

McDOUGAL LITTELL
— *The* —
AMERICANS

Telescoping the Times

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To the Teacher

Telescoping the Times consists of summaries of each chapter in *The Americans* to give you support and flexibility in teaching U.S. history to your students. Spanish translations of these summaries can be found in the booklet, **Access for Students Acquiring English: Spanish Translations**. Also available are audio tapes of these chapter summaries in both English and Spanish.

ORGANIZATION

Each two-page chapter summary is organized in the same way: A brief overview, which states the central idea of the chapter, is followed by a summary of each section of the textbook. Each section summary, in turn, begins with a statement of a key idea to focus students' reading and to help them comprehend the large issues of the chapter. Review questions at the end reinforce key ideas in the chapter.

USES

There are a variety of ways to use these summaries. Here are a few suggestions:

- **To preview a chapter.** Having students read the summary before they begin studying a chapter will give them a context for understanding the details provided in the chapter itself. Slow readers gain special help by such a previewing strategy.
- **To reinforce and summarize main ideas.** Because the chapter summaries distill information into large issues and major trends, they are a perfect medium for teaching students how to identify main ideas in their reading.
- **To accommodate time constraints.** If it is not possible to cover every chapter in detail in the course of a semester or a school year, these chapter summaries offer a way to highlight chapters that may otherwise get skipped. Teachers using block schedules are especially grateful for these time-saving measures.
- **To review a chapter.** After students have read a chapter, they can use the summary to review key ideas, events, and people before taking the chapter test.

CHAPTER
1

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Three Worlds Meet*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *Native Americans create complex societies spread throughout the continents. Peoples in Europe and Africa develop their own cultures, which they will eventually contribute to American society.*

1 Peopling the Americas

MAIN IDEA *In ancient times, migrating peoples settled the Americas, where their descendants developed complex societies.*

In the last Ice Age, sea water was frozen into glaciers. This lowered sea levels and revealed a bridge of land between Asia and Alaska. About 22,000 years ago, people first crossed that bridge to the Americas. Some 30,000 years later, the Ice Age ended, and the sea covered the land bridge again. The change in climate made large game disappear. The people began to hunt smaller animals, to fish, and to gather nuts and berries. They settled both North and South America.

Between 10,000 and 5,000 years ago, people in central Mexico began to farm. They first grew maize, or corn, but soon raised other crops. Farming spread throughout the Americas.

When farming provided extra food, people could create more permanent settlements and complex societies. The Olmecs began their civilization in Mexico around 1200 B.C. They were followed by the Maya. The Aztec took control of central Mexico in the A.D. 1400s. In South America, the Incas created a large, rich empire beginning around A.D. 1200. All these cultures built large cities and religious centers.

Between 300 B.C. and A.D. 1400, the Hohokam and Anasazi peoples had created civilizations in southwestern North America. Cultures east of the Mississippi River are called the Mound Builders for the large burial mounds they created.

2 Native American Societies Around 1492

MAIN IDEA *The varied landscapes of North America encouraged the diversity of Native American cultures.*

Native Americans developed different lifestyles, each adapted to a specific environment. The Kashaya Pomo hunted waterbirds along the coast of California. The Kwakiutl and peoples of the Northwest took food from the sea—whale, seal, and sea otter.

The Pueblo and Hopi tribes of the Southwest lived in multi-story homes made of adobe, or baked clay. They lived near rivers and farmed.

Native Americans of the east lived in vast woodlands and built villages in forest clearings. Those in the colder northeast relied on hunting. Those in the warmer southeast relied more on farming.

Although Native American groups had many differences, they shared some traits. Trading networks enabled them to exchange goods over long distances. All Native American groups believed that land could be used but not owned. Most believed that spirits lived in the world. Some saw one of these spirits as the supreme creator or most powerful being.

Native Americans had strong family ties. Most groups saw families in broad terms, including aunts, uncles, and cousins as well as parents and children. Older family members were valued for passing on their knowledge.

3 West African Societies Around 1492

MAIN IDEA *West Africa in the 1400s was home to a variety of peoples and cultures.*

West Africa by the 1400s had long been connected to the wider world through trade. A trading network connected most of West Africa to the coastal ports of North Africa and through these ports to markets in Europe and Asia. Cities at the crossroads of these trade routes became rich and powerful. Traders traveled across the Sahara to these West African cities, bringing goods and the Islamic faith.

In the 1440s, traders from Portugal arrived off West Africa. Within a few decades, they had claimed two islands and begun plantations for growing sugar cane. The Portuguese bought slaves from the African mainland to work on these plantations. The Portuguese opened West Africa for the first time to direct trade with Europe.

West Africa included three major kingdoms. The Songhai empire of the interior controlled trade across the Sahara. King Askia Mohammed made the city of Timbuktu a center of learning. The Benin kingdom dominated the area around the mouth of the Niger River. Farther south, the kingdom of Kongo was established on the lower reaches of the Zaire (Congo) River.

Life in West Africa revolved around families clustered in small villages. Each family traced its lineage, or line of descent, and older people enjoyed high status. West African peoples believed that nature was full of spirits, and religious rituals were tied to everyday life. Most groups believed in the collective ownership of land. Work was divided by age and social rank. Some societies held slaves, and trade in slaves was a major part of the trading network.

④ European Societies Around 1492

MAIN IDEA *Political, economic, and intellectual developments in western Europe in the 1400s led to the Age of Exploration.*

European societies were organized according to rank. Monarchs and nobles owned the land plus most of the wealth and power. Below them was a growing middle class of merchants and artisans. At the bottom was a large body of peasants who raised crops and livestock.

A major influence on Western European society was the Roman Catholic Church. The Church encouraged Christians to retake Spain from Muslims and to try to oust the Muslims in the Holy Land. The Crusades, a series of wars there, strengthened the power of European monarchs. They also caused an increase in trade and weakened the power of the church. The Protestant Reformation of the 1500s divided Christianity in Western Europe between Catholicism and Protestantism.

Other changes swept Europe. Millions died in the 1300s from crop failures, disease, and wars. Soon, though, the European economy revived. The desire for products of Asia—especially spices—revived trade and generated new wealth. The population grew again, spurring more trade. Merchants gained wealth, and national monarchs gained power at the expense of nobles. New emphasis on people as individuals arose in the movement called the Renaissance, and people began to seek fame for themselves.

All these changes, plus advances in sailing technology, prompted interest in exploration. Europeans sought water routes to the east. They wanted to avoid long overland journeys through Muslim-controlled land. By the 1480s, the Portuguese had sailed around Africa to India. Christopher Columbus then persuaded Spain's Queen Isabella to try another route: sailing west.

⑤ Transatlantic Encounters

MAIN IDEA *Columbus's voyages set off a chain of events that brought together the peoples of Europe, Africa, and the Americas.*

Columbus left Spain for Asia with three ships. On October 12, 1492, a lookout sighted land. Mistakenly thinking that he had reached Asia, Columbus called the people he encountered *los indios*—"Indians." In later voyages, he, and other explorers, planted Spanish settlements.

Native Americans suffered from the harsh rule of the Spanish, who killed many and enslaved those who survived. Native Americans also suffered from the diseases that Europeans brought. With no immunity to smallpox, measles, mumps, and other diseases, hundreds of thousands died. The Spanish needed a new source of slave labor. They soon began importing West Africans as slaves. From the early 1500s to the early 1800s, at least 12 million West Africans were taken to the New World as slaves.

This contact between the Old World and the New brought many changes in a process called the Columbian Exchange. The Americas introduced crops such as cassava, corn, tomatoes, and potatoes to the Old World. Europeans brought coffee, sugar, bananas, horses, cattle, and sheep from the Old World to the New. Life was transformed in both regions. Millions of Native Americans died, and millions of Europeans and Africans came to live in the Americas.

Review

1. How did farming affect Native Americans?
2. Explain how the way of life of one Native American group suited its environment.
3. What traits did West African societies share?
4. What led to Europe's age of exploration?
5. What happened in the Columbian Exchange?



Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The American Colonies Emerge*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *As the Spanish build an empire in the Americas, other European nations plant colonies in North America. The English come to dominate the Atlantic Coast.*

1 Spain's Empire in the Americas

MAIN IDEA *Throughout the 1500s and 1600s, the Spanish conquered Central and portions of North America.*

Following Columbus's voyage, other Spanish explorers—called conquistadors (conquerors)—came to the New World. They destroyed Native American societies, won fortunes and fame, and made Spain the most powerful nation on earth.

In 1521, Hernando Cortés used Native American allies and better weapons to conquer the Aztecs. The Aztecs had been weakened by disease. The Spaniards burned the Aztec capital and quickly built a new Spanish-style city as capital of the colony they named New Spain.

Many Spaniards married Native American women, creating a large mestizo—or mixed Spanish and Native American—population. Conquistadors received grants called *encomiendas* which gave them the right to force Native Americans into slave labor on farms, ranches, or mines. Priests often protested the *encomienda* system because of its cruelty to Native Americans. After the Spanish crown ended the system in 1542, Spanish landowners used African slaves.

As conquistadors spread from Mexico, the Spanish empire in the New World grew. It included the Caribbean islands, Central America, and most of South America. Gold and silver from the New World made Spain wealthy.

The Spanish also moved into the present-day United States. In 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established a small settlement at St. Augustine, the oldest European-founded city in the present United States. Other explorers traveled through the Southwest and southern Plains. They found no gold, but they were soon followed by missionaries who hoped to convert the Native Americans to Catholicism. In the winter of 1609-1610, Pedro de Peralta established a settlement he called Santa Fe.

Native Americans, led by Popé, rose to resist the growing Spanish presence. In 1680 they killed priests, burned churches, and drove the Spaniards

back to New Spain. Just over a decade later, though, the Spanish regained control of the area.

2 An English Settlement at Jamestown

MAIN IDEA *The first permanent English settlement in North America was founded at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607.*

English colonies were originally under the control of joint-stock companies, which were controlled by many investors. In 1607, a group of investors called the Virginia Company sent 150 colonists aboard three ships to North America. They built a settlement in Virginia that they called Jamestown in honor of King James I.

At first, many settlers died from disease and starvation. However, new settlers arrived and began to grow tobacco, a Native American crop that proved to be profitable for the colonists. To attract more settlers, the Virginia Company introduced the head-right system, which provided 50 acres of land to anyone who paid for their own or another's passage.

As workers on their farms, the colonists first used indentured servants. In return for passage to America, these workers promised to work on the landowner's farm. After four to seven years, they would be free. Most indentured servants were the English poor, but some were Africans. By the late 1600s, planters had mostly slave labor from Africa.

In 1622, Powhatan raiding parties killed 340 colonists. By 1624, James I had turned Jamestown into a royal colony under direct control of the king.

The colony grew, and by 1644, nearly 10,000 English settlers lived in Virginia. English society was split, however. Wealthy landowners dominated economic and political life. Former indentured servants wanted land but lacked the money to buy it. When they tried to take land from Native Americans, fighting broke out. The former indentured servants asked for help from Virginia's governor—a wealthy landowner—and he refused. Led by Nathaniel Bacon, the poorer settlers rebelled. The governor put down the revolt, but the event revealed dangerous tensions between the wealthy and the poor.

③ Puritan New England

MAIN IDEA English Puritans came to North America, beginning in 1620.

A different group of people settled farther north. Religious dissenters—Puritans—had argued that the Church of England was too close to Roman Catholic beliefs. They hoped to purify the church with further reforms. One such group, the Pilgrims, planted a colony at Plymouth in 1620.

A large body of Puritans decided to move to the New World. They obtained a charter to create a settlement called the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1630, John Winthrop led about 1,000 settlers from England to Boston. They brought the charter with them, effectively giving them the right to govern themselves in their colony. In the next ten years, another 20,000 English settlers moved to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Puritans wanted to create a moral society—what Winthrop called “a city upon a hill”—that all people would look up to. About 40 percent of the colony’s men—those who were members of the church and owned land—could vote for local officials, an unusually high portion for the time. Church leaders, although unable to hold elective office, were influential in the colony.

These church leaders tolerated no dissent from their views. A minister named Roger Williams preached that the settlers should buy—not take—land from Native Americans. He also said that government officials should not punish those with different religious views. Facing arrest, he fled in 1636 to Narragansett Bay, where he started the colony of Providence. Also moving there was Anne Hutchinson. She, too, had been forced out of Massachusetts Bay by church leaders because she questioned their authority.

As the settlements spread, some Native Americans resisted. However, in 1637 the Pequot tribe was wiped out. An uneasy peace followed, but war erupted again in 1675. Metacom, called King Philip by the settlers, launched attacks throughout New England. The war cost the lives of many on both sides. Metacom was killed in 1676. With his death, the power of Native Americans in southeast New England was lost forever.

④ Settlement of the Middle Colonies

MAIN IDEA The Dutch settle New Netherland; English Quakers, led by William Penn settle in Pennsylvania.

The Dutch settled present-day Albany and New York City. They also took control of a Swedish settlement along the Delaware River. The Dutch enjoyed good relations with Native Americans. They were mainly interested in promoting trade. The Dutch colony of New Netherland was very diverse, with people from many different European nations, including Jews, and from Africa. By the 1660s, about one-fifth of the population was of African descent.

The English wanted to unite their northern and southern colonies interrupted by New Netherland. So, they seized control of the colony. James, Duke of York, renamed the colony New York and separated off the southern part as New Jersey.

The area west of the Delaware River became another new English colony. To repay a debt, King Charles II granted William Penn a vast stretch of land to the west of New Jersey. Penn was a member of a religious group called Quakers who were persecuted for their beliefs. He hoped to create a home for Quakers in this new colony, which he called Pennsylvania (meaning “Penn’s Woods”). He established a new colony that allowed freedom of worship and included an elected government. He drew a plan for a capital city called Philadelphia. Penn believed that settlers had to buy land from the Native Americans and treat them fairly. Delaware was formed out of Pennsylvania’s three southern counties along the Delaware Bay.

In time, the colonies of Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were also established. By the mid-1700s, there were 13 English-speaking colonies in North America.

Review

1. Describe Spanish relations with Native Americans.
2. What changes occurred in the early years of the English settlement at Jamestown?
3. What goals did Puritans have in launching the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
4. On what principles did William Penn base his colony?

CHAPTER
3

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Colonies Come of Age*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *As British colonies in North America grow, their economies and societies develop sectional differences. After the British push the French out of the region, relations between the colonists and the British become more tense.*

1 England and Its Colonies

MAIN IDEA *England and its largely self-governing colonies prospered under a mutually beneficial trade relationship.*

European nations wanted colonies in the New World so they could pursue an economic system called mercantilism. In this system, England benefited from its North American colonies in two ways. The colonies supplied England with raw materials—lumber, furs, grain, and tobacco. In turn, colonists bought furniture, iron utensils, books, and china made in England.

To control colonial trade, the English Parliament passed the Navigation Acts. These laws barred the colonies from sending some goods to other nations. They also required that all colonial trade had to travel on English or colonial ships and first had to pass through English ports.

Some colonial merchants continued to smuggle—trade illegally—with other countries. In 1684 the English king tried to force merchants of Massachusetts to obey the laws. When they refused, the king revoked the colony's charter and appointed a new royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros. Andros angered colonists by outlawing local government and imposing new taxes.

Relations improved soon thereafter, when Parliament chose a new king and queen to rule England in 1689. The new English government restored the colony's charter but passed tough trade laws. These laws moved smuggling trials to English-controlled courts and created a Board of Trade. The new English government did not enforce these laws aggressively, however.

In the new system, royal governors headed each colony. Colonial legislative assemblies had substantial power, however. The governor could veto the laws they passed, but the assemblies had the power to raise taxes—and thus controlled the governor's salary. As a result, the colonies were able to practice a degree of self-government.

2 The Agricultural South

MAIN IDEA *In the Southern colonies, a predominantly agricultural society developed.*

Colonists from Maryland to Georgia specialized in raising a single cash crop—a farm product raised for sale rather than for the farmer's own use. Cash crops included tobacco, rice, and indigo. These planters raised their crops on large farms, called plantations, along the region's rivers. Southern society was mostly rural. Charles Town (later called Charleston), in South Carolina, was the only major city of the South.

Small farmers were in the majority in the South, but the planters dominated economic and political life. Southern women could not vote, attend school, or own property. They worked long hours on farm and household duties.

The South's many indentured servants had few rights during their service. Once the term was done, they struggled to survive. By the late 1600s, few indentured servants came to the colonies.

To supply the labor they needed, the planters imported and enslaved hundreds of thousands of Africans. The slave trade was brutal. Africans were branded with red-hot irons, crammed into the holds of ships, and transported across the Atlantic Ocean. About 20 percent died from cruel treatment or disease in transit.

Those who survived became slaves. Up to 90 percent worked in the fields. Most of the rest worked in planters' houses. Some learned skills such as carpentry or blacksmithing. Children began working at age 12. The Africans developed their own way of life. This culture drew on the crafts, stories, and music of their African homes.

Slaves resisted, sometimes by pretending to be ill or by working slowly. In the Stono Rebellion of 1739, a group of slaves fought for freedom, but all were killed. Some ran away, sometimes finding a new home in Native American tribes.

③ The Commercial North

MAIN IDEA *The Northern colonies developed a predominantly urban society, based on commerce and trade.*

The economies of the New England and Middle Colonies were more diverse. Farming was important, especially in the fertile wheat- and corn-growing regions of Pennsylvania and New York. Other industries included grinding wheat, fishing, and shipbuilding. By 1760, the colonists built a third of all British ships and made more iron than Great Britain. Boston and New York grew to be thriving cities. Philadelphia was the second largest city in the British Empire.

The Northern colonies had diverse populations. Pennsylvania became home to large numbers of Germans fleeing poverty or seeking religious freedom. Another large group was the Scots-Irish, Scottish Protestants who had settled in Ireland in earlier years. Other groups included the Dutch, Scandinavians, and Jews. These colonies had African slaves, but fewer than in the South. They, too, suffered harsh treatment.

Women in the colonial period had few rights. As in the South, they worked hard in household and farm labor. The frustrations of their status contributed in part to an outbreak of witch-hunting in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Several innocent people were tried and executed for being witches until the panic passed.

The Enlightenment, an intellectual movement of Europe, affected the colonies. Enlightenment thinkers valued reason and science. Benjamin Franklin demonstrated this way of thinking in an experiment showing that lightning was a form of electricity. Enlightenment ideas spread through the colonies in part because a high proportion of males could now read.

While the Enlightenment championed science, the Great Awakening prompted a religious revival in the 1730s and 1740s. Among its leaders was Jonathan Edwards, who helped challenge the authority of established churches. Both the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening led colonists to question authority.

④ The French and Indian War

MAIN IDEA *British victory over the French in North America enlarged the British empire, but led to new conflicts with the colonists.*

Challenging the British in North America, as in Europe, were the French. The French claimed control of the entire Mississippi River valley, but they had few settlers compared to the British. They were interested in the fur trade and developed friendly relations with many Native American groups as a result.

The two sides ended their rivalry in North America in the French and Indian War, fought between 1754 and 1763. The war began when Virginia troops led by George Washington marched to the Ohio River to drive out the French. The French and their Native American allies easily defeated both this force and a British army that came the next year. Then, in a great victory, the British defeated the French at Quebec in 1759. France was forced to give Canada to the British and New Orleans to Spain.

Although the victor, Britain still had trouble. Native Americans were angered by colonists moving west. Pontiac's uprising captured eight British forts. After defeating Pontiac, the British banned settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains—which angered the colonists.

The French and Indian War produced other trouble. The British left 10,000 troops in the colonies to keep the peace. Colonists feared they could be used to suppress their rights. The British and colonists also clashed over British efforts to raise money to pay for the war. When the royal governor of Massachusetts issued search warrants to find smugglers, colonists protested. A new British law, the Sugar Act of 1764, put duties on some previously untaxed imports and changed the rules for trying smuggling cases. Colonists argued that the new law violated their rights.

Review

1. How did England benefit from the colonies?
2. How did planters meet their needs for labor?
3. How did the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening affect the way people thought?
4. How did victory in the French and Indian War have negative results for the British?

CHAPTER
4

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The War for Independence*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The colonists' clashes with the British government lead them to declare independence. With French aid, they overcome early setbacks to win their freedom from Great Britain.*

1 The Stirrings of Rebellion

MAIN IDEA *Conflict between Great Britain and the American colonies grew over issues of taxation, representation, and liberty.*

Tensions grew again in 1765 when Parliament passed the Stamp Act. The new law required colonists to buy government stamps when buying anything from wills to playing cards. It was the first British tax to directly affect the average colonist.

The colonists were outraged. Merchants vowed to boycott British goods until the act was repealed. Leaders from throughout the colonies met and declared that only colonial assemblies—not Parliament—could pass tax laws. Parliament repealed the Stamp Act but also insisted that it had the power to govern the colonies in all matters. It backed up the claim by passing the Townshend Acts, which imposed indirect taxes.

Riots in Boston prompted the British to station troops there. In a tussle with local workers in 1770, the soldiers opened fire, killing five Bostonians. Fanning anger against the British, Samuel Adams called it the “Boston Massacre.”

To calm feelings, the British government withdrew the taxes—except the one on tea. In 1773, the British tried to help a near-bankrupt British company by giving it a monopoly on the tea trade to the colonies, freezing out colonial merchants. In response, a group of Bostonians dressed as Native Americans boarded three ships and dumped crates of tea into Boston Harbor.

Parliament passed a set of punishing laws that colonists called the Intolerable Acts. The port of Boston was closed and troops maintained law. In 1774 delegates from the colonies met in Philadelphia in the First Continental Congress. They issued a declaration of colonial rights.

Many colonists formed military companies. The British decided to seize their weapons. British troops briefly fought colonial minutemen in the town of Lexington. When the British marched back to Boston, minutemen ambushed them and killed many soldiers.

2 Ideas Help Start a Revolution

MAIN IDEA *Tensions increased throughout the colonies until the Continental Congress declared independence on July 4, 1776.*

In 1775, the colonies again sent delegates to Philadelphia, to meet in the Second Continental Congress. John Adams of Massachusetts urged that the colonies declare themselves independent of Great Britain, but the Congress could not agree on this action. It did create an army, however, placing George Washington in command.

In June 1775, British troops clashed again with colonials near Boston in the Battle of Bunker Hill. The British took heavy losses. Hoping for peace, Congress sent a plea—the Olive Branch Petition—to King George III. The king rejected it. More colonists began to favor independence.

Many were persuaded by a pamphlet titled *Common Sense*. In it, Thomas Paine blamed the colonists' troubles on the king, not his government. In June 1776, a Virginia delegate urged that Congress declare independence. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia was asked to write a document stating the colonies' reasons. On July 2, 1776, the delegates voted to free the colonies of British rule. Two days later, they approved Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.

The many colonists who opposed independence called themselves Loyalists. Supporters of independence were called Patriots. Native Americans—who thought colonists threatened their land—supported the British. Many African Americans—given promises of freedom from slavery—joined the British cause as well. Others fought with the Patriots.

3 Struggling Toward Saratoga

MAIN IDEA *After a series of setbacks, American forces won at Saratoga and survived.*

In March 1776, the British transferred their troops from Boston. They planned to split New England from the rest of the colonies by

seizing New York City. Washington assembled an army to oppose them, but his soldiers were poorly prepared and equipped. The British beat them badly in August.

Washington retreated south. On Christmas Day of 1776, he staged a surprise attack across the Delaware River. His troops captured almost 1,000 enemy soldiers. After another Patriot victory, the two sides settled down for winter camp. The next spring, British troops won two battles near Philadelphia. Congress fled the city, which the British occupied.

Patriots got some needed good news late in 1777. An army of British troops and Native Americans marched south from Canada. A Patriot army beat them at Bennington, Vermont, and won a clear victory at Saratoga, New York.

Saratoga cheered the Patriots—and convinced the French that the colonists had a chance to win the war. Hoping to hurt their long-time enemy, the British, the French recognized American independence. They also agreed to send troops and supplies. Before French aid could arrive, however, Washington and his soldiers spent a miserable winter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Short on food, blankets, and clothing, the American soldiers suffered hunger and frostbite. More than 2,000 soldiers died.

Congress could not provide the needed supplies because it had difficulty raising the money needed to conduct the war. It managed to do so by borrowing money and by printing paper money. Printing money had a bad effect, though, as prices for food and supplies began to rise.

Women contributed to the war effort. With husbands and fathers away fighting, they ran family farms and businesses. They did what they could to raise supplies. Many women traveled with the army, washing and cooking for their husbands and other troops. Many felt a new sense of freedom and self-confidence.

④ Winning the War

MAIN IDEA *Strategic victories in the South and at Yorktown enabled the Americans to defeat the British.*

During the winter of Valley Forge, a German officer began to train the Patriot army. These efforts turned the ragtag bunch into a fighting

army. Washington was also aided by a French officer, the Marquis de Lafayette.

The first years after Saratoga proved hard on the Patriots, though. The British hoped to rally Loyalist support in the South and moved operations there. At the end of 1778, they took Savannah, Georgia, and in May 1780 they captured Charles Town, South Carolina, taking 5,500 Patriot soldiers as prisoners of war. With yet another victory, they soon had a secure hold on Georgia and South Carolina.

Washington sent General Nathanael Greene south to stop the British. One part of Greene's army defeated redcoats at Cowpens, South Carolina, in January 1781. Then the British moved north to Virginia. The commander, Charles Cornwallis, foolishly occupied a narrow peninsula near Yorktown. Patriot and French forces moved in and trapped Cornwallis's troops. Meanwhile, a French fleet blocked British ships from delivering supplies or rescuing their soldiers. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington.

The next year, the Patriots and British began to discuss terms for peace. The American delegates were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay. They insisted that the British recognize American independence. In the Treaty of Paris, the British also gave the new nation land all the way west to the Mississippi River.

The American Revolution had profound effects on American society. As rich and poor fought together, people began to have a sense of egalitarianism—the equality of all people. Many urged that the new nation extend freedom by ending slavery, but Southern states were unwilling to lose their laborers. Women, too, did not gain political or social rights.

Review

1. Outline the different steps that Great Britain and the colonists took toward conflict.
2. What factors helped convince many people to support independence?
3. Why was Saratoga an important battle?
4. Describe the events of the last years of the American Revolution.

CHAPTER
5

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Shaping a New Nation*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The new nation under federalism is unstable. Leaders set up a convention to settle issues but end up creating a new governmental structure.*

1 Experimenting with Confederation

MAIN IDEA *Americans adopted the Articles of Confederation but found the new government too weak to solve the nation's problems.*

Having declared independence, the states faced another challenge: forming a new government. American leaders feared a true democracy that would give power directly to the uneducated masses. They wanted a republic, in which people rule through elected representatives. They also wanted a national government with limited power.

The state constitutions created governments with limited power that guaranteed freedom of speech, religion, and the press. In some states, all white males could vote; in others, only white male property owners could vote. African Americans were not allowed to vote, nor—except in New Jersey for a few years—were women.

In creating a new government, a Continental Congress wrestled with three issues:

The first involved representation in Congress of different-sized states. Congress decided that each state would have one vote.

The second had to do with how power was distributed. In approving the Articles of Confederation, Congress created two levels of government. The national government had the power to declare war, make peace, sign treaties, borrow money, create a postal service, and deal with Native Americans. State governments retained many other powers.

The third concerned land west of the Appalachian Mountains. All the states with claims to that land gave up those claims to the national government. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 determined how the territory would be settled. Congress decided to divide the land into three to five territories. Once the population of a territory reached 60,000, the people could ask Congress to be admitted as a state—with the same status as the original thirteen states.

The Articles of Confederation proved to have many weaknesses. First was the lack of national

unity: each state acted in its own interests, regardless of whether those actions harmed another state. Second, the vote of all states was required to amend, or change, the Articles. Third, the states refused to let Congress impose a tax. As a result, the nation could not repay its war debt. The debt caused other problems. Creditors, those who were owed money, wanted the states to pass higher taxes so that the states could repay them. These high taxes sent many farmers into debt. Finally, the nation faced foreign difficulties. The British threatened the new nation on the west. The Spanish closed the Mississippi River to American shipping, which made it harder for western farmers to get their crops to market.

2 Drafting the Constitution

MAIN IDEA *At the Philadelphia convention in 1787, delegates rejected the Articles of Confederation and created a new constitution.*

A 1786 revolt against taxes by farmers in western Massachusetts emphasized that the nation faced serious problems. In May of 1787, delegates came to Philadelphia from every state except Rhode Island. They met to fix the problems of the national government. However, after a few days of discussion, they decided to abandon the Articles of Confederation and create a new form of government.

Two issues arose as major concerns. The first was how to distribute power between the state and national governments. The second was how to prevent the wealthy, powerful minority from dominating the small farmers and workers who made up the nation's majority.

The delegates debated two plans for representation in the new government. The Virginia Plan favored larger states by calling for two houses of Congress in which the number of representatives depended on state population. Smaller states preferred the New Jersey Plan. It gave each state an equal vote in a single house of Congress. Roger Sherman resolved the problem by proposing the Great Compromise. Sherman's plan made two

houses of Congress. In the lower house, representation would be based on size and delegates elected by popular vote. In the upper house, each state would have the same number of members. They would be chosen by the state legislatures, thus giving the states some power. The delegates approved Sherman's plan.

Then delegates debated whether slaves should be included in the population count. The Northern states, with few slaves, believed they should not. The Southern states, with many slaves, favored the idea. The delegates again compromised, agreeing to count three-fifths of the slaves and forcing the government to postpone the abolition of slavery until at least 1808.

The delegates divided power in two ways. They gave the national government certain powers—such as the power to regulate trade between states—and state governments the rest.

Second, the delegates divided power within the national government. They gave the legislative branch—the two houses of Congress—the power to make laws, the executive branch power to carry out the laws, and the judicial branch power to conduct trials. Through checks and balances, they tried to ensure that no branch could abuse its power. Fear of the people fostered an indirect system of electing a president, known as the electoral college.

Finally, the delegates created a mechanism for changing this new Constitution through amendments. Then the document went to the states for approval.

⊕ Ratifying the Constitution

MAIN IDEA During the debate on the Constitution, the Federalists promised to add a bill of rights in order to get the constitution ratified.

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention believed that most state legislators would oppose the new government because it reduced state power. So, they created a process for approval that bypassed the state legislatures. This process called for each state to hold a special meeting to vote on the plan. Once approved by at least nine states, the Constitution would become the basis of a new government.

Supporters of the Constitution called themselves Federalists. They were led by George Washington and three men who wrote persuasive essays in support of the document—James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. Small states and city dwellers tended to support the Federalist cause.

Opponents, called Antifederalists, included such heroes of the independence movement as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. They argued that the new government would have too much power. Larger states—which would lose some power—tended to oppose the Constitution, as did those who lived in rural areas.

Both sides argued their positions. Antifederalists attacked the document for not guaranteeing individuals' rights. The Federalists promised to add such protection through a bill of rights.

Delaware was first to ratify the Constitution, in December 1787. The following June, New Hampshire became the ninth state to approve it, and the Constitution officially became the law of the land. People wondered what the important states of New York and Virginia would do. By July 1788, the two states ratified the Constitution, although the votes were close.

Shortly afterward, Madison wrote some amendments aimed at guaranteeing individual rights. In September 1789, Congress approved 12 of them and submitted them to the state legislatures for final approval. The states ratified ten, which are called the Bill of Rights. These amendments guarantee each citizen freedom of speech, religion, the press, and political activity. However, Native Americans, African Americans, and women were excluded.

Review

1. What three issues did Congress have to resolve in creating a national government?
2. What weaknesses hampered the government of the Articles of Confederation?
3. What two compromises were made in writing the Constitution?
4. In what two ways does the Constitution divide power?

CHAPTER
6

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Launching the New Nation*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *As the new government takes hold, the United States sees the growth of political parties. A land purchase doubles the nation's size, and another war with Britain confirms American independence.*

1 Washington Heads the New Government

MAIN IDEA *President Washington transformed the idea of the Constitution into a real government.*

The Constitution laid the outlines of a new government. President George Washington and the first Congress had to fill in the details. With the Judiciary Act of 1789, they created national courts. The law also declared that state court decisions could be appealed in federal courts if they raised constitutional issues. They created the departments of State, War, and the Treasury. The three department heads and the attorney general became the president's advisers, or cabinet.

Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of Treasury Alexander Hamilton disagreed on the direction the nation should take. Hamilton believed in a strong central government and economic policies that favored commerce and industry. Jefferson preferred greater state power and policies that favored farmers. The North backed Hamilton and the South Jefferson.

Hamilton developed an ambitious economic plan. He wanted to establish a national bank, hoping that wealthy people, by investing in the bank, would become firmly committed to helping the new government succeed. He also wanted the federal government to take over state war debts. This angered Southern states, who had paid off most of their debt already.

Hamilton convinced Congress to enact his plan. He won support from Southern lawmakers by proposing that the nation's capital be moved from New York City to a new site on the Potomac River. Congress created the District of Columbia, and plans for a new capital city were prepared.

The disagreements between Hamilton and Jefferson produced two political parties. Hamilton and supporters of a strong central government were called Federalists. Jefferson and those who wished to limit central power were called Democratic-Republicans.

Farmers in western Pennsylvania protested a federal tax on whiskey. They resented the tax

because turning corn into whiskey was their main source for cash. By using federal troops to squash the rebellion, Washington asserted the authority of the federal government.

2 Foreign Affairs Trouble the Nation

MAIN IDEA *Events in Europe sharply divided American public opinion in the late 18th century.*

As the United States government took shape, the French government tumbled. Many Americans supported the French Revolution's early appeal to liberty. Many, though, opposed the bloody Reign of Terror that followed. When France declared war on Britain, the government had to make a decision. Jefferson argued that America should repay French support during the Revolutionary War and support them. Hamilton urged helping the British. Washington kept the nation neutral.

Meanwhile, the United States negotiated a treaty with Spain. Spain gave up its claims to land east of the Mississippi River except for Florida.

Other problems loomed in the Northwest, however. The British—violating a treaty—kept forts in the area. As more whites settled the region, conflict broke out with Native Americans. General Anthony Wayne defeated the Miami tribe in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, ending Native American resistance in Ohio. About the same time, the British agreed to abandon their forts. Because the treaty did not resolve other issues, many westerners were angry.

Seeing increasing party conflict, Washington decided to retire. In a close election, Federalist John Adams defeated Jefferson and became president. Adams skillfully managed to keep the United States out of the European war—although doing so angered his own party. By signing the Alien and Sedition Acts, he angered the Democratic-Republicans. These laws extended the time needed for an immigrant to become a citizen and allowed the government to punish anyone whose words or actions were considered dangerous. Jefferson and

James Madison saw this as an attack on basic American rights. In the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, they argued that states had to right to declare a national law void if they disagreed with it. No other states took the same position, however.

③ Jefferson Alters the Nation's Course

MAIN IDEA *The United States expanded its borders during Thomas Jefferson's administration.*

The Democratic-Republicans defeated the Federalists in the election of 1800. In a fluke, however, both Jefferson and Aaron Burr—the Republican candidate for vice-president—received the same number of electoral votes. Hamilton, who despised Burr, persuaded his supporters in the House of Representatives to vote for Jefferson.

Jefferson was the first president to take office in the new federal capital, Washington, D.C. The new capital's location between Virginia and Maryland underscored the growing dominance of the South in national politics. As Jefferson took office, he urged the two parties to smooth over their differences. He took steps to reduce the power of the central government and to replace Federalist officials. The Federalists continued to be a power in the judicial branch, however. In his last days in office, Adams had appointed a number of Federalists to judgeships—positions that they held for life. Among them was John Marshall, named as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Marshall's Court soon issued an important decision. In *Marbury v. Madison*, Marshall wrote that the Supreme Court had the power of judicial review—the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional or not.

As more and more settlers moved west, the population in the territories increased fourfold. Suddenly France decided to sell the Louisiana Territory, which stretched from the Gulf of Mexico north to Canada and west to the Rocky Mountains. By purchasing the land, the United States doubled in size. Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who led a team of soldiers and adventurers, to explore the new land. They traveled more than two years from St. Louis to present-day Oregon and back. They made notes on the terrain,

the plants, and the animals they saw. They made contact with many Native American peoples.

④ The War of 1812

MAIN IDEA *War broke out again between the United States and Britain in 1812.*

During Jefferson's second term, the war between France and Britain hurt the United States. Trying to prevent trade with the enemy, both nations seized American ships and their cargoes. Britain also took American sailors from the ships, forcing them into its navy, angering Americans further. To cut off the flow of supplies, Jefferson banned exports to other countries. Rather than hurting Britain, though, the embargo harmed American business. Congress ended the embargo.

James Madison followed Jefferson as president, but the situation worsened. Native Americans led by Tecumseh rose to fight settlers in the West. Although they were defeated, Tecumseh's forces had received weapons from the British. As American anger built, members of Congress from the South and West—called war hawks—argued for war. In June 1812, Congress declared war against Britain.

The war did not go well for the Americans at first. Then a U.S. Navy fleet defeated the British on Lake Erie, and Americans retook Detroit. However, British ships soon formed a blockade that eventually extended along most of the East Coast of the United States. In 1814, though, the British entered Washington, burning the Capitol and the White House. Early in 1815, General Andrew Jackson defeated a British force in the Battle of New Orleans. Ironically, this victory came after negotiators had agreed on a peace. The Treaty of Ghent put an end to the fighting, although the two nations had not yet agreed on how to resolve their disputes.

Review

1. What steps did Washington and Congress take to establish the new government?
2. What foreign policy issues arose in the nation's early years?
3. What changes occurred during the Jefferson administration?
4. What disputes between Britain and the United States led to the War of 1812?

CHAPTER
7

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

Balancing Nationalism and Sectionalism

CHAPTER OVERVIEW American leaders devise a farsighted policy of improvements as North, South, and West develop distinct economies; but the sections gradually grow to guard their sectional interests.

1 Regional Economies Create Differences

MAIN IDEA The North and the South developed different economic systems that led to political differences between the regions.

In the early 1800s, an Industrial Revolution that had begun in Britain spread to the United States. Before, craft workers made one product at a time. Now, business owners achieved mass production. They hired teams of workers who worked in factories powered by water. Using interchangeable parts, the workers produced more products in less time than before.

Troubles with Britain helped spur these changes. When the embargo halted American shipping, investors put their money into building factories. The New England states pioneered the American industrial age. The first factories were textile mills, but other industries soon followed.

The West—the old Northwest Territory—was mostly agricultural. Farming was changing, though. Farm families began to raise livestock and crops for sale, using the cash they earned to buy supplies. Labor in the North was free; by 1804, all states north of Delaware had abolished slavery.

Slavery was growing in the South, however. Eli Whitney's new invention—the cotton gin—made it possible to clean cotton more quickly than before, and Britain's and New England's textile mills demanded more and more cotton. Southern farmers turned their land into vast cotton fields. As a result, the number of slaves nearly doubled. Some African Americans living in the South were free, but they were few, and their lives were not much better than those of the slaves.

As regions developed distinct economies, leaders looked for ways to unite them. President Madison proposed a plan that House Speaker Henry Clay of Kentucky promoted, calling it the American System. The plan called for tariffs on foreign manufactured goods to allow American industry to grow. It included a national bank to establish

a national currency. It urged making “internal improvements”—building roads.

The federal government never funded these internal improvements, but many states did. Some joined to build the National Road to carry settlers west. New York built the Erie Canal to connect New York City to the Great Lakes. With increased trade, New York City became the country's chief port.

2 Nationalism at Center Stage

MAIN IDEA Nationalism exerted a strong influence in the courts, foreign affairs, and westward expansion in the early 1800s.

In a series of Supreme Court decisions, Chief Justice John Marshall promoted the power of the federal government. In *Gibbons v. Ogden*, the Court ruled that Congress—not the states—had the power over commerce between the states.

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams pursued a foreign policy guided by nationalism. He negotiated treaties with Britain that reduced the number of navy ships on the Great Lakes and settled boundary disputes. In a treaty with Spain, Adams brought Florida into the United States.

Other nations threatened the hemisphere, though. Spain and Portugal seemed ready to reclaim their colonies. Russia tried to claim more land on the west coast of North America. President James Monroe warned European nations not to interfere with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. This stand became known as the Monroe Doctrine.

As more and more Americans moved west, new territories were ready to become states. The process became difficult because of the issue of slavery. As long as there was an equal number of slave and free states, both North and South felt comfortable. When Missouri—which allowed slavery—applied for admission, though, the balance was threatened. Henry Clay fashioned the Missouri Compromise. This agreement allowed Missouri to enter as a slave state and Maine as a free state. The Compromise also established that in all territories

north of 36° 30' north latitude, slavery would be illegal—except for Missouri.

3 The Age of Jackson

MAIN IDEA *Andrew Jackson's policies spoke for the common people but violated Native American rights.*

John Quincy Adams, who became president after Monroe, had a difficult term of office. In the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson had won the most popular votes but lacked the electoral votes to win the presidency. The decision was thrown to the House of Representatives. Henry Clay—who disliked Jackson personally and politically—used his influence to give Adams the election.

Angered, Jackson and his followers split to form their own party: the Democratic-Republican Party. For four years, they attacked Adams, and the country turned toward Jackson. He also won the support of thousands of Americans recently given the vote by more liberal election laws. Jackson won the 1828 election by a wide margin.

Once in office, Jackson removed about 10 percent of federal workers from office. In a move known as the spoils system, he replaced them with new workers loyal to Jackson.

As the demand for farmland grew, settlers again looked on the lands of Native Americans in the South and West. Jackson decided to move the Native Americans elsewhere. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830. The Cherokee Nation fought back in the courts. When Chief Justice Marshall ruled in their favor, Jackson refused to comply. Instead, federal agents signed a treaty with a group of Cherokee leaders willing to leave. In 1838, the army forced the remaining 20,000 Cherokee to march west. The Cherokee called the journey the Trail of Tears. It caused the death of more than a quarter of their people.

4 States' Rights and the National Bank

MAIN IDEA *Andrew Jackson confronted two important issues during his presidency—states' rights and a national bank.*

The Tariff of 1816 (raised twice by 1828) increased the price of foreign manufactured goods. Although he had supported the tariff before, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina came to oppose it bitterly. Southerners felt that they were paying to build industry in the North. Calhoun argued that

states could nullify—or declare void—any federal law that they opposed. The Senate debated the tariff in 1830. A South Carolina senator blasted the tariff as a threat to the South and to states' rights. Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster made an impassioned argument that the Union was created by the people, not the states.

Two years later, the issue came to a head. Congress passed a new tariff, and the South Carolina legislature declared it invalid. President Jackson threatened to send troops to make South Carolina obey the law. Clay suggested lowering the tariff over time. The compromise was accepted, and tempers cooled.

Jackson faced another conflict arising from his opposition to the Bank of the United States. He thought the bank a threat to democracy, calling it a “monster.” He tried to shut the bank down by withdrawing the Treasury's money. When the bank's president called for all loans to be repaid, a panic resulted, and the bank lost its remaining support. In 1836, the bank's charter expired. After the collapse of the bank, New York City became the nation's financial capital. Jackson's attacks on the bank angered Clay, Webster, and others, who formed a new party: the Whigs.

After two terms, Jackson retired, but his vice-president, Martin Van Buren, won election. He inherited a financial mess brought on by the fight over the bank. Unable to fix the country's economy, Van Buren lost the 1840 election to Whig candidate William Henry Harrison. Harrison died soon after taking office, however, and John Tyler succeeded him as president. Because Tyler agreed with few Whig positions, the party could not enact its program into law.

The Jackson years had radically changed politics. Candidates had to campaign hard for office and try to win wide popular support. The average citizen was more politically aware—and had more political power—than ever before.

Review

1. How did the economies of the North, the West, and the South differ?
2. How was nationalism reflected in court decisions and diplomacy?
3. How did Jackson take away the rights of Native Americans?
4. What conflicts marked Jackson's presidency?

CHAPTER
8

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

Reforming American Society

CHAPTER OVERVIEW A religious revival sweeps the United States. In its wake, many people press for reforms including the end of slavery, the granting of equal rights to women, and increased rights for workers.

1 Religion Sparks Reform

MAIN IDEA A renewal of religious sentiment—known as the Second Great Awakening—inspired a host of reform movements.

Jacksonian democracy emphasized individualism and personal responsibility. A growing movement extended those ideas to religion. In a renewal of religious fervor called the Second Great Awakening, preachers told their audiences that each person had the responsibility to seek salvation. They said that people could change themselves—and society. Under the influence of Charles Grandison Finney and other preachers, more people attended church.

As the revival movement spread to the South, it helped African Americans develop a political voice. Richard Allen started an African American church in Philadelphia. In 1830, he began an annual convention of free blacks.

In New England, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau became the voice for a group practicing Transcendentalism. This philosophical and literary movement urged people to live simple lives and seek the simple truths found in nature rather than following an organized system of belief. Thoreau, in particular, advocated a way to protest unjust laws called civil disobedience. At the same time, the Unitarian church arose. It objected to revival meetings as too emotional. However, Unitarian ministers also stressed faith in the power of the individual.

Religious and social reform also inspired the establishment of ideal, or utopian communities. However, few of these communities lasted more than a few years. One of the most long-lasting was the Shaker communities, followers of a religion based on simplicity and non-violence.

Spurred by religious and reformist ideas, many people began to seek to improve society. Dorothea Dix campaigned for reform in the treatment of the mentally ill. Others improved the nation's prisons. In the 1830s, Americans began to insist on having tax-supported public schools. Horace Mann was a leading supporter of public education. By the 1850s, every state had a law creating such schools,

although the laws were more widely put into effect in the North.

2 Slavery and Abolition

MAIN IDEA Slavery became an explosive issue, as more Americans joined reformers working to put an end to it.

Abolitionists sought to abolish, or end, slavery. Free African Americans had urged the end of slavery for years; gradually more and more white Americans took up the cause. Some were encouraged by Finney and other preachers who called slavery a sin. William Lloyd Garrison started a newspaper, *The Liberator*, dedicated to abolition. He changed the abolitionists' goal from a gradual end of slavery to an immediate end.

Two prominent free blacks campaigned against slavery. David Walker, who moved from South to North, urged African Americans to fight for their freedom. Frederick Douglass, a slave who escaped, lectured against slavery and published his own anti-slavery newspaper.

As the slavery debate grew, the number of slaves increased as well, doubling from 1810 to 1830. The slave population changed, as the numbers of men and women became more equal. Most slaves—men, women, and children—worked from dawn to dusk on large plantations. Some worked in the plantation owner's house as butlers, cooks, and maids. Many African-American slaves supplied labor needed in cities, working in textile mills, mines, and lumber yards.

In 1831, a Virginia slave named Nat Turner organized a slave rebellion. He and his followers attacked five plantations, killing the inhabitants. In the next attack, many of Turner's band were killed. Later Turner was captured and hanged.

In the wake of the Turner rebellion, some Virginia lawmakers proposed abolishing slavery in the state. After a heated debate, the bill was defeated by a close vote. Another response to the Turner revolt was to tighten laws controlling blacks. Across the South, state legislatures passed laws restricting blacks' rights—to preach, testify in court, own property, or learn to read. Other Southerners

defended slavery. Most Southern ministers agreed that slavery and Christianity could coexist. In Congress, Northern representatives tried to introduce bills abolishing slavery. Southern members managed to pass a “gag rule” that banned debate on the issue.

③ Women and Reform

MAIN IDEA *Women reformers expanded their efforts from movements such as abolition and temperance to include women's rights.*

Women enjoyed few rights in the early 1800s. Social custom—which historians now call the cult of domesticity—required them to restrict themselves to caring for the house. While about one in ten worked outside the home, they earned only half of what men earned for doing the same job. Women could not vote or serve on juries. Many states required wives to give their property to their husbands.

Many middle-class white women, inspired by the Second Great Awakening, joined the reform movements of the time. Sarah and Angelina Grimké, though they came from a slaveholding family of the South, wrote and lectured against slavery. Mary Vaughan and other women joined the temperance movement, which tried to ban alcohol. Many women tried to increase the educational opportunities for females. Emma Willard opened a school for girls. In 1837, Mary Lyon founded the women's school that became Mount Holyoke College, and Oberlin College admitted women. Some women campaigned to improve women's health. Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman to graduate from medical college and opened a hospital for women. One African-American woman took the name Sojourner Truth when she decided to travel throughout the country urging the abolition of slavery. She also was an effective speaker for women's rights.

Some women began to campaign for women's rights. In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized the Seneca Falls Convention. At this meeting, more than 300 women—and men—met and adopted a “Declaration of Sentiments” that urged laws to ensure the equal rights of women, including the right to vote.

④ The Changing Workplace

MAIN IDEA *A growing industrial work force faced problems arising from manufacturing under the factory system.*

The rise of factories altered working life. Before the 1820s, textile makers had spun thread in factories and used people working at home to make clothing. By the 1830s, mills had introduced the total manufacture of clothing in the factory. Other industries took up the factory system. Once, skilled craft workers had made products by hand. Now unskilled workers used machines to make goods. Many left farms to work in these factories.

In the mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, factory workers were young, unmarried girls. Factory owners preferred young girls because they were paid less than male workers. Conditions were harsh, as girls were forced to work in heat and darkness. When the mills cut their wages in 1834, 800 mill girls went on strike. They stopped work and demanded their wages. They were forced to give in, and they also lost another strike two years later.

Workers in many industries struck dozens of times in the 1830s and 1840s. Factory owners won most of the time, however. Sometimes they simply hired new workers—often immigrants—willing to work for less.

About 3 million immigrants came to the United States from 1845 to 1854. Many immigrants in the period came from Ireland, where they escaped famine caused by a massive failure in the potato crop. Irish immigrants tended to cluster in the large cities of the East. They faced prejudice because they were poor and Roman Catholic.

Some immigrants joined trade unions, which formed a National Trades' Union in 1834. Bankers and factory owners tried to suppress unions. In 1842, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled for the first time that workers had the right to strike.

Review

1. How did the Second Great Awakening contribute to reform movements?
2. What resulted from the Nat Turner Rebellion?
3. How did women's position contribute to the rise of a women's movement?
4. What problems did industrial workers have?



Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Expanding Markets and Moving West*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The economy of the United States grows, and so does the nation's territory, as settlers move west. Texas is annexed from Mexico, and vast lands in the west are obtained by war.*

1 The Market Revolution

MAIN IDEA *Technological changes created greater interaction and more economic diversity among the regions of the nation.*

The economy of the United States was changing. By 1850, rather than producing goods for themselves, more and more people were buying and selling goods. Fueling this change was capitalism, which gave private individuals and companies the right to own factories, machines, and land. Business owners invested their own money in the hopes of making a profit.

Farmers' lives changed, too. Growing urban populations needed more food to feed them. Farmers increasingly used machines to plant and harvest crops that they then sold. With their cash, they bought manufactured goods. As new technology lowered expenses, the prices of the goods dropped.

People bought many new conveniences, such as shoes and boots coated with rubber or the new sewing machine. The telegraph allowed instant communication. Steamboats made river travel quicker and cheaper. In areas that didn't have passable rivers, people dug canals, which cut shipping costs. Soon, though, railroads surpassed canals for shipping goods.

These new modes of transportation linked the nation's regions. While the Erie Canal linked East and West, steamboats on the Mississippi joined North and South. The Northeast became the nation's manufacturing center. The Midwest grew food. Farmers used a steel plow to break the soil and a new mechanical reaper to quickly harvest their grain. In the South, the plantation economy dominated. Southern landowners relied on slave labor to grow cotton, tobacco, and rice.

2 Manifest Destiny

MAIN IDEA *Americans moved west, energized by their belief in the rightful expansion of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific.*

In the 1840s, many Americans came to believe that it was their right to expand the nation to the south and west. A writer gave voice to this view,

calling it the nation's "manifest destiny" to extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Many people began to pick up stakes and move west. Some were attracted by land in abundance. Business owners hoped to establish trade with Asian nations. Another factor was the financial chaos caused by the Panic of 1837, which convinced many people to try their luck out west.

White settlers confronted Native Americans living on the lands they desired. One such confrontation resulted in the Black Hawk War in the early 1830s. The Native Americans were forced to move west. In 1851, the government signed the Fort Laramie Treaty with many Native American groups. The Native Americans retained the right to live on and use the Great Plains. They agreed to let settlers cross their country and to allow the government to build forts and roads.

Settlers took many trails west. The Santa Fe Trail led from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Traders traveled to Santa Fe, where they sold cloth, guns, and knives and bought silver, gold, and furs. The Oregon Trail stretched from Independence to Portland, Oregon. By 1844, about 5,000 Americans had established farms in Oregon.

One group hoped to live apart from other settlers. Mormons were a religious group that had often been persecuted for their beliefs. Brigham Young, their leader, decided that the Mormons would be safest if they lived alone. In 1847, thousands of Mormons settled near Great Salt Lake. They shared water and timberland and built a thriving community around Salt Lake City.

The United States was not the only nation to claim ownership of Oregon—Britain did, too. The British were mainly interested in the area to provide beaver furs. When the demand for beaver declined, they yielded their claim in 1846.

③ Expansion in Texas

MAIN IDEA Mexico offered land grants to American settlers, but conflict developed over religion and other cultural differences, and the issue of slavery.

Texas, which was part of Mexico, had few settlers. Although the land was good for farming, people feared attacks by Native Americans. Hoping to improve its economy, Mexico loosened trade restrictions between its northernmost areas—present-day California, New Mexico, and Texas—and the United States. It also encouraged Americans to settle in Texas.

In the early 1820s, many Americans settled in Texas. Called *Anglos*, they soon outnumbered the *Tejanos*, or Mexican settlers. Stephen F. Austin was a leader of the Anglo community. As the number of Anglos grew and the community thrived, many in the United States considered making Texas part of their country.

Anglos had disagreements with the Mexican government. Mexico had banned slavery, but the Anglo settlers—many from the South—wanted to keep their slaves. In 1830, Mexico banned Anglo immigration to Texas. When Austin convinced Mexican leaders to drop the ban, large numbers of Americans again streamed in. While Austin tried to obtain greater self-government for Texas, the Mexican leader, Antonio López de Santa Anna, overthrew the Mexican constitution.

Austin returned to Texas and called for Texans to arm themselves. Santa Anna led an army north and defeated a small garrison of Texans at the Alamo. Meanwhile, Texans met and declared independence. After winning the Battle of San Jacinto, Texans forced Santa Anna to sign a treaty granting them independence.

Texans wanted to join the United States, but Northerners opposed the addition of another slave state to the Union. In 1845, Texas finally was annexed, or incorporated, into the United States. This infuriated the Mexican government.

④ The War with Mexico

MAIN IDEA Tensions over the U.S. annexation of Texas led to war with Mexico, resulting in huge territorial gains for the United States.

President James K. Polk was determined to end the Texas dispute and obtain even more land from Mexico. He offered to buy Texas, California,

and New Mexico, but Mexico did not accept. Polk decided to provoke a war. He ordered soldiers to march from Texas to block the Rio Grande—an area that Mexico claimed as its own.

The debate in Congress was fierce. Many Northerners disliked Polk's actions, seeing them as an excuse to extend slavery. Southerners who opposed obtaining more Mexican land became supporters of Polk once extending slavery became part of the debate. Meanwhile, the Mexicans attacked American soldiers in Texas. Polk asked Congress to declare war, which it did.

A United States force marched to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and seized the area without a shot. The troops then moved to California. American settlers there had already proclaimed their independence, declaring the Bear Flag Republic. When the U.S. troops and a naval force arrived, Mexican troops yielded.

The main fighting took place in Mexico. General Zachary Taylor captured Monterrey and won a victory against Santa Anna at Buena Vista. At the same time, General Winfield Scott captured the port of Veracruz and then took Mexico City, the capital.

Mexico lost almost four times as many soldiers as the United States. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war in 1848, also cost the country its northern provinces. By adding to Texas the territories of present-day California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, most of Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming, and Texas, the United States grew by one-third.

The new territory quickly brought wealth to the United States. In January 1848, gold was discovered in California. Soon thousands of prospectors—called “forty-niners”—came to California in a great Gold Rush. San Francisco became a booming city, and the next year California applied for statehood as a state that banned slavery.

Review

1. How were the nation's regions linked in a market economy?
2. What factors contributed to the move west?
3. Why did the United States and Mexico come into conflict over Texas?
4. How did the United States manage to expand its territory across the continent?

CHAPTER
10

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Union in Peril*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The growing conflict over slavery divides North and South. When compromise fails, division results: after the election of 1860, Southern states secede from the Union.*

1 The Divisive Politics of Slavery

MAIN IDEA *The issue of slavery dominated U.S. politics in the early 1850s.*

North and South had grown apart, each with its unique economy and society. The North was heavily industrialized, crossed by 20,000 miles of railroad track, and full of factories and booming cities. It was also home to new immigrants, who opposed slavery. The South remained a rural, agricultural society. Industry was not very well developed, and immigrants were few.

As Congress debated a bill to fund the Mexican War, Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania tried to add an amendment. It would ban slavery from any territory acquired in the war. Most members of Congress from the North supported the idea; those from the South bitterly opposed it. The Wilmot Proviso twice passed the House but failed in the Senate.

The issue arose again when California applied for statehood as a free state in 1849. Southerners thought it should be a slave state since it mostly lay south of the Missouri Compromise line. Many Southerners threatened to pull their states from the Union. Henry Clay of Kentucky offered a compromise: admit California as a state but enact a stricter law for punishing runaway slaves. Clay won support from long-time foe Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, but John C. Calhoun of South Carolina led Southern opposition. When the compromise failed to pass, Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois took charge. He won passage by submitting each part of the compromise as a separate bill. After eight months of debate, the Compromise of 1850 became law.

2 Resistance and Violence

MAIN IDEA *Proslavery and antislavery factions disagreed over the treatment of fugitive slaves and the spread of slavery to the territories.*

The Fugitive Slave Law outraged many in the North. Nine Northern states passed laws that banned the imprisonment of fugitive slaves and

guaranteed jury trials to African Americans charged with being escaped slaves.

Free blacks and sympathetic whites created a network of safe houses that escaping slaves could use on their way North. The route was called the Underground Railroad. The most famous “conductor” on the railroad was Harriet Tubman, herself an escaped slave.

The debate over slavery was inflamed by the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The best-selling novel convinced many Northerners that slavery was a moral issue.

The politics of slavery reappeared in the debate over the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Stephen Douglas proposed giving the residents of Kansas and Nebraska the right to choose slavery or not. He called the idea “popular sovereignty,” meaning that the people would have the power to decide the issue. For the plan to work, however, Congress had to repeal the Missouri Compromise because that law had banned slavery from these lands. Despite loud opposition in the North, the plan passed in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.

With the slavery issue based on popular sovereignty, the territories would become slave or free depending on which side had more votes. Both antislavery Northerners and proslavery Southerners scrambled to settle Kansas. One fierce slavery opponent, John Brown, killed five proslavery people in a raid and started a small civil war that killed some 200 people from both sides.

The widening gulf between North and South had major effects on political parties. Some were torn apart internally, giving birth to new parties.

3 The Birth of the Republican Party

MAIN IDEA *In the mid-1850s, the issue of slavery and other factors split political parties and led to the birth of new ones.*

The slavery issue changed political parties. The Whig Party collapsed, divided between antislavery Northerners and proslavery Southerners. With this split, a Democrat won the 1852 campaign

for president. Some Whigs joined the new American Party. Members of this party were worried about continued immigration. Called nativists, they favored native-born Americans over immigrants and hoped to extend the time needed before immigrants could become citizens. The party did well in the 1854 elections, but Northern and Southern factions soon split over slavery and the party disappeared.

At the same time, parties dedicated to opposing slavery arose. The Free-Soil Party took 10 percent of the presidential vote in 1848. The failed Free-Soil Party gave rise in 1854 to the Republican Party. While opposing the extension of slavery, Republicans did not necessarily urge equal rights for African Americans. The party united differing elements and pushed the American Party out of the scene.

In 1856, the Republicans ran their first candidate for president: explorer John C. Frémont. Though Democrat James Buchanan won the election, he took less than half the popular vote.

4 Slavery and Secession

MAIN IDEA *A series of controversial events heightened the sectional conflict that brought the nation to the brink of war.*

A number of events drove the final wedge between North and South. First came a Supreme Court decision called *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Scott was a slave who had been taken to free states. He sued for his freedom saying that living in these free states made him free. Chief Justice Roger Taney announced the decision in March 1857. Taney denied Scott's argument.

In Kansas, proslavery forces applied for statehood with a constitution allowing slavery, known as the Lecompton constitution. President James Buchanan—who owed his election to Southern votes—accepted the constitution even though most Kansans were against slavery. At Douglas's urging, Congress passed a law requiring a vote on the constitution in Kansas. The constitution was defeated, satisfying Northerners but angering the South.

In 1858, Douglas came up for re-election for the Senate. Opposing him was a little-known

lawyer, Republican Abraham Lincoln. In a series of debates across the state, Douglas defended popular sovereignty. Lincoln argued that slavery was immoral and that Congress had to pass a law to exclude it from the territories. Douglas won, but Lincoln gained national fame.

In 1859, violence erupted again. John Brown, who had fought in "Bleeding Kansas," attempted to stage a slave revolt. He and a small band seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, hoping to obtain guns that could be used to arm slaves. Federal soldiers captured Brown. He was convicted of treason and hanged. Many in the North called Brown a martyr to freedom. Southerners began increasingly to call for secession—a breakup of the United States.

Sectional differences marred the election of 1860. The Republicans nominated Lincoln as their candidate for president. The Democratic Party split, with Northern Democrats naming Douglas and Southern Democrats choosing Vice-President John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky. A pro-Union fourth party backed John Bell of Tennessee. Lincoln won the election, but all his votes came from the North. In many states in the South his name did not even appear on the ballot.

Convinced that a Republican president meant there would be laws passed to abolish slavery, the Southern states began to leave the Union. South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860. Six others followed. These states joined in February 1861 to form the Condeferacy, or the Confederate States of America. A convention chose Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as president of the Confederacy. President Buchanan did nothing to stop the Southern states. Lincoln didn't take over until March.

Review

1. What did the Compromise of 1850 propose?
2. How did the controversy over slavery become violent?
3. What changes in political parties took place in the 1840s and 1850s?
4. Why did the Southern states secede?

CHAPTER
11

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Civil War*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW For four bloody years, North and South struggle in the Civil War as the North tries to restore the Union and to end slavery. Finally, Northern advantages in population, industry, and resources ensure victory.

❶ The Civil War Begins

MAIN IDEA The secession of Southern states caused the North and the South to take up arms.

The Confederate states seized federal property in the South. When Southern forces fired on Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, in April of 1861, war began. After Lincoln called for volunteers, Virginia and three other states joined the Confederacy. Four border states that included slaves stayed in the Union.

The Union had more people, more industry, more food, and more railroads, and a skilled leader in Lincoln. The Confederacy had able military leaders and armies motivated by defending their homes. Southerners hoped to use the British demand for cotton to their advantage, too. But the Confederate government was weak.

The Union planned to blockade the South to prevent the sale of cotton and the arrival of supplies. It also hoped to seize the Mississippi River to split the South and to capture Richmond.

In July, Northern and Southern troops met in the battle of Bull Run near Washington, D.C. A Confederate rally late in the day turned into a stunning victory as the Union troops retreated.

Northern forces achieved victories in the West. General Ulysses S. Grant captured two river forts and defended Shiloh, Tennessee. Admiral David Farragut captured New Orleans.

The Civil War was fought with new technology. Rifled guns made shooting more accurate. New weapons appeared—primitive land mines and grenades, and ironclad warships, such as the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*. Most deadly of all was the soft lead bullet called the minie ball.

In the East, Union General George McClellan failed to capture Richmond. His opponent, Robert E. Lee, then launched an invasion into Maryland in late 1862. The ensuing battle at Antietam was the largest single-day loss of life in American history. When McClellan did not pursue the retreating Confederate army, Lincoln fired him.

❷ The Politics of War

MAIN IDEA By issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln made slavery the focus of the war.

The South sought Great Britain's support. Lincoln was equally determined to prevent that support. He extended war aims to include the end of slavery. On January 1, 1863, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. While the document was not able to free slaves in Confederate areas, the action was symbolically important.

Many in the North were pleased by the proclamation. Free blacks liked the fact that they could now enlist in the army. Northern Democrats said it would prolong the war by angering the South. Southerners did indeed become more determined to fight to victory. The British, who did not wish to be seen supporting slavery, decided not to recognize the South.

Lincoln and Davis both suspended the right of habeas corpus, thus allowing police to arrest and hold dissenters without trial. Those arrested in the North included "Copperheads," or democrats who advocated peace with the South. Both sides also used conscription to draft people into the army. Northern workers who opposed the draft started several riots. The worst, in New York, lasted four days. Many African Americans were attacked and some were killed.

❸ Life During Wartime

MAIN IDEA The Civil War brought about dramatic social and economic changes in American society.

African Americans began joining the Northern Army; by war's end, they numbered about ten percent of the North's soldiers. They suffered discrimination, but in 1864 Congress made their pay equal to that of white soldiers.

Slaves in the South resisted control. Some refused to work or destroyed property. Others ran away, seeking out Union armies. By 1864, the plantation system and slavery were doomed.

The Confederacy faced food shortages, and prices rose sharply. Some Southerners secretly sold cotton to the North to gain the cash to buy food. The war stimulated an economic boom in the North. Industrial production rose. Many women joined the work force. Business owners made huge profits, sometimes by cheating the government.

Life for soldiers in both armies was difficult. Camps were unsanitary and unhealthful. Food was unappealing, and rations were meager for Southern soldiers. Life for prisoners was even worse as they lacked adequate shelter and food.

To help care for the soldiers' health, a group of Northern women and doctors created the Sanitary Commission. Commission members taught soldiers how to make camps more healthful. They recruited nurses to care for the sick and wounded. Many Southern women worked as nurses as well.

④ The North Takes Charge

MAIN IDEA Key victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg helped the Union wear down the Confederacy.

After two more victories, Robert E. Lee invaded the North again. At Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the North won a major victory, though both sides had heavy losses. In the West, Ulysses S. Grant captured Vicksburg, Mississippi, and the Mississippi River fell completely into Union hands.

In the fall of 1863, the government held a ceremony to dedicate a cemetery at Gettysburg. Lincoln delivered a short address that helped establish in people's minds that the United States was not a collection of states but a single nation.

Lincoln named Grant as commander of all Northern armies. Grant planned to fight Lee's army while General William Tecumseh Sherman, now in command in the West, invaded Georgia. The fighting between Grant and Lee was fierce, and the North lost tens of thousands of men. After Sherman captured Atlanta, his army began a march to the sea, living off the land and destroying much property in the South.

Lincoln faced the 1864 election challenged on two sides. Democrats nominated former General McClellan as a peace candidate. Radicals in the Republican Party charged Lincoln with not being

hard enough on the South. Sherman's victory in Atlanta helped ensure the election for Lincoln. In the spring of 1865, the South collapsed. Lee surrendered his army, at Appomattox Court House, a town in Virginia, on April 9. The war was over.

⑤ The Legacy of the War

MAIN IDEA The Civil War settled long-standing disputes over states' rights and slavery.

The Civil War had profound political effects. It ended the threat of states seceding from the Union. It also led to increased federal power.

The war also produced major economic changes. The North instituted pro-business policies, including the creation of a new national banking system under the National Bank Act. Many industries thrived, and the economy of the North boomed. In the South, though, industry was destroyed, almost half the livestock died, and farmland was ruined. The South would remain poor for many decades.

The human cost of the war was huge. More than 600,000 soldiers died and about 500,000 more had been wounded. Many people who tended the wounded gained valuable experience. Clara Barton was a heroic nurse during the war who used her experience to join the international Red Cross. In 1881, she founded the American Red Cross.

The biggest change came for African Americans, who widely celebrated the approval of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, ending slavery. One tragic aftereffect of the war took place shortly after Lee's surrender. John Wilkes Booth, an actor who sympathized with the South, shot and killed Abraham Lincoln.

Review

1. How did the relative strengths of the North and the South contribute to a long war?
2. What political divisions existed within both the North and South?
3. What social changes took place in the North and the South during the war?
4. What late strategy led to the Northern victory?
5. Why is the Civil War a historic turning point?

CHAPTER
12

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Reconstruction and Its Effects*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *As Congress enacts a policy of punishing the South for the Civil War, African Americans struggle to establish new lives. Eventually, the North tires of Reconstruction, and Southern whites regain control over the South.*

1 The Politics of Reconstruction

MAIN IDEA *Congress opposed Lincoln's and Johnson's plans for Reconstruction and instead implemented its own plan to rebuild the South.*

Reconstruction refers to the period from 1865 to 1877, when the country rebuilt from war and the federal government determined how the Southern states were to reenter the Union. Lincoln wanted the Southern states to rejoin quickly. His plan readmitted a state once 10 percent of voters took an oath of allegiance. He also promised to pardon most former Confederates.

Four states applied for readmission under this plan, but Radical Republicans in Congress blocked them. They wanted to deny power to former slave owners and to give the right to vote to African Americans. They passed a more severe bill in 1864, but Lincoln vetoed it.

After Lincoln was killed, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee became president. His Reconstruction policy was also lenient. Among provisions, a state had to declare secession illegal and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. Many Southern states met these terms, and in December 1865, new Southern members of Congress arrived in Washington.

The Radicals—outraged because many of these members had served in the Confederate government or fought in its armies—refused to seat the new members. Congress passed a law extending the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been created to help former slaves adjust to a new life. It also passed a civil rights bill. This law made African Americans citizens and banned the black codes. The codes were new Southern laws that restricted African Americans' freedom.

Johnson, feeling the two bills made the federal government too powerful, vetoed both. Congress voted to override the veto. It also passed the Fourteenth Amendment, which confirmed African Americans' citizenship and barred most former Confederate leaders from political office. Johnson,

thinking the bill too punishing, angered Congress again by urging Southern states not to approve the amendment.

In the 1866 congressional elections, Johnson campaigned against the Radicals. His harsh words angered many Northern voters, as did race riots in the South that left many African Americans dead. The freed slaves needed the federal government, many thought. The Radicals won an overwhelming victory, gaining enough seats to override any presidential veto.

In 1867, the new Congress passed the Reconstruction Act. It declared the reorganized state governments invalid, put the Southern states under military control, and called for new state constitutions. Those new state laws had to give African Americans the right to vote.

The next year, the conflict between president and Congress reached a head. The House of Representatives voted to impeach President Johnson. If the Senate found him guilty, he would be removed from office. After an eleven-week trial, the Senate did not find him guilty.

That fall, Ulysses S. Grant won the presidential election with overwhelming support from African American voters in the South. Congress then passed the Fifteenth Amendment, which outlawed the denial of voting rights due to race.

2 Reconstructing Society

MAIN IDEA *Various groups contributed to the rebuilding of Southern society after the war.*

The Southern states wrote new constitutions, and by 1870 all were back in the Union under the Radicals' terms. The war had destroyed the population and economy of the region, however. The new state governments undertook ambitious rebuilding programs and instituted the first public school systems in many Southern states. They had to raise taxes to fund these programs.

Three groups made up the Republican party in the South. Scalawags—white Southerners who joined the party—were mostly former Unionists.

Carpetbaggers were Northerners who moved South after the war to reform Southern society or to make a fortune. The third group was African Americans eager to vote. Most white Southerners disliked the new governments. They resented Northern attitudes and could not accept equality for African Americans.

African Americans worked hard to improve their lives. Many sought husbands or wives who had been sold elsewhere in the South. Once reunited, they married and raised their families. Thousands—of all ages—sought an education in newly established schools. Many joined churches and volunteer groups to better African American society. Some joined the new state governments, and more than a dozen served in the U.S. Congress.

Economic changes were harder to enact, however. Congress debated whether to break up the plantations and give land to the freed slaves, but most members were unwilling to overturn the right to property. Southern planters forced black workers to sign labor contracts, but neither white landowners nor black workers liked the system. African Americans thought the wages too low. Planters lacked the cash to pay workers.

Two new labor systems developed. In sharecropping, planters gave small plots of land to workers—black and white—in return for a share of the crop. In tenant farming, laborers rented land. Both systems faced a new reality of Southern agriculture: world demand for Southern cotton—and thus the price of cotton—had fallen.

⑨ The Collapse of Reconstruction

MAIN IDEA *Southern opposition to Radical Reconstruction, along with economic problems in the North, ended Reconstruction.*

Some white Southerners formed groups that tortured and murdered former slaves. The most famous of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan. Between 1868 and 1871, the Klan killed several thousand people—including whites who helped African Americans. In the mid-1870s, Klan violence prevented African Americans from voting and returned Democrats to power in several Southern states. Congress took action with laws in 1870 and 1871 to try to suppress the Klan. Other laws, however, weakened the Republican Party in the South.

Meanwhile, the Grant administration was plagued by scandal. Though Grant never engaged in any corruption, some of his appointees did, including his first vice-president; private secretary; and the secretaries of war, navy, and interior. In 1872, the Republican Party splintered. Reform-minded members chose newspaper editor Horace Greeley to run for president. Though the Democrats also backed Greeley, Grant won.

A financial panic in 1873 upset the country further. Many banks closed, and a depression followed. People argued about whether or not to stop using paper money. The debate took attention away from Reconstruction.

By the mid-1870s, Northern desire to maintain Reconstruction was low. At the same time, Supreme Court decisions had weakened the power of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Sentiment in the North grew to reconcile the two sections of the country. A disputed election then helped Democrats regain control of Southern state governments.

In the 1876 presidential election, Democrat Samuel J. Tilden finished one electoral vote short of victory. Congress appointed a commission to settle disputed electoral votes. The commission chose Republican Rutherford B. Hayes after Hayes made a deal with Southern Democrats to end Reconstruction. Upon taking office, Hayes pulled federal troops out of the South. Democrats, called Redeemers, now controlled every Southern state government.

Reconstruction had failed to secure equality for African Americans. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments remained part of the Constitution, however. In later years, they were used to protect African Americans' rights.

Review

1. What were Lincoln's and Johnson's plans for Reconstruction?
2. What groups were important in the South during Reconstruction?
3. How did the lives of African Americans change during Reconstruction?
4. What factors led to the end of Reconstruction?



Changes on the Western Frontier

Summary

CHAPTER OVERVIEW In the late 1800s, growing numbers of white settlers move to the West, and Native Americans lose their lands. Railroads cross the nation. The open range gives way to fenced ranches. Populism rises and falls.

1 Cultures Clash on the Prairie

MAIN IDEA The cattle industry boomed in the late 1800s, as the culture of the Plains Indians declined.

Native Americans of the Great Plains followed a way of life centered on the horse and buffalo. Buffalo provided food, clothing, shelter, and other essentials. These Native Americans lived in family groups or large clans. The leaders of a tribe ruled by counsel rather than force.

After the Civil War, the Plains attracted tens of thousands of white settlers who wanted to own land. Many went to Colorado to mine gold. The Homestead Act offered cheap land to farmers, attracting more than 400,000 from 1862 to 1900. Several thousand were African Americans. Others were immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia.

Earlier the government had granted the entire Plains to Native Americans. As more white settlers wished to move there, the government made new treaties restricting the land that Native Americans could use. Conflict erupted. In 1864, a militia attacked a camp of Cheyenne, killing 200, mostly women and children. Meanwhile the Sioux chief Red Cloud protested white settlers moving to the Black Hills, an area sacred to his people. Some Sioux signed a treaty that accepted living on a reservation but others refused.

In 1874, Colonel George Armstrong Custer reported that the Black Hills held gold. A new gold rush began, and the government offered to buy the land. The Sioux refused, and the army moved in. Custer and his soldiers were all killed in the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. Within months, though, the army defeated the Sioux.

The Dawes Act of 1887 tried to force the assimilation of Native Americans into white culture. Reservations were broken up and some of the land was given to each adult family head for farming. The policy failed because the Native Americans were cheated of the best land.

However, possibly more devastating to the Plains tribes was the killing of millions of buffalo on which they had depended.

In the 1880s, many Sioux turned to a ritual called the Ghost Dance, which promised to bring the buffalo back and restore Sioux lands. In 1890, a nervous army killed about 300 unarmed Sioux in the Battle of Wounded Knee.

Vast herds of cattle replaced buffalo. The Spanish had begun building ranches of longhorn cattle. Eventually the ranches became established in Texas. Native Americans, mainly Spanish prisoners, were the first cowboys. They developed many features of cowboy culture. *Corral* and *rodeo* come from Spanish words. In time, ranches in the West held huge herds of cattle.

After the Civil War, demand for beef rose sharply in the growing populations of Eastern cities. Ranch owners began to move their cattle north to be shipped by rail to Chicago. Soon tens of thousands of cattle were driven on the Chisholm Trail from Texas to Kansas. Abilene, Kansas, became a major shipping point.

More than 50,000 cowboys worked the herds in the next two decades. About a quarter were African Americans and about 12 percent Mexican. Cowboys worked long days—from 10 to 14 hours—in all kinds of weather. In the spring, the cowboys rode the range to round up the cattle. After branding the new calves with the ranch's symbol, cowboys led thousands of animals on the long drive to Kansas, which took about three months. When the herd reached a railroad town, they were sold, and the cowboys celebrated.

Herds grew too large, and overgrazing and bad weather struck the Plains in the late 1880s. In a terrible three-day blizzard in 1887, ranchers lost most of their herds. Ranchers began to use barbed wire to fence in their land. They moved away from longhorns to other breeds of cattle. The era of the open range and cattle drives ended.

2 Settling on the Great Plains

MAIN IDEA Settlers on the Great Plains transformed the land despite great hardships.

Building the transcontinental railroad—stretching from East to West—helped promote settlement on the Plains. From 1850 to 1871, the government granted huge tracts of land to companies ready to lay railroad tracks. In 1867, the Central Pacific began building east from Sacramento and the Union Pacific west from Omaha. Irish and Chinese immigrants plus African Americans and Mexican Americans did much of the back-breaking work. In 1869, the two routes met in Utah, completing the first transcontinental track.

The railroads sold some of their land at low prices to farmers. The governor of Kansas invited African Americans to settle, attracting many. The federal government, too, offered cheap land. On one day in 1889, 2 million acres were claimed in Oklahoma. The government also wanted to preserve some wilderness. In 1872, land was set aside to create Yellowstone National Park. Millions of acres more were set aside later.

The new settlers had to endure many hardships. However, from 1850 to 1900, the number of people living west of the Mississippi rose from 1 percent to almost 30 percent of the nation's population in 1850.

The Plains were largely treeless, so people built homes as dugouts in the sides of hills or out of sod. Homesteaders were isolated and had to produce everything they needed. Women worked in the fields alongside men as well as tending the children, running the house, and doing the cooking and laundry.

The farmers used a steel plow to break the prairie's tough soil and machines to harvest their wheat. The federal government gave land to states to create agricultural colleges. With new crop strains and techniques developed there, the eastern Plains became productive.

The farmers were plagued by weather and debt. Machines cost money, which they had to borrow. When grain prices fell, they could not repay their loans. They also resented how much they had to pay railroads to ship their crops.

3 Farmers and the Populist Movement

MAIN IDEA Farmers united to address their economic problems, giving rise to the Populist movement.

Farmers were also plagued by changing economic conditions. After the Civil War, the supply of money shrank, making each dollar in circulation worth more. This hurt farmers who had to repay their loans in more expensive dollars. They urged policies that would promote "cheap money." They wanted more money printed or the amount of silver coins to be increased.

The Grange, a farmers' organization, pushed for laws to regulate railroads. Other groups arose. The Farmers Alliance sent lecturers to farm areas trying to drum up support for cheap money and railroad reform. The Southern Alliance and the Colored Farmers' National Alliance group pursued similar campaigns.

The farmers' movement resulted in the formation of the Populist, or People's, Party in 1891. The Populists urged policies to help farmers. They also pushed for democratic reforms such as the direct election of senators and adoption of the secret ballot for voting. The party pulled 10 percent of the vote in the 1892 presidential election and won many local contests.

A business panic in 1893 started a depression. As the economy continued to falter, Democrats ran William Jennings Bryan for president in 1896. He campaigned for cheap money by urging that the nation's currency be backed by plentiful silver as well as gold. The Populists nominated Bryan as well. Urban voters feared that cheap money would mean rising prices. Republican William McKinley won election over Bryan, and the Populist movement died.

Review

1. Why did Native Americans and settlers come into conflict?
2. What was a cowboy's life like?
3. How did settlers change the Great Plains?
4. Describe the rise and fall of Populism.

CHAPTER
14

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *A New Industrial Age*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *Technological innovations and the growth of the railroad industry help fuel an industrial boom. Some business leaders follow corrupt practices, and workers, suffering harsh working conditions, try to organize.*

1 The Expansion of Industry

MAIN IDEA *At the end of the 19th century, natural resources, creative ideas, and growing markets fueled an industrial boom.*

As settlement continued in the West, the nation was being transformed by vast changes in technology. Fuel—in the form of kerosene refined from oil or coal—helped spur growth. So did plentiful supplies of iron. Iron became even more useful when the Bessemer process, developed about 1850, allowed workers to efficiently turn it into steel. With the open-hearth method, devised in 1886, even more steel was produced.

Steel came to be used in railroads, in farm tools such as the plow and reaper, and to make cans for preserving food. Engineers also used steel to make the new bridge connecting New York City and Brooklyn and to build skyscrapers.

Thomas Alva Edison established a research laboratory in 1876 in order to develop new inventions. He devised an incandescent light and began to organize power plants to generate electricity. Cities built electric railways, and businesses built factories powered by electricity.

The typewriter (1867) and the telephone (1876) appeared for the first time. These and other inventions changed daily life. More women began to work in offices; by 1910, women were about 40 percent of the clerical work force. The average work week decreased by about ten hours, and people enjoyed more leisure time.

2 The Age of the Railroads

MAIN IDEA *The growth and consolidation of railroads benefited the nation but also led to corruption and required government regulation.*

By 1890, rail lines totaled more than 200,000 miles. But building and running the railroads was difficult and dangerous work for thousands of workers. By 1888, more than 2,000 railroad workers had died and another 20,000 had been injured. Workers earned very little—and Asians and African Americans less than white workers.

The railroads helped link the nation. Schedules were difficult to maintain, however, as each community set its own time standard. So, in 1883, the railroads and many towns began using four standard time zones.

Railroads stimulated growth of the iron, steel, coal, lumber, and glass industries. They also helped towns and cities grow. George Pullman built a factory to make railroad sleeping cars. As demand for his cars rose, he built a large town south of Chicago to house the workers he needed. While the housing was of good quality, Pullman tried to control his workers' lives. They conducted a violent strike in 1894.

Some business practices led to corruption. In the Crédit Mobilier scandal of 1868, some officers of the Union Pacific used trickery to earn millions for themselves. They also gave stock to some government officials to buy silence.

These scandals helped fuel the anger of the Grangers, farmers who wanted to limit rail companies' power. They persuaded some states to pass laws regulating railroad rates. In 1877, the Supreme Court said government could regulate industry for the public good. Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, but the commission it created was not strong enough to control the railroads.

The depression of 1893 and 1894 changed the industry. Many railroads failed, and a few survivors seized many of the rest. By 1900, seven companies owned most of the nation's railways.

3 Big Business and Labor

MAIN IDEA *The expansion of industry resulted in the growth of big business and prompted laborers to form unions to better their lives.*

Consolidation occurred in other industries as well. Andrew Carnegie built a giant steel-producing firm. Carnegie used cost-saving technology, strict accounting, and effective managers. He bought out competitors and companies that provided raw materials or transportation of his goods.

Studying the success of business leaders like Carnegie helped spur an intellectual movement called Social Darwinism. Drawing on Charles Darwin's ideas of evolution, Social Darwinists said that government should allow free competition in business to allow the best individuals to succeed. Most ordinary citizens could support this idea. It appealed to their work ethic and sense of personal responsibility.

Business leaders tried to gain control over an industry to ensure rising profits. Some used mergers to acquire other companies. If a firm controlled all the competition in an industry, it held a monopoly and could dictate business practices. J. P. Morgan became the largest steel producer by setting up a holding company. This kind of company bought out the stock of other companies. John D. Rockefeller controlled the oil refining industry by using trusts, in which different companies agreed to work together. Critics called such practices unfair to consumers and labeled business leaders as "robber barons."

In 1890, Congress decided to act and passed the Sherman Antitrust Act. It outlawed trusts, but the law was difficult to enforce, and the Supreme Court did not support it.

While industry boomed in the North, the South stayed agriculturally and economically depressed. Only industries such as mining, tobacco, and textiles grew. The devastation of the Civil War, lack of capital, and lack of urban centers were contributing factors.

Workers in these growing industries worked long hours in dangerous conditions for low wages. Wages were so low that all family members, including women and children, had to work. To improve their status, many workers began to organize into unions.

The National Labor Union, formed in 1866, persuaded the government to adopt an eight-hour day in government offices. The Knights of Labor pushed for an eight-hour day and equal pay for women. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) won higher wages and shorter work weeks for its

members, skilled workers. Other unions organized unskilled workers. Some included women and African Americans. Japanese and Mexican workers also formed unions in the West.

Industry and government fought the unions. A great strike in 1877 stalled the nation's railroads for a week. Some cities erupted in riots. President Rutherford B. Hayes ordered the strikers to return to work. Labor organizers continued to try to enlist workers. Then a mass meeting in Chicago's Haymarket section became a riotous battle between police and workers. Steelworkers in Homestead, Pennsylvania, shut a Carnegie Steel plant until state troops allowed management to reopen the mill with strikebreakers. The strike continued, but eventually the strikers had to give in. A strike at Pullman's railcar factory in 1894 also resulted in violence and federal troops being brought in. All the workers lost their jobs.

Women labor organizers included Mary Harris "Mother" Jones and Pauline Newman, who organized garment workers. In 1911, a fire broke out in a clothing factory. Almost 150 women workers died, in part because they had been locked inside. The public was outraged and some reforms favoring workers were passed.

Business leaders used many tactics to prevent workers from organizing. They banned union meetings or fired union workers. When strikes did occur, some asked the courts to end them, saying that they violated the Sherman Antitrust Act by harming interstate commerce. By 1910, union membership was down to five percent of workers.

Review

1. What developments fueled industrialization?
2. Describe the growth and development of the rail industry and what impact it had.
3. How did the government try to regulate business? What happened to these efforts?
4. Describe working conditions of the time and union-management relations.

CHAPTER
15

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Immigrants and Urbanization*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The population rises as immigrants supply a willing workforce for urban industrialization and a political base for many urban politicians. Abuses in local and national government prompt calls for reform.*

1 The New Immigrants

MAIN IDEA *Immigration from Europe, Asia, the Caribbean, and Mexico reached a new high in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.*

Between 1870 and 1920, about 20 million Europeans immigrated to the United States. Many of them came from eastern and southern Europe, which had not provided large numbers of immigrants before. Some, like Jews, fled religious persecution. Others escaped economic hardship. Some were leaving Europe full of ideas for reform and political freedom.

About 300,000 Chinese immigrants came from 1851 to 1883. Thousands of immigrants came from Japan as well. From 1880 to 1920, about 260,000 immigrants came from the Caribbean. Many Mexicans also came to the United States. About a million immigrants came from 1910 to 1930 to escape political turmoil in Mexico.

Most immigrants traveled by steamship, riding in steerage—the cargo holds below the ship’s waterline. Conditions were cramped, with little light or air, and unclear. Many people suffered from disease. Those who arrived in New York were processed at Ellis Island. The process, which took about five hours, determined whether they could enter the country or had to return.

Asian immigrants arriving on the West coast were processed at Angel Island near San Francisco. Conditions were more unpleasant than at Ellis Island, and the processing was stricter.

Once in the United States, immigrants felt confused and worried by the new culture. Many settled in communities with other immigrants from the same country to feel more at home. They also formed organizations to help each other.

While immigrants were arriving in great numbers, anti-immigration feelings spread among some Americans. During the depression of the 1870s, many workers feared they would lose their jobs to Chinese immigrants, who accepted low wages. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act,

banning all but a few Chinese immigrants. The ban was not lifted until 1943. The United States and Japan reached a “Gentlemen’s Agreement” in 1907 and 1908 under which Japan restricted migration to the United States.

2 The Challenges of Urbanization

MAIN IDEA *The rapid growth of cities forced people to contend with problems of housing, transportation, water, and sanitation.*

Most of the new immigrants moved to the nation’s cities to get work in the growing industrial economy. It was also cheaper and more convenient for them to live in cities. By 1910, immigrants made up more than half of the populations of 18 different cities. Many settled in neighborhoods with others from the same country—even from the same province.

As city populations rose, overcrowding sometimes resulted. Another movement helped swell urban populations. As efficient machines increased farm production, they also cost farm jobs. As a result, many people moved from farms to cities. About 200,000 of these new urban dwellers were African Americans leaving the South for Northern cities. They hoped to escape racial violence but found prejudice and low wages in their new homes as well.

The growing cities had many problems. There were housing shortages, and many urban property owners converted single family homes into multi-family apartments. These solutions often placed people in crowded conditions, full of filth and disease. Growing populations created transportation problems as well. As the cities continued to grow, the transit systems could not always keep up.

City officials also had difficulty obtaining enough clean water. Cities began to clean and filter the water and insist on indoor plumbing, but these steps spread slowly. Removing waste and garbage was another problem.

By 1900 most cities had full-time professional fire departments. But the lack of water made fires very dangerous—and reliance on wood as a building material gave fires fuel to burn. Both Chicago, in 1871, and San Francisco, in 1906, suffered very devastating fires. Another problem of the growing cities was crime.

Some social reformers pushed to improve life in the cities. The Social Gospel movement held that Christians had a duty to try to reform conditions. Some reformers created settlement houses. These community centers aimed at helping the poor, especially immigrants. Run mostly by women, they offered schooling, nursing, and other assistance.

🕒 Politics in the Gilded Age

MAIN IDEA *Local and national political corruption in the 19th century led to calls for reform.*

The large populations of cities provided an opportunity for a new political force—the political machine controlled by a boss. A machine was a group that controlled a political party. By giving voters services they needed, the machine won their votes and controlled city government.

The city boss controlled the whole machine—and the city government. Bosses controlled jobs in the police, fire, and sanitation departments. They controlled the city agencies that granted licenses to businesses. They controlled the money used to fund large construction projects. Many bosses were first- or second-generation immigrants, and they understood immigrants' concerns. By helping to solve immigrants' problems, they won loyalty.

Political machines could point to many accomplishments. As they gained power, though, some individuals became corrupt. Some used illegal methods to win elections. Others abused power to become wealthy. Since the bosses controlled the police, they were seldom pursued. The Tweed Ring of New York was one of the most famous examples of corruption among city officials. Boss Tweed and

many associates were finally convicted of various crimes.

Corruption reached national politics. For many decades, presidents had given jobs to loyal party workers in what was called the spoils system. As a result, some workers were not qualified for their jobs. Others used their positions to get money.

Reformers wanted to end these abuses. They proposed a civil service system in which government jobs would go only to those who proved they were qualified.

President Rutherford B. Hayes took some steps to reform the federal government. This aroused the anger of some members of his own party. These Stalwarts, as they were called, opposed any changes. The next president, James Garfield, favored the reform movement, and he was shot and killed by an unbalanced Stalwart. His successor, Chester Arthur, pushed through the Pendleton Act of 1883. It created the Civil Service Commission to give government jobs based on merit, not politics. The act helped reform the civil service. However, some politicians now turned to wealthy business leaders for campaign money. As a result, some corruption continued.

Another issue was how high to make the tariff, or tax on imported goods. Business leaders and Republicans wanted high tariffs so they could cut foreign competition. Democrats favored low tariffs. Under Republican presidents Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley, the tariff was high. Under Democrat Grover Cleveland, the tariff was lower for a short period.

Review

1. Where did immigrants come from in the period from 1870 to 1920?
2. What problems arose in the growing cities?
3. What role did political machines play in cities?
4. What led to the call for civil service reform?

CHAPTER
16

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

Life at the Turn of the 20th Century

Summary

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *As the twentieth century begins, American culture changes due to new technological advances, cultural forms, and mass media. Some Americans, though, protest discrimination that denies them rights.*

① Science and Urban Life

MAIN IDEA *Advances in science and technology helped solve urban problems, including overcrowding.*

Technological advances began to meet the nation's need for communication, transportation, and space. One advance was the use of steel frameworks to build tall buildings. Skyscrapers made cities grow vertically; streetcar lines helped them grow horizontally. People could now live in one part of a city and work in another. Soon transit lines linked cities and suburbs into larger areas. To avoid congestion on the streets, some cities built elevated train lines. Steel bridges joined sections of cities across rivers.

Urban planners made cities more livable by designing parks and recreational areas. One of the most extensive was Central Park in New York City. Both Boston and Chicago grew by following carefully laid-out plans.

Technology also improved communications. Orville and Wilbur Wright of Dayton, Ohio, built their first airplane. The government quickly adopted the new technology to transport mail across the continent. As the number of people who could read quickly increased, publishers printed more and more books, magazines, and newspapers. Improvements in papermaking, printing, and typesetting helped spur this growth as well.

Another invention made pictures, rather than words, more accessible. With George Eastman's camera, millions of Americans were able to take pictures as a hobby. Journalists used cameras to capture news as it happened.

② Expanding Public Education

MAIN IDEA *Reforms in public education led to a rise in national literacy and the promotion of public education.*

Reformers aimed to improve public education. Not all children attended school, and most of

those who did left after four years. In the latter decades of the 1800s, many states passed laws requiring children from 8 to 14 to attend school for anywhere from 12 to 16 weeks every year. Teachers did not always emphasize academic subjects, however, and relied on rote memorization and physical punishment. African-American children—especially those in the South—suffered from a lack of schooling.

The number of schools increased. Kindergartens grew from 200 in 1880 to 3,000 in 1900. High schools saw an even greater increase. The high-school curriculum expanded to include courses preparing students for industrial and office jobs.

While African Americans were blocked from attending school, the children of immigrants were welcome. Some immigrants hoped the schools would “Americanize” their children. Many adult immigrants attended school at night to prepare to become American citizens and to learn English.

Just over two percent of young people attended college in 1900. Most came from wealthy or middle-class homes. Still, the last two decades of the 1800s saw a tremendous growth in the number of colleges. The curriculum changed, too, as universities began to pursue research in science and technology and formed professional schools in law and medicine.

Some colleges were established to offer higher education for African Americans. They provided opportunities for only a small percentage of people, however. In 1895, W. E. B. Du Bois became the first African American to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard.

At the dawn of the 20th century, millions were getting an education, although racial discrimination remained a thorn in the flesh of American society.

③ Segregation and Discrimination

MAIN IDEA African Americans lead the fight against voting restrictions and Jim Crow laws.

By 1900, southern states restricted African Americans' right to vote, weakening their political power. One law required voters to be able to read. Another put a tax on voting. A third disallowed voters if they, their fathers, or their grandfathers could not vote before January 1, 1867—the first day that African Americans could vote. All these laws were passed specifically to take away blacks' right to vote. The Supreme Court allowed these laws to remain standing.

The southern states also passed Jim Crow laws that segregated whites and blacks into separate facilities. When Homer Plessy was denied a seat on a railroad car, he sued, but the Supreme Court ruled separate facilities legal.

Racial etiquette—customs—restricted the rights of African Americans even when laws did not. Booker T. Washington argued that blacks should not insist on full equality—which whites, he felt, would resist—but work for economic security. Ida Wells crusaded nationwide to end lynching—hanging people without trial. African Americans in the North faced discrimination as well.

Mexican Americans, especially in the Southwest, faced similar discrimination. The railroads hired them to build new lines but paid little. Landowners forced workers to work to repay debts, a system called debt peonage that the Supreme Court ruled against in 1911.

The Chinese population in the West grew until 1880, and white workers felt threatened by competition from Chinese workers. Congress responded to their pressure in 1882 by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act. It prohibited further immigration from China.

④ The Dawn of Mass Culture

MAIN IDEA As Americans had more time for leisure activities, a modern mass culture emerged.

Shorter work weeks meant more leisure time, and Americans found new ways to use that time.

Many city dwellers enjoyed trips to amusement parks. Cycling and tennis became popular sports as well. Those who did not wish to exercise watched professionals play sports. Boxing and baseball became two popular spectator sports.

The rise in literacy contributed to an expansion of cultural vistas for ordinary Americans. Other advances fostered mass entertainment, including new media technology, such as motion pictures, and improved mass-production printing techniques.

Art galleries, libraries, books, and museums brought new cultural opportunities to more people. By 1900, at least one art gallery graced every large American city. Americans were also entertained by the new newspapers. To increase sales, publishers often presented the news in sensational style.

While serious novelists addressed concerns of contemporary society, many readers enjoyed the more popular dime-store novels.

Another change was in the sale of goods. Cities developed shopping areas that concentrated many retail establishments in certain areas. Huge department stores arose that offered consumers a wide range of goods to purchase. National chains developed as some retailers created stores in many sites, offering goods at lower prices. To persuade consumers to buy these goods, retailers and manufacturers spent large amounts of money on advertising.

To reach rural consumers, some companies sold their goods through catalogs. They were helped by the U.S. Post Office, which began delivering packages to rural people in 1896.

Review

1. What technological changes at the turn of the twentieth century affected American life?
2. How did education change in the late 1800s?
3. What discrimination was faced by minority groups in the late 1800s?
4. What evidence of modern mass culture can you find near the turn of the twentieth century?



Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Progressive Era*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *In the first two decades of the 1900s, Americans embrace the Progressive movement and many of its reforms.*

1 The Origins of Progressivism

MAIN IDEA *Political, economic, and social change in late 19th century America led to broad progressive reforms.*

As the 1900s opened, reformers pushed for a range of changes to society in a movement called Progressivism, which had four major goals:

- Protecting social welfare by easing the ills of urban society. The YMCA built libraries and exercise facilities while the Salvation Army offered the urban poor food and nursery care.
- Promoting moral improvement, especially by working to ban alcoholic beverages. Prohibitionists—many of whom were members of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)—often came into conflict with immigrant groups. The saloons the reformers attacked served vital functions such as offering cheap meals in immigrant communities.
- Reforming the economy. Some criticized the vast wealth amassed by industrialists and the treatment of workers. Journalists called “muck-rakers” published stories about business corruption and unfair practices.
- Making businesses more efficient and profitable. Scientific management and the adoption of the assembly line for the manufacture of goods enabled factories to increase production.

Progressives also reformed politics at the local and state levels. Reform mayors routed corruption out of Detroit and Cleveland, among other cities. Wisconsin Governor Robert M. La Follette took steps to regulate businesses in his state. Reformers managed to pass laws in almost every state to ban child labor and limited the number of hours women could work. Reformers passed laws requiring the use of secret ballots in elections and allowing voters to remove elected officials from office. The Seventeenth Amendment allowed for voters to elect senators directly.

2 Women in Public Life

MAIN IDEA *Women won new opportunities in labor and education that are enjoyed today.*

On the nation’s farms, women continued to play the vital roles they had filled earlier. They helped with the farm’s crops and animals as well as cooking, cleaning, sewing, and child rearing. Many urban women who lacked education joined the workforce by becoming servants. African-American and unmarried immigrant women often used this route to employment. At the turn of the century, one in five American women held jobs outside the home; 25 percent worked in manufacturing. Half of them toiled in the garment industry. With the growth of business, more and more women worked in offices as stenographers and typists. As a result, more women sought high school educations to train for these jobs.

Many middle- and upper-class women joined groups aiming to promote culture. The number of women’s colleges grew, and many who graduated from these colleges joined the reform movements. Major goals of these movements were making workplace and home safer. The National Association of Colored Women helped African Americans by creating nurseries, reading rooms, and kindergartens.

Many women joined in the effort to seek the right to vote, or suffrage. Spearheading the effort was the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Wyoming, in 1869, became the first state to grant this right to women. Some other western states followed suit. Another effort failed when the Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution did not guarantee women the right to vote. Women pushed for an amendment to the Constitution granting suffrage, but for the first two decades of the 1900s, it did not pass.

③ Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal

MAIN IDEA As president, Theodore Roosevelt worked to give citizens a Square Deal through progressive reforms.

When President William McKinley was killed in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt became president. He showed great energy and bold decision making and won publicity. He launched a program of reforms called the “Square Deal.” With his vigorous leadership, he changed the presidency.

Roosevelt thought that a more complex American society needed a powerful federal government. He intervened in a bitter 1902 coal strike to lead both sides to an agreement. He had the government sue business trusts to improve competition. He pushed through laws increasing the government’s power to regulate railroads. His actions during a Pennsylvania coal strike set a precedent of government intervention when a strike threatened public welfare. After reading a book, *The Jungle*, that exposed poor sanitary practices in the meatpacking industry, Roosevelt gained passage of the Meat Inspection Act. The Pure Food and Drug Act banned food processors from adding dangerous chemicals to food or from making false claims regarding medicines. Roosevelt also took steps to preserve the nation’s wild natural areas.

Roosevelt, though, did not back civil rights for African Americans. So black leaders, plus some white reformers, formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 to push for full racial equality.

④ Progressivism Under Taft

MAIN IDEA Taft’s ambivalent approach to progressive reform led to a split in the Republican Party and the loss of the presidency to the Democrats

William Howard Taft became president in 1909. He pursued many Progressive policies but more cautiously—and with less publicity—than Roosevelt. And he divided his own party.

One issue was the tariff. Taft wished to lower the tariffs. When conservatives in the Senate passed a weakened version of the measure, Taft signed it anyway and Progressives complained. He also angered conservationists by appointing officials who favored development of wild lands rather than preservation of them.

With the Republican Party split between reformers and conservatives, Democrats won control of the House for the first time in almost two decades. In 1912, Roosevelt tried to regain the

Republican nomination for president. Failing that, Roosevelt formed a third party—the Bull Moose party—and ran on a platform of reform.

The Democrats nominated reformer Woodrow Wilson, the governor of New Jersey. As Taft and Roosevelt bitterly denounced each other, Wilson won the election—and a Democratic majority in Congress. About three-quarters of the vote went to candidates in favor of economic reform.

⑤ Wilson’s New Freedom

MAIN IDEA Woodrow Wilson established a strong reform agenda as a progressive leader.

A religious and scholarly man, Wilson stayed independent of party bosses and pursued his policies of reform called the “New Freedom.” With the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914, the government strengthened laws against business trusts and workers’ rights. The Federal Trade Act created the Federal Trade Commission to investigate unfair business practices. Another law lowered tariffs. With decreased tariff revenues, the government began collecting taxes on workers’ income. Wilson also secured passage of a law creating the Federal Reserve System to improve the nation’s banking practices.

Meanwhile, women continued in their drive to win the right to vote. As of 1910, women’s suffrage was approved in five states. Defeats in other states, though, led some women to try more militant tactics. Alice Paul organized a group that picketed the White House and the Democratic Party. Finally, the Nineteenth Amendment, ratified in 1920, gave women the right to vote.

Wilson did not push social reform ideas. He did little to support women’s suffrage, nor did he help African Americans. In fact, he appointed southerners who took steps to extend segregation. Blacks who had voted for Wilson felt betrayed, and a meeting between Wilson and African-American leaders ended in anger.

Review

1. Describe the four areas of Progressive reform.
2. How did women’s lives change in the early twentieth century?
3. What policies did Teddy Roosevelt pursue?
4. Why did the Republican Party split, and what was the result?
5. What progressive reforms did Woodrow Wilson advance, and which did he do little or nothing to achieve?

CHAPTER
18

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *America Claims an Empire*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW To compete with other powers, America gains colonies overseas, although some Americans object.

1 Imperialism and America

MAIN IDEA Beginning in 1867 and continuing through the century, global competition caused the United States to expand.

At the end of the 1800s, the United States joined the global trend to acquire lands overseas. Nations of Europe had taken control of almost all of Africa. Japan was seizing colonies in Asia. The United States competed with other nations to gain a trade foothold in China. Three factors pushed the United States to join the grab for land:

- Economic competition for raw materials and markets for its manufactured goods.
- Political and military competition, based in part on the creation of a powerful new navy.
- A belief in the racial and cultural superiority of the people of England and their descendants—which led many Americans to believe that the United States had a mission to spread civilization and Christianity.

Many Americans opposed this imperialist trend. They objected on moral or practical grounds. They felt that the taking of colonies was not right or would cost too much.

The first territory acquired was Alaska followed by Hawaii, where a number of Americans had established large and successful sugar plantations. Through a change in Hawaii's constitution, these planters came to control the government. In 1893, Hawaii's queen tried to change the constitution, and the planters seized control of the island. President Grover Cleveland refused to annex Hawaii, but his successor, William McKinley, did. Hawaii became a territory of the United States in 1898.

2 The Spanish-American War

MAIN IDEA In 1898, the United States went to war to help Cuba win its independence from Spain.

The United States had established close commercial ties to Cuba, still a Spanish colony. In 1895, José Martí launched a renewed drive for

Cuban independence. He hoped to force American intervention, but opinion in the United States was divided.

Spain sent an army to Cuba. Its commander put 300,000 Cubans in concentration camps while he tried to defeat the army of independence. American newspaper reports exaggerated stories of Spanish atrocities against the Cuban people. As more people began to clamor for giving aid to the Cubans, President McKinley tried to find a peaceful solution. Spain moderated its policies and granted limited self-rule to Cuba. The issue seemed to be dying down.

Then, two incidents fanned the fire. A newspaper published a Spanish diplomat's criticism of McKinley. Worse, a U.S. warship, the battleship *Maine*, mysteriously blew up in Havana's harbor. No one knew why the explosion occurred, but newspapers blamed Spain and the cry for war became too strong to resist.

The first battle of the war took place in the Philippines, another Spanish possession. Admiral George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet there, and U.S. army units joined Filipino rebels. The Spanish in the Philippines surrendered.

In Cuba, an American army—despite being ill-prepared—won a decisive battle. Press accounts gave great fame to Theodore Roosevelt, who led a volunteer cavalry troop known as the “Rough Riders.” Within two days, a naval battle resulted in destruction of the Spanish fleet and Spanish surrender in Cuba.

Spain quickly agreed to a peace that granted Cuba its independence and gained the United States the islands of Puerto Rico and Guam and the Philippines. By the time the Treaty of Paris was approved, the United States had an empire.

3 Acquiring New Lands

MAIN IDEA In the early 1900s, the United States engaged in conflicts in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines.

Many Puerto Ricans wanted independence, but others were willing to accept being an

American territory. Still others wanted to become a state. The Supreme Court ruled that Puerto Ricans were not American citizens. In 1917, Congress granted that right to Puerto Ricans and allowed them to choose their legislature. But it still denied statehood to the island.

For the first four years after the end of the war, the U.S. army remained in Cuba. It imprisoned Cubans who protested American presence, but it also fed the hungry and helped wipe out yellow fever, a fatal disease. The United States insisted that the new Cuban constitution grant the United States privileges. Many American businesses had invested heavily in the island, and they wanted their property protected. These provisions were agreed to—reluctantly—and Cuba became independent but partly under U.S. control.

Filipinos—who had been fighting for independence for years—were outraged that the United States had annexed their islands. Rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo led an armed revolt against the Americans. In a war that lasted three years, the American army used some of the same tactics that the Spanish had used in Cuba. The revolt was finally suppressed in 1902. The islands finally gained independence in 1946.

Imperialists hoped to use the Philippines as a way of gaining a foothold in Asia. The main goal was to build business ties with China. European nations and Japan had forced the Chinese to give them valuable trade benefits. Secretary of State John Hay announced the Open Door policy that opened China to the trade of any nation. This policy increased American presence in Asia. A brief, bloody Chinese uprising against western influence—the Boxer Rebellion—was put down by western forces. The United States then issued stronger safeguards of equal trade with China.

President McKinley—who supported this imperialist expansion—won re-election in 1900. Many, but not all, Americans favored the expansion of American power.

4 America as a World Power

MAIN IDEA *The Russo-Japanese War, the Panama Canal, and the Mexican Revolution added to America's military and economic power.*

As part of the increased American role in world affairs, President Theodore Roosevelt acted as

peacemaker to end a war between Japan and Russia. He also sent a fleet of navy ships to sail around the world, showing American power.

Roosevelt's major action was to ensure the building of the Panama Canal. The canal was wanted to link the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, cutting travel time for merchant ships—and for U.S. navy ships. Panama then was a province of Colombia, but won its independence in a U.S.-supported revolt. The new nation gave the United States land to build a canal.

It took ten years to build the 50-mile-long canal, and it was a success from the start. But Roosevelt's actions caused ill will toward the United States throughout Latin America.

The president warned European nations to keep their hands off Latin America. He also announced his intention to intervene whenever political turbulence in Latin America threatened U.S. business. President Taft took such a step in 1911, sending troops to Nicaragua.

In 1913, President Woodrow Wilson took a moral tone in Latin American policy. He said that the United States would refuse to recognize any Latin American government that was oppressive, undemocratic, or opposed U.S. interests. A revolution in Mexico quickly tested this policy. Conservatives favored by U.S. businesses that invested in Mexico seized the Mexican government. Wilson used a minor incident to send troops to Veracruz. When a new leader took power in Mexico, Wilson withdrew the troops.

Trouble did not end. A revolt against the new Mexican government by Francisco "Pancho" Villa involved the United States. Wilson sent General John J. Pershing to pursue Villa and punish him for the death of some Americans. The American soldiers clashed with units of the Mexican army, straining relations. Finally, they were withdrawn. The incident revealed Americans' willingness to assert their power in the western hemisphere.

Review

1. What factors shaped American imperialism?
2. How did the United States gain control of former Spanish colonies?
3. How did the United States administer its new-found territories?
4. How did Roosevelt assert American power?

CHAPTER
19

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The First World War*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *After the United States enters World War I and helps to defeat Germany, President Wilson tries to fashion a lasting peace.*

❶ World War I Begins

MAIN IDEA *As World War I intensified, the United States was forced to abandon its neutrality.*

Four factors contributed to the outbreak of World War I in Europe:

- Nationalism: tensions grew as nations pursued only their own interests.
- Imperialism: rivalries increased as nations jockeyed for power around the world.
- Militarism: the nations developed strong armed forces to back up their growing empires.
- Alliances: a series of treaties grouped the nations of Europe into two armed camps.

The war broke out in 1914 when a Serb killed the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. The alliance system resulted in Russia defending Serbia against Austria-Hungary. Germany supported Austria-Hungary and then declared war on Russia's ally, France. So Great Britain, France's ally, declared war on Germany. Armies soon opposed each other across a system of trenches. Although neither side gained territory, hundreds of thousands of soldiers died.

The United States refused to join either side. Over time, though, stories of German atrocities and close economic ties to Great Britain and France moved Americans toward the Allied camp. A blockade prevented food and fertilizer from reaching Germany. As thousands of people starved, Germany struck back with submarine attacks on ships going to Great Britain.

U.S. public opinion turned against Germany when some Americans died in these attacks. Still, President Wilson resisted entering the war, winning re-election with the slogan "He kept us out of war." In January 1917, he suggested that the warring powers agree to a peace. Germany responded that submarine attacks would resume—and sink American ships. Finally, Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany. It did on April 6, 1917.

❷ American Power Tips the Balance

MAIN IDEA *The United States mobilized a large army and navy to help the Allies achieve victory.*

The United States was not prepared for war, but it launched a draft and quickly put about 3 million men in uniform. Women were not drafted, but the navy accepted women volunteers as nurses and secretaries. African Americans served in separate units; some were trained as officers.

The government took steps to increase the amount of shipping available so it could transport the soldiers and their supplies to Europe. Along with Great Britain, the United States began sending merchant ships in large convoys guarded by naval vessels. This change helped cut the number of ships lost to submarine attacks.

At first, American soldiers were scattered among other armies, replacing men killed or wounded. General John J. Pershing insisted that the American army fight as a whole. These troops—far fresher than the other Allied soldiers—helped throw back some major German attacks. By October 1918, the Germans were weakened.

New weapons made the fighting in World War I very destructive. Machine guns, tanks, and gas warfare could kill soldiers in large numbers. Fighting took to the air, as both sides used war planes. Soldiers suffered from disease and hardship as well. While 48,000 American soldiers died in combat, another 62,000 died of disease.

In November of 1918, German sailors, soldiers, and civilians mutinied, refusing to continue the war. The German kaiser abdicated his throne, and the new government surrendered.

❸ The War at Home

MAIN IDEA *World War I spurred social, political, and economic change in the United States.*

To fight the war adequately, the United States had to mobilize industry and labor, as well as soldiers. Wilson named Bernard M. Baruch to head

the War Industries Board (WIB), the main agency responsible for overseeing industrial production. It helped boost industrial output by 20 percent. But prices rose as well.

While some industries—metal work, shipbuilding, and meat packing—boomed, workers lost buying power due to higher prices. Union membership grew dramatically. The Food Administration encouraged people to change their eating habits to save food for soldiers.

The government paid for the war by raising taxes and by selling bonds, which celebrities helped sell. To support the war effort, the Committee of Public Information encouraged people to aid the cause.

The war brought an anti-German backlash that discredited things German or people of German background. Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts to punish anyone who interfered with the draft or the sale of war bonds or who said anything that could be defined as disloyal. About 1,500 people were convicted under these laws. Some chief targets were socialists and union leaders.

African-American leaders were divided over the war. Some said that helping the war effort would enhance the fight for equality. Others said that without equality, blacks should not help. The main effect of the war on African Americans was to spur the Great Migration—the movement of thousands of blacks from the South to the cities of the North. They tried to escape harsh treatment in the South and hoped to find jobs and equality in the North.

Women played new roles, taking jobs that had been held only by men in the past. Their contribution helped increase support for woman suffrage and ensured ratification, in 1920, of the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote. About 500,000 Americans died in a worldwide flu epidemic of 1919.

🕒 Wilson Fights for Peace

MAIN IDEA *European leaders opposed most of Wilson's peace plan, and the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the peace treaty.*

President Wilson traveled to Europe to push for a peace plan—called the Fourteen Points—that he hoped would prevent future wars. He hoped to remove the causes of war by eliminating secret treaties and reducing imperialism. Other

points aimed at specific adjustments to boundaries. Underlying these points was Wilson's goal of allowing ethnic groups to determine their own fate. Finally, Wilson proposed creating an international organization called the League of Nations to give nations a chance to discuss and settle their disputes without resorting to war.

Wilson lost almost all of his points: Great Britain, France, and Italy—the victors—were determined to punish Germany for the war. The Treaty of Versailles, which established the peace, created nine new nations in Europe. It carved out parts of the Ottoman Empire—which had allied with Germany—to create temporary colonies for Great Britain and France in the Middle East. It took away Germany's army and navy and forced Germany to pay war damages, or reparations, to the victors. In one provision, Germany had to admit to guilt for causing the war.

The treaty had three weaknesses. One was the harsh treatment of Germany, which weakened that nation's economy and aroused resentment there. Second, the treaty ignored the new Communist government in Russia. Third, it did nothing to recognize nationalist desires in the colonies of European powers.

Many Americans opposed the treaty, which they believed was unjust and imperfect. The main debate was over the League of Nations—the only of Wilson's Fourteen Points contained in the treaty. Many people believed that joining the League would involve the United States in foreign conflicts. Wilson refused to compromise on the League or accept amendments to the treaty proposed by Republican leaders. The Senate failed to ratify the treaty, and the United States never entered the League of Nations.

In Europe, the war created political instability and violence that lasted for decades. The unresolved issues of World War I, along with many Germans' desire for vengeance, would plunge the world into an even greater conflict.

Review

1. What factors led to war in Europe?
2. What led the United States into World War I?
3. How did the war change American society?
4. What was contained in the Treaty of Versailles and why did Americans object?

CHAPTER
20

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

Politics of the Roaring Twenties

Summary

CHAPTER OVERVIEW Americans lash out at those who are different while they enjoy prosperity and new conveniences produced by American businesses.

1 Americans Struggle with Postwar Issues

MAIN IDEA A desire for normality after the war and a fear of communism and “foreigners” led to postwar isolationism.

Events in faraway Russia had an effect on the United States after World War I. Massive protests led the Russian ruler to step down from the throne in March 1917. In November of that year, radicals seized the government and established the world’s first Communist state. Soon, this new government issued a call for worldwide revolution. Its leaders wanted to overthrow the capitalist system and abolish private property.

About 70,000 people, called “Reds,” joined the new Communist party in the United States. Though their numbers were small, their radicalism and threats aroused fear among many people. As a “Red Scare” swept the nation, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer decided to remove the threat.

Palmer formed a new agency in the Justice Department to find and punish radicals. His agents arrested Communists, Socialists, and anarchists, who opposed any government at all. The agents often disregarded the rights of the people they arrested. Hundreds of radicals were sent out of the country without a trial. But Palmer never found evidence of a conspiracy to overthrow the government, and the fear passed.

The U.S. was actually becoming isolationist again—pulling away from world affairs. Dislike of foreigners resulted in a new immigration law. With the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, Congress limited the number of people admitted into the country each year. A revised version passed in 1924 cut the flow of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. It put a stop to Japanese immigration altogether. In 1929, Congress voted to further limit the number of immigrants admitted each year.

Many suffered in the hysteria. A celebrated case involved two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco and

Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The pair—both admitted radicals—were arrested for a double murder during a robbery in Massachusetts. Although the case was not strong, they were convicted and executed. Protests poured in from around the world.

The “Red Scare” revealed a general sense of unease in society, as did the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan began to flourish in the early 1920s. Klan leaders opposed African Americans, Jews, immigrants, and Catholics. By 1924, KKK membership numbered about 4.5 million, and the Klan helped elect officeholders in many states. Its popularity declined with increased criminal activity.

The postwar period also saw a revival of labor troubles. A strike of Boston police officers was forcefully put down by Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge. Violence erupted over a massive 1919 steel strike, with workers demanding the right to unionize. Steel makers labeled the workers as Communists, and the strike was broken in 1920. Later, a church group revealed the harsh conditions in steel mills. Embarrassed steel makers shortened the workday to eight hours. However, the steel workers still had no union.

United Mine Workers president John L. Lewis was able to win wage increases for coal miners. A. Philip Randolph also successfully organized an African-American union of railroad porters. Unions were not generally successful in the 1920s, however, as union membership dropped from about 5 million to about 3.5 million workers.

2 The Harding Presidency

MAIN IDEA The Harding administration appealed to America’s desire for calm and peace after the war, but resulted in scandal.

In the presidential election of 1920, Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding, a pleasant man of little ability. Harding and Calvin Coolidge swept into office in a landslide victory.

In the 1920s, the United States promoted world peace. A 1921 conference in Washington produced a historic agreement among five major naval powers to dismantle some of their naval ships. For the first time, nations had agreed to reduce their weapons. In 1928, virtually all the world powers signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. In doing so, each nation renounced war.

However, new conflicts arose. The U.S. wanted Britain and France to pay their war debts. This was difficult, since Congress had enacted a high tariff that made it impossible for them to sell their goods to the United States. The two countries pressured Germany to meet its payments for reparations, but Germany's economy was destroyed. A series of U.S. loans to Germany left Britain and France angry.

On the home front, President Harding's cabinet choices were just as burdensome. While some of his Cabinet appointments were distinguished, a number were soon found to be engaged in bribery and corruption. The biggest scandals involved tracts of public land called Teapot Dome and Elk Hills. The lands held oil, and Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall secretly leased the land to two oil companies. He received money and property in return.

Amidst rumors of corruption in his administration, Harding died. Calvin Coolidge became president.

③ The Business of America

MAIN IDEA *Consumer goods fueled the business boom of the 1920s as America's standard of living soared.*

American business was transforming American society, and the automobile led the way. America became a car culture. By the late 1920s, about 80 percent of all motor vehicles in the world were in the United States. States and cities built an elaborate network of new roads and highways. As cars made it possible for workers to live farther from their homes, cities grew larger. Cities in Ohio and especially Michigan grew as major centers of automobile manufacturing.

The airplane industry grew as well. Planes carried the nation's mail, and passenger service was introduced.

Another major change was the spread of electricity. Whereas electricity had been found only in central cities before, it now stretched to the suburbs although farms still lacked electric power. Electrical appliances—radios, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners among them—began appearing in homes across America.

To convince people to buy these new appliances, businesses adopted new methods of advertising. No longer content only to give information about products, they now used ads to sell an image. Widespread advertising meant that certain brand names became nationally known. A new form of mass entertainment—radio—provided advertisers a way of reaching huge audiences.

The prosperity that business was generating seemed unstoppable. National income rose from \$64 billion in 1921 to \$87 billion in 1929. This prosperity masked problems, however.

First, the business scene was not completely healthy. As workers produced more in the same number of hours, businesses grew, sometimes producing more goods than they could sell. Chain stores spread across the nation. With this growth, however, the difference in income between business managers and workers grew. Also, mining companies, railroads, and farms were suffering.

Second, consumer debt rose to alarming levels. Businesses helped promote consumer spending by allowing customers to buy on credit. By making the payments low and spreading them over a long period of time, businesses made it easy for consumers to decide to purchase all the goods that the businesses were producing.

Review

1. How did people reveal distrust of others in the 1920s?
2. What happened to the labor movement in the 1920s?
3. What progress was made toward world peace in the 1920s?
4. What problems arose in Harding's cabinet?
5. What problems did the business boom hide?

CHAPTER
21

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Roaring Life of the 1920s*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *During the 1920s, rural America clashes with a faster-paced urban culture. Women's attitudes and roles change, influenced in part by the mass media. Many African Americans join in the new urban culture.*

❶ Changing Ways of Life

MAIN IDEA *Americans experienced cultural conflicts as customs and values change in the 1920s.*

The 1920 census revealed that for the first time more Americans lived in towns and cities than in the country. The 1920s sped that process of urbanization. New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia became huge cities, and 65 others had more than 100,000 people. As 2 million people a year left their farms, city values—not small-town values—began to dominate the nation. The transition was not always easy.

One clash concerned Prohibition, favored by many rural people and opposed by many city dwellers. In 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution took effect and Prohibition became law. However, the effort to stop drinking was doomed. The government did not have enough law officers to enforce the law. Illegal nightclubs sprang up across the country. People began making their own illegal liquor. Others bought from “bootleggers”—resulting in large sums of money flowing to organized crime. By the middle of the decade, only 19 percent of Americans supported Prohibition. It remained law until 1933, however.

The country also saw a revival of Christian fundamentalism. Christian fundamentalists believed that every word in the Bible was literally true. Religious revivals and preachers drew large crowds, especially in the South and West.

Soon fundamentalists clashed with science in the Scopes trial. Fundamentalists, who rejected the scientific theory of evolution, persuaded some states to outlaw teaching of that theory in schools. Teacher John Scopes protested the law by openly teaching the subject. The trial brought famous attorneys and large crowds to a small Tennessee town. After Scopes was found guilty, the state Supreme Court reversed the conviction.

❷ The Twenties Woman

MAIN IDEA *American women pursued new lifestyles and assumed new jobs and different roles in society during the 1920s.*

The new urban culture influenced many women to demand greater freedom, symbolized by the “flapper.” These young women wore shorter skirts, shorter hair, and more jewelry than was customary before. They also smoked cigarettes and drank alcohol. Not all young women were flappers, of course. Many felt caught between the old values and the new.

Many women across America were adopting new roles at work. More women worked outside the home than before the war. They took many different jobs, but hundreds of thousands became teacher and nurses, secretaries, or sales clerks. Wherever they worked, though, women faced discrimination. The 1920s began trends that continue today: identifying jobs as women’s or men’s work and paying women less than men.

Most married women did not work. Those who did found it difficult to juggle the demands of both job and family. Women also experienced changes at home. Married women had fewer children than before. Ready-made clothes and labor-saving devices made housework easier.

Other changes affected families. Marriages were more often the result of the two partners’ choice, not their parents’ arrangements. More teenagers stayed in school than before but sometimes rebelled against parental supervision.

❸ Education and Popular Culture

MAIN IDEA *The mass media, movies, and spectator sports played important roles in creating popular culture of the 1920s—a culture that many artists and writers criticized.*

With prosperity and the need for a more educated workforce, more students received a high school education. High schools changed, offering vocational training for future workers and home

economics for future homemakers. Educators met the challenge of teaching millions of children of immigrants, many of whom did not know English. As a result, an increasing number of people could read. With these increased demands, schooling costs rose dramatically.

American tastes were shaped by mass media. The number of people who read newspapers increased sharply, and national magazines flourished. The most powerful of the mass media, though, was radio. It grew into national networks that offered programming to many millions.

The growing prosperity of the 1920s gave Americans more money to spend—and more leisure time in which to spend it. Fads swept the nation. Many entertainment dollars were spent on tickets to sporting events as athletes in many sports set new records. Chief among them was baseball's Babe Ruth, a long-ball hitter.

America's biggest hero was pilot Charles A. Lindbergh, who thrilled the nation in 1927 by flying alone across the Atlantic Ocean.

Americans by the hundreds of thousands found entertainment in movie theaters. For most of the decade, the movies were silent. In 1927, Hollywood released *The Jazz Singer*—the first major talking picture. Movies, like magazines and radio, helped create a national culture.

Many artists contributed to a flowering of American culture. Playwright Eugene O'Neill dramatized family conflicts. Composer George Gershwin wrote music that combined jazz rhythms with classical forms. Sinclair Lewis, the first American to win a Nobel Prize in literature, wrote best-selling novels taking a critical look at the shallow life of middle-class Americans. F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels showed the dark underside of the flashy life of the 1920s. Dorothy Parker, Edith Wharton, and other women writers added a unique perspective in their work.

🕒 The Harlem Renaissance

MAIN IDEA African-American ideas, politics, art, literature, and music flourish in Harlem and elsewhere in the United States.

In the 1920s, hundreds of thousands of African Americans moved to the cities of the North. Many left the South for big cities in search of jobs. By 1929, 40 percent of all African Americans lived in cities. Racial riots erupted in the North, however.

W. E. B. Du Bois, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), protested racial violence. Another NAACP official, James Weldon Johnson, spearheaded the organization's effort to get Congress to pass a law to put an end to lynching of African Americans. While the law never passed, the number of lynchings did drop.

Marcus Garvey voiced a message of black pride that appealed to many African Americans. Garvey promoted the formation of black-owned businesses. He also urged many African Americans to return to Africa.

Harlem, a section of New York City, became home to a flowering of African-American culture called the Harlem Renaissance. Writers Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, and Zora Neale Hurston—among others—wrote moving poems, plays, and novels portraying the difficulties and pleasures of black life. Paul Robeson won renown as an actor. Musicians Louis Armstrong, "Duke" Ellington, and Bessie Smith delighted audiences with jazz and blues.

This great decade of social and cultural change, though, would soon be overshadowed by an economic crash.

Review

1. What developments in the 1920s reflected the clash between traditional and new values?
2. How did women's lives change at work and at home during the 1920s?
3. How did mass media create national culture?
4. Give three examples of personal achievements connected with the Harlem Renaissance.

CHAPTER
22

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Great Depression Begins*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The economic boom of the 1920s collapses in 1929 as the United States enters a deep economic depression. Millions of Americans lose their jobs, and President Hoover is unable to end the downside.*

1 The Nation's Sick Economy

MAIN IDEA *As the prosperity of the 1920s ended, severe economic problems gripped the nation.*

Although the economy of the 1920s boomed, trouble lurked beneath the surface. The textile, steel, and railroad industries were barely profitable. Mining and lumbering were in decline. In the late 1920s, the auto, construction, and consumer goods industries faltered. The biggest problem, though, was in agriculture. Wartime demand for food dropped, and farmers suffered. Unable to make mortgage payments, many lost their land. Congress tried to help farmers by passing laws that would boost food prices, but President Calvin Coolidge vetoed them.

Farmers, short on money, bought fewer goods. That trend, combined with the consumer debt load, cut consumer spending. Consumer spending was also hurt by low incomes.

These problems were not completely evident in the 1928 presidential election. Republican Herbert Hoover, pointing to years of prosperity under presidents Harding and Coolidge, won the election over Democrat Alfred Smith.

Meanwhile, the stock market continued its amazing rise. People bought stocks, hoping to become rich. Many bought on margin, borrowing against future profits to pay for stocks today. If prices did not rise, though, there would be trouble. Stock prices began a decline in September of 1929. On October 29, known as Black Tuesday, they plunged sharply. More than 16 million shares of stock were sold that day until no more willing buyers could be found. By mid-November investors had lost more than \$30 billion.

The Depression spread around the world. The drop in consumer demand in the United States cut European exports, hurting their economies. Also, Congress passed a high tariff to reduce imports. They hoped to protect American industry, but instead cut the demand for American exports.

President Hoover tried to reassure Americans that the economy would right itself. Many people,

panicking, pulled their money from banks. With so many withdrawals happening so suddenly, many banks were forced to close. When the banks failed, other depositors lost their deposits. Businesses began to close as well, and millions of Americans lost their jobs. Unemployment had been 3 percent in 1929; by 1933, it was 25 percent. Those who kept their jobs suffered pay cuts or reduced hours.

The great stock market crash signaled the beginning of the Great Depression. It didn't cause the Depression, but it hurried—and worsened—the economic collapse. The main causes of the Depression were a decrease in demand for American goods overseas, farmers' problems, the problem of easy credit, and the fact that too few people held too great a share of the nation's wealth.

2 Hardship and Suffering During the Depression

MAIN IDEA *During the Great Depression, Americans did what they could to survive.*

The Depression devastated many Americans. With no jobs, millions of people went hungry or homeless. Cities across the country were full of people who had been thrown out of their apartments or homes because they couldn't meet housing payments. They slept under newspaper or built shantytowns. People stood in line to get food from soup kitchens set up by charities.

African Americans and Hispanic Americans living in the cities suffered greatly. Some suffered violence at the hands of angry whites who had lost their jobs. These groups had higher jobless rates; they also were given lower-paying jobs.

The Depression hurt people in rural areas, too, although farmers could at least grow food. Still, as food prices continued to fall, more and more farmers lost their farms from failure to meet mortgage payments. From 1929 to 1932, about 400,000 farmers lost their land. To worsen matters, a long drought struck the Great Plains. Parched land could hold no crops. When powerful winds swept

the plains, they blew the soil away in vast dust storms. An area known as the Dust Bowl was hardest hit. Many farmers packed up their belongings and moved to California to find work as migrant farm workers.

The Depression placed heavy pressures on the family. Many men felt ashamed because they had lost their jobs. Some abandoned their families. Women found work if they could, but they generally were paid less than men. Some people, too, argued that employers should hire men rather than women since they were seen as the primary support for a family.

Children suffered from poor diets and lack of health care. The number of children suffering illnesses due to lack of vitamins increased. Lacking money to continue, many school boards shut down schools or shortened the school year. Many children went to work to try to help their families survive. Others rode the railways in search of better lives.

③ Hoover Struggles with the Depression

MAIN IDEA *President Hoover's conservative response to the Great Depression drew criticism from many Americans.*

Economic slowdowns happen with some frequency. President Hoover at first believed that the Depression was simply another slowdown that would end. Officials in his administration thought it best to do nothing and let the economy heal itself. Hoover believed government should take action, but be careful not to take too much power.

Hoover thought that the government's role should be to help different groups work together to improve the economy. He also believed that the government should encourage private groups to provide benefits—food and shelter—to the needy and jobless. He did not think that the government should provide direct aid to people, however.

Hoover met with bankers, business leaders, and labor leaders. He urged them to work together to revive the economy. Despite these efforts,

the economic situation simply got worse. People expressed their frustration at the situation. Farmers destroyed some food or refused to work. People without homes began to call their shantytowns “Hoovervilles.”

Hoover did not change his principles and offer direct aid to the jobless and hungry. He did take steps to have a more active government role in the economy, however. He began a program of major public works, including building roads, bridges, and dams, to provide jobs. He launched a program to try to raise food prices and urged bankers to join a credit organization that would shore up ailing smaller banks.

By 1932, the economy had still not improved. Congress passed a law to lower the rates for home mortgages, hoping to spur the construction industry. Hoover created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, aimed at funding projects that would create jobs. The RFC was a major change in policy, but it came too late to help.

Hoover's popularity plummeted even further in 1932 when World War I veterans came to Washington. They demanded early payment of the bonuses they had been promised. This Bonus Army began to live in tents near the Capitol building. Hoover helped them, but after Congress voted down the bill they had requested, he told the veterans to leave. About 2,000 stayed, and Hoover ordered the army to remove them. The sight of U.S. army troops gassing American citizens—including children—outraged many people. Hoover faced the 1932 presidential campaign more unpopular than ever.

Review

1. What caused the Great Depression?
2. What affect did the Depression have on different groups of people in society?
3. How did the Depression affect the family?
4. How did President Hoover's response to the Depression change over time?



Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The New Deal*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW President Roosevelt launches a program aiming to end the Depression. The Depression and his New Deal have profound effects.

1 A New Deal Fights the Depression

MAIN IDEA After becoming president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt used government programs to combat the Depression.

In the 1932 election, Franklin Delano Roosevelt—or FDR—won a landslide victory, and Democrats took control of the House and Senate. His policies were called the New Deal. The first step was to reform banking: many were closing, causing panic. The new president tried to end the crisis by temporarily closing banks and passing a number of new laws. He reassured the nation in a radio “fireside chat” that explained his policies.

Roosevelt acted to help farmers and other workers. The Agricultural Adjustment Act raised food prices. Other agencies hired jobless workers for conservation or building projects. An agency was created to help the needy. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) promoted industrial growth. The Tennessee Valley Authority brought flood control and electricity to a poor region.

The president’s actions were attacked by liberals as not enough and by conservatives as too radical. When the Supreme Court overturned the NIRA and another New Deal law, Roosevelt proposed a plan to add his own justices to the Court. It failed. Eventually the Court backed the New Deal, but the court scheme cost him support.

Three critics of Roosevelt rose to prominence. Father Charles Coughlin blasted the president on his popular radio show. Dr. Francis Townsend proposed a national pension for the elderly. Huey Long, a politician from Louisiana, proclaimed a plan called “Share Our Wealth.”

2 The Second New Deal Takes Hold

MAIN IDEA The Second New Deal included new programs to extend federal aid and stimulate the nation’s economy.

The economy improved, but not enough. Buoyed by Democratic gains in Congress,

Roosevelt launched the Second New Deal to provide additional relief to farmers and workers. Helping him maintain popularity was his wife, Eleanor. The president easily won re-election in 1936.

The Supreme Court had struck down the first New Deal act to help farmers. In the Second New Deal, Roosevelt won passage of new laws aimed at conserving soil, providing loans, and offering mortgage relief. A new agency, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), was started to fund projects that would create jobs. Between 1935 and 1943, it gave jobs to more than 8 million people. They built public buildings, made clothes and constructed or repaired 651,000 miles of roads and streets.

The Second New Deal tried to help workers by setting a national minimum wage, limiting the work week, and requiring employers to pay overtime. The Wagner Act recognized workers’ right to organize unions.

The Second New Deal also set up the social security system. It made payments to retirees, disabled workers, the unemployed, and families with dependent children.

Finally, the Second New Deal included the Rural Electrification Administration. It provided more electrical power in rural areas.

3 The New Deal Affects Many Groups

MAIN IDEA The New Deal policies and actions affected various social and ethnic groups.

Women benefited from the New Deal. Agencies did not discriminate in hiring, giving many women new opportunities. Roosevelt named the first female cabinet secretary—Frances Perkins—and appointed many women judges. Women still struggled against discrimination, however. Agencies and businesses did not hire women in proportion to their numbers in the population, and women continued to be paid less than men.

Mary McLeod Bethune, an African-American woman, became head of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Association. She helped blacks gain access to the agency's programs and organized an unofficial "Black Cabinet" to advise the president. Roosevelt, however, never pressed for full civil rights for African Americans; he feared losing the support of white Southerners. Despite this lack of vigorous support for civil rights, most African Americans backed him and the New Deal. Mexican Americans did, too. Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs helped pass the Indian Reorganization Act, strengthening Native American land claims.

Roosevelt and the Democratic party forged a new political coalition of Southern whites, urban voters, African Americans, and unionized workers. Labor was a key part of this coalition. New Deal laws made it easier for workers to organize. During the 1930s, union membership soared from less than 3 to more than 10 million. The United Mine Workers and United Auto Workers, with some other unions, split from the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to form a new group, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). To win gains, labor often had to strike. Sometimes the strikes turned violent.

4 Culture of the 1930s

MAIN IDEA *Motion pictures, radio, art, and literature blossomed during the New Deal.*

During the Depression, the radio and film industries flourished. About 90 percent of all households owned radios, and 65 percent of the population went to a movie once a week. The movies offered drama, comedies, and entertaining musicals. Hollywood became identified with glamour and sophistication. Families typically gathered by their radio each evening to hear their favorite shows. President Roosevelt addressed the nation in his "fireside chats" on several occasions.

The art and literature of the 1930s was more sober, offering serious critiques of American society or uplifting messages about the strength of character and values of the people. One branch of the WPA, the Federal Arts Project, paid artists to create posters, murals, and other public works of art.

The Federal Theater Project brought drama to communities across the country. Some writers had work funded by the Federal Writers' Project. A famous author of the period was John Steinbeck. His novel *The Grapes of Wrath* showed the suffering caused by the Dust Bowl.

5 The Impact of the New Deal

MAIN IDEA *The New Deal affected American society not only in the 1930s but also in the decades that followed.*

By 1937, the economy had recovered enough to convince many Americans that the Depression was over. Unemployment, still high, was much less than earlier in the decade. Many politicians pushed Roosevelt to cut back on New Deal programs. He did, and the economy fell back again. However, Roosevelt did not restore the New Deal.

Opinion on the New Deal still differs. Conservatives say that under Roosevelt the federal government grew too large and extended into everyday life. Liberals say that the New Deal didn't go far enough in restructuring the economy and wealth. Supporters say that Roosevelt managed a balance between preserving the existing economic system and reforming it.

The New Deal did result in expanded power for the federal government. It also relieved the suffering of many people, struggling in the midst of the Depression's harshest years. It boosted the rights of workers to unionize and aided farmers by creating a program of price supports that remained in effect for decades. Many banking and finance reforms begun under the New Deal are still in action, and Americans are still benefiting from Roosevelt's environmental protection efforts. Perhaps the longest-lasting New Deal programs are social security and the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Review

1. Describe actions taken in the first New Deal.
2. Describe policies of the Second New Deal.
3. How did the New Deal affect various groups?
4. What trends shaped American culture during the Depression?
5. Evaluate the impact of the New Deal.

CHAPTER
24
Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

World War Looms

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *An imperfect peace leads to the rise of dictators who brutally suppress opponents and innocent people at home and attack their neighbors. Soon the United States is drawn into worldwide war.*

1 Dictators Threaten World Peace

MAIN IDEA *The rise of rulers with total power in Europe and Asia led to World War II.*

The Treaty of Versailles created problems that led to new dangers. Germans resented losing territory and being blamed for starting the war. New democratic governments in many nations were weak. Soon dictators seized power.

In the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin focused on creating a communist state, in which the state takes ownership of farms and factories away from individuals. He also made the nation a huge police state, in which anyone who criticized him or his policies was arrested and removed.

In Italy, Benito Mussolini came to power as head of a fascist movement. Fascism combines nationalism with a strong central government, though it avoids communism's direct control of farms and factories. Mussolini crushed all foes.

In Germany, Adolf Hitler hoped to unite all German-speaking people into a new German empire. Hitler believed that Germans—especially blond, blue-eyed “Aryans”—were a master race, fated to achieve power over all “inferior races.” Hitler also believed that Germany had to expand its territory to thrive. His political movement was called Nazism, which combined extreme nationalism with racism and expansionism. Once appointed chancellor, Hitler seized all power.

In Japan, military leaders believed that more land and resources were needed. In 1931, they launched an attack on a province of China. With success there, Japanese militarists gained control of Japan's government. The League of Nations' failure to stop Japan emboldened Hitler and Mussolini. Hitler rebuilt the German armed forces, breaking the Versailles treaty. Mussolini conquered Ethiopia, in Africa.

World nations responded weakly to these threats to peace. Most Americans wanted the U.S. to avoid foreign conflicts. In the Neutrality Acts,

Congress outlawed arms sales or loans to nations at war. In 1935, a civil war broke out in Spain between an elected government and a group of fascists. The U.S. government remained neutral. By 1937, Roosevelt was less willing to remain neutral to the dictators' growing power. When Japan invaded China that year, he continued to send arms and supplies to China.

2 War in Europe

MAIN IDEA *Using the sudden mass attack called blitzkrieg, Germany invaded and quickly conquered many European countries.*

In Europe, Hitler continued plans to increase German power. In 1937, Germany annexed Austria. The next year, Hitler claimed that Germans living in an area of Czechoslovakia were being mistreated. Great Britain and France appeased Hitler by letting him take over this area. Hitler promised it would be his last land seizure.

The next year, Hitler claimed persecution of Germans in Poland. Many people thought he would never attack Poland for fear of the Soviet Union, on Poland's eastern border. Then Germany and the Soviet Union signed an agreement not to attack each other.

On September 1, 1939, Hitler launched World War II by attacking Poland. The Germans used tanks and planes in an attack called *blitzkrieg*, or “lightning war.” They overran Poland quickly. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. For the next few months, both sides prepared for war.

Meanwhile, Stalin seized some Baltic states and then occupied Finland. In the spring of 1940, Hitler attacked and captured Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. His forces overran France. Only Great Britain was left uninvaded. However, Hitler's air force bombed Britain frequently. The Royal Air Force, though, destroyed many German planes and won the Battle of Britain.

3 The Holocaust

MAIN IDEA *During the Holocaust, the Nazis systematically executed 6 million Jews and 5 million other "non-Aryans."*

Part of Hitler's plan for Germany was to make the country racially pure. In 1933, he ordered all non-Aryans out of government jobs. In 1935, new laws hurt the people who were Hitler's main target: the Jews. They lost their civil rights and property. In 1938, the Nazis terrorized Jews in a night of attacks. During the Nazis' rise to power, Jews left Germany in great numbers. The United States accepted some 100,000 refugees, but refused to accept more. Many Americans feared competition for scarce Depression-era jobs.

In 1939, the Nazis adopted a horrible "final solution" to what they called "the Jewish problem." Jews who were healthy would be seized and sent to slave labor camps. The rest would be taken and systematically killed. Some Jews were crowded into ghettos, special sections of cities. Most were taken to concentration camps where they suffered hunger, illness, overwork, and death. In 1941, the Nazis built special "death camps" meant solely to kill people in mass numbers. Prisoners were gassed or shot. Some died in horrible medical "experiments." Nearly six million Jews died in the death camps. The Nazis also murdered many other peoples: Soviets, Poles, gypsies, homosexuals, and the disabled. Remarkably, some survived to tell the world of the atrocity.

4 America Moves Toward War

MAIN IDEA *In response to the fighting in Europe, the United States provided economic and military aid to help the Allies achieve victory.*

According to the Neutrality Acts, the United States could not enter the war in Europe to aid Poland after Germany invaded Poland. However, President Roosevelt began preparing the nation for

war. He persuaded Congress to amend the acts, allowing the United States to sell weapons to Great Britain and France. When Japan signed an agreement with Germany and Italy, many Americans were alarmed. Roosevelt increased the aid to Great Britain. At the same time, Congress passed a military draft and began training men for the armed forces. In 1940, Roosevelt broke tradition and ran for a third term as president. He won.

Roosevelt spoke to Americans of the threat the Hitler posed. He proposed increasing American armaments to loan to Great Britain. He stopped short of entering the war. Some aid went to the Soviet Union, too: Hitler had broken his agreement with Stalin in 1941 and attacked his former ally. The Germans used submarines to attack the American ships carrying weapons and supplies to its enemies.

In August 1941, Roosevelt met with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. They issued the Atlantic Charter, a statement of goals for which the war was being fought. The United States had not yet entered that war, however. German submarines attacked American ships, but Roosevelt felt he lacked support to declare war.

In the Pacific, conflict grew between Japan and the United States. When Japan seized Indochina, the United States protested. Peace talks between the two countries began in late 1941. On December 7, 1941, however, the Japanese attacked the main U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The attack left many navy ships destroyed and others crippled. The next day, President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war, which was quickly approved.

Review

1. What led to the rise of dictators?
2. How did Germany begin World War II?
3. How did Nazis treat their enemies?
4. How did America enter World War II?

CHAPTER
25

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

The United States in World War II

Summary

CHAPTER OVERVIEW Soldiers abroad and Americans at home join in the effort to win World War II, which ends with victory for the allies. But American society is transformed in the process.

1 Mobilizing for Defense

MAIN IDEA Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States mobilized for war.

Fighting a war on two fronts required large numbers of soldiers. About 5 million volunteered to enter the armed forces; another 10 million were drafted. After eight weeks of basic training, former civilians became soldiers. Among them were about 300,000 Mexican Americans, a million African Americans, and many thousand Asian and Native Americans.

To free more men for combat, the army created the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC). About 200,000 women served in the military even though they did not receive the same pay or benefits as male soldiers.

The nation's factories converted from peacetime to wartime production. Automakers made planes, tanks, and other vehicles; shipyards built warships. About 18 million workers—one third of them women—kept these war industries productive. African Americans pushed for—and won—equal access to jobs in war industries.

Through the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) the government recruited scientists to develop new weapons and medicines. This effort produced radar, sonar, penicillin and other “miracle” drugs. The most significant result of OSRD research was the secret development of the atomic bomb.

The government also created the Office of Price Administration (OPA). The OPA froze the prices of consumer goods and issued ration books, restricting access to scarce goods such as gasoline and meat. Most Americans cooperated with rationing. They also bought war bonds and collected scrap paper or metal to help the soldiers fighting overseas.

2 The War for Europe and North Africa

MAIN IDEA Allied forces led by the United States and Great Britain battled Axis powers for control of Europe and North Africa.

President Franklin Roosevelt met with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in late 1941. They agreed to concentrate their efforts first on defeating Hitler's Germany. They also began a close alliance between the two nations.

At first, many U.S. ships were destroyed by German submarines. Eventually, the Allies won the battle of the Atlantic by using convoys and radar to sink submarines and by relying on the tremendous output of American shipyards.

The German attack on the Soviet Union, begun in 1941, stalled in early 1942. They moved to take Stalingrad and oil fields in the south, but the Soviet army trapped a large German force in the city. In February 1943, the army's remnants surrendered. Just months later, the Americans and British pushed the Germans out of North Africa. The Allies were on the move.

The Americans and British next captured Sicily, leading the war-weary Italian king to overthrow dictator Benito Mussolini. Hitler seized Italy, however, and dug in to fight. The Allies' advance through Italy was slow and bloody.

Meanwhile, the Americans and British launched a massive invasion to liberate western Europe. Landing on June 6, 1944, in northern France, the Allies forced the Germans off the coast and began to advance eastward. By August, they had liberated Paris, and by the fall they had entered Germany. The Germans began a counterattack in December. They cut deeply into Allied lines at first, but the Allies responded quickly. This battle—called the Battle of the Bulge—was Germany's last gasp. At the same time, the Soviets entered Germany from the east.

As the Allied armies advanced, they began to find the death camps that the Nazis had built to kill millions of Jews and others. The Soviets reached Berlin in April 1945. Hitler committed suicide, and a week later Germany surrendered.

③ The War in the Pacific

MAIN IDEA *In order to defeat Japan and end the war in the Pacific, the United States unleashed a terrible new weapon, the atomic bomb.*

After Pearl Harbor, Japan captured large parts of Asia and the Pacific. The United States struck back. First there was a token air raid on Tokyo that lifted American spirits. Then there were major victories in the battles of Coral Sea and Midway, stopping planned Japanese invasions. The enemy lost valuable aircraft carriers and planes.

U.S. strategy called for leapfrogging, island by island, across the Pacific toward Japan. The Allies took Guadalcanal in 1943 and gradually moved northwest, recapturing the Philippines in 1944. Next was the extremely bloody battle for Iwo Jima.

As Americans neared Japan, President Roosevelt died. Vice President Harry S. Truman took over while the Allies won a costly battle in Okinawa. U.S. leaders feared similar high casualties if Japan itself had to be invaded.

In February 1945, while war with Japan was still raging, Roosevelt met with Churchill and Stalin at the Soviet resort city of Yalta. The Allied leaders' major agreements were to:

- divide Germany into 4 zones
- get Soviet help against Japan
- create the United Nations

President Truman learned of the secret effort to develop an atomic bomb. Scientists were split over whether or not to use the bomb on Japan, but Truman decided to authorize using the weapon. On August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, leveling the city. When the Japanese did not surrender, another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Finally the Japanese agreed to end the war.

The Allies took steps to punish the Nazi and Japanese leaders that they held responsible for the war and for cruel treatment of prisoners and civilians. The United States occupied Japan, helping create a democratic government.

④ The Home Front

MAIN IDEA *After World War II, Americans adjusted to new economic opportunities and harsh social tensions.*

The economy boomed during World War II, and workers' wages rose significantly. Farmers enjoyed good weather and high demand for their crops, enabling them to thrive. The share of women in the work force rose to 35 percent. Many Americans relocated, moving to find the growing defense jobs in the Middle Atlantic states, Michigan, Florida, and the Pacific coast states. Rapid urban growth led to a housing shortage.

People had to adjust to new family situations. The marriage rate boomed during the war—as did the divorce rate after servicemen returned to civilian life. Single mothers juggled jobs and childrearing. Congress passed a law called the GI Bill of Rights allowing returning servicemen to attend college or technical school with paid tuition.

African-American service personnel served honorably in segregated units. At home, large numbers of African Americans got well-paying skilled jobs. But racial tension erupted into violence in many cities, notably Detroit in 1943. Many communities started committees to improve race relations. Mexican-American civilians also suffered discrimination and violence in the 1943 riots in Los Angeles.

Japanese-American civilians suffered the most. Their homes, businesses, and possessions were taken when they were sent to internment camps. Some young males joined the army to show their loyalty. Others sued the government to end the internment, but the courts refused. Not until 1990 did the government make reparation—compensation—payments to all those who had been interned.

Review

1. How did the United States provide the people and weapons to fight the war?
2. How did the Allies defeat Germany and Italy?
3. How did the Allies defeat Japan?
4. What social and economic changes arose from the war?

CHAPTER
26

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

Cold War Conflicts

CHAPTER OVERVIEW After World War II, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union lead to a war without direct military confrontation—a Cold War.

1 Origins of the Cold War

MAIN IDEA The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as two "superpowers" with vastly different political and economic systems.

The Cold War was the state of hostility without direct military confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. The formation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, which was intended to keep peace, did not succeed in stopping the conflicts between these two superpowers.

One reason for the start of the Cold War was the conflicting political and economic systems of the United States and Soviet Union. In the U.S. system of democracy and capitalism, citizens elect their political leaders and are free to buy and sell products in an open market. However, in the Soviet Communist system, the leaders of the Communist party chose the nation's leaders, and government officials decide what products are available to buy.

Another reason for the outbreak of the Cold War was the disagreement over the future of Europe after World War II. The Truman administration wanted strong, stable democracies in Europe to prevent totalitarianism and to provide a market to sell U.S. products. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, on the other hand, wanted control of Eastern Europe to protect against another invasion from the west and to rebuild the Soviet Union's own war-damaged economy.

To achieve his goals, Stalin set up Communist governments in Eastern Europe. Because these new Communist countries were dominated by the Soviet Union, they were called satellite nations. In 1946 Winston Churchill announced that Europe had been divided by an "iron curtain" into East and West, communism and capitalism.

To stop further Soviet influence in Europe, the Truman administration adopted a policy of containment. Under the Truman Doctrine, the United States could send military and economic aid to any country trying to prevent a Communist takeover. To rebuild Europe after the war and encourage capitalism, the Marshall Plan provided billions of dollars to those nations that cooperated with U.S.

economic goals. Germany was split in two—West Germany and the Soviet-dominated East Germany.

The United States also formed a defensive military alliance with its European allies called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The members of NATO pledged that an attack on one country was an attack on all.

2 The Cold War Heats Up

MAIN IDEA After World War II, China became a Communist nation and Korea was split into a Communist North and a democratic South.

After defeating the Japanese in World War II, the U.S. supported Chinese Nationalist Army lead by Chiang Kai-shek fought Mao Zedong's Communist forces. Mao won this civil war in 1948 and made China a Communist country. Chiang and his followers fled to Taiwan, an island off China's southeast coast.

At the end of World War II, Korea was divided along the 38th parallel into two separate countries: the Communist North and the capitalist South. When the North Korean army invaded South Korea in 1950 to unify the country, the United States called on the members of the United Nations to help.

Under the command of U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, troops from 21 UN countries—about 90 percent of them American—fought with the South Korean army. MacArthur was able to push the North Koreans toward the Chinese border, but then, Communist Chinese troops attacked, driving MacArthur and his troops back into South Korea. Although the fighting remained fierce, neither side gained much ground.

MacArthur wanted to use nuclear weapons to invade China, but Truman opposed this expansion of the war. When MacArthur continued to argue for his plan in the press, Truman fired him as commander. Finally, after three years, the war ended in a stalemate with North and South Korea honoring the 38th parallel as the border dividing them.

③ The Cold War at Home

MAIN IDEA During the late 1940s and early 1950s, fear of Communism led to reckless charges against innocent citizens.

Many Americans felt threatened by the rise of Communist governments in Europe and Asia. Some even felt that Communists could threaten the U.S. government from within.

Pressured by his Republican critics to do something, President Truman set up a Loyalty Review Board to investigate government employees. This board questioned more than 3 million people and removed about 200 from their jobs.

In 1947, a Congressional committee called the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) began an investigation of Communist influence in the movie industry. Although most people brought before the committee cooperated, ten men refused. These men, known as the Hollywood Ten, felt that the committee's questions were unconstitutional, and they went to prison for refusing to answer. Their careers were ruined.

In 1950, over Truman's veto, Congress passed the McCarran Act that outlawed the planning of any action that might lead to the subversion, or overthrow, of the U.S. government.

Two spy cases in the late 1940s increased fears of communism. The first involved a State Department official named Alger Hiss, who was accused of spying for the Soviet Union. In the second case, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, members of the American Communist Party, were convicted of helping to give the Soviets information about the atomic bomb. The Rosenbergs were executed for their crime.

In the early 1950s, Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy claimed that hundreds of Communists had infiltrated the State Department. McCarthy never actually produced any evidence to prove his accusations, but his Republican colleagues in the Senate encouraged his bullying tactics, known as McCarthyism.

McCarthy's unsupported charges violated the constitutional rights of the people he accused and often ruined their careers. Then in 1954, during televised hearings into the U.S. Army, McCarthy's vicious behavior was revealed to American viewers. As a result, he lost public support, and the Senate voted to condemn him for improper conduct.

④ Two Nations Live on the Edge

MAIN IDEA During the late 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union came to the brink of nuclear war.

By 1953, the United States and the Soviet Union had developed both the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb. The administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced that, if necessary, it was prepared to use all of its nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union. The Soviets responded by building more nuclear bombs, thus starting an arms race with the United States. This willingness of the U.S. to go to an all-out war was known as brinkmanship.

Other developments also increased hostilities. In the early 1950s, the United States used the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to interfere with some foreign governments through covert operations, or secret activities. Meanwhile, in response to the growth of NATO, the Soviets formed a military alliance with their Eastern European satellites called the Warsaw Pact.

In 1956, the new head of the Soviet Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, crushed a growing reform movement in Hungary by sending in Soviet tanks. That same year, the Soviets threatened to launch a missile attack against British, French, and Israeli troops who had seized control of the Suez Canal, an international waterway located in Egypt.

The United States and the Soviet Union fought the Cold War in the skies. The Soviets shocked the world in 1957 by launching *Sputnik I*, the first unmanned artificial satellite. In 1960 the Soviets shot down a CIA spy plane, the U-2, over its territory and captured the pilot. Although the pilot was eventually returned to the United States, the U-2 incident further damaged U.S.-Soviet relations.

Review

1. What was the Cold War and how did it start?
2. Why did the United States get involved in the Korean War?
3. Why did fear of communism sweep the nation in the late 1940s and 1950s? What were some direct effects of this fear?
4. List some events of the 1950s that increased hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER
27

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Postwar Boom*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *Postwar America sees a huge economic boom fueled by consumer spending that is spurred by the mass media, especially television. But many find themselves mired in poverty and stifled by discrimination.*

1 Postwar America

MAIN IDEA *The Truman and Eisenhower administrations led the nation to make social, economic, and political adjustments following World War II.*

Millions of returning soldiers used the GI Bill of Rights to get an education and buy a home. To meet a housing shortage, developers such as William Levitt built thousands of homes. The houses looked exactly alike, but were affordable. Many families moved to the growing suburbs.

The U.S. economy adjusted to peacetime. When the war ended, many defense workers were laid off. When price controls ended, prices shot up. But responding to years of pent-up demand—and using millions of dollars saved during the war—people began to buy cars, appliances, and housing. Soon the economy boomed.

Labor strife arose just after the war. A steel-worker strike was followed by coal miners and railroad workers. President Truman threatened to draft the workers into the army and order them back to work. The unions agreed to return to work.

Voters showed a growing conservative outlook. In the fall of 1946 they put conservative Republicans in control of both the Senate and the House. The Republicans opposed Truman's domestic program, including the civil rights bills he proposed for African Americans. Truman used an executive order to desegregate the armed forces, but his commitment to civil rights helped split the Democratic party. Winning the party nomination for president in 1948, he insisted on strong support for civil rights. Many Southern Democrats called "Dixiecrats" left the party to form their own party. Polls predicted that Truman would lose the election to Tom Dewey, the Republican candidate. Truman campaigned vigorously against the "do-nothing" Republican Congress and won victory. Truman could not get all of his domestic "Fair Deal" programs approved by Congress, however, and by 1952, he had lost popularity.

The Republicans nominated war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower, who won due to his popularity and

voter disenchantment with Democrats. He followed conservative policies. While he did not believe that the government should be involved in desegregation, he did use federal troops to back a federal court ruling to desegregate schools. He supported increased funding for housing and the creation of an interstate highway system. Very popular, he won reelection in 1956.

2 The American Dream in the Fifties

MAIN IDEA *During the 1950s, the economy boomed, and many Americans enjoyed material comfort.*

The postwar economy was changing, with a greater emphasis on service industries such as sales and communications. More and more workers held white-collar jobs in these industries. Critics of the new world of business emphasizing loyalty said that it promoted a sameness of behavior and a loss of individuality as conglomerates formed and franchises developed.

Many Americans enjoyed the benefits of this new economy, though. Postwar America saw a great burst of population called the baby boom, prompted by the reuniting of families, growing prosperity, and medical advances such as the vaccine to prevent polio. Popular culture glorified a woman's role as mother, but many women were dissatisfied with suburban life. By 1960, about 40 percent of women with children worked outside the home.

Leisure time—on the increase—was spent on active and spectator sports and reading. Many activities reflected the growing number of children.

A major part of the postwar economic boom was the auto industry, made possible by easy credit and cheap gasoline. Car ownership—which increased from 40 to 60 million vehicles—was necessary in the suburbs. Travel over distances was made easier by the new interstate highway system, which people used for vacation travel. Increased driving led to more pollution.

By the mid-1950s, nearly 60 percent of all Americans were in the middle class. Success

became equated with buying goods such as clothing made from new synthetic fibers and appliances. They were encouraged by companies that introduced new models, offered easy credit, and flooded the media with tempting ads.

3 Popular Culture

MAIN IDEA *Mainstream Americans as well as the nation's subcultures, embraced new forms of entertainment during the 1950s.*

The main vehicle of popular culture in the 1950s was television. TV ownership jumped from 9 percent of all homes in 1950 to 90 percent in 1960. Stations spread across the country, and many shows became widely popular.

Critics said that the new medium focused on white, suburban America, rarely showing women, African Americans, or Hispanics—and often portraying them only in stereotyped roles. They complained that there was too much violence.

As dramas and sitcoms moved to television, radio programming changed to focus on news, music, and local interest. The industry thrived, as the number of stations rose by 50 percent. The movie industry suffered from TV's competition, however. To survive, Hollywood produced spectacular movies that shined on a big screen.

While popular culture showed the suburban way of life, other movements presented other visions. The movement was led by nonconformist artists, poets, and writers. Followers of this movement were called beats, or beatniks. Writers Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac captured the rebelliousness of the era, criticizing the materialism of mainstream culture. A new music—an electrified rhythm and blues called rock 'n' roll—spread across the country, attracting young people. The biggest star was Elvis Presley, with 45 songs that sold more than one million copies. African-American entertainers got increasing exposure in the media. At the same time, many radio stations played music primarily intended for African-American audiences—indicating ongoing racial tensions in the nation.

4 The Other America

MAIN IDEA *Amidst the prosperity of the 1950s, millions of Americans lived in poverty.*

While prosperity reached many, it was not universal—one in four Americans in 1962 was poor. Contributing to the problem was “white flight” from the cities and increasing migration of African Americans from the rural South to cities. As more whites left the cities, so did businesses. With fewer jobs available, more citydwellers fell into poverty. Another urban problem was the lack of housing: millions of new homes had been built in the suburbs, but few in the cities. An urban renewal movement began, but sometimes old, decayed housing was torn down for highways, and shopping centers—not new housing. This and other problems spurred a wave of activism among minorities.

During World War II, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans came to the United States to work as migrant farm workers. Afterwards, many decided to stay illegally. Many other Mexicans came to the United States to join them. At the same time, Mexican Americans fought for equal rights. In the late-1940s the Unity League of California was founded to register Mexican Americans for the vote.

Native Americans, too, struggled for equal rights. Their position was made more difficult by the government's new policy of termination, meant to end federal responsibility for Native American affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs moved thousands of Native Americans to cities and helped them find places to live and jobs. But the policy failed to address discrimination and took away the Native Americans' medical care. The termination policy was abandoned in 1963.

Review

1. What social, economic, and political changes occurred after World War II?
2. What were the benefits and costs of prosperity in the 1950s?
3. Describe the values of 1950s popular culture and the subcultures that arose in opposition.
4. What groups were not touched by the prosperity of the 1950s?



TELESCOPING THE TIMES

The New Frontier and the Great Society

Summary

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *President Kennedy survives major confrontations with the Soviet Union but cannot get his domestic policies past Congress. President Johnson succeeds him and launches an era of liberal activity with a wide-ranging program of new laws.*

1 Kennedy and the Cold War

MAIN IDEA *The Kennedy administration faced some of the most dangerous Soviet confrontations in American society.*

As Eisenhower's second term drew to a close, Americans were restless. Soviet advances seemed to show that the United States was losing the Cold War. Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy defeated Republican Richard Nixon, the Vice President, in an extremely close election.

Kennedy won in 1960 because he had a well-organized campaign. He also benefited from the first televised presidential election debates in the nation's history, in which he appeared forceful and Nixon ill at ease. Finally, Kennedy was helped to victory by thousands of African Americans, who voted for him because he had taken steps to support Martin Luther King, Jr.

President Kennedy and his wife brought charm and an interest in the arts to the White House. Critics said that his administration was all style and no substance. Kennedy appointed many intellectuals and business people to high administration offices. His chief adviser was his brother Robert, named attorney general.

Kennedy emphasized foreign affairs. He urged a tough stand against the Soviet Union and adopted a new military strategy called flexible response, meant to give the president many options other than nuclear weapons. He increased defense spending and created the army's Special Forces.

Kennedy's policies were challenged in 1961 by Cuba, where Fidel Castro had seized power in 1959 and declared himself a Communist. A plan had been devised under Eisenhower to have Cuban exiles land in Cuba and overthrow Castro. Kennedy gave approval, but the surprise "Bay of Pigs" attack failed and the U.S. was embarrassed.

A year later, spy planes flying over Cuba took photographs showing that the Soviets were building

bases to house nuclear missiles that could be aimed at the United States. In a tense confrontation, Kennedy insisted that the missiles be removed. He sent U.S. Navy ships to surround the island and force Soviet vessels to turn away. Finally Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles, ending the threat of war.

Another crisis arose in Berlin. The city was still divided, half in Communist hands and half under the control of Great Britain, France, and the United States. Khrushchev threatened to block travel to the western-controlled portions of the city, but Kennedy refused to yield. Khrushchev responded by building a concrete and barbed wire wall dividing the city—and preventing East Berliners from fleeing to West Berlin.

After these crises, Kennedy and Khrushchev reached some agreements. They installed a telephone "hot line" connecting president and premier so they could talk directly when a crisis arose. They also began discussing an end to the testing of nuclear weapons.

2 The New Frontier

MAIN IDEA *While Kennedy had trouble getting his ideas for a New Frontier passed several were achieved.*

Kennedy called his domestic program the New Frontier, but his proposals lacked Congressional support. Conservative Republicans and southern Democrats blocked bills providing medical care for the aged, rebuilding cities, and aiding education.

He did succeed with some proposals. With increased spending on defense, he hoped to boost the economy out of a recession. He also persuaded Congress to raise the minimum wage. To decrease poverty abroad and increase goodwill toward the United States, Kennedy instituted the Peace Corps. In the program, volunteers worked in undeveloped foreign countries. Another program, the Alliance

for Progress, gave aid to Latin American nations to prevent the spread of Communist revolution from Cuba.

When the Soviets launched a person into orbit around the earth, Kennedy pledged to commit the nation to putting a man on the moon and bringing him back to earth within the decade. The goal was reached on July 21, 1969, when Neil Armstrong stepped onto the moon. The race for the moon had lasting effects on society. Schools expanded their teaching in science. Research spending resulted in improved technologies such as computers and helped promote economic growth.

In 1963, Kennedy called for a national effort to combat poverty. Before he could fully develop this program, however, he was assassinated on November 22. Millions were glued to their televisions over the next few days, watching live, in horror, as the president's accused killer, Lee Harvey Oswald, was himself killed. A Warren Commission investigation determined that Oswald acted alone. However, many people continue to believe that Oswald acted as part of a conspiracy.

③ The Great Society

MAIN IDEA *The demand for reform helped create a new awareness of social problems, especially on matters of civil rights and the effects of poverty.*

The new president, Lyndon Johnson, was a committed New Deal Democrat and skillful legislator. He got Congress to pass two bills submitted by Kennedy—a tax cut meant to stimulate the economy and a sweeping measure aimed at securing equal rights for African Americans. Johnson then launched his own campaign—a “war on poverty” that began with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Johnson won election in 1964, defeating Republican Barry Goldwater. Johnson's liberal policies were in favor, and Goldwater's comments that he might use nuclear weapons on Cuba and North Vietnam frightened many people.

Johnson then pushed for a broad range of new laws aimed at creating what he called the “Great Society.” Among other things, these laws

- created Medicare and Medicaid, to ensure health care for the aged and poor,
- funded the building of public housing units,
- lifted quotas on immigration,
- required efforts to ensure clean water,
- offered increased protection to consumers.

At the same time, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren took an active role in promoting more liberal policies. The Court ruled that states had to make congressional districts roughly equal in population served, following the principle of “one person, one vote.” The new district lines resulted in a shift of power from rural to urban areas. The Court also required that criminal courts provide an attorney to accused people who cannot afford one. It also ruled that police had to read people accused of a crime their rights—“Miranda rights”—before asking them any questions. Conservatives felt these policies benefited criminals too much.

The Great Society and the Warren Court changed American society. People disagree on whether those changes were beneficial. They greatly expanded the reach and power of the federal government. The tax cut of 1964 spurred economic growth. But, Great Society programs contributed to a rising deficit in the federal budget because the government spent more than it took in in revenues. That problem continues today.

Review

1. How did the United States and Soviet Union confront each other during Kennedy's term and how did the situations end?
2. What policies did Kennedy push, and how well did he succeed in having them passed?
3. Describe Johnson's Great Society.
4. What decisions were made by the Supreme Court under Earl Warren?

CHAPTER
29

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *Civil Rights*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW After decades of discrimination, African Americans begin a struggle for equality. They make gains against unfair laws in the South, but as the movement reaches Northern cities, gains are fewer.

1 Taking on Segregation

MAIN IDEA Activism and a series of Supreme Court decisions advanced equal rights for African Americans in the 1960s.

In the 1950s, social changes begun by World War II set the stage for overturning the laws that forced separate, or segregated, facilities for African Americans and whites in the South. Many African Americans had enjoyed expanded job opportunities in defense industries in the 1940s. Many more had fought in the war. They returned home determined to fight for their own freedom.

Lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) won cases that weakened segregation. The biggest victory came in the 1954 school desegregation case *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Supreme Court ruled that separate educational facilities were “inherently unequal.” The segregated schools were declared unconstitutional.

Within a year after *Brown*, more than 500 school districts had desegregated. But in some areas, leaders vowed resistance. The issue reached a crisis in Arkansas. The governor ordered the National Guard to prevent nine African-American students from enrolling at Little Rock’s Central High School. A federal judge ordered the governor to admit the students. When he refused, President Eisenhower sent federal troops to allow the students to enter the school. Meanwhile, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. It gave the attorney general greater power to push desegregation in schools.

Another drive had arisen over segregation of city buses. An African-American woman named Rosa Parks had refused to yield her seat to a white man, as the laws of Montgomery, Alabama, required. After her arrest, African Americans in that city organized a yearlong boycott of the city’s bus system. The crisis ended when a Supreme Court ruling ruled segregated buses illegal.

Helping lead the Montgomery bus boycott was Martin Luther King, Jr., who rose to prominence in

the civil rights movement. He joined with other ministers to form the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), which taught the techniques of nonviolent resistance to unjust laws. By 1960, there was another influential civil rights group—the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It was formed mostly of college students who felt that the pace of change was too slow. They staged sit-ins, in which African Americans sat in protest at segregated lunch counters, forcing restaurants and stores to desegregate.

2 The Triumphs of a Crusade

MAIN IDEA Civil Rights activists broke down racial barriers through social protest. Their activism prompted landmark legislation.

In the Freedom Rides, African Americans tested the Supreme Court ruling that banned segregation in interstate bus transportation by riding on buses into the South. Many were met by angry mobs that attacked and beat them. As more incidents occurred, the Kennedy administration stepped in. U.S. marshals were sent to protect the last group of Freedom Riders and the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulated bus companies, issued orders banning segregation.

In 1962, a federal court ruled that an African American could enter the all-white University of Mississippi. The state’s governor refused to admit him, however. The Kennedy administration sent U.S. marshals to force the governor to yield.

Another confrontation occurred in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, where King and other civil rights leaders led an effort to desegregate the city. The city police attacked marchers—including children—with dogs and water hoses. Many people across the country were outraged by these attacks. President Kennedy became convinced that the nation needed a new civil rights law. His bill guaranteed African Americans equal rights in all public facilities. It also gave the government power to push for school desegregation.

Civil rights leaders staged a massive march in Washington in August of 1963. More than 250,000 people showed up, urging passage of the civil rights bill. After Kennedy was assassinated, President Johnson pushed Congress to act. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964.

Civil rights workers next began a campaign to register African-American voters in the South. They called it Freedom Summer. They met opposition and some violence. At the Democratic convention that summer, only two African American delegates were seated, leading some of the delegates to feel betrayed.

In 1965, a harsh police response to a civil rights march in Alabama led thousands from all over the country to join the march. President Johnson spurred Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act. The law stripped away state laws that had prevented African Americans from voting.

⊗ Challenges and Changes in the Movement

MAIN IDEA *Disagreements among civil rights groups and the rise of black nationalism created a violent period in the fight for civil rights.*

The civil rights movement met difficulties as it moved North. In the South the problem had been unfair laws, called de jure segregation. In the North, the problem was de facto segregation, which arises from racist attitudes. It is harder to change attitudes than to overturn unjust laws.

The Great Migration had brought tens of thousands of African Americans to Northern cities, but “white flight” had left the cities poor and with few jobs. African Americans were angered by these conditions and by harsh treatment from largely white police forces. This anger boiled over in several riots that brought many deaths and much damage to many cities from 1964 to 1968. President Johnson had declared “war on poverty” to combat some of the social ills that African Americans were protesting. But the growing involvement in the Vietnam War robbed the war on poverty of needed resources.

New African-American leaders arose, many of them boosting black nationalism. Malcolm X began by telling his audiences to use armed self-defense when unlawfully attacked. He later urged pursuit of peaceful means—especially voting—to win equality. He split with other leaders of his church. Then, in 1965, he was assassinated.

Another split occurred between King and the SCLC and other, younger, members of the movement. SNCC leaders began to use the slogan “Black Power” to symbolize their call for African-American pride and stronger resistance to racism. The Black Panthers adopted military-style dress and harsh words, raising fears among moderate African Americans and many whites.

King objected to the fiery language of the Black Power movement. He believed that it would have evil consequences. It was he who suffered, however. In April 1968, King was shot and killed. Many cities erupted in riots caused by African-Americans’ anger and frustration.

A commission reported to President Johnson that the urban riots were caused by white racism and the lack of opportunities for African Americans. But the administration did not act, fearing the lack of white support for the sweeping changes required. The civil rights movement had achieved many triumphs, including the banning of segregation in education, transportation, employment, and housing and the winning of voting rights. Many problems remained, however, and de facto segregation has continued throughout America even up to today.

Review

1. How did the civil rights movement begin?
2. What events led Congress to pass the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts?
3. How did the civil rights movement change?
4. Why could the results of the movement be called mixed?

CHAPTER
30
Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *The Vietnam War Years*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The United States enters a war in Vietnam, which results in the deaths of tens of thousands of American soldiers, the division of society into bitterly opposed camps, and a lasting impact on U.S. foreign policy.*

1 Moving Toward Conflict

MAIN IDEA *To stop the spread of Communism in Southeast Asia, the United States used its military to support South Vietnam.*

After World War II, Vietnamese Communists led by Ho Chi Minh and other nationalist groups fought the French who tried to reestablish colonial rule. The United States helped the French with military supplies. The nationalists won in 1954. A peace agreement temporarily split the country and called for an election and unity in 1956.

South Vietnam's prime minister Ngo Dinh Diem canceled the elections and declared himself head of a new government. President Eisenhower supported Diem, fearing that Ho would win a national election. Opponents to Diem in the South—the Vietcong—began guerrilla attacks. President John Kennedy continued Eisenhower's policy and sent some American troops to train his army. Diem, meanwhile, acted harshly and lost support in the South. In late 1963, military leaders in the South, with U.S. support, overthrew Diem.

The United States did not want South Vietnam to fall to the Communist North. When U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin were attacked in 1964 by North Vietnamese torpedo boats, President Johnson retaliated with a bombing attack. Then, in February of 1965, Johnson launched a major bombing attack on North Vietnam's cities. The next month the first U.S. combat troops arrived.

2 U.S. Involvement and Escalation

MAIN IDEA *The United States sent troops to fight in Vietnam but the war quickly turned into a stalemate.*

President Johnson's decision to send American troops to Vietnam was widely popular, although some advisors did warn that the policy was dangerous. The American commander there asked for growing numbers of troops. By 1967, about 500,000 American soldiers were fighting in Vietnam. Johnson

and his advisors hoped for quick victory, but it did not happen.

These troops found the war frustrating. The Vietcong struck quickly in small groups and then disappeared in the jungle or in an elaborate system of tunnels. Americans' superior weaponry was of little use.

The policy of winning support among the people of South Vietnam did not work either. The frustrating course of war lowered the morale of American soldiers. So did the weakness and corruption of the South Vietnamese government.

Rising costs of the war forced President Johnson to cut spending on his Great Society programs. TV news film of the war contradicted the administration's glowing reports of progress. Disapproval of the president's policy spread.

3 A Nation Divided

MAIN IDEA *An antiwar movement in the U.S. pitted supporters of the government's war policy against those who opposed it.*

Many young men avoided the military draft by getting medical releases or by entering the reserves. Many—especially white middle-class young men—obtained draft deferments because they were college students. As a result, U.S. troops in Vietnam were mostly working-class whites and members of minority groups, prompting protests from civil rights leaders.

Unrest was growing on college campuses in the early 1960s as the New Left urged sweeping changes in American society. In 1965, this movement began to criticize U.S. policy in Vietnam. Thousands marched on Washington to protest the war. Eventually, some draft-resisters were imprisoned, and many deserted to Canada.

By 1967, Americans were divided into hawks—who supported administration policy—and doves—who wanted the war to end. Many felt that doves were showing disloyalty by protesting while Americans were fighting.

4 1968: A Tumultuous Year

MAIN IDEA *A shocking attack in Vietnam, two assassinations, and a chaotic political convention made 1968 an explosive year.*

As 1968 opened, all across South Vietnam the Vietcong launched surprise attacks—the Tet Offensive. After weeks of fighting, the U.S. commander said the Vietcong had been defeated, but American confidence in the war was deeply shaken. Some presidential advisors questioned the war.

Johnson's popularity fell sharply, and Senator Eugene McCarthy almost defeated Johnson in a presidential primary. Johnson responded by announcing that he would not seek re-election as president and that he was willing to seek a negotiated peace in Vietnam.

Soon the nation was stunned by the murders of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Kennedy, campaigning for the Democratic nomination for president. Meanwhile, protests rocked college campuses. The political turmoil plunged the Democratic convention in Chicago into chaos. While the convention nominated Hubert Humphrey for president, bitter antiwar protesters staged rallies and protests that were met by police attacks. The violent attacks showed deep divisions in the country.

The Republicans nominated former Vice President Richard Nixon. Campaigning for law and order and promising that he had a plan to end the war, Nixon won the election. An independent candidate—former Alabama governor George Wallace—won significant support.

5 The End of the War and Its Legacy

MAIN IDEA *President Nixon instituted his Vietnamization policy, and America's longest war finally ended.*

On reaching the White House, Nixon began to withdraw American troops from Vietnam as part of his strategy of giving the major role in the war to South Vietnam. He also ordered massive

bombing of the North to persuade leaders there to agree to a peace leaving South Vietnam intact.

When Nixon announced that he had sent U.S. troops to attack Vietcong supply lines in Cambodia, protests erupted on college campuses. At Kent State nervous National Guard troops killed four students. Support for the war eroded in Congress, cut further when newspapers published documents showing that the Johnson administration had lied about the war.

A new North Vietnamese offensive in March 1972 brought increased bombing. As the 1972 election neared, Nixon announced progress in the peace talks, but a snag then arose. Nixon ordered more bombing of the North. In January 1973, all parties agreed to a peace. U.S. troops came home—but North Vietnamese troops were allowed to remain in the South. In March 1975, they defeated the government of South Vietnam.

Vietnamese deaths topped 2 million. The victorious Communists punished many in the South; a million and a half people fled the country. Communist rebels, called the Khmer Rouge, took Cambodia and killed at least 2 million people.

The United States suffered 58,000 dead and 303,000 wounded. Surviving American soldiers found it difficult to come home, as they met with hostility or neglect. The divisions over the war lingered, with former hawks and doves angry at each other. Congress passed a law preventing the president from committing troops in a foreign conflict without its approval. The war changed American foreign policy and caused a feeling of mistrust toward the government that remains.

Review

1. Why did the U.S. enter the war in Vietnam?
2. Why could the U.S. not win a quick victory over the Vietcong, and what was the effect?
3. How did public opinion split over the war?
4. Why is 1968 considered a year of upheaval?
5. What were the effects of the war?

CHAPTER
31

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *An Era of Social Change*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *The civil rights movement inspires Latinos, Native Americans, and women to seek equality in American society. At the same time, the nation's young people adopt values that conflict with mainstream culture.*

1 Latinos and Native Americans Seek Equality

MAIN IDEA *Latinos and Native Americans confronted injustices in the 60s.*

Latinos—Americans with a heritage in Latin American—are a diverse group that tripled to more than 9 million people in the decade of the 1960s. The largest group is Mexican Americans, but about a million Puerto Ricans, hundreds of thousands of Cubans, and tens of thousands of other Hispanics add to these numbers. Many Latinos encounter poor living conditions and discrimination.

In the 1960s Latinos began to demand equal rights—and respect for their culture and heritage. Cesar Chavez organized Mexican American farm workers into a union to boost wages and improve working conditions. By calling for a nationwide boycott of grapes, Chavez pressured grape growers into recognizing his union and granting a new, more favorable, contract.

Responding to calls for greater recognition of Hispanics' culture, Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act in 1968. It funded bilingual and cultural programs for students who didn't speak English. Latinos also organized politically, fielding Hispanic candidates for office.

Native Americans, too, are a diverse group, with hundreds of tribes having unique traditions. Concerned about the high unemployment rate, poor health care, and high death rate common to all these groups, many Native Americans joined together in the 1960s to work for change.

The Eisenhower administration had hoped to solve such problems by relocating Native Americans to cities, but the policy failed—first because urban Native Americans remained poor and second because many Native Americans did not wish to assimilate into American society. They wished to preserve their own cultures. In 1961, representatives from more than 60 Native American groups wrote a Declaration of Indian Purpose. They demanded the right for Native Americans to choose their own way of life.

President Johnson changed government policy toward Native Americans, but many young people wanted that change faster. They formed the American Indian Movement (AIM), which confronted the government in highly public actions that sometimes resulted in violence. Meanwhile, laws and court decisions gave Native Americans greater rights over the education of their children and renewed land rights.

2 Women Fight for Equality

MAIN IDEA *Through protests and marches, women confronted social and economic barriers in American society.*

Women struggled for decades and finally won the right to vote in 1920. Then, in the 1960s, a reawakened feminist movement expanded the effort for women's rights to urge full social, political, and economic equality.

Contributing to the feminist movement was dissatisfaction over the situation in the workplace. By 1960, about 40 percent of all women worked outside the home. But they found certain jobs closed to them, and they were generally paid much less than men even for the same job. Involvement in the civil rights and antiwar movements also led many women to actively seek improved status for themselves. Betty Friedan's book about the dissatisfaction of women helped inspire many to join together as well.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act included a ban on discrimination based on gender. As a result, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was empowered to oppose job discrimination against women as well as against African Americans. When the EEOC did not pursue women's complaints vigorously, Friedan and others formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) to actively seek equal rights. Responding to pressure from NOW, the EEOC took steps to combat job discrimination against women. It declared that job ads identifying a specific gender were

illegal and prevented employers from refusing to hire women for traditionally male jobs.

The women's movement included many diverse groups, some of whom pushed for radical goals. Many women were pleased by a 1973 Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade*, which granted women the right to choose an abortion. The women's movement failed, however, to win passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The ERA passed Congress and was ratified by many states. However, a coalition of social conservatives and others opposed the ERA, claiming that it would have disruptive effects on society. Though 35 states did approve the amendment, this still wasn't enough to pass it. The ERA died in June of 1982.

The women's movement had nevertheless made great gains. More women were attending law and medical school than before, and colleges offered thousands of courses on women's issues. Many women now viewed their careers in a new light, and more women than ever served in state and national governments.

③ Culture and Counterculture

MAIN IDEA *The ideals and lifestyle of the counterculture movement challenged the traditional views of Americans.*

During the 1960s, many young people adopted values that differed from those of mainstream culture. This movement, the “counterculture,” challenged the dominant American culture but eventually collapsed from a lack of organization and a reliance on drug use.

The counterculture—whose members were called “hippies”—believed that American society had grown too materialistic and aggressive. Many with these beliefs channeled their energies into protesting the war in Vietnam. Hippies chose to show their opposition to society by leaving it. They abandoned school and jobs and went to live with each other, hoping to promote peace and love.

The main characteristics of this new life were rock 'n' roll, colorful clothes, and the use of drugs. Their outrageous costumes and long hair symbolized their rejection of society. Instead of forming

traditional families, hippies joined together in group living arrangements called communes.

Two highly publicized incidents of violence involving communes and rock music cast a shadow over the counterculture. Continued drug use caused problems and led to the deaths of two major popular rock stars in 1970. Finally, hippies found that they could not survive outside mainstream society.

While the hippie counterculture collapsed, it had an impact on mainstream culture. The worlds of art and fashion were touched by the rebellious style of the counterculture. Blue jeans—popular among hippies—have become a staple of American wardrobes.

Rock 'n' roll has continued to be a popular form of entertainment, propelled by the British group the Beatles and by a massive outdoor concert called Woodstock held in 1969 in New York state. Attended by more than 400,000 people—far more than expected—Woodstock became a symbol of the counterculture.

While some people embraced the counterculture's “do your own thing” philosophy, millions of mainstream Americans attacked the increasing permissiveness as a sign of moral decay. They believed that campus rebels and other members of the counterculture threatened traditional values. This conservative reaction to the counterculture movement helped Richard M. Nixon win the presidency in 1968 and set the nation on a more politically conservative course.

Review

1. What did Latinos do to fight for equality?
2. What did Native Americans want?
3. Describe the successes and failures of the women's movement in the 1960s.
4. What caused the downfall of the counterculture and what lasting value did it have?

CHAPTER
32
Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES *An Age of Limits*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *Richard Nixon takes office as president, halting the growth of federal power and changing foreign policy. He resigns in disgrace during his second term, and his successors are unable to fix growing economic problems.*

1 The Nixon Administration

MAIN IDEA *President Richard M. Nixon tried to steer the country in a conservative direction and away from federal control.*

Richard Nixon pursued conservative policies. To cut the influence of the federal government, he introduced revenue sharing. This policy gave local and state governments more freedom to spend federal aid. Nixon wanted to reform welfare, but his plan failed to pass Congress.

At first Nixon cooperated with Congress, which Democrats controlled. Soon he refused to spend money voted by Congress on programs that he did not like. The Supreme Court ruled this action unconstitutional. Beginning a policy of law and order, Nixon enlisted the CIA and IRS to harass his “enemies”—liberals and dissidents.

Nixon hoped to bolster his political support—especially in the South—to ensure his reelection. He tried to slow school integration, but the Supreme Court ordered the administration to move more quickly. He also named conservatives to fill vacancies in the Supreme Court.

A stagnant economy troubled the country. By 1973, the inflation rate had doubled, and the unemployment rate was up fifty percent. The causes were high spending on the Vietnam War, growing foreign competition, and the difficulty of finding jobs for millions of new workers. Another problem was reduced supply of and higher prices for oil and gasoline. Nixon’s efforts to lower prices did not work.

Nixon dramatically changed U.S. relations with Communist countries. He eased Cold War tensions. He ended the war with Vietnam. In 1972, he visited Communist China. This reversed past U.S. policy, which had refused to formally recognize the Communist rulers there. Three months later, Nixon went to the Soviet Union. These moves were widely popular. With the Soviets, he signed the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT), which limited nuclear weapons. Foreign policy triumphs helped Nixon easily win re-election.

2 Watergate: Nixon’s Downfall

MAIN IDEA *President Nixon’s involvement in the Watergate scandal forced him to resign from office.*

The Watergate scandal was caused by an illegal break-in and attempts to block the investigation of it. The affair tested the idea that no one—not even a president—is above the law.

Nixon campaign aides were determined to win his re-election by any means necessary. They hired five men to raid Democratic party offices in a Washington, D.C., complex called Watergate. Hoping to photograph files and place taps on phones, the men were caught. Rather than forcing those involved to resign, the administration tried to hide the link to the White House.

After Nixon’s re-election, the cover-up began to unravel. One of the burglars said that the White House was involved. Soon three top Nixon aides, who had been involved, resigned. In Senate hearings—televised live—one of them said that Nixon had known of the cover-up. When it was revealed that White House meetings had been tape recorded, the Senate committee demanded the tapes. Nixon refused to turn them over. Court battles over the tapes lasted a year.

In March 1974, a grand jury charged seven Nixon aides with obstruction of justice and perjury, or lying under oath. Nixon released more than 1,250 pages of taped conversations—but withheld conversations on some key dates. In July 1974 the Supreme Court ordered the White House to release the tapes. Three days later a House committee voted to impeach President Nixon. If the full House approved, Nixon would go to trial in the Senate. If judged guilty there, he would be removed from office. When the tapes were finally released, it was clear that Nixon had known of the cover-up. On August 8, 1974, he resigned but defiantly refused to admit guilt.

3 The Ford and Carter Years

MAIN IDEA *The Ford and Carter administrations attempted to remedy the nation's worst economic crisis in decades.*

Succeeding Richard Nixon was Gerald Ford. Though likable and honest, Ford lost support when he pardoned Nixon. Ford faced a poor economy, with prices rising 6 to 11 percent a year fueled by sharp increases in the cost of foreign oil. His first program to halt inflation by encouraging energy conservation failed. When he pushed for high interest rates, a recession was the result.

Ford ran for election in 1976 against Democrat Jimmy Carter. An outsider not involved in Washington politics, Carter promised he would never lie to Americans. He won a close election at a time of cynicism towards the Washington establishment.

Worried about the nation's reliance on imported oil, Carter believed that energy policy should be his top priority. The National Energy Act placed a tax on cars that had low gas mileage, removed price controls on domestic oil and natural gas, and funded research for new sources of energy. In 1979, however, another shutdown of oil imports plus steep oil price hikes crippled the economy. Carter tried voluntary price freezes and spending cuts but could not halt inflation.

The economic problems of the 1970s were caused in part by changes in the economy. Greater automation meant fewer manufacturing jobs. Foreign competition cost American jobs too. Many companies were leaving the industrialized northeast for the South and West to find lower energy costs and less costly labor.

In foreign policy, Carter tried to follow moral principles. He cut aid to countries that violated the rights of their people. He agreed to treaties with Panama that promised to give control of the Panama Canal to that country. He signed a new nuclear arms treaty—called SALT II—with the Soviets. But when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, relations cooled and the treaty died.

Carter arranged a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt. Just months later, Muslim fundamentalists seized power in Iran. Angered at U.S. support for the former ruler, the shah, they took control of the American embassy in Iran's capital and held 52 Americans hostage. Despite efforts,

Carter could not obtain release of the hostages. They were held for 444 days, freed just minutes after Ronald Reagan was inaugurated on January 20, 1981, as the new president.

4 Environmental Activism

MAIN IDEA *During the 1970s, Americans strengthened their efforts to address the nation's environmental activism.*

Concern for the environment was spurred by the 1962 book *Silent Spring*. That book argued that pesticides were poisoning food and killing birds and fish. Awakened to this threat, the environmental movement took off on April 22, 1970—the first celebration of Earth Day. The day was marked by events aimed at raising awareness of environmental problems.

President Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency. He also signed the Clean Air Act, which required industry to take steps to reduce pollution from smokestacks and automobiles. Other new laws to protect the environment were passed as well.

When vast oil reserves were discovered in Alaska, oil companies built a huge pipeline to carry the oil to the sea. Nixon and Carter took steps to ensure that this industrial development did not harm Alaska's natural resources.

Nuclear energy became the focus of a growing debate. Some felt it was safe and clean. Others feared nuclear accidents. A 1979 accident caused a Pennsylvania nuclear reactor to release radiation into the air. Afterwards, the government strengthened safety measures for nuclear plants.

The debate over the environment continues today. Some Americans oppose environmental laws. They argue that such laws protect wildlife at the expense of people and limit economic growth.

Review

1. How did Nixon ease Cold War tensions?
2. Why was Watergate a constitutional crisis?
3. How did Ford and Carter try to fix economic problems, and why didn't their plans work?
4. What differing needs are the focus of the debate over environmental laws?

CHAPTER
33

Summary

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

The Conservative Tide

CHAPTER OVERVIEW A growing conservatism brings Ronald Reagan and George Bush to the presidency. Their policies change the American economy, while other forces transform American society and changes reshape the world.

① A Conservative Movement Emerges

MAIN IDEA Conservatism reached a high point with the election in 1980 of President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush.

American history has been marked by swings between liberal and conservative policies. In liberal times—such as the New Deal and the Great Society—activist government tried to reform society. In conservative times—such as the 1920s and 1950s—concern for freedom led many to oppose governmental involvement. Such a swing in the 1970s led conservatives to take control of the government in 1980.

More and more Americans were unhappy with high inflation and felt their taxes were too high. Groups arose across the country opposed to government involvement in economic, cultural, or social life. The New Right was born. Starting in the mid-1960s, this movement grew. Conservatives aimed to reduce the power of the federal government, cutting benefit programs, and drawing a more narrow definition of civil rights. They criticized affirmative action policies, viewing them as reverse discrimination. Many voters joined a religious movement led by television preachers called the Moral Majority that criticized a decline in national morality.

These conservatives found a strong presidential candidate in Ronald Reagan. An effective speaker with a winning personality, Reagan was a strong campaigner. With President Carter hobbled by high inflation and the Iranian hostage crisis, Reagan won the 1980 election. He touted the conservative beliefs in less government, lower taxes, and traditional values. The conservative tide also swept Republicans into control of the Senate.

② Conservative Policies Under Reagan and Bush

MAIN IDEA Presidents Reagan and Bush pursued a conservative agenda that included tax cuts, budget cuts, and increased defense spending.

Reagan aimed to reduce the size and power of the federal government. He hoped to encourage businesses to invest more, thus expanding the economy and increasing jobs. He cut deeply into spending on a wide range of domestic programs. He persuaded Congress to agree to large tax cuts to free money for personal investment. Reagan also greatly increased defense spending.

These policies, termed “Reaganomics,” helped fuel economic growth. Tax revenues did not increase as much as had been expected, however, and the government had to borrow huge sums. During the Reagan presidency, government debt more than doubled.

Reagan also tried to promote conservative moral values. He and George Bush, who succeeded him, appointed five new Supreme Court justices. All were conservatives. In many decisions, the Court tended away from the more liberal rulings of the previous four decades.

Another Reagan goal was to end government control of business. He ended government regulation of the savings and loan industry. Savings and loan associations, or “thrifts,” were allowed to compete with banks. Just a few years later, however, the economy slowed and poor investments forced many thrifts into bankruptcy. The government absorbed the cost of rescuing depositors’ accounts. The administration also made efforts to reduce environmental regulation.

Reagan’s policies won support with business people, Southerners and Westerners, and many former Democrats. These voters combined to re-elect Reagan in 1984 and to elect George Bush as president in 1988.

ⓐ Social Concerns in the 1980s

MAIN IDEA *Beneath the surge of prosperity that marked the conservative era of the 1980s lay serious social problems.*

A number of health issues arose to trouble Americans in the 1980s. Foremost among them was AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), a viral disease that destroys the immune system. Another issue of much debate was abortion. The Supreme Court gave women the right to an abortion in a 1973 ruling. Later decisions allowed states to limit that right. Reagan and Bush declared a war on drugs that included tough law enforcement.

Education became an increasingly important issue, especially after the 1983 report *A Nation at Risk*. The report was highly critical of the nation's schools. People generally agreed that the nation's public schools were not doing an adequate job. They did not agree on solutions.

The nation's cities were also in crisis. Cities were increasingly home to the poor and unemployed. Budget cuts had eliminated earlier federal programs to aid the cities. Welfare payments to the poor had not kept up with rising prices. Thousands of people, unable to afford housing, slept on the streets or in parks.

Throughout the 1980s, women tried to improve their position. When women's groups were unable to secure ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, they tried urging more women to run for political office. The number of women in the House doubled; the number of women senators tripled—from two to six. In 1984, Geraldine Ferraro, a Democrat, became the first woman candidate for vice president for a major party.

By 1992 nearly 58 percent of women had entered the workforce. But women still earned only 76 cents for every dollar a man earned. New divorce laws and social conditions increased the number of single women heading a household—many of whom lived in poverty. Women's groups pushed for pay equity and for benefits to help working mothers.

Members of many minority groups also achieved greater political power during the 1980s. African Americans experienced continuing economic problems. Latinos—the fastest growing minority—also gained political power although they were sometimes divided over the issue of bilingual education. Some Native Americans, facing the end of federal aid, opened gambling facilities on their reservation lands. Asian Americans made economic advances but did not gain as much politi-

cal power as other groups. Gay rights activists pushed for an end to discrimination and by 1993, had made headway.

ⓑ Foreign Policy After the Cold War

MAIN IDEA *The end of the Cold War, marked by the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, led to a redirection of many U.S. goals and policies.*

The Soviet Union underwent dramatic changes in the 1980s. Mikhail Gorbachev took power and tried to reform Soviet society. His policies led to a splitting of the Soviet Union into 15 different republics. Communists were swept out of power there and throughout Eastern Europe. Germany, long divided, became one nation again. The Cold War had ended, and U.S. leaders had to devise new policies. They approved when Communist Chinese leaders, while still keeping tight political control, liberalized the economy. However, they were horrified when student activists were slaughtered in Tiananmen Square.

Before the Cold War had ended, conflict in Central America led to U.S. involvement. Communist guerrillas seized control of Nicaragua. President Reagan supported the Contras, a group trying to defeat the Communists. After years of conflict, a peace was signed and free elections were held in 1990. Reagan sent American troops to Grenada and Bush sent them to Panama to promote American interests.

Problems in the Middle East showed the difficulty of post-Cold War diplomacy. Terrorist Muslim groups held some Americans as hostages. Hoping to gain favor with Iran—and then use its influence to win release of the hostages—the Reagan administration sold weapons to Iran. Money from the sale was then used to aid the Contras fighting in Nicaragua. Revelation of the deal caused a scandal.

The Middle East was also the scene for a major war in 1991. Iraq had seized oil-rich Kuwait in 1990. President Bush led a United Nations effort to fight Iraq and liberate Kuwait. It was called Operation Desert Storm.

Review

1. What factors led to the rise of conservatism?
2. What policy changes did Reagan make?
3. What issues arose during the 1980s?
4. How did foreign changes present new challenges for the United States?

CHAPTER
34

TELESCOPING THE TIMES

The United States in Today's World

Summary

CHAPTER OVERVIEW *President Bill Clinton locks horns with a Republican Congress, reflecting the heated national debate over the country's direction. Americans face economic, technological, and demographic changes that are reshaping their lives and redefining the main issues that concern citizens.*

1 The 1990s and the New Millennium

MAIN IDEA *The Democrats gained control of the White House by moving their party's platform toward the political center.*

After the Gulf War, President George Bush had an almost 90 percent approval rating. When a recession struck, however, his support crumbled. Bush struggled in his re-election campaign against independent Ross Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton. Clinton, skilled at the television-centered campaigning, won a wide electoral majority but took only 43 percent of the popular vote.

Clinton and first lady, Hillary Clinton, devised a complex plan offering health insurance for all Americans. The plan was criticized and never got a vote in Congress. To reduce the rising national debt, Clinton raised taxes on wealthy Americans and cut spending. Republicans criticized the tax increases and wanted deeper spending cuts. Both parties avoided making cuts in social security, Medicare, and Medicaid, which were popular programs.

A booming economy, high employment and a soaring stock market capped a surplus in the federal budget. Enlarged police forces and the improved economy led to lower crime rates. But horrifying acts of terrorism in public places, including schools, raised fears among many. Some people called for tougher gun laws; others wanted less violence in the media.

In 1993, Congress approved the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The treaty with Canada and Mexico lifted all trade barriers among the three countries. Opponents argued that American workers would lose their jobs to lower-paid workers abroad.

Clinton tried to shape a new foreign policy suited to the world situation after the Cold War. Many Americans disagreed with the decisions to send troops to Bosnia and Somalia.

In 1994, Clinton was plagued by the failure of his health care reform plan and questions about family finances. Republicans took advantage of

these weaknesses to win control of both the House and Senate. Representative Newt Gingrich persuaded many Republican candidates to sign a "contract with America." The contract promised to fix Congress, reform welfare, and pass tougher crime laws. Gingrich, chosen House Speaker, won passage of many of these measures.

The Senate did not approve all these bills, however, and Clinton vetoed others. Soon "gridlock" settled in as the Republican Congress and Democratic president disagreed on many issues. When Clinton refused to accept a Republican budget with deep cuts, the federal government was forced to shut down three times.

During 1996, there was more cooperation. Congress passed and Clinton signed a bill that changed the nation's welfare system. A modest health-insurance reform bill also became law. After a hard-fought campaign with Republican Bob Dole, Clinton won re-election in 1996. After a scandal involving a White House intern led to impeachment, Clinton remained in office until 2000, when George Bush won the presidency.

2 The New Global Economy

MAIN IDEA *Because of technological advances and new trade laws, the U.S. economy underwent a boom during the late 20th century.*

American workers were struggling in the mid-1990s. Millions of new jobs were created and, by the turn of the century, the unemployment rate had fallen to the 1970 rate. But wage inequality widened and median household income dropped.

By 2000, nearly 80 percent of American workers were in the service sector. Younger workers suffered the high rates of unemployment. In 1999, an average 11 percent of workers aged 16–24 were unemployed—more than double the national rate. Many workers could find work only as temporary workers. Foreign competition and automation reduced the number of manufacturing jobs. To tighten their operations, many companies downsized, or cut their

workforce. In the meantime, high-tech industries took off. Those with advanced training and specialized technical skills saw salaries rise and economic security expand.

Breakthroughs in transportation and communication allowed people, goods, and information to move faster around the world. NAFTA and a new world trade agreement helped promote free trade. They also increased American workers' concerns about losing jobs. Some critics said that free trade would harm the environment by moving manufacturing plants to foreign countries with less strict laws against pollution. Still others looked toward the future filled with an endless stream of new technology.

③ Technology and Modern Life

MAIN IDEA *Advances in technology have increased the pace but also the comfort of many Americans' lives.*

Clinton and Vice President Al Gore put the government behind an effort to forge a new communications network—the “information superhighway.” It would link cable, phone, and computer systems to provide entertainment, information, and shopping. The idea helped spur tremendous growth in use of the Internet—a worldwide network of computers—used by about 97 million Americans by 2000.

In February 1996, Congress passed the Telecommunications Act. It allowed telephone and cable television companies to compete, supposedly to increase services. One early result was a concentration of media influence in the hands of a few big conglomerates.

New technologies changed many areas of life. Doctors and patients could more easily obtain new information. New treatments and new diagnostic tools were devised. Another new high-tech area was genetic engineering. Workers in this industry changed the genetic structure of living things to improve products or eliminate disease. Virtual reality and CD-ROM devices created new entertainment media. Computers became more prominent in classrooms across the nation. Improvements in transportation aimed to make driving safer with air bags and easier with on-board computerized mapping systems. Science and technology expanded the limits of what was known about earth and beyond. Space exploration continued as huge strikes were made in the biotechnology field—sequencing the human genome, for one.

Some new technologies were meant to aid the environment. Automakers developed an electric car to cut pollution caused by auto exhaust. More indi-

viduals and companies joined in efforts to recycle aluminum and paper. While fossil fuels—coal, oil, and gas—still provided most energy, research continued into other, cleaner sources.

④ The Changing Face of America

MAIN IDEA *At the end of the 20th century, the U.S. population grew more diverse both in ethnic background and in age.*

Many issues confronted Americans as the 20th century drew to a close. More and more people lived in the suburbs. Many left cities because they were overcrowded or seeking newer schools. Cities declined in size and wealth, and downtown areas suffered. In recent years, lower housing costs have attracted people to return to cities. Many employers relocated to the suburbs as well. Suburban communities competed with each other to attract companies that would provide jobs to workers. One result of this growth was suburban sprawl—the spreading out of suburbs farther from cities. Over time, the number of people from minority groups living in the suburbs increased.

The millions of Americans who were part of the postwar baby boom were aging. At the same time, average life span was lengthening. This graying of America raised issues for leaders. They would have to find ways to fund social security and Medicare when large numbers of people lived in retirement.

Growing numbers of immigrants changed the face of America. Most of these new immigrants came from the Western Hemisphere or Asia, leaving their homes to improve their lives economically. The situation aroused a heated debate. Some feared that immigrants took jobs away from native-born Americans. A related problem was illegal immigration.

Americans faced the end of the 20th century concerned about such problems as terrorism, poverty, and pollution. They looked with hope to the changing economy, new technologies, and improved education.

Review

1. How would you characterize relations between President Clinton and Congress?
2. What trends shaped the new U.S. economy?
3. How have recent technological advances changed modern life?
4. What population changes raised issues for Americans as they entered the 21st century?