441, 469
Texas, 459
U.S.-Canadian, 387–388
"Bounty jumpers," in Civil War, 551
Bouquet, Henry, 170
Bourke-White, Margaret, 898, 929
Bourne, Randolph, on cultural exchange, 701–702
Bowdoin, James, 239
Bowery B'hoys, 358, 359
Bowie, Jim, 447
Boxers (China), rebellion by, 756–757
Boxing, 358
Boycotts. *See also* Nonimportation
bus, 970
against Cuba, 945
of Moscow Olympics, 1027
of Pullman cars, 664
Boylston, Zabdiel, 132
BP (British Petroleum), Gulf of Mexico rig explosion and, 1114
Bracero program, 895
Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, 136
Braddock, Edward, 154, 156–159
Bradford, William, 65, 134
Bradley, Mamie Till, 672, 970
Brady Bill, 1087
Bragg, Braxton, 450
in Civil War, 534, 535, 547–548, 558
Brandeis, Louis, 722, 740
Brands, national, 651
Brannan, Charles, 930
Brannan Plan, 930
Brant, Joseph (Mohawks), 221, 235
Brant, Mary (Mohawks), 221
Brazil, 37
funding of, 1016
Portugal and, 37
slaves in, 37, 49
Bread riots, in Civil War, 551
Breckinridge, John C., 504, 505–506
Breckinridge, Sophonisba, 708
Breed's Hill, battle at, 198
Brennan, William, 1010
Bretton Woods Conference (1944), 904, 1012
Briand, Aristide, 816
Bribery, 133, 590, 612, 646, 691, 706, 813
Bridges, steel suspension, 675
Britain, Battle of, 880 (map), 881
British East India Companies, 48, 192
British Empire, 111–112, 156–158, 161–165, 206–207, 279–280. *See also* Colonies and colonization; England (Britain); Imperial wars
defeat in American colonies, 156–158, 161–165
federalism in, 111–112
versus France, 153, 159 (map)
population growth in, 17
years of victory, 161–165
offensive of 1776, 206–207
offensive of 1814, 279–280
British North America Act, 594
Brock, Isaac, 277
Bronze, 18
Brookline, Massachusetts, 677
Brooklyn Dodgers, integration of, 932
Brooklyn Heights, battle at, 206, 209 (map)
Brooks, Preston, 325, 480
Brooks Brothers, 312
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 664
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 831
Brown II, 969
Brown, Albert Gallatin, 326, 375
Brown, Charles Brockden, 136
Brown, Edmund (Pat), 956
Brown, Herman and George, 863
Brown, James, 1001
Brown, John at Harpers Ferry, 499–501
Pottawatomie Creek murders and, 481
Brown, Moses, 307
Brown, William Henry, 323
Brown brothers (Providence), 290
Brown Cases, 968–970
Brown University, 143
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 968
Bry, Theodore de, 43
Bryan, Hugh, 140
Bryan, Louise, 794–795
Bryan, William Jennings
as anti-imperialist, 752
"Cross of Gold" speech of, 671
election of 1896, 670–672
First World War and, 773, 774
Scopes Trial and, 824–825
Bryant, William Cullen, 136, 480, 508
Bryce, James, 762
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 1026
Bubbles (economic), in 1900s and 2008s, 1107–1111
burst of 2006–2008, 1110–1111
housing, 1109
Bubonic plague. *See* Black Death
Buccaneer(s), 74, 63, 87
Buchanan, James
Dred Scott case and, 484–485
election of 1848 and, 455
election of 1856 and, 482, 484
Fort Sumter issue and, 511
Lecompton constitution and, 485–486
on secession, 511
Buchanan, Patrick, 1028
Buckley, William F., Jr., 957–958
Buddhism, 1080
in South Vietnam, 964
Budget. *See also* Balanced budget
deficits under Reagan, 1031–1032
in First World War, 781–782
Great Society programs and, 987, 998, 1000
Buell, Don Carlos, 532, 548
Buena Vista, battle of, 451
Buffalo
destruction of, 617, 621
Plains Indians and, 617, 624, 625, 627
Buffalo, New York, canal to, 294–296
Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, 629–630
Buffet, Warren, 1110
Bulgaria, 905
Bulgarian immigrants, 683, 822
Bulge, Battle of the, 885
Bulldozing (Democratic intimidation techniques), 604, 638
Bullet mold, 100
Bull Moose campaign, 734–735
Bull Run (Manassas), 528–530
First Battle of, 528–530, 537 (map)
Second Battle of, 534–537
Bunau-Varilla, Philippe, 761
Bundy, McGeorge, 989
Bunker Hill, battle at, 198, 199
Bunning, Jim, 1073
Buntline, Ned. *See* Judson, E. Z. C.
Burchard, Samuel, 640

Bureaucracy
civil service reform and, 593–594
in Cold War, 907, 911, 929, 930
for western water projects, 950
Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, 687, 717
Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 628, 870, 973
Bureau of Reclamation, 856, 949
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. *See* Freedmen's Bureau
Burger, Warren, 1010, 1034
Burger Court, 1010–1011, 1019
Burgesses, 59–60, 62, 102, 129, 145, 174
Burgoyne, John, 201, 210–212
Burial ground, 327
Burke, Edmund, 176, 197
Burke, Thomas, 219
Burleson, Albert, 739, 787
Burnham, Daniel, 681
Burns, Anthony, 463, 465
Burns, Kit, 357
Burnside, Ambrose E., 530, 545 (map), 547, 548, 558
Burr, Aaron, 261
Burton, Mary, 150
Bush, George H. W., 1035
as CIA director, 1029
Cold War end and, 1036, 1042–1043
economy and, 1035–1036
election of 1980 and, 1030–1031
election of 1992 and, 1042–1043
foreign policy of, 1032–1033
Iran-contra and, 1040
Persian Gulf War and, 1042–1043
presidency of, 1040
Bush, George W., 1073
conservatism of, 1095–1097
economy and, 110
election of 2000 and, 1093–1095
foreign policy of, 1107
immigration policy and, 1098
presidency of, 1085
Bush Doctrine, 1103
Bush v. Gore, 1095
Bushwhackers, in Civil War, 515
Business. *See also* Big business
African American, 634, 694, 725
changes in, 1067–1070, 1069, 1078
consolidation of, 646–649
finance and, 893–894
in First World War, 779, 785, 787, 799
foreign markets for, 288, 744
FTC and, 739
leaders in, 806–807
legal protection of, 380, 663
in 1920s, 806–807
Nixon and, 1012
overseas, 744–745, 815–816
politics of, 811–816
progressivism and, 707, 732–733
rise of big, 646–647
vertical integration and, 647–648
women in, 1045, 1046
Business cycle
corporations and, 647, 672
immigration and, 685
Business Roundtable, 1029
Busing, for school integration, 1009, 1010
Bute, Earl of (John Stuart), 169
Butler, Andrew, 480
Butler, Benjamin, 542, 565
Butte, Montana, mining in, 616
Byllinge, Edward, 81
Byrd, William I, 65
Byrd, William II, 130–131
Byrds, The, 996

C

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Núñez, 33, 34 (map)
Cabinet (presidential)
of Buchanan, 485
of Bush, 1095
of Clinton, 1083
of Grant, 593–594
of Jackson, 392, 398
of Johnson, 985
of Lincoln, 513, 543, 547
of Monroe, 386
of Obama, 1112
of Reagan, 1011
of Roosevelt, F. D., 869, 880
of Taft, 733
of Truman, 913
of Washington, 248
of Wilson, 738, 739
women in, 864
Cable television. *See also* Television
MTV and, 1078
public affairs broadcasting on, 1045, 1080
Cabot, John (Giovanni Cabato), 751, 790
Cabral, Pedro Álvares, 13
Cahokia, 2, 28
Cajuns, 158
Calendar, Olmec, 21
Calhoun, Floride Bonneau, 398
Calhoun, John C., 395–397, 398, 455
Compromise of 1850, 458–466
Compromise of Tariff of 1850, 458–469
Eatons and, 397–398
on southern patriarchy, 363
southern-rights position of, 455–456, 471
Tariff of 1816 and, 377
Tariff of 1828 and, 396
Van Buren and, 389, 398
California
acquisition of, 481–482
anti-Asian sentiment in, 763
antiwar sentiment, 452–453
"bear-flag revolt" in, 451
Chinese immigrants in, 613–614
election of 1848 and, 455–458
gay marriage in, 1099
high-tech industries in, 1060
immigration in, 1062, 1063
irrigation projects in, 856
Japanese Americans in, 901
Mexican-American lands in, 620
Mexicans in, 620, 683
Mexican War in, 449–452
New Mexico and, 443–444
open housing in, 971, 985, 998
population growth in, 1059, 1061 (map)
radical third party in, 859–860
Reagan as governor of, 1030
slavery and, 460, 461
Spanish in, 212
statehood for, 456–458
trade and, 444
water projects in, 857 (map)
California Gold Rush, 456–458
California House, attack on, 369
California Trail,444–445
Californios, 833
Calley, William, 1014
Calvert family (Lords Baltimore), 61, 83, 111
Catholic government and, 108
Cecilius, 60
Frederick, 60
George, 60
Calvin, John, 43
Calvinism, 43, 47, 351
of Church of England, 345
Dutch and, 43, 47
Puritans and, 345
Cambodia, 1013–1014, 1026, 1037
immigrants from, 1062
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 126, 134
Cambridge Platform, 70, 72
Camden, battle at, 226–227
Cameron, Lucy, 710
"Campaign of Truth" (Truman), 920
Campaigns (military). *See* specific wars and battles
Campaigns (political). *See* Political campaigns
Campbell, Alexander, 356
Campbell, John, 134, 160
Camp David Peace Talks (1978), 1026–1027
Camp meetings
in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, 361
revivalism and, 140, 349
Campus Crusade for Christ, 958

Canada. *See also* French Canada; New France; specific regions
American invasion of, 277–278
black flight to, 463
border, 207, 282
British in, 162 (map)
English conquest of, 162
Iroquois in, 221
loyalists in, 220
in NAFTA, 1043, 1101
in NATO, 915, 916 (map)
population of, 46
religion in, 45
Treaty of Washington and, 594
in War of 1758–1760, 162 (map), 163–163
Canals, 760–762. *See also* Panama Canal Andean,
in 1825–1860, 297 (map)
irrigation, 19, 28, 949
trans-Isthmian, 764
Canal Zone. *See* Panama Canal Zone
Canary Islands, 14
Cancer
environmental agents and, 1009
nuclear testing and, 943
treatment, 1066
Cane Ridge, Kentucky, camp meeting in, 361
Cannibalism, Christian reactions to, 30
Cannibals All (Fitzhugh), 490
Cape Breton Island, 147, 151, 162
Cape Fear region, 129, 573
Cape Horn, 52, 150
Cape of Good Hope, 13
Capes, Battle of the, 230
Cape Verde islands, 12
Capital (financial)
in 1850s, 487, 489
labor and, 793–795
for New South industrialization, 630–637
for railroads, 613
southern investment of, 314
Capital city
function of, 258
Washington, D.C., as, 1005
Capitalism. *See also* Market economy
black, 1009
IWW and, 712
in North, 505
peoples, 803
Roosevelt, F. D., and, 847
spirit of, 284
welfare, 807, 1025
Capone, Al, 692
Capra, Frank, 867, 897
CAPs. *See* Community Action Programs
Caracas. *See* Venezuela
Caravan trade, 9
Caravel, 10
Cardozo, Francis L., 596
Caribbean Basin Initiative, 1036
Caribbean region
as American sea, 745, 746, 756
blacks from, 798
colonial wars in, 149 (map)
dollar diplomacy in, 764
French in, 47, 230, 253
slaves in, 49, 85, 324, 431
Spain and, 16–17
U.S. military in, 259
Wilson's foreign policy in, 764–765
Carib Indians, 15
Carillon, Fort. *See* Ticonderoga, Fort
Carleton, Guy, 206
Carlisle, Earl of (Frederick Howard), 211
Carlisle School, 629
Carmichael, Stokely, 1000–1001
Carnegie, Andrew, 648
as anti-imperialist, 648, 752
"Gospel of Wealth" of, 648
philanthropy of, 648
steel industry and, 648
Carnegie foundations, 672
Carnegie Hall, 672
Carnegie Institute (Carnegie-Mellon Univertity), 672
Carnegie Steel Company, 644, 647, 663
Homestead strike and, 663
Carolina. *See also* North Carolina; South Carolina
charter for, 74
government of, 74
regulator movements in, 75, 189–190
slaves in, 75
in 1850s, 509 (map)
Caroline Islands, 892 (map)
Carpenter, Francis, 547
Carpetbaggers, 589, 596–597
Carranza, Venustiano, 765–766
Carroll, Charles, 331
Cars. *See* Automobiles and automobile industry
Carson, Rachel, 1009
Cartels (business), 647
Carter, James Earl ("Jimmy"), 1023–1024
Camp David Peace Talks (1978), 1026–1027
election of 1976, 1023
Camp David Accords and, 1028–1028
economy and, 1027
election of 1980 and, 1028
foreign policy of, 1026–1027
human rights and, 1927
presidency of, 1027
Carter, Robert, emancipation of slaves by, 317
Carteret, George, 76, 80
Carteret, John. *See* Granville, Earl of
Cartier, Jacques, 44
Cartoons, 621. *See also* Political cartoons in Second World War,
Cartwright, Peter, 302, 363
Casablanca meeting (1943), 884
Casey, William, CIA under, 1036
"Cash-and-carry" provision, in Neutrality Act (1935), 878
Cash crops. *See also* specific crops
beef and dairy as, 300, 329
cotton as, 233, 329, 318, 633
in Northwest, 301
and slavery, in South, 63, 319, 491 (map)
wheat as, 131
Cashier, Albert. *See* Hodgers, Jennie
Cash indemnity, to Japanese Americans, 901
Casimir, Fort, 51
Cass, Lewis, 455
Caste structure, of Chesapeake colonies, 64–65
Castile, 14
Castle William, 180, 183
Castro, Fidel,
Bay of Pigs and, 963
Cuban Americans and, 1052
Cuban Revolution by, 963
Casualties. *See* specific battles and wars
Catalogues, mail-order, 651, 668
Catawba Indians, 97, 221, 235
Catholicism. *See also* Parochial schools
abortion and, 1029
Atlantic slave trade and, 12, 476
in England, 51–52
environmental movements and, 1082
ethnicity and, 419–420
of immigrants, 476, 683
in Ireland, 93
of James II, 107
Jesuits and, 33, 45
of Kennedy, John F., 960
Klan and, 821
in Maryland, 62
McCarthy, Joseph, and, 925
presidency and, 827
Quebec Act and, 193–193
schools and, 420, 477, 826
secular liberalism and, 476
Catholic Worker magazine, 959
Cato's Letters (Trenchard and Gordon), 113–114, 135
Catt, Carrie Chapman, 720, 774
Cattle, 617–618
Cattle drives, 617–618
Caucus. *See* Congressional caucus
Cavaliers, 73, 94
Cavalry, in Civil War, 520, 521, 522, 533–534

Cavelier, René-Robert. *See* La Salle, sieur de 117
CBC. *See* Congressional Black Caucus
CBS television. *See also* Television
CCC. *See* Civilian Conservation Corps
CDO. *See* Collateralized debt obligation
CDs, 1078
Cedar Creek, battle of, 571
Celebrities, in 1920s, 805–806
Céloron de Blainville, Pierre-Joseph, 152
Censorship, 956
  in comic books, 954, 956
  Jacksonian Democracy and, 399
  Johnson and, 992
  in Second World War, 898
Census
  of 1870, 658
  Hispanic label in, 1051
  of 1790, 235
  subcategories on, 1053
Central America. *See also* specific countries and regions 17
  filibustering in, 468–469
  leftist insurgencies in, 1027
  navy and, 746
  Nicaragua and, 468, 816
  Panama Canal in, 758, 760–762
  slaves and, 508
  United Fruit in, 764
  U.S. military in, 816
Central High School, Little Rock, integration of, 972
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 1036. *See also* Covert operations
  Bay of Pigs Invasion and, 963–964
  Bush, George H. W., and, 1035, 1042
  covert operations, 1036
  Hukbalahap (Huk) movement, 919
  Noriega and, 1042
  Third World communism and, 945–947
Centralization, of schools, 419
Centralized banking system, 524. *See also* Banking
  National Banking Act and, 524
Central Pacific Railroad, 613
Central Park (New York City), 678, 679, 862
Central Powers, 770 (map), 772, 773, 775, 776. *See also* Triple Alliance
Central Valley Project, 856
Century (magazine), 654
Century of Dishonor, A (Jackson), 627
Cereal crops, 16, 38. *See also* Grain
CETA. *See* Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
Chaco Canyon, 17, 16 (map), 28
Chain businesses, 1068
"Challenge of Peace, The" (Conference of Catholic Bishops), 1083
Challenger shuttle, 1060
Chamber of Deputies (Massachusetts), 72
Champlain, Samuel de, 44–45, 922
Chancellorsville, Battle of, 554–555
Chaney, James, 983
"Changing system" (accounting), in South and West, 286
Channel surfing, 1076
Chaplin, Charles, 699, 805
Chapman, John, as Johnny Appleseed, 303
Chapultepec, battle of, 452
Charbonneau, Toussaint, 269
Charity, 137, 418. *See also* Philanthropy
  Panic of 1857 and, 492
Charles I (England), 61, 67, 73, 74
  civil war and, 73
  Puritans and, 66
Charles II (England), 73, 96, 104, 106
  charters issued by, 81, 92, 96, 106
  James II and, 73
Charles III (Spain), 211, 213
Charleston, 224–225, 289, 334, 337
  Civil War and, 504, 561
  Democratic convention in, 504
  Fort Sumter and, 501, 511–513
  in Revolution, 201, 224–225
  slaves in, 128, 130, 190
Charlestown, 67, 194, 198
Charter(s)
  for Bank of the United States, 251
  for banks, 375, 376, 378, 379, 416
  for Carolina, 73
  for Connecticut, 96
  as contracts, 217, 379
  for Georgia, 125, 137
  for Maryland, 60
  for Massachusetts, 67, 106, 193
  for Massachusetts Bay, 67
  for New Haven, 96
  for New York, 77 (map)
  for Pennsylvania, 83
  for Restoration Colonies, 73, 74, 75, 77 (map)
  for Rhode Island, 96
  to Virginia Company, 75, 58 (map)
Charter of Liberties, in New York, 78
Chase, Salmon P., 456, 547
Chase, Samuel, 265–266
Chase, William Merrit, 654
Chase Manhattan, 1071
Chatham, Earl of. *See* Pitt, William
Chattanooga Battle of, 558–560
Chauncy, Charles, 142
Chavez, Cesar, 1051
Chavin culture, 19–20
"Cheap oil" policy, 1012, 1032
Checkley, John, 135
Chemical warfare, in Vietnam, 990
Cheney, Richard ("Dick"), 1093–1095
Cheng Ho (China), 7
Cherokee Indians
  removal of, 394
  in Revolutionary War, Spanish intervention, 165
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 394
Cherokee War (1759), 165
Chesapeake (ship), 272
Chesapeake affair, 272
Chesapeake region, 315–316. *See also* Maryland; Virginia
  caste structure in, 64–65
  charters in, 58–59
  colonies in, 55–65
  economy in, 58–59
  emancipation in, 316–317
  family life in, 62–63
  farming in, 315–316
  government in, 59, 60
  Indian war in, 57, 59
  Jamestown, 56–57
  labor, race and gender in, 316
  servants, 59–60
  slavery in, 63–65
  tobacco, 59–60
Chesnut, Mary Boykin, 560–561
Cheves, Langdon, 325, 382
Cheyenne Indians, 625–627
Chiang Kai-shek. *See* Jiang Jieshi
Chicago
  African Americans in, 827, 831, 971 (map)
  Columbian Exposition in, 680–681
  convention in, 1005–1006
  Democratic presidential voting by ethnic groups in, 827
  Harrison, Carter, in, 714
  Haymarket bombing in, 661–662
  Hull House in, 708
  meatpacking industry in, 693
  Mexican American mural art in, 1052
  Operation PUSH in, 1048
  organized crime in, 692
  population growth in, 819 (map)
  Pullman strike in, 664–665
  riots in, 769, 1006
  railroads, 665
  Republican convention in, 734
  saloons in, 708
  typhoid epidemic in, 680
  water and sewage systems in, 677
Chicago Daily Tribune election and, 913
Chicago Fire (1871), 680
Chicago School, 680
Chicanismo, 1051–1052

Chicano/a, 859, 870, 1051. *See also* Mexican Americans
Chichén Itzá, 23, 24 (map)
Chickamauga, Battle of, 558 560
Chickamauga Indians, 221, 558–560
Chickasaw Indians, 117, 147, 148 (map), 393, 517, 625
Chief Joseph (Nez Percé), 626 (map), 627
Chief Justice. *See* Supreme Court (U.S.); specific individuals
Chihuahua, Mexican War and, 450, 452 (map)
Child, Lydia Maria, 347, 431, 436, 653
Childbearing, 62, 346
Child care, 900, 965–966
Child labor
  abolition of, 660
  federal outlawing of, 740, 854
  Kelley, Florence, and, 708
  restrictions on, 708, 721
  in sweatshops, 687
Children, 325. *See also* Schools
  African American, 976
  Asian, 763
  health insurance for, 1089
  immigrant, 419, 826
  Indian, 628, 629
  Japanese, 685
  Jewisih, 881
  mothers and, 346
  in poverty, 520, 1008
  schools and, 370
  Spock and, 965–966
  as workers, 687
Children's Bureau, 864
"Children's crusade," of McCarthy, Eugene, 1004
Chile, 431
  covert actions in, 1016
  Second World War and, 906
China
  civil war in, 888
  communism in, 915
  expansion and, 6–7
  immigrants from, 457
  inventions from, 39
  Japan and,879, 888
  Korean War and, 917–918
  markets in, 756
  Nixon and, 1013
  Open Door policy toward, 756–757
  restoring order in (1900), 757
  in Second World War, 888
  sexual slavery of women from, 624
  U.S. policy, 888
  U.S. trade with, 1027, 1101
  Vietnam and, 991
"China lobby," 915
Chinampas, Aztec, 25
China Syndrome, The (movie), 1025
Chinatown, San Francisco, 613–614
Chinese Americans
  immigration, 685–687
  tongs and, 692
Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 614
Chinese laborers
  Homestead Act and, 611–612
  prejudice and discrimination against, 614
  railroads and, 613–614
Chinese Revolution (1911), 764
Chisholm Trail, 617
Chivington, John, 626 (map), 627
Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), 1102
Choctaw Indians, 117, 147, 148 (map), 176, 279
Choice, Not an Echo, A (Schlafly), 967
Cholera, in California gold rush, 457
Christian entertainment, 1084
Christian History, The, 142
Christianity. *See also* Conversion; Evangelicals and evangelicalism; Missions and missionaries; Religion; specific groups
  African American, 333–334
  Crusades and, 8–9
  Europe vs. Islam and, 7–8
  fundamentalism in, 824
  Indians and, 29
  popular culture and, 360
  Puritan theology and, 66–67
  "savages" and, 93
  vs. science, 677, 824–825
  slavery and, 129, 233, 333
Christina, Fort, 51
Christmas bombing, of Vietnam (1972), 1014
Chu, Steven, 1112
Church(es). *See also* Church and state; Religion; specific religions and churches
  black, 334, 369433, 596
  established, 348–349
  immigrant, 826, 1051
Church, Frank, 1016
Church and state, separation of, 70, 364, 1029, 1984
Churchill, Winston, 882, 884–885, 892
  Atlantic Charter and, 882
  at Casablanca, 884–885
  "Iron Curtain" and, 904
  postwar spheres of influence and, 904
Church of England, 43, 51–52, 65. *See also* Anglicans; Episcopalians
  as Protestant Episcopal Church, 232
  Separatists and, 52
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. *See* Mormons
Churubusco, battle of, 452
CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
Cigarettes, 649–650. *See also* Tobacco and tobacco industry
  Duke and,
Cincinnati, 238, 292, 296, 297, 311, 369, 382, 696
CIO. *See* Committee for Industrial Organization; Congress of Industrial Organizations
Circuit courts of appeal, 248
Circuit-riding preachers, 350
Circular Letter, in colonies, 179, 180
Circumference of earth, 15
Cisneros, Henry, 1051
Cities, 676–682. *See also* Metropolitan areas; Town(s); Urban areas; specific cities and towns
  African Americans in, 682 692–694
  air pollution in, 1009
  artisans in, 680
  Aztec, 25
  commercial culture in, 695–697
  corruption in, 678, 680, 690–692
  cultural institutions in, 702
  elites in, 678, 679, 699, 702
  farm culture vs., 818
  growth of, 676–682
  immigrants in, 682–688
  industrialization and, 310–311
  landscaping of, 678, 679
  Market Revolution in, 338–341
  Mayan, 22
  metropolitan, 311–313, 1063–1065
  municipal reform and, 714–715
  in North, 490, 492
  racism in, 369, 434, 682
  residential areas and, 675, 677, 693
  seaports and, 289–292
  segregation of blacks in, 693
  socialist mayors and other officers in, 711
  urban cores in, 974–975
  walking, 677
  water and sewage systems in, 677
  wheat trade and, 294, 320, 669
  working class in, 695–697
Citigroup, 1070
Citizens and citizenship, 370–372
  Asian immigrants and, 686
  blacks and, 369, 370–372
  Chinese laborers and, 686
  education for, 826
  Filipino Americans and, 752
  Fourteenth Amendment and, 587
  freedpeople and, 497, 561
  immigrants and, 717, 826, 1053
  Indians and, 628
  in Puerto Rico, 755
  requirements for, 717
  slaves of five civilized tribes and, 394
  Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and, 454–455

City Beautiful movement, 681
City commission plan, 714
City manager plan, 714
Civic organizations, of black middle class, 634
Civil disobedience
  King and, 970
  against Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 1044
Civilian(s), in Second World War, 881, 990
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 849, 850
  job creation programs, abolishment of, 893
Civilized Tribes, 393–394
Civil libertarians
  on Japanese-American internment, 901
  Reagan and, 1034
  Truman and, 911, 920, 924
Civil liberties. *See also* Civil rights; Liberty(ies); Civil rights. *See also* Civil-rights movement; Liberty(ies); Rights
  controversies over (1960s and 1970s), 1010–1011
  for American Indians, 1050
  failure of accommodationism and, 725
  Fourteenth Amendment and, 587
  Goldwater and, 979
  NAACP and, 717, 725–728
  politics of, 238, 248, 924
  religion and, 824
  Roberts Court on, 1099
  Roosevelt, Eleanor, and, 869, 902
  for Spanish-speaking people, 973–974
  Truman and, 920
Civil Rights Act
  of 1875, 578
  of 1957, 971–972
  of 1964, 983, 985, 1047
  of 1968, 1001, 1050
Civil rights bills
  in congressional Reconstruction, 587
  of Kennedy, John F., 976
Civil Rights Cases (1883), 604
Civil rights commission (1948), 931
Civil-rights movement(s), 930–932
  African Americans and, 996–1001
  of Spanish-speaking people, 973–974
Civil-rights movement (African American), 725–728. *See also* Civil rights; specific leaders
  beginning of, 725
  Brown Cases and, 968–970
  demonstrations in, 994
  electoral politics and, 638–639
  expansion of, 968–977
  Freedom Summer and, 983–994
  gender equality and, 699, 1045
  local to global politics, 970–972
  Malcolm X and, 998–1000
  media and, 996
  Montgomery bus boycott and, 970
  in 1960s, 996–1001
  Till murder and, 969–970
  Truman and, 903–932
Civil-rights workers, deaths of, 983
Civil service
  Jackson and, 391–392
  reform of, 593–594, 639–640
  in Wisconsin, 721
  women in, 553
Civil service commission, of Grant, 593–594
Civil war(s)
  in England, 73, 915
  in Greece, 909
  among Indians, 32–33
  Metacom's War as, 98–101
  in Spain, 878
Civil War (U.S.), 502–538. *See also* Confederacy; North (Civil War); Reconstruction
  border states in, 514–515, 542
  campaigns and battles (1861–1862, 516 (map), 528–534, 535 (map), 536 (map)
  casualties in, 575
  choosing sides in, 513–517
  class conflict and, 550
  comparative strength of Union and 524, 529
  Confederate armies, 534–537
  compromise proposals before, 486, 508–510
  diplomacy in, 524–526
  draft and, 550–551
  economy in, 549–550
  emancipation and, 542–544, 546–547
  films on, 518, 519, 598–599
  financing of, 523–524
  Fort Sumter attack and, 511–513
  Indians in, 516–517
  Lee's surrender at Appomattox in, 573–575
  logistics of, 522–523
  mobilization for, 520–521
  naval operations in, 524–528, 530
  peace overtures, 566–568
  principal military campaigns of, 516 (map)
  prisoner-exchange controversy, 568–570
  secession and, 509 (map), 514
  slavery and, 514
  strategy and morale in, 519–520
  Trent affair, 526
  war of attrition in, 563
  weapons and tactics in, 521–522
  West Virginia, 515–516
  women and, 553
Civil Works Administration (CWA), 849, 850
Clamshell Alliance, 1044
Clan Na Gael, 689
Clark, Champ, 736
Clark, George Rogers, 268–270
Clark, Tom, 922
Clark, William, 268
Clarke, Edward H., 657
Class conflict
  advocates of, 550
  Civil War and, 550–552
  Panic of 1857 and, 492
Classes, 653–654. *See also* Caste structure; Elites; Gentry; Planters and plantations; specific classes
  demarcation of, 989 (map)
  distinctions in late 19th century, 361, 366
  manual and nonmanual labor and, 312
Classic cultures, in Mesoamerica, 21–24
Clay, Cassius Marcellus, Jr. *See* Ali, Muhammad
Clay, Henry, 298
  alcohol and, 424
  American Colonization Society and, 430
  American System of, 298
  Corrupt Bargain and, 385–386
  election of 1811–1812 and, 274
  election of 1824 and, 386 (map)
  election of 1828 and, 390 (map)
  election of 1832 and, 404 (map)
  election of 1840 and, 409
  Jackson appointee and, 385
Clayton Antitrust Act, 739
Clean Air Act (1970), 1010
"Clear and present danger", national security and, 924
Cleaver, Eldridge, 1001
Clemenceau, Georges, in Big Four, 788
Clergy, 47, 72, 126, 132, 142, 183
  colonial support for, 89
  Quaker, 79
  the Revolution and, 232
Clermont (steamboat), 295
Cleveland (city), Johnson, Tom, in, 714
Cleveland, Grover
  as anti-imperialist, 752
  election of 1884 and, 638
  election of 1892 and, 638
  Hawaii and, 746
  Pullman strike and, 664–665
  tariff issue and, 640
  Treaty of Paris debate, 752
Cleveland Indians, 932

Cliff-dwelling people, in Southwest, 28
Clifford, Clark, 1004
Climate
  cooling of, 5, 7
  of Great Plains, 622
  of Kansas, 472
  warming of, 3–4, 17
Clinton, DeWitt, 295
Clinton, George, 253
Clinton, Henry, in Revolution, 208
Clinton, Hillary Rodham
  healthcare and, 1087
  as Secretary of State, 1112
Clinton, William Jefferson ("Bill"), 1086–1100
  economic policy and, 1108
  election of 1992 and, 1042–1043
  election of 1996 and, 1089
  foreign policy of, 1100–1101
  globalization and, 1101
  Gore and, 1087, 1093
  impeachment of, 1091
  international environmental issues and, 1101–1102
  Republican confirmation of appointees, 1099
  stem cell research and, 1099
  trade agreements and, 1101
"Closed shops," 921
Clothing and clothing industry
  factory-made, 301, 312, 330
  of flappers, 804
  Jews in, 687
  "New Woman" and, 312
Clovis tip, 4
Clubwomen, 711
CNN, 1076, 1079–1080
Coal and coal industry, 487, 644, 649, 838, 1025
  canals and, 296
  industrial accidents in, 658, 866
  in 19th century, 328
  strike in, 730
Coalition force, in Gulf War, 1042
Cobb, Howell, 459
Coca-Cola, 874, 894
Code-breaking, in Second World War, 884
Cody, Buffalo Bill, 629–630
Coercive (Intolerable) Acts (1774), 193–194
Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, mining strike at, 616
Coffeehouses, 105
"Coffin handbill," 389
Coffy (movie), 1049
Cohen, Ben, 864
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 45–46
Cold Harbor, Battle of, 564
Cold War. *See also* Communism; Containment; National Security; Soviet Union
  Berlin Blockade and, 912–913
  business expansion during, 928
  deploying military power, 1037
  deportation of immigrants in, 922
  economic growth and, 927–928
  Eisenhower and, 937–939
  election of 1952 and, 937–939
  election of 1992 and, 1043—1044
  end of, 1036–1044, 1040–1041
  funding of anticommunist regimes in, 1040
  Korean War and, 916 (map)
  military expenditures in, 928, 1036
  movies in, 935–937, 1038–1039
  national security after, 907–914, 926–927
  Nixon and, 922, 937, 939
  NSC-68 and, 915–919
  onset of, 908–909
  post-Cold War, 1042–1043
  Reagan and, 922
  segregation in, 913, 931–932
  spying in, 911, 919, 924
  Truman Doctrine and, 909–911
  U.S. racial discrimination and, 931
Cole (ship), 1102
Colfax Massacre, 597
Collateralized debt obligation (CDO), 1071
Collective bargaining, 661, 866, 895, 1051
  IWW and, 712
College of New Jersey. *See* Princeton University
College of Philadelphia. *See* University of Pennsylvania
College of Rhode Island. *See* Brown University
Collier, John, 871
Colombia, Panama Canal and, 760–762
Colonial economy, of South, 179, 488
Colonies and colonization. *See also* American Indians; Taxation; specific regions and colonies
  Anglicization of, 124–128, 134–138
  Continental Congress and, 167, 194–195, 196–197, 199–201
  costs of governing, 733
  demographic differences in, 87–88
  Dutch, 47
  economies of, 488–489
  during English civil wars, 69 (map)
  feudal revival in, 186–189
  after First World War, 788
  Glorious Revolution in, 107–114
  government in, 83, 91, 122, 196, 213
  governors in, 144
  households in, 117–118, 303–305
  housing in, 79
  independence of Spanish, 37, 49
  newspapers in, 126
  orthodox, 72, 92
  political culture in, 143–146
  population of British, 126
  religion and education in, 89
  Restoration, 73–78
  Roanoke, 53, 54 (map), 55
  unifying trends in, 91
  U.S. Latin American, 760 (map)
  voters in, 71
Colorado, 509 (map), 517
  woman suffrage in, 718
Colored Farmers' Alliance, 668
Color line, in baseball, 932–933
Colt, Samuel, 487, 488
Columbian exchange, 40
Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893), 680–681
Columbia River, 268–269
Columbia University, 136, 787, 836, 938
Columbus, Christopher, 14–16
  first voyage of, 14–16 (map)
  Indians and, 15
Comedy, in films, 698
Comics, juvenile delinquency and, 954
Commerce, 22, 27. *See also* Business; Corporations; Trade
  vs. King Cotton, 76
  law and, 379–380
  mercantilism and, 92–93
  on Potomac River, 377
  after the Revolutionary War, 238
  in seaport cities, 289–292
  urban world of, 239
Commerce and Navigation, Treaty of (U.S.-Japan), 882
Commerce raiders, 526, 594
Commercial banks, S & L debacle and, 1033
Commercial conventions, in South, 489
Commercial culture, 695–697
Commission on Civil Rights, 931
Commission on Human Rights (UN), 904
Committee against Anti-Asian Violence, 1053
Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), 967
Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), 866. *See also* Congress of Industrial Organizations
Committee of Public Safety, 196
Committee on Public Information (CPI), 782
  in First World War, 782
Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), 975–976. *See also* Congress on Racial Equality
Committee on the Present Danger, The (CPD), 1029

Committees of correspondence, 185
Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 881
Commodities Futures Modernization Act (2000), 1108
Commodity Credit Corporation (1930s), 669
Commons, John R., 721
Common schools, 418. *See also* Public schools
Common Sense (Paine), 202
Commonwealth, in England, 73, 74
Commonwealth Builders (Washington), 859
Communal drinking, 423
Communications
in Civil War, 522
digital technology for, 1065–1066
government control of, 955, 1055, 1079
revolution in, 1065–1066
in Second World War, technologies for, 1065–1066
Communism, 859–860. *See also* Anticommunism; Cold War; Containment; Soviet Union
Castro and, 1033
containment policy, 921–923, 937
domino theory and, 946, 990
Eisenhower Doctrine and, 945–946
Great Fear and, 923–925
Korean War and, 917–918
McCarthyism and, 925
movie industry and, 921–922
Nazis and, 881, 901–902, 945
in Nicaragua, 1027, 1036–1037
overseas movements and, 919
in Third World, 945–947
in Vietnam, 990
Communist Control Act (1954), 941
Communist Party (CP). *See* American Communist Party; Communism
Communities
African American, 692–694
borderlands, 615–615
ethnic, 688–692, 825–834
Spanish-speaking, 973–974
Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), 1051
Community Action Programs (CAPs), 986
Community Reinvestment Act (1977), 1065
Community Service Organization (CSO), 930
"Commutation fee," in Civil War, 551
Compensated emancipation, 542
Competence, 285, 289
material standards and, 678
Competition
athletic, 654
corporate restraints on, 739
from foreign business, 665, 734, 742
railroads and, 666
Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA,), 1025
Compromise of 1787, 238
Compromise of 1850, 458–466
Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, 461–462
Compromise of 1877, 606
Compromise proposals, before Civil War, 486, 508–510
Compromise Tariff (1833), 396, 397, 405
Computers. *See also* Digital technology; High-tech industries; Internet
business operations and, 1067
personal computer and, 1067–1068
Comstock Law (1872), 657
Comstock Lode, 615, 616
Concentration camps
of Cubans, 747, 748
of Filipinos, 753
Nazi, 881
Spanish, 748
Conciliatory Proposition (Lord North), 197, 200, 241
Concord, battle at, 200 (map)
Coney Island, 695
Coney Island (film), 698–699
Confederacy (Civil War). *See also* Civil War (U.S.)
advantages/disadvantages of, 545 (map)
anti-Davis faction in, 563
blacks as soldiers in, 569
blockade of, 573
casualties of, 575
counteroffensives of, 534–537
decline of, 554–560
draft in, 550–551
establishment of, 510–511
financing of war by, 523
inflation in, 228
King Cotton diplomacy of, 489–499
peace overtures and, 566–568
population of, 218
slavery as war issue and, 238
treaties of alliance with five civilized tribes, 625
Confederate Congress, 515, 563
draft age, 550
financing for Civil War and, 523
recruitment of black soldiers, 570
Confederate States of America. *See* Confederacy (Civil War), 534–537
Confederation. *See* Articles of Confederation
Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1028, 1083
Confiscation acts, 542
Conformity, 953–954
Congo, Lumumba in, 946
Congregationalists and Congregationalism,
Great Awakening and, 136
as lawyers, 136
as New and Old Lights, 142
in New England, 143
revivalism and, 140
Congress (U.S.). *See also* Confederate Congress; Continental Congress; Elections
Blueprint for modern America, 553–554
ex-Confederates in, 583
First, 248
gag rule in, 398–400
Iran-contra affair and, 1037–1049
Johnson, Andrew, and, 578, 581, 586–589
lame-duck, 261
Lecompton constitution and, 485–486
locally-based activism and, 1044, 1051
national debt and, 249
Nixon impeachment and, 1020
political stalemate and, 637–640
racial issues and, 902–903
Southern Manifesto in, 969
Taft, William Howard, and, 734
Truman and, 909, 925
War Hawks in, 274–275
Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), 1048
Congressional caucus, Republican, 383–384
Congressional Reconstruction, 586–589
Congressional Union, 720
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 866
Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), 902–903
Connecticut
charter for, 96
government of, 96
in New England Confederation, 92
Connecticut Compromise, 241
Conover, Willis, 943
Conqueror, The (movie), 943
Conquest, patterns of, 39–40
Conquistadores, 31, 33–34
Conscience of a Conservative, The (Goldwater), 956
Conscience Whigs, 456
Consciousness-raising sessions, for women, 1045
Conscription. *See* Draft (military)
Conservation, 893, 1101
of energy, 1025
of land, 851, 852
movement, 641, 732

Conservation Reserve Program, 1101
Conservatives and conservatism. *See also* Bush, George W.,; New Right; Religious Right
economy and, 853, 927, 964–965
ERA and, 1011
feminism and, 1011
gay marriage and, 1047
Goldwater and, 979
immigrants and, 872
new conservatism, 956–958
new sexuality and, 699, 700
Reagan and, 1034–1035
religious, 364–365, 827, 1047–1048
support for Franco, 878
on Supreme Court, 1034
in Washington, 1095–1097
Consolidation
in banking industry, 648, 1033
of corporations, 647–649
Conspicuous consumption, 652
Constantinople, 7, 8 (map), 11 (map), 770 (map), 789 (map)
Constitution(s), 112–114, 144–145. *See also* Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina
of "country" forces, 144–145
of "court" forces, 146–147
disfranchising southern blacks, 931
in Kansas Territory, 479
Lecompton, 485–486
Massachusetts, 217–218
in Pennsylvania, 216–217
of Virginia, 215–216
Constitution (U.S.). *See also* specific amendments
Bill of Rights and, 248
fugitive slave clause of, 461
government structure under, 926
ratification of, 242–243
Constitutional Convention. *See* Philadelphia Convention
Constitutional conventions, in South, 588, 590
Constitutional governance, Watergate and, 1018–1019
Constitutionalism
English, 85
Massachusetts, 217–218
Pennsylvania, 216–217
Revolution and, 112–113
Virginia, 215–216
Constitutionalists, in Pennsylvania, 216
Constitutional Union Party, 504, 505, 509 (map)
Construction industry
contracts in, 982
discrimination in, 972
economics of, 645
graft in, 691
Italians in, 690
lending for, 1063
Mexicans in, 833
private firms, 930, 949
In railroads, 593, 613
safety of workers in, 678
technological advances in, 677
Consumer credit, 803
Consumer culture, 651–652
in 1800s, 651–652
in 1920s, 802–803
urban vs. rural, 974–975
Consumer goods, 651
Consumer movement, 1011
Consumption
conspicuous, 651
culture of, 657, 842, 1030
Container shipping, 1068
Containment, 921–923
Communism, 921–923, 937
Third World and, 945–947
Continental Army, 199, 201, 206, 209–210. *See also* Revolutionary War; specific battles
mutiny in, 228–229
strength of, 199, 206, 209–210
threat of coup by, 239
Continental Congress
Articles of Confederation and, 205, 218–219, 228, 229, 240, 241–242
First, 194, 196–197
Second, 199–201
Continental dollar, collapse of, 223
Contraband of war (contrabands), slaves as, 541, 542
Contraception. *See* Birth control
Contracts
bracero program and, 895
with craft unions, 663
defense, 920
free-labor, 494
government, 186, 593, 894, 937
Justice Department and, 894
yellow dog, 808
Contract with America, 1087
Contras (Nicaragua), 1036–1037
Iran-contra controversy and, 1037–1040
Contreras, battle of, 452
Conventions, 215. *See also* Political conventions
in Annapolis, 240
in Boston, 180
provincial congresses as, 194–195, 215
in Virginia, 215
Conversion. *See also* Missions and missionaries
Calvinist, 349
crisis, 129
of Indians, 98
Puritans and, 66, 68–70
Quakers, 72
revivals and, 139
Cooke, Jay, 601, 646–647
Coolidge, Calvin, 814
on business, 814
election of 1924 and, 814
maldistribution of wealth and, 814, 841–842
Cool Million, A (West), 844
Cooperative commonwealth, 660
Cooperative movement, 996
Cooperatives
farm, 666
worker, 661
Cooper v. Aaron, 972
Coordinator of Inter-American affairs, 903
Coors, Joseph, 1028
Copley, John Singleton, 80
Copper, mining of, 616
Copperheads, 543, 548–549
COPS. *See* Communities Organized for Public Service
Coral Sea, Battle of the, 888
Corcoran, Thomas ("Tommy the Cork"), 864
CORE. *See* Congress on Racial Equality
Corinth, Civil War in, 531 (map), 532
Corn, 300, 817, 1066. *See also* Maize (Indian corn)
in Virginia, 59, 294
Corning Glass Company, 948
Cornplanter (Shawnees), 221
Cornwallis, Charles (Earl), 221
Coronado, Francisco Vasquez de, 2
Corporate charters, for banks, 379, 415, 417
Corporate culture, 951, 953
Corporate forms of government, colonial, 91
Corporate order, social costs of, 654
Corporations. *See also* Business; Trusts; specific organizations
consolidation of, 647–649
"countervailing power" and, 952
cultural impact of, 650–654, 653–654
in First World War, 778–779
government regulation and, 733, 1057
government support for, 646
group insurance plans for, 897
Homestead Act and, 611–612
management revolution and, 650
mass production and, 649–650
merger movement and, 648–649
mining, 615
multinational, 744, 814
municipal transportation and, 714
post-civil war economy, 643–650
power of, 641

Corporations *(continued)*
Roosevelt, T., and, 732–733
technological innovation and, 644–645, 1065–1066
workers in, 655–656, 657–665
Corregidor, 888
Corridos, 834
"Corrupt Bargain," election of and, 385–386
Corruption
balanced consitution and, 114
financial, 135
in government, 604
Grant Administration, 592
Harding and, 812
Homestead Act and, 611–612
Jackson and, 401
national debt as, 387
in North Carolina backcountry, 190
organized crime and, 690–692
political, 145, 706, 722, 733
political machines and, 691
subsidies as, 378
as a weapon, 146
Whigs and, 415, 417
Cortes, Ernesto, Jr., 1051
Cortés, Hernán, 16–17, 31
Cosmopolitanism, of Bourne, 702
Cosmopolitans, vs. localists, 239–240
Cost(s). *See also* Price(s)
of municipal reform, 715
of transportation, 611
Cost-accounting methods, 650
Cotton, John, 68, 70
Cotton and cotton industry. *See also* Textiles and textile industry
Civil War diplomacy and, 499
in 1920s, 808–809
innovation in, 314
long- and short-staple, 319 (map)
overproduction in, 632–633
slavery and, 322–324
South and, 319, 489–499
spread of, 319 (map)
transportation for, 294
value of output, 809
Cotton belt, 319
Coughlin, Charles (Father), 857–858
Council(s)
colonial, 59, 60, 62, 71, 76, 82
in Massachusetts, 691, 692
Council of Censors (Pennsylvania), 216
Council of Economic Advisers, 927
Council of Revision (New York), 216
Council of the Indies, 35–36
Counterculture, 995–996
media and, 996
"Countervailing power," 952
Counties, government of, 60, 90
"Country" forces
in colonies, 144–145
constitution of, 144–145
in England, 104
Country stores, 301, 311, 329, 632
Coups
of continental officers, 231
in Egypt, 945
in Iran, 944, 1027
in Mexico, 7651041
in South Vietnam, 979, 988
Coureurs de bois, 45
Court(s). *See also* Supreme Court (U.S.)
affirmative action and, 1054
of appeal, 248
of assize, 76, 78
constitutions, 145–146
during Great Fear, 923–925
HUAC and, 921
Jefferson and, 264–265
labor unions and, 1034
Court of Assistants (Massachusetts), 71
Court of Chancery (England), 106
Court-packing proposal, by Roosevelt, F. D., 874
Court TV (truTV), 1090
Cousins, Norman, 865
Covenant (Article X), of League of Nations, 790
Covenant Chain of Peace, 97
Covenant theology, of Puritans,
Covert operations, 66–67
against Cuba, 963
CIA and, 1036
eavesdropping and, 926, 1018
Eisenhower and, 944
Coverture, 128
Cowboys
African American, 616
cattle drives and, 619
strikes by, 616
vaqueros as, 620–622
Cowpens, battle at, 226, 227 (map), 229
Cox, Archibald, 1019
Cox, James M., 812
Coxey, Jacob, 664
Coxey's army, 664
CPD. *See* Committee on the Present Danger, The
CPI. *See* Committee on Public Information
Craft, William and Ellen, 462
Crafts, 10, 59, 118. *See also* Artisans
colonial, 126, 131, 291, 292
Craft unions, 664
drinking and, 425
labor unrest and, 659, 663
Cramer, Charles, 813
Crane, Stephen, 518
Crawford, William H., 386, 389 (map)
Crazy Horse (Sioux leader), 625
Creation myths, of Inca, 30
Credit
centralized, 376
consumer, 803
crop lien system and, 632, 633, 668
for farmers, 669
Federal Reserve and, 738
Great Depression and, 840, 841, 849
Credit cards, 1070–1071
"bill of rights" for holders of, 1113
Credit Mobilier affair, 593
Creek Indians, 117, 279, 389, 394
Creel, George, 782, 783
CREEP (Committee to Re-Elect the President), 1019
Crèvecoeur, Hector St. John de, 284, 285, 289
Crime and criminals. *See also* Prison(s)
in cities, 690–692
immigrants and, 690–692
organized, 690–692
rights of criminals and, 1010
"three strikes" provision, 1087
urban, 690–692
Crimean War, Panic of 1857 and, 492
Crimes against humanity, Nuremberg trials and, 886
Cripple Creek, Colorado, mining strike at, 616
Crisis, The (magazine), 727
Crisis conversion, 349
Crittenden, John J., 508
Crittenden, William, 467
Crittenden Compromise, 508, 510
Croatia, 1041
Croatian immigrants, 683
CROATOAN, 53–54
Crocker, Charles, 612
Crockett, Davy, 293, 447
Croix de Guerre, to black soldiers, 780
Croker, Richard ("King Richard"), 691
Croly, Jane ("Jenny June"), 656
Cromwell, Oliver, 73, 94
Cronkite, Walter, 1003
Crop lien system, 632, 633, 668
Crops. *See also* specific crops
genetically modified, 1066
indigo as, 131, 138
price of (1914–1929), 817
slavery and, 12, 14
in South, 491 (map), 692
staple, 1, 12, 14, 38, 491 (map)
Crosby, Alfred W., 40
"Cross of Gold" speech (Bryan), 670–671

Crow Indians, 269, 625, 626 (map), 627
Crown Point, 147, 152, 157, 158
Cruikshank, Robert, 392
Crusades, legacy of, 8–9
Crystal Palace Exhibition (London), 487
Cuba, 64 (map)
  annexation and, 490
  attempts to acquire, 963
  Batista in, 945
  Castro in, 963
  CIA and, 945, 963
  Soviet Union and, 963
  Spanish-American War in, 749–751
  U.S. control of, 754–756
Cuban Americans, 1052
Cuban Missile Crisis, 962–963
Cuen, Rafael, 619, 620
Cullen, Countee, 832
Cultivation, 339
Cultural conservatism, of progressives, 708–711
Cultural diplomacy, 972
Cultural exchange, 702, 920, 943
Cultural movements, identity politics and, 1049
Cultural pluralism, 872
  Kallen and Locke on, 701
Cultural studies, 1079
Culture. *See also* Counterculture; Gays and lesbians; Mass culture; Society; specific aspects and groups
  of Andes region, 18–20
  American, 650–655
  of the Great Depression, 844–845
  labor in, 866–868
  changes in, 932–937
  Chavin, 19–20
  Chicanismo and, 1051–1052
  class distinctions in, 653–654
  classic, 20, 22
  commercial, 675–676
  critique of mass, 955–956
  democratization of, 342–344
  Indian-European misunderstandings and, 28–31
  Mayan, 22–24
  media and, 1075–1084
  Mesoamerican, 21–24
  Mexican, 973–974, 1051
  middle class, 344–348
  of mound builders, 33 (map)
  Olmec, 21–22
  pagan, 28
  political issues and, 1097–1100
  popular, 357–361
  of pre-Columbian America, 18
  print, 134–135
  Renaissance in American, 347, 837, 870
  sendentary, 17–18
  of social networking, 1114–1115
  Spanish-language, 833–834, 1051
  Stone-age, 18
  suburban, 1063, 1077
  theater and, 936, 1047, 1078
  urban, 28, 703
Cumberland, duke of (William Augustus), 175
Cumberland Gap, 234
Cumberland river region, Civil War in, 530, 531 (map)
Cumberland Road. *See* National Road
Cummin, Maria, 347
Curley, James Michael, 691
Currency
  deflation and, 659, 667
  dual (greenbacks and gold), 667
  Federal Reserve and, 738
  "In God We Trust" on, 952
  national, 250, 376, 524
Currency Act (1764), 172–173
Curriculum, 136, 141, 428
  Afrocentric, 1049
  school organization and, 419
Curtis, George William, 594
Custer, George A., 625, 629, 1050
Cutler, Manassah, 236
Cutler, Timothy, 136
Cuzco, 21
Cyberspace, 1068. *See also* Internet
Czechoslovakia
  creation of, 788
  Nazi annexation of, 879, 880 (map)
  Soviets and, 912
Czech region, immigrants from, 822

D

Da Gama, Vasco, 2, 13
Daily Show, The (television program), 1080
Dairy farming, 303
Dairy products, 286, 300
Dakota Territory, Sioux reservation in, 625
Dallas, Kennedy, John F., assassination in, 979–980
Dams
  from New Deal, 855, 856, 857 (map), 863
  in West, 853, 854 (map)
Dana, Richard Henry, 442
Dance
  controversy over, 359
  waltz and, 697
Dance halls, 368, 675, 695, 697, 821
Dandridge v. Williams, 1010
Dangers of an Uncoverted Ministry, The (Gilbert Tennent), 138
Danish West Indies, 765
Danvers, 109
DAR. *See* Daughters of the American Revolution
Darby, Elias Hasket, 290
"Dark horse" candidate, 448, 736
Darrow, Clarence, 708, 824–825
  Scopes Trial and, 824–825
Dartmouth College, 143
Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 379
Darwin, Charles, 652
  Social Darwinism and, 652, 824
Daugherty, Harry M., 812–813
Daughters. *See* Families; Women
Daughters of Bilitis, 923
Daughters of Ethiopia, 368
Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 633–634, 869
  Anderson, Marian, and, 869
Davenport, James, 141
Davenport, John, 70
Davis, Henry Winter, 580
Davis, Jefferson
  black soldiers and, 570
  Kansas-Nebraska bill, 472
  in Mexican War, 450, 451
  slave code, 498
Davis, John W., 814, 826
Dawes, Charles G., 815
Dawes Plan (1923), 815–816
Dawes Severalty Act (1887), 628–629
Day, Dorothy, 953, 959
Day, Sandra. *See* O'Connor, Sandra Day
Day-care, in Second World War, 897, 900
Dayton, Ohio
  city manager plan in, 714
  city reform in, 715
Daytona 500, 1073
Dayton (Ohio) Peace Accords (1995), 1100
D-Day, 885, 886
DDT, 1009
Dead Rabbits (street gang), 354, 358
Dean, John, 1019
Deane, Silas, 218
Death. *See also* Casualties; Mortality rates
  Black, 6, 7
  or Liberty, 337
  providential worldview and, 351–352
  social, 326
Death camps
  in Civil War, 569,
  Nazi 881, 884, 898
Death rates, in New York City (1925), 831
Debates
  Kennedy-Nixon, 960–961
  Lincoln-Douglas, 497–501

De Bow, James D., 489
De Bow's Review, 341
Debs, Eugene Victor, 711
  American Railway Union (ARU) and, 664
  election of 1912 and, 711, 737 (map), 738
  election of 1920 and, 797
  First World War and, 774, 786–787, 796
  jailing of, 786
  Pullman strike and, 664–665
  socialism and, 786
Debt. *See also* National debt
  corporate, 417
  of farmers, 118
  federal, 524, 965
  after First World War, 781–782
  Hamilton on, 248–249
  household, 118
  of investment firms, 1109
  merchants and, 239
  after Revolution, 238–239
  state, 238, 249
  Third World, 1043
Debt crisis, in Mexico, 1101
Debt peonage, 37, 38 (map)
Decimal system, of Inca, 21
Declaration of Independence, 203, 365, 438
Declaration of Rights (England), 107
Declaration of rights, in Virginia, 215
Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, 437, 438
"Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms, The" (Jefferson), 200
Declaratory Act, 176
"Decline of Protestantism and Its Causes, The" (Hughes), 476
Decryption techniques, in Second World War, 884
Deep South. *See also* South
  cotton and slavery in, 322–324, 489–499
  organizing in, 994
  in Revolution, 224–226
  slavery in, 367, 976
Deerfield, Massachusetts, 120
Defense Department, 920, 1106
Defense spending, 912, 1017, 1030. *See also* Military spending
  in Second World War, 893
Deficit
  budget, 915, 987,
  federal, 1021, 1023
  household, 1070
  Reagan and, 1031–1032
  trade, 1012
Deflation, 659, 672
  currency expansion and, 659
  price, from to 1865 to 1897, 667
De Grasse, François (Comte), 229–230
Deists, 348
De Kalb, Johann (Baron), 210
Delaware
  Articles of Confederation and, 242
  emancipation in, 316
  punishment in, 421
  Quakers and, 78
  slaves and, 315
  Sweden and, 51, 81
Delaware Indians, 82, 147
  in Pennsylvania, 82
  Tenskwatawa and, 276–277
De la Warr, Baron (Thomas West), 56–57
DeLay, Tom, 1097
Delinquents, Lathrop and, 708
Delirium tremens, 423
De Lôme, Enrique Dupuy. *See* Dupuy de Lôme, Enrique
Demagogues, 419, 836
Democracy
  ideals vs. reality, 863–864
  Jacksonian, 393–400, 386–387
  in 1920s, 836–837
  support of foreign, 1100–1107
"Democracy versus the Melting Pot" (Kallen), 701
Democratic Party. *See also* Copperheads; Elections; specific issues and leaders
  African Americans in, 1045
  alcohol consumption and, 425–426
  anti-Vietnam War wing of, 1004
  birth of, 389
  Charleston, 502
  convention (1932), 847
  Cuba acquisition and, 468
  election of 1828 and, 389, 390 (map)
  ethnic group voting for, 827
  formation of, 383, 389
  Freedom Democratic Party at, 967, 983
  Jackson, Jesse, and, 1048, 1083
  Johnson, Andrew, and, 580
  market society and, 415
  Mexican War and, 453–455
  Mississippi Plan and, 602–603
  New Deal coalition of, 861–863
  New Democrats and, 1087–1089
  political stalemate and, 637–640, 874
  racism and, 551
  sectionalism in, 349–351, 499
  slavery and, 389, 398, 476
  in South, 504
  voter intimidation techniques of, 638
  Wilson and, 738–740
Democratic Republicans, 245, 262–270. *See also* Elections; Republican Party
  election of 1796 and, 257
  election of 1800 and, 261–262
Democratic Republic of Vietnam. *See* North Vietnam
Democratic Review, 415, 429, 441
Democratic sects, 349–351
Democratization, of culture, 342–344
Demographics. *See also* Population; Religion
  of English colonies, 87–88
  Spanish Empire and catastrophe in, 35–36
  in suburbs, 934–935
Demonstrations, 1044–1045. *See also* Protest(s); suffragists
  in civil-rights movement, 976, 1002
  after 1800s, 492
  against Vietnam War, 992, 994, 1014
Dempsey, Jack, 805
Denmark, 765, 882, 916
  Second World War in, 879
Dennis v. U.S., 924
Denominations (religious), realignment of, 143
Dent, John Horry, 326
Departments of government. *See* specific departments and agencies
Department stores, 651, 818
Deportation, of immigrants on Attorney General's List, 787
Deposit Act (1836), 405, 407
Depressions (financial). *See also* Great Depression; Panics (financial)
  of 1620, 94
  of 1837–1843, 442
  of 1882–1885, 644
  of 1890s, 662, 672
  of 1893–1897, 663–664
  in agriculture, 816–818
  after Panic of 1819, 382
Deregulation
  Carter and, 1024–1025
  of economic sector, 1057
  of financial industry, 1108
  Reagan and, 1033
Derivatives, 1071, 1108
Desegregation. *See also* Integration; Segregation
  of baseball, 932–933
  Brown Cases and, 969
  of military, 931
  Montgomery bus boycott and, 970
  Roberts Court on, 1099
Desertions, 521, 548, 549
  in Civil War, 550, 563

Deserts, irrigation of, 949
Destination Tokyo (movie), 897
"Destroyers-for-bases" deal, 881
Détente policy, 951, 1013, 1017, 1026
Detention, of subversives, 925, 1112
Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age. See Gaither Report
Detroit
  Pingree in, 714
  racial violence in, 997
  "Walk to Freedom March" in, 976
Devaluation, of dollar, 1101
Dewey, George, 748
Dewey, John, 838–837
  as NAACP founder, 717
  progressivism, socialism, and, 836–837
  on role of government, 836
Dewey, Thomas E.
  election of 1944 and, 890
  election of 1948, 913
Dialects, in colonies, 91
Dias, Bartholomeu, 13
Diaz, Adolfo, 764
Diaz, Porfirio, 765
Dickens, Charles, 656
Dickinson, John, 179, 200, 212, 218
Dictators and dictatorships, 917, 944, 1016. *See also* specific individuals
  Carter and, 1027
  in Latin America, 962
  U.S. support for, 945
Diem, Ngo Dinh, 946–947
Dien Bien Phu, battle of, 946, 989 (map)
Dieskau, Jean-Armand (Baron), 158
Diet (food), rural, 286
Digital compact discs. *See* CDs
Digital technology, 1065–1066
Dillingham Commission (1907), 700
Dime novels, 359, 360, 364, 695–696
Diphtheria epidemic, 132
Diplomacy. *See also* Foreign policy
  atomic, 909
  in French Middle Ground, 115–116
  Hay, Open Door notes, and, 756
  Hoover-Stimson Doctrine and, 877
  King Cotton, 489–499
  ping-pong, 1013
  of Taft, 754
  Wilson and, 774
Diplomatic recognition
  China and, 945
  Confederacy and, 513, 525, 544, 555
  Nicaragua and, 468
  Mao and, 915
Direct election of senators, 668–669, 715
Direct-mail fundraising, for campaigns, 985
Direct primary, 715, 720
Direct tax, 173, 260, 261, 264
Dirty tricks, under Nixon, 1017
Disabled people
  Keller, Helen, and, 713
  Lathrop and, 708
Disaffection, 185–186
Disarmament
  Clinton and, 1102
  after First World War, 774–775, 788, 790
  Hoover and, 815
  Open Skies initiative and, 945
  Wilson and, 774, 788, 790
Disciples of Christ, 349, 351, 353, 356
Discrimination. *See also* Antidiscrimination efforts; Race and racism; specific groups
  against African Americans, 693, 719, 727, 781
  against black soldiers, 561, 570, 931
  against Chinese immigrants, 614, 702
  in employment, 895, 931, 971
  as foreign policy liability, 931
  against gays and lesbians, 923
  by gender, 591, 708, 967, 968
  in housing, 976
  against Mexicans, 619
  in public transportation and 604
  reverse, 1054
  sexual, 1047–1048
  sexual harassment as, 1046–1047
  struggle against, 728, 869, 902–903
  Title VII and, 983
  against working women, 809, 968
  in workplace, 895
Diseases. *See also* Epidemics; specific diseases
  in California gold rush, 212, 457
  in cities, 129, 688
  imported into Americas by Europeans, 117, 276
  among Indians, 96, 117, 442
  from nuclear testing, 943
  in tenements, 688, 830
Disestablishment, 232
Disfranchisement, 725
  of blacks, 717
  of ex-Confederates, 717
  of noncitizen immigrants, 717
Disney, Walt, 898, 1061
Disneyland, 943, 1060, 1061
Dispensational premillennialism, 1029
Dissent and dissenters. *See also* Protest(s)
  during Cold War, 917, 920–926, 1034
  in England, 75
  after First World War, 785, 796
  in South Carolina, 75
Distribution
  of industries, 842
  mass production and, 649–650
Distribution of wealth, 328, 755, 841–842
District of Columbia. *See also* Washington, D.C.
  abolition of slave trade in, 399
  segregated schools outlawed in,
District of Columbia v. Heller, 1099–1100
Diversity, 872, 1080
  affirmative action and, 1011
  in colonies, 85, 123
  immigrants and, 700
  linguistic, 85, 91
  in Obama administration, 1112
  in suburbs, 924–935
Dix, Dorothea, 422
Dixiecrat Democrats. *See* States' Rights Party
Dixiecrat revolt (1948), 931
Doak, William N., 870
Doby, Larry, 932
Doctors, 136–137. *See also* Medicine
  in colonies, 137
Documentary films, 154, 308. *See also* Movies and movie industry
Dodge City, Kansas, 617
Doeg Indians, 101, 103 (map)
Doheny, Edward L., 812
Dole, Robert, election of and, 1089
Dollar (U.S.)
  Continental, 223
  floating, 1012
Dollar diplomacy, of Taft, 754
Domestic fiction, 348
Domesticity, 346–348
  middle-class, 346–348
  novels about, 348
  women's rights and, 347–348
Domestic policy. *See* specific presidents
Domestic slave trade, 320, 321 (map), 331, 333. *See also* Slave trade
Domestic surveillance programs, 942
Dominican Republic, 268, 594, 758
  immigrants from, 1052
  intervention in, 760 (map), 816
  Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 990
Dominion of Canada, 594
Dominion of New England, 106–107
Domino theory, 946–947
Donelson, Andrew Jackson, 397–398

Donelson, Fort, battle at, 531 (map)
Donelson, Rachel. *See* Jackson, Rachel
Doniphan, Alexander, 450
Dorchester Heights, 201
Dos Passos, John, 836
Dot-com businesses, 1067–1068
Do the Right Thing (movie), 1049
Douay Bible, 420
Double standard, of sexual behavior, 128, 436
"Double V" campaign, 902
Doughboys, U.S. soldiers as, 777
Douglas, Aaron, 832
Douglas, Stephen A., 471–472
  compromise and, 460, 472
  election of 1858 and, 473
  Kansas-Nebraska Bill and, 472–473
  Lecompton constitution and, 485–486
  Lincoln debates with, 473
  manifest destiny and, 469
Douglass, Frederick, 560–561, 581, 582
  Johnson, Andrew, and, 582
  Republican Party and, 581
  on slavery, 431, 438, 465, 483, 541, 682
  voting rights, 681
Doves, in Vietnam War, 993
Dower rights, 128
Dow Jones Industrial Average, 840
Downsizing, 1069
Downtowns, revitalizing, 677, 1064, 1065
Dowry, 128
Draft (military), 544
  Carter and, 1023
  in Civil War, 550–551
  in First World War, 777, 780
  resistance to, 544, 551, 1002, 1017
Draft riot (1863), 550–551
Drake, Francis, 52
Drama. *See* Theater
Dred Scott case, 484–485
Dresden, bombing of, 890
Drinan, Robert F., 1083
Drinking, 423–424. *See also* Alcohol and alcoholism; Prohibition; Temperance
  ethnicity and, 427
  rise of, 422–424
  temperance movement and, 426–427
Drought, in Great Plains, 622–623
Drudge Report, The, 1092
Drugs
  counterculture and, 996
  in Indian religious ceremonies, 1050
  Noriega and trade in, 1042
  war against, 1042
Drunkenness, 97, 293, 422, 423. *See also* Alcohol and alcoholism
Duane, William, 259, 403
Du Bois, W. E. B.
  accommodationism and, 725
  anticommunism and, 922
  criticism of Washington, Booker T., 637
  Souls of Black Folk, The, by, 637
  on education crusade, 586
  after First World War, 797
  NAACP and, 728, 797
Duck Soup (movie), 845
Duel, Hamilton-Burr, 266
Due process, Fourteenth Amendment and, 215, 587
Duer, William, 236
Duke, James Buchanan, 649–650
Duke's Laws (New York), 76, 78
Dulany, Daniel, 174, 186
Dulles, Allen, 944, 972
Dulles, John Foster, 942
Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944), 903
Dunkirk, British evacuation of, 879, 880 (map)
Dunmore, Earl of (John Murray), 199, 201, 221
Dunster, Henry, 72
DuPont Corporation, 644, 648
Dupuy de Lôme, Enrique, 748
Duquesne (Marquis de), 152–153
Duquesne, Fort, 153, 157
Durables, consumer, 803, 804, 837
Durant, Thomas C., 612
Dust bowls, 851–852
Dutch. *See also* Netherlands; New Netherland
  American colonies of, 50
  English trade and, 95
  fur trade and, 50
  in New York, 76, 77 (map), 78
  Protestants and, 47
  settlement by, 47
Dutch East Indies, 48–50
Dutch Reformed Church, 43, 47, 50, 76, 110 (map), 138
Dutch West India Company, 44, 47, 77
Duties. *See also* Taxation; specific acts
  in Currency Act, 172–173
  on molasses, 172
DVDs, 1077–1078
Dwellings. *See* Housing
Dwight, Timothy, 291, 344
Dyer, Mary, 72, 79
Dylan, Bob, 868, 996, 1079

E

Eakins, Thomas, 654
Eannes, Gil, 9
Earhart, Amelia, 809–810
Early, Jubal, 565, 571
Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), 1087
Earnings. *See* Income; Wages
Earth Day (1970), 1009
Earth Summit (Brazil,), 1102
East Asia. *See also* Asia
  immigrants from, 686–687
  peacekeeping in, 762–763
East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, 879
Eastern Europe, 38, 665. *See also* Europe and Europeans; specific countries
  ethnics from, 825–827
  immigration from, 683, 684 (map)
  revolts by satellite countries in, 944
  Soviets and, 944
Eastern front
  in First World War, 770 (map)
  in Second World War, 885, 889 (map)
Eastern Hemisphere, Treaty of Tordesillas and, 15
Easter Offensive (North Vietnam), 1014
East Florida, Spanish acquisition of, 213
East Germany (German Democratic Republic), 913, 916 (map), 963, 1014
East India Companies, 48, 192
East Indies, 8 (map), 47
  in colonial times, 759 (map)
  Portuguese and, 13, 48
Eastman, Crystal, 697
Eastman, Max, 700, 794
Eastman Kodak, 744, 951. *See also* Kodak camera
East New Jersey, 80–81
Eaton, John Henry, 397
Eaton, Peggy, 397–398
Eaton, Theophilus, 70
eBay, 1068
Ebenezer, Georgia, 137
Ebony magazine, on black women, 967
Ecology. *See* Environment
E-commerce, 1067
Economic and Social Council (UN), 904
Economic bubbles, in 1993-2008, 1067
Economic diversification, in South, 489
Economic Opportunity Act (EOA, 1964), 983, 1107–1112
Economic relief, in Great Depression, 849–850
Economics, supply-side, 1031–1032
Economic sanctions, against Iraq, 1042

Economy. *See also* Depressions (financial); Great Depression; Panics (financial); Recessions
American system of manufactures and, 298
anti-government activists and, 1055, 1056
boom-and-bust cycles and, 642, 927
Carter and, 1022–1023
in Civil War, 549–550
colonial, 88–89, 488–489
communism and, 944
deregulation of, 1033, 1108
in 1850s, 486–497
after First World War, 793, 799
First World War and, 772, 778
of five civilized tribes, 625
Ford, Gerald, and, 1022
global, 37–39
government power over, 439, 731
growth of, 644
Great Depression, 849–850
Hamilton and, 250
of Hohokam culture, 28
industrial, 632, 1021, 1084
Market Revolution and, 338–341, 400–407
mercantilism and, 92–93
as motive for colonization, 47
during New Deal, 849–850
Nixon and, 1011–1012
northern labor and, 490
paper economy and, 382, 401, 405, 407
postcolonial, 377
post-Second World War agreements and, 926–932
restraints on money supply and, 667
Roosevelt, T., and, 731
in seaport cities, 289–292
Second World War and, 892–897
in South, 488–489, 549–550
in Spanish empire, 37–39
transformation, 1065–1074
from 2000–2006, 1109–1110
underconsumption theory and, 860
Economy Act (1933), 848, 849
Edict of Nantes, 44, 107
Edison, Thomas Alva, 644–645
Edison Electric Light Company, 645
Editors, women as, 655
Education. *See also* Higher education; Public schools; Schools; Universities and colleges
of American workers, technological proficiency and, 488
bilingual, 1009
church-centered, 1029, 1092
in colonies, 89, 108
federal aid to, 986
for freedpeople, 585–586
Great Society programs for, 986, 1009
Indian schools, 628
for lawyers, 136
national security and, 959
public vs. parochial, 477
Whig reforms of, 413
for women, 657, 710, 1054
Edward VI (England), 51
Edwards, Jonathan, 136, 139, 140, 190
EEOC. *See* Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Effigies, burning of, 145
Egalitarianism, in Homestead Act, 611
Egypt, 945
Camp David Accords (1978) and, 1026–1027
Israel and, 1012, 1026–1027
Nasser in, 945
Eighteenth Amendment, 710, 785, 820
Eighth Amendment, 248
Eight-hour day, 659, 660, 661, 730, 740, 794
Einstein, Albert, 891
Eisenhower, Dwight David ("Ike")
Cold War and, 937–939
containment policy, 941–942
covert action under, 944
election of 1952 and, 938–939
farewell address of, 947
foreign policy of, 942
Highway Act and, 949
Indian policy and, 972–973
New Look of, 942–944
as politician, 937–938
as president, 938–939
Third World politics and, 945–947
Eisenhower Doctrine (1957), 945–946
"Elect, the," Calvin on, 66
Elections. *See also* Voting
of 1796, 257
of 1800, 260–262
of 1804, 257, 270
of 1824, 383–385
of 1828, 389–391
of 1832, 403, 404 (map)
of 1836, 408 (map)
of 1838, 408
of 1840, 409–411
of 1844, 456
of 1848, 455–458
of 1852, 467, 474
of 1854, 477
of 1856, 481–484
of 1857, 485
of 1858, 473, 486, 498
of 1860, 502–506
of 1864, 583, 591
of 1866, 588
of 1867, 589
of 1868, 591–592
of 1870, 601
of 1872, 600
of 1875 (Mississippi), 603
of 1878, 660
of 1880, 610
of 1884, 610
of 1888, 640
of 1890, 720, 736
of 1892, 640
of 1894, 734
of 1896, 670–672
of 1900, 705, 720
of 1904, 731
of 1908, 733
of 1910, 734
of 1912, 736–738
of 1916, 774
of 1920, 800
of 1924, 812
of 1928, 830
of 1932, 844
of 1936, 863
of 1940, 881
of 1942, 893
of 1944, 890
of 1946, 1008
of 1948, 913–914
of 1952, 937–939
of 1960, 960–962
of 1964, 980
of 1966, 1008
of 1968, 1006–1007
of 1972, 1017–1018
of 1976, 1022–1023
of 1980, 1030–1031
of 1984,1034–1035
of 1988, 1042, 1083
of 1992, 1043–1044
of 1996, 1089
of 1998, 1091
of 2000, 1093–1095
of 2004, 1096
of 2006, 1106
of 2008, 1111
direct, of senators, 668–669
disfranchisement and, 717
political stalemate and, 637–640
voter participation in presidential, 718, 720, 810, 1044
Electoral College, 216. *See also* Elections
election of and, 216, 638–639
Electoral commission, for election, 606
Electorate. *See also* Voting
progressive disillusionment with, 718
virtuous, 716
Electric Auto-Lite plant, strike at, 858

Electricity, 853
in cities, 650, 677, 855–856
Franklin and, 135
late 19th century innovations in, 645
rural, 732
in transportation, 677
TVA and, 854–855 (map)
Electric lights, 645
Electric power plant, financing of, 646
Electronic banking, 1071
Electronics, 893, 921, 948
Elementary schools, 586. *See also* Education; Public schools; Schools
Elevators, 650, 666, 676
Eliot, John, 97
Eliot, T. S., 835
Elites, 836, 919
anti-religious, 1029
Californios, 833
capitalist, 776
colonial, 123
economic, 675, 753, 947
immigrant cultures and, 703
industrial, 831
merchant, 411
Mexicans, 620
power of, 695, 711,784, 878
in seaport cities, 289–292
urban, 678–679, 699, 702
Elizabethan England, 51–55
English Reformation, 51–52
Hawkins, 52
Drake, 52
Ralegh, 53–55
expansion of, 55
Roanoke, 53–55
war with Spain, 53–55
Gilbert, 52–53
Ireland, 52–53
America, 52–53
Elizabeth I, 51–52
Ellington, Duke, 972
Ellis Island, 687
Ellsberg, Daniel, 1017
Elmer Gantry (Lewis), 835
Elmina (fortress), 12
El Salvador
in colonial times, 759 (map)
refugees from, 1083
U.S. presence in, 760 (map)
Ely, Ezra Styles, 349, 397, 568 (map)
Ely, Richard, progressivism, socialism, and, 713
E-mail, 1066
Emancipation, 542–544, 546–547. *See also* African Americans; Slaves and slavery
compensated, 542
first, after Revolution, 232–233
gradual, 233
in low country, 317
in North, 542–544,
proclamation, 546–547, 562
reasons for, 546–547
Emancipation Proclamation, 546–547, 562
Emancipation Proclamation (Carpenter), 547
Embargo
of arms before Second World War, 878
of cotton in Civil War, 525
of 1807, 290
against Japan, 883
by Jefferson, 273–274
of oil, 1012
against Vietnam, 1101
by War Hawks, 274–275
Embargo Act (1810), 272
Embassies, terrorist bombings of, 1102
Emergency Banking Act (EBA, 1933), 848, 849
Emergency Economic Stabilization Act (2008), 1111
Emergency Farm Mortgage Act (1933), 849
Emergency Fleet Corporation, 778
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, 861
Emerson, Gloria, 993
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 374, 360, 469
on Brown, John, 501
Emigration, 683, 684. *See also* Immigrants and immigration
of blacks from New South, 498
of blacks to Liberia, 465
exodusters and, 633
Mayan, 24
Empires. *See also* British Empire; Spanish Empire; specific empires
American, 110 (map)
Aztec, 16–17, 25–26
warring (1689–1716), 119–122
Employment, 486, 644, 895. *See also* Unemployment
for African Americans, 895
discrimination and, 370, 895, 931, 968
federal government and, 897, 926, 927
gender issues, 898
seasonal, 290, 490
of soldiers, 182, 561
of women, 307, 703, 708, 808, 965, 966–967
Employment Act (1946), 927–928
Encomendero, 35
Encomienda, 35
Endangered species, Reagan and, 1033
Endangered Species Act (1973), 1010
End Poverty in California (EPIC), 859
Enemy aliens, 259
Energy. *See also* specific types
crisis, 1025
green, 1107
initiatives, 1025
Reagan and, 1032–1033
renewable sources of, 1025, 1042
Energy Department, 1033
Enfranchise, 580
Enfranchisement. *See* Voting
Engineering
profession, 650, 959
of urban water systems, 295, 677
Engines, gasoline, 645
England (Britain). *See also* British Empire; First World War; French and Indian War; Revolutionary War; Royal Navy
Act of Union (1707) and, 111
Alabama Claims and, 594
American system of manufactures and, 487–488
Civil War diplomacy and, 524–526
in First World War, 768, 790
Glorious Revolution in, 107–114
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with, 760
imperialism of, 111–112
Indian policy of, 169–171
King George's War and, 150–151
lend-lease assistance to, 882
mercantilism and, 92–93
Napoleonic Wars and, 270–272
Open Door policy and, 756
Oregon boundary dispute and, 443 (map)
Popish Plot in, 104
Seven Years' War and, 122, 159–165
sugar industry and, 172
Trent Affair and, 526
War of Jenkins's Ear and, 149
Wells' anti-lynching campaign and, 727
English language, proficiency in Los Angeles, 845
Enlightenment
in colonies, 135–136
failure in Georgia, 137–138
Enron, 1109
Entail, 117
Entertainment, 1072–1074. *See also* Commercial culture; specific types
Christian, 1084
industry, anticommunism and, 921–923
mass, 629
sports and, 1072–1074
Entrepreneurs
black, 367, 1009

ethnic, 690, 1009
in Sunbelt, 1060
Enumerated commodities, 95
Enumerated powers, 218
Environment, 1098
BP rig explosion and, 1114
government control over, 1010–1011, 1025
international issues in, 1101–1102
laws protecting, 1009, 1010–1011, 1055
mining and, 616
New Right and, 1028, 1055
In 1960s, 1009–1010
Nixon and, 1009–1010
Reagan and, 1021, 1033
Roosevelt, T., and, 731–732
Environmental Defense Fund, 1009
Environmental impact statements, 1010, 1055
Environmentalism, 996
Nixon and, 1009–1010
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 1009–1010
EPA. *See* Environmental Protection Agency
Epidemics. *See also* Diseases
cholera in California gold rush, 457
in cities, 132
diphtheria, 132
flu (1919), 777
Episcopalians, 232, 349, 350
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), 983
Equality. *See also* Equal rights; Race and racism; specific groups
political stalemate and, 637–640
racial, 717, 728, 797, 798, 831, 869, 869, , 901
sexual and gender, 699
social networking and, 1114–1115
of women, 865, 1074
Equal Pay Act (1963), 968
Equal rights. *See also* Equality
citizenship and, 370–372
for freedpeople, 371–372
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
in 1960s, 1011
in Second World War, 899
Era of Good Feelings, 383, 395
Erie Canal, 295
Erikson, Leif, 6
Erik the Red, 6
Ervin, Sam, 1018–1019
Escalation, of Vietnam War, 988–993
Eskimos. *See* Inuits
Espionage, Sabotage, and Sedition Acts (1917 and 1918), 785
ESPN, 1073
Essex Decision (1805), 270
Established church, decline of, 348–349
Estates, colonial, 187 (map)
Estate taxes, 814
Estonia, 788, 789 (map), 822, 879, 904, 1081
Ethics, of technology, 1066
Ethiopia, 368, 878, 1037
Ethnic cleansing
of Acadians, 157
in Kosovo, 1100
by Serbs, 1043
Ethnic groups and ethnicity. *See also* Immigrants and immigration; Race and racism; specific groups
African Americans and, 692–694, 869
American Indians, 870–872
alcohol and, 427
Columbian Exposition and, 680–681
Democratic presidential voting in Chicago by, 827
Eastern European, 868–869
European American, 825–827
in First World War, 774, 780–781, 783, 785–787
institutions and, 689
Mexican Americans and, 870, 871
middle class groups and, 634–635, 689–690
nativism, immigrants, and, 473–478
organized crime, 690–692
Spanish-speaking Americans, 973–974
in sports, 1072–1073
Ethnic riots, 476, 492
Eucharist, 30
Eugenics, 823
Eurasia, diseases in, 5
European Americans, ethnic groups among, 739
Europe and Europeans. *See also* First World War; specific countries
1948 uprisings in, 476
after First World War, 789 (map)
in First World War, 770 (map)
immigrants from, 683–685
imperialism of, 111–112
morality of conquest of Americas, 39–40
Second World War in, 879
European Recovery Program. *See* Marshall Plan
Evangelicals and evangelicalism. *See also* Great Awakening
in Bible Belt, 361–362
gender, power and, 362
in Great Awakening, 138–140
New Right support by, 1029
northern middle class and, 344–348
slavery and, 365–366
in South, 362
temperance and, 426–427
Evans, Hiram, 820
Evanston, Illinois, 677, 730
Evolution
Neolithic, 5
Scopes Trial and, 824–825
Ewell, Richard, 556
Excess profits tax, in First World War, 781
Exchange. *See* Money; Trade
"Exchanges," insurance, 1113
Excise tax, 250
Exclusion crisis, 104
Executive branch. *See also* Presidency; specific presidents
enlargement of, 741
powers of, 625
Executive clemency, 905
Executive Orders, 926, 931
9066, 901
9835, 911
9981, 931
banning discrimination in federally, 976
employment practices, 895
government structure and, 926
Executive privilege, Nixon and, 1019
Exodus movement, 633
Exodusters, 633
Expansion and expansionism, 85–123. *See also* Exploration; Manifest Destiny; Westward movement
vs. Anglicization, 124–128
California, 443–444
China and, 6–7, 878–879
Dutch, 47
Germany, 772
Of Islam, 8 (map), 9
Japanese, 877, 878–879
Nazi, 793 , 877–878, 879
New Mexico, 443–444
Soviet, 908, 909
by United States, 440
westward, 234–235, 442–443
Expenditures. *See* Spending
Exploration. *See also* Space exploration; specific explorers
by China, 2
by Columbus, 14–16
European, 17
in Mediterranean region, 11 (map)
by Norsemen, 2
by Portugal, 9–10, 13
by Spain, 14, 16–17, 34 (map)
Exports, 51, 92, 133, 270, 273, 319, 640, 1012
of Americas, 131, 238, 275, 298, 744
to Asia, 882
colonial, 134, 196

Exports *(continued)*
in 1875 and 1915, 745 (map)
from England to colonies, 96, 184
First Navigation Act and, 94
growth in, 298, 487
in international markets, 772
to Japan, 882
Market Revolution and, 338–341, 400–407
from South, 488
in U.S., 745 (map)
Exposition and Protest (Calhoun), 395
Expressways. *See* Roads and highways
External taxes, 173, 176, 178, 179
Exurbs, 1063

F

Facebook, 1093, 1114–1115
Factions, 122, 261. *See also* Political parties; specific factions
colonial, 144, 145, 243
minorities and, 507
Factories, 307, 311, 312, 377
growth of, 12
scientific management in, 722–724
woman in, 553
worker autonomy in, 658
Factory Investigating Committee (New York), 722
Factory law, in Illinois, 708
Factory towns, 306–310
Rhode Island system of, 306–307
Waltham system and, 307–310
Fair Deal, 928–930
Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC, 1942), 895, 896
Fairfax, Thomas (sixth Baron), 187
Fair Housing Act, 1001. *See also* Civil Rights Act
Fairness Doctrine, of FCC, 1055
"Faith-based" social programs, 1029
Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God, A (Edwards), 139
Fall, Albert, 812
Fallen Timbers, Battle of, 254–255 (map), 256 (map), 275
Fall line, defined, 55
Fallout shelters, 958
Falmouth, Maine, burning of, 201
Falwell, Jerry, 1029–1030, 1082, 1090
Families, 87–88, 312. *See also* Marriage; Patriarchy
AFDC and, 1008, 1033, 1046, 1088
in Chesapeake region, 62–63
colonial, 118, 127–128, 165, 212
farm, 89, 131, 285, 288, 299, 330
Great Society and, 986, 987, 993, 1008–1009
homesteading on Great Plains, 611–612
immigrant, 419–420
Indian, 17
middle-class, 353–356
primogeniture and 118
in the North, 353–356
Puritan, 68
Quaker, 78–80
sharecropping and, 585, 632
sizes of, 87
slave, 331–333
in South, 325–326, 363, 373
TV images of, 705, 1075, 1076
white South, 361–366
yeoman, 326–328, 496
Family Assistance Plan (FAP), 1008–1009
Family leave plan, 1087
Family planning, 966
Family Support Act (1988), 1033
Family system. *See* Rhode Island system
Family values
neoconservatives on, 1029
election and, 1043
Reagan and, 1030
women and, 1011
Famine, in Somalia, 1043
Fanning, Edmund, 190
FAP. *See* Family Assistance Plan
Farewell address
of Eisenhower, 947
of Jackson, 407
of Washington, 255–257
Farewell to Arms, A (Hemingway), 836
Farley, Jim, 864
Farm Credit Act (1933), 849
Farmer-labor parties, in 1920s, 802, 817, 859
Farmer-Labor Party (Minnesota), 859
Farmers' Alliance, 667–668. *See also* People's Party (Populists)
Farmer's Almanac, 306
Farmers' movements, 665–669
alliance movement, 667–668
free silver movement, 667–668
Grange, 668–669
Greenback Party, 667–668
resistance to railroads, 666–667
Farms and farming. *See also* Agriculture; Rural areas; Yeomen
in backcountry, 292
bracero program and, 895
in Chesapeake region, 94, 131
crop lien system and, 632–633, 668
cultural dislocation in, 818–819
European, 7
family life and, 303–306
free silver movement and, 667–668
in Great Depression, 850–852, 856
Greenback Party and, 667–668
Indian lands and, 98
land riots and, 187
land tenancy and, 289
in 1920s, 816–819
in North, 302–303
in Northeast, 299–301
parity system and, 951
in postcolonial North, 285–286
price supports for, 892–893
railroads and, 666
sharecropping and, 585, 632
slave clearing of land and, 322, 333
Soil Bank Program and, 951
in South, 302, 318–326
in Southeast, 315–318
subsidies to, 852, 875
surplus and, 423, 525, 818
tenancy and, 186, 289, 316, 692, 850–852, 864
transporting products and, 294, 1068
UFW and, 1045, 1051
in western New York, 299, 302
yeomen and, 326–330
Farm Security Administration (FSA), 893
Farm workers, Mexican, 967, 1051
Farragut, David G., 530, 532
Farrakhan, Louis, 1080
Farrell, James T., 844
Far West. *See* West
Fascism, 859
in Italy, 878
in Nazi Germany, 859, 901
in Spain, 878
Fathers. *See also* Families; Patriarchal authority
family roles of, 289, 357, 365, 966
inheritance and, 289
"Fat Man" (bomb), 892
Faulkner, William, 836
FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCC. *See* Federal Communications Commission
FDIC. *See* Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
Fears. *See* Red Scare; Subversion
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
harassment of activists by, 1007
King monitored by, 975
Mexican American activism and, 974
Reagan as informer for, 1039
surveillance of artists and intellectuals by, 922
Federal commissioners, Fugitive Slave Law (1850) and, 462

Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 955, 1055, 1079
Fairness Doctrine of 1949, 1055
television family programming and, 1079
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 848, 849
Federal elections law, 638
Federal Emergency Relief Act (1933), 849
Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), 849
Federal government. *See* Government (U.S.)
Federal Housing Administration (FHA), 930
Federalism, 111–112
in British Empire, 111–112
Federalist Papers, The, 243
No 10, 243
Federalists, 245, 247, 252–253, 259. *See also* Elections
election of 1788 and, 243
election of 1796 and, 257
High Federalists, 260
Jefferson and, 252, 263, 264, 273
ratification and, 242–243
War Hawks and, 274–275
War of 1812 and, 246, 281
Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). *See* West Germany
Federal Reserve Act (1913), 738–739
Federal Reserve Board (FRB), 739. *See also* specific individuals
in Great Depression, 840
Greenspan and, 1072, 1088, 1108, 1110
Federal Reserve System, 840, 1110
banknotes and, 524
districts of, 738–739
financial sector and, 738–739, 1072
Federal slave code, for territories, 498, 503
Federal Trade Commission (FTC), 739
Coolidge and, 814
Federal Trade Commission Act, 739, 814
FedEx, 1068
Feed lots, 1098
Felons. *See* Crime and criminals
Female Moral Reform Society, 435–436
"Feminine mystique," Friedan on, 967
Feminine Mystique, The (Friedan), 967
Femininity, in Second World War, 899
Feminism, 697–700. *See also* Women; Women's rights
in antebellum period, 695–696
in film, 698
of Fuller, 348
movements and, 697–700
New Right and, 1029
radical, 436, 1036
on Spanish-American War, 746
Feminization
of domestic life, 346
of poverty, 1046
of teaching profession, 488
Femmes fatales, 937, 966
Fences, in South, 329–330
FEPC. *See* Fair Employment Practices Commission
FERA. *See* Federal Emergency Relief Administration
Ferdinand of Aragon, Isabella of Castile and, 14
Ferguson, Patrick, 226
Ferraro, Geraldine, 1034
Ferris Wheel, 681
Feudal revival, in colonies, 186–189
FHA. *See* Federal Housing Administration
Fiat money, 133
Fiction. *See also* Literature; Novels
tough-guy, 899
yellow-back, 360
Field, James G., 669
Fifteen-Gallon Law (Massachusetts), 425
Fifteenth Amendment, 590
"Fifty-four forty or fight!," 449
2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 521
File on Thelma Jordan, The (movie), 937
Filibuster, 466–469
against Civil Rights Act (1964), 984, 985
of 1850 and, 466–467
in House, Compromise of 1877, 606
Filibustering expeditions, 468–469
into Cuba, 468–469
in Nicaragua, 468–469
Filipino Americans, 683, 778
Filipinos, 752, 753–754. *See also* Philippines
Fillmore, Millard
Compromise of 1850 and, 460
election of 1856 and, 482, 483 (map)
fugitive slaves and, 461, 463
Film noirs, 936, 937, 966
Films. *See* Movies and movie industry
Finance(s). *See* Banking; Panics; Taxation
Financial institutions
computers and, 1070
deregulation of, 1033
Federal Reserve and, 738–739
lending practices of, 1070–1072
"subprime loan" industry and, 1033, 1109–1110
Financial markets, Panic of 1857 and, 492–493
Financial system, 738, 848, 1072, 1101, 111–1111
deregulation of, 1033, 1071
derivatives and, 1071, 1108
regulation of, 1070–1072
Financing
of Civil War, 523–524
of health care, 1087
of hospitals, 853, 929
of housing, 849, 935, 1110
of railroads, 613
Fink, Mike, 293, 294
Finland, 683, 788, 789 (map)
Finney, Charles Grandison, abolitionism and, 433–434
alcohol and, 424
Firearms, 8, 1001, 1099. *See also* Arms and armaments; Weapons
mass production and, 487
Firebombings, in Second World War, 890
Fire-eater (Southern-rights radical), 507
Fireside chats, 847, 848
Firing Line (television program), 1028
First Amendment, 259, 1079
freedom of the press and, 248, 343
free speech, 248, 824
HUAC and, 921
political expression vs. illegal activity and, 924
Religious Right on, 1029
Scopes Trial and, 824–825
on separation of church and state, 349
First Annual Report (Magdalen Society), 435
First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), 528–530, 537 (map)
First Congress, 248
First Continental Congress, 196–197
First Frame of Government, of Penn, 82
First Lady. *See* specific individuals 94
First Navigation Act (1650), 94
First New Deal (1933–1935), 847–856. *See also* New Deal
First World War
armed forces in, 780–781
armistice in, (map), 777
casualties in, 771
Europe after, 789 (map)
failure of peace after, 787–793
immigrants during, 779, 780–781, 784–785, 787
Mexico and, 775
mobilization for, 777–787

First World War *(continued)*
movie about, 794–795
neutrality of U.S. in, 772–776, 878
peace movement in, 774
postwar period and, 793–799
repression during, 784–787
Russian exit from, 776
societal impact of, 793–799
trusteeships after, 788
U-boats in, 772–773
western front in, 770 (map), 771, 777
workers during, 779–780
FISA. *See* Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
Fish, Hamilton, 594
Fisher, Fort, Battle of, 573
Fisher's Hill, battle at, 571
Fishing and fishing industry, 3, 5, 17, 53, 65, 87
Canada, 594
rights and, 331, 387–388, 1050
unemployment and, 865
Washington Treaty and, 594
Fission, atomic, 891
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 800
Fitzgerald, John Francis ("Honey Fitz"), 691, 960
Fitzhugh, George, 490, 495
Fitzhugh, William, 65
Fitzroy, Augustus Henry. *See* Grafton, duke of
Five civilized tribes. *See* Iroquois Five Nations
Five "civilized tribes," alliance with Confederacy, 517
Five-dollar-per-day wage, by Ford, Henry, 724
Five Forks, battle at, 573
Five Nations. *See* Iroquois Five Nations
Five Points of New York, 354–355
Five-Power Treaty (1922), 815
FiveThirtyEight.com, 1111
Flappers, 804–805
Flatboats, 228, 294
Fleischmann, Doris, 804
Flemish, in Dutch colonies, 50, 51
Flesch, Rudolf, 959
Flexible response policy, 961, 962, 964
Floating dollar, 1012
Florida, 1059–1060
British in, 165, 213
Cuban Americans in, 751 (map), 1036, 1062
election of 1876 and, 605 (map)
election of 2000 and, 1094 (map), 1095
Franciscans in, 34, 121
Hispanics in, 1050
Indians in, 33, 34, 53
Jackson and, 386, 388
missions in, 34, 35 (map), 114, 115, 121 (map)
secession of, 266
slavers in, 121–122
Spain and, 16, 33, 35, 114, 137, 148–152, 153 (map)
U.S. acquisition of, 385
Florida (commerce raider), 526
Flour. *See* Wheat
Flu epidemic in 1919, 777
Flush toilets, 677
Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, 700
Folk magic, of slaves, 334
Folk-rock movement, Sixties and, 996
Folkways, migration of southern, 3, 132, 302
Food(s)
in Americas, 313, 317, 382, 778–779, 802, 817
in Confederacy, 523
genetically modified, 1066–1067
green revolution and, 1098
healthy, 654, 1098
rations from Freedmen's Bureau, 584–585
regulation of, 731, 733, 778–779
as a weapon, 899
Food Administration, 778–779
Hoover and, 842
Food industry, 779, 1098
"Food Is a Weapon" poster, 899
Food stamps, 1033
Football, 654, 932, 1022, 1072, 1073
Foote (Civil War commander), 531 (map)
Foraker Act (1900), 755
Forbes, Charles R., 813
Forbes, John, 160, 162
Force Bill (1833), 396–397
Ford, Betty, 1030
Ford, Gerald R., 1022
economy and, 1023–1024
foreign policy of, 1026, 1027
as president, 1026
as vice president, 1022
Ford, Henry, 649–650, 723, 803
African Americans and, 830
Taylorism and, 723–724
Ford, John, 867, 897
Ford Motor Company
automobiles of, 723–724
workers at, 723–724
Ford's Theatre, Lincoln's assassination at, 575
Foreign Affairs (journal), 910
Foreign-born Americans. *See* Immigrants and immigration
Foreign debt, 239, 249, 1032
Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA, 1978), 1106
Foreign investment, 744, 765, 815, 1036
Foreign Miners' Tax (California, 1850), 613, 620
Foreign policy, 1013–1017. *See also* Containment; Imperialism; specific countries and presidents
anticommunist, 905, 911
of Bush, George H. W., 1043, 1102–1103, 1107, 1116
of Bush, George, 1102–1104
of Carter, 1026–1028
of Clinton, 1100–1101, 1116
after Cold War, 1042–1043
Confederate, 525
containment in, 937
vs. democratic ideals, 753, 767
détente, 1013
divisions over, 1107
after 1898, 767
Eisenhower and, 941–942
Grant and, 594
Great Fear and, 923–925
of Hoover, 815, 815
Jingoism, 746
Of Johnson, 984, 988
of Kennedy, John F., 961, 962
of Lodge, 791
national security and, 923–924, 1106–1107
neoconservatives on, 1103–1104
neutrality as, 772–776, 878
of Nixon, 1008, 1013, 1013–1014, 1016–1017
Open Door in, 756–757, 815
presidential power and, 1106–1107
of Reagan, 1036
during Reconstruction, 594
religious divisions over, 1083
Roosevelt, T., and, 757, 758, 763
after September 11, 1102–1107
of Taft, 764, 938
tariffs and, 396, 841
of Truman, 915, 931
unilateralism as, 1103–1105
Union, 525
Unilateralists, 1116
Vietnam syndrome and, 1016
of Wilson, 764–765, 790
Foreign relations, 791
in New Deal, 993
after Revolution, 239–240, 524–528
Foreign trade. *See* Trade
Forests
destruction of, 301, 305, 641, 991, 1098, 1102
protection of, 732, 734, 1101
slave clearing of, 333
Formosa (Taiwan), 891 (map)
Forrest, Edwin, 358, 360
Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 534, 569, 592
Fort(s). *See* specific forts

Fortas, Abe, 1010
Fort Donelson, 530–532
Forten, James, 430
Fortune magazine, American affluence, 948
Fort Wilson riot, 228
"40 acres and a mule," 585
Fossil fuels. *See also* Energy
  energy from, 1025
  Reagan and, 1032–1033
  U.S. reliance on, 1025
Founding Fathers472–473, 498, 508. *See also* Constitution (U.S.); Government (U.S.); specific individuals
  religion of, 348
"Four Freedoms" (Rockwell), 898
442nd Regimental Combat Team, 903
"Four-Minute Men," 782
Fourteen Points, 777, 792
Fourteenth Amendment, 587, 590, 591
  segregation and, 604, 931–932
Fourth Frame of Government, in Pennsylvania, 83
Fox, George, 78
Fox Indians, 116 (map), 207–208
Fox News Channel (FNS), 1076, 1091, 1094
Fox TV, 1076
France, 153 (map). *See also* French and Indian War; French Revolution; New France; Second World War; West Indies
  Americans and, 252–253, 257–259
  challenges to, 147
  Confederate foreign policy and, 525–526
  Dominican Republic and, 268
  Dutch and, 50
  England and, 150–152
  in First World War, 768, 769–771, 776–777, 788–789
  fur trade and, 44, 46, 96
  Huguenots in, 44
  Indochina and, 882, 919
  King George's War and, 150–151
  Louisiana and, 117, 148 (map)
  occupation of Ruhr by, 815
  Open Door policy and, 756
  privateers from, 760–761
  Seven Years' War and, 122, 159–160
  Suez Crisis and, 945
  trade with, 133, 160, 238, 270, 273
  treaties with (1778), 252
  troubles with, 257–259
  Vichy regime in, 879, 880 (map)
  Wars of Religion in, 44
Franchise (vote), 372. *See also* Disfranchisement; Voting
Franchise businesses, 1067
Francis I (France), 44
Franciscans, 35–36
Franco, Francisco (Spain), 787, 879
Frank, Jerome, 850
Frankfurter, Felix, 837
Franklin, Battle of, 572
Franklin, Benjamin
  Albany Congress and, 155–156
  Autobiography of, 118
  Enlightenment and, 135
  in France, 211
  on internal improvements, 378
  Paxton Boys and, 170
  on Pennsylvania estates, 187
  Pennsylvania Gazette and, 135
  union and, 155
Franklin, state of, 235
Franklin, James, 135
Franklin, William, 202
Franz Ferdinand (Austria), 769
Fraternal societies
  immigrant, ethnic, 477, 689
  Klan as, 821
Fredericksburg, siege of, 547–549, 554–555 (map), 565
Free blacks, 366–368
  in Mose, 148–149, 150 (map)
  in North, 366–368
  in Pennsylvania, 233
  in social hierarchy, 367–368, 584–585
Freedmen's Bureau, 584–585
  education for freedpeople and, 585–586
Freedom(s). *See also* Liberty(ies); Religious toleration; Rights
  in Bill of Rights, 248
  of press, 343
  for slaves, 362
  of speech, 725, 898
  of worship, 898
Freedom Budget, 1000, 1048
Freedom Democratic Party (FDP), 967, 983
Freedom riders, 976
Freedom Singers, 967–968
Freedom Summer, 983, 994
Freedpeople
  education for, 585–586
  free-labor contracts and, 494, 584–584
  land for, 585
  in Reconstruction South, 583–586
  sharecropping and, 585, 632
  symbolism of, 972, 1000, 1001
"Free grace" doctrines, 351
Freehold requirement, 372
Free labor, vs. slavery, 490
Free-labor capitalism, institutions and ideology of, 494, 576
Free-labor contracts, 584
Free-labor ideology, 494
  slavery vs., 494
Free love, in Greenwich Village, 697, 700
Freeman, Elizabeth (Bett), 233
Free market(s)
  anti-government activists on, 1055–1056
  Friedman on, 958
  Reagan and, 1036
Freemasons, 141
Freemen, in Pennsylvania, 216
Freeport Doctrine, 498–499
Free silver movement, 667–668
Free Society of Traders, Quakers and, 83
Free-Soilers, 456, 474, 476, 498
  in Kansas Territory, 473, 478
Free Soil Party, 456
Free Speech, 634
Free State party, in Kansas Territory, 479
Free-staters, in Kansas Territory, 479
Free states
  line dividing from slave states, 443 (map)
  vs. slave states, 443 (map)
  three-fifths clause and, 281
Free trade. *See also* North American Free
  Trade Agreement Clinton and, 1043, 1101
  after First World War, 788, 790
Freewill Baptists, 351
Freight, railroads and, 666–667
Frelinghuysen, Theodorus Jacobus, 138
Frémont, John C., 450–451
  election of and, 481–482
French and Indian War, 122, 154, 159 (map)
  British offensives in, 147, 153, 158–160
French Empire. *See* Canada; Colonies and colonization; France; New France
French Canadians, 687, 826
French Indochina, Japan and, 882, 891 (map)
French Revolution, 220, 252–253
Friant-Kern Canal, 857
Frick, Henry Clay, 663, 672
Friedan, Betty, 954, 967
Friedman, Milton, 957, 985, 1028, 1055
Friends. *See* Quakers
Fries, Jacob, 261
Frontenac, Fort, 147, 158, 162
Frontier. *See also* Backcountry
  disappearance of, 745
  Indians along, 98–99
  lifestyle along, 293

Frontier *(continued)*
permanent Indian, 442
use of term, 293
war along (1777–1782), 222 (map)
Frontier thesis, of Turner, 744
Front-porch campaign, of McKinley, 671
Frost, Robert, 962
FTC. *See* Federal Trade Commission
Fuchs, Klaus, 924
Fuel. *See also* Fossil fuels
wood as, 300–301
Fugitive Slave Law, 461
of 1850, 461–462
of 1857, 537
Fugitive slaves
Compromise of 1850 and, 461–462
Craft, William and Ellen, as, 462–463
Supreme Court on, 461
underground railroad and, 461–462
Fulbright, J. William, 993
Full Employment Bill, 927
Fuller, Margaret, 348
Fulton, Robert, 294
Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, 74–75
Fundamentalism
Islamic, 7–8
vs. liberal Protestantism, 824
Protestant, 824
Scopes Trial and, 824–825
Funded national debt, 113
Funding, military, 880, 994. *See also* Defense spending; Military spending
Fur trade, 44, 45, 46
Choctaws and, 276
Dutch, 50, 96
Indians and, 97
in New France, 115
Fusionism, 957
"Fusion" tickets, in election, 506, 509 (map)

G

Gabriel, slave blacksmith, 326
Gabriel's rebellion, 336–337
Gage, Margaret Kemble, 197
Gage, Thomas
events leading to Revolution and, 198–199
as governor of Massachusetts, 193
slaves and, 191
Gag rule, in Congress, 398–400
Gaither Report, 958
Galbraith, John Kenneth, 948, 952, 958–959
Gallatin, Albert, 362, 375
Galloway, Joseph, 196
Galveston
city commission plan in, 714
scientific management and, 722
Gambling, 368, 369, 692, 812
Indian casinos and, 1050
Gang labor, 130
Gangs. *See* Street gangs
Gangs of New York (movie), 354–355
Gangsterism, 692
Gardoqui, Diego de, 239
Garfield, James A., 638, 639
Garment industry, 808. *See also* Clothing
clothing industry immigrant labor in, 687, 689
strike in, 722
women in, 663
Garner, Margaret, 463, 465
Garrison, William Lloyd, 396, 431, 726
Garvey, Marcus, 798–799
"Gas and water socialists," 712
Gas attacks, in First World War, 771
Gasoline. *See* Oil and oil industry
Gaspée (ship), grounding of, 185
Gassed (Sargent), 771
Gates, Bill, 1066
Gates, Henry Lewis, Jr., 1049
Gates, Horatio, 160, 210, 226
Gates, Robert, 1106, 1112
Gates, Thomas, 56–57
GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
Gay, John, 113
Gay Activist Alliance (GAA), 1047
Gay marriage, 1083, 1098–1099
Gay rights, 1021, 1045, 1111
Gays and lesbians. *See also* Homosexuality
activism of, 1047–1048
LGBT movement and, 1047–1048
subcultures of, 923
Gay theology, 1083
GDP. *See* Gross domestic product
Geithner, Timothy, 1112
Gender and gender issues. *See also* Men; Women
changes in, 898–900
in Chesapeake region, 316
discrimination by, 432, 708, 810
drinking by, 710
evangelicalism and, 363
farm labor and, 285
Indian-European misunderstandings and, 31
in New Deal, 865
"New Woman" and, 656–657
politics of, 434–435, 965–966
in Second World War, 898–900
in sports, 1074
western settlement and, 623–624
woman suffrage and, 436–438, 718–720
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 904
General Assembly (UN), 904
General Court (Massachusetts), 67, 71, 99, 109, 195, 217
General Electric, 648, 948
General Motors (GM), 724, 803, 874, 951
sit-down strike against, 866
Generals, in Civil War, 521, 548, 572
General strikes, after Second World War, 921
"General welfare" clause, 378
Genêt, Edmond ("Citizen"), 253
Genetically modified foods, 1066
Genetic code, 1066
Geneva, Calvin in, 43
Geneva Medical College, women in, 657
Geneva meeting (1959), on cultural exchanges, 943
Geneva Peace Accords (1954), 946
Genoa, 14, 39
Genocide. *See* Ethnic cleansing; Holocaust
Genre paintings, 500
Gentlemen's agreement, with Japan, 763
Gentlemen Volunteer Light Dragoons, 190
Gentry, 46, 74, 113, 124, 361
Geopolitics
of Cold War, 916 (map)
of Roosevelt, T., 757–763
George III (England), 167, 176, 181–182, 197, 202, 203
Anglican Church and, 232
Olive Branch Petition to, 200
Parliament dissolved by, 181
Revolution and, 211, 220, 223, 230
George, Fort, 149, 162 (map)
Georgetown, 131
Georgia, 34, 73
failure of Enlightenment in, 137–138
government of, 144, 215
politics in, 145–146, 189–190
secession of, 510
slavery in, 137, 138, 140, 233, 318
Spanish invasion of, 150 (map)
"Georgia Traders," 320
Germain, George (Lord), 202, 208, 223
German Americans
alcohol and, 427
First World War and, 785
Haymarket bombing and, 662
Turnevereins of, 689
German Democratic Republic. *See* East Germany

Germantown, 170, 209 (map), 210, 784
Germany. *See also* East Germany; First World War; Nazi Germany; West Germany
First World War, 775–776
Lusitania and, 772–773
NATO and, 916 (map)
occupation zones in, 889 (map)
Open Door policy and, 756
reparations after First World War, 788, 790
reunification of, 1040
Ruhr and, 815
submarine warfare by, 772–773
as U.S. ally, 882
Venezuela and, 758
war guilt after First World War, 788
Gerry, Elbridge, 258
Gettysburg, Battle of, 556, 557 (map)
Gettysburg Address (Lincoln), 511–512
G'hals of New York (Buntline), 360
Ghent, Treaty of, 281–282
Ghettos, 706, 785
Ghost Dance, 629
Giannini, Amadeo, 690
Gibbons v. Ogden, 739
Gibbs, Jonathan, 596
GI Bill (1944), 928
GI Bill of Rights (1944), 928
Gibraltar, 213, 230, 231
Gibson, Josh, 830
Gilbert, Humphrey, 52–53, 1006–1007
Gilded Age, 593
literary indictment of, 593, 654
Twain and, 593, 652
Gilded Age, The (Twain and Warner), 593
Gillespie, Dizzy, 972
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 655
Gingrich, Newt, 985
Contract with America and, 1087
election of 1994 and, 1087
election of 1998 and, 1091
extramarital affair by, 1091
Ginsberg, Allen, 995–996
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 1086
Gipp, George, 1038–1039
Glaciers, 3
Glasnost, 1040
"Glass ceiling," 1046
Glass-Steagall Act (1932), 842
Glass-Steagall Banking Act (1933), 848, 849
Globalization, 1068–1069, 1072. *See also* International
Clinton and, 1101
western industrialization and, 1068
Global warming, 1107
Glorieta Pass, Battle of, 517
Glorious Revolution (England), 107–114
Glynn, Martin, 774
Gnadenhutten, Ohio, Moravian mission, Indians massacred at, 221–222
GNP. *See* Gross national product
Goa, 13
God(s). *See* Religion; specific religions
God and Man at Yale (Buckley), 957
"God Bless America" (song), 868
Godey's Lady's Book, 347
Godkin, E. L., 746
Gold
in California, 440, 456–458
discoveries of, 17, 18, 32
dual currency with greenbacks, 667
gold-to-dollar ratio, 1012
mining of, 615–616
paper money and, 134
vs. silver, 667–668
Gold bugs, 667
Golden cities, Spanish search for, 33
Golden spike, 614
Goldman, Emma, 697, 794
Goldman Sachs, 864, 1108, 1109, 1110
Gold Repeal Joint Resolution (1933), 849
Gold Rush, in California, 456–458
Gold standard, 667, 671, 872
Goldwater, Barry, 979
election of 1964 and, 984–985
Golf, 1073
Gompers, Samuel F., 662
Gomulka, Wladyslaw, 944
Gooch, William, 145
Goodman, Andrew, 983
Good Neighbor Policy 872–873
Mexican Americans and, 873
Goods and services, consumer goods and, 286, 339, 689, 927
Google, 1076, 1115
Gookin, Daniel, 99
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 1040
Gordon, George, 223, 556
Gordon, John B., 592
Gordon, Thomas, 113, 135
Gordon riots, 223
Gore, Albert, 1044, 1088
climate change and, 1107
election of 1996 and, 1089
electioin of 2000, 1093, 1094 (map, 1095
Goree, Jordan, 339
Gorton, Samuel, 72
"Gospel of Wealth," of Carnegie, 648, 672
Gouge, William, 382
Gould, Jay, 646, 647
Government. *See also* Constitution entries; Municipal government; specific countries and forms
Antebellum era, 414–416
of Carolinas, 89, 189, 243
of Dominion of New England, 106–107
Dutch, 50
limitation of power of, 113
of Massachusetts, 90, 98–99, 193–196
of New England, 70–71, 197
national, 245–252
of Pennsylvania, 81–82
religion and, 88, 110 (map)
of Virginia, 90
Whigs on role of, 414–416
Government (U.S.), 245–252. *See also* Continental Congress; Progressives and progressivism
activist, 958–960
Albany Congress and, 154–156
centralized, 249
civil service reform and, 593–594, 639–640
Continental Congress as, 194–197, 199–201
corporate support by, 863–864
debt of, 249, 250, 272, 417
Hoover and, 842–843
implied powers of, 379
interstate commerce and, 241, 379, 638, 666, 731, 983
Jefferson on, 251–252, 264
1972–1974, 1017–1020
New Right and, 1028–1030
pollution and, 1009–1010, 1024, 1102
power of, 981, 985, 986, 1056, 1057
roll of, debates on, 956–960
Governor(s), 108, 115, 148, 866, 968, 1022–1023, 1090, 1084. *See also* assemblies; specific governors
colonial, 144
of New York, 97, 100
of Massachusetts, 67, 145, 146
royal, 144
in Virginia, 101
Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, 148
Gradual emancipation, 233
South Carolina and, 75
Grady, Henry, 630
Graft (payments), 612, 691–692, 707
Grafton, duke of (Augustus Henry Fitzroy), 179, 185
Graham, Billy, 953, 1029, 1083
Grain. *See also* Wheat; specific grains
exports of, 745
Gramm, Phil, 1108
Granada, 14

Grand Coulee Dam, 853, 856, 836
Grandfather clauses, 636
  NAACP challenge to, 728
Grange, 668–669
Granger laws, 666
Granger, 617, 668–669
Grant, Ulysses S.
  administration of, 592–601
  civil service reform and, 593–594
  election of 1868 and, 591–592
  election of 1872 and, 600
  foreign policy and, 594
  Hamburg Massacre and, 604
  Ku Klux Klan and, 597, 600
  in Mexican War, 450
  Mississippi election of 1875 and, 602
  peace policy toward Indians of, 627–628
  reconstruction in the South, 594–595
Granville, Earl of (John Carteret), 189
Granville District, 188 (map), 189, 190, 239
Grapes of Wrath, The (Steinbeck), 867
Grassroots activism
  in civil rights movement, 930
  Great Society and, 983, 986, 987, 994
Grateful Dead, The, 996
Gray, Samuel, 183
Great American Desert, 445
Great Awakening, 138–143
Great Britain. *See* England (Britain); Scotland
Great Depression, 840–842. *See also* New Deal; American Indians
  Roosevelt, Franklin D. 845–847
  agricultural reforms in, 850–851
  causes of, 840–842
  First New Deal in, 847–856
  Mexicans in, 870
  Second World War and, 856, 875
  stock market crash and, 840
  victims of, 850
Great Dismal Swamp, slave escape and, 129
Great extinction, 3–4
Great Fear, communism and, 923–925
Great Gatsby, The (Fitzgerald), 835
Great Lakes region, 296
  Indians in, 222–223
  Middle Ground in, 115–116
  settlement of, 302
"Great Moderation, The," 1107
Great Northern Railroad, 664
Great Plains region
  Dust Bowl in, 851–852
Great Pyramid of the Sun, 25
Great Railroad Strike (1877), 644, 660–661
Great Salt Lake region, Mormons in, 445
Great Seal of the United States, 244
Great Serpent Mound, 26
Great Society, of Johnson, Lyndon B., 985–986
  evaluating, 986–988
Great Swamp Fight (1675), 98
Great War. *See* First World War
Great White Fleet, 763
Great White Hope, The (movie), 726–727
Greece, 7, 22, 28, 204, 905, 909
  U.S. aid to, 910
Greeley, Horace
  election of 1872 and, 600
  homestead law and, 611–612
  slavery and, 453, 546, 566
Greenbackers, 553, 659
Greenback-Labor Party, 660
Greenback Party, 667–668
Greenbacks, 523
  Civil War financing and, 523–524
  gold and, 667
Green Bay, 170
Green Berets, 964
Greene, Nathanael, 226
Green energy, 1107
Greenland, 3, 6
Green Mountain Boys, 235
Green Mountains, in Revolution, 210
Green revolution, 1066
Greenspan, Alan, 1072, 1088, 1108, 1110
Greensted, William, 64
Greenville, Treaty of, 254, 256 (map), 275
Greenwich Village
  feminists and labor leaders in, 697–698
  Stonewall Narrative and, 1047
Gregory, Thomas, 787
Grenada, 1037
Grenville, George, 169
  Sugar Act and, 172
Grey (Lord), 773
Gridley, Benjamin, 136
Grier, Robert, 484
Griffith, D. W., 598–599, 820
Grimke, Sarah, 436
Grisham, John, 1089–1090
Grocery chains, 802, 1098
Gross domestic product (GDP), 1070
Gross national product (GNP), 927–928
  after civil war, 643
  from to 1898–1917, 744
  from to 1922–1929, 802
  from 1940 to 1945, 893
  growth of 927–928
Ground Zero. *See* September 11th
Guadalcanal, 888
Guadalupe Hidalgo, treaty of, 454–455
Guam, 47, 161
Guanche people, 14
Guantanamo Bay
  detention center at, 1106, 1112
  U.S. Naval Station at, 755
Guatemala, 944, 1037
  CIA in, 944
  refugees from, 1062, 1083
Guerrilla warfare, 749, 753. *See also* Kansas Territory
  in Civil War (U.S.), 515, 516, 533, 600
  in Kansas, 492
  by Molly Maguires, 659
Guggenheim, Daniel and Simon, 673
Guilford Court House, battle at, 227 (map), 228
Guiteau, Charles, 639
Gulf of Mexico region, 24 (map), 24, 26, 33
  BP rig explosion in, 1114
  France and, 147
  Hurricane Katrina and, 1106
  Indians in, 4 (map)
  Louisiana Purchase and, 117
  Spain and, 34 (map), 35 (map), 117
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 988–990
Gulf War. *See* Persian Gulf War
Gullah language, 130
Gunboats, in Civil War, 530–532
Gun Crazy (movie), 939
Gunpowder, 6, 39, 100, 288
Gutenberg, Johannes, 8
Guthrie, Woody, 867–868
Guy Fawkes Day, 145, 175
Gypsies, Nazi death camps and, 881

H

Habeas corpus, writ of, 82, 462, 463
  Lincoln's suspension of, 544
  presidential power to suspend, 600
Habitants, 46
Haciendas (estates), 35
Hague, The
  environmental convention in, 1102
  international women's peace conference at, 774
Haight-Ashbury district (San Francisco), 995
Haiti, 268. *See also* Saint Domingue
  immigrants from, 577
  intervention in, 761 (map)
  slave revolt in, 336, 337, 431
  troops in, 764–765
Hakluyt, Richard (elder and younger), 54
Halas family (football), 1072
Halberstam, David, 992–993

Hale, Sarah Josepha, 347, 455
Half-Breeds, 639
Half-Way Covenant, 72
Halifax, 151
Hall, Bolling, 326
Hall, Theodore, 924
Halleck, Henry W., 532, 543
Hamburg, bombing of, 890
Hamburg Massacre, 604, 967, 983
Hamilton, Alexander, 250, 259
  on Bank of the United States, 250
  Burr duel with, 266
  economy under, 248–259
  election of 1796 and, 257
  election of 1800 and, 261–263
  Federalist Papers and, 243
  High Federalists and, 263
  vs. Jefferson, 251–252
  opposition to, 250–251
  at Philadelphia Convention, 240–241
  on religion, 348
Hamilton, Alice, 708
Hammond, James H., 341, 486, 489, 493, 496
Hampton, Fred, 1007
Hampton Institute, 628
Hampton Roads, naval battle at, 272, 528
Hancock, John
  Boston mansion of, 127
  seizure of sloop of, 180
Hancock, Winfield Scott, 638, 639
Handguns, restrictions on, 1087
Handicapped people. *See* Disabled people
Hanging Rock, battle at, 225, (227 map)
Hanna, Mark, 671
Hanoi, 989 (map), 990
Harding, Warren G., 812–813
Hard money, Jackson and, 239, 407, 408
Harlem, New York, 832
Harlem Renaissance, 832–833
Harmar, Josiah, 254, 256 (map)
Harpers Ferry, Virginia, Brown at, 499–501
Harper's New Monthly, 707
Harrington, James, 74–75
Harrington, Michael, 959
Harrison, Carter, Jr., 714
Harrison, William Henry, 254
  death of, 447
  election of 1840 and, 410 (map)
  in War, 277, 279
Harrodsburg, 222 (map), 235
Hartford, 68
Hartford Convention, 281
Harvard College, 72, 89
Hassam, Childe, 654
Hat Act (1732), 111
Hatteras Inlet, 530
Hauling the Whole Week's Picking (Brown), 323
Havana, Cuba
  British in, 121 (map)
  riots in, 748
Hawaii
  Pearl Harbor attack in, 882–884
  statehood for, 752
  U.S. involvement in, 746, 752
Hawkins, John, 52
Hawks, in Vietnam War, 274, 275, 993
Hawley, Ellis, 814
Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act (1930), 841
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 347, 348
Hay, John
  Open Door policy and, 756
Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, 761
Hayek, Friedrich von, 957
Hayes, Rutherford B., 604–606
Hay-Herran Treaty, 760
Haymarket bombing, 661–662
Hayne, Robert Y., 386
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 760
Haywood, William ("Big Bill"), 616, 700
Hayworth, Rita, 894, 937
Hazardous waste disposal, 1098
H-bomb. *See* Hydrogen bomb
Headright system, 59
Head Start Program (1965), 487–488, 986
Health
  in Chesapeake, 62
  environmental focus on, 1009, 1098
  in New England, 65
  public, 132, 678, 862, 897
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of (HEW), 956
Healthcare, 927, 1070, 1087
  ACT UP and, 1048
  Bush, 1044
  Clinton and, 1087, 1113
  in GDP, 1070
  Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 985
  in 1920s, 911
  Truman and, 930
Health insurance, 952, 1089, 1113
  national, 929
  private, 930
Hearst, George, 615
Hearst, William Randolph, 747, 748, 762
Hedge funds, 1071
Hefner, Hugh, 966
Heirs. *See* Inheritance
Hellman, Lillian, 922
Helper, Hinton Rowan, 485–496
Hemings, Sally, 317
Hemingway, Ernest, 922
  FBI and, 922
Hendrik (Mohawk chief), 151
Henrico (settlement), 57, 102
Henrietta Maria (England), 61
Henry IV (France), 44
Henry VII (England), 51
Henry VIII (England), 51, 74
Henry, Fort, battle at, 530–532
Henry, Judith, 536 (map)
Henry, Patrick, 174, 191
Henry Street Settlement, 722
Hepburn Act (1887), 731
Herberg, Will, 952, 1080
Heresy, Antinomian, 70, 72
Heritage Foundation, The, 1029, 1057
Heroism, democratization of, 409, 887
Hero Who Defended the Mothers Will Protect the Daughters, The, 242
Herran, Tomas, 760
Hessians, in Revolution, 202, 206, 207, 210
Heterodoxy, 697, 700
HEW. *See* Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of
Hicks, Elias, 353
Hicksite Quakers, 351
Hidalgos (nobles), 16
Hidatsa Indians, 269
Hidden Persuaders, The (Packard), 953
Hierarchy (social). *See also* Classes; specific groups
  of Federalists', 263
  gender, 357, 429, 436
  in the military, 1047
  of Mormans, 351
  races in, 652, 682
  Roman Catholic, 476, 1083
  social, 31, 190–191, 361, 429
Higford, James, 112
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 335, 432
High Church Laudians, 135
Higher education, 959, 1011. *See also* Universities and colleges; specific schools
  for African Americans, 585
  professional organizations and, 657
  urban life and, 1065
  for women, 655, 657, 710
"Higher Law" speech (Seward), 460, 504
High Federalists, 260
Highland Park Ford plant, 723, 724
High-tech industries, 958, 1060, 1069
Highway Act (1956), 949
Highways. *See* Roads and highways
Hill, Anita, 1047
Hill, A. P., 545 (map)

Hill, James J., 744
Hill, Wills. *See* Hillsborough, Earl of
Hill-Burton Act (1946), 930
Hillman, Sidney, 808, 866
Hillsborough, Earl of (Wills Hill), 179, 180
Himmelfarb, Gertrude, 1028
Hippies, 996
Hiring, discrimination in, 865, 895, 896, 971
Hiroshima, atomic bombing of, 892
Hispanics. *See* Latinos; Spanish speaking people; specific groups
Hispaniola, 15, 61, 34 (map)
Hiss, Alger, 922
Hiss-Chambers-Nixon affair, 922
History and historians
  on economic and environmental reforms of Theodore Roosevelt, 732–733
  frontier thesis and, 744
  on Great Society, 985, 987, 994
  on onset of Cold War, 908–909
  revisionists, 908
Hitler, Adolf, 877–878. *See also* Nazi Germany
  appeasement of, 879
  League and, 878
  in Rhineland, 878
  rise of, 878–879
  Spain and, 878
  suicide of, 886
HIV-AIDS, 1047–1048
Hmong people, 1053, 1062
Hobbs, Abigail, 109
Ho Chi Minh, 919, 946
Ho Chi Minh City, 1026
Ho Chi Minh Trail, 947 (map), 989, 991
Hoffman, Abbie, 1002, 1006
Hohokam culture, 28 (map)
Holcomb, George, 287
Holding Company Act (1935), 861, 863
Holiday Inn, 1067
Holland. *See* Dutch; Netherlands
Holly, Buddy, 954
Hollywood, 1076–1078. *See also* Movies and movie industry
"Hollywood Ten, The," 921–922
Holocaust, 885–886, 906. *See also* Hitler, Adolf; Nazi Germany
Holy Club, at Oxford University, 139
"Holy experiment," of Penn, 81
Holy Land, 8–9. *See also* Palestine
  Crusades in, 8–9
Homeland Security, Department of, 1103, 1106
Homelessness, 1063
Home Loan Bank Board, 843
Home loans, 1072
Home Owners Loan Act (1933), 849
Homeowners' Loan Corporation (1933), 850
Homestake Mine (Black Hills), 615
Homestead act(s), 611–612
  use of term, 611
Homesteading, in West, 611–612
Homestead Strike (1892), 663
Homophile movement, 923
Homosexuality. *See also* Gays and lesbians
  anticommunism and, 922, 923
  LGBT movement and, 1047–1048
  in postwar era, 923
Hone, Philip, 409
Honor, in South, 480
Hood, John Bell, 566
Hogarth, William, 141
Hooker, Joseph ("Fighting Joe"), 548
Hooker, Thomas, 68
Hoover, Herbert, 842–844
  associationalism of, 814–815
  election of 1928 and, 830 (map),
  election of 1932 and, 844 (map)
  in First World War, 778–779
  presidency of, 842–843
  as secretary of commerce, 842
Hoover, J. Edgar
  agent provocateurs and, 1007–1008
  Black Panthers and, 1001, 1007–1008
  detention of subversives and, 925
  illegal surveillance by, 955, 1001
  King and, 975
  on rock music, 955
  secret subversives file of, 922
Hoover Dam. *See* Boulder Dam
Hoover-Stimson Doctrine (1931), 877
Hopi Indians, 114–115
Hopkins, Harry, 850
Hopkins, Mark, 612
Horry, Elias, 338
Horse(s), 3, 4, 16
  in Americas, 40
Horseless carriages, 645
Horseshoe Bend, Battle of, 278 (map), 279
Hospitals
  in Civil War, 554
  federal financing of, 853, 861, 928, 929
Hostage crisis, in Iran, 1027, 1030
Hot-line, between Soviet Union and U.S., 963
House, Edward M., 773
"House Divided" speech (Lincoln), 497, 505, 537
Households
  British colonial, 117–118
  deficit in, 1070
  farm, 303–305
  middle-class, 948–049
  threats to autonomy of, 126–127
  women and, 127–128
House of Burgesses (Virginia), 59
House of Seven Gables, 347
Henry's resolves in, 174, 229
House of Representatives. *See also* Congress (U.S.); Speaker of the House
  impeachment by, 255, 265–266
  representation in, 174, 218, 240, 241
House of Seven Gables (Hawthorne), 347
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), 921–922
Housing, 934–935, 970, 971
  of American Indians, 728, 900, 1001
  "bubble" in 2000s, 1109–1110
  discrimination and, 930, 935, 973, 979
  federal funds for, 930, 974–975, 976
  lifestyle and, 948–949
  for the poor, 830, 976
  public, 928, 930, 934
  redlining in, 974–975
  residential segregation in, 693, 829
  restrictive covenants in, 931, 934
  Rumford Act and, 985
  rural, 861
  for slaves, 798
  soddies (sod houses) as, 622, 623
  suburbs and, 933–935
  urban renewal and, 930, 975, 1024
  of yeoman farmers, 330, 496
Housing Act (1949), 930, 975
Housing and Urban Development, Department of (HUD), 985, 1024
Housing projects, 928, 930, 934, 957
Houston, Sam, 447
Howard, Oliver O., 584
Howe, Richard (Viscount), 206
Howe, William, 199, 206, 210, 211
Howells, William Dean, 654, 727, 752
Howl (Ginsberg), 995
HUAC. *See* House Un-American Activities Committee
Hubbard, William, 99, 100
HUD. *See* Housing and Urban Development, Department of
Hudson, Henry, 48
Hudson River region
  canal to Lake Erie and, 295–296
  colonists in, 288
Huerta, Dolores, 1051
Huerta, Victoriano, 765
Hughes, Charles Evans, 722, 774, 812, 815
Hughes, John, 476

Hughes, Langston, 832
Hughson, John, 150
Huguenots, 44. *See also* Protestants and Protestantism
  in France, 44, 45, 137
  persecution of, 107
Hukbalahaps (Huks), in Philippines, 919
Hull, Charles J., 708
Hull, William, 277
Hull House, 708
"Human Be-In," 996
Human Genome Project, 1066
Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). *See* HIV-AIDS
Humanitarian aid, to Somalia, 1043, 1100
Human rights
  Carter and, 1027
  Milosevic trial and, 1100
  UN and, 904
Human sacrifice
  Aztec, 26, 30
  Christian and Indian reactions to, 29–30
  Mayan, 22
Humor, 593, 867, 868, 1075
Humphrey, George, 942
Humphrey, Hubert, election of 1968 and, 1005, 1005
Hundred Days (1933), legislation in, 848–849
Hungary
  in First World War, 769–770, 777, 789 (map)
  revolution in, 944
Hunger strikes, 720, 1051
Hunley, H. L. (submarine), 526
Hunter, Robert, 145, 688
Hunting
  in ancient Americas, 4–5
  of buffalo, 621, 627
Huntington, Collis P., 612
Huron Indians, conversion to Christianity, 45
Hurricane Katrina, 1106
Hurston, Zora Neale, 832
Husbands. *See* Families
Hussein (Jordan), 946
Hussein, Saddam
  al-Qaeda and, 1104
  Iraq after, 1105
  Iraq War and, 1036, 1042–1043, 1104
  Persian Gulf War and, 1042–1043
  weapons programs of, 1102, 1103, 1104
Hutchinson, Anne, 70
Hutchinson, Thomas
  Boston Tea Party and, 193
  Stamp Act protests and, 175
Hutson, William F., 365
Hydraulic mining, 615–616
Hydrogen bomb, 915
Hyperinflation, in Civil War, 549

I

I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang (movie), 845
Iberia, 14. *See also* Portugal; Spain
ICBMs. *See* Intercontinental ballistic missiles
ICC. *See* Interstate Commerce Commission
Ice Age, 3
  little ice age, 5, 6
Iceland
  Vikings in, 6
  woman suffrage in, 718
Identity politics, cultural movements and, 1049
Ideology. *See also* specific ideologies
  colonial government, 494
Igler, David, 618
"I Have a Dream" speech (King), 977
ILGWU. *See* International Ladies Garment Workers Union
Illegal immigrants. *See also* Undocumented immigrants
  from Asia, 687
  from Mexico, 870, 974
Illinois, 302–303, 504
  election of 1856 and, 504
  farming in, 665
Illiteracy
  of freedpeople, 596
  of southern blacks, 495, 586
IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
Immigrants and immigration, 682–688. *See also* Migration; specific countries and groups
  Alien and Sedition Acts and, 259–260
  American nationality and, 700–703
  Asian, 686, 687
  Austrian, 785
  in backcountry, 132
  to Canada, 687
  cartoons against,
  Catholic, 418, 420, 427
  in Chesapeake, 62
  Chinese, 611, 613–614, 685–687
  Chinese Exclusion Act and, 614
  to cities, 688
  Cuban, 1052
  Dillingham Commission and, 700
  disfranchisement of, 717
  drinking by, 427
  race, ethnicity and, 88–89
  European, 623, 683–685
  Filipinos, 683
  in First World War, 779–780, 784–787
  foreign-born Americans and, 1064 (map)
  German, 348, 419, 420, 427, 784, 823
  Homestead Act and, 611–612
  illegal, 687, 870, 974
  Irish, 295, 691
  Italian, 690
  Japanese, 683, 685–687
  Jewish, 683, 688, 689, 712
  labor, 687–688
  McCarran-Walter Act and, 922–923
  Mexican, 683, 823, 834, 870
  to mid-Atlantic region, 131–132
  national origins system of, 823, 986
  nativism and, 473–478
  "new" (20th century), 1061–1063
  political disagreement over, 476–477
  prohibition movement and, 710
  rate of return for, 338
  refugee policy and, 881
  religion and, 419–429
  restrictions in 1920s, 821–823
  schools and, 419–429
  Scottish or Scots-Irish, 189
  Sicilian, 692
  Slavic, 684
  sources of, 684
  Swedish, 623
  into Texas, 446–447
  undocumented, 974, 1063, 1083, 1098
  urban living conditions for, 688, 722
  to United States, 475
Immigration Act (1924), 821–823
Immigration and Nationality Act (1965), 986. *See also* McCarran-Walter Act
Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986), 1063
Immigration Restriction Act
  of 1917, 785
  of 1924, 821–823
Immunities, to diseases, 5, 7
Impeachment
  of Chase, 265–266
  of Clinton, 1091–1092
  Jay's Treaty and, 255
  of Johnson, Andrew, 589–592
  of Nixon, 1019–1020
  of Pickering, 265–266
Impending Crisis of the South, The (Helper), 495
Imperialism, 111–112, 745–746
  crisis, 192–198
Imperial Valley, water for, 856, 857 (map)
Imperial wars, 119, 120 (map), 146–153. *See also* Empires; specific empires

Implied powers, of federal government, 379
Importation, 38, 59, 138
Imports. *See also* Nonimportation; Tariff(s)
  duties on, 640
Impost, under Articles of Confederation, 229
Impressment, 151, 255
Inauguration
  of Bush, George W., 1097
  of Clinton, 1086
  of Jackson, 391
  of Jefferson, 263
  of Kennedy, John F., 962
  of Lincoln (first), 507
Inca Empire, 21 (map), 20
Incandescent bulb, 645
Inchon, 917, 918 (map)
Income. *See also* Wages
  of college graduates, 1032
  FAP and, 1008–1009
  farm, 817, 950
  during Great Depression, 841
  income tax, 738
  first tax (1861), 523
  progressive, 738
  in late 20th century, 1089
Indentured servants
  migration to Americas, 63
  in Virginia, 59–60
Independence. *See also* Revolutionary War
  Barbados and, 94
  for Cuba, 748, 754
  in Eastern Europe, 1039–1040
  for Philippines, 752, 754
Independent films, 1076, 1077
Independent Treasury Bill, 409
Indexing, of Social Security, 1009, 1034
India
  Mogul empire in, 7–8 (map)
  Portugal and, 11, 13
  Indian, 29–30. *See also* American Indians; Indian policy
Indiana
  electoral balance and, 638
  statehood for, 293
Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 872
Indian Bill of Rights, 1050
Indian boarding schools, 628–629
Indian Ocean, 13, 47
Indian policy. *See also* American Indians
  of concentration, 751 (map)
  one big reservation policy, 442
  peace policy, 627–628
  reservations for, 626 (map)
  southwestern whites and, 393–394
  Termination and Relocation, 972–973
Indian Removal Act (1830), 394
Indian Reorganization Act (IRA, 1934), 872
Indian Territory, 254, 442, 470
  cattle drives in, 617
  in Civil War, 169
  five civilized tribes in, 393–394
  land opened to white settlement in, 628
  reconstruction of, 625
  southwest, 516–517
Indian wars, in Jamestown area, 57
Indigenous peoples. *See* American Indians; Native peoples
Indigo, 131, 138
Indochina, 989 (map), 1012, 1014, 1016, 1026. *See also* Cambodia; Laos; Vietnam
  destabilization of, 946
  France and, 882, 946
  Immigrants from, 785
  Nixon and, 1016
  Truman and, 919
Indonesia, 7, 8 (map). *See also* Dutch East Indies
  CIA and, 946
  Clinton and, 1101
Industrial accidents, 658, 951
Industrial democracy, 780, 783
Industrial economy, 632, 1021
Industrialist philanthropic foundations, 1028–1029
Industrialization. *See* Industry and industrialization
Industrial Relations Commission, 721
Industrial revolution, beginnings of, 306–313
Industrial unions, 663, 668. *See also* Labor unions
Industrial workers, 807–808
Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 712
  textile strikes and, 858
Industry and industrialization, 610–624. *See also* Labor
  in cities, 310–311
  conditions, 659–660
  electric-powered, 676, 677
  farming, 622
  after First World War, 793–795
  in First World War, 778–780, 783–784
  in Great Depression, 841, 852–853
  high-tech, 958, 1060, 1069
  immigrant labor and, 613–614, 620–622
  metropolitan, 311–313
  of mining, 615–616
  New South and, 630–637, 630–637
  race and, 631–632
  railroad expansion and, 612–613, 614–615, 631–632
  of ranching, 616, 618–619
  in South, 630–637
  war and, 778–778
  of West, 610–624
Infant baptism, 71–72
Infant mortality, 68, 324, 831, 834
Infantry rifle, 521–522
Inflation, 402, 793, 892, 948, 1049, 1088
  from American silver, 38, 671
  Carter and, 1028
  in Civil War, 550, 223, 228, 523–524, 550, 563
  economic growth and, 407
  in First World War, 780, 793
  Ford and, 1023, 1024
  in 1950s, 951
  in 1060s, 951, 1012
  paper money and, 415, 523
  Reagan and, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033
  social Security and, 1034
  in the south, 549, 551
  treasury notes and, 523
Influence of Sea Power upon History, The (Mahan), 746
Information. *See also* Digital technology
  business operations and, 1067–1070
  programs in Cold War, 911–912
  revolution, 1066
Information revolution, 1066
Infotainment, debate over, 1079
Infrastructure
  of cities, 940, 1000, 1063–1064
  deterioration of, 1049
  in Iraq, 1043
  in New Deal, 853
  of roads, 853
  in Serbia, 1100
Inheritance, 289
  in colonies, 91
  government debts and, 781
  of immigrants, 708
  of land, 289
  tax, 734
  transition to market society and, 342
  by women, 91
Inheritance tax, in First World War, 781
Inherit the Wind (movie), 825
Initiative, 715
Injunctions, against workers, 662, 670, 808
Inner cities, African Americans in, 1032, 1049
Inner Light, Quakers and, 72, 78, 7
Inns of Court (England), 81
Inoculation, 132, 170. *See also* Diseases; Medicine
  against smallpox, 125

Inquisition, 30
Insane asylums, 422
Inspection, of nuclear facilities, 1102, 1103
Inspector general, Hamilton as, 260
Institutions. *See also* specific institutions
  African American, 368, 1048
  ethnic, 689
Insurance, health, 929–930, 951, 1089, 1113
Insurance companies, security-focused plans of, 897
Integration. *See also* Segregation
  of baseball, 932–933
  Brown Cases and, 969
  of military, 902
  Roosevelt, Eleanor, and, 869
Intellectual thought. *See also* Art(s); Literature
  on American nationality, 700–703
  Enlightenment in colonies and, 135–136
  Hull House and, 708
  Lost Generation and, 834–837
  printing and, 134–135, 344
  realism and, 706–707
  Social Darwinism and, 652
Intelligence (military), 903
Intelligence tests, in First World War, 781
Intendants in New France, 45
Inter Caeteras (papal bull), 15
Interchangeable parts, mass production and, 487
Intercollegiate athletics, 1011, 1074
Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), 1013
Interest-group pluralism, 952, 1056
Interest rates, 929, 1031, 1087–1088, 1110
  credit cards and, 1071
  Great Depression and, 840
  limits on, 1033
Interior Department, 732, 812
Interior lines, in Civil War battles, 555 (map), 557 (map)
Intermediate-range missiles, 1040
Internal combustion engine, 645
Internal improvements
  American System and, 298
  in South, 340
  state control of, 340, 405, 413, 417
Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 1029
  harassment by, 1017
Internal taxes, 176
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 904
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, women in, 896
International Harvester, 644, 648, 744
International interactions. *See also* Foreign policy; Globalization; Immigrants and immigration; specific organizations; specific wars and issues
  Alabama Claims, 594
  American system of manufactures and British industry, 487–488
  associationalism in, 814–815
  attempts to acquire Cuba, 962–963
  cotton overproduction and, 632
  Crimean War and Panic of 1857, 492
  Crusades and, 8–9
  devaluation of dollar, 1101
  drug trafficking, 1042
  economic integration, 1043
  Europeans and southern secession, 509
  factors causing immigration to U.S., 682–687
  filibustering expeditions to expand slavery, 468–469
  French Revolution and, 220, 252–253
  imperialism and, 111–112, 745–746
  King Cotton diplomacy (Civil War), 524–526
  League of Nations and, 789–790
  Open Door policy and, 756–757
  Oregon boundary dispute, 443 (map)
  Persian Gulf War, 1042–1043
  recognition of Confederacy and, 555
  Trent Affair and, 526
International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), 663
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 904, 1101
International organizations. *See* specific organizations
International relations, 758, 774, 815, 903
  nationalism and, 872
International system, Roosevelt, T., and, 743
Internet, 1065, 1067–1068, 1078
  Clinton investigation and, 1092, 1111
  culture and, 1075, 1079
  e-commerce on, 1067
  music file sharing via, 1078
  social networking and, 1114–1115
Internment, of Japanese Americans, 901
Interstate commerce, federal jurisdiction over, 379
Interstate Commerce Act (1887), 638, 666
Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), 666, 731
Interstate trade, in slaves, 320–322
Intervention, 374, 586, 600, 607, 660. *See* specific regions and countries in Cuba,
  in Cherokee war, 165
  in Cuba, 747
  in Dominican Republic, 758
  in the economy, 405
  in First World War, 776–777
  in Grenada, 1037
  in Lebanon, 946, 1037
  in Nicaragua, 760
  in Russia, 775
  of 1777, 208–213
Interventionist organizations, in Second World War, 881
Intolerable Acts. *See* Coercive (Intolerable) Acts
Inuits, 3, 6
Inventions and inventors, 494, 553, 650, 676. *See also* specific inventions and inventors
  Chinese, 39
  economic growth and, 644, 645
  investment, 1108
Investment banking, 484, 849
Involuntary service, 326, 453
IQ tests, in First World War, 781
IRA. *See* Indian Reorganization Act
Iran
  American hostages in, 1027
  CIA-facilitated coup in, 944
  Cold War strategy toward, 920, 1027, 1030, 1036
  Safavid Empire in, 7, 8 (map)
  Shah in, 1027
Iran-contra affair, 1037–1040
Iranian revolution (January, 1979), 1027–1028
Iraq
  in Persian Gulf War, 1042–1043
  weapons inspection in, 1103
Iraq War, 1103–1105
  England and, 1104
Ireland, 53–55
Irish Americans, 402, 640, 659, 684, 688. *See also* Ireland
  alcohol and, 427
  in antidraft riots, 551–552
  Clan Na Gael and, 689
  in Democratic Party, 691
  First World War and, 774
  as railroad labor, 613
Ironclad ships, 526–528
Iron Curtain. *See also* Cold War; Soviet Union
  Churchill on, 909
Iroquois Five Nations, 45, 115
  New York and, 76
  as Six Nations, 154

Iroquois Indians, 45, 48–49, 76, 92, 115, 116 (map), 156
in Canada, 235
Dutch and, 49–50
land of, 235
language of, 97
as Mingoes, 147
on reservations, 254
struggle for survival, 96–97, 162, 221
Iroquois League, 97, 151
Revolution and, 221
Irreconcilables, 790
"Irrepressible Conflict" speech (Seward), 504
Irrigation, 35, 949
in Andes region, 19
in California, 856
of Hohokam Indians, 26
in West, 28
IRS. *See* Internal Revenue Service
Irving, Julius ("Dr. J"), 1073
Irving, Washington, 136, 304, 358
Isabella of Castile, Ferdinand of Aragon and, 14
Islam, 1080–1081. *See also* Muslims
Black Muslims and, 1080
Europe and, 7–8
expansion of, 8 (map)
Islamic Center of America (Dearborn, Michigan), 1082
Islamic Center of Southern California, 1081
Islamic fundamentalism, 1027, 1036, 1102
Isolationists and isolationism
in Second World War, 881
before World War I, 790
Israel, 29, 945, 1028, 1037, 1105. *See also* Jews and Judaism; Palestine
Camp David Accords (1978) and, 1026–1028
Lebanon and, 1037
Religious Right and, 1029–1030
Yom Kipper War and, 1012
Issei, 901
Isthmus of Panama, Balboa and, 16
Italian Americans, 797, 826
Italy, 43, 683, 756, 757, 769. *See also* First World War; Mussolini, Benito
Communist Party in, 859, 874
Dominican Republic and, 758
fascism in, 859, 874
after First World War, 788–790, 792
Five-Power Treaty, 815
immigrants from, 684, 822
in Second World War, 884–885, 885, 887
as U.S. ally, 920, 1104
Wilson and, 792
Itinerant laborers, in West, 620–622
Itinerant preachers, 334, 350
Ivy League schools, football at, 654
Iwo Jima, in Second World War, 889, 891 (map)
IWW. *See* Industrial Workers of the World

J

Jackson, Andrew, 279, 280, 307, 387–393, 405, 407, 447, 511, 524
Adams, John Quincy, and, 384
American Colonization Society and, 430
balanced budget and, 405
Bank of the United States and, 405
Bank War and, 416
"corrupt bargain" and, 385–386, 387
election of 1824 and, 384, 386 (map)
election of 1828 and, 390 (map)
election of 1832 and, 404 (map)
election of 1840 and, 409–410
as king, 387, 406
nullification and, 395–397
Texas annexation and, 447
Jackson, George, 1007
Jackson, Helen Hunt, 627
Jackson, Jesse, 1048
political actions by, 1083
Jackson, Michael, 1078
Jackson, Rachel Donelson, 389
Jackson, Thomas J. ("Stonewall"), 529
Jacksonian Democracy
crises in, 386–387
Market Revolution and, 400–407
South and, 393–400
Jackson State College, killings at, 1014–1015
Jails. *See* Prison(s)
Jakarta, 48
James, Fort, 76, 77, 108
as Fort William, 77
James I (England), colonial charters from, 55, 60, 106
James II (duke of York, England)
Catholicism of, 106, 107
Glorious Revolution and, 107–114
James VI (Scotland). *See* James I (England)
James, Frank and Jesse, 515
James, William, 752
Jamestown, 56–57, 59. *See also* Virginia
Bacon in, 102–103
Japan, 756
atomic bombing of, 892
as Axis Power, 884
China and, 757, 888
Dutch and, 48
expansionism of, 762
after First World War, 790
gentlemen's agreement with, 763
immigrants from, 683, 658–687, 763, 823
Korea and, 763
Manchuria and, 762–763, 764, 877
Open Door policy and, 756
Pearl Harbor attack by, 882–884
Russia and, 762–763, 764
sphere of influence of, 764
surrender of, 890–892
Taft-Katsura Agreement (1905), 763
as U.S. ally, 815
Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), 930
Japanese Americans, 686, 763
cash indemnity, 901
immigration, 685–687
internment of, 901
Java, Dutch in, 48
Jaworski, Leon, 1019
Jay, John, 239, 255. *See also* Jay's Treaty
as diplomat, 219
Federalist Papers and, 261
Treaty of Paris and, 231
Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, 239
"Jay-hawkers," in Civil War, 525
Jay's Treaty, 255, 257
Jazz
fighting Cold War with, 943
fighting discrimination with, 972
in 1920s, 828–829
Jazz Age, 800
racism and religious bigotry during, 823, 825
Jazz Singer, The (movie), 828–829
Jeep, 894
Jefferson, Thomas, 200, 245, 247, 262, 282, 344, 371, 380. *See also* Democratic Republicans
Declaration of Independence and, 203
deists, 348
election of 1800 and, 261–262
election of 1796 and, 257
election of 1800 and, 261
France and, 261, 286, 336
as governor, 229
vs. Hamilton, 248, 250–252
inauguration of, 263
Kentucky Resolves of, 259, 260, 395
Louisiana Purchase and, 269 (map), 293, 319
presidency of, 262–264
president's image and, 247
on president's title, 247
slavery and, 317, 331–332, 442

on slave vs. free states, 381–382
Statute for Religious Freedom, 232
transportation improvements and, 377
women workers and, 286, 316
Jefferson Airplane, 996
Jeffersonian Republicans. *See* Democratic Republicans
Jenkins, Jerry, 1084
Jeremiads, 72
Jerseys, 107. *See also* East New Jersey; New Jersey; West New Jersey
Jesuits, 2, 46 (map)
Indians and, 45–46
Jesus People, 1080
Jews and Judaism. *See also* Anti-Semitism
as European American ethnics, 823, 827, 858
after First World War, 787
German death camps and, 881
Holocaust and, 885
Jazz Singer and, 828–829
Klan and, 825
Roosevelt, F. D., administration and, 864
Soviet immigrants and, 1062
in Spain, 14
Zionism and, 906
Jiang Jieshi, 888, 915
Jim Crow laws, 635–637
Jim Crow (character), in minstrel show, 359, 636
Jingoism, 746
Jobs. *See also* Employment
unemployment in 1930, by gender, 865
Jobs, Steve, 1066
John Deere steel-plow works, 487
Johnny Appleseed. *See* Chapman, John
Johnson, Andrew, 580–586
Amnesty Proclamation of, 581
election of 1866 and, 588
Fourteenth Amendment and, 587
impeachment of, 589–592
Reconstruction and, 580–586
Johnson, Charles P., 831
Johnson, Fort, 512
Johnson, Hiram W., 735
Johnson, Jack, 710, 726
Johnson, James Weldon, 827
Johnson, Lyndon B.
antiwar movement and, 1001–1002
civil rights and, 972
election of 1960 and, 962
election of 1964 and, 984–985
Great Society of, 985–986
"Johnson treatment", 984
after Kennedy assassination, 979–980
New Frontier and, 960, 962, 983–984
Tet Offensive and, 1003–1004
Vietnam War and, 981, 987–993
Johnson, Richard M., 274, 279, 434–435
Johnson, Samuel, 136
Johnson, Tom, 714
Johnson, William, 156–157
Johnson County War (Wyoming), 617
Johnson-Reed Immigration Restriction Act (1924), 821–823
Johnston, Albert Sidney, 531 (map), 532
Johnston, Joseph E., 529, 532, 533, 560, 573
Johnston, Olin T., 859
Joint Chiefs of Staff, 884
Iraq war, 1104
in Second World War, 888
Vietnam and, 990
Joint-stock company, London Company as, 57–58
Jones, Absalom, 117
Jones, Charles Colcock, 365
Jones, Paula Corbin, 1090
Jones, William, 382
Jonesboro, battle of, 571
Jordan, Eisenhower and, 946
Jordan, Michael, 1073
Jorgensen, George W., Jr. (Christine Jorgensen), 923
Joseph (Chief, Nez Percé), 626 (map), 627
Journalism, 706, 836. *See also* Media; Newspapers; Yellow journalism
Internet, 1115
new, 1003
women in, 809
"yellow," 747
Journeymen, 291
J. P. Morgan Chase, 1110
Judeo-Christian tradition, 952
Judgment at Nuremberg, (movie), 996
Judicial review, 266
Judiciary Act
of 1789, 248
of 1801, 264–265
Judson, E. Z. C. (Ned Buntline), 359
Jungle, The (Sinclair), 712
Junto, Franklin and, 135
Jury system, in New England, 71
Justice Department, 600, 603, 604, 729, 784–785, 894, 911, 924, 931
civil rights division in, 931, 986
conservatives in, 1034
Justice system, in New England, 924
Juvenile delinquency, 966
comic books and, 954
mothers and, 900

K

Kabul, Afghanistan, 1103
Kagan, Elena, 1113
Kaiser, Henry J., 863
Kaiser Corporation, 894
Kallen, Horace, cultural pluralism of, 701–702
Kansas
black emigration to, 633
republican party in, 470–474
Kansas City, 515, 660, 691
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 472–473
Kansas Pacific Railroad, 617
Kansas Territory, 478–480
border ruffians in, 479, 485
Free-Soilers vs. pro-slavery settlers in, 473
Indians in, 491 (map)
Lecompton constitution and, 485–486
Pottawatomie Creek murders in, 481
sack of Lawrence in, 480
Karzai, Hamid, 1113
Katrina (Hurricane), 1106
Kazan, Elia, 922
Kearney, Dennis, 613
Kearny, Stephen Watts, 450–451
Keaton, Buster, 697, 698–699
Keel boats, 294
Keith, George, 83
Keller, Helen, 713
Kelley, Abbey, 437
Kelley, Florence, 708
Kellogg, Frank, 816
Kellogg-Briand Pact, 816, 877
Kemp, Jack, 1073, 1089
Kendall, Amos, 398, 399, 402
Kennan, George, 910
Kennedy, Anthony, 1099
Kennedy, Edward (Ted), 1028, 1088
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 578
Kennedy, John F.
anticommunism of, 963
assassination of, 979–980
civil rights and, 961, 975–977
commission on women's status and, 968
Cuban Missile Crisis and, 963
domestic policy of, 964–965
election of 1960 and, 960–962
family history of, 960
foreign policy of, 961, 962
New Frontier of, 960–962, 982
space program and, 962
Vietnam and, 964
Kennedy, Joseph P., 692
Kennedy, Patrick Joseph, 691

Kennedy, Robert F., 1004–1005
assassination of, 1005
funeral of, 1005
Kennedy or Nixon: … (Schlesinger), 960
Kennesaw Mountain, battle at, 566
Kent State University, killings at, 1014
Kentucky, 40, 222 (map), 234–235, 236 (map), 237 (map), 279
Civil War in, 511, 515, 531 (map) 532, 547
in Congress, 376
reconstruction in, 603
slave in, 238, 320, 369, 506, 514
voting rights in, 235, 371
yeomen in, 302, 328
Kentucky Resolves, 250–260, 395
"Kentucky stations," 235
Kenya, embassy bombing in, 1102
Kerensky, Alexander, 775, 776
Kern-McGillicuddy Act, 740
Kerouac, Jack, 995
Kerr, Orpheus C., 593
Kerry, John, election of and, 1096
Kesey, Ken, 996
Kettle Hill, battle at, 749–750
Key, David, 607
Key, Elizabeth, 64
Key, Francis Scott, 279
Keynes, John Maynard, 860, 927
Keynesianism, 893. *See also* Underconsumption theory
New Deal and, 928, 947, 957, 958
Nixon and, 1012
Khmer Rouge, 1014, 1026
Khrushchev, Nikita, 943, 963
Kieft, Willem, 50
Killbuck (Delaware Indians), 221
Kim Il-sung, 917
Kinetoscope (movie camera), 645
King, Billy Jean, 1074
King, Martin Luther, Jr.
antiwar stance of, 1002
assassination of, 11005, 048
Birmingham and, 976–977
civil disobedience and, 970
FBI monitoring of, 975
funeral of, 1005
"I Have a Dream" speech by, 977
social change and, 970
Kennedy, John F., and, 1005
Montgomery bus boycott and, 970
SCLC and, 970, 996, 1000, 101, 1048
in Watts, 998
King, Rodney, 998
King, Rufus, 380
"King Caucus," 387, 391
King Cotton, vs. commerce, 489–499
King Cotton diplomacy, 524–526
Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, 14
King George's War, 150–151
King James Bible, in schools, 418, 420, 477
King Philip's War. *See* Metacom's War
Kings and kingdoms. *See* specific rulers
King's College. *See* Columbia University
King's Mountain, battle at, 226, 227 (map)
King William's War, 120, 122
Kinsey, Alfred, 923
Kinsey Report, The (Kinsey), 923
Kinship
of nonslaveholders and slaveholders, 495–497
slave, 333
Kirk, Edward, 346
Kirkland, Samuel, 221
Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 1028, 1037
Kissinger, Henry, 1013, 1014
Cambodia and, 1026
foreign policy and, 1013, 1016–1017
Israel and, 1028
New Right on, 1028, 1029
Soviet Union and, 1029
Kitchen Cabinet, of Jackson, 398
Kivas Anasazi, 27
Knights of Labor, 660–661
Knights of the White Camelia, 597
Know-Nothings, 477–478. *See also* American Party
Knox, Frank, 880
Knox, Henry, 248
Knox, Lucy, 234
Knox, Philander C., 764
Knyphausen, Wilhelm (Baron von), 225
Kodak camera, 645. *See also* Eastman
Kodak 654, 744, 951
Kongo, 12
Kopple, Barbara, 1077
Korea. *See also* Korean War
division of, 891 (map)
Japan and, 762
Russia and, 762–763
Soviets and, 917
Korean Americans, 1045
Korean War, 914–920
casualties in, 917
containment policy and, 919–920
Eisenhower and, 919
NSC-68 (National Security Council Document 68) and, 915–919
truce in, 918
Korematsu v. U.S., 901
Kosciuszko, Thaddeus, 210
Kosovo, 1100
Kristol, Irving, 1028
Kublai Khan, Polo and, 7
Ku Klux Klan, 820–821
in film, 820
Garvey and, 799
in 1920s, 820–821
Ku Klux Klan Act (1872), 600
Kurds, 1043
in Iraq, 1104
Kuwait, Saddam Hussein's occupation of, 1042
Ky, Nguyen Cao, 992
Kyoto Protocol, 1107

L

Labor, 286, 302, 307. *See also* Child labor; Free-labor ideology; Labor unions; Management; Slaves and slavery; Strikes; Workers
African American, 368–370, 692–694
in agriculture, 653
capital and, 793–795
in Chesapeake region, 322
child, 740, 814
Chinese immigrants as, 613–614
As a commodity, 658
contracts for, 584–585
for cotton industry, 322–324, 490
discontent of, 640, 658, 660
female wage earners and, 419
in First World War, 779–780
free, 37, 38 (map), 41, 67, 490, 494, 576
of freedpeople, 584–585
gang, 130
Greenback-Labor candidate, 660
immigrant, 687–688
indentured servants, 63
Indians as, 16, 34, 35, 37, 114
industrial, 779–780, 807
itinerant, 620–622
local parties and, 659, 660, 679
Mexican Americans as, 833–834
Middle Ages, 37
middle class and, 689
in 1920s, 808, 814
in North, 490–492, 495
for Panama Canal, 762
in politics and culture, 866–868
prison, 421, 428
protests in, 495, 642, 644
restrictions, 580
scientific management and, 722–724
slave, 9, 12, 47, 63
in South, 67–68, 130, 189, 314, 325, 498, 584
in Spanish America, 33–39
as tribute, 38
unemployment in (1930), 865
for wages, 37, 292, 310, 368, 495, 584, 653

at Wal-Mart, 1067, 1069, 1070
white collar, 474, 477, 494, 653, 809, 865
Wilson and, 739–740
of women, 286, 312, 316, 782
Labor-capital conflict, in 1900s, 793–795
Labor-management relations
accords, 951
anticommunism and, 921
revolution in, 650
Labor-Management Relations Act (1947). *See* Taft-Hartley Act (1947)
Labor movement, 658, 659, 679, 780, 808, 866. *See also* Labor unions
anticommunism and, 921, 1040
goals of, 865
immigrants and, 821
in Great Depression, 858, 866–868
in New York City, 722
protests, 858
women's issues and, 1045
Labor's Non-Partisan League (LNPL), 866
Labor strikes. *See* Strikes
Labor unions, 551, 616, 660–661, 896. *See also* Craft unions; Labor movement; Trade unions; specific unions
American Federation of Labor, 662–663
CIO and, 869
craft, 659, 663
First World War and, 779–780
in Great Depression, 858, 865, 866–868, 875
highway system and, 950
Knights of Labor, 660–661
legal system and, 1033–1034
management accords with, 951
membership in, 780
in mining, 615
in 1930s, 951
after Panic of 1859, 492–493
Regulations and, 1032–1034
Labor violence, 660. *See also* Strikes
Haymarket bombing and,
Ladies' Home Journal, 615, 707
Ladies' Professional Golf Association (LPGA), 1073
Lafayette, Marquis de, 210, 229–230
La Follette, Philip, 859
La Follette, Robert ("Fighting Bob"), 720–721
First World War and, 774, 790
on southern disfranchisement, 717
Versailles Treaty ratification and, 790
Wisconsin progressivism and, 720–721
LaHaye, Tim, 1084
Laissez-faire approach economic, 814
Hughes and, 815
Lake Champlain, 147, 152, 199
Lake Erie, 279
canal to, 295, 297
Lake Texcoco, 25, 31, 32 (map)
Lake Titicaca, 19, 20
Lame-duck Congress, 261
Lamplighter, The (Cummin), 347
Lancaster Turnpike, 294
Land. *See also* Public lands
under Articles of Confederation, 219
for blacks in New South, 583, 584, 585
cessions, 276
conservation of, 732, 851
for cotton vs. land for food crops, 323, 326
estates and, 188 (map)
for farming, 611
free, 611
for freedpeople, 585
in Georgia, 585
grants for, 119, 553, 593
Homestead Act and, 611–612
inheritance of, 157, 289, 325
Mexican Americans' loss of, 620
migration and, 4 (map)
preservation of, 868
as Promised Land, 798, 867
Quakers and, 81
Restoration and, 73
riots over, 187
sales of, 83, 189, 235
South, 584
tenancy of, 289
western claims, 219, 236 (map), 611, 628
wise use movement and, 1055
Land-grant colleges, 553
Land grants, 151
for transcontinental railroad, 493, 593
Land Ordinance (1785), 235
Landscape, rural, 299, 305, 861
Languages
African, 13, 130
alien, 683
American Indian, 3, 5, 45, 114, 870, 628
Amerind, 3, 4 (map)
on ballots, 986
Black English, 130
in colonies, 91
diversity of, 742
English, 1
First World War and, 782
Foreign, 959
Gullah, 130
Na-Dené, 4 (map)
Navajo, 3, 28, 889
Spanish words in English, 443
Lansdale, Edward G., 919, 946
L'Anse aux Meadows, 6
Lansing, Robert, 773
Laos, 946
La Salle, sieur de (Cavelier, René-Robert), 117
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 29
Las Gorras Blancas (White caps), 615
Las Vegas, 1061
Lathrop, Julia, 708
Latin America, 920, 945, 974, 990, 1016. *See also* specific countries
Alliance for Progress and, 962
Good Neighbor Policy toward, 872–873, 903, 906
immigration from, 683, 1062, 1064 (map)
independence of Spanish colonies in, 388
intervention in, 778
military aid to, 919
refugees from, 1083
Roosevelt corollary and, 758
U.S. and, 760 (map), 962, 963
Latinos, 932, 934, 971, 974, 1053, 1086, 1094. *See also* Spanish-speaking people; specific groups
in baseball, 933
in sports, 1074
use of term, 903
Latitude, 10
Latitudinarian Anglicans, 135, 136, 142
Latrobe, John, 371
Latvia, 788, 822
Laval University, 89
"Lavender Scare," 923
La Venta (Inca), 21
Law(s), 91, 173. *See also* specific laws
Alien Land, 690
Asian caucus, 1052
in colonies, 91
commerce and, 379–380
Comstock, 657
Fifteen-Gallon, 425
Fugitive Slave, 461–462
Twenty Negro, 550
women and, 657
"Law and economics" (legal field), 864, 1055–1056
Lawrence, Kansas, (map)
antislavery legislature in, 480
sack of, 479, 480
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 1044
Lawrence v. Texas, 1098
Laws of motion, 135
Lawyers, in colonies, 136
Lay, Benjamin, 190
Lead emissions, 1010
League of Nations, 774, 788, 789–790, 792, 793, 878
Covenant (Article X) of, 790

League of Nations *(continued)*
Japanese violation of, 877
U.S. ratification and, 790–791
Wilson on, 789–790, 791
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 903, 974
League of United Southerners, 503
League of Women Voters (LWV), 811
Lease, Mary, 670
Leaves of Grass (Whitman), 347
Lebanon, 789
Eisenhower and, 946
immigrants from, 683
intervention in, 946
Reagan and, 1037
Lecompton, Kansas, 485–486
Lecompton constitution, 485–486
Lee, Charles, 207
Lee, Richard Henry, 202–203
Lee, Robert E., 514
in Civil War, 514, 533
at Harpers Ferry,
in Mexican War, 450
secession and, 514
Lee, Spike, 998
Leeward Islands, 63, 92, 105
Left (political). *See* Communism; New Left; Radicals and radicalism; Socialism
Left Behind Series (LaHaye and Jenkins), 1084
Legal Redress Committee (NAACP), 727
Legal system, 71, 91, 1000. *See also* Court(s); Law(s); Supreme Court (U.S.)
adversarial, 1091
Reagan and, 1034
Legal tender. *See also* Currency; Money
greenbacks as, 523–524
Legal Tender Act (1862), 523
Legislation. *See also* Law(s); specific acts
environmental, 1033, 1055
health-and-safety, 1011
in Hundred Days (1933), 848–849
political stalemate and, 637–640
in Second New Deal, 860–861
Legislature, 62, 74, 83, 214, 215, 228, 497. *See also* Assemblies; Bicameral legislature; Unicameral legislature; specific bodies
California, 613, 763
Carolina, 507
Colombian, 760
Georgia, 265
Illinois, 303, 472, 479
Indiana, 548
in Kansas, 479
Kentucky, 259
Louisiana, 602
in Maryland, 515
in Massachusetts, 67
New York, 295
Ohio, 593
Southern, 588
Virginia, 65, 240, 255
Lehman Brothers, 864, 1071, 1110
Leisler, Jacob, 108–109
Leisler's rebellion, 108–109, 145
Leisure, 325, 652
commercialized, 818
in 1920s, 801, 804
LeMay, Curtis, 890
Le Moyne d'Iberville, Pierre, 117
Lending. *See* Loans
Lending industry
discrimination by, 934
redlining by, 974–975
Lend-Lease Act (1941), 882
Lend-Lease assistance, to Soviet Union, 882
L'Enfant Jésus, Marie Joseph de. *See* Wheelwright, Esther
Lenin, Vladimir, 776
Lenni Lenape Indians. *See* Delaware Indians
Leopard (ship), 272
Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgendered (LGBT) movement,
activism for gay marriage and, 1047–1048
discrimination of, 923
New Right and, 1028
Lesbians. *See* Gays and lesbians; Homosexuality
"Letter Days," 142
Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania (Dickinson), 179
Levees,
in Mississippi, 606
President Jackson's, 392
Leverett, John, Jr., 136
Levitt, William, 934–935
Levittown, New York, 933, 934–935
Lewinsky, Monica, 1091, 1092
Lewis, George Washington, 330
Lewis, John L., 866
Lewis, Meriwether, 268–270
Lewis, Sinclair, 835
Lewis, W. B., 398
Lewis and Clark expedition, 268–270
Lexington, Battle of, 200 (map)
LGBT. *See* Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgendered movement
Libbey, Laura Jane, 696
Libel, 135
Liberalism, 840, 1035. *See also* New Left
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 846
of Roosevelt, F. D., 741, 840, 846–847
secular, 476
use of term, 847
Liberal Protestants, 824
Liberal Republicans, 600–601
Liberator (Garrison), 437
Liberia
black emigration to, 465, 633
colonization of, 430, 759 (map)
Libertarians, 901, 911, 920, 957, 1034, 1112
Liberty(ies), 160. *See also* Rights; specific rights and liberties
in England, 113
as product of frontier, 641
social networking and, 1114–1115
spread in colonies, 186–192
Liberty (sloop), 180
Liberty Bonds, in First World War, 782
Liberty Party, 448, 455–456
Liberty Tree, 174
Libraries
Carnegie-funded, 648
public, 679
Library Company of Philadelphia, 135
Libya, 1037
Life expectancy, 87 424–425
of African Americans, 830
in Boston, 290
in colonies, 62, 68
of Indians, 973
in New England, 132
slaves and, 325
Life Is Worth Living (television program), 953
Lifestyle, 800, 987, 994
affluence and, 947–949
in Americas, 987
in Chesapeake, 62–63
counterculture and, 995–996
in Great Depression, 842, 844–845, 851, 870
LGBT, 1047–1048
of Mexican Americans, 870
militarization of, 897
on plantations, 324–325
Puritan, 68
in seaport cities, 289–292
in suburbs, 965
television and, 966
of urban working class, 688
white farmers, 870
women and, 810
Liliuokalani (Hawaii), 746
Lima, Peru, 33, 37, 785
Limbaugh, Rush Hudson, III, 1055
Limited liability, of private state-chartered banks, 416
Limited war
Korean War as, 917–918
Vietnam War as, 991

Lincoln, Abraham, 511
assassination of, 575
on black soldiers, 561
Civil War and, 570–575
Douglas debates, 497–498
election of 1860 and, 504–505
emancipation and, 542–544
Emancipation Proclamation and, 546–547, 562
Fort Sumter and, 511–513
free-labor ideology and, 494
Freeport Doctrine, 498–499
on Know-Nothings, 477–478
peace overtures and, 566–568
prisoner-exchange controversy and, 568–570
religion and, 477
second inaugural address of, 573
on slavery, 472–473
Wartime Reconstruction and, 577–580
as Whig, 472
Lincoln, Benjamin, 225, 239
Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 497–501
Lindbergh, Charles A., 805–806
in America First Committee, 881
LinkedIn, 114–115
Lippard, George, 360
Lippmann, Walter, 741, 836
Liquor. *See* Alcohol and alcoholism
Lisbon, population of, 9
Literacy, 344, 488, 596, 635, 717
in colonies, 89, 129
of freedpeople, 586
in South, 495
of women, 343
Literature. *See also* Fiction; Novels; specific types
of Beat writers, 995
conformity critiqued in, 953–954
feminist, 466
genteel standards in, 653–654
in Harlem Renaissance, 832
on household management, 466
of new conservatism, 956–958
of nostalgia for slavery, 654
popular, 695–697
pro-slavery, 465–466
realism in, 706–707
romanticizing slavery, 634
Uncle Tom's Cabin and, 347, 465–466
utopian, 654
Lithography, technological improvements for, 651
Lithuania, 788
Lithuanian immigrants, 683
Little, Malcolm. *See* Malcolm X
Little Bighorn
Battlefield, 1050
Battle of, 625
"Little Boy" (bomb), 892
Little Caesar (movie), 845
Little Crow (chief), 625
Little ice age, 5, 6
"Little Richard" Penniman, 954
Little Rock, Arkansas, Central High integration in, 972
Livingston Manor, 187, 188 (map), 239
Lloyd, Henry Demarest, 708
Lloyd George, David, in Big Four, 788
Loans
after First World War, 772
to homeowners, 1071
risky, 1071
by S & Ls, 1071
Loan sharks, 1070
Lobbying, by New Right, 1029
Local government, colonial, 89–91
Localists, vs. cosmopolitans, 239–240
Lochner v. New York, 663
Locke, Alain, 701, 832
Locke, John, 74, 111, 135
Lockouts, 663
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Versailles Treaty ratification and, 790–791
Log Cabin Campaign, 409
Logistical apparatus, in Civil War, 522–523
Logstown, 147, 153 (map)
London, England, 52, 55, 91, 105–106
Nazi bombing of, 881
population of, 52, 96
London Company, 55–56, 59
as joint-stock company, 57–58
Virginia Colony and, 58 (map), 65
London Gazette, 135
London Stock Exchange, 113
Lonely Crowd, The (Riesman), 953
Long, Huey, 856
Long, John, 64
Longest Day, The (movie), 886
Longhorn cattle, 617
Longhouse, 17
Longitude, calculation of, 10
Long knives (Virginians), 151, 223
Longshoremen, after First World War, 693, 795, 858
Long-staple cotton, 318
Longstreet, James, 556, 558
Long-Term Capital Management, 1108
Looking Backward (Bellamy), 654
López, Narciso, 467
Lord Dunmore's War (1774), 199. *See also* Dunmore, Earl of
Lord Protector, Cromwell as, 73
Lords Committee of Trade and Plantations. *See* Lords of Trade
Lords of Trade, 105–106
Los Alamos, New Mexico, atomic bomb and, 891
Los Angeles, 833
Mexican Americans in, 833–834
water for, 856, 857 (map)
Watts riot (1965) in, 997
Zoot Suit Riots in, 900–901
Losing Ground (Murray), 987
Lost Cause, in New South, 633
Lost Generation, 834–837
Loudoun, Earl of (John Campbell), 160–161
Louis XIV (France), New France under, 45–47
Louis XV (France), 170
Louis XVI (France), 202, 211, 252
Louisbourg, 147, 150–151
Louisiana, France and, 117, 148 (map)
Louisiana Purchase (1803), 264, 267 (map), 268, 269 (map)
Jefferson and, 267–268, 293, 319
Missouri statehood and, 360
population increase after, 441
slavery issue and, 442, 443 (map)
Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 531 (map)
L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 431
Low Church (Latitudinarian) Anglicans, 88, 135
Lowcountry, in South Carolina and Georgia, 317
Lowell, Francis Cabot, 307
Lowell, James Russell, 453
Lowell, Massachusetts, 420
Lower East Side (New York), 688
Lower house, 71
colonial assembly as, 144, 155, 215, 216, 240
Lower South. *See* South
Lower Towns (Cherokee), 165
Lowland Scots (Malcontents), 138
Lowndes, William, 274
Loyalists, 219–221
the Howes and, 208
in Revolution, 219–221
Loyalty Program, of Truman, 911
Loyalty-security checks, on workforce, 921
LPs, 1078
LSD, 996
Lucas, Robert, 1107
Luftwaffe, 881
LULAC. *See* League of United Latin American Citizens
"LULLABY" argument, for slavery in Kansas, 472
Lumber industry, 487, 615, 621
Lumumba, Patrice, 946
Lundeen, Ernest, 859
Lusitania (ship), sinking of, 772
Luther, Martin, 41
Lutheranism, 42
Luxembourg, Second World War in, 879

Lymon, Frankie, 954
Lynchburg, battle at, 565
Lynchings
of African Americans, 725, 727, 728
after First World War, 785, 798
after Harpers Ferry raid, 500
Wilson and, 739
Lynd, Robert and Helen, 803, 837
Lyon, Matthew, 259
Lyon, Nathaniel, 515

M

MacArthur, Arthur, 753–754
MacArthur, Douglas, 917–918
Bonus Army and, 843
in Korea, 917–918
removal of, 918
Macedonian immigrants, 683
Machine politics. *See* Political machines
Machine tools, 487
MacLeish, Archibald, 881
Macon, Nathaniel, 370, 372
Macon's Bill No. 2, 273
Macy, Anne Sullivan, 713
Macy's, R. H., 651
Maddox (ship), 988
Madeira Islands, 12, 14
Madero, Francisco, 765
Madison, James
Bill of Rights and, 248
decrees of, 273–274
election of and, 273–274
War Hawks and, 274–275
Mafia, 692
Magazines
of counterculture, 996
feminist, 1046
gender roles in, 967
muckrakers and, 706
revolution in, 343–344
visual imagery in, 651, 1078
Magellan, Ferdinand, 16
Magsaysay, Ramón, 919, 944
Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 746
Mahican Indians, 49, 69 (map)
Mail
abolitionist material in, 433–434
southern, 398–400
Mailer, Norman, 1003
Mail-order catalogues, 651, 668, 818
Maine, 6, 301
as free state, 443 (map)
imperial wars and, 122
Massachusetts and, 209 (map), 222 (map), 236 (map), 237 (map), 278 (map)
Sagadahoc colony in, 55
Maine (battleship), 748
Mainland colonies. *See* Colonies and colonization; specific locations
Main Street (Lewis), 835
Maize (Indian corn), 5, 17, 20
Major League Baseball (MLB), 932–933. *See also* Baseball
integration of,
Malaria, 62, 129, 749
Africans and, 56
Panama Canal and, 760
Malcolm, John, 198
Malcolm X, 999–1000
Malcolm X, (movie), 998–999
Malcontents. *See* Lowland Scots (Malcontents)
MALDEF. *See* Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
Male revolt, 966
Mali, 11
Mammoths, 4
Management
labor accords with, 951
revolution in, 650
Manassas, Battle of. *See* Bull Run (Manassas)
Manassas Gap Railroad, 536 (map)
Manchukuo, 877
Manchuria 762–763
Japan and, 764, 877
Russia and, 764
Mandan Indians, 269
Mandela, Nelson, 998
Mandingo empire (Mali), 9
Manhattan Project, 891–892
Manhattan Transfer (Dos Passos), 836
Manifest Destiny, 441–469
Douglas, Stephen A., and, 460, 469
slavery and, 442
Young America movement and, 441
Manila, in Spanish-American War, 748, 751
Manioc (crop), 5
Manion, Clarence, 958
Manion Forum of Opinion, The (radio program), 958
Mann, Horace, 418–419, 431
Mann Act (1910), 700, 709, 726
Man Nobody Knows, The (Barton), 807
Manorial system, in Maryland, 62
Mansa (King) Musa, 9
Mansfield, Baron (William Murray), 191
Mansfield, Mike, 989–990
Manual labor, class and, 129, 494
Manufacturing
American System and, 298, 487–488
in First World War, 778–779
in Great Depression, 840, 841, 850, 852–853, 864, 865f
technological innovation and, 644–645
Manumission of slaves, 233. *See also* Emancipation
Mao Zedong, 915, 917
Marbury v. Madison, 266
March, Peyton, 780–781
March Against Fear, 1000
March Madness, 1073
March on Washington, for Jobs and Freedom (1963), 976–977
Marcos, Ferdinand, 1027
Margin buying, 840, 849
Marietta, 238, 292. *See also* Cincinnati
Marijuana, 996, 1017
Marines (U.S.). *See* Intervention
Marion, Francis, 226, 228
Maritime Commission, in Second World War, 893
Maritime provinces, loyalist refugees in, 220
Market(s). *See also* Free market(s); Overseas markets
Antebellum era, 414–416
anti-government activists and, 1055–1056
global, 1068
niche, 1077
Market agriculture, 301
Market Revolution. *See also* Industrial Revolution; Transportation
Jacksonian Democracy and, 400–407
in South, 338–341
Market society, 284, 414
American System and, 298, 374, 379
criticisms of, 353–354, 415, 417
transportation revolution and, 293
Market towns, 296
Marne River, battle at, 777
Marquette, Jacques, 117
Marr, G. W. L., 372
Marriage, 44, 119
attitudes toward, 804–805
in Chesapeake, 55, 62
gay, 1098, 1099
interracial, 583, 654
Morman, 446
in 1920s, 804–805
Marriage of Figaro, The (Beaumarchais), 211
Married Women's Property Act (New York), 438
Marshall, George C.
atomic bomb and, 892
McCarthy, Joseph, and, 925
Marshall, John, 266–267
as Chief Justice, 266–267
judicial review and, 266
on role of Court, 266–267
XYZ affair and, 258

Marshall, Thurgood, 968
Marshall Field & Co., 651
Marshall Plan, 888, 906, 910
Martial law, Civil War and, 549
Martin, Bradley (Mrs.), 672
Martinique, 47, 169
Marx Brothers, 845
Marxism. *See* American Communist Party; Communism
Mary I (England), 52
Mary II (England), 107
Maryland, 60–62
  Catholicism in, 60–62
  charter of, 60
  Civil War in, 545
  government of, 60–61
  last Lord Baltimore in, 60
  legislature in, 61–62
  life expectancy in, 62
  manumission in, 62, 233
Maryland Gazette, 174
Mary Silliman's War (movie), 212–213
Masculinity, in Second World War, 434, 746, 899
Mason, Charlotte, 832
Mason, George, 215, 241
Mason, James, 462, 526
Mason-Dixon line, 83, 367
Massachusetts, 67, 68, 70–72, 77 (map). *See also* Boston; General Court (Massachusetts);
Maine, 200, 201, 281, 301, 748
  charter of, 381
  election of 1860, 509 (map)
  election of 1972, 1017
  fiat money and, 133
  prohibition in, 427, 476
  secession, 509 (map)
  Shays's Rebellion in, 239
  strikes, 858
  temperance in, 425
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 67–68
Massachusetts Government Act (1774), 193–194, 195, 217
Massachusetts Provincial Congress, 194–195
Massacres. *See also* specific massacres Indians and,
Massasoit (Wampanoag), 65, 98
Mass culture, debate over, 955–956
Mass culture critique, 955–956
Mass democracy, 372, 413
Mass demonstrations, 1044–1045
Mass entertainment, 955
Masses, The (journal), 700
Mass immigration, 683, 688
Massive retaliation doctrine, 942–943
Mass marketing, in 1950s, 955
Mass media. *See* Media
Mass production
  distribution and, 649–650
  interchangeable parts and, 487
Master(s). *See also* Planters and plantations
  on cotton plantations, 322–323
  lifestyle of, 324–325
"Master race", of whites, 496, 902
Mather, Increase, 99, 100, 109, 141
Matrilineal descent, among Native Americans, 31
Mattachine Society, 923, 1047
Matthews, Joseph Warren, 621
Maverick, Maury, 859
Mayaguez (ship), 1026
Mayan culture, 22–24
  Franciscans and, 35–37
Mayflower (ship), 65, 845
Mayflower Compact, 65
Mayhew, Thomas, Sr. and Jr., 97
Mayors, black, 1049
McAdoo, William G., 739, 778, 782, 826
McCain, John, 1111, 1114
McCarran-Walter Act (1952), 922–923
McCarthy, Eugene, 1004
McCarthy, Joseph, and McCarthyism, 925, 1004
McCarthy and His Enemies (Buckley), 957
McChrystal, Stanley, 1113
McClellan, George B.
  in Civil War, 529, 533
  in Mexican War, 450
McClure, Sam, 747
McClure's Magazine, 707
McCormick farm machinery plant, 661
McCormick reaper works, 487
McCulloch v. Maryland, 379
McDonald's, 1067
McDowell, Irvin, 529
McGovern, George, 1017, 1018 (map), 1028
McGready, James, 361, 363
McGwire, Mark, 1074
McHenry, Fort, 279
McIntosh, Ebenezer, 175
McKay, Claude, 832
McKinley, William
  election of 1896, 670–672
  open door policy and, 756
  Roosevelt, T., and, 729
McKinley Tariff (1890), 640
McLane, Louis, 386, 403
McLean, Wilmer, 574
McNamara, Robert, 962, 992
McNary-Haugen Bill, 818
Meade, George Gordon, 450, 556, 557 (map)
Meat Inspection Act (1906), 731
Media. *See also* specific media
  counterculture and, 996
  culture and, 1079–1080
  print, 134–135, 343–344
  Vietnam War and, 992–993
  Watergate and, 1018–1019
Mediation, international, 147, 537, 788
Medicaid, 985, 987, 1009, 1089, 1113
Medicare
  Clinton and, 1096
  Reagan and, 1096
Medicare Prescription Drug Improvement and Modernization Act, 1096
Medication, regulation of, 731
Medicine, 129, 137, 334, 1045. *See also* Diseases
  as profession, 655
  women and, 553
  in 15th century, 11 (map)
Mega-churches, 1083
Mein, John, 181, 182
Mellon, Andrew, 812, 816
Melodrama, in popular fiction, 886
Melting pot, 701
Melting-Pot, The (Zangwill), 701
Melville, Herman, 347
  racism and, 430
Memphis
  anti-lynching campaign in, 634
  King's assassination in, 1005
  race riot in, 1005
Men
  in gold rush, 457
  unemployment of, 865
Mencken, H. L., 824–825
Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro, 44
Menlo Park, New Jersey, Edison and, 645
Mercantilism, 92–93
Mercenaries, in Revolution, 202
Mercer, Hugh, 160
Merchant fleet, growth of, 290, 773
Merchants. *See also* Business; Commerce
  crop lien system and, 633, 668
  in seaport cities, 290–292
Meredith, James, 1000
Mergers, 648–649
Merrimac (Merrimack) (frigate), 528
Mesa Verde, Anasazi in, 28
Mesoamerica. *See also* specific cultures
  ancient cultures of, 21–24, 24 (map)
  conquistadores in, 31, 33–34
  cycles of complex cultures in, 17–18
  human sacrifice in, 29–30
Mesopotamia, 140, 788
Metacom's War, 98–101
Metals and metallurgy
  European, 7
  Indians and, 18

Metalworking industry, 780
Methodism
  Great Awakening and, 138, 140
  growth of, 350 (map)
Metropolitan areas, 311–313. *See also* Cities; Urban areas
  industrialization in, 311–313
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City), 678
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), 1051
Mexican Americans, 833–834
  activism by, 1050–1052
  California gold rush and, 457, 620
  as cowboys, 619
  cultural renaissance of, 833–834
  in First World War, 775, 780
  loss of property and political influence in West, 620
  population of (1930), 834 (map)
  in West, 619–620
  women workers and, 835
Mexican cession, 443 (map), 452 (map), 459, 461
Mexican War, 449–455
  campaigns of 1846–1847, 452 (map)
  antiwar sentiment and, 452–453
  military campaigns (1846), 450–451
  military campaigns (1847), 451–452
  Texas annexation and, 447–448
  Wilmot proviso, 453–455
Mexico
  Cortés in, 16–17, 31–33
  Texas and, 117
  Wilson, Woodrow, 765–767
  Zimmermann telegram and, 775
Mexico City, 451
  siege of, 452
Miami, Cuban Americans in, 1062
Miami Indians, 254, 302
Miantonomo (Narragansett sachem), 92
Michigan, 277, 302, 353
Microchips, 1065
Microsoft, 1065–1066
Mid-Atlantic region
  government in, 131–132
Middle class
  African American, 634–635
  conformity and, 953–954
  evangelicalism and, 345–346
  families in, 353–356
  in New England, 347
  realism and, 706–707
  in South, 325–326
  suburbanization movement and, 933–935, 974–975
Middle colonies. *See* Mid-Atlantic region
Middle East. *See* Arab world; specific countries
Middle Ground, French, 115–116
Middle managers, in corporations, 650
Middle Passage, 224, 320
Middle Towns (Cherokee), 165
Middling classes, 291, 487. *See also* Middle class
  mass produced goods and, 487
Midnight judges, 265
Midvale Steel Company, 722, 783
Midway Island, Battle of, 754 (map), 888
Midway Plaisance, of Columbian Exposition, 681–682
Midwest. *See also* specific locations
  civil rights protests in, 976
  racial composition in, 969
Midwife's Tale, A (movie), 308
Migrants, enslaved, 320
Migrant workers, 55, 345, 693
Migration
  Mormon, 445–446
  to Oregon and California, 444–445
Milan Decree, 270, 273–274
Militancy
  black, 221
  labor, 896, 921
  women, 697, 700
Militarization, of American life, 920
Military. *See also* Armed forces; Soldiers; specific wars
  blacks in, 560–562
  coercion by, 180–181
  during Cold War, 544
  First World War and, 771, 778, 780–781
  loyalist, 219–221
  My Lai massacre and, 1014
  Pullman strike and, 664–665
  sexual harassment in, 1047
  U.S. intervention and, 776–777
Military academy, at West Point, 264
Military bases. *See also* Naval bases
  in Cold War, 919, 920
Military districts, in South, 588, 589, 595 (map)
Military draft. *See* Draft (military)
Military-industrial complex, Eisenhower's warning against, 947
"Military Keynesianism," 928, 947
Military occupation. *See* Occupation (military)
Military spending, 915, 1036. *See also* Defense spending
Military Training Camps Association, 881
Militia. *See also* Continental Army
  in Whiskey Rebellion, 253–254
Militia act, 544
Miller, William, 353, 356
Miller & Lux (ranching company), 618, 619, 621–622, 624
Millerite Adventists, 353
Milliken's Bend, battle of, 559 (map), 561
Millionaires, in 1800s, 652, 669
Mills, C. Wright, on power elite, 954
Milosevic, Slobodan, 1100
Mims, George, 279
Mines and mining. *See also* Coal and coal industry; Gold
  in California gold rush, 457
  camps, 624
  Chinese immigrants in, 615
  Hispanics in, 615
  immigrant labor for, 615
  Mexican Americans in, 615
  strikes in, 616
  strip-mining, 616
  in West, 615–616
Ming dynasty, 6
Mingo Indians, 153
Minié balls, 522
Minneapolis, labor protests in, 858
Minnesota, 472, 557 (map)
Minnesota Farmer-Labor (MFL) Party, 859
Minorca, 159
Minorities. *See* Ethnic groups and ethnicity; Race and racism; specific groups
Minoso, Orestes ("Minnie"), 932
Minstrels and minstrelsy, 359
Minuit, Pierre, 50–51
Minutemen, 195–196, 197
Minute Men, antiblack mobs as, 369, 782
Miranda v. Arizona, 1010
Miranda Warning, 1010
"Misery index," 1030
Mises, Ludwig von, 957
Misogyny, masculinity and, 899
"Missile gap," 961, 962
Missiles, 963. *See also* specific types
  in Cuba, 963
Mission Indians, 121–122, 170, 221–222
Missions and missionaries
  Indians and, 33–34
  Protestant, 744
  Puritans and, 97–98
  Spanish, 443
Mississippi, 17
  Till, Emmett, murder in, 969–970
Mississippian cultures, 33 (map)
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), 983
Mississippi Plan, 602–603
Mississippi River region. *See* Louisiana Purchase
Miss Lonelyhearts (West), 844

Missouri
slavery and, 380–318
statehood for, 380
Missouri Compromise (1819–20), 381–382
Missouri Pacific Railroad, 661
Mita (tribute labor), 37
Mitchell, John (attorney general), 1019, 1020
Mitchell, John (UMW), 730
Mitchell, Joni, 996
"Mixed and balanced" constitution, in England, 112–114
Mixed farming, by yeomen, 328
MLB. *See* Major League Baseball
Mob activities, in Boston, 145
Mobility. *See* Social mobility
Mobilization, 856–860
for First World War, 777–787
Moby Dick (Melville), 347
Mochica culture, 19
Moctezuma (Montezuma II), 31
Model A Ford, 803
Model Cities Program, 986
Model T Ford, 723–724
Modern Republicanism, of Ford, 1022
Mogadishu, 1100
Mogul empire, 7, 8 (map)
Mohawk Indians, 100, 120, 221
Mohawk River region, 69 (map), 96, 120, 208, 210
Mohegan Indians, Metacom and, 92, 100
Molasses Act (1733), 172
Molasses trade, 160, 176
Molesworth, Ponsonby, 182
Moley, Raymond, 847
Molino del Rey, battle of, 452
Molly Maguires, 659
Moluccas, 13
Monarchs and monarchies. *See* specific rulers
Mondale, Walter, 1023, 1034–1035
Monday Night Football, 1072
Monetary system, dual currency (greenbacks and gold), 667
Money. *See* Currency
Money bills. *See* Taxation; specific acts
Money Power, 401, 402, 405, 407, 668
Monitor (ironclad), 526–528
Monmouth, battle at, 209 (map), 211
Monongahela, 151, 157, 159 (map)
Monopolies, 353, 649, 704, 957
Monroe, James, 336, 378, 381, 387
on Era of Good Feelings, 383, 395
on Missouri statehood, 380
Monroe Doctrine, 388
Roosevelt corollary to, 758
Montana, Battle of Little Bighorn in, 625
Montcalm, Louis-Joseph (marquis de), 158
Monterrey, Mexico, battle at, 450–451
"Monterrey Pop" music festival, 996
Montgomery, Alabama, Confederate convention in, 510–511
Montgomery, Richard,160, 199, 200
Montgomery bus boycott, 970
Monticello, slaves of, 331
Montserrat, 63, 64 (map)
Monumental architecture, in Andes region, 19
Moore, Brian, 49
Moore's Creek Bridge, loyalist uprising at, 201
Moors, in Spain, 14
Morale, during Civil War, 519–520
Morality
of European conquest of Americas, 39–40
mercantilism as, 92–93
Moral reform, 436
Moral societies, 423
Moravian Brethren, 137–138
Moravian mission Indians, 170, 221–222
Morgan, Daniel, 226
Morgan, John, 137
Morgan, John Hunt, 534
Morgan, J. P., 646. *See also* J. P. Morgan Chase
industrial investment by, 646
Morgan, J. P., Jr., foreign investment and, 816
Mormons
migration of, 440
Smith and, 349, 356–357
Mormon Trek, 444 (map)
Morocco, 10
Moroni (Angel), 356
Morrill Land-Grant College Act (1862), 553
Morris, Dick, 1088
Morris, Robert, 229
Morrison, Toni, 1049
Morrissey, John, 357
Morristown, New Jersey, 224–225
Mortality rates, urban, 678
Mortgages
in Great Depression, 843, 849, 850
sub-prime, 1109–1100
Morton, Marcus, 418
Moscow, McDonald's in, 1067
Mose. *See* Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose
Moses, Robert, 975
Mose the Bowery B'hoy, 358, 359
Mossadegh, Mohammed, CIA-facilitated overthrow of, 944
Mothers, 242, 965
advertising appeals to, 804
juvenile delinquency and, 900
middle-class, 346
working, 708
Motion pictures. *See* Movies and movie industry
Mott, Lucretia, 432, 438
Moultrie, Fort, 511–512
Mound builders, 25–28
cultures of, 26, 33 (map)
Great Serpent Mound and, 25
Moundville, Alabama, 26, 33 (map)
Mountaineers, 328
Mount Rushmore, 729
Mourning wars, 96–97
Movable type, 8
Movement of movements, in 1960s, 993–994
Movement of peoples. *See* Immigrants and immigration; Migration; Westward movement
Movies and movie industry. *See also* specific movies
American Left, 794–795
anticommunism and, 921–923
celebrities and, 805
Cold War and, 935–937, 1036–1037
Hollywood Ten and, 921–922
musicals in, 936
nickelodeons and, 675, 696
during Second World War, 886–887
of Second World War, 897–898
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 1008, 1088
"Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mifflin" (Copley), 80
Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (movie), 867
Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (movie), 867
MS. magazine, 1046
MSNBC, 1080
MTV, 1078
Muckrakers, 706–707
Mugwumps, 639–640
Muhammad, Elijah, 998, 1080
Muir, John, 731
Mulattos, 64, 435, 598
Multiculturalism, 702, 1049, 1079, 1083
Multinational corporations, 744
Muncie, Indiana, study of, 803
Munich Conference (1938), 879
Municipal government
reform of, 714–715
Munn v. Illinois, 666
Munster, battle at, 53
Mural art, Mexican American, 1052
Murdoch, Rupert, 1076

Murfreesboro, Battle of. *See* Stones River, Battle of, 531 (map), 548, 560 (map)
Murphy, Frank, 866
Murray, Charles, 987
Murray, John. *See* Dunmore, Earl of
Murray, William. *See* Mansfield, Baron
Murrow, Edward R., 881
Musa (Mali), 9
Muscle Shoals, Alabama, 854
Museums, 678, 679, 681, 702, 1050
Music
  of counterculture, 996
  in Harlem Renaissance, 832
  jazz, 828–829, 943, 972
  of minstrel culture, 359
  pop, 1078–1079
  rock 'n' roll, 954–955
  in Second World War,
Music Entertainment Channel. *See* MTV
Music halls, 695
Music industry, 996, 1078, 1084
Music USA: The Jazz Hour (radio program), 943
Muskets, 50, 92, 98, 100, 147
Muskie, Edmund, election of and, 1017
Muskogean peoples, 3
Muslims, 1081. *See also* Islam
  Black, 999, 1000, 1080
  Bosnian, 1043, 1100
  Shi'a, 1043
  slaves and, 9, 13
Mussolini, Benito, 859, 874, 878
Mutiny, in Continental Army, 228–229
Myers, Harriet, 1099
My Lai Incident, 1014
MySpace, 1115
Mystic Fort, Pequot massacre at, 69 (map)
Myths, of West, 629–630

N

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People),
  after First World War, 725–728, 797
  Second World War and, 900
Na-Dené language, 3
Nader, Ralph, 0111, 1094 (map)
NAFTA. *See* North American Free Trade Agreement
Nagasaki, atomic bombing of, 892
Nagy, Imre, 944
Nahuatl (Aztec) peoples. *See* Aztecs
Nairne, Thomas, 122
Names
  of slaves, 333
  in South, 325
Nanjing, 879
Nantucket, 97, 133
Napalm, 990
Naples and Sicily, Kingdom of, 14
Napoleon I Bonaparte (France), 261, 268, 270
Napoleon III (France), 525
Napoleonic Wars (1804–1815), American republic and, 270–282
Napster, 1078–1079
Narcotics. *See* Drugs
Narragansett Indians, 70
  Metacom's War and, 92, 98
Narrowcasting, 1075
NASA. *See* National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Nashville, Battle of, 572
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 945
Nasserism, 945
Nast, Thomas, cartoons of, 600
Natchez, 33 (map)
Natchez Indians, 147
Natchez Trace, 294
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 959, 1060
National Americanization Committee, 787
National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), 718, 774, 811
National anthem, 279
National Association for Stock Car Racing (NASCAR), 1073
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). *See* NAACP
National Association of Colored Women, 634
National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), 927
National bank, 402, 408–409
National Banking Act (1863), 524
National banknotes, 524
National Basketball Association (NBA), 1072
National Black Political Convention (1972), 1048
National brands, 651
National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), 1029
National Consumer Cooperative Bank, 1044
National Cordage Company, 664
National debt
  Dominican, 758
  in England, 169
  Hamilton and, 248–249
  Jefferson and, 248–249
National defense
  Cold War and, 920, 1036–1037
National Defense Education Act (1958), 959
National Economic Agency (NEC), 1108
National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, 668
National Football League (NFL), 1072
National forests, conservation of, 1101
National Forest Service, 732
  Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and, 734
National government. *See* Government (U.S.)
National Guard
  Attica Uprising and, 1008
  at Central High School, 972
  freedom riders and, 976
  Watts riot and, 997
National health insurance, 929
National Hockey League (NHL), 1073
National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA, 1933), 849, 450, 853
National Industrial Recovery Administration (NRA), 853
Nationalism. *See also* Imperialism
  Adams, John Quincy, and, 387–388
  black, 797–799
  domestic, 388–389
  of War Hawks, 274–275
Nationalism (of Bellamy), 654
Nationalist China, 904
Nationalist Party (South Africa), 919
Nationalists, after Revolution, 239, 240, 249
Nationalization, after First World War, 797–799
National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), 861
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 861, 951
National Labor Union, 659
National Liberation Front (NLF), 988
National Museums of the American Indian, 1050
National Negro League, 830
National Network of Hispanic Women, 1051
National Organization for Women (NOW), 1045
National origins system
  of immigration, 823
  quotas and, 822
National parks, 731–732, 1010
National Park Service, 731–732, 1050
National Rainbow Coalition, 1048

National Recovery Administration (NRA), 853
National Republicans, 376–378
National Review (magazine), 957
National Road, 294
National security, 908–911, 920–926
  anticommunism and, 921–923
  Bush Doctrine and, 1003
  after Cold War, 1042–1043
  in Cold War, 908–909
  Eisenhower and, 941–942
  programs, 911
  spying and, 911, 919, 924
  strategy of 2002, 1103
  state, 907–914
  Truman Doctrine and, 909–911
National Security Act (1947), 911–913
National Security Agency (NSA), 926
National Security Council (NSC), 912
  CIA mandate and, 944
  NSC-68 and, 915–919
National Security Strategy (2002), 1103
National Socialist (Nazi) Party, 877–878. *See also* Nazi Germany
National Trails Act (1968), 1009
National Union of Social Justice (NUSJ), 858
National Union Party, 588
National Urban League, 728
National War Labor Board (NWLB), 780
National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968), 1009
National Woman's Party (NWP), 720, 811
National Woman Suffrage Association, 554, 591
National Women's Party (NWP), 697, 705
National Youth Administration (NYA), 861
  job creation programs, abolishment of, 893
Nation building, 964, 978, 1100, 1107, 1116
Nation of Islam (NOI). *See* Black Muslims
Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), 1050
Native American Party, 420
Native American Rights Fund (NARF), 1050
Native Americans. *See* American Indians
Native peoples. *See* American Indians; Inuits; specific groups
Native Son (Wright), 922
Nativism, 474–478. *See also* Know-Nothings
  immigration and, 473–478
NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Naturalization. *See also* Citizens and citizenship
  period for, 259
Natural resources, preservation of, 732
Nauvoo, Illinois, Mormons in, 445
Navajo Indians, 28, 34, 114, 626 (map), 872
  language of, 3
Navajo Signal Corps, 888–889
Naval bases, 13, 508, 881
  at Guantanamo Bay, 755
  in Manila, 75, 131
Naval stores, 75, 131
Navigation, 240, 505, 792
  European, 1
  Japan and, 882
  on Mississippi River, 319
  Portuguese, 10
  on Potomac River,
Navigation Acts, 111
  of 1660, 94–96
  enforcement of, 96, 105, 106, 107
  First (1651), 94
  Lords of Trade and, 105–106
Navy. *See also* Navy (U.S.); Royal Navy (Britain)
  Confederate, 526
  Dutch, 101
Navy (U.S.)
  in Civil War, 530
  expenditures and battleship size in (1890–1914), 747
  Great White Fleet and, 763
  in Mexican War, 450, 451
  sexual harassment in, 1047
  in Spanish-American War, 746, 747
NAWSA. *See* National American Woman Suffrage Association
Nazi Germany, 875, 877, 879, 879. *See also* Death camps; Germany; Hitler, Adolf; Second World War
  blitzkrieg by, 879
  Holocaust of, 885, 886, 906
"Nazi gold," 886
Nazism, 901–902
NBA. *See* National Basketball Association
NBC television, 955, 1075. *See also* Television
NCPAC. *See* National Conservative Political Action Committee
Near East. *See* Middle East; specific countries
"Necessary and proper" clause, 241, 251, 378
Negroes. *See* African Americans; Blacks; Slaves and slavery
Negro Leagues, in baseball, 932–933
Negro rule, 429, 596, 638
Negro World, 798, 828
Neighborhoods
  rural, 286–288
  of yeoman farmers, 329–330
Nelson (Lord), 270
Neo-Confederate violence, 582, 592
Neoconservatives, 1103–1104
Neoconservatives (neocons), in New Right, 1028
Neolin (Delaware Indians), 170
Neolithic evolution, 5
Netherlands. *See also* Dutch; Dutch Republic
  as pluralistic society, 50
  settlement by, 50
Netherlands East Indies. *See* Dutch East Indies
Network TV, 1075. *See also* specific networks
Neutralism, in Cold War, 945, 946
Neutrality Acts (1935, 1936), 878
Neutrality law, British, 526
Neutrality policy
  in First World War, 772–776
  in Napoleonic Wars, 270–271
  before Second World War, 878
Nevada, 455, 457, 615
Neville, John, 254
Nevis, 63, 64 (map)
New Age spiritual movements, 1080
New Amsterdam, 50, 51, 76, 77 (map). *See also* New York (city)
Newcastle, duke of (Thomas Pelham-Holles), 169
New conservatism, 956–958
New Deal, 847–856. *See also* Great Depression; Roosevelt, F. D.
  African Americans in, 869
  American Indians in, 870–872
  banking in, 848–849
  court-packing fiasco and, 874
  First, 847–856
  foreign relations in, 841, 872
  Keynesianism and, 860
  labor protests in, 858
  Mexican Americans in, 870, 871
  minorities in, 867–868
  recession of 1937–1938 and, 874–875
  Second, 860–858
  Second World War and, 856, 875
  TVA in, 853–855
  western development and, 855–856
New Democrats, 1087–1089

New Economic Policy, of Nixon, 1012
New England, 65–72
colonies in, 70–71
Dominion of, 106–107
government in, 70–71
Hartford Convention and, 281
households in, 68, 118
Indians in, 65–66
Indian war in, 98–101
infant baptism in, 71–72
life expectancy in, 68
Metacom's War in, 99 (map)
middle class in, 347
Northwest Ordinance and, 238
paper money in, 132–134
pottery pipe from, 66
Puritans in, 65–68
religious dissent in, 68–70
New England Antislavery Society, 495, 561
New England Confederation, 92
New England Courant, 135
New England Restraining Act, 197
New France, 44, 46 (map), *See also* Canada; France; French and Indian War; specific cities; specific locations
explorers, 44
fur trading, 44–45
Indians and, 45
Jesuits missions, 46 (map)
Louis XIV and, 45–47
missions in, 44
New Freedom (Wilson), 739–740
New Nationalism and, 739–740
New Frontier (Kennedy), 960–960
Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 960, 962
New Granada. *See* Colombia
New Guinea, 35, 149
New Haven Colony, 68–69, 70, 96
New immigration, 1061–1063. *See also* East New Jersey; Immigrants and immigration New Jersey; West New Jersey
corporations in, 1065, 1068
government of, 1062–1063
New Jersey Plan, 225, 240
"New journalism," 1003
New Left
on college campuses, 994–995
political and cultural movements of, 994
New Light Baptists, 143
New Lights (Congregationalists), 142
New Look, in U.S. military, 942–944
New Mexico
California and, 443–444
border dispute with Texas, Mexican War in, 450, 451
territorial organization of, 443–444
New Nationalism,
New Freedom and, 739–740
Roosevelt, T., and, 730, 734, 739
New Negro
after First World War, 797
Harlem Renaissance and, 832
New Negro, The (Locke), 832
New Netherland,
English in, 51
Indians and, 50
as pluralistic society, 50
New Orange, New York City as, 77
"New politics," 1003
Newport, 70, 133, 172, 652
French capture of, 225–226, 229
Newport Mercury, 174
New Right. *See also* Neoconservatives (neocons)
affirmative action and, 1054–1057
anti-government activism of, 1053–1057
Bush, George H. W., and, 1035
business leaders in, 1028–1029
election of 1980 and, 1030–1031
on environmental regulation, 1055
on gender equality, 1029
in 1970s, 1054–1055
Reagan and, 1030
women in, 1021, 1035, 1045
New Side Presbyterians, 142
New South. *See also* South
agriculture in, 632–633
industrialization in, 630–637
Jim Crow laws in, 635–637
race relations in, 633–634
Newspapers. *See also* Press; specific newspapers
celebrities in, 805
penny press and, 360–361
New Sweden, 51, 81. *See also* Delaware
New Testament. *See* Bible
Newton, Huey, 1991
Newton, Isaac, 135
"New Woman," 656–657
New World, 16, 41, 89. *See also* Americas; specific locations
New York (city)
abolitionist mail from, 434
death rates in (1925), 831
draft riot in, 550–551
Greenwich Village in, 697–698
slave revolt in, 149, 150
travel time from, 299 (map)
unemployment in Great Depression, 865
urban decay in, 1024
WPA projects in, 862
New York (colony). *See also* New Netherland
charter for, 77 (map)
English absolutism in, 75–78
governors in, 76–77, 144
New York (state)
electoral balance and, 638
governor in, 144
prisons in, 420–422
progressive reforms in, 722
New York Central Railroad, 296
New York Herald, 415
New York Journal, 747, 748
New-York Magdalen Society, 435–436
New York Press Club, 656
New York Restraining Act (1767), 178
New York Stock Exchange, 646–647, 803, 840, 848–849
New York Weekly Journal, 135
New York World, 566, 747
New Zealand, ANZUS and, 919
Nez Percé Indians, 626 (map), 627
NFL. *See* National Football League
NHL. *See* National Hockey League
Niagara, Fort, 162 (map)
Niagara campaign, in French and Indian War, 158
Niagara Falls, 277, 279
Niagara movement, NAACP and, 725–728
Niagara River, 277
Nicaragua
filibustering in, 468–469
Iran-contra affair and, 1027, 1036–1037, 1039
Sandinistas in, 1037, 1042
Nicholas II (Russia), 775
Nicholson, Francis, 108
Nickelodeons, 675, 696
Nicolls, Richard, 76
Nightingale, Florence, 554
Nimitz, Chester W., 888, 891 (map)
Niña (ship), 15
Nineteenth Amendment, 718, 810
Ninety-five Theses, of Luther, 41
Ninety-Six (British outpost), 226, 227 (map), 228
9th and 10th Negro Cavalries, 749
Ninth Amendment, 718, 810
NIRA. *See* National Industrial Recovery Act
Nisei, 901
Nitze, Paul, 915
Nixon, Richard Milhous,
anti-Nixon manifesto, 960
during Cold War, 922, 937, 939
election of 1952 and, 939
election of 1960 and, 960–962
resignation of, 1019–1020
Watergate scandal and, 1018–1019
Nixon Doctrine, 1013–1014, 1016–1017
NLF. *See* National Liberation Front
NLRA. *See* National Labor Relations Act (NLRA)

NLRB. *See* National Labor Relations Board
Noah, Mordecai, 368
Nobel Prize, 1057, 1107, 1112
  for literature, 836
  Peace Prize to Roosevelt, T., 763
Nobles, legislature of (Carolina), 74
No Child Left Behind program, 1095–1096
"No-fly" zones, in Iraq, 1043
Nonaggression pact, Soviet-Nazi, 879
Nonimportation, 175
  agreements about, 175
  Boston and, 175
Non-Intercourse Act (1810), 273
Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, 817
Nonproliferation, of nuclear weapons, 1102
Nonrecognition, toward Manchukuo, 877
Non-Separatists, 52. *See also* Puritans
Nonslaveholders, 495–497
  Confederate draft and, 550–551
  in South, 495–497
Norfolk, 131
Noriega, Manuel, 1042
 "Normalcy," Harding on, 800
Normal schools, 419
Normandy landing, in Second World War, 885, 886–887, 889 (map)
Norris, George, 357–358
Norris, Tommy, 774
Norsemen, 2, 6, 13
North (Civil War). *See also* Civil War (U.S.)
  draft in, 550–551
  financing of war by, 523–524
  inflation in, 550
North (region)
  free-labor ideology and, 494
  fugitive slaves and, 461–462
  Panic of 1857, sectionalism, and, 493
  plain people of, 348–357
North, Oliver, 1039, 1040
North Africa, in Second World War, 884–885
North America. *See also* Colonies and colonization; specific countries and regions
  Vikings in, 6
  war for, 153–165
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 1043, 1101
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 915
  Germany and, 916 (map)
  expansion of, 915
North Briton No. 45, 181
North Carolina. *See* Carolina; South
North Carolina A&T University, sit-ins and, 975
North Dakota, 817, 878
Northeast, civil rights protests in, 976
  Market Revolution, 400–407
Northern Plains tribes, activism of, 1050
Northern Securities Company, 729
Northern War (1776–1777), 206–208
North Korea. *See* Korea; Korean War
North Vietnam, 946, 988–991. *See* also Vietnam; Vietnam War
Northwest, 301–303
  farmers, 302–303
  Southern settlers, 302
Northwest Ordinance (1787), 235–238
Northwest Territory, 235–236
Notes (bank). *See* Banknotes
Novels. *See* Literature; specific works;
  penny press and, 360–361
  women as readers of, 695–696
November 11, First World War 777, 787
Novus ordo seclorum, 244
NOW. *See* National Organization for Women
NRA. *See* National Recovery Administration
NSC. *See* National Security Council
NSC-68, 915–919
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1995), 1102
Nuclear power, 920, 1025, 1102
  energy from, 1025
  pollution by, 1009
Nuclear weapons. *See also* Atomic bomb
  Cold War arms race and, 909
  in Cuba, 963
  Korean War and, 917
  massive retaliation and, 942–943
  testing of, 891
Nullification
  Calhoun and, 395–397
  of Stamp Act, 174–175
Nuremberg trials, 886, 996
Nursing, women in, 554, 655
NWLB. *See* National War Labor Board
Nye, Gerald P., 878

O

Oates, Titus, 104
Oath of allegiance, for ex-Confederates, 579, 580
Obama, Barack, 1085, 1112–1114
  election of 2008, 1111
  family of, 1112
  social networking and, 1114–1115
Obsidian, 18, 26
Ocala, Florida, Farmers' Alliance at, 668
Occaneechee Indians, 102, 103 (map)
Occult knowledge, of slaves, 334
Occum, Samson, 143
Occupational Safety Act (1973), 1011
Occupations (jobs). *See* Crafts; Jobs; Professions
Oceana (Harrington), 74
Oceania, immigration from, 1061, 1064 (map)
Oceans. *See* specific ocean regions
O'Connor, Sandra Day, 967
Odets, Clifford, 866
OEO. *See* Office of Economic Opportunity
Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), 983
Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), 906
Office of Price Administration, 892
Office of Scientific Research and Development, 893
Office of War Information (OWI), 898
Office work, women in, 655
Oglethorpe, James, 137, 149–150, 150 (map)
Ohio Company, 151–152, 236, 238
Oil and oil industry, 648, 1114. *See also* Energy;
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
  Persian Gulf War and, 1042–1043
  Reagan and, 1042
  Rockefeller in, 647–648
Oil embargo, 982
O'Kelly, James, 362
Okies, 851–852
Okinawa, 889, 891 (map)
Oklahoma. *See also* Indian Territory
  Cherokee removal to, 394
Oklahoma! (musical play), 867
Old Dominion. *See* Virginia
Old Guard. *See* Republican Party
Old immigrants, 683
Old Lights (Congregationalists), 142
Old Republicans, 274, 275
Old Side Presbyterians, 142
Old South, 128–131, 314–341. *See also* South
Old Southwest, Indians of, 276, 393
Old Whig ministry (England), 175
Oligarchy, in Virginia, 60
Olive Branch Petition, 200, 201
Oliver, Andrew, 174
Olmec culture, 21–22
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 678–679

Olympic Games, boycott of (1980), 1027
Omaha Indians, 269
100th Battalion, 903
Oneida Indians, 154, 221
O'Neill, Eugene, 794, 836
One-party system, 383, 389, 877
Onontio (Algonquian), 115–116
On the Road (Kerouac), 995
On the Town (movie), 936
OPEC. *See* Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
Opechancanough (Pamunkey Indians), 57
"Open door" notes, 756
Open Door policy, toward China, 756-757
Open-field agriculture, in New England, 70–71
Open housing, 970, 971, 976 , 998
  in California, 985
Open-range grazing, 617, 618
Open Skies initiative (1955), 943
Opera companies, 678
Operation Desert Shield, 1042
"Operation Dixie," 951
Operation Iraqi Freedom, 1104
Operation Just Cause, 1042
Operation Mongoose, 963
Operation OVERLORD, 885–887
Operation Ranch Hand, 1048
Operation Rolling Thunder, 991
Operation Wetback, 974
Opium Wars (China), 613
Opposition faction, 83
Orange, Fort (Albany), 50, 76
Orange, House of, 47
Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, 477
Order of United Americans, 477
Orders in Council (England), 253, 274
Oregon, 448–449
Oregon Country, 443 (map), 449
Oregon Trail, 444–445
Organization Man, The (Whyte), 953
Organization of Afro-American Unity, 1000
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 1025
Organized Baseball, desegregation of, 932–933
Organized crime, 690–692
Oriskany, 209 (map0, 210
Orlando, Vittorio, in Big Four, 788
Orthodox Church, slavery and, 38
Orthodox colonies, 72, 92
Osage Indians, 276
Osborn, Sarah, 191
Ostend Manifesto, 468
O'Sullivan, John L., 441
Oswald, Lee Harvey, 979
Oswego, Fort, 147, 159 (map), 162 (map), 164 (map)
Otis, James, Jr., 181
Otis elevators, 645
Oto Indians, 269
Ottawa Indians, 170
Ottoman Empire, 7, 788
  First World War and, 770 (map)
Outwork system, 292, 307, 490
Overhill Towns (Cherokee), 165
Overland trails, 444 (map). *See also* Trail(s)
OVERLORD, Operation, in Second World War, 885–887
Overseas markets, business in, 744–745, 815–816
"Overseer exemption", in Confederate draft, 550
Overseers, of slaves, 316, 318, 322, 328
Ovington, Mary White, 726
Owen, Robert, 356
OWI. *See* Office of War Information
Oxford University, GreatAwakening at, 139
Ozone layer, 1102

P

Pacal the Great (Mayan), 23–24
Pacification program, in Vietnam, 992
Pacific Fleet, U.S.
  Japanese attack on, 882–884
  in Mexican War, 451
Pacific Ocean region, Drake in, 52
Pearl Harbor attack in, 882–884
  in Second World War, 882–884
Pacific Railroad Bill (1862), 612
Pacific Rim, economic growth in, 1043
Pacifism, 76, 207
  in First World War, 774
Packard, Vance, 953–943
Padroni (labor contractors), 690
Page, Thomas Nelson, 634
Pago Pago, 746, 754 (map)
Pahlavi, Reza (Shah), 944, 1016, 1027
Paine, Thomas, 202, 214
Painting. *See also* Art(s)
  genre paintings, 500
  in Harlem Renaissance, 832
  Impressionism in, 654
  realism in, 654
Paiute Indians, 626 (map), 429
Pakistan, 7, 1107
  al-Qaeda in, 1113
Palenque, 24 (map), 23–24
Palestine. *See also* Israel
  after First World War, 787, 788–789
Palin, Sarah, 1111
Palmer, A. Mitchell, 796
Palmer raids, 796
Palmerston, Lord, 525
Palmer v. Mulligan (New York), 380
Pamunkey Indians, 57
Panama Canal, 761 (map)
  building of, 758, 760–762
  Carter treaties for, 762
  transfer to Panama, 762
Panama Canal Zone, 761 (map)
Panay (gunboat), 879
Panics (financial)
  of 1819, 382
  of 1859, 492–493
  of 1873, 601
Papal bull, Inter Caeteras as, 15
"Paper blockade," 525
Paper economy, 382
  Jackson and, 401
  Specie Circular and, 407
Paper money, 132–134
Paraguay, dictator in, 759 (map), 945
Paramilitary organizations, in South, 601
Pardons, 585, 812
  for ex-Confederates, 582–583
  of Iran-contra officials, 1040
  of Nixon, 1022
Paris
  in First World War, 771, 777
  peace accords in (1918), 787, 788–789
Paris, Treaty of, 169, 235, 235, 752–753
  of 1898, 751
  of 1899, 753
  Paris Peace Conference in 1919, 788–789
Park, Tom (Colonel), 955
Parker, Alton B., 731
Parker, Ely, 574
Parker, Theodore, 432
Parks
  national, 731–732, 1010, 1050
  urban, 654, 678
Parks, Rosa, 970
Parliament (England). *See* specific acts
Parliament for America, 241
Parochial schools, vs. public schools, 477
Parris, Samuel, 109
Parsons, Samuel Holden, 293
Participatory democracy, SDS on, 994
Partisan politics. *See also* Political parties; Politics Washington on,
Partisan warfare, in Revolution, 226–228

Party politics, Van Buren and, 407–409
Party system, second, 409–410
Pastureland, 300–301
Paternalism, slavery and, 129, 338
Paterson, William, 240–241
Patriarchal authority, 356
  challenges to, 234
Patriarchy, 234
Patriot Act. *See* USA Patriot Act
Patriotick Barber of New York, The (cartoon), 195
Patriotism, in First World War, 782–784
Patriots, Tea Act and, 193
Patronage, political machines and, 594, 691
Patrons of Husbandry. *See* Grange
Patroonships, in Hudson River region, 50
Patsy Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act, 1074
Patton, George, Bonus Army and, 843
Patuxet Indians, 65
Paul, Alice, 697, 720, 811
Paulson, Henry (Hank), 1109, 1110, 1111
Pavonia Massacre, 50
Pawn America, 1070
Pawnee Indians, 269
Pawtucket, textile milling in, 307
Paxton Boys, 155, 170–171, 187, 189
Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act (1909), 734
Peace, after First World War, 774–775
Peace accords (Paris), ending Vietnam War, 1026
Peace convention, before Civil War, 510
Peace Corps, 962, 983
Peace Democrats, 543, 544. *See also* Copperheads
Peace groups, 878. *See also* Antiwar movements Spanish Civil War and,
Peacekeeping
  by Roosevelt, T., in East Asia, 762–763
  UN force in Korean War, 917, 918 (map)
Peace movements. *See also* Antiwar movements; Copperheads
  in First World War, 774
Peace of Paris, of 1763, 165
"Peace Policy," for Indians, 627–628
"Peace without victory," Wilson on, 774–775
Peale, Norman Vincent, 953
Pea Ridge, Battle of, 532
Pearl Harbor, Japanese attack on, 882–884
Pelham-Holles, Thomas (duke of Newcastle). *See* Newcastle, duke of
Pell Grants, 1065
Pelosi, Nancy, 1113
Pendergast, Tom, 691
Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883), 639
Penicillin, 893
Peninsula campaign, 535 (map)
Penn, John, 170
Penn, Kal, 1112
Penn, William, 73, 81–82
Penn family, 83
Pennsylvania
  constitution of, 216–217
  French and Indian War in, 147
  Homestead strike in, 663
  households in, 118
  prisons in, 421–422
Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 233
Pennsylvania Charter of Liberties, 83
Pennsylvania Gazette, 135
Pennsylvania Line (Revolutionary War), 228
Penny press, 360–361
Pensacola, 117, 278 (map), 511
Pensions, 231, 640, 807, 861
Pentagon
  Cold War, 928
  in Second World War, 884
"Pentagon Papers," 1017
People of color. *See also* specific groups
  Columbian Exposition and, 682
People's capitalism, 803
People's Party (Populists), 669–672
  launch of, 669
  rise and fall of, 669–672
People's Republic of China. *See* China
People, The, (Latrobe), 371
Pequot Indians, 70, 98
  massacre of, 69 (map)
Pequot War, 69 (map)
Per capita production and income in 1850s, 487
  and real wages, 658, 802, 807, 951
Perestroika, 1040
Periodicals, 142, 707, 711. *See also* Magazines; Newspapers
Perkins, Frances, 847, 864
Perot, Ross, 1044, 1089
Perry, Oliver Hazard, 279
Perryville, Battle of, 534
Persecution, of English religious groups, 80, 83
Pershing, John J., in First World War, 777
Persia. *See* Iran
Persian Gulf War, 1042–1043
Personal computers, 1065, 1067, 1075
Personal liberty laws, 461
Personal power relationships versus political empowerment, 1045
Personal registration laws, 716–717
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA,), 1088
Personal savings, 893, 897, 1070
Peru, 31–33
  Drake at, 52
  Inca civilization and, 2 (map)
Pesticides, 950, 1009
Pesticides Control Act (1972), 1010
Pet Banks, 403, 405
Petersburg, siege of, 535 (map), 562, 564, 565
Petitions, antislavery, 397–399
Petit jury, Senate as, 589
Petraeus, David, 1106–1107
Petroleum industry. *See* Energy; Oil and oil industry
Petticoat Wars, 397–398
Peyote, 1050
Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart, 655
Philadelphia,
  First Continental Congress in, 196–197
  loss of, 208–210
Philadelphia Aurora, 259
Philadelphia Convention, 240–242
Philadelphia Gazette, 360
Philadelphia Hospital, 135, 137
Philadelphia Ladies Association, 234
Philanthropy, 431, 637, 673
Philip II (Spain), 2
Philip V (Spain), 150
Philippines. *See also* Filipino Americans
  Magsaysay and CIA in, 919, 944
  Marcos in, 1027
  Spanish-American War and, 748, 751
Phillips, Wendell, 432, 495
Phillips curve, 1012
Philosophes, 211
Philosophy
  of Second New Deal, 860
  Social Darwinism as, 652
Phips, William, 120
Phonograph, 645, 818
Photography
  of Bourke-White, Margaret, 898, 929
  of Japanese American internment, 902
  Kodak camera and, 645, 744, 951
  of Mormon wagon train, 446
Physical fitness, 654–565

Physics, fission and, 891
Pickens, Francis, 364, 537
Pickering, John, 265–266
Pickering, Timothy, 293
Pickett, George, 556
"Pickett's Charge," 556
Pidgin language, Gullah as, 130
Piedmont, 97
Pierce, Franklin, 463, 467, 474
  Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 472
Pilgrims, 65–66
Pill, the, 966
Pillory, 421
Pillow, Fort, prisoners of war slaughtered at, 569
Pinchot, Gifford, 732, 734
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 258, 261
  XYZ affair and, 258
Pinckney, Eliza Lucas, 131
Pinckney, Thomas, 255
Pinckney's Treaty, Mississippi River shipping and, 255, 267
Pine Ridge Reservation, 629, 1050
"Ping-pong diplomacy," 1013
Pingree, Hazen S., 714
Pinkerton agency, 663
Pins and Needles (musical play), 867
Pinta (ship), 15
"Pin-ups", in Second World War, 899
Pirating
  of copyrighted materials, 1079
  of movies, 1078
Pitt, Fort, 162, 170, 171 (map)
Pitt, William, 160–161
  American Revolution and, 160–161
  English government formed by, 160.169
Pittsburgh, 151, 152, 292, 296
Pius IX (pope), 476
Pizarro, Francisco, 2, 32–33
Placemen, 113
Plains Indians
  Ghost Dance and, 629
  "peace policy" and, 627–628
  Sioux uprising and, 625–626
  suppression of, 626–627
  westward expansion by whites and, 234–235
Plains of Abraham, battle at, 162 (map), 163–164
Plan of union, Albany Congress and, 156
Plantation Duty Act (1673), 95
Planters and plantations, 129, 324, 328, 366. *See also* Slaves and slavery; specific crops
  in Chesapeake region, 331
  cotton cultivation and, 322, 339
  task system and, 130, 318
Platform (political)
  of Black Panther Party, 1001
  of Democrats (1800s), 449, 482
  of People's Party, 669–670
  of Republicans (1800s), 505
Platt, Thomas C., 729
Platt Amendment, 754–755
Playboy magazine, 966
Pledge of Allegiance, "under God" in, 952
Pleiku, attack on, 989 (map), 990
Plessy v. Ferguson, 636
Plows, cast-iron, 303
Plumbers unit, 1017
Pluralism, 952
  cultural, 701, 872
  in New Netherland, 50
  political, 952, 953
Plymouth, 52, 55, 65, 67
  Metacom and, 98, 99 (map)
Plymouth Company, 55, 58 (map)
Pocahontas, 56, 57
Pocket boroughs (England), 126
Podhoretz, Norman, 10028
Poets and poetry
  Beat, 995–996
  in Harlem Renaissance, 832
Point Comfort, 56, 58 (map)
Poison gas, in First World War, 771
Poland, after First World War, 788–789, 792
Polarization, of politics, 1007–1012
  changing times of, 1112–1114
  of 1993–2008, 1086–1100
Police
  Haymarket bombing and, 662
  strikes and, 661–662
Polio, of Roosevelt, F. D., 846
Political bosses. *See* Bosses (political)
Political campaigns. *See* Whistle-stop campaign
Political cartoons. *See also* specific
  anti-Bryan, 671
  cartoons, 621
  "Caning of Sumner, The," 481
  on "Corrupt Bargain," 385–386
  on Mississippi Plan, 603
  on presidential candidates of 1860, 505
  on Wilson's Mexico policy, 766
Political culture. *See also* Culture
  in colonies, 143–146
Political machines, patronage and, 594, 691
Political parties. *See also* Elections; alcohol, temperance, and, 423–427
  spoils system and, 391–393, 593
  Van Buren and, 407–409
Political power. *See* Power (political)
Political refugees, 683, 1062
Politicians, and the army, 260
Politics
  African Americans in, 1048–1049
  of American Indian policy, 1049–1051
  of anticommunism, 921–923
  Asian Americans in, 1052–1053
  attitudes toward in 1960s, 995
  of business, 807, 811–816
  of civil rights, 930–932, 970–972
  in elections, 859
  Farmers' Alliance and, 667–668
  gender, 898–900, 965–966
  in Great Depression, 856–860
  of harmony, 144–145
  immigrants in, 476–477
  labor and, 858, 866–868
  Mexican Americans in, 1050–1052
  in New Deal, 856–858
  New Left and, 994–995
  pluralism in, 50, 952
  polarization of, 1007–1012, 1086–1100, 1112–1114
  religion and, 952–953
  radical third parties, 859–860
  sexual, 697–700, 1047–1048
  social-cultural issues and, 1097–1100
  of social movements, 1044–1057
  sports figures in, 1073
  of stalemate, 637–640, 874
  women issues, 1045–1047
Politique, Henry IV (France) as, 44
Polk, James K
  election of and, 448–449
  Mexican War and, 451, 453–454
  Missouri Compromise and, 455
Polk, Leonidas L, 669
Pollan, Michael, 1098
Poll taxes, 190, 635, 717, 728, 931
Pollution. *See* Environment
Polo, Marco, 6–7
Polygamy, of Mormons, 445, 446, 870
Ponce de León, Juan, 16, 34 (map)
Pontiac's War, 169–171
Pools (business), railroads and, 647
Poor people. *See also* Poverty
  in Civil War, 551–552
  Homestead Act and, 611–612
Poor Peoples Campaign, 1005
Popé (San Juan Pueblo Indians), 114
Pope, Alexander VI, 15
Pope, John, 534–535
Pope's Day. *See* Guy Fawkes Day
Popish plots, 104
Pop music, 1078–1079
Popular culture, 357–361
  in Second World War, sexuality in, 697–700
Popular fiction, 360–361
Popular literature, 695–697

Popular sovereignty, 215, 455
slavery issue and, 455
Population
aging of, 1058–1061
of Chinese immigrants, 613
density in 1790–1820, 287 (map)
of seaport cities, 289–292
of Tenochtitlán, 24
Populists. *See* People's Party (Populists)
Pornography, 360, 435, 436, 700
Port Arthur, China, 762
Porter, Peter B., 274
Port Hudson, siege of, 558, 561
Port Huron Statement (1962), 994
Port Royal, Acadia, 121
Port Royal Sound, 530
Portugal
Asian empire of, 13–14
exploration by, 2, 9–10
Treaty of Tordesillas and, 2
Postal campaign, of abolitionists, 433–434
Post-Classic cultures, in Mesoamerica, 20, 21–24
Post-industrial service economy, 1069
Postmillennialists, 353
Postwar period, after First World War, 793–799
Potatoes, 5, 19, 20, 40, 286, 329
Potomac River, commerce on, 377
Potosí, silver mines at, 33
Potsdam Conference (1945), atomic bomb and, 908
Pottawatomie Creek, murders at, 481
Potter, David, 475
Pottery, Anasazi, 28
Pottery pipe, from New England, 66
Poverty
Great Society and, 983, 986, 987, 1009
in late 20th century, 1089
Powderly, Terence, 660–662
Powell, Colin, as secretary of state, 1095
Powell, Harriet, 431
Power (energy). *See* Electricity; Energy; Nuclear power
Power (political). *See also* Imperialism; Separation of powers; Superpowers; World powers
social networking and, 1114–1115
"Power elite" (Mills), 954
Power of Positive Thinking, The (Peale), 953
Power politics, Taft and, 754
Powhatan (chief), 54, 55, 56, 59
Powhatan Indians, 54, 55
Powwows, 97, 1050
Practical System of Modern Geography (Olney), 420
Prague, Nazis in, 879
"Praise the Lord" (PTL) movement, 1083
Prayer, 418, 419, 629, 952
in public schools, 1029, 1030
Prayer meetings, 492
Praying Indians, 99
"Praying towns," 97–98
Preachers
circuit-riding, 350
crisis conversion of, 349
itinerant, 334, 350
Pre-Classic cultures, Chavin, 19–20
Pre-Columbian America
complex cultures of, 17–18, 19 (map)
Thule culture in, 3
Predatory pricing, 647
Predestination, 43
Pregnancy, 62, 119
abortion and, 1011, 1029
Prejudice. *See also* Discrimination; Race and racism; specific groups
Premillennialism, 353
Presbyterians, 131, 140, 143, 361
New Side and Old Side, 142
in South, 362
Presbytery, 138
Prescott, Samuel, warning by, 197
Preservation, of environment, 731
President. *See* Elections; specific individuals
Presidential elections. *See* Elections; specific presidents
Presidential pardons, for ex-Confederates, 582–583
Presidios, 443
Presley, Elvis, 954
Press. *See* Media; Newspapers
Preston, Thomas, 183
Price(s)
of crops (1914–1929), 817
of Model T Ford, 724
Price indexes, wholesale and consumer, 550, 666
Priests. *See* Clergy; Missions and missionaries; specific orders
Prigg v. Pennsylvania, 458, 461
Primary elections, 636, 715
Primogeniture, 118
Princeton, Battle of, 207–208, 209 (map)
Princeton University, 735
Principles of Scientific Management, The (Taylor), 723
Printing, 134–135
in provincial America, 134–135
revolution in, 343–344
Print media, 134–135, 343–344
Prison(s), 420–422
Prison camps, in Civil War, 568, 569, 569
Prisoner-exchange controversy, in Civil War, 568–570
Prisoners of war (POWs), in Civil War, 568–570
Prison ship, 224
Privacy, rural landscape and, 305–306
Private banks, 738. *See also* Banking
state charters of, 416
Privateers, 150
English, 55
Private fields, land as, 318
Private property. *See* Property
Private schools. *See* Public schools; Schools
Privatization, in overseas economies, 1068
Privy Council, Lords of Trade and, 105–106
Prizefights. *See* Boxing
Pro-choice demonstrations, 1044
Proclamation of 1763, 169–171
Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, 581
Production. *See also* specific industries
cotton, 489–499
Professional Golfing Association (PGA), 1073
Professionalization, women, minorities, and, 657
Professional organizations, barriers to women and, 657
Professions, women in, 657
Profit sharing, 951
Progress, politics of, 704–741
Progress and Poverty (George), 621
Progressive income tax, 738
Progressive Party, of 1912, 706, 729–733, 735
Progressives and progressivism, 704–741. *See also* La Follette, Robert
activist government and, 707–711
citizenship requirements and, 717
civil rights and, 725–728
cultural conservatism of, 708–711
disfranchisement and, 717
First World War and, 774, 780, 781–782, 784, 787, 790, 792
municipal reform and, 714–715
in New York (state), 721, 706–722
Protestant reformers and, 706
Roosevelt, T., and, 729–733
socialists and, 711–713
in states, 715–724
Taft and, 754, 733–738
virtuous electorate and, 716
Wilson and, 738–740
Prohibition, 820. *See also* Eighteenth Amendment; Temperance
in antebellum period, 424–425
18th amendment and, 820

Prohibition *(continued)*
Harding and, 812
laws for, 424–425
in 1920s, 820
organized crime and, 690–692
origins of movement, 424–445
Promontory, Utah, transcontinental railroad and, 601, 614
Propaganda
in Cold War, 915, 920
in First World War, 784–787
in Second World War, 897–898
Property, for voting, 109
Property rights, 128, 611, 765
Property rights movement, 1055
Property tax, 259
Prophetstown (Tippecanoe)
Tecumseh in, 275–277, 278–279
Tenskwatawa and, 276–277
Proportional representation, 218, 241
Proprietary colonies, 60 (map)
government of, 110 (map)
Pennsylvania as, 106
Proslavery groups. *See also* Kansas Territory
Southern Know-Nothings as, 477–478
Prospectors, in California Gold Rush, 456–458
Prosperity, 801–811. *See also* Affluence; Wealth and wealthy
in 1920s, 801–811
Prostitution, 403, 435–436, 624, 706
investigations of, 707
in mining towns, 624
reformers and, 709
Protective tariffs, 374, 376, 395, 401. *See also* Tariff(s)
of 1887, 640
Protectorate, 760 (map), 762, 765
in England, 73
Hawaii as, 746
Samoa as, 746
Protest(s). *See also* Dissent and dissenters; Resistance; specific movements
in civil rights movement, 976
Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Herberg), 952, 1080
Protestant Episcopal Church, 232
Protestant Reformation, 41–44
chronology, 42
in England, 51–52
Protestants and Protestantism, 51–52, 476. *See also* Evangelicalism; Fundamentalism; Great Awakening; Huguenots; Puritans
decline of, 476
evangelicals and, 361
fundamentalist, 823–824
God-centered, 403
Indians and, 97
liberal, 823–824
progressivism and, 706
Whig culture of, 104
Yankee, 345
Providential worldview, 351–352
Provincial America. *See* Colonies and colonization
Provincial army, in French and Indian War, 147
Provincial congress, 194–195. *See also* Continental Congress
Provincial government, colonial, 89–91
Provisional governors, in Reconstruction, 581
Prussia, in Seven Years' War, 159
PRWORA. *See* Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (1996)
Psychological warfare, 572, 943
Public affairs broadcasting, 1080
Public debt, Hamilton on, 249
Public education. *See also* Education; Schools
American workers and, 970, 974
Jim Crow laws and segregation in, 635–637
Public friends, 79, 83
Public health. *See* Health; Healthcare
Public housing, 928, 930, 934, 975
Public lands, 405, 732
Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and, 734
Reagan and, 1033
Public Lands Commission, 732
Public libraries. *See* Libraries
Public life, voluntaristic ethic and, 119
Public opinion, Republican policies in South and, 601
Public policy, Heritage Foundation and, 1057
Public schools, reforms of, 418–419
Public service jobs, 983
CETA and, 1025
Public utilities. *See* Utilities
Public virtue, 214–215
Public Works Administration (PWA), 849, 853
"Publius" (Hamilton, Madison, and Jay), 243
Pueblo Relief Act (1933), 871
Pueblo Revolt, 114–115
Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Forum, 973
Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1052
Puerto Ricans, social activism among, 1051–1052
Puerto Rico, 751 (map)
Spanish-American War and, 748, 751, 753–754
Pulaski, Casimir (Count), 210
Pulaski, Fort, 530
Pulitzer, Joseph, 747
Pullman, George M., 664–665
Pullman strike, 664–665
Punishment, 193, 421
Capital, 82
in Massachusetts, 71
in prisons, 421–422
Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), 731
Puritans, 43, 70, 72
conversion and, 68–70, 98
covenant theology of, 66
family life of, 68
Indians and, 97–98
Metacom's War and, 98–101
Pequot massacre by, 69 (map)
Salem witch trials and, 109
Put-in-Bay, battle at, 278 (map), 279
PWA. *See* Public Works Administration
Pynchon family, 71
Pyramids 19–20, 21, 22
Temple of the Sun as, 23

Q

al-Qadaffi, Muammar, 1037
al Qaeda. *See* Al-Qaeda
Quaker City (Lippard), 360
Quaker Party, 146
Quakers
abolitionism of, 79
beliefs of, 78–79
families of, 79–80
meetinghouse of, 79
Metacom's War and, 99
migration by, 78
New York and, 80–81
in Pennsylvania, 81–83
in West New Jersey, 80–81
Quantrill, William, 515
Quartering Act (1765), 172–173
Quartering Act (1765), 172–173
Quasi-slavery, in Reconstruction, 583
Quasi-war, with France, 259, 275
Quayle, J. Danforth ("Dan"), 1035, 1043, 1089
Quebec, 163
loyalist refugees in, 220
siege of, 163, 165
Quebec Act (1774), 193–194, 196
Catholic Church recognized by, 232
Queen Anne's War, 120, 122
Queens. *See* specific monarchs

Queens College. *See* Rutgers University
Queenston Heights, Canada, 277
Queue ordinances, 614
Quincy, Josiah, Jr., Boston Massacre and, 183
Quincy Market, 311
Quipu, of Inca, 21
Quitman, John, 467
Quitrents, 83, 107, 187, 189
Quotas
on immigration, 822, 1062
on Jews, 823, 881

R

Race and racism. *See also* Activism; Anti- Semitism; Civil rights; Civil-rights movement; Ethnic groups and ethnicity; Ku Klux Klan; Minorities; Race riots; Slaves and slavery; specific groups
against Asian immigrants, 686
in Chesapeake region, 332, 129, 130, 316
colonial, 88–89
Columbian Exposition and racial hierarchy, 682
First World War, 784–787
free blacks, 366–368
Indian removal and, 394
industrialization in New South and, 631–632
challenging inequality in, 901–903
Ku Klux Klan and, 590, 597–600
Mann Act and, 700, 709, 726
minstrelsy and, 359
modern notion of, 366
"new immigrants" and, 683
in New South, 632, 633–634
of nonslaveholders and slaveholders, 495–497
in North, 366
politics of, 429–434
Protestant missionaries and, 744
racial fitness and, 654–565
in Second World War, 900–901, 901–903
Social Darwinism and, 652
in Spanish-American War, 749
in sports, 1073
stereotypes in, 204, 359, 596, 599
suffragists and, 591
Race riots, 392, 588, 635, 763, 798
after First World War, 798
Irish American/black, 552
in Springfield, Illinois, 725
in Watts, 997
Racial discrimination. *See* Discrimination;
Race and racism, 368–370, 631–632
Racial equality. *See* Equality; Race and racism
Racial identity, Black Power approach and, 1001
Racial segregation. *See* Military; Segregation
"Racial summit," 1000
Racing, auto, 1073
Radar, 884, 893
Radiation
from atomic bombings, 910
covert experiments with, 1102
victims of, 910
Radical Republicans, 579–580
Radicals and radicalism, 585, 587, 662, 689, 700, 787, 793. *See also* Radical Republicans; suffragists
colonial, 194–196
after First World War, 793–797
Haymarket bombing and, 661–662
feminist, 1045
red scare, 795–797
third parties in Great Depression, 859–860
Radical Whigs, 113
Radio
Coughlin on, 857–858
counterculture music on, 996
New Right programs on, 1055
Radioactivity. *See* Radiation
Radio Asia, 943
Radio Free Europe, 943
Radio Liberty, 943
Radio Martí, 1036
RAF. *See* Royal Air Force
Ragtime, 828, 831
Railroad(s)
as big business, 646–647
borderlands communities and, 614–615
Chinese labor for, 613–614
first, 298
in 1840–1860, 300 (map)
Great Railroad Strike and, 660–661
golden spike, 614
Homestead Act and, 611–612
mining and, 616
Panic of 1873 and, 601
standardization of time by, 650–651
technological advances for, 644
West and, 612–613
Railroad Coordination Act (1933), 849
"Railroad time," 651
Ralegh (Raleigh), Walter, 53–55
Ranching, 616–619
beef cattle in U.S. (1867–1897), 619
Californio ranchers, 620
cattle drives and, 617–618
Hispanic methods of, 620
industrialization of, 618–619
itinerant laborers in, 620–622
longhorn cattle and, 617
open-range grazing and, 617–618
in West, 616–619
RAND (government think tank), 920
Rand, Ayn, 958–958
R&D. *See* Research and development
Randolph, A. Philip, 831, 902, 931, 1000, 1048
Randolph, Edmund, 240
Randolph, Edward, 106
Randolph, John, 265, 274, 386
slaves of, 332
on social reforms, 428
Range wars, 617
Rantoul, Robert, 418
Rappe, Virginia, 699
Rate-cutting wars, among railroads, 666
Ratification
of Bill of Rights, 243
of Constitution, 242–243
of Louisiana Purchase, 268
of Massachusetts constitution, 240
of Versailles Treaty, 790–791
Rationing, 893, 896, 1012
Rauschenbusch, Walter, 708
Ray, James Earl, 1005
Raynal (Abbé), 39
Raza Unida, La, 1051
REA. *See* Rural Electrification Administration
Reading. *See* Literacy
Reading Railroad, 664, 730
Reagan, Nancy, 1039
Reagan, Ronald, 1030–1034
anticommunism of, 1030
assassination attempt on, 1034
as California governor, 1030
Cold War and, 922
economy and, 1031–1032
election of 1980 and, 1030–1031
as FBI informant, 1039
FCC and, 1055
on government action, 1032–1034
Grenada intervention and, 1037
Iran-contra controversy and, 1037–1040
in movies, 1038–1039
presidency of, 1030–1036
second term of, 1033, 1035
Reagan revolution, 1030–1036
Reagon, Bernice Johnson, 967–968
Real estate, in 1700s, 187
Real estate market , 1109
African American agents in, 694
racial discrimination eliminated from, 1001
restrictive covenants in, 931, 934
risky loans in, 1033, 1071

Real income, growth in, 940, 1031, 1088
Realism, 706–707
Real wages, 658, 671, 688, 802, 807, 951
Rearmament, in Second World War, 879
"Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition, The" (Wells), 682
Rebates, by railroads, 647
Rebellions. *See* Revolts and rebellions
Recall, 716
Recessions, 772. *See also* Depressions (financial); Economy
  in 1750, 134
  of 1929–1945, 873
  of 1937–1938 and, 874–875
  in 1953, 947
  Great Recession, 1111, 1113, 1114, 1116
Reciprocal Trade Agreement (1935), 873–874
Reconnaissance flights, for disarmament efforts, 943
Reconquest, of Spain, 14
Reconstruction, 577–580. *See also* Civil War (U.S.)
  Black Codes in, 583
  carpetbaggers in, 589, 596–597
  completion of formal, 590
  Compromise of 1877 and, 606
  congressional, 586–589
  election of 1875 and, 602
  election of 1876 and, 604–606
  end of, 607
  film on, 598–599
  Freedmen's Bureau and, 584–585
  freedpeople in, 577, 579, 583, 584–586
  goals of, 607–608
  Indians and, 598
  Johnson, Andrew, and, 580–586
  Ku Klux Klan in, 590, 592, 597, 600
  Radical Republicans and, 579–580
  retreat from, 601–607
  scalawags and, 589, 597
  second, 608
  in South, 582–583, 584, 595 (map)
  Supreme Court and, 603–604
  Wade-Davis bill and, 580
  Wartime, 577–580
Reconstruction acts (1867), 588–589
Reconstruction Amendments. *See* Thirteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Fifteenth Amendment
Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), 842–843
Recordings, 1019. *See also* Music
  45-rpm and LP, 955, 1078
Recreation, outdoor, 654
Recruitment, 561, 570, 932
Recycling, in Second World War, 895, 1091
Red Badge of Courage, The (book and movie), 518
Red China. *See* China
Redcoats, 151, 160, 161
  Boston massacre, 182–184
  in French and Indian War, 163, 166
  in Revolution, 196–197, 201, 206, 211
  in Virginia, 156–157
Red Cross, 553, 895, 1104
Redemptioners, 131
Redford, Robert, 1076–1077
Redistribution of income, in Second World War, 856
Redlining, 974–975
Red Republicanism (Europe), 476–477
Reds (movie), 793, 795
Red Scare
  after First World War, 795–797
  after Second World War, 923
Red Shirts, 601, 604
Red Sticks (Creek Indians), 278–279
Reed, Esther de Berdt, 234
Reed, John ("Jack"), 794–795
Re-export trade, 131, 270, 290
Referendum, 715–716
  for Lecompton constitution, 485–486
Reform and reformers. *See also* Abolition and abolitionism; New Deal; Progressives and progressivism; specific reforms
  alcohol and, 423–427
  of asylums, 422
  British imperial, 167–174
  civil service reform, 593–594, 639–640
  by clubwomen, 711
  men as, 864–866
  muckrakers and, 706–707
  municipal, 714–715
  prisons and, 420–422
  Roosevelt, T., and, 732–733
  in states, 715–724
  suffrage, 718–720
  tariff, 640
  women as, 864–866
Reformation. *See* Protestant Reformation
Reformed Church of America, 953
Refrigeration, in rail cars, 802
Refugee Act (1980), 1062
Refugees
  Acadian, 157–158
  Cambodian, 1014
  Cuban, 1062
  immigrants classified as, 1062
  Jewish, 885, 893
  loyalist, 220–221
  political, 683, 1062
  restrictions on, 821–823
  undocumented, 1082
Regions. *See also* Diversity; specific regions
  drinking in, 170, 306, 422–423, 424–425
  interdependence among, 395
  racial, ethnicity, and economies in, 88–89
Registration, of voters, 716–717
Regulation, 137, 729, 864, 985, 1032–1034, 1072. *See also* specific acts
  anti-government activists and, 1055–1057
  of corporations, 722, 733, 735
  economic, 93, 241, 662, 666, 731, 814, 1098
  of environment, 732, 1024, 1033, 1055
  of financial system, 416, 1071–1072, 1108
  of industrial safety, 658
  of labor, 579
  Nixon and, 1012
  personal registration laws, 716–717
  of railroads, 732–733
  of stock market, 733, 848–849
  of the territories, 484
  trade, 173, 176
  of voting, 716
Regulator movements, in Carolinas, 189–190
Rehabilitation, prisons and, 420–422, 428
Rehnquist, William, 1034
Reid, Harry, 1113
Relief. *See also* Social welfare
  in Great Depression, 843, 849–850, 871
Religion. *See also* Evangelicals and evangelicalism; Fundamentalism; Great Awakening; Missions and missionaries; specific religions
  in America, 1081–1084
  of American Indians, 29–30
  Aztec, 30
  in British colonies (1720), 110 (map)
  as a business, 807
  Catholicism vs. Protestantism, 476, 683
  colonial, 89, 110 (map)
  conservative, 364–365

democratic sects and, 349–351
denominational realignment in, 143
drinking and, 419–420
education and, 89
gays and, 1082–1083
Ghost Dance and, 629
government and, 88
Indian, 628
Mayan, 23–24, 30
New Right and, 1043
paternalism in, 129
politics and, 217, 952–953
public funding of church-centered education and, 419–420
reform in, 348
and revolt, 335–336
after Revolution, 232
of slaves, 334
splits in, 99, 139, 142
in 20th century, 1080–1084
Wars of, 43–44
women in, 348
Religious orders. *See* Missions and missionaries; specific orders
Religious Right, 1029–1030, 1080, 1082, 1083
Bush, George H. W., and, 1035
cultural conglomerates in, 1082
Religious toleration, 107, 136
in colonies, 74
Dutch, 47, 76
Relocation
Indian, 972–973
of industry, 809
of Japanese Americans, 901–902
"Remember the Alamo," 447
"Remember the Maine!", 748
Removal, of Indians, 394
Renaissance
American, 347
in Harlem, 832–833
Mexican, 837, 870
Renewable energy sources, 1025, 1032
Rensselaerswyck, 50, 73 (map), 188 (map), 239
Rent subsidies, 50, 77 (map), 239
Reparations
German, after First World War, 788, 790
for Japanese American internment, 901
of Korean War POWs, 941
"Repeal or the Funeral of Miss Americ- Stamp, The,", 177
Report on Public Credit (Hamilton), 249
Representation, 174. *See also* Three-fifths clause compromises over,
Representative government, in New York, 76
Repression, in First World War, 784–787
Republic(s), Indian villages as, 147
"Republican court", of Washington, 246
Republicanism, 420
Adams, John Quincy, 384
Black, 506
Dutch, 47
Eisenhower and, 956
French, 252, 336
Jeffersonian, 252
Modern, 956, 1022
Red, 476, 477
revival of, 383
Republican Party, 383, 384, 483, 589, 729, 1035. *See also* Democratic Republicans; Elections; Radical Republicans; specific leaders
African Americans and, 669
anti-government activism and, 1055–1057
Black Republicans in, 482–483, 497
Blacks and, 595–596, 862
Chicago convention, 734
civil service reform, 639
conservationist movement and, 985, 1011
Contract with America and, 1087
consumer plenty and, 837
corruption in, 720, 729, 812
foreign policy and, 594
Goldwater and, 979
Harding and, 812
In Kansas, 470–474
Ku Klux Klan and, 597–600
Lincoln and, 504–505
Mississippi Plan and, 602–603
nativism and, 473–478
political stalemate and, 637–640, 874
program of, 263–264
Reconstruction and, 579–580
Religious Right and, 1084
Revival, 383–387
Roosevelt, T., and, 733
Scalawags and, 597
slavery and, 494, 495
Van Buren and, 383, 407–409
Versailles Treaty ratification and, 790–791
Whigs in, 639–640
Republicans. *See* Democratic-; Republicans; National Republicans
Republic of Texas, 446–447
Republics
Indian, 147
in former Soviet Union, 789 (map), 880 (map), 889 (map), 916 (map), 1041
Research and development (R&D)
in Cold War, 920
NASA and, 959, 1060
scientific, 876, 893, 900, 906, 959, 1036, 1060, 1099
Research departments, corporate, 650
Reservations (Indian)
in and 1875 and 1900, 626 (map)
Indian policy and, 169–171
relocation from, 973
Reservoirs, 678, 949, 950
Resistance, 39–40. *See also* Protest(s); Revolts and rebellions
to British taxation, 179–180
committees of correspondence and, 185
to draft, 551
to escalation, 179–180
to Fugitive Slave Law (1850), 461–462
to healthcare, 1113
by Indians, 170–171, 278, 319, 624–637
to railroads, 666
of whites to Brown Cases, 974
of workers, 657–665
Resource extraction, 611. *See also* Mines and mining
western processes of, 615–616
Resources Recovery Act (1970), 1010
Restoration colonies, 73
Restoration era, 73
colonies founded in, 73
Navigation Acts in, 94–96
Restorationism, 349–350
"Restraint of trade," Sherman Antitrust Act and, 649
Retailing, 931, 934
Retirement, communities for, 1059
Reuben James (ship), 882
Reunification, of Germany, 917
Revenue Acts, 78, 106, 196
beer-wine, 849
of 1683, 106
of 1766, 176, 180
of 1768, 168
of 1926, 814
Townshend and, 167, 178, 179, 184
Revenue-sharing plans, of Nixon, 1009
Revere, Paul
engravings by, 181
warning by, 197
Reverse discrimination, 1054
Revivals and revivalism. *See also* Evangelicals and evangelicalism
camp meetings and, 349
consequences of, 141–142
in Great Awakening, 138–140
transatlantic, 140

Revolts and rebellions. *See also* Fugitive slaves; Resistance; Revolutionary War; specific revolts and rebellions
Bacon's Rebellion, 102–104
in Cuba, 962–963
Gabriel's rebellion, 336–337
male, 966
in New England, 197–198
Pueblo Revolt and, 114–115
Shays's Rebellion, 239
by Turner, Nat, 338
by Vesey, Denmark, 337–338
Whiskey Rebellion as, 253–254
Revolution(s)
in Cuba (1961), 964
management, 650
Revolutionary War
American constitutionalism and, 199
events leading to, 198–203
foreign interventions, 207–208, 776–777
French intervention in, 211
independence and, 201–203
loyalists in, 219–221
Spanish intervention in, 211–213
western land claims during, 236 (map)
Revolving turret, on ironclads, 528
Reykjavik, summit meeting at, 1040
RFC. *See* Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Rhee, Syngman, 917
Rhineland region, 828
Nazis in, 828
Rhode Island, 68–70, 72, 90, 243
charter for, 92, 96
factories in, 306–307
family system in, 307
government of, 110, 143–144, 146
Rhode Island system, in textile industry, 306–307
Rice, Thomas, 359
Rice and rice industry, 75, 87, 122, 130
in Georgia, 314, 317, 318
plantations and, 75, 145
in South Carolina, 129
Rice coast, 317, 322–323, 330
Richardson, Ebenezer, 182
Richmond, 102, 229, 336–338
bread riot in, 551
in Revolution, 230, 266
Riesman, David, 953–954
Rifle
infantry, 521
repeating, 558
in Spanish-American War, 749
Rifle Clubs, 601, 602
Rifling, 522
Riggs, Bobby, 1074
Right (political). *See* Conservatives and conservatism; New Right
Fox News and, Religious Right and
Rights. *See* Civil rights; Freedom(s); Liberty(ies); Women's rights; specific rights and freedoms
Right-to-Life movement, 1011, 1099
Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, 615
Rio de Janeiro, conference in (1942), 906
Riots. *See also* Race riots
antidraft, 551–552
for bread (Civil War), 551
against Chinese workers, 614
after First World War, 798
nativist, in South, 474, 478
Risk management, 1110
Ritchie, Thomas, 389
Rivers. *See also* Waterways; Transportation; specific rivers and river regions
in 1825–1860, 297 (map)
steamboats on, 296–297
Riverside Church, King at, 1002
Roads and highways. *See also* specific roads
Highway Act and, 949
improvements in, 949–951
in 1825–1860, 297 (map)
Roanoke colony, 53–55
1584–1590, 54 (map)
"Robber barons," 672–673
Roberts, John, 1034, 1099
Roberts, Owen J., 874
Roberts Court, 1099
Robertson, Pat, 1082, 1083
Robeson, Paul, anticommunism and, 923
Robinson, Jackie, 932
Rochambeau, comte de (Jean Baptiste Donatien), 229
Rochester, temperance in, 424–425
Rockefeller, John D., oil industry and, 647–648
Rockefeller, Nelson, 1008
Rockefeller Foundation, 673, 958
Rockefeller University, 673
Rockingham, marquess of (Charles Watson-Wentworth), 175–176
Rock 'n' roll, 954–955
Rock Springs, Colorado, massacre of Chinese workers in, 613
Rockwell, Norman, 898
Roderigue Hortalez and Company, 211
Roe v. Wade, 1011
Rolfe, John, 57, 63
Rolling Stone magazine, 996
Rolling Thunder (Vietnam bombing campaign), 990, 991
Roman Catholicism. *See* Catholicism
Romances (literature), 696
Romania, 792, 905
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 846, 848, 864
African Americans and, 869
United Nations and, 904
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 84–5846. *See also* Great Depression; New Deal
court-packing scheme of, 874
Democratic coalition and, 861–863
election of 1932 and, 844 (map)
election of 1936 and, 863 (map)
as governor, 837
Japanese American internment by, 901
liberalism of, 846–847
New Deal and, 848–856
Pearl Harbor attack and, 882–884
Second Bill of Rights of, 897
Roosevelt, Theodore, 729–733, 757–763
American nationality and, 701–702
big stick policy of, 763
corollary, 758
diplomacy and, 763
East Asia and, 762–763
election of 1904 and, 731
election of and 1910, 734
election of 1912, 737 (map)
environment and, 731–732
expansion under, 763, 767
First World War and, 772, 773, 774, 785, 790
geopolitics of, 757–763
government activism and, 731
as imperialist, 758
on melting-pot, 750
muckrakers and, 706
New Nationalism of, 739–740
Panama Canal and, 758–762
Progressive Party and, 732–733, 735
Republicans, as divided party, 733
in Spanish-American War, 749–751
Square Deal of, 730–731
on strenuous life, 654
trusts and, 729–730
Roosevelt corollary, 758
Root, Elihu, 791
Root, John Wellborn, 680
Root-Takahira Agreement (1908), 763
Rosecrans, William S., 548, 558, 559, 560 (map)
Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, 924

Rosenman, Samuel, 847, 864
Rosenwald, Julius, philanthropy of, 673
Rostow, Walt W., 989
Rothstein, Arnold, 692
Rough Riders, 749–750
Route 66, 851
Rove, Karl, 1096
Royal African Company, 73
Royal Air Force (RAF), 881
Royal colonies, 109 (map), 193
  assemblies in, 110
  in Georgia, 144
Royal Navy (Britain),
  impressment by, 151, 255
  in King George's War, 151
Royal Orders for New Discoveries (Philip II, Spain), 33
Rubin, Jerry, 1002, 1006
Rubin, Robert, 1108
Ruby, Jack, 979
Ruef, Abe, 691
Ruffin, Edmund, 365, 503
Ruhr region, French occupation of, 815
Rum, 170, 424, 436, 640
  trade in, 133, 138, 172, 180
Rumford Act (California), 985, 998
Rumsfeld, Donald, 1096, 1103, 1106
Runaway slaves. *See* Fugitive slaves
Rural areas, 692, 802, 893. *See also* Farms and farming
  Chicanos in, 870
  in Great Depression, 870
  discontent, 186–189
  high-tech industry in, 1060
  living conditions in, 288, 959
  Puritans in, 68
  railroads and, 683
  schools in, 420
Rural Electrification Administration (REA), 893
Rush, Benjamin, 137
Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817), 387
Rusk, Dean, 993
Russell, John, 525
Russia, 270. *See also* First World War; Soviet Union
  exit from First World War, 776
  expansionism of, 745
  in First World War, 769–770, 775–776
  immigrants from, 683, 684
  Japanese treaty with, 764
  Open Door policy and, 756, 762
  serfdom in, 38
Russian Revolutions, 776, 796
Russo-Japanese War, 762–763
Rustin, Bayard, 922, 970
Rustling, 617
Rutgers University, 143, 656
Ruth, George Herman ("Babe"), 805–806
Rwanda, U.N. peacekeeping in, 1100

S

Saar region, after First World War, 788, 789 (map)
Sabotage Act, in First World War, 785
Sacajawea (Shoshone), 269
Sacco, Nicola, 796
Sacco and Vanzetti case, 796–797
Sachems 65
  Massasoit as, 65–66
Sacraments, 43, 79
Sacrifice, 26, 27, 30
  Aztec, 25
  Christians and, 30
  Mayan, 23–24
  Olmec, 21
Sacrilegious Candidate, The (political cartoon), 671
Sadat, Anwar, 1027
Saddam Hussein. *See* Hussein, Saddam
Saddleback Church, 1083
Safavid Empire (Iran), 7–8 (map)
Safety, 196, 299
  industrial, 658, 662, 722
  of food, 731
  Nixon and, 1028
  Reagan and, 1033
  regulations, 1011, 1024
  on urban construction projects, 678, 687
Sagadahoc colony (Maine), 55, 56
Sagebrush rebellion, 1033, 1055
Sahara region, 9–10, 39
Saigon. *See also* South Vietnam; Vietnam War
  Diem government in, 978
  North Vietnamese capture of, 979
Saint(s), 15, 31, 43, 68–72. *See also* specific saints Puritan,
St. Asaph, 222 (map), 235
St. Augustine, 53, 122, 148, 149
St. Christopher, 63, 64 (map)
Saint Domingue, 47, 268
  slave revolt on, 336
St. Frédéric, Fort. *See* Crown Point
St. George's Fields, "massacre" of, 181, 184
St. John, Henry (Viscount Bolingbroke), 113–114
St. Lawrence River region, 44, 121, 147, 163, 206
St. Leger, Barry, 208, 210
St. Louis, 26–27
  slave auction in, 454
Saipan, in Second World War, 889, 890
Salem Village (Danvers), 109
Salem witch trials, 109
Salisbury, Harrison, 993
Saloons, 354, 358, 368, 702, 706
  in Chicago, 710
SALT I, 1013
Saltillo, Mexico, 452 (map)
Salt of the Earth (movie), 974
SALT talks. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
Salvadoran immigrants, 1062
Salvation. *See* Missions and missionaries
Samana Cay, 15
Same-sex relationships. *See* Gays and lesbians; Homosexuality
Samoa, U.S. rights to, 746, 754 (map), 1053
Samuelson, Paul, 958
Sand Creek massacre, 627
San Diego, founding of, 214
Sandinistasin Nicaragua, 1037, 1042
S & Ls, bailout of, 1033
Sandys, Edwin, 59
SANE. *See* Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy
San Francisco, 52, 212
  Chinatown in, 613–614
  counterculture in, 995
  segregation of Asian children in, 763
  strikes in, 858
Sanger, Margaret, 697
Sanitation, in cities, 688, 711
San Jacinto (ship), 526
San Juan Hill, battle at, 749, 750, 751 (map)
San Juan Pueblo Indians, 114
San Lorenzo, (Olmec city), 21, 24 (map)
San Salvador, Columbus and, 15
Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 447
Santa Fe, New Mexico, 444, 450, 517
Santa Fe Railroad, 612, 614. *See also* Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad
Santa Fe Trail, 444 (map), 612, 620
Santa María (ship), 15
Santee Sioux Indians, conflict with, 625–626
Santiago, Cuba, 149 (map)
Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), 594, 1062. *See also* Dominican Republic attempts to annex,
São Tomé, 12
Sarajevo, Bosnia, Franz Ferdinand assassination in, 769
Saratoga, battle at, 210
Sarbanes-Oxley Act (2002), 1109
Sargent, John Singer, 656, 771, 983

Sassamon, John, 98
Satellite countries, in Eastern Europe, 880 (map), 889 (map), 944
Satellites, for space exploration, 959, 1066, 1076
Saturation bombing, in Vietnam, 991
Saturday Evening Post, 898
Saudi Arabia, Persian Gulf War and, 1042–1043
Savannah, 121 (map), 137, 138, 224, 228, 317
Saving Private Ryan (movie), 886–887
Savings and loan (S & L) institutions. *See* S & Ls
Savings rate, decline of, 1071
Saybrook Fort, 69 (map), 70
"Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud" (Brown), 1001
Scabs (strikebreakers), 661
Scalawags, 589, 597
Scalia, Antonin, 1034, 1055, 1056
Scarlet Letter (Hawthorne), 347
Schaeffer, Francis, 1084
Schenectady, 119 (map), 120, 711
Schlafly, Phyllis, 967
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 960
Schlesinger, James, 1025
Schofield, John M., 590
"School Days" (rock song), 955
Schools, 368, 393. *See also* Education; Higher education; Universities and colleges; specific schools
  Antebellum era, 417–420
  Brown Cases and, 970
  Catholic, 477, 826
  common, 418
  ethnicity and religion in, 419–420
  exclusion of blacks from, 370
  freedmen's, 585
  law, 81
  normal, 419
  public, 343, 418–419
  reforms of, 417–420
  religion and, 419–420
  segregation in, 370
Schulberg, Budd, 922
Schurz, Carl, 602
Schuyler, Fort, 210
Schwerner, Michael, 983
Science., 191, 650, 652, 818. *See also* Astronomy; Natural science; Scientific method; Technology
  vs. Christianity, 800, 824–825
  on racial differences, 429
  technology and, 898, 959, 1047
Scientific management, 722–724
Scientific method, applied to society, 652
Scientific research, 673, 876
Scientific Research and Development, 959
  Office of, 893
Scioto Company, 326
SCLC. *See* Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Scopes, John T., 824
Scopes Trial, 824–825
  Inherit the Wind (movie) and, 825
Scots Covenanters, 351–352
Scots-Irish, 131, 132, 170, 189, 216
Scott, Dred, 484
Scott, Hannah, 334
Scott, Winfield, 451, 474
  in Civil War, 513, 514, 528
Screen Actors Guild, 922, 1039
Scribner's magazine, 653
SDI. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative
SDS. *See* Students for a Democratic Society
  Sea Islands, 220, 318
Seale, Bobby, 1001
Seamstresses, 490, 492
Seaport cities, 289–292
  growth of, 289–290
  wealth in, 290–291
"Search and destroy" missions (Vietnam War), 991
Sears, Roebuck, 673, 864, 881
Seattle, strike in (1919), 793
SEC. *See* Securities and Exchange Commission
Secession, 235, 395, 502–517
  acquisition of Cuba and, 753–754
  South Carolina's, 537
  Civil War and, 509 (map)
  election of 1860 and, 509 (map)
  Georgia's, 510
  of Louisiana, 266
Secessionism, after Revolution, 503–504
Secessionists, before election, 503–504
Sechin Alto, pyramid at, 19
Second Amendment, 1001, 1099
Second Anglo-Dutch War, 101
Second Bank of the United States, 402
Second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), 534–537
Second Bill of Rights, 897
Second Continental Congress, 199–201
Second Front, in Second World War, 884, 885
Second New Deal (1935–1937), 860–868. *See also* New Deal
Second party system, 876–906
Second World War
  atomic bombs in, 890–892
  economy and, 892–897
  in Europe, 879, 879–881, 880 (map)
  events leading to, 878–879
  gender issues in, 898–900
  internment in, 901
  in North Africa, 884–885, 885–887, 889 (map)
  in Pacific, 887–889
  peace after, 903–906
  Pearl Harbor attack in, 882–884
  race issues, 900–901
  social issues during, 897–903
  U.S. neutrality before, 878
  U.S. response to war in Europe, 879–882
  U.S. strategy in, 888–890
Secretariat (UN), 904
Secret ballot, 74, 81, 190, 216, 716
Sectionalism, 298, 607
  in election of 1836, 407–408
  panic of 1857 and, 493
  slavery and, 412
Sects (religious). *See* specific groups
Secular humanism, 1084
Secular liberalism, Catholicism and, 476
Securities, 236, 240, 250, 251
Securities Act (1933), 848–849
Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), 849, 1056, 1109
Securities Exchange Act (1933), 848
Security. *See* National security
Security Council (UN), 904
Sedalia, Missouri, 617
Sedentary cultures, in America(s), 17–18
Sedition Act, 259–260, 261
  in First World War, 785
Seditious libel, Zenger and, 135
Seduction of the Innocent, The (Wertham), 954
Segregation, 725, 931, 956, 969, 979. *See also* Desegregation
  of African Americans, 693, 725
  in armed forces, 900
  in baseball, 932
  in Birmingham, 977
  Cold War and, 931–932
  Dixiecrats and, 939
  Eisenhower and, 972
  14th amendment and, 931
  of government departments, 869
  industrialization and, 632
  Kennedy and, 975
  lawsuits regarding, 728
  Montgomery bus boycott and, 970
  in public facilities, Jim Crow laws and, 636
  race-mixing, 955
  residential, 892–893
  in schools, 763
  of transportation, 970, 976
  vigilantes, 1000
  Wallace and, 985
Seigneurs (gentry), in New France, 46
Selective Service Act (1917), 780, 881
Selective Training and Service Act (1940), 880

Selectmen, in New England, 71
Self-determination, after First World War, 774, 783, 788, 790, 792
Self-government, 758
  Cubans and, 749
  by Filipinos, 752–753
  for Indians, 872
  Soviet Union, 1041
Self-interest, of anti-imperialists, 753
Selma, Alabama, racial violence in, 996
Seminole Indians, 385, 393, 517, 625
Semisedentary lifestyle, 17, 18
Semiskilled labor, 292, 311, 369, 475, 807, 825
  AFL and, 663
  unions and, 661, 866
  wages for, 490, 658
  women as, 782
Senate (U.S.)
  caning of Sumner in, 480–481
  debates over slavery in, 459–460
  impeachment and, 589–590
  Versailles Treaty ratification fight, 790–791
  Watergate Committee in, 1018–1019
Senators
  direct election of, 668, 669, 715
  election by legislatures, 497
  terms for, 241
Seneca Falls Convention, 438
Seneca Indians, 161, 170, 221, 574
Sensationalism, of yellow journalism, 747
Sentimentality
  in literature, 347, 348
  in middle class, 325
Seoul, 917, 918 (map)
Separate-but equal-principle, 931
Separation of church and state, 70, 349, 364
Separation of powers, Adams, John, on, 214–215
Separatism, after Revolution, 798
Separatists, Pilgrims as, 52
September 11, terrorist attacks, 1085, 1096, 1102–1103
Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 29
Serbia, 683, 1040, 1014 (map)
  First World War and, 769, 770 (map), 771, 789 (map), 792
  Kosovo and, 1100
Serbian immigrants, 683
Serbs, ethnic cleansing by, 1100
Serfdom, 36–39
Serra, Junípero, 212
Servants, 59–60, 62, 65, 71, 73
  in Barbados, 75
  defined, 369
  indentured, 41
  Protestant, 62
  slaves as, 55, 63–64
Service economy, 1069
Serviceman's Readjustment Act (1944), 928
See GI Bill (1944)
Settlement. *See also* Colonies and colonization; specific countries
  advancement of, to 1790, 237 (map)
  of backcountry, 132
  Chesapeake region, 55–65
  Dutch, 47–51
  English, 90 (map)
  Indians and, 4 (map)
  movement of southerners to, 302
  New England, 65–72
  New France, 44–47
  Quakers, 78–84
  of Restoration colonies, 73–78
  in South Carolina, 75
  Spanish, 41–44
  spectrum of, 85–91
  in Texas, 117
Settlement houses, 707–711
Seven Days' Battles, 533–534, 535 (map)
Seventeenth Amendment, 715
Seventh-Day Adventist Church, 353
74th Congress, 859
Seven Years' War, 122, 169, 221, 159. *See also* French and Indian War
Sewage systems, in cities, 677, 853
Seward, William H.,
  "higher law" speech by, 460, 504
  "Irrepressible Conflict" speech of, 504
  prisons and, 421–422
Sewing machine, 487, 490, 689, 690, 695, 744
Sex and sexuality, 697–700. *See also* Gender;
  advertising and, 804–805
  Homosexuality counterculture and, 922, 923, 996
  female slaves and, 624
  feminism and, 697–700
  in movies, 698–699
  new sexuality and, 697–700
  in 1920s, 804–805
  politics of, 697–700, 1047–1048
  transsexuality and, 1047
"Sex-change" operations, 923
Sex ratio, in colonies, 87
Sexual assaults, in military, 1047
Sexual freedom, 697, 794, 865, 1045
Sexual politics, 1047–1048
Seymour, Horatio, 592
Shadow banking system, 1071
Shadrach (slave), 463
Shaft (movie), 1049
Shaftesbury, Earl of (Anthony Ashley-Cooper), 74, 104
Shah of Iran. *See* Pahlavi, Reza (Shah)
Shakespeare, William, 653
Shandong, 879
Shanghai, 1068
Sharecropping, 585
  in Great Depression, 850–852, 859, 863, 864
  in New South, 585, 632
Share the Wealth program, of Long, 856
Share wages, in southern free-labor contracts, 585
Sharp, Granville, 191
Sharpsburg. *See* Antietam, Battle of
Shasta Dam, 857 (map)
Shaw, Robert Gould, 561
Shawnee Indians, 147, 153, 170, 171
  Tenskwatawa and, 276–277
Shays, Daniel, 239
Shays's Rebellion, 239
Sheen, Fulton J., 953
Sheep, 16, 52, 300, 305
  grazing, 615
  Hispanics and, 443, 611
Shenandoah Valley, 2
  Civil War in, 571–572
Shenseki, Eric, 1112
Shepherd's Tent, Davenport and, 141
Sheppard-Towner Act (1921), 811
Sheridan, Philip, 565, 571, 625
Sherman, John, 499
Sherman, William T.
  Atlanta campaign of, 571
  march through Carolinas, 573
Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), 638, 649, 729
  Roosevelt, T., and, 729
  strikes and, 662, 664–665
Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890), 667–668
Sherwood, Robert Abe Lincoln in Illinois, 749
Shi'a Muslims, 1043, 1104
Shiller, Robert, 1110
Shiloh, Battle of, 531 (map), 532–533
Shippen, William, 137
Ships and shipping, 134, 160, 253, 283, 290. *See also* Railroad(s); Roads and highways; Transportation
  container shipping and, 1068
  Embargo Act and, 272–273
  in First World War, 772–773, 776–777, 778
  limits on warships, 815
  in Napoleonic Wars, 271–272
  before Panama Canal, 761 (map)
Shirley, William
  and Albany Congress, 155–156
  in King George's War, 150–151
Shoe industry, 300, 493
Shopping malls, 948

Short-staple cotton, 318–319. *See also* Cotton and cotton industry
Shoshone Indians, 269
Shriver, R. Sargent, 983
Siberia, 3
  humans in, 3
  Russia and, 762
Sicilian immigrants, 692
Sicily, in Second World War, 885, 889 (map)
Sickle cell, 129
Sierra Club, 731
Sierra Leone, 220, 400, 401
Sierra Nevada Mountains, national forests in, 1101
Sigourney, Lydia, 347
Silent Spring, The (Carson), 1009
Silicon Valley, 1060, 1115
Silliman, Mary Fish, 212–213
Silver
  coinage of, 667–668
  free silver movement and, 667–668
  Indians and, 18
  mining of, 667
  paper money and, 133, 134
  people's party and, 669–670
Simmons, William, 820
Simpson, O. J., trial of, 1090
Simpson-Mazzoli Act (1986), 1063
Sims, Thomas, 463
Sin
  Christian concept of, 30
  Protestant fundamentalists on, 823
  punishment of, 71
Sinai Peninsula, 1026
Sinclair, Harry F., 812
Sinclair, Upton, 711–712, 859
Singapore, 882, 884, 887, 891 (map)
Singer Sewing Machine Company, 744
Singleton, Benjamin, 633
Sing Sing prison, 421
Siouan peoples, 3
Sioux Indians, 625–626
  Ghost Dance religion and, 629
  Wounded Knee massacre of, 629
Sioux languages, Catawbas and, 97
Sirhan, Sirhan, 1005
Sirica, John, 1018, 1019
Sitcoms, 1075
Sit-down strikes, 866
Sit-ins, 975
Sitting Bull (Sioux leader), 625, 629–630
Six Crises (Nixon), 1008
Six Nations, 154–155
Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance (Beecher), 423
Sixteenth Amendment, 738
Sixteenth Street Baptist Church (Birmingham), bombing of, 976
Skeptics, as lawyers, 136
Skilled labor. See also Labor
  AFL and, 663
  mass production and, 649
Skrellings, Indians as, 6
Skull rack altar, Aztec, 30
Skyscrapers, 675
Slash and burn agriculture, 17
Slater, Samuel, 307
Slave auction, 454
Slave-catchers, 462–465
Slave code, 324, 479
  federal, 498, 498
  in Kansas Territory, 498
Slaveholders, 129, 331, 333, 335, 338
  in South, 496
Slavers, 454, 472, 478, 493
Slaves and slavery. *See also* Abolition and abolitionism; Emancipation; Fugitive slaves; Revolts and rebellions; Slave trade
  in Chesapeake farming, 322–323
  Christianity among, 323–334–336
  Civil War and, 540–547
  as contrabands, 541
  cotton and, 322–324, 490
  distribution of (1790, 1820, 1860), 321 (map)
  Dred Scott case and, 484–485
  emancipation and, 316–317, 542–544
  emancipation proclamation, 546–547
  evangelical mission to, 365–366
  family life of, 330–331, 331–333
  filibustering expeditions for, 468–469
  first, 9
  free-labor ideology vs., 494
  Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 472–473
  lifestyle of, 330–331
  Lincoln-Douglas debates and, 497–501
  as loyalists, 220
  Manifest Destiny and, 442
  Mexican War and, 453–455
  as Muslim captives, 9
  in North America, 63–65
  Northwest Ordinance and, 238
  origins of term, 9
  popular sovereignty and, 455
  population distribution of, 321 (map)
  revolts by, 336–338
  staple crops and, 9, 491 (map)
  task system and, 130, 318
  theology of, 334–335
  in West Indies, 63
  Wilmot Proviso and, 453–455
  women and, 190–192
Slave ships, 400–401
Slave states, 241, 399, 460, 490. *See also* Slaves and slavery; South; specific states
  election of 1856 and, 482
  election of 1860 and, 506
  and free states, 443 (map)
  line dividing from free states, 453
  Kentucky, 238
  Louisiana Purchase and, 442
  secession of, 502
Slave trade, 10–13, 332, 399
  African, 16, 49, 73, 105, 128, 191, 317, 489
  Atlantic, 11 (map), 12, 233
  domestic, 320, 331, 333
  family and, 331–333
  Indian, 75, 116, 122
  interstate, 314, 320–322, 331, 399, 459, 508
  international, 400
  slave families and, 331–333
  slave mothers and, 333
  white, 700, 707
Slavs
  as immigrants, 683
  origin of word slave and, 9
Sloughter, Henry, 526
Slovak immigrants, 687, 688
Slovenia, 1040, 1041 (map)
Slovenian immigrants, 683
Slums, 290. *See also* Tenements
Small businesses, loans to, 983
Smallpox, 5, 31, 32, 120, 132, 276
  among Aztecs, 35
  among Indians, 35, 45, 96, 97
  inoculation against, 125
  Spain and, 117
Smith, Adam, slavery and, 191
Smith, Alfred E., 722
Smith, Caleb B., 547
Smith, Elijah and Albert, 424
Smith, Gerrit, 431
Smith, Hyrum, 357
Smith, Jesse, 813
Smith, John, 56–57
Smith, John Stafford, 279
Smith, Joseph, 349, 356–357
Smith, Willie, 831
Smith College, 966
Smith-Connally Act (1943), 896
Smog, 1009, 1010
Smokestacks, emissions of, 1009, 1010
Smoking. *See* Tobacco and tobacco industry
Smuggling, 96, 147, 160, 161, 180, 184, 485
  colonial, 133
  Embargo Act and, 272, 273
Scottish, 104, 111, 126, 137, 189, 223
Smyth, Thomas, 59

SNCC. *See* Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Soap, advertising of, 305
Soccer, 1073
Social activism. *See* Activism
Social classes. *See* Classes
Social Darwinism, 652
  "racial superiority" and, 652
Social hierarchy. *See* Hierarchy (social)
Socialism, 711–714
  economic inequality and, 741
  in First World War, 790, 794, 796
  Nationalism form of, 712
  organizations for, 712
  progressivism and, 713
  use of term, 711
  varieties of, 712
  in Wisconsin, 711–712
Socialist Labor Party, 661
Socialist Party of America, 711
Social mobility, 690
  free-labor ideology and, 494, 504
  slavery and, 494
  Whigs on, 415
Social movements, 1044–1057. *See also* specific movements
  African Americans and, 1048–1049
  Americans Indians and, 1049–1050
  Asian Americans and, 1052–1053
  politics of, 1044–1057
  in Spanish-speaking communities and, 1050–1052
Social networking, culture of, 1114–1115
Social orders. *See* Classes
Social policy, of Nixon, 1008–1009
Social programs, faith-based, 1029
Social reform. *See* Reform and reformers; specific reforms
Social sciences, 652, 959
Social Security, 860–861, 864, 865, 928–929
  Bush, George W., and, 1096
  Clinton and, 1089
  indexing of, 1009
  of 1970s, 1034
  Social Security Act of 1935, 860
Social welfare, 811, 839, 860, 897
  Carter and, 1033
  costs of, 860
  expansion of, 1034
  Kennedy and, 965
  Payments, 1046
  political machines and, 692
  Progressivism and, 720, 721
  Reagan and, 1033–1034
  reform in, 1025
  in southern states, 590
  spending on, 987, 1009, 1033
  Wisconsin and, 722
Social work and social workers, 708, 809
  at Ford, 724
Society. *See also* Families; Gender and gender issues; Men; Women
  affluence in, 948, 953–954
  conformity in, 953–954
  consumer, 651–652, 802–803
  after First World War, 793–799
  First World War and, 779–780, 782–784
  of slave masters, 324–325
  Social Darwinism and, 652
Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
Sociology for the South (Fitzhugh), 490
Soddies (sod houses), 622, 623
Sodomy, laws on, 1098
Soil, quality of, 1098
Soil Bank Program, 951
Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (1936), 852
Soil Conservation Service (SCS), 851
Soil erosion, 641, 854
Sojourner movement, 1082
Soldiers, 228, 231. *See also* Armed forces; Continental Army; Redcoats; specific battles and wars
  African Americans as, 560, 561–562
  British colonial, 160–161
  Citizen, 521
  Continental, 224, 234
  Federal, 254
  in First World War, 771, 777, 781
  Japanese American, 903
  Mexican, 450
  as politician, 937–939
  provincial, 156
  as strike-breakers, 492
Solidarity movement (Poland), 1040
Solid South, 939 (map)
Solomon Islands, 888, 891 (map)
Somalia, 1043
  U.S. troops in, 1100
Somoza, Anastasio, 1027
Sonoma, battle at, 451
Sonora, 468
Sons of Liberty
  Boston Massacre and, 181–184
  Wilkes and, 181–182
Sony, Walkman and, 1078
Sorosis (women's club), 656
Soto, Hernando de, 33
Sotomayor, Sonia, 1113
Soulé, Pierre, 467–468
Souls of Black Folk, The (Du Bois), 637
Sound and the Fury, The (Faulkner), 836
South. *See also* Civil War (U.S.); Confederacy (Civil War); Deep South; New South; Old South; Reconstruction
  agriculture in, 632–633
  Bible Belt in, 361–362
  Black Codes in, 583
  British offensive in, 224–232
  caning of Sumner and, 480–481
  carpetbaggers in, 589, 596–597
  after Civil War, 582–583
  compromise proposals, 508–510
  Cotton Belt in, 319
  culture of whites in, 361–366
  disfranchisement of blacks in, 717
  economy of, 488–489, 549–550
  education, 585–586
  evangelicals in, 362
  families in, 325–326
  filibustering expeditions and, 468–469
  free-labor ideology and, 494
  Jacksonian Democracy and, 393–400
  Jim Crow laws in, 635–637
  labor, in postwar, 584
  land, in postwar, 584
  lifestyle of masters in, 324–325
  Lincoln and, 505–506
  lynchings of blacks in, 725, 728
  Market Revolution in, 338–341
  mutiny and reform, 228–229
  nativism and, 473–478
  nonslaveholders in, 495–497
  Panic of 1857, sectionalism, and, 493
  Partisan War, 226–228
  population growth in, 164 (map)
  Reconstruction in, 582–583, 595 (map)
  reformers, 495
  secession of, 507–511
  sharecropping in, 585, 632
  tariff and, 394–395
  task system in, 130, 318
  temperance in, 424–425
  Texas annexation and, 448
  voter participation in (1876, 1892, 1900, 1912), 718
  yeomen in, 326–330
South Africa, 900, 919, 920
  apartheid in, 1061, 1048
South America, 3–5. *See also* specific countries
South Carolina, 75. *See also* Carolina; Charleston; North Carolina
  backcountry of, 132
  Fort Sumter and, 511
  nullification in, 395–397
  politics of harmony in, 144–145
  secession of, 509 (map)
  slaves in, 75
South Carolina Gazette, 134
South Dakota, 669, 1050

Southeast
farming in, 315–318
imperial wars in, 151–153
Southeast Asia, 963. *See also* Vietnam War; Kennedy, John F., and, 964
Southern Baptists, 361, 1030
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 970, 1048
Southern Farmers' Alliance, 668
Southern Manifesto, 969
Southern Pacific Railroad, 612
Southern Republican Party, 597
Southern Rights Democratic Party, 504
Southern-rights position, of Calhoun, 455
South Korea, 915, 917, 941, 1016. *See also* Korea; Korean War
South Manchurian Railroad, 762, 764
South Pacific region
American empire in (1900), 754 (map)
Second World War in, 887–888
South Vietnam, 946, 1026. *See also* Vietnam; Vietnam War
Diem in, 947
Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 981, 988–990
Kennedy, John F., and, 964, 978–979
Southwest, 3, 17, 256 (map), 408
Indians in, 28 (map), 276, 393–394, 516–517
Mexican Americans in, 834
settlements, 293
slaves in, 319, 320, 331, 443 (map)
urban cultures of, 28
South Yemen, 1037
Sovereign power, in states, 215
Sovereignty, 176, 185
after First World War, 788, 791, 793
popular, 213, 215, 241, 242
state, 215, 394
for "the people," 715–716
Soviet Union. *See also* Cold War; Communism; Russia; Second World War
American Communist Party and, 859–860
atomic bomb and, 915, 923–924, 915
Berlin and, 912–913
collapse of, 1041 (map)
Cuba and, 263
lend-lease assistance to, 882
massive retaliation doctrine and, 942–943
postwar spheres of influence and, 904–905
Spanish Civil War and,
Sputnik and, 959
spying and, 911, 919, 924
Space exploration, Sputnik and, 959
Space race, 1036
Space shuttles, 1060
Spain. *See also* Spanish-American War American Revolution and,
Caribbean region and, 16–17, 149 (map)
Cherokee war and, 165
exploration by, 14–17 (map)
Jay treat with, 254–255
in Revolutionary War, 211–213
Slave revolts and war, 147–150
Texas and, 117, 148 (map), 446
torture of Indians by, 43
Spanish-American War, 747–751
in Cuba, 747–751 (map), 751
rifles from, 749
Spanish Armada, Roanoke and, 53–54
Spanish Civil War, 878
Spanish Empire, 36–39. *See also* Colonies and colonization; Spain
demographic catastrophe in, 35–36
global economy and, 36–39, 37 (map)
global labor system and, 37–39
Spanish Inquisition, 30
Spanish-speaking people, 903, 973–974. *See also* Hispanics; specific groups
activism of, 1050–1052
civil rights and, 973–974
in West, 610
Special electoral commission, for election, 606
Specie, 172, 286. *See also* Money
Panic of and,
to redeem Confederate treasury notes, 523
Specie Circular (1836), 407
Spectator, 135
Speculation
Homestead Act and, 612
in stock market, 840
"Speed-ups," of machines, 808
Spencer, Herbert, 652, 866
Spending (governmental). *See* also Budget; Finance(s); Military on defense,
on navy (1890–1914), 747
Spheres of influence
of Great Britain, 904–905
after Second World War, 904–906
of Soviet Union, 904–905
Spice trade, 13
Spies and spying
atomic spies, 924
in Cold War, 911, 919, 924
Rosenbergs and, 924
Spillane, Mickey, 899
Spinning mills, 307
Spirit of capitalism, 284
Spirit of St. Louis, The (airplane), 805
Spirituals (music), 335
Spock, Benjamin, 965–966
Spoils system
Jackson and, 391–393
reform of, 593
Sports. *See also* specific sports
blood sports, 357–358
boxing as, 358
college, 1073–1074
in late 20th century, 1072–1074
women in, 1073–1074
Sports-entertainment industry, 1072–1074
Spotswood, Alexander, 144
Spotsylvania, Battle of, 564, 565 (map)
Springfield, Illinois, race riot in, 725
Springsteen, Bruce, 868
Sputnik Crisis, 959
Squanto (Patuxet), 65
Square Deal, of Roosevelt, T., 730–731
Squatters, on Mexican-American lands, 620
SSI. *See* Supplementary Security Insurance
Stadholder
Jacob Leisler asm 108
Prince of Orange as, 47
William III as, 77
Stage coach travel, 295
Stagflation, 1012
Stalin, Joseph
Cold War and, 908, 909, 913
lend-lease assistance to, 882
postwar spheres of influence and, 904–905
Stalingrad, Battle of, 885, 889 (map)
Stalwarts, 639, 938, 960, 1114
Stamp Act (1764), 173–177
newspapers and, 173
nullification of, 174–175
repeal of, 175–177
resistance to, 174
Stamp Act Congress, 174
Stamp Act crisis, 174–177
Standardization of time, 650–651
Standard of living, 490, 730, 1030, 1069. *See also* Lifestyle
rural, 288
Standard Oil Company, Rockefeller and, 647–648
Standing army, Federalists on, 260
Stand Watie (Cherokee leader), 625
Stanford, Leland, 612
Stanton, Edwin M., 533, 547

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 438
woman suffrage and, 438, 718
women's rights and, 438
Stanton, Henry B., 438
Stanwyck, Barbara, 937
Staple Act (1663), 95
Staple crops, 9
slavery and, 9, 491 (map)
Starbucks, 1067
Stark, John, 210
Star of the West (merchant ship), 511
Starr, Ellen Gates, 708
Starr, Kenneth, 1090–1091
"Star-Spangled Banner, The," 279, 477
Star Trek, scholarly studies of, 1079
Star Wars. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative
Star Wars (movie), 1076
State (nation), separation of church from, 70, 349, 364
State(s). *See also* specific states
aggressor, 877–878
internal improvements and, 340
prisons in, 420–422
ratification of Constitution by, 242–243
reform in, 715–724
sovereignty of, 715–716
State banknotes, 524
State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP,), 1089
State Department, McCarthy, Joseph, and, 925
State legislatures, U.S. senators elected by, 497
State militia. *See* Militia
Staten Island, 203, 206–207
States General, in Dutch Republic, 47, 48, 49
States' rights, nullification and, 395–397
States' Rights (Dixiecrat) Party, 927, 931
Status. *See* Classes
Statute for Religious Freedom (Jefferson), 232
Stay laws, 239
Steam power, electricity and, 645
Stearns, Harold, 835
Steel and steel industry
cargo containers and, 1068
Carnegie in, 647
mass production in, 649
merger movement in, 648–649
strikes in, 794–795
Steele, Richard, 135
Steeplechase Park (Coney Island), 695
Steffens, Lincoln, 706
Stein, Gertrude, 835
Steinbeck, John, 867, 922
Steinbrenner, George, 1072
Stem cell research, 1066, 1099
Steroid use, in sports, 1074
Steuben, Frederich Wilhelm (Baron von), 210
Stevens, Thaddeus, 419, 579, 598
Stevenson, Adlai, 937–939
Stiglitz, Joseph, 1110
Stiles, Ezra, 349
Stimson, Henry, 880, 885
atomic bomb and, 892
Stock exchange, in London, 113
Stock Growers' Association, 617
Stock market, speculation in, 840
Stocks, 612, 679, 803, 1002, 1056, 1071, 1095. *See also* Stock market
Stockton, Richard, 207
Stoddard, Solomon, 139
Stone Age. *See* Neolithic revolution
Stones River, Battle of, 548
Stonewall Narrative, 1047
Stono Rebellion, 148
Storey, Moorfield, 727
Story of Avis, The (Phelps), 655
Stowe, Calvin, 418
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 347, 432, 465–466
Strategic Air Command (SAC), Cuban Missile Crisis and, 963
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), 1013
SALT I, 1013
Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT), 1026
Carter and, 1026
Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 1036
Strategic hamlet program, in Vietnam, 992
Street gangs, 354, 358
"Strenuous life, the," 654
"Stretch-outs," of machines, 808
Strict constructionism
of Jefferson, 251
Marshall and, 266
Strikebreakers, 661, 663
Strikes. *See also* Wildcat strikes
by cowboys, 616
after First World War, 793–795
in First World War, 780
in Great Depression, 858, 859, 866, 874
Great Railroad Strike of 1877, 644, 660–661
Homestead (1892), 663
Knights of Labor and, 660–661
in mining industry, 615–616
Pullman, 664–665
Reagan and, 967–968
steel, 794–795
Strip-mining, 615–616
Stroessner, Alfredo, 945
Strutt, Jedediah, 307
Stuart, J. E. B. ("Jeb"), 499
Stuart, John (Earl of Bute). *See* Bute, Earl of
Stuart, John, Indian superintendency to, 156, 169
Stuart dynasty (England), 112, 145. *See also* specific rulers
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 975
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 994
Studs Lonigan trilogy (Farrell), 844
Stump, Frederick, 171
Stump Speaking, 1004, 1028
Stuyvesant, Pieter, 51–51, 75–76
Subcultures. *See* Gays and lesbians; specific groups
Submarines, in First World War, 772–773
"Sub-prime loan" industry, 1033
Sub-prime mortgages, 1109–1100
Substitutes, in Civil War, 550, 551, 552
Subtreasuries (federal warehouses), in Farmers' Alliance agenda, 668–669
Suburbs
affluence in, 949
conservatism in, 935
gender politics and, 965–966
new, 933–935
public housing and, 934
Subversion. *See also* Cold War; Communism; Movies and movie industry
communism, homosexuality, and, 922, 923
FBI and, 922
postwar fears of, 920–926
Subversive Activities Control Act (1950), 924–925, 942
Subversive Activities Control Board, 924–925
Subway, 677
Succession, in England, 104
Sudetenland, Hitler and, 879
Suez Crisis, 945
Suffolk Convention, 195–196
Suffrage. *See also* Woman suffrage
reform of, 718–720
women's club movement and, 711
Suffragists, 591, 718–720
Sugar Act (1764), 169–171
Sugar and sugar industry, 9, 12, 753
in Barbados, 63
in Cuba, 747
France and, 133
imperialism and, 172
plantations in, 746
slavery and, 38, 491 (map)

Sugar colonies. *See* Barbados; West Indies; specific colonies
Sugar plantations, Crusades and, 9
Suicide, assisted, 1099
Sukarno, Achmed, 946
Sullivan, Louis, 680, 681
Summers, Larry, 1108
Sumner, Charles, caning of, 480–481
Sumter, Fort, attack on, 511–513
Sumter, South Carolina, city manager plan in, 714
Sumter, Thomas, 225
Sunbelt
  economic growth in, 1060–1061
  population shift to, 1061 (map)
Sundance Film Institute, 1076
Sunday, Billy, 706
Sunni Muslims, 1080, 1104, 1107
Sun Records, 955
Super banks, 1070
Super Bowl, 1072, 1073
Superintendencies, Indian, 156
Superman (comic-strip hero), 866
Superpowers, 1013. *See also* Soviet Union
  conflict between, 908, 963
  United States as, 908
Supplementary Security Insurance (SSI), 1009
Supply lines, in Civil War, 522
Supply-side economics, 1031–1032
Supreme Court (U.S.). *See also* specific cases and justices on antitrust laws and movie industry,
  Bakke case and, 1054
  Brandeis on, 740
  Brown Cases and, 968–970
  on civil rights, 931–932
  constitutional protection of rights and, 1010
  disfranchisement clauses in southern constitutions and, 717
  Dred Scott case and, 484–485
  on executive power, 926
  on federal authority, 264
  manufacturing, 487–488
  on fugitive slaves, 461–462
  on gambling on tribal land, 1050
  on grandfather clauses, 636, 728
  injunctions against strikes and, 662
  on Japanese-American internment, 901
  labor unions and, 1034
  Northern Securities and, 730
  on pro-communist expression, 924
  on public bus segregation, 970
  on restrictive covenants, 931, 934
  on separate but equal facilities for blacks, 931
  on sexual harassment, 1047
  on states' rights, 463
  on tribal self-determination, 1050
  U.S. v. Nixon and, 1019
Surge, the, in Iraq, 1106
Surgeons, 554. *See also* Medicine
Surplus
  agricultural, 118, 423
  budget, 640
  of mules, 585
  of war materiel, 880
Survey, of Northwest Territory, 235
Survival, Indian strategies for, 221–223
Survival of the fittest, 652–653
Susquehannock Indians, 92, 101–102
Sussex (ship), 773
Sussex pledge, 773
Sustainable development, 1102
Swaggart, Jimmy Lee, 1083
Swamp Fox. *See* Marion, Francis
Swansea, 98
Swarthout, Samuel, 392
Sweated trades, 312
Sweatshops, 690, 709
Sweden, 51, 759 (map), 770 (map), 789 (map), 822
Sweet Honey in the Rock, 968
"Sweet Little Sixteen" (rock song), 955
Sweet potatoes, 5, 329
Swift (meatpacking), 648
Swift, Jonathan, 113
Symphonies, 678, 679, 785
Synagogues, 689, 826, 1082
Synod, 139
Synod of Philadelphia, 139, 140
Syphilis, 40, 55, 862
Syria
  after First World War, 788–789
  dollar diplomacy of, 764
  Versailles Treaty and, 788–789

T

Taft, 736–738
  election of 1912 737 (map)
Taft-Hartley Act (1947), 921
Taft-Katsura Agreement, 764
Taino Indians, 15
  sedentary culture of, 18
  Spanish missionaries and, 16
Taiwan. *See* Formosa (Taiwan)
Take Back the Night rallies, 1044
Taliban, 1103, 1104, 1113
Tallmadge, James, Jr., 380
Tallmadge amendments, 380–381
Tammany Hall, 593, 706
Taney, Roger B., Dred Scott case and, 484–485
TANF. *See* Temporary Assistance to Needy Families
Tanzania, embassy bombing in, 1102
Tapioca, 5
Tappan, Lewis, 370, 400, 434
Tarbell, Ida, Standard Oil exposé by, 672, 706
Tariff(s), 376. *See also* specific acts
  First congress and, 248
  of 1815, 374
  of 1816, 377
  of 1828, 394–396, 405
  of 1832, 396
  of 1833, 375, 396–397, 405
  of 1930 (Hawley-Smoot), 841
  Cleveland and, 640
  McKinley Tariff (1890), 638, 640
  Tariff of Abominations, 395
  Taft and, 734
  Walker, 453
  Wilson and, 738
Tarleton, Banastre, 225
TARP. *See* Troubled Assets Relief Program
Task system, 130, 318
Tatler, 135
Taverns, licenses for, 424
Tax-and-spend policy, Reagan and, 1006, 1030
Taxation. *See also* Duties; Finance(s); Income tax; Tariff(s); specific acts and taxes under Articles of Confederation,
  for Civil War, 523
  consent to, 112
  cuts in, 1023
  direct, 189, 238
  estate, 814
  excise, 250
  in First World War, 778, 781–782
  income, 738
  property, 714
  railroads and, 417
  rights of, 167, 173
  in Second New Deal, 861
Taxation without representation, 173, 176
Tax revolt, in California, 1030
Taylor, Frederick Winslow, and 722–724
"Taylorism," 723–724
Taylor, John, American Colonization Society and, 430
Taylor, Zachary
  election of and, 456
  in Mexican War, 451–452
  Whigs and, 456, 473–474
Tea
  crisis over, 167, 193
  duties on, 185–186
  Townshend Revenue Act and, 178, 179
Tea Act (1773), 167, 193
Teachers' colleges, 419
Teaching profession
  in freedpeople's schools, 586, 596, 629
  women in, 488, 553
Teach-ins, 1002
"Team B," 1029

Tea Party movement, 193
Teapot Dome scandal, 812
Technocrats, New Dealers as, 864
Technology. *See also* Weapons; specific inventions
for advertising, 803–804
economic growth and, 644–645, 1065–1066
for information collection, 992, 1066
innovations in, 644–645, 1065–1066
manufacturing growth and, 487–488, 644–645
mining, 616
network TV and, 1075
for pirating movies, 1078
in printing, 343–344
in Second World War,
spread of, 644–645, 1065–1066
Tecumseh, 275–277, 278–279
Teflon president, Reagan as, 1034
Tejanos (Mexican Texans), 447, 620
Tejas Indians, 117
Telegraph, 515, 522
Telephones, 802
U.S.-Soviet hot-line, 963
Television, 955, 969. *See also* Cable television
animated shows on, 1077
Army-McCarthy Hearings on, 942
blacklist in, 936
civil rights and, 976
conservatives on,
Eisenhower and, 942
Kennedy assassination, 1005
presidential debates on, 960–961
programs on, 1076–1077
religious programs on, 1083–1084
sports coverage on, 1072–1074
video revolution and, 1075–1076
Vietnam War on, 992
Watergate hearings on, 1019
Watts riot on, 997
Temperance. *See also* Prohibition
divisions among supporters, 426–427
Irish and German immigrants and, 427
politics of alcohol and, 423–427
prohibition laws and, 424–425
in South, 428
Temple of the Sun (Teotihuacan), 23
Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), 1088
Tenancy, 289
Tenant farmers, 186, 692, 850, 851, 852
in Great Depression, 850– 852, 864
in New York, 127
revolt, 151
whites as, 316
Tenant revolt, in Hudson valley, 151
Ten Days That Shook the World (Reed), 794
Tenements, 312, 688, 708
Tennent, Gilbert, 140
Tennent, William, Sr., 138
Tennessee, 235
militiamen, 280
Scopes Trial in, 824–825
settlement of, 237 (map), 302
voting rights in, 371, 372
yeomen in, 328
Tennessee river region, Civil War in, 530, 532, 568 (map)
Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 853–855
Tennessee Valley Authority Act (1933), 853
Tenochtitlán, 24
Cortés in, 16–17, 31
Tenskwatawa (Shawnee), 276–277
Tenth Amendment, 248, 259
Tenure of Office Act, 589
Teotihuacan, 22
fall of, 22, 24
Temple of the Sun at, 23
Tepee, 17
Termination and Relocation programs, for Indians, 972–973
Term limits, in Carolina, 74
Terms of office, 241, 255
Terrell, Mary Church, 635
Territories. *See also* specific locations
Dred Scott case and, 484–485
federal slave code for, 498, 503
free and slave, 241, 389, 443 (map), 453
popular sovereignty and, 455
Terrorism, 586, 1037, 1096, 1103. *See also* September 11th
of Ku Klux Klan, 597, 600
presidential power and, 1103
post-September 11, 1106
Tesla, Nikola, 645
Tet Offensive, 989 (map), 1003–1004
Texas
acquisition of, 448–449
annexation and, 447–448
border dispute with New Mexico, 461
border patrol, 823
cattle industry in, 617
Mexican Americans in, 447, 620
Republic of, 447
Spain and, 117, 148 (map)
statehood for, 469
Texas Rangers, as Anglo vigilante force, 620
Texcoco, 32 (map)
Textbooks, 420, 596, 825, 1056, 1115
Textiles and textile industry, 307, 377, 687, 808
immigrant labor in, 632
in 1920s, 880–809
Rhode Island system in, 307
strikes in, 310
value of cotton output, 809
Waltham system and, 307–310
Thames, Battle of the, 279
Thames River region, 70, 278 (map)
Thanksgiving, Massasoit and, 65, 98
Theater
American, 358–359
minstrel shows and, 359
Theology. *See also* Religion; specific religions
of slaves, 334–335
Theory of the Leisure Class, The (Veblen), 652
Thief in the Night, A (movie), 1084
Thieu, Nguyen Van, 992, 1015
Thinker, The, A Moral Reader, 418
Third Amendment, 248
Third Anglo-Dutch War, 77–78, 105
Third parties. *See also* specific parties
Farmer-Labor, 802
Perot and, 1044, 1089
of Wallace, George, 1006, 1007 (map)
Third Reich, 878–879, 881, 885. *See also* Nazi Germany Third World CIA and,
Thirteenth Amendment, 562, 582
Thirty Years' War, 66
"This Land Is Your Land" (Guthrie), 868
Thomas, Clarence, 1047, 1054, 1099
Thomas, George H., 450
Thomas, Jesse, 381
Thomas Proviso, 381
Thomas the Doubter (Saint), 30
Thompson, Donald W., 1084
Thomson, Charles, 231–232
Thoreau, Henry David, 347, 360
Thoughts on Government (John Adams), 214
Three-fifths clause, 281
Hartford Convention and, 281
369th Regiment (New York), 781
Three Mile Island, reactor malfunction at, 1025
Three Rivers, 46
"Thriller" (Michael Jackson), 1078
Thule phase, of Inuit culture, 3
Thunderbird dig (Virginia), 3
Thurmond, J. Strom, election of and, 913–914
Tibbets, Paul, 892
Ticonderoga, Fort, 159 (map), 162 (map), 199, 206, 210
Tierra del Fuego, migration to, 3
Tikal, 22

Tilden, Samuel J., 604–606
Till, Emmett, murder of, 969–970
Tillotson, John, 326, 670
Timber industry, endangered species and, 1033
Timberlake, Peggy O'Neal. *See* Eaton, Peggy
Time, transportation and, 299 (map)
Time-and-motion studies, 722
Time magazine, 992
  person of the year in, 992
Tippecanoe, Battle of, 277, 278
Titicaca (Lake), 19
Title VII, of Civil Rights Act (1964), 983
Title IX, 1011, 1074
Tiwanaku Empire, 20
Tlacopan, 25, 32 (map)
Tlaxcalan people, 31
Tobacco (Van Scheyndel), 95
Tobacco and tobacco industry, 283, 304, 315–316, 648, 650–651
  advertising of, 804
  in Barbados, 63
  chewing of, 648
  Duke and, 649–650
  in New South, 631
  soil and, 315
  trade and, 744–745
  Van Scheyndel and, 95
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 348, 421
Toilets, flush, 677
Tojo, Hideki, 883
Tokyo, air attacks on, 890, 891 (map)
Toltecs, 2
Tomatoes, 5, 40
Tongs (Chinese secret societies), 692
"Too big to fail" institutions, 1111
Tools
  farming, 285–286, 298
  Indian, 18, 276
Toombs, Robert, 459, 501
Toomer, Jean, 832
Tootle the Engine, 953, 966
TORCH campaign, in Second World War, 885
Tordesillas, Treaty of, 15
Tories (England), 104
Toronto, in War of 1812, 278 (map), 279
Torpedoes (mines), 526, 776
Torture
  by Catholics, 35
  by Indians, 30, 31
  of slaves, 149
  by Spanish, 43
  by U.S., 1105
"Tory Tax Collector being Tarred and Feathered" (Malcolm), 198
"To Secure These Rights," 931
Totalitarianism, Soviet, 912, 1054
Total war, in First World War, 777–787
Town(s). *See also* Cities; specific cities and towns
  cow towns, 617
  mining, 624
Town meetings, in Massachusetts, 193
Townsend, Francis E., 858
Townshend, Charles. *See* Townshend crisis
Townshend crisis, 177–186
Townshend duties, repeal of, 184–185
Townshend Revenue Act (1776), 178, 179
Townships, in Northwest Territory, 89–90, 235–236, 238
Toxic waste, 1102
Toynbee Hall, 708
Tractors, 802, 817
Trade, 10–13. *See also* Commerce; Exports; Slave trade; Transportation
  Antebellum era, 416–417
  balance of, 94
  with Britain, 147, 252, 255, 261
  caravan, 9, 11
  Clinton and, 1101
  clothing, 292, 312
  domestic, 320, 331, 333
  Dutch, 47, 48, 94
  in 1815, 294
  with England, 95, 106
  by English colonies, 294–296
  European, 10
  French-Indian, 115
  GATT and, 904, 1101
  imbalances in, 28
  improvements in, 294–296
  interregional, 298
  Lords of Trade and, 105–106
  Macon's Bill No. 2 and, 273
  market driven economy, 298–299
  in Massachusetts Bay, 67–68
  Mayan, 24
  mercantilism and, 92–93
  by mound builders, 27
  in New England, 133
  privateers and, 111
  in prostitution, 624
  reform, 105
  restraint of, 649, 852
  Revenue Act and, 176, 178, 179, 184,
  after Revolution, 296–298
  along Santa Fe Trail, 444
  with Third World, 944
  in tobacco, 111
  trails for, 444 (map)
  in West Indies, 57
Trade deficit, 1012
Trade unions. *See also* Labor unions
  anarchists in, 661
  Wilson and, 739–740
Trafalgar, Battle of, 270
Trail(s)
  California, 444–445
  Chisholm, 617
  Oregon, 444–445
  overland, 444 (map)
  Santa Fe, 444, 620
Trail of Tears, 394
Traitors. *See* Treason; specific individuals
Trans-Appalachian region, transporting goods into, 294–299
Transcendental Meditation, 1080
Transcontinental railroad, 493, 505, 553, 601, 606, 612
  Chinese laborers for, 613–614
  completion of, 601
  western settlement and, 612–613
Transit systems, electric-powered, 677
Trans-Mississippi West, 624–630. *See also* West
  American Indians in, 624–630
  black land ownership in, 632
  borderland communities in, 614–615
  cartoon, 603
  cattle drives, 617–618
  Chinese in, 613–614
  cowboys, 619
  gender in, 623–624
  Highway Act (1949) and, 949
  homesteads, 611–612, 622–623
  laborers in, 620–622
  Mexican Americans in, 619–620
  mining in, 615–616
  railroads, 612–613, 614
  ranching in, 616, 618–619
  reform of municipal, 714
  white population in, 609
Transportation. *See also* Automobiles and automobile industry; Railroad(s); specific types
  cost of, 296–298
  in 1815, 294
  government control of, 413, 414
  improvements in, 294–296
  markets, 298–299
  national, 377
  railroads, 612–613, 614
  revolution in, 293–299
  settlements and, 293
  suburbanization and, 402, 405
  time for, 296–298
  trade and, 411
Transsexuality, 1047
Transylvania Company, 234

Travels of Marco Polo, The, 6, 15
Traverse des Sioux, Treaty of, 625
Treason
  by Arnold, 225
  Burr trial for, 266–267
Treasury Department, 1072, 1109–1111
Treasury notes (paper money), to finance Civil War, 523
Treaties. *See* specific treaties
  "civilized tribes,", 393–394
Trees. *See* Forests; Lumber
Trenchard, John, 113, 135
Trench warfare
  in Civil War, 567
  in First World War, 771, 775, 776–777, 781
Trent Affair, 526
Trenton, New Jersey, battle at, 209 (map)
Trenton-Princeton campaign, 207–208
Tresca, Carlo, 700
Trials, 1089–1090
  New York conspiracy, 150
  novels about, 1089–1090
  of president, 1090–1092
  Salem witch trials, 109
  of 2000, 1093–1095
Triangle Shirtwaist Company, fire at, 687–688
Tribes (Indian). *See also* American Indians; specific groups
  self-determination for, 1050
  termination of, 972–973
Tribute labor. *See* Mita (tribute labor)
Tripartite Pact, 879
Triple Alliance, 768. *See also* Central Powers
Triple Entente, 768. *See also* Allies (First World War)
Trist, Nicholas, 454
Trolleys, electrical, 677, 798
Trollope, Frances, 369
Troops. *See* Military
Trotter, Monroe, 725
Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP), 1111
Troup, George M., 274, 394
True Washingtonians, 426
Truman, Harry S.
  anticommunism of, 921–923
  atomic bomb and, 909–910, 917–918, 920
  civil rights and, 930–932
  Cold War and, 908–914
  containment and, 937
  of 1948, 913–914
  election of 1952 and, 937–939
  Fair Deal of, 928–930
  Korean War and, 908–909, 911
  MacArthur and, 917–918
  McCarthy, Joseph, and, 925
  peace after Second World War and, 903–906
Truman Doctrine, 909–911
Trumbull, John, 224
Trusteeships, after First World War, 788
Trusts, 647, 707
  FTC and, 739
  regulation and, 649, 704, 729–730
  Roosevelt, T., and, 729–730
  Wilson, 737, 739
Trust Territories of the Pacific, 906
Truth, Sojourner, 368, 431, 438
Tryon, William, 190
Tubman, Harriet, 464
Tugwell, Rexford, 837, 847, 850, 854
Tula, 24 (map), 24, 25, 28
Turkey
  immigrants from, 683
  U.S. aid to, 909
  U.S. missiles withdrawn from, 963
Turks, Ottoman, 7
Turner, Frederick Jackson, frontier thesis of, 744
Turner, George Kibbe, 706
Turner, Nat, rebellion by, 338
Turner, Ted, 1076
Turner Joy (ship), 988
Turnevereins, 689
Turnpikes. *See* Roads and highways
Tuscarora Indians, 154, 221
Tuskegee Institute, 636–637
Tutsis, 1100
TVA. *See* Tennesee Valley Authority
Twain, Mark, 593, 652
  as anti-imperialist, 752
Tweed, William Marcy ("Boss"), 593
Twelfth Amendment, 257, 385
Twenty-fifth Amendment, Ford as vice, 1019
Twenty Negro Law (1862), 550
Twenty-second Amendment, 926, 960
Twenty-sixth Amendment, 1017
Two-party system, 412, 453, 669, 802
Two Years before the Mast (Dana), 442
Tydings, Millard, 925
Tyler, John, 639
  election of 1836 and, 409
  Texas annexation and, 447
Tyler, Royall, 447–448
Typewriter, 553
Typhoid, in cities, 678, 680, 688

U

UAW. *See* United Auto Workers
U-boats. *See also* Submarines
  in First World War, 772–773
  in Second World War, 776
UFW. *See* United Farm Workers
Ukraine, economic aid to, 1102
Ukrainian immigrants, 683
Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, 398
Ulster, 53, 131, 132
Ultranationalism, before Second World War, 876, 877
UMW. *See* United Mine Workers
UN. *See* United Nations
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 347, 432, 465–466
Unconditional surrender policy (Second World War), 885, 890
Underconsumption theory, 860
Underground railroad, 461–462
Understanding clauses, black voting rights and, 636, 728
Underwood-Simmons Tariff (1913), 738
Undocumented immigrants, 974, 1098. *See also* Illegal immigrants
  refugees as,
Unemployment. *See also* Employment
  in 1930s,
  in 1800s to 1900s, 382, 490, 601, 664, 780
  in 1920s, 802, 807, 808
  benefits, 1023
  Clinton and, 1088
  in depression of 1893–1897, 663–664
  in First World War, 780
  in Great Depression, 838, 848, 849, 853, 859, 865–866, 869, 873, 875
  of men and women, 808–809
  in nonfarm labor force (1929–1945), 873
  Panic of 1819 and, 382
  Panic of 1857 and, 492–493
  Panic of 1873 and, 601
  Reagan revolution and, 1030
Unemployment Relief Act (1933), 849
UNESCO, Reagan funding and, 1036
Unfree labor, 36–37, 38 (map), 68. *See also* Slaves and slavery
Unicameral legislature, 215
  in Pennsylvania, 215
Unilateralism, Iraq War and, 1103
Union. *See also* Civil War (U.S.); North; North (Civil War)
  emancipation and, 540, 542–544
  Jackson and, 384–387

Union, Fort, 517
Union Fire Company, 135
Unionists
in border states, 514–515, 542
election of 1866 and, 588
in North, 507–508
in South, 507–508
Union Leagues, in Reconstruction South, 589
Union Pacific Railroad, 593, 612–613
Irish laborers of, 613
strikes against, 613
Union Party, 580, 858
Unions (labor). *See* Labor unions
United Auto Workers (UAW), 951
United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), 974
United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), 633
United Farm Workers (UFW), 1045, 1051
United Fruit Company, Arbenz ouster and, 944
United Fruit of Boston, 764
United Mine Workers (UMW), 663
United Nations (UN), 903–994
China in, 904
Iraq War and, 1104
Korean War and, 917, 918 (map)
Persian Gulf War and, 1043, 1104
Rwanda peacekeeping effort by, 1100
"Trust Territories of the Pacific" and, 906
United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), 1051
United Provinces of the Netherlands. *See* Dutch Republic
United States, as Christian nation, 1084
U.S. Bureau of Immigration, 687, 717
U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. *See* Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, on Puerto Ricans, 973
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1082, 1082
United States Information Agency (USIA), 943
United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 415
U.S. marshals, freedom riders and, 976
U.S. News and World Report, 928
U.S. Patent Office, 553
U.S. Sanitary Commission, 554
U.S. Steel Corporation, 649, 672, 803
CIO contract with, 866
injuries at South Works plant, 687–688
Kennedy, John F., and, 964–965
strike against, 794–795, 866
Truman and, 926
U.S. v. Cruikshank, 603
U.S. v. E.C. Knight Company, 649
U.S. v. Nixon, 1019
U.S. v. Reese, 603
Unit (Japanese army), 888
Unity League, 974
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 904
Universalists, 351
Universal male suffrage, 590
Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 798
Universal suffrage, 372
Universities and colleges. *See also* Higher education; specific schools
advantages of, 650
Asian American study programs, 1053
anti-corporate, 1028–1029
antiwar movement in, 1002
Chicano/a studies in, 1051
contracts with, 893
control over, 673
in Deep South, 976
elite, 826, 864,
federal aid for, 928, 959, 994
gender politics and, 966, 1011, 1045
in Great Awakening, 142–143
in Japan, 919
land-grant, 657
New Left and, 994–995
New Right and, 1028
quotas on Jews in, 823
revolts on, 995
after Second World War, 929
sports in, 1073–1074
firing of teachers, 796
Title IX and, 1074
women and, 657, 710
University of California
Berkeley Revolt at, 995
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory of, 1044
University of Chicago, law and economics activist-academics at, 1055–1056
University of Iowa, 929
University of Mississippi, 1000
University of Pennsylvania, 145, 143
University of Wisconsin, 641
antiwar protests at, 1002
bombing at, 1007
reform laws and, 721
Unsafe at Any Speed (Nader), 1011
Unskilled labor, 126, 322, 496, 798
AFL and, 663
wages for, 290
Upcountry. *See* South
Upper Canada. *See* Ontario
Upper house, 71, 74, 105, 144
Upper South. *See* South
Urban areas. *See* Cities
Urbanization, 19, 611, 653, 683, 702, 819 (map)
Urban League. *See* National Urban League
Urban renewal, 930, 975, 986
Ursuline Order, 120, 121
Uruguay Round, of GATT, 1101
Ury, John, 150
USA Patriot Act, 1103
USIA. *See* United States Information Agency
USSR. *See* Soviet Union
Usury, regulating, 1033, 1071
Utah, 491 (map)
Mormons in, 446
territorial organization of, 446, 471
woman suffrage in, 718
Utilities, private, 714, 720, 721,
Utrecht, Treaty of (1713), 119, 122, 133
U- spy planes, 943, 958, 963

V

VA. *See* Veterans Administration
Vacations, 802, 807
Valens, Richie (Richard Valenzuela), 954
Valentino, Rudolph, 805
Vallandigham, Clement L., 549, 562
Valley Forge, Continental Army in, 210
Valley of Mexico, 16–19, 25, 32 (map)
in 1519, 32 (map)
Toltecs in, 24
Value added (1869-1899), 645
Van Buren, John, 435
Van Buren, Martin, 383, 389, 391–393
Cherokee and, 394
Eatons and, 398
election of 1824 and, 383–384
election of 1836 and, 408
election of 1840 and, 409–411
party politics and, 383, 407–409
Texas annexation and, 447
Vance, Cyrus, 1026, 1027
Vandenberg, Arthur, 910
Van Dorn, Earl, 534
Van Evrie, John, 429
Van Kleeck, Mary, 864
Van Rensselaer family, 187, 239

Van Scheyndel, Gillis, 95
Van Wyck, Frederick, 357
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 796
Vaqueros, 620–622
Vassar college, 657
Vast wasteland, TV as, 955
Vaudeville, 695
VCRs, 1076
Veblen, Thorstein, 652, 713
Venango, 147
Venezuela, 431
VENONA files, 911
Veracruz, 759 (map), 660 (map)
  battle at, 758
  intervention in, 758, 760 (map)
Vergennes, comte de (Charles Gravier), 211, 231
Vermont, 418
Vernon, Edward, 149
Verrazano, Giovanni da, 44
Versailles, Treaty of, 788, 789 (map)
Vertical integration, 647, 648
Vesey, Denmark, 337–338
Vespucci, Amerigo, 16, 435
Veterans
  Bonus Army and, 843
  Confederate, 579, 581, 583, 585, 587, 588, 590, 600
  after First World War, 793, 796, 798
  after Second World War,
Veterans Administration (VA), 928
Vice, 691
Vice-admiralty courts, 172, 178, 185
Vice commissions, 699–700, 722
Vice president. *See* specific individuals
Viceroyalties, in Spanish Empire, 35
Vichy regime (France), 880 (map)
Vicksburg campaign, 557–558, 559 (map)
Victory (magazine), 898
Victuallers, procession of (1815), 291
Video revolution, 1075–1076
Vietnam
  Eisenhower and, 990, 1006
  Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 988–990
  Kennedy, John F., and, 990
  In 1968, 1003–1004
Vietnamization policy, 1013–1015
Vietnam Veterans against the War (VVAW), 1015
Vietnam War, 988–1006
  American attitudes toward, 995
  antiwar movement in, 1001–1003
  body count measure in, 991, 1014
  casualties in, 990–991
  domestic issues, 993–1007
  escalation of, 988–993
  Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and, 988–990
  at home, 993–1003, 1004–1006
  King on, 1002, 1005
  media coverage of, 992–993
  movement during, 993–995
  in 1968, 1003–1004
  Nixon and, 1013–1014
  peace accords ending, 1015
  saturation bombing in, 991
  Tet offensive in, 989 (map), 1003–1004
  U.S. leaves, 1015–1016
Vigilantes
  regulators as, 189–190
  Texas Rangers as, 620
  white, 693, 969
Vikings, 6
Villa, Francisco ("Pancho"), 765–767
Villages, Indian, 147
Villard, Oswald Garrison, 726
Vincennes, 223
Vinland, 6
Violence. *See also* Civil-rights movement; Race riots
  in Boston, 793
  against Chinese workers, 614
  after King's death, 1005
  by Ku Klux Klan, 597, 600
  labor, 660
  neo-Confederate, 582, 592
  political, 1007–1008
  racial, 1008
  in strikes, 858
  against war protesters, 1008
  in Watts, 997
Virginia
  Bacon's Rebellion in, 102–104
  Charter, 55, 58 (map)
  in Civil War, 533 , 564–565
  constitution of, 215–216
  government of, 59, 60
  Indians in, 59
  Indian war in, 101–102
  life expectancy in, 60
  manumission in, 233
  Philadelphia Convention and, 240, 241, 243
  politics of harmony in, 144–145
  in Revolution, 229–232
  as royal colony, 59
  servants, 59–60
  slavery and, 63–65
  tobacco in, 59–60
  Turner, Nat, uprising in, 338
Virginia (Merrimac, ironclad), 526–528
Virginia and Kentucky Resolves, 259–260
Virginia Company, 55, 58 (map)
Virginia Gazette, 134
Virginia (large state) plan, 241
Virtual representation, 174
Virtually represented, 173
Virtue, public, 214
Virtuous electorate, 716
VISTA. *See* Volunteers in Service to America
Visual imagery, in advertising, 803–804
V-J Day, 892, 893
Voice of America, 943
Volstead Act, 787. *See also* Prohibition
Voluntarism, 119, 185
Voluntaristic ethic, 119
Voluntary immigrants, 128, 131. *See also* Immigrants and immigration
Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), 983
Voting. *See also* Elections; Suffrage; Woman suffrage; specific elections
  Australian (secret) ballot and, 716
  citizenship rights and, 371–372
  disfranchisement and, 717
  by ethnic groups (1924, 1928), 827
  Fifteenth Amendment and, 590
  Mississippi Plan and, 602–603
  participation in (1876, 1892, 1900, 1912), 718
  personal registration laws and, 716–717
  virtuous electorate and, 716
Voting age, lowered to 18, 1017
Voting Rights Act (1965), 986
Voyages of exploration. *See also* Exploration; specific explorers
  of Columbus, 14–16 (map)

W

Wade, Benjamin, 580
Wade-Davis reconstruction bill, 590
Wage earners, 291–292. *See also* Workers
Wage labor
  Hispanic, 1089
  in mining, 615
  vs. slavery, 717
Wages. *See also* Income
  in First World War, 780, 794
  in mining, 615
  real, 658, 1069
  rises and declines in, 408, 487, 660, 803, 807
  share, 585
  of skilled workers, 290, 658
  of southern labor, 631

Wages *(continued)*
strikes and cuts in, 644
for women, 968
"Wages of whiteness," southern mill workers and, 632
Wagner, Fort, assault on, 561
Wagner, Robert F., 722
Wagner Act (1935). *See* National Labor Relations Act (1935)
Wagner-Rogers bill, 881
Wagon trains, Mormon, 446
Waiting for Lefty (Odets), 867
Wake Island, 887
Wald, Lillian, 722
Walden (Thoreau), 347
Walker, Alice, 1049
Walker, David, 368
Walker, Madame C. J., 694
Walker, Robert J., 453
Walker, William, 468
Walker tariff (1846), 453
Walking cities, 677
"Walk to Freedom March" (Detroit), 976
Wallace, George, 985
assassination attempt on, 1017
election of 1964 and, 985, 987
election of 1968, and, 1006, 1007 (map)
Wallace, Henry A., 913
election of 1972 and, 1017
Waller, Fats, 831
Walling, William English, 726–727
Wallis, Jim, 1082
Walloons, 50
Wall Street, 492, 601, 1057, 1071. *See also* Financial institutions; Investment Panic of and,
Wal-Mart, 1067, 1069, 1070
Walpole, Robert, 113, 145, 166
Walt Disney World, 1061
Waltham system, 307–310
Walton, Sam, 1067
Waltz, controversy over, 697
Wampanoag Indians, 65, 98
War against drugs, 1042
War bonds, 898
in Civil War, 523, 601
in Second World War, 893–894
Ward, A. Montgomery, mail-order catalogue of, 651
War Democrats, 580, 581
War Department, 551, 589, 884, 911, 920
War guilt, of Germany, 788
War Hawks, in Congress, 274–275, 275
War industries, in Confederacy, 523
War Industries Board (WIB), 778, 793
War Labor Board, 892, 895, 896
War Manpower Commission, 892
Warner, Charles Dudley, 593
Warner, Susan, 347
War of 1755, 159 (map)
British offensive in, 158–160
Canada in, 162 (map), 163–163
Hartford Convention and, 281
North America, 153–165
War of 1776, British offensive, 206–207
War of 1812, 278 (map)
War of Jenkins's Ear, 149
War of the Austrian Succession. *See* King George's War
War of the League of Augsburg. *See* King William's War
War of the Spanish Succession. *See* Queen Anne's War
War on Poverty, Johnson, Lyndon B., and, 983
War Production Board (Second World War), 892
Warren, Earl, 968, 979, 1010, 1029
Warren, Peter, 150
Warren, Rick, 1083
Warren Commission, 979
Wars and warfare. *See also* specific battles and wars
in Caribbean region, 149 (map)
in colonies, 91, 158–160
as cultural misunderstanding, 30–31
along frontier (1777–1782), 222 (map)
1689–1713 northeastern theater, 119 (map)
trench warfare, in Civil War, 567
women in, 553–554
Warsaw Pact, 916, (map), 943
Wars of Religion (France), 43, 44
War That Made America, The (movie), 154
Wartime conferences (Second World War), 903, 906
Wartime Reconstruction, 577–580
Warwick, Rhode Island, 72
Washington (state), 741, 744
Washington, Booker T., 636–637
Roosevelt, T., and, 731
Washington, Bushrod, 430
Washington, D.C., 446, 893, 971
activists and, 1014, 1029
British burning of, 280
conservatism of, 1095–1097
Washington, George,151–152, 154–155, 242, 330. *See also* Continental Army
as commanding general, 199
Farewell Address of, 255–257
Mount Vernon conference and, 240
as president, 245–247
at end of presidency, 247
in Revolutionary War, 206
slaves of, 316
Washington, John, 101
Washington, Treaty of, 594,
Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, 815
Washington Naval Treaties, 877
Washington Post, Watergate and, 1018
Washington Temperance Society (Washingtonians), 426
WASPs. *See* Women's Air Force Service Pilots
Waste Land, The (Eliot), 835
Waste management, 1010
Watchung Mountains, 225
Water
California projects and, 857 (map)
in cities, 677, 856
contaminated, 678
diseases from, 678
Federal projects, 857 (map)
laws, 457
New Deal projects, 857
as power, 306–307, 853
rights to, 380, 1050
running, 675, 677
transport and, 296
Water filtration systems, 678
Watergate Crisis, 1018–1019
Water pollution, 1010
Water Pollution Control Act (1972), 1010
Waters, Alice, 1098
Waterways, 949–951. *See also* Canals; specific waterways
construction of, 854
Watkins, Katherine, 64
Watson-Wentworth, Charles. *See* Rockingham, Marquess of
Watt, James, 1033
Watts riot, of 1954, 997–998
Watts Writers Workshop, 998
"Waving the bloody shirt" rhetoric, 638
Wayland, Julius, 711
Wayne, Anthony ("Mad Anthony"), 254
WCTU. *See* Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Wealth and wealthy, 217, 249, 401, 495. *See also* Affluence
in cities, 251
corruption of, 374
income tax on, 738
maldistribution in Great Depression, 841–842
mercantilism and, 92–93
national, 652–653
in New York, 290, 312

planters and, 126, 326
redistribution of, 856
robber barons and, 672–673
seaport merchants and, 290
Social Darwinism and, 652
And society, 652–653
of southern whites, 495
Whigs and, 411
Wealth gap, 703, 306, , 803, 846, 893, 1034, 1096
Wealth Tax Act (1953), 861, 863
Weapons. *See also* Bombs and bombings; Nuclear power; specific weapons
atomic, 909–911
in Civil War, 521–522
Clovis tip as, 4
limitations on, 815
steel, 39
Weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), 1102, 1110
Weather Underground, 1007
Weaver, James B., 669
Web. *See* Internet
Web browsers, 1066
Weber, Max, 284
Webster, Daniel, 379, 391, 402, 405, 407
election of 1840 and, 409
Weeks, Philip, on Indian "policy of concentration," 624
Weld, Theodore Dwight, 424, 433
Welfare capitalism, 807, 837
Welfare programs. *See* Social welfare
Welfare recipients, payments to, 1011
Welfare state, in Europe, 927, 930
Welles, Gideon, 547
Wells, Ida B.
anti-lynching campaign of, 634, 635, 727
on Columbian Exposition's exclusion of blacks, 634, 682
NAACP and, 634, 727
Wentworth, Benning, 145
Wertham, Frederick, 954
"We Shall Overcome" (song), 975
Wesley, John, 139, 190, 362
West
homesteading and farming in, 611–612
itinerant laborers in, 620–622
land claims in Revolution, 236 (map)
mining in, 615–616
ranching in, 616–619
water projects in, 857 (map)
Whiskey Rebellion in, 253–254
woman suffrage in, (map) 718–719
West, Benjamin, 82
West, Nathaniel, 844
West, Thomas (Baron de la Warr). *See* De la Warr, Baron
West Africa, 10–13
slave trade and, 12 (map)
West Bank, 1026
West Berlin. *See* Berlin
Western Europe. *See also* Europe and Europeans; specific countries
christian Europe and, 7–8
Spanish empire and, 38 (map)
Western Federation of Miners (WFM), 616
Western front, in First World War, 770–771
Western Hemisphere. *See also* Americas; specific locations
Monroe Doctrine and, 388
Roosevelt Corollary and, 758
Westerns, on television, 598, 654, 1039
West Florida, Spanish acquisition of, 213
West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), 912, 916 (map), 943, 1041 (map)
rearmament of, 919
West India Companies, 48
West Indies. *See also* specific locations
British, 197, 238, 275
British imports, 134
Education in, 89
French in, 47, 160
Lords of Trade and, 105–106
religion in, 89
reform in, 105
settlement in, 56, 87, 88
slaves in, 63, 88
trade in, 118
Westinghouse, George, 645, 648
Westminster School District v. Mendez, 931
Westmoreland, William, 990–991
West New Jersey, 80–81
West New Jersey Concessions and Agreements, 81
West Point, 264
Arnold, Benedict, and, 225–226
Civil War generals from, 450, 510, 521
Mexican War officers from, 450
military academy at, 264
Seven Days' Battles and, 535 (map)
southerners from, 518
surrender of, 225
West Virginia, creation of, 515–516
Westward movement, 641. *See also* Louisiana Purchase
environmental impact of, 641
overland trails and, 444 (map)
territory in 1790–1796, 256 (map)
Weyler, Valeriano ("Butcher"), 747
Whaling industry, 133
Wheat, 46, 47, 67, 89, 131
Wheatley, John, 191
Wheatley, Phillis, 191, 192
Wheel, among Indians, 18
Wheeler, Burton K., 881
Wheeler Dam, 854
Wheeler-Howard Act (1934). *See* Indian Reorganization Act (1934)
Wheelock, Eleazer, 143
Wheelwright, Esther, 120
Whig Party, 74. *See also* Politics; Whigs (England); specific issues
activist government and, 104
alcohol consumption and, 424–425
American Party and, 374
antislavery movement and, 478
annexation controversy and, 447–448
beginnings of, 404–405
demise of, 473–474
election of 1834 and, 404
election of 1884 and, 447–448
Mexican War and, 450, 452–453
middle class and, 413
Whigs (England), 74, 104
Whip Inflation Now (WIN) program, 1023
Whipping post, 421
Whiskey, 250, 294, 423. *See also* Alcohol and alcoholism; Temperance alcohol use and,
Whiskey Rebellion, 253–254
Whistle-stop campaign, of Bryan, 670
White, George, 335
White, Hugh Lawson, 407
White, John (slave trader), 331
White Citizens Council, 969
White City. *See* Columbian Exposition of Columbian Exposition,
White Eyes (Delaware Indians), 221
Whitefield, George, 140
White Leagues, 601, 604
White Russians, Bolsheviks and, 795
Whites. *See also* White supremacy
citizenship and voting rights for, 370–372
Homestead Act and, 611–612
movement to suburbs, 934–935
racism of, 368–370
in South, 361–366
White slave trade, 700, 707
White supremacy, 496, 583, 711
in antebellum era, 581
Dixiecrats and, 927
Ku Klux Klan and, 597, 600, 607, 820
in New Deal, 863
in New South, 633

White supremacy *(continued)*
people's party, 669
reconstruction, retreat from 601, 604,
Whitewater scandal, 1090, 1091
Whitman, Walt, 344, 347
Whitney, Eli, 318–319
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 432
Wholesale and consumer price indexes 550, 666
Wholesale merchants, 311
Why Johnny Can't Read (Flesch), 959
Whyte, William H., Jr., 953–954
Why We Fight (documentary), 897
Wide, Wide World, The (Warner), 347
"Wide Awake" clubs, 482, 505
Widows, 584
inheritance by, 128
poverty among, 250, 351
voting rights for, 372
Wigwam, 17, 70
Wikipedia, 1115
Wildcat strikes, 896, 951
Wilderness, Battle of, 554, 555 (map)
Wilderness, preservation of, 1009, 1010
Wilderness Act (1964), 1009
Wilderness, battle of, 564, 565 (map)
Wilderness Road, 222 (map), 234
Wild West Show, of Buffalo Bill Cody, 629–630
Wiley, Calvin H., 418
Wilhelm II (Germany), 771, 788
Wilkes, Charles, 526
Wilkes, John, 181–182
Willard, Frances, 656, 657
Willard, Jess, 726, 727
William, Fort, 77, 109, 158, 159 (map)
William III (England), 107
William III (Nassau, Prince of Orange), 77
William and Mary (college), 142
William Henry, Fort, 158, 159 (map)
William of Orange. *See* William III (England)
Williams, Eunice, 120
Williams, John, 120
Williams, Roger, 70
Williamsburg, 862
Williams v. Mississippi, 636
Willkie, Wendell, 881
Wilmington, North Carolina, race riot in, 635
Wilmot, David, 453
Wilmot Proviso, 453–455
Wilson, Edith Bolling, 791
Wilson, Henry Lane, 765
Wilson, James, 226
Wilson, Woodrow, 764–767
American nationality and, 701–703
Brandeis appointment by, 740
election of 1912 and, 735–738
First World War and, 764–767
foreign policy of, 764–767
Fourteen Points of, 777, 792
on immigrants, 740
New Freedom of, 739–740
Paris Peace Conference and, 788–789
"peace without victory" and, 774–775
presidency of, 738–740, 765
progressivism and, 738
Versailles Treaty ratification and, 790–791
Wilson's Creek, Battle of, 515
Wiltse, Robert, 421
WIN. *See* Whip Inflation Now (WIN) program
Winchester, battle at, 571
Winesburg, Ohio (Anderson), 836
Wingina (chief), 53
Winslow, John (colonial general), 160
Winthrop, John (father), 67
Winthrop, John, Jr. (son), 70
Wiretaps, 1007, 1106
Wisconsin
direct primary in, 715, 720
progressivism and La Follette in, 720–721
"Wisconsin idea," 720–721
Wisconsin Progressive Party, 859
Wise, Henry, 518
"Wise Men," Vietnam War and, 1004
Wise use movement, 1055
"Witch hunts," 109
Witch trials, in Salem, 109
Wives. *See* Families; Women
WMDs. *See* Weapons of mass destruction
Wolfe, James, 160, 161
Woman of the Year (movie), 866
Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 656
Woman suffrage,464, 718–720
Fifteenth Amendment and, 591
movement for, 718–720
before 1920, 719 (map)
women's clubs and, 656
Women. *See also* Gender and gender issues; Woman suffrage
academies, for, 234, 1047
activism by, 656, 707–711, 1044
African American, 1047
Anglicizing role of, 127–128
in antislavery movement, 433
baby boomers and, 935
baseball leagues, 895
business, 1045, 1046
cabinets, 864
changing roles of, 966–967
civil service, 553
in Civil War, 550, 553–554
clubs, 656
consciousness-raising sessions, 1045
corporations, resistance to, 657–665
editors, 655
education, 657, 710, 1054
employment of, 307, 703, 708, 808, 965, 966–967
equality of, 865, 1074
family values, 1011
in First World War, 782–783
gender politics and, 965–966
in gold rush, 457
Great Railroad Strike and, 644, 660
higher education and, 657, 710
Homestead Act provisions for, 611
households and, 127–128
Industrial conditions, 658–660
issues, 1045–1047
in job market, 1046
in Ku Klux Klan, 597, 600
labor, 663
Mexican Americans workers and, 835
in middle class, 655–657
New Right, 1021, 1035, 1045
"New Woman" and, 656–657, 967–968
in 1960s, 1045
in 1970s, 1045–1047
office work, 655
as patriots, 782–782
physical activities by, 654
pilots and, 810, 898
professional organizations, 657
as readers of novels, 695–696
reform by, 436–438, 864–866
as reformers, 864–866
rights and, 192, 437–438, 347–348, 438
in seaport cities, 292
settlement house movement and, 707–711
sexual harassment of, 624, 1046–1047
sexual slavery of Chinese, 624
as slave, 190–192, 624
in sports, 1073–1074
strikes and, 967
teaching, 488, 553
textiles work, 663, 808
unemployment of, 865

wartime inflation, 550
westward migration by,
women's club movement, 634–635, 711
in working class, 655–656, 808–810
Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs), 898
Women's Bureau, 864
Women's Central Association for Relief, 554
Women's club movement, 656
Women's colleges, gender politics in, 966
Women's movement, 810–811. *See also* Feminism;Women;Women's rights
in 1920s, 810–811
New Women's, 967–968
Women's Peace Party, 774
Women's rights. *See also* Feminism; Women's movement
in antebellum period, 437–439
New Women's, 967–968
Women's Strike for Peace, 967
Wood, as fuel, 300
Wood, Leonard, 749, 754
Wood, Robert E., 881
Woodlands, 221, 285, 300–301
Woods, Eldrick (Tiger), 1073
"Woodstock" music festival, 996
Wool and wool industry, 5, 300, 395. *See also* Textiles and textile industry
Woolens Act (1699), 111
Woolman, John, 190
Worcester County Convention, 195
Worcester v. Georgia, 394
Work (Alcott), 655
Workday, eight-hour, 660, 661, 730, 740, 794
Workers. *See also* Labor; Strikes; Working class
after First World War, 793–795
in First World War, 779–780
industrial, 807–808
as reformers, 864–866
unions and, 1032–1033
Workers' cooperatives, 661
Working class, 695–697
commercial culture of, 695–697
in film, 794–795
immigrants in, 682–688
in literature, 695–697
living conditions of, 688
middle class and, 318–319
readers in, 695–696
Working conditions, 616, 712–713, 809
dangerous, 686
in mines, 616
Mexican Americans and, 974
protests of, 858
regulation of, 722
Workingman's Party of California, 613
Workmen's compensation, 658, 722, 740
Workplace. *See also* Safety
scientific management in, 722–724
Works Progress Administration (WPA), 861
arts under, 861
job creation programs, abolishment of, 893
projects in New York City, 862
Work-study programs, 983
Workweek, 688, 690, 802
in First World War, 780
World Bank. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
World Economic Conference, 872
World Hockey Association (WHA), 1073
World market(s), for American agricultural products, 666
World powers
Open Door policy and, 756–757
United States as, 752–757
World Series, of 1919, 692
World's Fair
in Chicago, 680–681
in London, 487
World Trade Center
attack on, 1096
September 11, destruction of, 1102–1103
World Trade Organization (WTO), 1101
Worldview, providential, 351–352
World War I. *See* First World War
World War II. *See* Second World War
World Wide Web. *See* Internet
Worship. *See* Religion
Wounded Knee massacre, of Sioux Indians, 629
Wovoka (Paiute shaman), 629
WPA. *See* Works Progress Administration
Wright, Frank Lloyd, 680, 708
Wright, John, 122
Wright, Richard, 922
Wrigley's chewing gum, 894
Writers. *See* Literature; Novels; specific writers
Writing (literary). *See* Literature; specific titles and authors
Writing, Olmec, 21
WTO. *See* World Trade Organization
Wyandot Indians, 170
Wyoming, 187, 222, 671
statehood in, 718
woman suffrage in, 718

X

XYZ affair, 258

Y

Yale, Elihu, 136
Yale College, 136
Yalta Conference (1945), 922
Yama*See* Indians, 122
Yancey, William L., 503–504, 505
Yankees, 51, 133, 151, 157, 428, 463. *See also* New England
Atlantic fisheries and, 197
in colonies, 151
in New York, 187
Yankee Stadium, sports and, 805
Yazoo Land Company, 265
Yellow-back fiction, 360
Yellow dog contracts, 808
Yellow journalism, 747
"Yellow Peril," 763
Yellow Tavern, Battle of, 565
Yellow Wallpaper, The (Gilman), 655
Yelp, 1115
Yeltsin, Boris, 1041
Yemen, 1037
al-Qaeda in, 1107
Cole attacked in, 1102
Yeomen
neighborhoods of, 329–330
and planters, 328–329
in South, 294, 302, 325
YIPPIEs, 1006
YMCA. *See* Young Men's Christian Association
Yom Kippur War (1973), 1026
York. *See* Toronto
York, Alvin C., 781
York, duke of. *See* James II
Yorktown
battle at, 230 (map)
In Revolution, 229–232
Young, Brigham, 445
Young America movement, 441
Young Americans for Freedom (YAF),
Younger, Cole and Jim, 515
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 966
Youngstown Steel & Tube Company v. Sawyer, 926
Youth
counterculture and, 954–955, 995–996
culture in 1950s, 954–956

Youth *(continued)*
music and, 954–955
new sexuality and, 954–955
Youth International Party (YIPPIEs). *See* YIPPIEs
YouTube, 1115
Yucatán, Mayans in, 22, 24
Yugoslavia
creation of, 788, 789 (map)
disintegration of, 1040

Z

Zangwill, Israel, 700–702
American nationality and, 700–702
Zanuck, Darryl F., 897
Zelaya, José Santos, 764
Zenger, John Peter, 135
Zimmermann telegram, 775
Zionism, 906
Zitkala-Sa (Yankton Sioux writer), 628–629
Zones of occupation
in Germany, 905, 912
in Korea, 917
Zoot Suit Riots (1943), 900–901

personal behavior ensnared him in legal investigations that stalled his presidency. When the presidential election of 2000 ended in a near dead heat, a 5–4 Supreme Court decision declared Republican George W. Bush the 43rd president. The Bush administration's conservative agenda featured tax cuts, deregulation, and reform of education. It also converted the budget surplus left by Clinton into a rising federal deficit. Numerically closely matched, the political parties of these years launched partisan attacks that exaggerated the buoyant hopes and the deepest fears of the age.

Both Clinton and Bush tried to chart foreign policies for a post-Cold War world. Clinton's internationalist policy deployed military power selectively and concentrated on measures fostering the "globalization" of economic relationships. After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Bush administration focused its unilateralist foreign policy on fighting a global "war on terror." The U.S. first invaded Afghanistan and then attacked Iraq. When the rapid success that the White House had expected never materialized, the administration shifted its energies and U.S. resources toward the kind of expensive "nation-building" project in Iraq that Republicans had once opposed.

The U.S. economy enjoyed its longest period of sustained growth during the 1990s. The financial sector did especially well. The early years of the 21st century, however, produced a mixed picture. The financial industry continued to reap phenomenal profits, aided by a spectacular bubble in the residential housing market. In 2007, however, declining home prices and a wave of mortgage foreclosures rocked the financial sector, and the impact rippled quickly through the entire global economy. The Bush administration and the Federal Reserve Board, with more Democratic than Republican support, devised a 2008 effort that rescued the financial sector. The larger economy, however, slid into the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930s.

President Bush's unpopularity and the country's economic distress helped the Democratic Party regain control of Congress in 2006 and lifted its standard bearer, Barack Obama, to the presidency in 2008. Backing a flurry of new initiatives, Obama sought to shift the military focus from Iraq to Afghanistan, revamp the healthcare system, and reverse the trend toward deregulation, especially in the financial sector and for health and environmental matters. Discussions of social policy, international relations, and economic recovery, however, continued against the backdrops of hope and fear that circulated within rapidly changing forms of media.