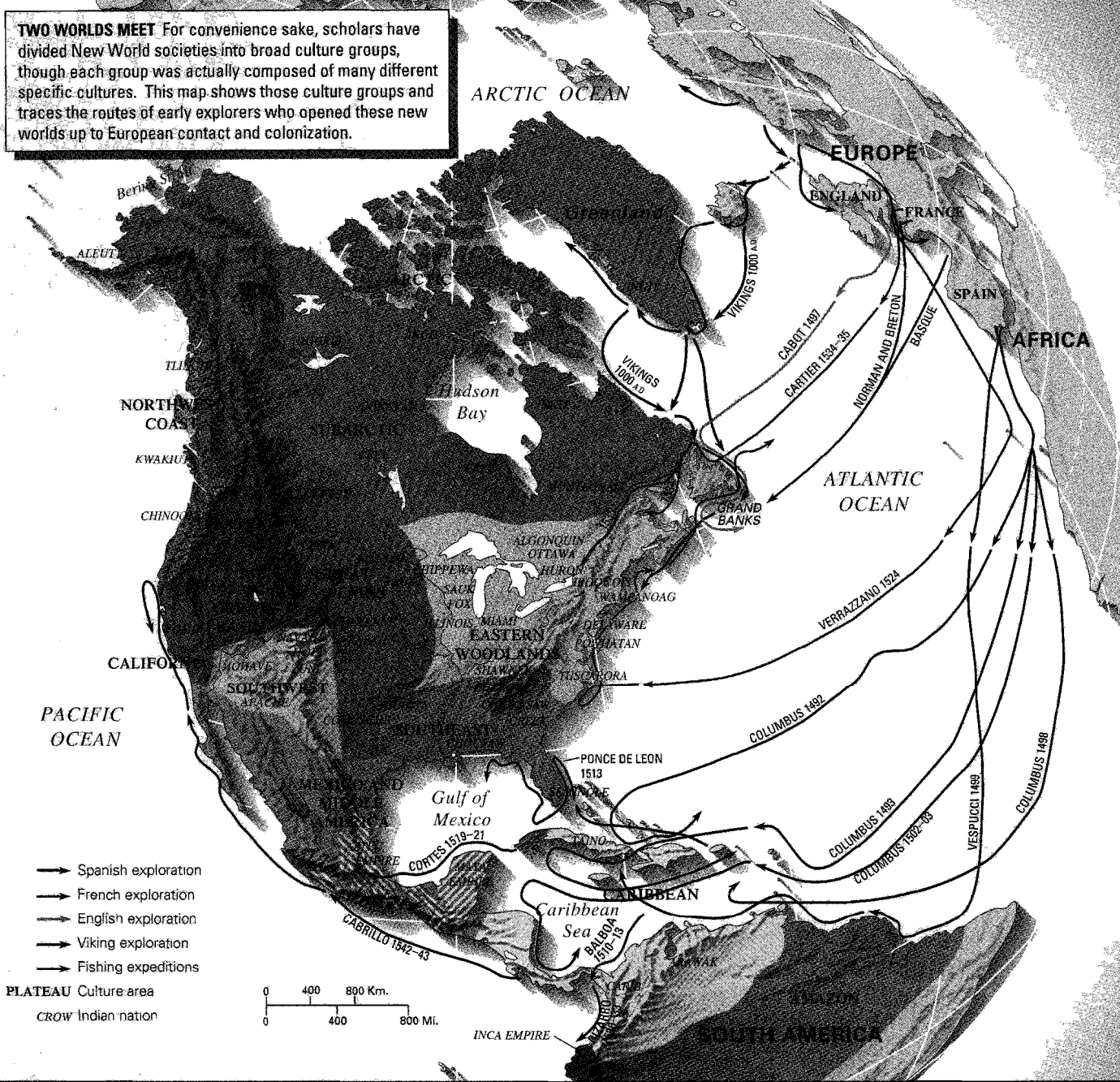
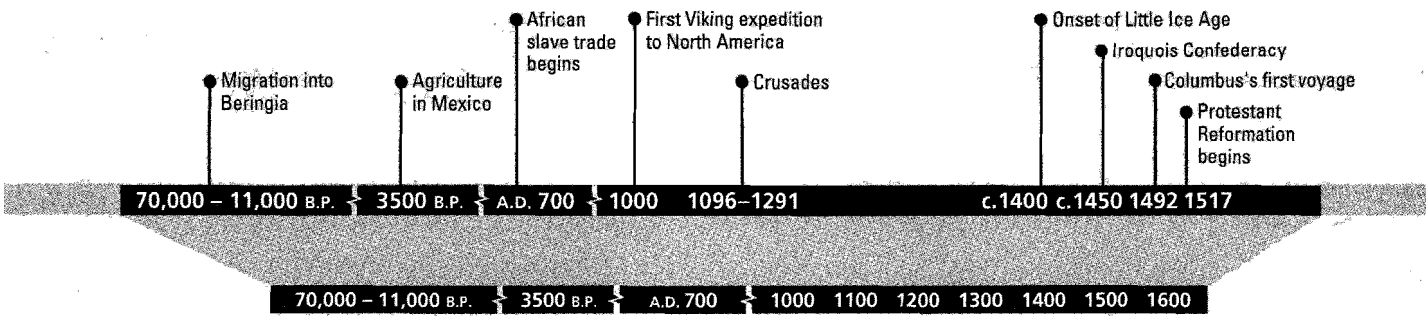
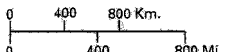


**TWO WORLDS MEET** For convenience sake, scholars have divided New World societies into broad culture groups, though each group was actually composed of many different specific cultures. This map shows those culture groups and traces the routes of early explorers who opened these new worlds up to European contact and colonization.



- Spanish exploration
- French exploration
- English exploration
- Viking exploration
- Fishing expeditions

PLATEAU Culture-area  
CROW Indian nation



\*Note: B.P. means before present time

## CHAPTER 1

# Making a "New" World,

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## to 1558

### **American Origins**

- Before the arrival of Columbus, what constraints did environmental conditions impose on native cultures?
- What kinds of choices did American Indians make, and what were the outcomes of those choices for Indians living in various parts of the continent?

### **European Outreach and the Age of Exploration**

- What expectations led Europeans into extensive exploration and outreach?

- What geographical and political constraints stood in their way?
  - How did they choose to overcome those constraints?
-

## **The Challenges of Mutual Discovery**

- How did American Indians choose to respond to European contact?
- How did Europeans choose to respond to Indians and Africans?

What were some outcomes of the Columbian Exchange?

# INTRODUCTION

The first people to come to America *chose* to come here a very long time ago, *expecting* to find improved hunting. These Americans subsequently faced natural, cultural, and economic *constraints* that gave peculiar shape to their societies. As their numbers grew, these hunters were *constrained* by the rapid rise of their own population and the simultaneous decline of the large game animals they depended on for food. Many *chose* to increase their reliance on plants. The *outcome* for these societies was the eventual development of agriculture. Other societies responded differently to the decline and ultimate extinction of big game because of different *constraints* and *expectations*. The overall *outcome* was a broadly diverse cultural universe in North America.

In the meantime, people in Africa, the Middle East, and Europe were making their own *choices*. Muslim traders, following routes first taken by the ancient Egyptians, spread knowledge and goods that presented a new set of *expectations* and *choices* to Africans. One *outcome* was the rise of rich and sophisticated African kingdoms. Another was the establishment of a systematic slave trade by Africans and Muslims.

The influence of Viking and Muslim traders led to changed *expectations* in Europe as well. The wealth of these traders lured Europeans into increasing adventurousness. At first, their neighbors' military strength was a large *constraint*, but gradually Europeans *chose* to challenge Islam's control over large parts of Europe and the Asian and

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

---

African trade. Italian merchants formed partnerships with their Islamic neighbors, bringing new wealth and knowledge into their cities. Farther west, the Portuguese and then the Spanish swept the Muslims from their lands. They then explored new trade routes to escape the Italian-Muslim monopoly of the Far Eastern and African trade. Their successes led other European nations to *choose* exploration as a way of bringing new riches to their lands.

The *outcome* of these *expectations*, *constraints*, and *choices* was a collision among Europeans, Africans, and American Indians in the Western Hemisphere. This collision of worlds transformed life on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus the story of making America must begin with the first discovery of the New World, long before Columbus, and trace the development of the people who were already here when Columbus arrived. Then we must consider what was happening in the rest of the world so we can understand why others eventually came to this land. Only then will we be prepared to see how the *expectations*, *constraints*, and *choices* made by the people who came together in the New World following Columbus had the particular *outcomes* we call America.

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## American Origins

The settlement of the **Western Hemisphere** took place fairly recently in human history. Although human culture began about 4 million years ago in what is now northern Tanzania, anthropologists hold that the peopling of the Americas did not begin until at least 70,000 years ago. Some theorize that this process did not begin until about 20,000 years ago.

The movement of people from Asia to North America is intimately connected to the advance and retreat of glaciers during the Great Ice Age, which began about 2.5 million years ago and

**Western Hemisphere** The half of the earth that includes North America, Mexico, Central America, and South America.



## The New World

- c. **70,000-10,000 B.P.** Human migration from Asia into Beringia
- c. **7000 B.P.** Plant cultivation begins in North America
- C. **3500 B.P.** Agriculture begins in central Mexico
- C. A.D. **500** Agriculture extends into present-day New Mexico and Arizona
- c. **500-1000** Rise of Hopewell culture
- c. **700** Islamic caravans to West Africa and African slave trade begin
- 800-1100** Vikings extend trade network
- 800-1700** Rise of Mississippian culture
- 1096-1291** The Crusades to the Holy Land
- c. **1200** Aztecs invade central Mexico
- c. **1400** Beginning of the Little Ice Age
- c. **1450** Hiawatha founds the Iroquois Confederacy
- 1492** The conquista completed  
Columbus's first voyage
- 1500** Portuguese begin to control the African slave trade
- 1517** Protestant Reformation begins
- 1527-1535** Henry VIII begins English Reformation
- 1558** Elizabeth I becomes queen of England

ended only about 10,000 years ago. During the Wisconsin glaciation, the last major advance of glaciers, a sheet of ice over 8,000 feet thick covered the northern half of both Europe and North America. So much water was frozen into this massive glacier that sea levels dropped as much as 450 feet.

This drop in sea levels created a land bridge called Beringia between Siberia and Alaska. During the Ice Age, Beringia was a dry, frigid grassland that was free of glaciers. It was a perfect grazing ground for animals such as giant bison and huge-tusked woolly mammoths. Hunters of these animals, including large wolves, saber-toothed cats, and humans, followed them across Beringia into North America.

Geologists believe that sea levels were low enough to expose Beringia between 70,000 and 10,000 years ago. Archaeological evidence yields a wide variety of dates for when people first moved southward into North America, ranging from about 40,000 to about 12,000 years ago.

Other evidence, from blood DNA, tooth shapes, and languages, suggests that the majority of North America's original inhabitants descended from three separate migrating groups. The first of these, the Paleo-Indians, probably arrived 30,000 to 40,000 years ago. Their descendants ultimately occupied the entire Western Hemisphere. The second group the Na-Dene people, arrived near the end of the Wisconsin era, between 10,000 and 11,000 years ago. Their descendants are concentrated in subarctic regions of Canada and in the southwestern United States. The final group, the Arctic-dwelling

B.P. An abbreviation for "before the present"; 70,000 B.C. means "70,000 years ago."

**Beringia** An expanse of land between present-day Siberia and Alaska, now covered by water; an avenue for migration between Asia and North America in prehistoric times.

Inuits, or Eskimos, probably arrived after the land bridge between North America and Asia disappeared (see Map 1.1).

About 9,000 years ago, a warming trend began that ended the Ice Age and brought temperatures to what we now consider normal. As temperatures warmed and grasslands disappeared, the gigantic Ice Age creatures that had supplied early hunters with their primary source of meat, clothing, and tools began to die out. The hunters faced the unpleasant prospect of following the large animals into extinction if they kept trying to survive by hunting big game.

## Seedtime for Native Cultures in North America

The constraints imposed by the changing environment forced the American Indians to make a series of choices. The first phase of adaptation, called the **Archaic phase**, lasted until about 3,000 years ago. During this period, people in North America abandoned nomadic big-game hunting and began to explore new sources of food, clothing, and tools and new places to live.

Archaic culture emerged at different times in different places. It appears that western North America was hit earliest and hardest by the changing climate. At Fort Rock Cave in southern Oregon, archaeologists have unearthed evidence dating from 9,600 years ago of people abandoning big-game hunting and adapting to local conditions. Three findings at Fort Rock Cave mark it as an important transitional site between the big-game and Archaic cultures. First, investigators found many different tools for grinding seeds. The tools were signs that these people were eating less meat and more local grass seeds, nuts, and other vegetable foods. Second, investigators found baskets, sandals, and clothing woven from grasses and reeds, also indications of a greater reliance on plants. Third, investigators found small spear points and fishing and bird-hunting equipment. These early Indians had apparently stopped chasing after mammoths and had begun to hunt and fish for animals that they could find close by.

Over the next several thousand years, people throughout North America made similar choices,

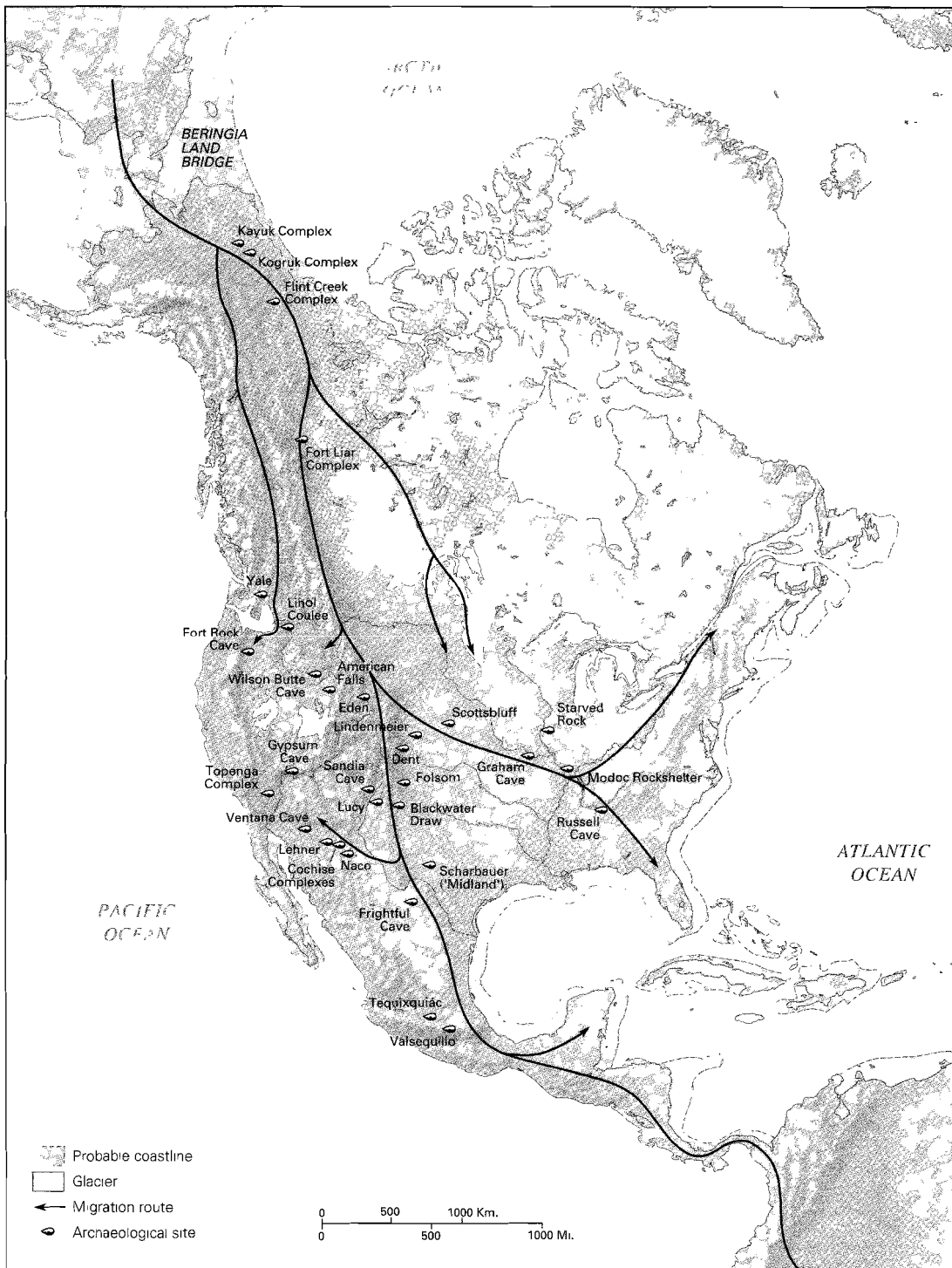
differing only in the specific foods and types of materials they employed. In the forests that grew up to cover the eastern half of the continent, Archaic Indians developed finely polished stone tools, which they used to make functional and beautiful implements out of wood, bone, shell, and other materials. There and along the Pacific shore, people hollowed out massive tree trunks to make boats. During this time domesticated dogs were introduced into North America, probably by newly arriving migrants from Asia. With dogs to help carry loads on land and boats for river transportation, Archaic people were able to make the best use of their local environments by moving from camp to camp over the year, perhaps collecting shellfish for several weeks in one spot and then wild strawberries in another.

Such efficient use of local resources caused an enormous increase in population. Nomadic hunting had involved dangerous animals and occasional famines that helped keep human populations small. Archaic life was much safer and food supplies more reliable. Freed from the constant need to track and kill big game for meat, Archaic people also had more spare time. One outcome was the continuing invention of new tools and craft skills. Another was the emergence of art, which played a prominent role in the elaborate burial practices that emerged everywhere in North America during this period.

Early Indians left their mark on their local environments. They used fire to clear forests of unwanted scrub and to encourage the growth of berries and other plants that they found valuable. In this way they produced vegetables for themselves and also provided food for browsing animals like deer, which increased in number, while other species, less useful to people, declined.

Archaic phase In Native American culture, the period when people began to shift away from hunting big game and turn to agriculture and other food sources in local environments.

**nomadic** Having no fixed home and wandering from place to place in search of food or other resources.



◆ **MAP 1.1** First Americans Enter the New World Although DNA evidence indicates that all early migrants to the Western Hemisphere were genetically related, at least two cultural groups moved into North America approximately 40,000 years ago. The Old Cordilleran group entered to the west of the Rocky Mountains, and the Clovis group, to the east of the Rockies. Both groups left records of their passing at numerous sites, the most prominent of which are labeled here.

A significant example of such environmental engineering comes from north-central Mexico. Perhaps 7,000 years ago, humans began cultivating a wild strain of grass. Such cultivation eventually transformed a fairly unproductive plant into maize, an enormously nourishing and prolific food crop.

Maize, along with beans, squash, and chilies, formed the basis for an agricultural revolution in America. Although it is not clear how or why this revolution got started, about 3,500 years ago people near what is now Mexico City began planting these vegetables. Shortly thereafter, they stopped their annual round of hunting and gathering. They settled down into villages near their fields and moved away only when these fields were exhausted.

Maize spread like wildfire. From central Mexico, it found its way to New Mexico and Arizona about 1,000 or 2,000 years ago and then spread northward and eastward. Between 500 and 800 years ago, the Woodland Indians of eastern North America, who had been cultivating wild sunflowers and other foods, incorporated maize into their economy.

### The Complex World of Indian America

Although the broad shape of American Indian life was similar throughout North America, vast differences existed among various Indian groups. This variety of cultures developed in direct response to local environmental conditions. The map at the beginning of the chapter shows the eleven major culture areas that anthropologists have identified.

Lifestyles differed greatly from one culture area to another. The language and technology of Arctic peoples were unlike those anywhere else on the continent. In the eastern half of what is now the United States, Indians were agriculturalists who supplemented their diet of corn, beans, and squash by hunting and fishing. On the Western Plains, an Archaic lifestyle persisted as people traveled from one camp to another on an annual hunting and gathering cycle. On the Pacific coast, Indians lived in permanent villages and harvested the riches of the sea. Clearly North America was socially and culturally complex.

The spread of agriculture allowed Indians to build large, ornate centers in many parts of North America. These centers were generally not residential cities but trading and ceremonial centers where people congregated periodically. Large earthen mounds in the shape of huge animals, pyramids, or geometrical patterns characterize these trading and ceremonial centers. Archaeologists have called these **mound builder** societies. The map of late Archaic America is dotted with such centers (see Map 1.1). Along the Ohio River, a complex of sites known as the Adena culture was constructed about 3,000 years ago. Adena cities were centers of ceremony and trade, as is evidenced by the artifacts from all over North America that have been found at Adena sites.

In the Eastern Woodlands, Hopewell culture took the place of Adena culture. Hopewell culture reached its peak between 1,500 and 1,000 years ago at Cahokia, near the modern city of East St. Louis, Illinois. Archaeologists have found the distinctive forms of pottery, tools, and religious and artistic objects that originated there over much of North America. About 800 years ago, Cahokia and the entire Hopewell complex fell into decline for unknown reasons.

While ceremonial and trading centers declined in the North, their development continued in the southern Mississippi River valley. Between 1,200 years ago and the time of European entry into the region in the 1700s, peoples speaking Siouan, Caddoan, and Muskogean languages formed a vibrant agricultural and urban society, named the Mississippian culture.

**maize** Corn, a tall plant with a solid stem and narrow leaves that bears seeds on large ears; the word *maize* comes from an Indian word for this plant.

**mound builder** Name applied to a number of Native American societies that constructed earthen mounds as monuments and building foundations.

**Hopewell culture** An early American Indian culture centered in the Ohio River valley; it is known for its burial mounds, tools, and pottery.

**Mississippian culture** An American Indian culture centered in the southern Mississippi River valley; influenced by Mexican culture, it is known for its pyramid building and its urban centers.



- ◆ Cahokia was the largest city in pre-Columbian North America, occupying over 6 square miles and containing more than 120 earthen mounds, including several gigantic pyramids. The largest, Monk's Mound (the huge structure in the upper right corner), was larger than the Great Pyramids of Egypt. Despite being a significant ceremonial and trading center, Cahokia probably did not have a large permanent population. *Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site/painting by L. K. Townsend.*

Although the Mississippian culture had ties with the earlier Adena and Hopewell cultures, it was more directly influenced by contacts with adventurous traders from Mexico. The Mississippian culture featured fortified cities such as the one at present-day Natchez. These cities contained gigantic pyramids. Unlike the earlier Hopewell centers, these were true cities in that they housed a large residential population.

Farther north, in the Eastern Woodlands, people lived in smaller villages where they combined agriculture with hunting and gathering. The **Iroquois**, for example, lived in towns containing three thousand or more people. They moved their towns when soil fertility, firewood, and game became exhausted. Each town was made up of a group of longhouses, which often were more than 60 feet long. Family apartments ranged down both sides of a long central hallway. This hallway was the center of social and political life. In it, babies crawled, children played, men swapped hunting stories, and women cooked and cleaned.

A dominant matriarch supervised the daily tasks of running the household. Women occupied

places of high social and economic status in Iroquois society. Families were matrilineal, meaning that they traced their descent through the mother's line, and matrilocal, meaning that a man left his home to move in with his wife's family upon marriage. Women distributed the rights to cultivate specific fields and controlled the harvest. Clan matriarchs chose the men who would sit as judges and political council members.

Variations on the Iroquois pattern were typical throughout the Northeast and in the Great Plains and Southwest. Agricultural village life dominated in each region before the arrival of Europeans.

**Iroquois** Collective name for six Indian tribes that lived in present-day New York State whose cultures and languages were closely related.

**longhouse** A long communal dwelling, usually built of poles and bark, having a central hallway with family apartments on either side.

**matriarch** A woman who rules a family, clan, or tribal group.

Migrants into the plains probably came from the East, carrying seed corn from the declining Hopewell settlements. Groups like the Mandans began settling on bluffs overlooking the many streams that fed the Missouri River. By 1300, such villages could be found on every stream from North Dakota to Kansas.

Indians in the Southwest were closely tied to Mexico. Corn appears to have been brought into this region as early as 3,200 years ago. But the Southwestern Indians, unlike their counterparts in Mexico, continued to engage in hunting and gathering for a long time thereafter. Not until about A.D. 400 did the Southwestern Indians begin building larger, more substantial permanent houses.

A drastic climatic change in the eighth century prompted two different responses among the Southwestern Indians. Generally, this new climate was drier, but it also brought violent late-summer thunderstorms that often caused flash floods. One group of Indians, whom later residents called the Anasazi, protected their homes by building dams that channeled runoff through irrigation canals. The cooperative labor required for such projects resulted in much larger communities.

Another Southwestern group, called the Chichimecs, responded to climatic change by moving southward into Mexico. There they built on the declining fortunes of highly urbanized societies, borrowing architectural and agricultural skills from such established city-states as Teotihuacán. The most famous of these Chichimec groups was the Aztecs, who established themselves on a small island in the middle of a lake in the Valley of Mexico in about 1200.

Still another change in climate in the thirteenth century spelled the demise of the Anasazi people. Prolonged droughts and bitterly cold winters forced the Anasazi to abandon their cities and to split into much smaller communities. These smaller communities, which ultimately became the various Pueblo tribes, were able to survive by mixing agriculture, hunting, and gathering.

In the rest of North America, agriculture was practiced only marginally. Areas like the Great Basin were too dry for agriculture. In California, the Pacific Northwest, and the Plateau **region**, the bounty of wild food made agriculture unnecessary.

The Nez Perces and their neighbors in the Plateau region, for example, moved around from season to season, hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. Although they occupied permanent village sites in the winter, they did not stay together in a single group all year. Members of the village went their separate ways during the rest of the year to fish for salmon or to dig for roots. Political authority in such tribes was based on skills such as salmon fishing, and thus passed from individual to individual on a seasonal basis.

Variations in daily life and social arrangements in pre-Columbian North America thus reflected variations in climate, soil conditions, food supplies, and cultural heritage. The only generalization we can make is that pre-Columbian Indians adopted economic strategies, social conventions, and political systems that were well suited to their ecological and historical circumstances.

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## European Outreach and the Age of Exploration

While the Aztecs were expanding into Mexico, Europeans were feeling a similar restlessness. The Vikings extended their holdings throughout many parts of Europe and even into North America. In

**Great Basin** A desert region of the western United States that includes most of present-day Nevada and parts of Utah, California, Idaho, Wyoming, and Oregon.

**Plateau region** A region of the United States and Canada bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains, on the west by the Cascade range of mountains, on the north by the subarctic plains, and on the south by the Great Basin.

**pre-Columbian** Existing in the Americas before the arrival of Columbus.

**Vikings** Medieval Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian groups, who responded to land shortages in Scandinavia by taking to the sea and establishing communities in western Europe, Iceland, Greenland, and North America.

the **Middle East**, Christian monarchs and church leaders launched a series of **Crusades** to wrest control of the Holy Land from the **Muslims**. In the Holy Land, the Crusaders came into contact with fine silks, exotic spices, and precious stones and metals that they had known only through myth and rumor. Subsequently, enterprising individuals began looking for ways to profit by providing Europeans with such luxuries. These movements ultimately led to the establishment of transatlantic ties and the creation of a new world.

## Change and Restlessness in the Atlantic World

Around 800, Vikings from the northern frontier of Europe began sweeping down along the continent's western coasts. They captured the British Isles and seized Normandy, a large province in western France. Simultaneously, another group of Vikings pushed south through Russia along Europe's eastern frontier. Eventually they extended their influence all the way to the eastern Mediterranean.

Accomplished seamen, the Vikings also sailed westward, colonizing Iceland, Greenland, and eventually North America. According to Viking sagas, Bjarni Herjolfsson first sighted North America in 986 when he was blown off course during a storm. In about 1000, Viking chieftain Leif Ericson led an expedition to the new land, touching shore at Baffin Island and later at Labrador. During the next few decades, Vikings established several colonies in North America.

Although the Vikings' discovery went unnoticed in Europe, it did have important consequences for Native Americans. As the Vikings were expanding westward, a group of Inuit hunters known as the Thule people was expanding eastward. The Thule Inuits appear to have become middlemen between the Vikings and the subarctic Indians. The Thule people brokered ivory from walrus tusks obtained from other Native Americans for Viking coins and other metal objects. They guarded access to their Indian trading partners jealously and prevented the Vikings from expanding their holdings.

The Vikings were ultimately forced to retreat from North America and Greenland. The most likely cause of their departure was a change in climate known as the Little Ice Age. At some point between 1350 and 1450, temperatures fell worldwide. In the Arctic and the subarctic region, sea ice became a major hazard to navigation. It soon became impossible for the Vikings to practice the herding, farming, and trading that supported

their economy in Greenland, and Iceland became the westernmost outpost of the Viking world.

## Crusading, Trading, and the Rise of Nation-States

While the Vikings were expanding to the west and to the south, an economic, religious, and political empire controlled by Muslim Arabs, Turks, and Moors was taking over Europe's southern and eastern frontiers (see Map 1.2). The Vikings and the Muslims often made life miserable for Europeans but also eventually benefited them. Both groups helped Europeans expand their knowledge and broaden their culture. Europeans became participants in a trading system that extended from Viking outposts in Greenland to Islamic trading posts in India and China.

In 1096, European Christians launched the first of several Crusades designed to sweep the Muslims from their strongholds in the Holy Land in the eastern Mediterranean. The Europeans proclaimed

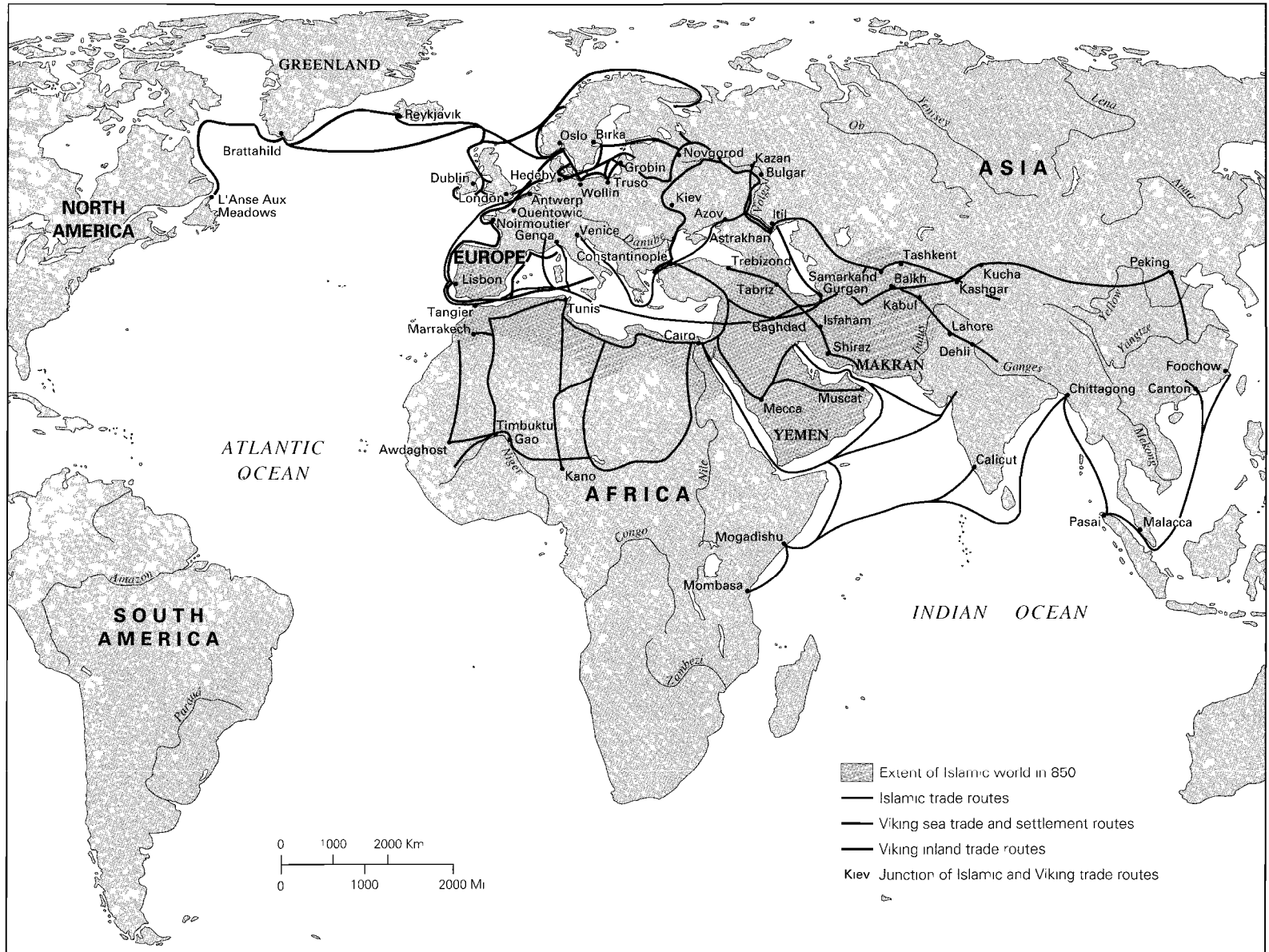
**Middle East** The region of the eastern Mediterranean, including modern Turkey, the Persian Gulf area, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Holy Land.

**Crusades** Military expeditions undertaken by European Christians in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries to recover the Holy Land from the Muslims.

**Holy Land** The region in which the events in the Old Testament of the Bible took place; it is sacred to Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

**Muslims** People who practice the religion of Islam, a monotheistic faith that accepts Mohammed as the chief and last prophet of God.

**Moors** The Muslim rulers of the Iberian Peninsula.



◆ MAP 1.2 Europe and **Its Neighbors**, C. A.D. 1000 Europe was not isolated during medieval times. As shown here, Viking and Islamic empires surrounded Western Europe, and their trade routes crisscrossed the region.



that they were seeking to destroy what they claimed was the false religion of Islam, but they also were hoping to break Islamic control of the eastern and African trade. Over the next two centuries, hordes of Crusaders invaded the area, capturing key points, only to be expelled by Muslim counterattacks. In the process, however, the Europeans gained more knowledge, technical skill, and access to trade. By the time the Crusades ended in 1291, trading families from city-states such as Venice had edged their way into the trade between Europe and the East.

The **Reconquista**, or reconquest of the Muslim-held areas of the Iberian Peninsula by Christian Europeans, began at about the same time as the Crusades. Portugal attained independence from Islamic rule in 1147, and by 1380 Portugal's King John I had united that country's various principalities under his rule. Spanish unification took much longer because feuding local states could not settle their differences. But in 1469, **Ferdinand and Isabella**, heirs to the rival thrones of Aragon and Castile, married and created a united state in Spain. Twenty-three years later, the Spanish subdued the last Islamic stronghold on the peninsula.

Northern European rulers also attempted to create national states in the face of local and regional rivalries. Consolidation finally occurred in France around 1480, when Louis XI took control of five rival provinces to create a unified kingdom. Five years later, Henry Tudor became king of a unified England when he defeated his rivals in the Wars of the Roses.

## Portuguese Exploration, Africa, and the Quest for Asia

Portugal, the first of the European national states, was also the first to contest the hold of Italian merchants and their Islamic trading partners on eastern **commerce**. **Henry the Navigator**, the son of Portugal's John I, took the decisive step by establishing a school of navigation and ordering expeditions to sail west and south to look for new sources of wealth. By the 1430s, the Portuguese had discovered and taken control of the Azores, the Canaries, and Madeira, islands off the western shore of Africa. Within thirty years, Portuguese captains

had pushed their way to sub-Saharan Africa, where they came into contact with the **Songhay Empire**.

The Songhay Empire combined various kingdoms along the Niger River. Timbuktu, the Songhay capital, was a cosmopolitan center where African and Islamic influences met. It was a showplace of art, architecture, and scholarship. From Timbuktu, Muslim traders shipped goods across the Sahara by means of caravans. The Portuguese, however, offered speedier shipment and higher profits, carrying trade goods directly to Europe by sea.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Portuguese navigators had gained control over the flow of gold, ivory, and spices out of West Africa, and Portuguese colonizers were growing sugar and other crops on the newly conquered Azores and Canary Islands. Gradually, Portuguese plantation owners borrowed an institution from their former Islamic rulers and their African trading partners: slavery. Slaves had formed a crucial part of Islamic caravans in West Africa since about A.D. 700. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became increasingly involved in slave trafficking, at first to their own plantations and then to Europe itself. By 1550, Portuguese ships were carrying African slaves throughout the world.

The Portuguese took a major step toward becoming world traders when Bartholomew Dias became the first European to reach the **Cape of Good Hope** at the southern tip of Africa in 1487. Ten

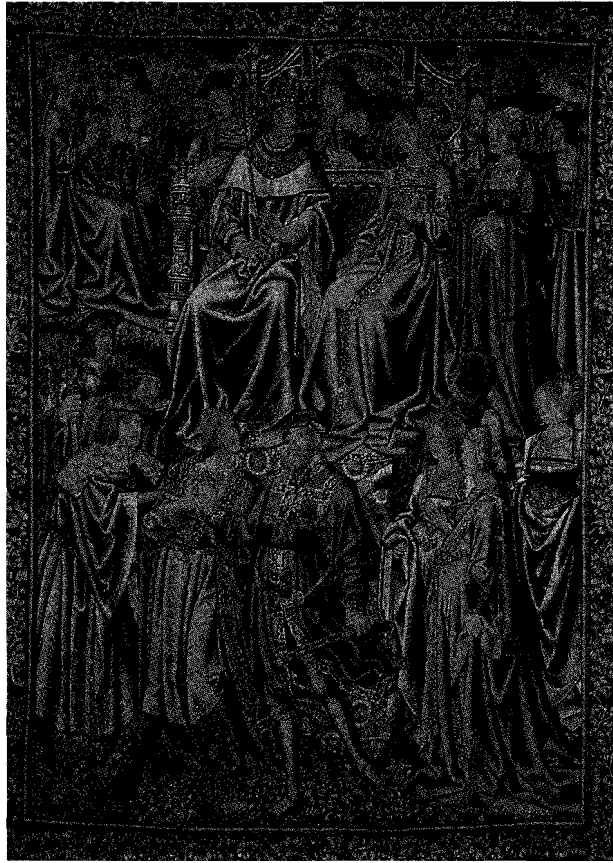
**Reconquista** The campaign undertaken by European Christians to recapture the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims.

**Ferdinand and Isabella** Joint rulers of Spain; their marriage in 1469 created a united Spain from the rival kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.

**Henry the Navigator** Prince who founded an observatory and school of navigation and directed voyages that helped build Portugal's colonial empire.

**Songhay Empire** A large empire in West Africa; its capital was Timbuktu; its rulers accepted Islam in about A.D. 1000.

**Cape of Good Hope** A point of land projecting into the ocean at the southern tip of Africa; European mariners had to sail around the cape to pass from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.



- ◆ Ferdinand and Isabella were the king of Aragon and queen of Castille—the two dominant Christian states in Spain. Their marriage in 1469 created a new nation powerful enough to drive out the Muslims and launch Spain on an expansive new course. Within a hundred years, the kingdom they created became one of the richest and most powerful nations in the world. *ARXIU MAS*.

years later, Vasco de Gama sailed around the cape and launched the Portuguese exploration of eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean.

By the end of the fifteenth century, England, Spain, and France were vying with Portugal for access to the riches of the East. Borrowed technologies from China and the Arab world aided these new competitors. From China, Europeans acquired the magnetic compass, which allowed mariners to know the direction in which they were sailing. An Arab invention, the astrolabe, allowed navigators to determine their latitude. These inventions, to-

gether with improvements in steering mechanisms and in hull design, improved captains' control over their ships' direction, speed, and stability.

## Columbus's Folly

An impoverished but ambitious sailor from the Italian city of Genoa was eager to capitalize on the new technology and knowledge. In 1484, **Christopher Columbus** approached John II of Portugal and asked him to support a risky voyage across the Atlantic. When John's geographers warned that Columbus had probably underestimated the distance of the trip, the king refused to support the enterprise. Undaunted, Columbus peddled his idea to various European governments over the next several years but found no backers. Finally, in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella's defeat of the remaining Muslim enclave in Spain provided Columbus with an opportunity.

The Spanish monarchs, eager to break the domination of the Italians and their Arab partners in the east and of the Portuguese in the south and west, agreed to equip three ships and granted Columbus 10 percent of any returns from the voyage. On August 3, 1492, Columbus and some ninety sailors departed on the *Nina*, *Pinta*, and *Santa Maria* for Asia.

After ten weeks at sea, the three ships finally made landfall on a small island on October 12, 1492. Columbus thought he had reached the Indies, but he had really reached the **Bahamas**. Celebrating his escape from disaster, Columbus named the place San Salvador (Holy Savior).

Over the next ten weeks, Columbus sailed around the Caribbean, stopping at Cuba and Hispaniola. He collected spices, coconuts, bits of gold, and some native captives. He called these people

**astrolabe** An instrument that navigators used to measure the height of the sun and stars and calculate their position of latitude.

**Christopher Columbus** Italian explorer in the service of Spain who attempted to reach Asia by sailing west from Europe, thereby discovering America in 1492.

**Bahamas** A group of islands in the Atlantic Ocean east of Florida and Cuba.

"Indians" because he believed that he had reached the Indies. Columbus then returned to Spain and was welcomed home with great celebration. His account of the trip and the goods he brought back helped gain him support for three more voyages. Over the next several decades, the Spanish gained a permanent foothold in the region that Columbus had discovered and became aware that the area was not the Indies or Japan but an entirely new world.

Columbus's discovery opened unprecedented opportunities for Europeans. Taking to heart stories of new lands, new goods, new peoples, and new possibilities for acquiring wealth, kings, sailors, and merchants began eyeing the New World with enormous interest.

### A New Transatlantic World

Initially, North America posed more of an obstacle than an opportunity for Europeans. Exploration efforts for several decades after Columbus's landfall aimed at finding a sea route around or through the continent to the riches of the East. Though fruitless, the search for the Northwest Passage led to the gradual charting of the North American coast.

The English were the first to search for an alternate route to India. In 1497, King Henry VII commissioned an Italian mariner, Giovanni Caboto, known to the English as **John Cabot**, to investigate a northern passage. Cabot explored the area that Leif Ericson had colonized five centuries before. Another Italian, **Amerigo Vespucci**, sailing shortly thereafter under a Spanish flag, explored the northeastern coast of South America and the Caribbean. The French entered into the quest in 1524, when they commissioned Giovanni da Verrazzano to chart the Atlantic coast of North America. A decade later, **Jacques Cartier** explored the Canadian coast for the French government. In 1542, he established a short-lived colony near present-day Quebec, primarily to trade for furs.

It was the fish of the Grand Banks, however, that became the first staple of North American commerce. Historians continue to debate when the English, French, and **Basque** fishermen first took advantage of the prolific fishing grounds off the North American coast. Some have argued that they

were harvesting cod and mackerel even before Columbus set sail. What is clear is that by the early 1500s, such fishermen were making annual voyages to the Grand Banks and were conducting a lively trade in copper pots, knives, jewelry, and other goods in exchange for Indian ivory, furs, and food. The Micmacs, Hurons, and other northeastern tribes welcomed the newcomers and were eager to trade, in part to gain advantages over their rivals.

The nearly simultaneous arrival of Europeans and the Little Ice Age had several effects. Tribes pressured by the Thule Inuits withdrew to the south, thereby coming into conflict with the Algonquins and Iroquois. Deteriorating corn harvests in turn prompted the Iroquois to expand their holdings. Warfare thus increased among the northeastern tribes. As war became more common, some Indian groups began to form formal alliances for defense. The most prominent of these was the Iroquois Confederacy, organized by a Mohawk leader named Hiawatha in about 1450.

### The Challenges of Mutual Discovery

It is usually said that Europeans discovered America, but it is also true that America discovered Europeans. The relationship between Europeans and American Indians ran in two directions. Europeans approached the inhabitants of the New World based on what they already knew. American Indians approached Europeans in the same way. Both

**John Cabot** Italian explorer who led the English expedition that sailed along the North American mainland in 1497.

**Amerigo Vespucci** Italian explorer of the South American coast; America was named after him.

**Jacques Cartier** Frenchman, who in 1534, explored the St. Lawrence River, giving France its primary claim to territories in the New World.

**Basques** An ethnic group from north central Spain that was heavily involved in early North American fishing activities.

groups had many of their fundamental assumptions challenged. Mutual discovery in America influenced the choices people were to make on a global scale.

## **A Meeting of Minds in America**

Initially, most Europeans were content to fit what they found in the New World with their prior expectations. Columbus expected to find the Indies and Indians, and he believed that was precisely what he had found. Europeans understood only later that America was a new land and that the natives there were a new people.

Europeans were of a divided mind about the people they encountered in America. Columbus's comments about the American Indians set the tone for many of those to follow. "They are so ingenuous and free with all they have," Columbus wrote, "that no one would believe it who has not seen it. Of anything that they possess, if it be asked of them, they never say no; on the contrary, they invite you to share it and show as much love as if their hearts went with it, and they are content with whatever trifle be given them, whether it be a thing of value or of petty worth." Such writings led to a perception of the Indians as noble savages, men and women free from the temptations and conceits of modern civilization. Many Europeans praised the Indians' apparent ignorance of private property.

Not all Europeans held this view of American Indians. Amerigo Vespucci shared the opinion that Indians were savage, but he found them less than noble. "They marry as many wives as they please," he explained. "The son cohabits with mother, brother with sister, male cousin with female, and any man with the first woman he meets. . . . Beyond the fact that they have no church, no religion and are not idolaters, what more can I say?"

From the European point of view, the native populations lacked "true" religion. But Columbus was optimistic that this lack could be remedied. "I maintain," he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, "that if they had access to devout religious persons knowing the language, they would all turn Christian." He added, "It appeared to us that these people were very poor in everything." Thus although

Indians were savages, they could be made civilized through European religion and trade.

The arrival of Europeans may have been easier for American Indians to understand than the existence of American Indians was for the Europeans. To Indians, Europeans did not appear to be either superhuman or even particularly strange. Their mode of arrival, manners, speech, and dress no doubt seemed odd, but no odder than the language, behavior, and appearance of traders from the Valley of Mexico. Indians accepted Europeans as simply another new group to be added to the already complex social cosmos.

## **The Columbian Exchange**

Although Europeans and American Indians found some similarities in each other, their natural environments differed greatly. The passage of people, plants, and animals among Europe, Africa, and North America wrought profound changes in all three continents. Historians call this process the Columbian Exchange.

Perhaps the most tragic trade among the three continents was in disease. The Indian peoples whom Columbus and other explorers encountered lived in an environment in which contagious diseases that were common in Europe (such as smallpox, measles, and typhus) did not exist. Thus they had no acquired immunity to the various bacteria and viruses that Europeans carried. As a result, new diseases spread very rapidly among the native peoples and were much more deadly than they were among Europeans.

ingenuous Lacking in sophistication; artless.

idolater A person who worships idols or false gods.

Columbian Exchange The exchange of people, plants, and animals among Europe, Africa, and North America that occurred after Columbus's discovery of the New World.

acquired immunity Resistance or partial resistance to a disease; it develops in a population over time, after exposure to harmful bacteria and viruses.

Controversy rages over the number of Indians killed by imported European diseases, but most scholars agree that the number was enormous. An estimated 3 million to 10 million people lived in America north of Mexico in 1492. Between 90 and 95 percent of this native population appears to have died of European diseases during the first century of contact.

This exchange of microorganisms created a distinctive pattern of contagion and immunity in North America. American Indians appear to have been less devastated physically by syphilis, which may have originated in the Western Hemisphere, than other groups were. Africans were largely unaffected by various **malarial** fevers, transplanted from their home continent, that ravaged both European and native populations. For Europeans mumps was a mild childhood disease, but for Africans and Indians it was a mass killer and left many survivors sterile. The march of exchanged diseases across the North American landscape played an important role in the continent's history.

Less immediate effects arose from the exchange of plants, but the long-term consequences were profound. Asian transplants such as bananas, sugar cane, and rice, which came to America by way of Africa, became **cash crops** on New World plantations, as did cotton, indigo, and coffee. Wheat, barley, and millet were readily transplanted to suitable areas in North America. So were grazing grasses and vegetables such as turnips, spinach, and cabbage.

The most important North American plant in the Columbian Exchange was tobacco, a stimulant used widely in North America for ceremonial purposes and broadly adopted by Europeans and Africans as a recreational drug. Another stimulant, cocoa, also enjoyed significant popularity among Old World consumers. New World vegetables helped to revolutionize world food supplies. Maize was remarkably easy to grow and thrived in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. In addition, the white potato, tomato, manioc, squash, beans, and peas native to the Western Hemisphere were transplanted throughout the world.

The Columbian Exchange also involved animals. Animal populations in North America were very different from those in the Old World. The continent teemed with deer, bison, elk, and moose,

but they had to be hunted rather than herded and were useless as draft animals. Europeans brought a full complement of Old World domesticated animals to America. Horses, pigs, cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, and domesticated fowl did well in the new environment.

The exchange of plants and animals altered the natural environments in North America. The transplanting of European grain crops and domesticated animals led to the reshaping of the land itself. Clearing trees, plowing, and fencing changed the flow of water, the distribution of seeds, the nesting of birds, and the movement of native animals. Gradually, imported livestock pushed aside native animals, and imported plants choked out native ones.

Probably the most far-reaching environmental impact of the Columbian Exchange was on human populations. Although exchanged diseases killed many millions of Indians and lesser numbers of Africans and Europeans, the transplantation of animals and plants significantly expanded food production in Europe and Africa. The environmental changes that Europeans caused in eastern North America permitted the region to support many more people than it had under Indian cultivation. The result was a population explosion in Europe and Africa that eventually spilled over to repopulate a devastated North America.

### New Worlds in Africa and America

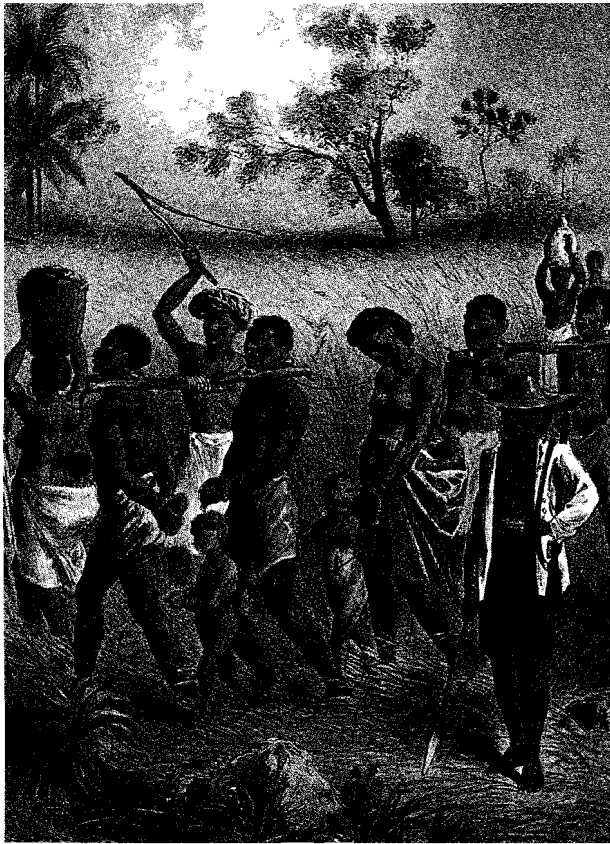
The Columbian Exchange did more than redistribute plants, animals, and populations among Europe, Africa, and North America. It permanently altered the history of both hemispheres.

**syphilis** An infectious disease usually transmitted through sexual contact; if untreated, it can lead to paralysis and death.

**malarial** Related to malaria, an infectious disease characterized by chills, fever, and sweating; it is often transmitted through mosquito bites.

**cash crop** A crop raised in large quantities for sale rather than for local or home consumption.

**indigo** A plant that yielded a blue dye used for coloring textiles; in the mid-eighteenth century, it was a staple crop in the Lower South.



- ◆ Parties of captured villagers from Africa's interior were bound together and marched to trading centers on the coast, where they were sold to Europeans or Muslims. The slave drivers were heavily influenced by outside contact. One of those shown here is wearing a Muslim turban, while the clothing of the other is more European. Note, too, that the slave driver carries both a gun and a traditional African spear. *The Granger Collection.*

Imported disease had the most devastating influence on the lives of Indians. Those who escaped epidemics were often faced with a struggle for survival because too few able bodies were left to perform tasks that had been done cooperatively. Wholesale death by disease sometimes wiped out the elders and storytellers who stored the entire practical, religious, and cultural knowledge of these nonliterate societies. The result of this loss was confusion and disorientation among survivors.

The devastation wrought by European diseases also made it easier for Europeans to penetrate

the North American continent. Such devastation prompted some Indians to seek alliances with the newcomers. Others adopted European tools, which helped make smaller work forces more productive. Still others turned to European religions for spiritual explanations and possible remedies for the hardships they faced. Together, economic and spiritual forces pushed the Indians into an increasingly tangled alliance with Europeans.

The Columbian Exchange also severely disrupted life in Africa. The depopulation of America and the suitability of America for crops such as sugar cane created a huge demand for African slave labor. The Portuguese were well prepared to meet that demand, having taken over much of the African slave trade from North African Muslims in the fifteenth century. They supplied aggressive tribes like the Ashanti with European firearms, thereby enabling coastal tribes to raid deep into the Niger and Congo River regions. These raiders captured millions of prisoners, whom they herded back to the coast and sold to European traders to supply labor for New World mines and plantations.

It is difficult to determine the number of people sold in the West African slave trade from 1500 to 1800. The most recent estimates suggest that over 9.5 million enslaved Africans arrived in the New World during this period. But these estimates do not include the 10 to 20 percent of the slaves who died on ships, those who died on the march to the African coast, and those who remained as slaves in Africa and elsewhere. Africa sacrificed a great deal to the Columbian Exchange.

### A New World in Europe

The discovery of America and the Columbian Exchange also had repercussions in Europe. Along with new economic opportunities and foodstuffs, the opening of the Western Hemisphere brought new ideas and demanded new kinds of political and economic organization. The discovery of the New World clearly forced a new and more modern society onto Europeans, and in the process, it produced a sense of crisis.

**nonliterate** Lacking a system of reading and writing.

Europe's population was already rising when potatoes, maize, and other New World crops began to revolutionize food production. The population of Europe in 1500 was about 81 million. It grew to 100 million by 1600 and 120 million by 1700. This growth occurred despite nearly continuous wars and a flood of thousands of people to the New World each year.

The development of centralized states under leaders such as John I of Portugal, Louis XI of France, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and Henry VII of England appeared to offer the most promising avenue for harnessing the riches of the New World while controlling ever-increasing numbers of people at home. The sons and daughters of these monarchs continued the centralization of authority begun by their parents.

They did so even as traditional sources of authority broke down. Martin Luther, a German monk, dealt a devastating blow to religious authority by preaching that Christians could achieve salvation without the intercession of the Catholic church. Salvation, he said, was God's gift to the faithful. In 1517, Luther attacked the sale of **indulgences** by Catholic priests. He presented ninety-five arguments ("theses") against this practice, maintaining that only individual repentance and the grace of God, not the purchase of a pardon, could save sinners.

Luther's ideas took root among a generation of theologians who were dissatisfied with the corruption that permeated the medieval Catholic church. A Frenchman, John Calvin, further undermined the authority of the Catholic church. Like Luther, Calvin believed that salvation was a gift from God and that God had chosen the souls to be saved and the souls to be damned when he created the world. Calvin likewise concurred that no human actions could alter God's plan. Calvin differed from Luther in calling attention to the elect, the small elite God had chosen to save. Although only God knew who was among the saved and who among the damned, Calvin urged Christians to engage in constant meditation, prayer, and scriptural study and to live as though they were among the chosen.

The doctrines of Luther, Calvin, and others who wanted to reform the Catholic church collectively became known as **Protestantism**. Their ideas appealed to a broad audience in the rapidly changing world of the sixteenth century. The new doctrines

were most attractive to the middling classes of lawyers, bureaucrats, merchants, and manufacturers, groups that stood to gain from the questioning of entrenched authority. Some in the ruling classes also found the new theology attractive for similar reasons. In Germany, Luther's challenge to the Catholic church led many local princes eager to establish a German national church to question the **divine right** to authority claimed by the ruler of the **Holy Roman Empire**.

Similarly, Henry **VIII** of England found Protestantism convenient when he wanted to divorce his wife. Henry VIII was the first undisputed heir to the English throne in several generations, and he was consumed with the desire to have a son who could inherit the crown. When his wife, Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, failed to bear a boy, Henry demanded in 1527 that Pope Clement VII grant him an annulment of his marriage. Fearful of Spanish reprisals on Catherine's behalf, Clement refused. In desperation, Henry launched the English Reformation by seizing the Catholic church in England. By 1535, he had gained complete control of it.

Henry was not a staunch believer in the views aired by Luther and others. But he reluctantly opened the door to Protestant practices in his newly created Church of England to win the support of

**indulgence** A pardon issued by the pope absolving the purchaser of a particular sin.

**the elect** According to Calvinism, the people chosen for God for salvation.

**Protestantism** The religion and religious beliefs of Christians who accept the Bible as the only source of revelation, believe salvation to be God's gift to the faithful, and believe the faithful can form a direct, personal relationship with God.

**divine right** The idea that monarchs derive their right to rule directly from God and are accountable only to God.

**Holy Roman Empire** A political entity authorized by the Catholic church in 1356 unifying Central Europe under an emperor elected by four princes and three Catholic archbishops.

**Henry VIII** King of England (r. 1509-1547); his desire to divorce his first wife led him to break with Catholicism and establish the Church of England.

Protestants. Henry also seized the extensive and valuable lands that the Catholic church owned in England, thereby adding to his wealth and power.

The Protestants gained substantially during the short reign of Henry's young son Edward VI from 1547 to 1553. When Mary, Edward's oldest sister, succeeded him, however, she attempted to reverse the Protestant tide. The daughter of Henry's first wife, Catherine of Aragon, Mary had married Philip II of Spain and was a devout Catholic. She burned several hundred of the leading reformers at the stake in her effort to suppress Protestantism. Her brutality only drove the movement underground and made it more militant. When Mary died in 1558 and was succeeded by her half sister Elizabeth, who had been raised as a Protestant, militant Protestantism resurfaced. Elizabeth spent much of her long reign attempting to moderate the demands of Protestant reformers. The desire of Protestant dissenters to worship freely clashed with her desire to control church and state. This tension between fervent reformers and the Anglican church would significantly affect English settlement in the New World.

**dissenters** People who do not accept the doctrines of an established or national church.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Making America began perhaps as long as 70,000 years ago, when the continent's first human occupants started adapting to the land. *Expecting* better conditions than they had left behind in Asia, they

migrated across Beringia and then overcame or adapted to *constraints* presented by the new environment. Over thousands of years, they continually made *choices* to preserve and enhance their lives. The eventual *outcome* of these *choices* was a rich and flourishing world of different cultures, linked by common religious and economic bonds.

The Atlantic crossing by Europeans presented the natives of America with *constraints* that they had never dreamed of. Disease, then war, and then environmental

changes wrought by the Europeans who followed Columbus soon limited the *choices* open to Native Americans.

At the same time, however, Europeans knew full well that American Indians were an important key to making America. Thus Indians exerted a powerful *constraint* on Europeans' freedom of *choice*.

Influences from the New World accelerated processes that were already changing *expectations* and *constraints* in the Old World. Wealth and food from the New World fostered the growth of population, of powerful kings, and of strong nations, but led in turn to continuing conflict over New World resources. In Africa, strong coastal states *chose* to raid weaker neighboring tribes, more than doubling the flow of slaves out of Africa. Meanwhile, as disease destroyed millions of Indians, newcomers came pouring in. These newcomers came from a very different physical environment and brought drastic changes to the face of the land. The *outcome* of these continuing interactions among newcomers, and between them and the survivors of America's original people, would be the making of America.

## SUGGESTED READINGS

Becker, Marvin B. *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300-1600* (1988).

A brief but comprehensive look at social conditions in Europe during the period leading up to and out of the exploration of the New World.

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (1972).

The landmark book that brought the Columbian impact into focus for the first time. Parts of the book are technical, but the explanations are clear and exciting.



Fagan, Brian M. *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (1987).

An excellent recounting of the peopling of North America during the last stages of the Ice Age.

Laslett, Peter. *The World We Have Lost Further Explored* (1983).

Updated third edition of the author's well-respected characterization of British society before colonization. Highly readable and interesting.

McNeill, William H. *Plagues and Peoples* (1976).

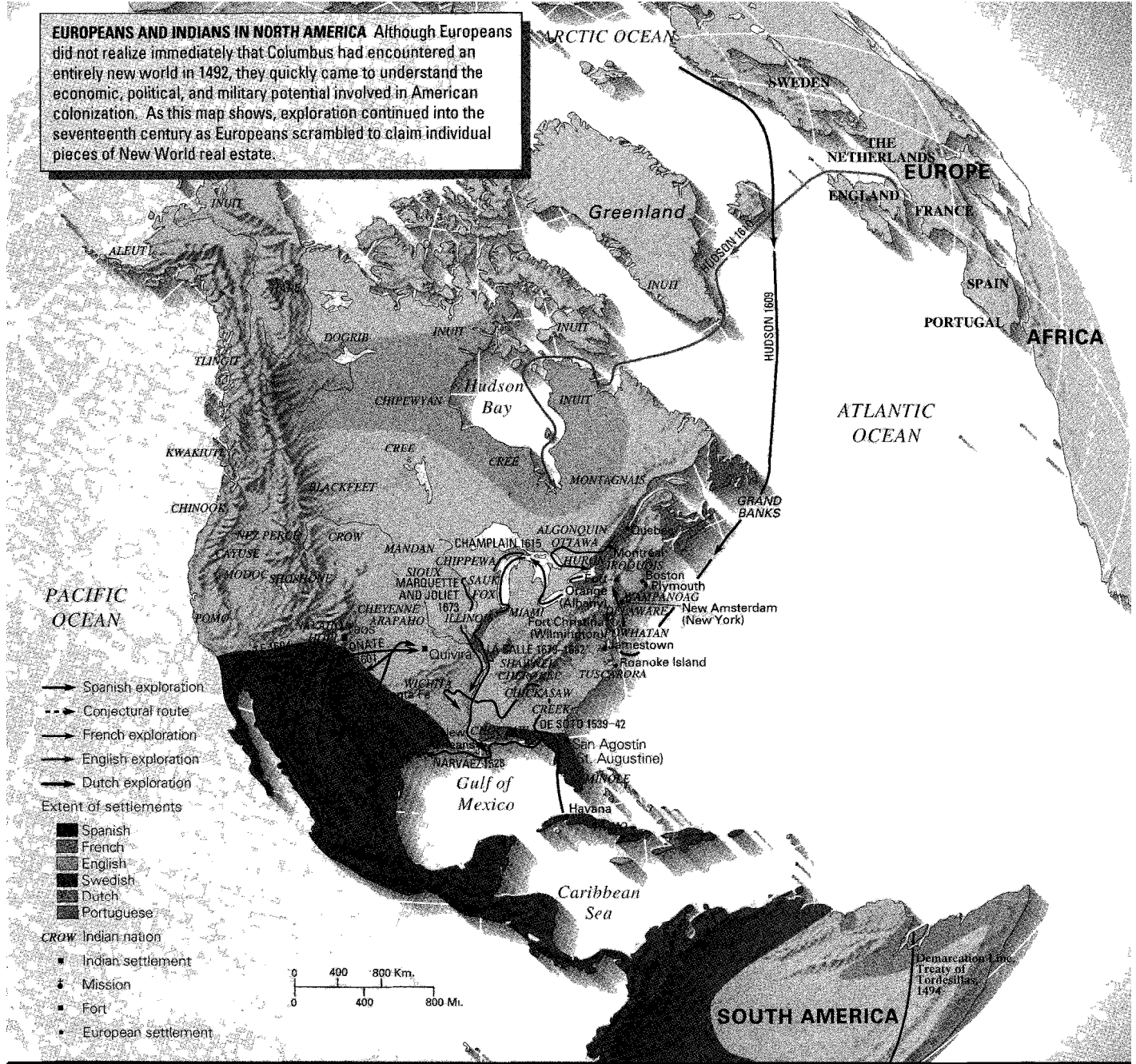
A fascinating history of disease and its impact on people throughout the period of European expansion and New World colonization.

Oliver, Roland, and J. D. Fage. *A Short History of Africa* (1988).

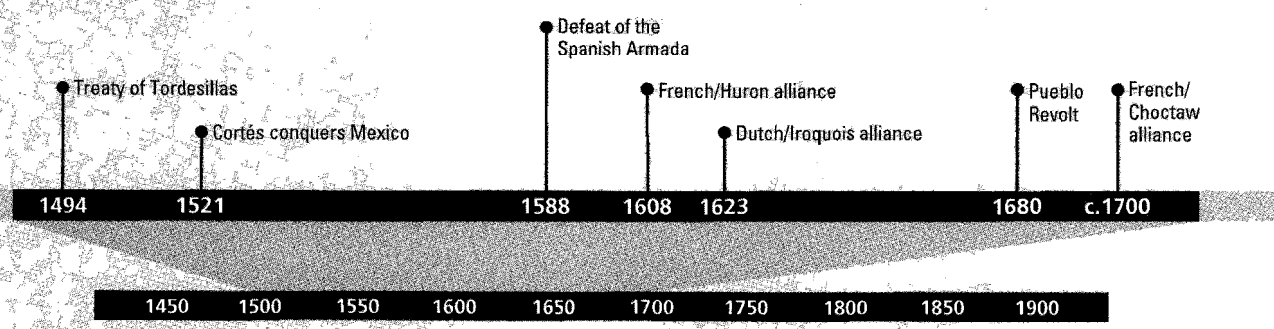
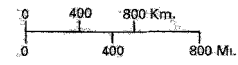
The most concise and understandably written comprehensive history of Africa available.



**EUROPEANS AND INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA** Although Europeans did not realize immediately that Columbus had encountered an entirely new world in 1492, they quickly came to understand the economic, political, and military potential involved in American colonization. As this map shows, exploration continued into the seventeenth century as Europeans scrambled to claim individual pieces of New World real estate.



- Spanish exploration
  - Conjectural route
  - French exploration
  - English exploration
  - Dutch exploration
- Extent of settlements
- Spanish
  - French
  - English
  - Swedish
  - Dutch
  - Portuguese
- CROW Indian nation
- Indian settlement
  - Mission
  - Fort
  - European settlement



# A Continent on the Move,

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## 1400-1725

### The New Europe and the Atlantic World

- What were some economic constraints that pushed European rulers to promote exploration and colonization in North America?
- What political and religious rivalries influenced European choices regarding New World colonization?

### European Empires in America

- What similarities and differences characterized the choices that Spanish, French, and Dutch officials made in starting their empires in North America?
- What constraints did the choices made by colonists themselves place on administrative policies?

### Indians and the European Challenge

- What constraints did environmental changes place on Indians?
  - What constraints and opportunities came with the arrival of Europeans?
  - What social and political choices did Indians
-

make in response to these changes?

**Conquest and  
Accommodation in a Shared  
New World**

- What constraints most affected the lives of settlers in New Mexico, Louisiana, and New Netherland?
- How did choices made by settlers and American Indians help both groups to deal with these constraints?

## ( INTRODUCTION )

The European powers that colonized the New World intended to impose their own political, economic, and cultural stamp on the regions they occupied. But they encountered many *constraints*. New World environments did not resemble those in the Old World, and Native Americans had their own agendas for dealing with the newcomers. As the colonizers and the colonized confronted each other and changing conditions, they found themselves making *choices* and witnessing *outcomes* that neither group ever expected.

As Spain's rulers moved in to capitalize on the unexpected return from their investment in Columbus's voyages, they found themselves embroiled in an emerging crisis. Portugal already claimed vast holdings to the west of Europe and feared Spanish competition, making some sort of accommodation necessary. Also, France, Holland, and England were not content to watch Spain and Portugal divide the world between themselves. Stirred by *expectations* of increasing wealth and power, each of the leading European nations launched colonizing enterprises.

Spain capitalized on its lead by sending adventurous military captains on exploring tours throughout the Aztec realm they had conquered and into South America and the unknown frontiers to the north. By 1700, the Spaniards controlled more New World real estate than any other power. Their empire stretched from the tip of South America up through and around the Gulf of Mexico and into the high deserts of the North American Southwest.

France was determined not to be outdone. Following up on the early trading between fishermen and Indians along the Atlantic shore, French explorers moved inland along riverways that teemed with valuable fur-bearing animals and provided a highway for carrying on commerce. Although France's early efforts at establishing large settlements in America's interior were largely unsuccessful, fur hunters continued to trace the continent's rivers. They eventually found and traveled the Mississippi River, giving France a claim to the vast midsection of North America.

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

Even the recently created nation of the Netherlands got into the colonizing game, establishing a fur-trading station at the mouth of the Hudson River. Radiating outward from there, Dutch fur traders and farmers began to place their own particular stamp on the land.

One *constraint* that all the European nations had to face was the large and powerful presence of Native Americans. Although they were in the midst of a serious historical crisis, Indians continued to make *choices* that influenced North American life profoundly. The Pueblo Indians drove Spain out of New Mexico altogether for a period of time. In New France and New Netherland, different Indian groups seriously endangered European occupation. At all times, Europeans had to be sharply aware of the *constraints* that Indian *expectations* imposed.

The *outcome* of this constant interplay among European traditions, a novel physical environment, and a dynamic Indian presence was a series of new societies across the North American continent. Throughout the colonial era and beyond, these hybrid societies continued to influence historical development and color the life of the people and the nation.

## New World Colonies and American Indians

- |             |   |                |   |
|-------------|---|----------------|---|
| <b>1494</b> | Treaty of Tordesillas   | <b>1609</b>    | Henry Hudson sails up the Hudson River<br>Spanish found the town of Santa Fe in<br>present-day New Mexico |
| 1512        | Creation of the encomienda system   | <b>1623</b>    | Beginning of Dutch/Iroquois alliance  |
| 1519-1521   | Cortés invades Mexico   | <b>1626</b>    | Dutch lease Manhattan Island  |
| 1558        | Elizabeth I becomes queen of England  | <b>1634</b>    | Creation of the French West India Company   |
| 1565        | Spanish found St. Augustine in present-day<br>Florida   | <b>1680</b>    | Pueblo Revolt   |
| <b>1588</b> | Defeat of the Spanish Armada  | <b>1683</b>    | La Salle expedition down the Mississippi<br>River to the Gulf of Mexico                                   |
| <b>1598</b> | Defeat of Acoma pueblo by Don Juan de<br>Oñate  | C. <b>1700</b> | Beginning of French/Choctaw alliance  |
| <b>1608</b> | French/Huron alliance, completing the con-<br>federacy encompassing the Great Lakes<br>and St. Lawrence River |                |   |

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## The New Europe and the Atlantic World

Expansion into the New World aggravated the crisis of authority in Europe. The crisis, however, also helped to promote overseas enterprises. Eager to enlist political allies against Protestant dissenters, popes during this era used land grants in the New World as rewards to faithful monarchs. At the same time, England's Protestant rulers, constantly fearful of being outflanked by Catholic adversaries, promoted the development of a powerful navy and geographical exploration as defensive measures.

### The Spanish Empire in America

Spain's Atlantic explorations created a diplomatic crisis with Portugal. In 1493, the pope settled the

dispute by drawing a line approximately 300 miles west of Portugal's westernmost holdings in the Atlantic. Spanish exploration was to be confined to areas west of the line (that is, to the New World) and Portuguese activity to the eastern side (to Africa and India). A year later, Spain and Portugal revised the agreement in the **Treaty of Tordesillas**, which moved the line 1,000 miles westward. This revision unwittingly gave Portugal a claim in the New World because part of Brazil bulged across the line. Most of the Western Hemisphere, however, fell to Spain.

With the pope's blessing, Ferdinand and Isabella in 1493 issued Columbus instructions that set the

**Treaty of Tordesillas** The treaty, signed by Spain and Portugal in 1494, that moved the line separating Spanish and Portuguese territory in the non-Christian world and gave Portugal a claim to

tone for Spanish colonization in America. They told him to make the conversion of the natives to Catholicism his first priority. In addition, they authorized Columbus to establish a trading center. He would receive one-eighth of the profits, and the rest would go directly to the Spanish Crown. Ferdinand and Isabella also told Columbus to continue exploring the Caribbean region for "good things, riches, and more secrets."

Although Columbus was a skillful navigator and sailor, he was not a particularly gifted leader. Spanish officials and settlers could never forget that he was a foreigner, and they gave him only grudging loyalty. Only after Columbus was removed from office did Ferdinand and Isabella's vision of missionary outreach and riches begin to materialize.

**Hernando Cortés** helped to realize that vision. In 1519, he and an army of six hundred Spanish soldiers landed in Mexico. Within three years, Cortés and his small force had conquered the mighty Aztec Empire. Smallpox and other deadly diseases, the Spaniards' armor and guns, and help from numerous native enemies of the Aztecs contributed to this quick and decisive victory. Establishing themselves in Mexico City, the Spanish took over the Aztecs' tributary empire, quickly bringing the Indian groups to the south under their rule.

The Spanish Crown supported many other exploratory ventures. In 1513 and again in 1521, Juan Ponce de Leon led expeditions to Florida. (For an account of a later expedition to Florida, see Individual Choices: Cabeza de Vaca.) The Spanish sent Hernando de Soto to claim the Mississippi River in 1539. De Soto penetrated into the heart of the mound builders' territory in present-day Louisiana and Mississippi. One year later, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado left Mexico to look for some supposedly very wealthy Indian towns. Coronado crossed what are now New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Kansas in his unsuccessful quest for these rumored "cities of gold." These explorations were but a few of the ambitious undertakings of Spanish conquistadors.

Increasingly, the conquistadors' hunger for riches outstripped the quest for souls or trade. In Bolivia, Colombia, and north-central Mexico, explorers unearthed rich silver deposits. In 1533,

Francisco Pizarro conquered the Inca Empire, an advanced civilization that glittered with gold. Enslaving local Indians to provide labor, Spanish officials moved quickly to rip precious metals out of the ground. Between 1545 and 1660, Indian and African slaves dug over 7 million pounds of silver from these mines—twice the volume of silver held by all of Europe before 1492. In the process, Spain became the richest nation in Europe.

### **Philip, Elizabeth, and the English Challenge**

Spain's early successes in the New World stirred conflict in Europe, particularly with England. Tension between Spain and England had been running high ever since Henry VIII divorced his Spanish wife. That he quit the Catholic church to do so and began permitting Protestant reforms in England deepened the affront. Firmly wedded to the Catholic church, Spain was aggressive in denouncing England. For his part, Henry was concerned primarily with domestic issues and steered away from direct confrontations with Spain.

The Spanish threat could no longer be ignored after Henry VIII's daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558. Relations between Spain and England deteriorated after Elizabeth rejected Philip II's offer of marriage. (The Spanish monarch had been married to Elizabeth's half sister, Mary, a Catholic, who ruled England between 1553 and

Hernando Cortés Spanish soldier and explorer who conquered the Aztecs and claimed Mexico for Spain.  
conquistadors Spanish soldiers who conquered the Indian civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru.

Francisco Pizarro Spanish soldier and explorer who conquered the Incas and claimed Peru for Spain.

Inca Empire The Indian civilization, based in present-day Peru, that ruled peoples in the lands from northern Ecuador to central Chile until the Spanish conquest.



1558.) Elizabeth was determined to be her own ruler and to steer England on a Protestant course. That course resulted in a collision when Philip II in 1567 sent an army of twenty thousand soldiers to the Low Countries to crush Protestantism there. To counter Philip's threat just across the English Channel, Elizabeth began providing secret aid to the Dutch Protestants, supporting a revolt against Spanish rule.

She also struck at Philip's New World empire. In 1577, Elizabeth secretly authorized the English privateer Francis Drake to attack Spanish ships in the area reserved for Spain under the Treaty of Tordesillas. Drake raided Spanish ships and seized tons of gold and silver during a three-year cruise around the world. Philip demanded that Drake be hanged for piracy, but Elizabeth rewarded the captain on his return in 1580 by knighting him.

The conflict between Elizabeth's England and Philip's Spain escalated during the 1580s. In 1585, Elizabeth incensed the Spanish king by sending an army of six thousand troops across the Channel to aid Dutch rebels. Philip retaliated by supporting a plot within England to have the Catholic Mary Stuart—Mary Queen of Scots—usurp Elizabeth's throne. Elizabeth was outraged when the plot was exposed and executed her cousin for treason. Philip, in turn, was incensed that Elizabeth would behead a legitimate Catholic queen. As tensions increased, so did Drake's piracy. In 1586, Drake not only raided Spanish ships at sea but looted settlements in the New World. By 1586 war between England and Spain loomed on the horizon.

Elizabeth was open to whatever ventures might vex her troublesome brother-in-law. New World colonies promised to do precisely that. Like the rest of Europe, sixteenth-century England was experiencing a population boom that put great stress on traditional economic institutions. Farmland was becoming extremely scarce, and there was a clamor for overseas expansion. The English began eyeing the New World for this purpose.

Thus in 1578, Elizabeth granted her friend and political supporter Sir Humphrey Gilbert permission to found a colony in America. In 1583 he set out with two hundred colonists for what is today Newfoundland. Gilbert and his party were ultimately lost at sea.

Gilbert's vision lived on with his half brother, Sir Walter **Raleigh**, a great favorite of Queen Elizabeth. Petitioned by Raleigh, the queen gladly gave the dashing young man Gilbert's former land grant. To repay her kindness, Raleigh named the proposed colony Virginia, in honor of the unwed queen.

For his initial settlement, Raleigh chose an island off the coast of present-day North Carolina. He advertised **Roanoke Island** as an "American Eden" where the Indians were friendly innocents and "the earth bringeth

forth all things in abundance, as in the first Creation, without toile or labour." Encouraged by such rosy promises, 108 settlers sailed to Roanoke in 1585. The venture started out peacefully enough, as the Indians and Europeans labored to understand each other. A dispute over a silver cup, however, led to a series of English raids against Indian villages and an armed confrontation between the two societies. Before the conflict was resolved, trust and friendship had broken down. Thus when Francis Drake visited Roanoke in the late summer of 1586 to warn of a Spanish raid, most of the settlers chose to go back to England with him. Fifteen men remained on the island to protect Raleigh's claim, but none survived.

Despite this loss, Raleigh sent John White, another English courtier, with a new party of settlers in 1587. Remaining only a month, White concluded that his community of ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children was safe and well established and set sail for England to get supplies and additional colonists. White's return was delayed considerably by a new threat from Spain.

**privateer** A captain who owned his own ship and hired his own crew and was authorized by his government to attack and capture enemy ships.

**Sir Walter Raleigh** English courtier, soldier, and adventurer who attempted to establish the Virginia Colony.

**Roanoke Island** English colony that Raleigh planted on an island off North Carolina in 1585; the colonists who did not return to England had disappeared without a trace by 1590.

## INDIVIDUAL CHOICES

### Escape and Exploration



#### Cabeza de Vaca

*Captured by Indians along the Gulf Coast of Spanish Florida, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was made a slave. Most of his companions were afraid to resist or run away, but Cabeza de Vaca chose freedom over safety, eventually leading a small party of men all the way back to Mexico. Courtesy of Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY.*

Ever since leaving Spain in June 1527, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had survived one disaster after another. But in November 1528, this heir to a long line of Spanish nobles found himself in a sorrier state than he ever could have imagined: he was a slave belonging to a tribe of Indians along the Gulf Coast of America.

Hardship was nothing new to Núñez. Like so many others in his generation of young nobles, he had chosen a military career and, during this time of intense competition among European powers, had often been in great danger. Early in his career, he had fought in the Battle of Ravenna, in which twenty thousand men were killed, and he had earned a reputation for bravery and good sense under fire. Since that time, he had established such a name for himself that he was made second-incommand of the expedition that was to colonize Florida in 1527. His future appeared bright.

But the expedition seemed cursed from the start. Arriving in the West Indies, the small fleet was hit by a hurricane, and most of the vessels were destroyed. Finally landing somewhere near Tampa Bay in May 1528, the commander, Pánfilo de Narváez, chose to divide his force, leading a small detachment overland in order to explore the country. The unfamiliar and rough terrain along the coast made travel difficult, and the Indians the Spaniards met were not friendly. After a series of running battles, the Spanish expedition was all but wiped out, and the survivors were enslaved by their Indian captors.

Escape seemed impossible. The Indians held the few surviving Spaniards at sites dis-

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tant from each other, eliminating any chance for them to plan a getaway. And the natives' hostility, combined with the unfamiliar terrain, promised certain death to anyone escaping alone. Most of the Spaniards settled dejectedly into life as servants. But not He chose strategy over surrender. He later wrote, "I set to contriving how I might transfer to the forest-dwellers, who looked more propitious [agreeable]." He hit upon the notion of serving as a trader, striving always "to making my traffic profitable so I could get food and good treatment." In this way, he earned a degree of freedom to travel among various tribes, and although he experienced great hardship, he was able to contact other survivors and explore for escape routes.

Núñez served as a traveling trader among the Gulf Coast Indians for six years. He tried to escape, but his masters chased him down and recaptured him. He needed companions, but other survivors fearfully refused to join him. Finally, in 1534, Núñez encountered Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and Castillo's black servant, Estevanico. For six months, Núñez pleaded and planned with these three, but only when the Indians announced they were splitting up and taking their Spanish slaves in different directions did the whole company resolve to escape. "Although the season was late and the prickly pears nearly gone, we still hoped to travel a long distance on acorns which we might find in the woods," Núñez recalled.

Having made this fateful choice, Núñez and his companions were forced to see things through. For fourteen months, the four Spaniards traveled from village to village, exchanging their skills as healers for food, clothing, and other necessities. Finally, in the early spring of 1536, the little party overtook a Spanish exploring and slave-raiding company. "They were dumbfounded at the sight of me, strangely undressed and in company with Indians," Núñez reported. "They just

stood staring for a long time, not thinking to hail me or come closer to ask questions." Over the next several months, Núñez and his companions rested up and composed a memoir of their experiences, which they presented to the king himself.

The outcome of Núñez's choice to escape was not only his own freedom and that of his companions but a new season of territorial expansion and exploration for Spain. In the course of his travels, he visited places that no other European had ever seen, he saw things that would dazzle those who eventually followed his course, and he heard about treasure that prompted generations of Spaniards and others to search for gold, silver, and other riches in the deserts of the American Southwest. Núñez's stories of vast amounts of gold, silver, and precious gems located just to the north of Spain's New World frontier captured the imagination of a new generation of conquistadors and stirred enormous new interests in America's interior.

## Spain's Crisis and England's Opportunity

Each New World claim asserted by England, France, or some other country represented the loss of a piece of treasure that Spain considered necessary for its continued survival. Philip finally undertook a gamble designed to remove the Protestant threat, rid him of Elizabeth's vexing harassment, and demonstrate to the rest of Europe that Spain intended to exercise absolute authority over the Atlantic world. In the spring of 1585, Philip decided to invade England.

He began massing the largest marine force the world had ever witnessed. Finally in the spring of 1588 he launched an **armada** of 132 warships carrying over 3,000 cannons and an invasion force of 30,000 men. Arriving off England in July, the Spanish Armada ran up against small, maneuverable English ships commanded by Elizabeth's pirate captains. Drake and his fleet seriously crippled the sluggish Spanish fleet. Then a fierce storm scattered the remaining Spanish ships and destroyed Philip's chance to end English advances into his New World realm. Although Spanish power remained great, the Armada disaster ended Spain's near monopoly over New World colonization.

John White returned to Roanoke in 1590, only to find the colony abandoned. The only clue to what had happened was the word "Croatoan" carved on a doorpost. The Croatoan Indians lived on a neighboring island. The carving led to speculation that the colonists had either gone to live with this tribe or had been attacked by them. Neither theory has ever been confirmed. White returned to England, but found that Raleigh's fortune had been exhausted. Only after Elizabeth's death in 1603 did Englishmen return to carry out Raleigh's dream of an English empire in the New World.

## European Empires in America

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spain, France, England, and a number of other European nations vied for control of the Americas and for domination of transatlantic trade. By the time

England became deeply involved in New World ventures, Spain, France, and Holland had already made major progress toward establishing empires in America. These European settlements not only affected England's colonization process profoundly, but through their interactions among themselves and with the Native Americans, they also created unique societies in North America whose presence influenced the entire course of the continent's history.

## The Troubled Spanish Colonial Empire

Although the destruction of the Armada in 1588 struck a terrible blow at Spain's military power, the Spanish Empire continued to grow. By the end of the seventeenth century, it stretched from New Mexico southward through Central America and much of South America into the Caribbean islands and northward again into Florida. Governing such a vast empire was difficult. Two agencies in Spain, the House of Trade and the Council of the Indies, set Spanish colonial policy. In the colonies, Crown-appointed viceroys wielded military and political power in each of the four divisions of the empire. The Spanish colonies had local governments as well, and each town had a *cabildo secular*, a municipal council, as well as judges and other minor officials. The colonial administrators were appointed rather than elected; most came from Spain.

Over the centuries, as the layers of bureaucracy developed, corruption and inefficiency developed too. The Spanish government made efforts to regulate colonial affairs, sending *visitadores* to inspect local government operations. Despite these safeguards, colonial officials ignored their written instructions and failed to enforce laws.

One major source of corruption was a persistent shortage of labor. The Spanish adapted their traditional institutions to address the demand for work-

**armada** A fleet of warships.

*cabildo secular* Secular municipal council that provided local government in Spain's New World empire.

ers in mines and on plantations. In Spain, **feudal** landlords, called *encomenderos*, were entitled by their military service to the king to harness the labor of peasants. In New Spain, Indians took the place of the peasants in what was called the *encomienda* system. Under a law passed in 1512, administrators gave to the Spanish colonists Indian workers, who were required to labor for nine months each year. The *encomendero* paid a tax to the Crown for each Indian he received and agreed to teach his workers the Catholic faith, Spanish Language and culture, and a "civilized" vocation.

Such workers came from among Indians who peacefully acknowledged Spanish rule. For Indians who did not, a completely different labor system prevailed. Under Spanish law, any Indian who resisted Spanish rule "had no rights save such as the conqueror might freely choose to concede to them." Thus any Indian rebels who survived an uprising against Spanish authority could be put to death or enslaved.

As a result of church pressure, the Spanish government issued a law that required the conquistadors to explain to Indians the obligations they owed to the Spanish king and to the Catholic church, and to offer to absorb them peacefully if they would acknowledge those obligations. Thereafter, all conquistadors had to take with them a priest who would certify that they had read (in Spanish, of course) a document called the **Requerimiento** to each Indian group they encountered. Indians who acknowledged the king's authority were to receive the "protection" of the *encomienda* system. Those who did not could be enslaved.

Colonists and conquistadors often ignored even these slim protections. Conquistadors frequently stood outside an Indian village, read the *Requerimiento* in a whisper, and then attacked when the community made no immediate response. Some simply forged a priest's signature, anticipating that by the time the document reached administrators in faraway Madrid, no one would know the difference. Others ignored the law altogether.

As such behavior demonstrates, a degree of tension always existed between New Spain and old. Bureaucratic and church interference in the labor system was one source of tension. Taxes were another. Spanish colonists were taxed to support the

huge and largely corrupt, unrepresentative, and self-serving imperial bureaucracy. But for many decades, the wealth produced within this empire overshadowed all governing problems. The gold, silver, and copper mined by Indian and later by African slaves satisfied the Spanish government until the end of the seventeenth century.

### **The French Presence in America**

If the Spanish overgoverned their New World provinces, the French may have erred in the opposite direction. Despite the long existence of the fur trade in Canada, French colonial authorities at first took little interest in it. **Samuel de Champlain**, the "father of New France," established trading posts in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, founded the city of Quebec, and in 1608 formed an enduring alliance with the Huron Indians. But officials in France did little to capitalize on the achievements of Champlain and other enterprising individuals.

In 1627, the king awarded a group of his favorites a charter to develop resources in New France. The resulting Company of One Hundred Associates failed for several reasons. Few French

**feudal** Relating to a system in which landowners held broad powers over peasants or tenant farmers in exchange for their loyalty and for protection from abuse by others.

**encomienda system** A system of bonded labor in which Indians were assigned to Spanish plantation and mine owners in exchange for the payment of a tax and an agreement to "civilize" and convert them to Catholicism.

**Requerimiento** A statement delivered in Spanish explaining the obligations of Indian people to the king of Spain and to the church and requiring their cooperation; Indians who failed to accept the statement could be killed or enslaved.

**Samuel de Champlain** French explorer who traced the St. Lawrence River inland to the Great Lakes, founded the city of Quebec, and formed the French alliance with the Huron Indians.

**New France** The colony established by France in what is now Canada and the Great Lakes region of the United States.

Catholics showed any interest in migrating to New France. French Protestants, who might have emigrated to avoid religious persecution, were forbidden to move to the colony. Thus the Company of One Hundred Associates did not attract enough rent-paying tenants to make the envisioned estates profitable. Equally important, the few French peasants and small farmers who did venture to the New World found life in the woods preferable to life as tenant farmers. So-called ***coureurs de bois***, or "runners of the woods," married Indian women and lived among the tribes, returning to the French settlements only when they had enough furs to sell to make the trip worthwhile. Because of their activity, the fur trade gradually came to dominate French Canada's culture and economy.

Frustrated by the lack of profits from the Company of One Hundred Associates, the king revoked its charter in 1633 and in the following year created the French West India Company. This company became quite profitable by focusing on the fur trade. Setting up posts in Quebec, Montreal, and some more remote locations, the French West India Company became the primary outfitter of and buyer from the *coureurs de bois*.

Local officials exercised considerable control *over* colonial affairs in New France. The governor of New France was in charge of Indian matters and military decisions. An ***intendant*** directed the judicial and commercial affairs of the colony, and a Catholic bishop supervised religious affairs. Colonists had no representative assembly, although the governor did call on colonists for their opinion when he wished.

Only after 1663 did the French Crown begin to intervene seriously in Canadian affairs. In that year, the king revoked the French West India Company's charter and took direct control of New France. While the king continued to reap enormous profits from the fur trade, his interests ranged beyond this single source of income. In 1673, a French expedition led by Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette set out to explore the riverways that had long been the domain of the Indians and the *coureurs de bois*. Leaving Green Bay on Lake Michigan, Marquette and Joliet eventually located the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and from there traced the origins of the Mississippi. Although they did not follow the great river all the way to its mouth,

they speculated, correctly, that it led to the Gulf of Mexico.

An ambitious French nobleman, **Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle**, recognized the strategic and economic promise in Joliet and Marquette's discovery. In 1683, he and a party of French *coureurs de bois* and Indians followed the Mississippi all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle immediately claimed the new territory for Louis XIV of France, naming it Louisiana in his honor. In 1698, the king sent settlers to the lower Mississippi valley under the leadership of Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville. In 1718, French authorities built the city of New Orleans to serve as the capital of the new territory.

The acquisition of Louisiana was a major accomplishment for France. The newly discovered riverway gave the French a rich, unexploited source of furs as well as a warm-water port. But perhaps of greatest importance was Louisiana's strategic location between Spain's claims in the Southwest and England's colonies along the eastern seaboard. Controlling this piece of real estate gave Louis a valuable bargaining chip.

### **The Dutch Enterprise**

Another source of competition to Spain's New World monopoly came from a former colony of Spain: the Netherlands. The Armada disaster tipped the scales in favor of Dutch Protestant

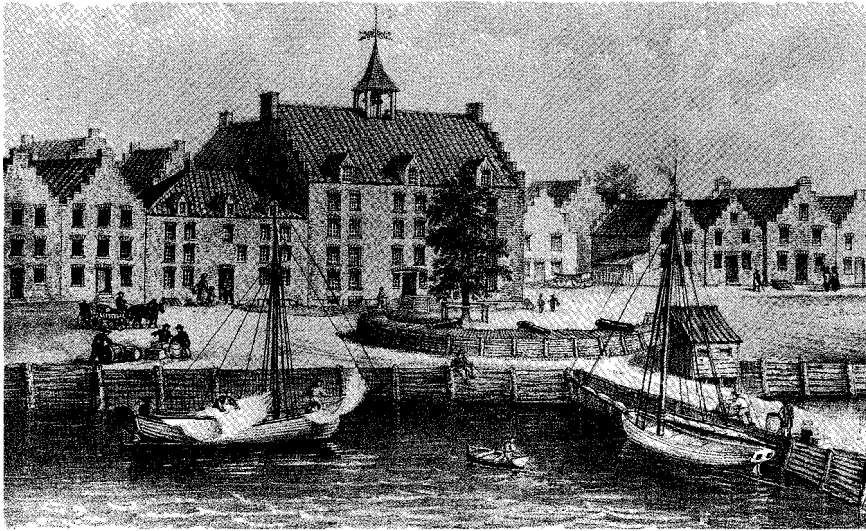
***coureurs de bois*** Independent French fur traders who lived among the Indians and sold furs to the French; literally, "runners of the woods."

**French West India Company** Company of investors that became profitable by ignoring royal orders and engaging in the fur trade in Canada.

***intendant*** A French government official who directed colonial judicial and commercial affairs.

**Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle** French explorer who followed the Mississippi River from its origin in present-day Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico in 1683, giving France a claim to the entire river-way and adjoining territory.

**Louisiana** French colony south of New France, it included the entire area drained by the Mississippi River and all its tributary rivers.



◆ New Amsterdam's location at the mouth of the Hudson River made the Dutch settlement a particularly important colonial trading center. Furs flowed down the river from Fort Orange (near modern Albany, New York), while guns, tools, and other trade goods traveled the other way. Both river and sea traffic were central to the city's existence, as shown in this 1679 painting of the Dutch statehouse, which stood overlooking the harbor. *Prints Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photography. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation.*

rebels in 1588, and the newly independent nation quickly developed a thriving commercial economy. Dutch privateers outshone Queen Elizabeth's in the profitable raiding of Spanish and Portuguese treasure ships, and by the 1630s the Dutch dominated the African slave trade. In 1634, Dutch forces overcame weak Spanish and Portuguese resistance, conquering a number of islands in the Caribbean. Holland's next goal was to establish an empire on the North American mainland.

Henry Hudson established Holland's first serious claim to American territory in 1609, when he explored the east coast in search for the Northwest Passage. He sailed up a large river that he hoped would lead him west to the Pacific. After realizing that he had not found the hoped-for Northwest Passage, he returned to Holland and reported that the Hudson valley was very pleasant country. But the region attracted little immediate attention.

In 1621, the Dutch **West India Company** was formed for planting colonies on mainland America. The company's director, Peter Minuit, negotiated a lease for the entire island of Manhattan from the Manhatas Indians in 1626. For three more years, the company did nothing to attract settlers.

But in 1629, the Dutch West India Company drew up a comprehensive plan to maximize profits and minimize dependence on local Indians for food and other support. To encourage the agricultural development necessary to support the fur in

dustry, the company offered huge estates called patroonships to any company stockholder willing and able to bring fifty colonists to New Netherland at his own expense. The patroons would enjoy broad powers over their tenants. However, few prosperous Dutchmen were interested in becoming New World pioneers. Rensselaerswyck, the estate of Kilian Van Rensselaer, was the only patroonship to develop in accordance with the company's plan.

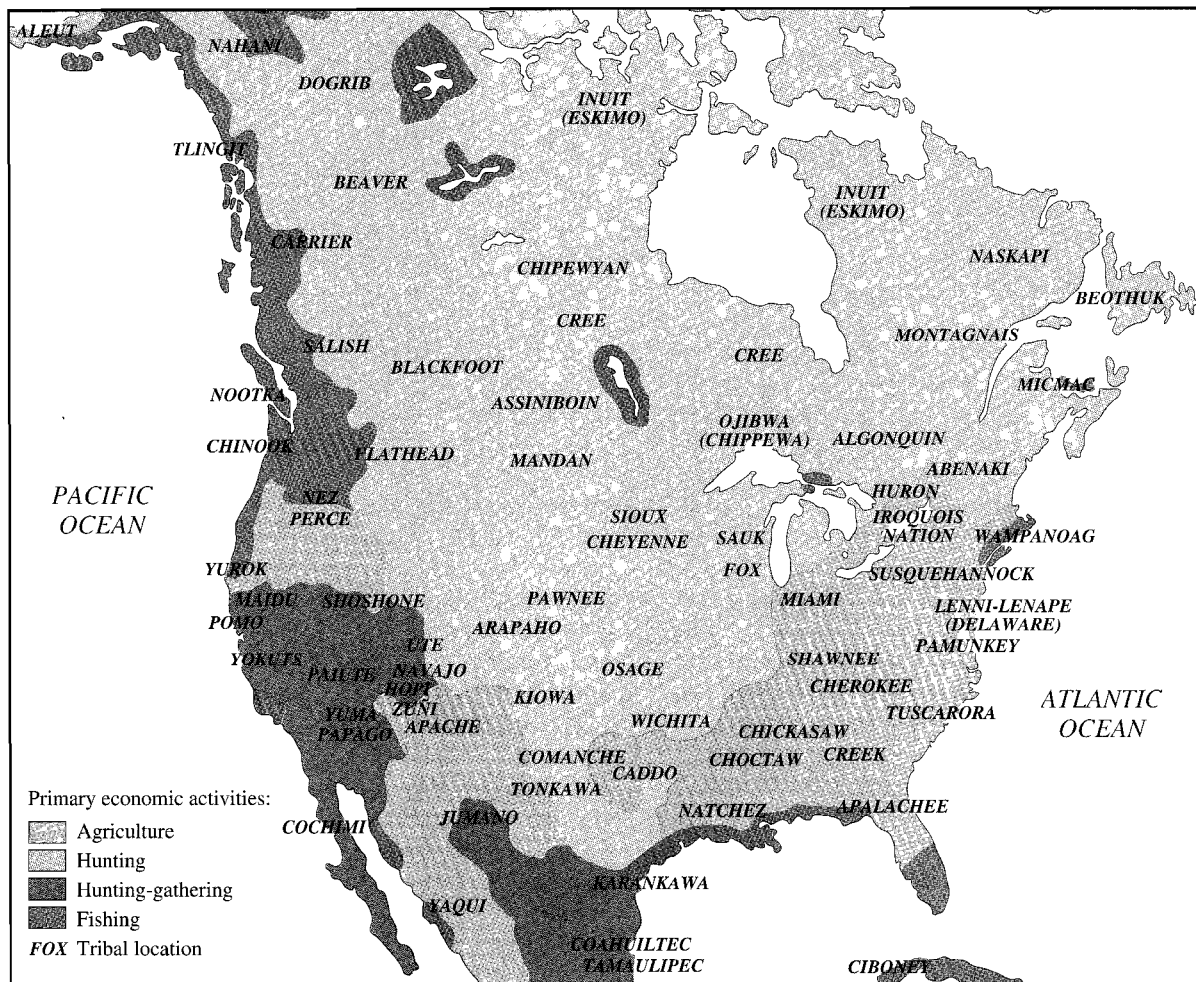
Settlers seeking land did come on their own. At first, people from just about anywhere were welcome in New Netherland, including German and

Henry Hudson Dutch ship captain and explorer who sailed up the Hudson River in 1609, giving the Netherlands a claim to the area now occupied by New York.

Dutch West India Company Dutch investment company formed in 1621 to develop colonies in North America.

patroonship A huge grant of land given to any Dutchman who, at his own expense, brought fifty colonists to New Netherland; the colonists became the tenants of the estate owner.

New Netherland The name of the colony founded by the Dutch West India Company in present-day New York; its capital was New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.



◆ **MAP 2.1 Indian Economies in North America** Indian economic activities helped to shape patterns of European settlement and investment in the New World. Regions that were primarily agricultural, like the Atlantic shoreline, lent themselves to European farming activities. Farther north and west, however, where hunting played a more prominent role in native life, the fur trade was a more attractive investment for European settlers.

French Protestants, free and enslaved Africans, Catholics, Jews, and Muslims. In 1638, four hundred Swedish immigrants gained financial support and political blessings from the Dutch company to establish a colony called **New Sweden** within the boundaries of New Netherland along the Delaware River. For about seventeen years, New Sweden existed peacefully and independently as a fur-trading community. By 1655, however, the Swedes had be-

come so successful as fur traders that they aroused the jealousy of New Netherland governor Peter

**New Sweden** Swedish fur-trading community established with the assistance of the Dutch on the Delaware River in 1638 and absorbed by New Netherland in 1655.



Stuyvesant. He sent a militia force larger than the entire Swedish population to demand their submission. The Swedes had little choice but to agree.

## Indians and the European Challenge

Native Americans did not sit idly by while the European powers carved out empires in North America. Some joined the newcomers, serving as advisers and companions. Others sought to use the Europeans as allies to accomplish their own economic, diplomatic, or military goals (see Map 2.1). Still others, overwhelmed by the onset of European diseases, withdrew into the interior. The changes in native America created both obstacles and opportunities, giving shape to the patterns of expansion and conflict that characterized the colonial world.

### The Indian Frontier in New Spain

Indian assistance had been critical in Spain's successful military campaigns throughout the Americas. In Mexico, for example, groups who had been forced to pay tribute to the Aztec Empire gladly allied themselves with the Spanish to win their independence. Their hopes were soon dashed when the Spanish simply replaced the Aztecs as the new lords of a tributary empire.

A similar pattern occurred wherever the Spanish went in North America. The rumors of great wealth that spread after Cabeza de Vaca's adventure pulled conquistadors northward. The Spanish repeatedly encountered new Indian populations, read the Requerimiento, and placed the Indians under Spanish rule as either serfs or slaves.

Spanish expansion met little native resistance until 1598, when a particularly brutal conquistador named **Don Juan de Oñate** led a large expedition to the Rio Grande region of New Mexico. Many of the Pueblo people soon found themselves subjected to Spanish and Catholic authority. Some, however, resisted Oñate's efforts to force Spanish culture and religion onto them. The conquistador chose to make an example of the **Ácoma pueblo**. It

took Oñate's troops three days to subdue the settlement. When the battle was over, Oñate ordered eight hundred Indians executed and made slaves of the nearly seven hundred remaining survivors, mostly women and children. In addition, each male survivor over the age of 25 had one foot chopped off to prevent his escape from slavery.

Despite Oñate's excesses, New Mexico remained relatively peaceful for nearly a century. Then, in 1680, the Pueblo Indians rebelled against Spanish attempts to destroy their native religion. Led by a religious prophet named Popé, the **Pueblo Revolt** left 400 Spaniards dead. The rebels captured Santa Fe and drove the surviving Spaniards from the land. The Spanish needed more than a decade to regroup sufficiently to reinvade New Mexico and recapture the territory.

Elsewhere along the northern frontier of New Spain, the unsettled nature of Indian life and the arid and uninviting character of the land made settlement unappealing to the Spaniards. Efforts at mining, raising livestock, and missionizing in Arizona and Texas were largely unsuccessful until after 1700.

### The Indian World in the Southeast

Members of Spanish exploring expeditions under would-be conquistadors like Ponce de Leon and de Soto were the first Europeans to contact the mound builder societies and other Indian groups in the

**serfs** Peasants who were bound to a particular estate but, unlike slaves, were not the personal property of the estate owner and received traditional feudal protections.

**Don Juan de Oñate** Spaniard who conquered New Mexico and claimed it for Spain in the 1590s.

**Ácoma pueblo** Pueblo Indian community that resisted Spanish authority in 1598 and was destroyed by the Spanish.

**Pueblo Revolt** Indian rebellion against Spanish authority in 1680 led by Pope; succeeded in driving the Spanish out of New Mexico for nearly a decade.

**Santa Fe** Spanish colonial town established in 1609; eventually the capital of the province of New Mexico.

Southeast. Although their great cities impressed the Spaniards, the Cherokees, Creeks, and other agricultural groups had no gold and could not be enslaved easily. The conquistadors moved on without attempting to impose Spanish rule or the Catholic religion on these peoples. Given sufficient incentive, however, the Spanish were quick to strike at Indian independence and culture.

In Florida, for example, the need to protect Spanish ships from English and other raiders led Spain to establish garrisons like **St. Augustine**, founded in 1565. Using these military posts as staging areas, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries ranged outward to bring Catholicism to Indians in the region. By 1600, they had established missions from the Gulf coast of Florida all the way to Georgia.

Although the Spanish presence in the region was small, its impact was enormous. The Spanish introduced European diseases into the densely populated towns in the Mississippi River region. Epidemics wiped out entire Native American civilizations and forced survivors to abandon their cities and entirely modify their ways of life.

Epidemic diseases forced the Cherokees, Creeks, and other groups to abandon city life in favor of a village-based economy that combined agriculture, hunting, and gathering. The consequences in the Southeast were similar to those in the Northeast; warfare became increasingly common. Groups became more inclined to join in formal alliances for mutual support. And when new Europeans arrived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Indians found it beneficial to welcome them as trading partners and allies.

For example, the **Creek Confederacy**, a union of many groups who had survived the Spanish epidemics, played a careful diplomatic game. The confederacy balanced the competing demands of the Spanish and French, and later the English, taking as much advantage as possible of the competition among the European powers.

## The Indian World in the Northeast

By the time Europeans had begun serious exploration and settlement of the Northeast, the economic and cultural changes among Indians that had begun between 1350 and 1450 had resulted in

the creation of two massive alliance systems. On one side were the Hurons, Algonquins, Abenakis, Micmacs, Ottawas, and several smaller tribes. On the other was the Iroquois Confederacy.

The costs and benefits of sustained European contact first fell to the Hurons and their allies. The Abenakis, Micmacs, and others who lived along the northern shore of the Atlantic were the first groups drawn into trade with French and other fishermen. As the *coureurs du bois* pushed farther into Indian territory, these were the Native American groups they met in the woods and with whom they settled and intermarried. These family ties became firm economic bonds when formal French exploration brought these groups into more direct contact with the European trading world.

The strong alliance between these Indians and the French posed a serious threat to Iroquois plans for expansion. The arrival of the Dutch in the Albany area, however, offered the Iroquois an attractive diplomatic opportunity. In 1623, the Dutch West India Company invited representatives from the Iroquois Confederacy to a meeting at Fort Orange, offering them friendship and trade. The Iroquois responded enthusiastically but sought to dominate this trade by imposing their authority over all of the Indian groups already trading with the Dutch. They began a bloody war with the **Mohicans**, who had been the Dutch traders' main source for furs in the Hudson valley. By 1627, the Iroquois had driven the Mohicans away from the river and had taken control over the flow of furs.

Recognizing the value of a powerful alliance, the Dutch abandoned a long-standing policy of

**St. Augustine** First colonial city in the present-day United States; located in Florida and founded by Pedro Menendez de Aviles for Spain in 1565.

**Creek Confederacy** Confederacy of Indians living in the Southeast; formed after the spread of European diseases to permit a cooperative economic and military system among survivors.

**Fort Orange** Dutch trading post established near present-day Albany, New York, in 1614.

**Mohicans** Algonkian-speaking Indians who lived along the Hudson River. They were dispossessed in a war with the Iroquois Confederacy, and eventually were all but exterminated.



- ◆ Alfred Jacob Miller based this 1837 painting of eighteenth-century mounted buffalo hunters on interviews with Shoshone Indians he met on a trip through the American West. It illustrates the enormous impact the arrival of horses had on Plains Indian life. Note how few mounted men it took to drive vast numbers of animals over a cliff to their deaths. The meat, bones, and hides that would be taken from the butchered bison would provide food, clothing, tools, tents, and trade goods sufficient to support an entire band of Indians for some time. The arrival of the horse on the plains in the late 1600s marked the beginning of 150 years of unprecedented wealth and power for the Indians in the region. *Alfred Jacob Miller, Walter's Art Gallery, Baltimore.*

neutrality in Indian wars and a prohibition against the sale of guns to the natives. Throughout the 1630s, guns flowed up the Hudson and into the hands of the Mohawks and other Iroquois tribes, while furs from northern and western New York flowed down to Manhattan.

The Iroquois soon wiped out fur supplies in their own territory and began an even more serious push to acquire new lands. Beginning in the late 1630s, the Iroquois Confederacy entered into a long-term war against the Hurons and their allies in New France; against the Munsees, Delawares, and other groups in the Susquehanna and Delaware river valleys to the south; and even against the Iroquois-speaking Eries to the west.

Through it all, the Dutch maintained a pro-Iroquois policy. Following the massacre of a Mohican party by a joint Dutch/Mohawk force in 1643, non-Iroquois Indians living along the lower Hudson valley finally became disgusted with Dutch policies. They raided outlying Dutch settlements and maintained a light siege on Manhattan itself. The Dutch responded with a winter campaign, staging surprise attacks against Indian settlements, burning houses and food stores, killing those who resisted, and capturing and enslaving those

who did not. By the spring of 1644, Indian resistance was broken.

### **The New Indian World of the Plains**

Though largely unexplored and untouched by Europeans, the vast area of the Great Plains also underwent profound change during the period of initial contacts. Climate change, the pressure of shifting populations, and the introduction of novel European goods created an altogether new culture and economy among the Indians in this region.

Before about 1400, Indians living on the plains rarely strayed far from the riverways that form the Missouri River drainage. The climate change that affected their neighbors to the east had a similar effect on them: growing seasons became shorter, and the need to hunt became greater. But this

climatic force that undermined their existing way of life provided an attractive alternative as well: buffalo.

The buffalo, or American bison, is particularly well adapted to survival in cold climates. Unlike European cattle, which often starve when snow buries the grasses on which they graze, buffalo use their hooves to dig out the grass they need. Although buffalo were always a presence on the plains, the cold weather during the Little Ice Age spurred a massive increase in their numbers. Between 1300 and 1800, herds numbering in the millions roamed the new environment created by the climate change.

The Wichitas, Pawnees, and Arikaras virtually abandoned their agricultural villages and became hunters. The Hidatsas split into factions: those called Hidatsas remained in their villages, and those called Crows went off to the grasslands to hunt. The Mandans and several other groups remained in their villages and established a thriving trade with hunters like the Arikaras.

The increase in buffalo not only provided an attractive resource for the Indians already on the Great Plains but also drew new groups to the area. As the climate farther north became unbearably severe, the Blackfeet and other Indians swept down from the subarctic northeast to hunt on the plains. Other Algonkian-speaking Indians, such as the Gros Ventres, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, soon followed.

As the climate change affected the Northeast and groups like the Hurons and Iroquois expanded their territories, many other groups chose to flee rather than fight or be absorbed by the warring confederacies. These pressures became even more severe as the coureurs du bois carried the fur trade farther west. Experiencing such pressure, groups like the **Lakotas** moved into the plains to hunt but maintained trading relations with their Dakota neighbors in Minnesota, who continued to farm and harvest wild rice and other crops.

The buffalo also began to play an important role on the southern plains. The Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas specialized in hunting the ever-increasing herds and then exchanging part of their take for village-based products from their neighbors and kinsmen the Navajos, Hopis, and Pueblos.

Although buffalo hunting was attractive to many of the groups displaced by climate change and population pressure, at first the life of a hunter was ex-

tremely difficult. Lacking any draft animals larger than dogs, early plains hunters had to travel light and on foot. That changed after the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico in 1680.

One unintentional outcome of the Pueblo Revolt was the liberation of thousands of Spanish horses. The Pueblos had little use for these animals, but the Kiowas and Comanches quickly put the animals to use. Horses could move much larger loads than dogs and could survive on a diet of grass rather than taking a share of the meat. In less than a generation, horses became a mainstay of the buffalo-hunting culture on the southern plains. From there, horses spread quickly to other hunting peoples.

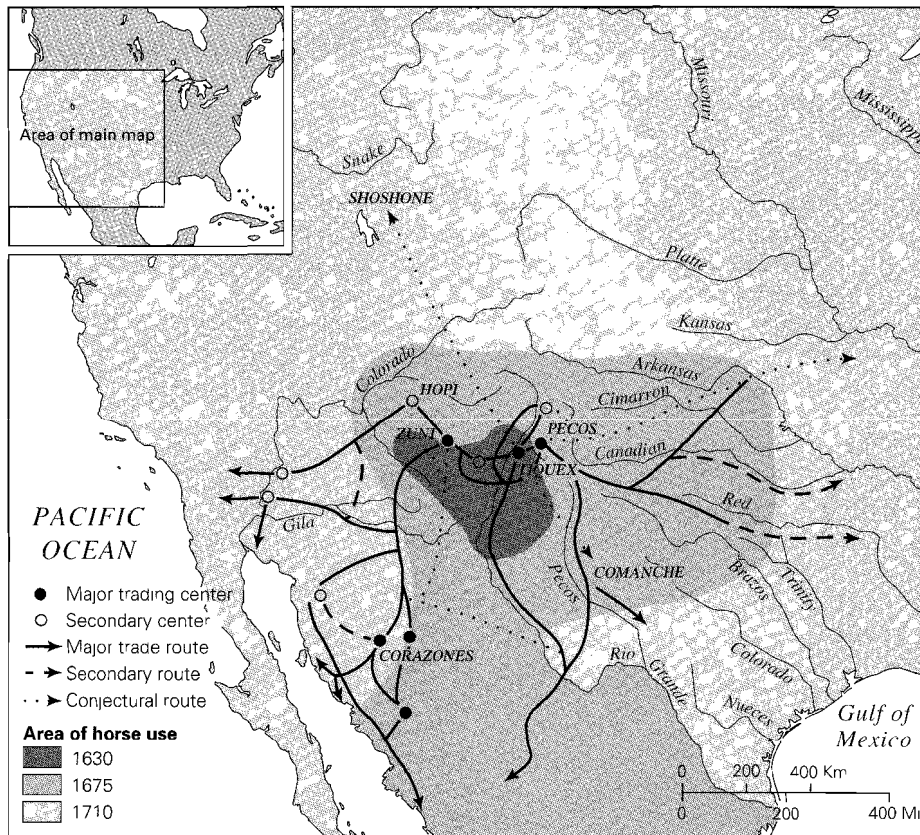
Northern plains dwellers like the Shoshones quickly began acquiring horses from their southwestern kinsmen and trading partners. Following a northward path along the eastern flank of the Rocky Mountains, horses were passed from one group to another. Well adapted to grasslands and virtually free from natural predators or diseases, horses greatly increased in number. By 1730, virtually all of the plains hunting peoples had some horses and were clamoring for more.

The continual demand for horses and the need for space in which to hunt created a new dynamic on the Great Plains (see Map 2.2). After the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico, Indians could obtain horses only through warfare and trade, and both increased significantly. Surprise raids to steal horses from neighboring Indian groups and European settlements brought both honor and wealth to those who were successful. As groups raided back and forth, human captives also became valuable prizes. In exchange for horses, human cap-

**buffalo** The American bison, a large member of the ox family, native to North America and the staple of the Plains Indian economy between the fifteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.

**Blackfeet** Algonkian-speaking Indians from the Canadian subarctic who moved onto the Great Plains in the sixteenth century.

**Lakotas/Dakotas** Collectively the Sioux Nation; Lakotas were the western branch, living mostly on the Great Plains, and Dakotas were the eastern branch, living mostly in the prairie and lakes region of the Upper Midwest.



**MAP 2.2 Intergroup Trading on the Southern Plains** Located on New Spain's northern frontier and Louisiana's western frontier, the southern plains became a hotbed of cultural and economic interchange among Indian groups and between them and Europeans. As this map shows, trade routes that had existed before Europeans entered the region acquired added importance in distributing the novel technologies and ideas that the newcomers brought with them. The most important of these contributions was horses, which followed these trade routes and became the single most important feature in Plains Indian life.

tives might be sold as slaves to the Spanish. Thus horse trading and slave trading became linked.

company executives, life in the colonies developed in its own peculiar ways. Entire regions in what would become the United States assumed cultural contours that would shape all future developments in each.

## Conquest and Accommodation in a Shared New World

## New Spain's Northern Frontiers

Old World cultures, Native American historical dynamics, and New World environmental conditions combined to create new societies in European

Daily life along the Spanish frontier in New Mexico combined the formality of Spain's highly

pioneer settlements. Despite the regulatory efforts of Spanish bureaucrats, French royal officials, and Dutch

organized imperial structure and the disorderliness that one might expect to find in a place so distant and different from the rest of the empire. Spanish notions of civil order were rooted in the local community—city, town, or village—and its ruling elite. Responsibility for maintaining order belonged to the *cabildo secular*, the secular town council composed of members of the elite. In all of its colonies, Spain established towns and immediately turned authority over to a ruling *cabildo*. In Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, this practice was usually successful, but in the high desert of New Mexico, it was at odds with environmental and cultural conditions.

Although economic conditions were far from ideal, Spaniards began drifting back into New Mexico after the Pueblos had been subdued. Unlike areas to the south, New Mexico offered no rich deposits of gold or silver, and the climate would not support large-scale agriculture. With neither mines nor plantations to support the *encomienda* system, the basic underpinnings of the traditional ruling order never emerged. Even so, the Spanish colonial bureaucracy followed conventional imperial procedures and made Santa Fe the official municipal center for the region.

As in the days before the Pueblo Revolt, the most attractive economic enterprise in the region was ranching. During the period of control by the Pueblos, the small flocks of sheep abandoned by the fleeing Spanish grew dramatically. By the time the Spanish returned, sheep ranching had become a reliable way to make a living. Thus, rather than concentrating near the municipal center in Santa Fe, the population in New Mexico spread out across the land. South of Santa Fe, people settled on scattered ranches. Elsewhere, they gathered in small villages established along streams, and they pooled their labor to make a living from irrigated **subsistence farming**.

Like colonists elsewhere in Spain's New World empire, the New Mexico colonists were almost entirely male. Isolated on the sheep ranch or in small villages, these men sought Indian companionship and married into local populations. The marriages brought into being lines of kinship, trade, and authority that were in sharp contrast to the imperial ideal. For example, when Navajo or Apache raid

ing parties struck, ranchers and villagers turned to their Indian relatives for protection rather than to Spanish officials in Santa Fe.

Far away from the imperial economy centered in Mexico City, New Mexicans looked northward for trading opportunities. Southern Plains Indians needed a continuous supply of horses. Facing labor shortages New Mexicans accepted Indian slaves—especially children—in exchange for horses. Soon these young captives became another important commodity in the already complex trading and raiding system that prevailed among the southwestern Indians and Spanish New Mexicans.

In this frontier world, a man's social status came to depend less on his Spanish background than on his ability to work effectively in the complicated world of kinship that prevailed in the Indian community. The people who eventually emerged as the elite class in New Mexico were those who perfected these skills. Under their influence, Santa Fe was transformed from a traditional imperial town into a cosmopolitan frontier trading center. During the next two centuries, this multiethnic elite absorbed first French and then Anglo-American newcomers while maintaining its own social, political, and economic style.

#### **Life in French Louisiana**

France's colony in Louisiana faced many of the same problems as Spain's North American possessions. Like most European settlements, Louisiana suffered from a critical shortage of labor. Few Frenchmen showed any interest in settling in Louisiana in the seventeenth century. In the first years of the colony's existence, the population consisted primarily of three groups: military men, who were generally members of the lower nobility; *coureurs de bois* from Canada looking for new sources of furs; and French craftsmen seeking in the New World the economic and social opportunities that

**subsistence farming** Farming that produces enough food for survival but does not produce a surplus that can be sold.

were denied them in France. These men had no knowledge of or interest in food production.

Recognizing the problem, the French government tried everything it could think of to make the colony more attractive to French farmers. In the late 1690s, officials in Louisiana proposed that the government pay the passage of young women of good character to the colony. Agents in France were able to attract only about twenty-four women, who arrived in the colony in 1704. But they were ill suited for the primitive life offered by Louisiana and entirely unprepared to work as farm laborers. By 1708, even officials who had been enthusiastic about the project were advising that it be discontinued. As a result, French men, like their Spanish neighbors, married Indians and, later, African slaves, creating a hybrid creole population.

In the absence of an agricultural establishment, the settlers in Louisiana depended at first on imported food, but war in Europe frequently interrupted this source. In desperation, the colonists turned to the Indians.

The Natchez, Chickasaws, and Choctaws were all well provisioned and close by. The Chickasaws refused to deal with the French, and the Natchez were sometimes helpful and sometimes hostile. But the Choctaws, locked into a war with the Chickasaws and a tense relationship with the Natchez, found the prospect of an alliance with the French quite attractive.

Despite the Choctaw alliance, which guaranteed ample food supplies and made territorial acquisitions possible, Louisiana remained unattractive to French farmers. Although Louisiana officials advised against it, the French government finally resorted to recruiting German refugees, paupers, and criminals to people the new land. But even with these newcomers, there was not enough labor to ensure survival. Increasingly, settlers in Louisiana imported slaves to do necessary work. By 1732, slaves made up two-thirds of the population.

## The Dutch Settlements

The existence of Rensselaerswyck and other great landed estates made the New Netherland colony seem prosperous and secure, but in actuality it was

neither. Few of the wealthy stockholders in the Dutch West India Company wanted to trade their lives as successful gentleman investors for a pioneering existence on a barely tamed frontier. The economy in Holland was booming, and only the most desperate or adventurous wanted to leave. But having no one to pay their way, most could not afford to emigrate to the colony.

Desperate to draw settlers, the Dutch West India Company offered a tract of land to any free man who would agree to farm it. This offer appealed to many groups in Europe who were experiencing hardships in their own countries but were prohibited from moving to other colonies. French Protestants, for example, were forbidden to go to France's New World provinces. Roman Catholics, Quakers, Jews, Muslims, and a wide variety of others chose to migrate to New Netherland. Most settled on small farms, called *bouweries* in Dutch. Thus New Netherland was dotted with little settlements, each having its own language, culture, and internal economy.

Farming was the dominant activity of the emigrants, but some followed the example of the French *coureurs du bois*. Called *bosch loopers*,

**creole** In colonial times, a term referring to anyone of European or African heritage who was born in the colonies; in Louisiana, a term referring to the ethnic group that was the result of intermarriage by people of mixed languages, races, and cultures.

**Natchez** An urban, mound-building Indian people who lived on the lower Mississippi River until they were destroyed in a war with the French in the 1720s; survivors joined the Creek Confederacy.

**Chickasaw** An urban, mound-building Indian people who lived on the lower Mississippi River and became a society of hunters after the change in climate and the introduction of disease after 1400; they were successful in resisting French aggression throughout the colonial era.

**Choctaw** Like the Chickasaws, a mound-building people who became a society of hunters after 1400; they were steadfast allies of the French and helped them in wars against the Natchez and Chickasaws.

*bosch loopers* Independent Dutch fur traders; literally, "woods runners."

these independent traders traveled through the forests, trying to intercept Indian parties on their way to Dutch West India Company posts. They traded cheap brandy and rum for the Indians' furs, which they then sold to the company for enormous profits. Although both tribal leaders and company officials complained about the bosch loopers' illegal activities, the authorities could not control them.

In fact, the Dutch West India Company was unable to control much of anything in New Netherland. Poor leadership and unimaginative policies contributed to the disorder. Following Peter Minuet's dismissal by the company in 1631, a long line of incompetent governors ruled the colony. One of these governors, William Kieft, was not only incompetent but dangerously hot tempered. He personally ordered the massacre that touched off a disastrous Indian war in 1643 and 1644. The company finally replaced Kieft in 1647 with the much more competent Peter Stuyvesant, but his authoritarian style alienated settlers who were used to doing things in their own way.

## **SUMMARY**

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

Spain's opening ventures in the Americas were wildly successful, making the Iberian kingdom the envy of the world. With *expectations* of cashing in on similar finds, other European nations began

to contest Spain's monopoly on American colonization, creating an outward explosion of exploring energy. Although slow to consolidate an imperial presence in North America, England was the first to confront the Spanish in force, wounding them severely. France and the Netherlands took advantage of the situation to begin building their own American empires.

For Native Americans, the entry of Europeans into their realms combined with other forces to create an air of crisis. Presented with a series of new *constraints*, Indians created altogether new societies and sought new ways to solve their problems. This often involved difficult *choices*, perhaps allying with the newcomers, resisting them, or fleeing. As different groups exercised different options, the *outcome* was a historically dynamic world of interaction involving all the societies that were coming together in North America.

This dynamic interaction yielded interesting fruit. In New Spain, New France, Louisiana, New Netherland, and throughout the Great Plains, new societies emerged. These were truly cosmopolitan societies, bearing cultural traits and material goods taken from throughout the world. As we will see in Chapter 3, societies on the Atlantic coast also were evolving as English colonists interacted with the land and its many occupants. The *outcome* of such interchange, over the centuries, was the emergence of a multicultural, multiethnic, and extraordinarily rich culture—an essential element in the making of America.

## **SUGGESTED READINGS**

Boxer, Charles R. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (1965).

A comprehensive overview of Dutch colonial activities and the trading economy that evolved in the Netherlands following its independence from Spain.

Eccles, W. J. *France in America* (rev. ed., 1990).

A newly revised version of the classic work on France's activities in the New World; inclusive and readable.



Richter Daniel K., and James H. Merrell. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America* (1987).

Two leading ethnohistorians collaborated to write this excellent study of the changing Indian world of the Northeast during the colonial era.

Weber, David. *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992).

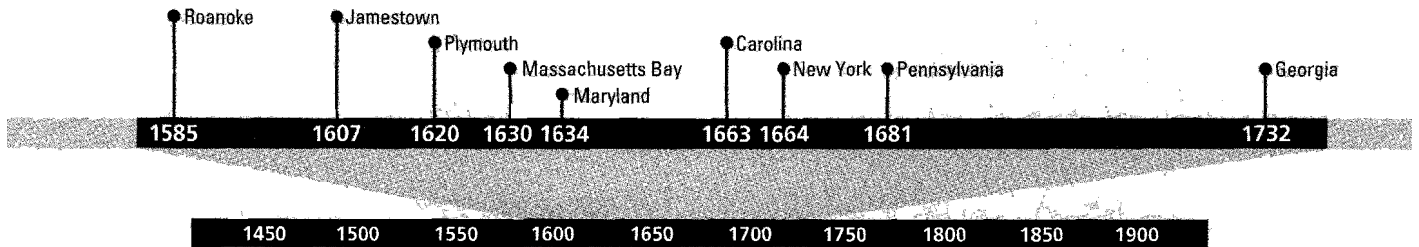
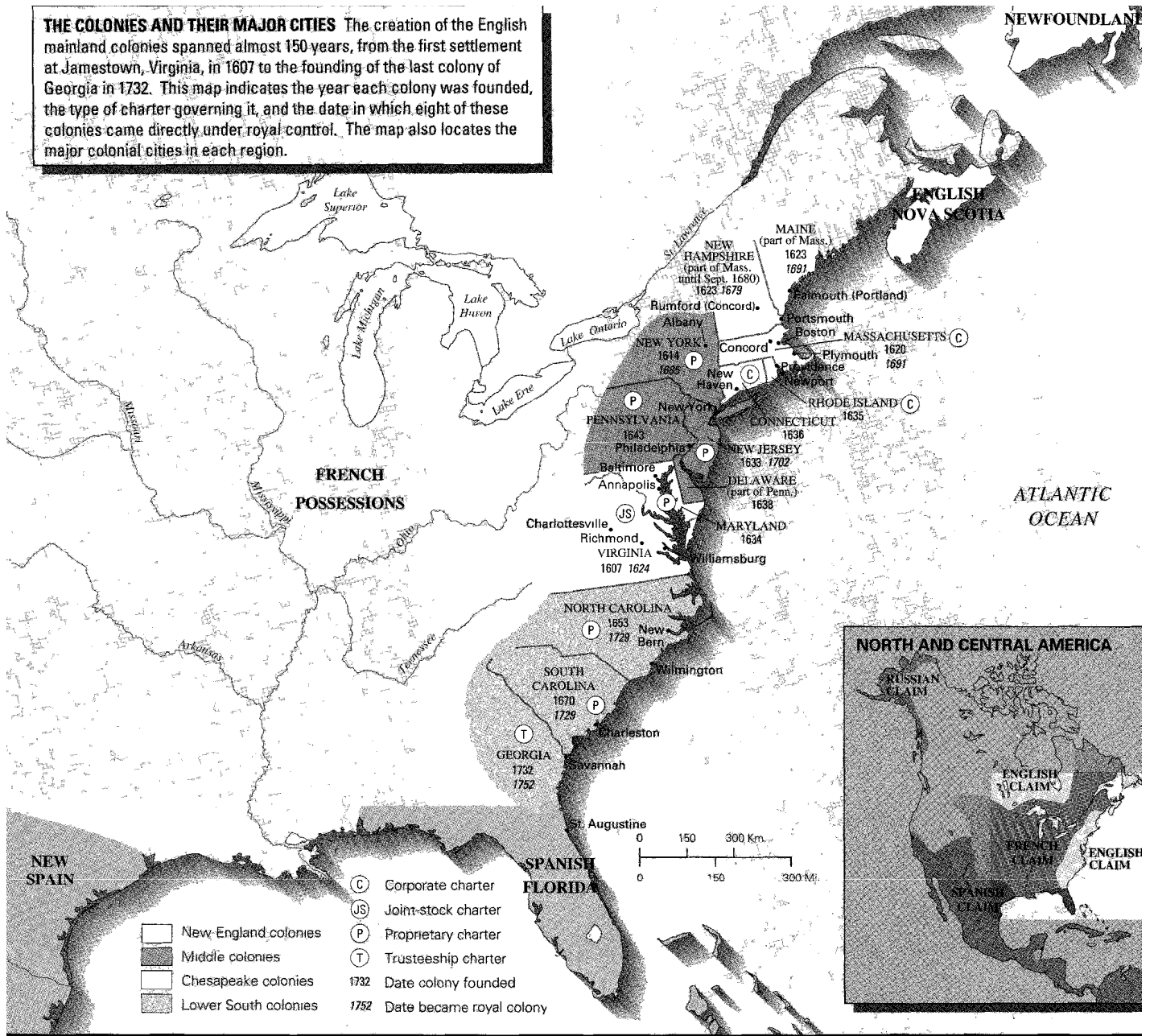
A broad synthesis of the history of New Spain by the foremost scholar in the field.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1991).

Although it covers material far beyond the chronological scope of this chapter, students interested in the relations between Indians and Europeans in the colonial era will find this book extraordinarily rich.



**THE COLONIES AND THEIR MAJOR CITIES** The creation of the English mainland colonies spanned almost 150 years, from the first settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 to the founding of the last colony of Georgia in 1732. This map indicates the year each colony was founded, the type of charter governing it, and the date in which eight of these colonies came directly under royal control. The map also locates the major colonial cities in each region.



# Founding the English Mainland

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## Colonies, 1607-1732

### England and Colonization

- What constraints in England encouraged people to migrate to America?

### Settling the Chesapeake

- What expectations did the Virginia Company and the Calvert family have for their Chesapeake colonies? Did the outcomes satisfy or disappoint these founders?
- How did Chesapeake colonists choose to resolve conflicts within their communities?

### New England: Colonies of Dissenters

- Why did English religious dissenters choose to settle in America?

•What kind of society did the Puritans expect to create?

•What constraints did Puritan authorities impose to discourage dissent? What was the outcome of dissenters' actions?

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## **The Pluralism of the Middle Colonies**

- Why did the Dutch and the English choose to encourage a multicultural population in New York?
- What made the expectations for Pennsylvania so distinctive?

## **The Colonies of the Lower South**

- What type of society did the founders of Carolina expect to create? How did the outcome differ from their expectations?
- Why did philanthropists choose to create Georgia? Why did the king choose to support this project?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

Beginning in the early seventeenth century, many English men and women set out on the adventure of their lives: colonizing a new world. Whatever their *expectations*, the *choice* to begin life anew on the mainland of North America shaped their fates. *Constraints* in England such as poverty, religious persecution, terrifying civil war, and confusing economic transformations drove many to emigrate. The love of danger or dreams of sudden fame or fortune spurred others to come. Still others pursued the promise of land, even if they first had to work as servants for several years. Only the slaves who arrived from Africa, often by way of the Caribbean, had no *choice* about coming to the English mainland colonies.

The *constraints* and dangers facing the colonists proved fatal to many. Some did not survive the ocean voyage. Others died of diseases they had never encountered in their homeland. Many died in the recurrent warfare that raged between Indians and Europeans and among rival European powers. But circumstances in England and Europe continued to prompt new groups to come to North America. By 1732, there were thirteen colonies. Although each colony had its own individual history, groups of colonies shared regional characteristics. The colonies of the Chesapeake, New England, the Middle Colonies, and the Lower South usually possessed a common economy, labor system, and religious heritage. Whether established by a group of investors, by wealthy proprietors, by conquest,

## England and Colonization

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 and the establishment of peace with Spain, Englishmen again began to entertain Sir Walter Raleigh's dream of a New World colony. A host of motives caused English men and women to look across the Atlantic. The lure of easy riches attracted the attention

of those who sought to emulate Spain's early colonizers. Religious persecution and economic uncertainties combined to cause some groups to flee England to establish colonies. The prospect of owning land and of economic opportunities attracted still others who faced a dismal future in England. To understand the motives,

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

or by the division of another colony, each colony grew through experimentation, adjustment, cooperation, and conflict.

The colonists and their leaders faced a seemingly endless series of critical *choices* about where to settle, how to organize their communities, and how to sustain themselves. Through trial and error, they began to *choose* the crops they would grow, the labor force they would employ, and the rules that would govern them. Although the colonists *expected* to re-create the world they had left behind, most had to adapt to the *constraints* imposed by their new environment and situation. The earliest settlers often lacked the resources and skills needed to achieve their goals. Because the American Indians often opposed their efforts to push farther inland or to cultivate more land, deadly conflict was often the *outcome*. Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century it was clear that the American colonies were no longer outposts but permanent communities.

No matter how wide the Atlantic seemed, events in England affected the lives of all the colonists. English law and governmental policy cut across colonial borders, placing *constraints* on colonial behavior and altering colonial *expectations*.

hopes, and fears of those willing to uproot themselves from England and venture into the unknown, we need to look first at

## Settling the Mainland Colonies

1585 English colonize Roanoke Island	1649 Charles I executed Cromwell and Puritans come to power in England
1603 James I becomes king of England	1660 Restoration of English monarchy
1606 Creation of the London (later Virginia) Company	1662 Half-Way Covenant
1607 Jamestown founded	1663 Carolina chartered
1608 Pilgrims flee to Holland from England 1612 Tobacco cultivation begins in Virginia 1619 Virginia House of Burgesses meets 1620 Pilgrims found Plymouth Plantations	1664 English capture New Netherland New Jersey chartered
1630 Puritans found Massachusetts Bay Colony	1675 King Philip's War in New England
1634 First English settlements in Maryland	1676 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia
1636 Roger Williams founds Providence	1681 Pennsylvania chartered
1637 Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts Pequot War in New England	1685 James II becomes king of England 1686 Dominion of New England established 1688 Glorious Revolution in England
1642-1648 English Civil War	1691 Massachusetts becomes royal colony
	1692 Salem witch trials
	1732 Georgia chartered

the prevailing political, social, and religious conditions of seventeenth-century England.

### Religious and Political Tensions in Seventeenth Century England

Between 1603 and 1688, the English people lived through periods of intense religious conflict, economic upheavals and dislocations, civil war, and the removal of two kings from the throne. In the midst of these dramatic events, wealthy men found ways to finance risky colonizing ventures, religious sects

established communities in America, and impoverished men and women sought their fortunes across the ocean.

The political unrest began soon after the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth in 1603, when first the son (James I) and then the grandson (Charles I) of Mary Stuart, a Catholic, came to the throne. Neither was committed to Protestantism, and both were thought to be secret Catholics. Their religious

background disturbed many who wanted to see further Protestant reforms within the Church of England. Elizabeth had listened politely to the demands of Puritans who wanted to purge the church of all vestiges of Catholicism and then ignored them. James was not the diplomat that Elizabeth was. He responded to the Puritans' calls for further reforms by harassing them. He succeeded only in provoking more Puritan opposition.

James and Charles did not welcome challenges to their political authority either. They had little respect for Parliament, the legislative body that claimed important powers for itself and set limits on royal authority. James was not shy about declaring his commitment to absolutism, the doctrine that the king alone held all power. Parliament did not take kindly to James's lectures on the subject.

The Stuart kings underestimated the determination of Parliament to insist on its rights. Because Parliament controlled how taxes were raised and spent, it had a powerful weapon against these kings. Although James had clashes with Parliament, open conflict did not emerge until Charles's reign began in 1625. His solution to the problem of an uncooperative Parliament, which included many Puritans, was to dismiss that body. Charles attempted to rule alone, financing his rule by the imposition of arbitrary taxes.

In 1640, however, a rebellion in Scotland forced Charles to call Parliament back into session in order to raise an army. The legislature quickly challenged the king. In 1642, civil war erupted between those loyal to the Stuart monarchy and the political and religious dissenters represented by Parliament. Led by Oliver Cromwell, the rebels won, ultimately executing Charles in 1649. For the next eleven years, England was ruled by Cromwell and his followers. Cromwell's increasingly dictatorial rule, however, led to great popular dissatisfaction. His death in 1658 paved the way for a restoration of the monarchy and the return of the house of Stuart in 1660.

The Catholic sympathies of Charles II and the open Catholicism of James II revived tensions that had existed between the earlier Stuart monarchs and Parliament. Charles II avoided a confrontation by generally cooperating with Parliament during his twenty-five-year reign, but James's commitment to Catholicism led to his overthrow only three years into his rule. Parliament deposed him in 1688 in fa-

vor of James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her Dutch husband, William of Orange. This bloodless revolution established William and Mary as king and queen of England, with the clear understanding that their rule was subject to Parliament. The **Glorious Revolution** was a victory for English Protestantism and a defeat for arbitrary government.

### **Colonizers and Colonies**

For most of the seventeenth century, the people of England had to endure turbulent, sometimes violent, and very rapidly changing circumstances. Those in power had harassed and persecuted religious dissenters. The shift from an agricultural society to a more commercial one had made some people very wealthy but had left others in poverty or in fear of poverty. The political disputes over the rights of king and Parliament and over the liberties of Englishmen had led to such remarkable events as the execution of a king and a civil war. These precarious conditions at home provided compelling motives for thousands of English men and women to seek a new life across the Atlantic.

Initially, England's merchant entrepreneurs provided these men and women with the means and the great sums needed for colonizing North America. Early in the seventeenth century, they

**Church of England** The Protestant church that King Henry VIII established as England's official church in the sixteenth century; also known as the Anglican church.

**Puritans** English Protestants who wanted to reform the Church of England.

**Parliament** The lawmaking branch of the English government, composed of the House of Lords, representing English nobility, and the House of Commons, an elected body of untitled English citizens.

**absolutism** The exercise of complete and unrestricted power in government.

**Glorious Revolution** The events in 1688 that resulted in the removal of James II from the throne of England and the crowning of the Protestant monarchs William and Mary.

**entrepreneur** A person who organizes and manages a business enterprise that involves risk and requires initiative.



formed **joint-stock companies** that pooled the resources of numerous individuals and that protected investors from losing their entire fortunes (as Sir Walter Raleigh had) to finance England's first North American colonies. After the Restoration, the king played an increasingly important role in colonization. He gave his friends and supporters large grants of land that became **proprietary colonies**. Eventually, the English monarchs themselves established colonies or took control of existing ones, making them royal **colonies**.

By the early eighteenth century, the English colonists who lived in the North American settlements had come to think of themselves not as members of a single society but as residents of four distinct regions. The Chesapeake, consisting of Virginia and Maryland, was the site of the first successful English foothold on the continent. New England followed soon after. The Middle Colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey came about through the conquest of earlier Dutch settlements. The Lower South—consisting of North Carolina, South Carolina, and ultimately Georgia—carried the English flag to the borders of Spanish Florida.

## Settling the Chesapeake

In 1606, James granted royal **charters** to two groups of merchants. The Plymouth Company was given the right to colonize a northern area stretching all the way from present-day Maine to Virginia. Its single venture, the Popham Colony in Maine, failed almost immediately in 1607. The wealthier London Company received permission to create settlements from present-day New York to South Carolina. Its outpost near the Chesapeake Bay became England's first successful colony in the New World.

## The Planting of Jamestown

The London Company's investors expected a quick profit from their venture because the settlers were instructed to "dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Gold, Silver, and Copper." Many of the 144 initial colonists were gentlemen adventurers more inter-

ested in the excitement of gathering precious metals than in starting life over in a new world.

The exclusively male colonists set sail from England in December 1606. Before land was sighted, sixteen people had died at sea. But **Jamestown**, the camp they established on a small peninsula on the James River, near the Chesapeake Bay, would prove to be more deadly than the transatlantic voyage.

The colonists chose the site because it was easy to defend against attack by Spanish ships or local Indians. What they did not realize was that the swampy area around Jamestown was an unhealthy environment. "Swelling Fluxes" and "Burning Fevers" (probably caused by typhoid and dysentery) killed many Englishmen that summer.

By winter, starvation had replaced disease as the primary danger. The English gentlemen in the camp, unaccustomed to working, refused to clear fields or to do any manual labor at all. The personal servants of these gentlemen were inept pioneers as well. By January 1608, only thirty-eight of these helpless settlers were still alive.

Among the survivors of the nightmare winter was a 27-year-old soldier of fortune, **Captain John Smith**. With the settlement in crisis, Smith took charge. He immediately imposed military discipline on the colonists. Smith forced the gentlemen, their servants, and the newcomers who arrived in the spring of 1608 to build, plant, and fish. Even with these sensible efforts, the deaths continued.

**joint-stock company** A business financed through the sale of shares of stock to investors, who share both the profits and the losses from a risky venture.

**proprietary colonies** Colonies owned by an individual or group of individuals who determined how settlement would take place and the rules and laws under which the colonists would live.

**royal colonies** Colonies under the direct authority of the king or queen.

**charter** An official document in which a sovereign or a governing body grants rights or privileges.

**Jamestown** The first permanent English settlement in America; it was founded in Virginia in 1607.

**Captain John Smith** English colonist at Jamestown who imposed military discipline when disease and famine threatened the settlement.

By October 1608, almost 150 of the original and new Virginia colonists had died.

Terrible as the first winters had been, Virginians remembered 1609 as "the starving time." When new settlers arrived in the spring of 1610, they found only sixty ragged survivors. The Virginia Company, as it was now known, continued to send new colonists annually to replace the dead and the dying. But the survival of the colony remained in doubt.

Tobacco proved to be Virginia's salvation. Since the 1560s, when Indian tobacco was introduced, smoking had become a steady English habit. Native Virginia tobacco was too harsh for English tastes, but colonist John Rolfe experimented successfully with a milder West Indian strain. By 1612, Rolfe and most of his neighbors had begun a mad race to plant and harvest as many acres of tobacco as possible.

Tobacco became the colony's obsession. "Brown gold" grew to dominate every aspect of Virginia life. Colonists dispersed themselves over vast areas, rather than settling in towns or farming communities, because planters needed large tracts of land for a crop that rapidly depleted the soil. Planters fanned out along the Virginia river system because the waterways provided transportation for their tobacco. One outcome was a life of isolation rather than a sense of community. Another was improved health, for tobacco drew Virginians away from Jamestown's deadly environment.

"Brown gold" may have made Rolfe and his neighbors prosperous, but the Virginia Company continued to struggle. To cut its expenses, in 1618 the company introduced the headright system. Under this system, any man who paid the cost of transporting and supplying a settler—whether himself, a family member, or a servant—had the right to obtain fifty acres per settler for himself. The system shifted the cost of populating and developing the colony to the residents, but it also diminished the company's control over its primary resource: land. The company made other significant concessions to its colonists. The tight military discipline begun by Captain John Smith gave way to civil government. The planters won decision-making powers over local issues in 1619, when the company created an elected, representative lawmaking body called the **House of Burgesses**.

The company made costly errors in its Indian policy. Its governors in Virginia chose confronta-

tion rather than compromise or negotiation with the local Powhatan Indians. The outcome was a deadly Indian raid on Jamestown on Good Friday in 1622. News of the attack and of other mismanagement prompted King James to revoke the company's charter and to assume control of the colony in 1624. By that time, only 1,275 of the 8,500 settlers who had arrived since 1607 remained alive.

### **Creating a Refuge for Catholics**

As Virginians spread out along the riverways of their colony, George Calvert, a wealthy Catholic, began making plans for a second southern colony. The first Lord Baltimore, Calvert was a Catholic who turned his attention to America to accomplish two aims. First, he wanted to create a refuge for English Catholics. Second, he wanted to establish a peaceful, orderly society where aristocrats would rule over respectful commoners much as he believed they had in medieval England. Charles I, who had ascended the English throne when James I died in 1625, was happy to oblige his friend's request for a colonial charter.

Calvert died before the charter was actually drawn up in 1632. Thus it fell to his son Cecilius to realize his father's dreams for Maryland, a vast tract of southern land. The second Lord Baltimore soon discovered, however, that very few of England's remaining Catholics wanted to go to Maryland to become **tenant** farmers. Ironically, most of Maryland's first settlers in 1634 were Protestants from England's middle and lower classes. Few Protestants or Catholics joined the colony subsequently because of the lack of prospects to own land. By 1640, Calvert had to abandon his father's

**headright system** Virginia Company program under which colonists who paid their own expenses or the expenses of another person got 50 acres of land per settler in return.

**House of Burgesses** The representative lawmaking body of Virginia; it was established by the Virginia Company in 1618.

**tenant farmer** A person who farms land owned by someone else and pays rent either in cash or by giving up a share of the crops.

vision in favor of the headright system that Virginia used to attract colonists.

Maryland's colonists immediately turned to tobacco growing. They repeated Virginians' scramble for good riverfront land and used trickery, threats, or violence to pry acres away from resisting Indians. Virginians did not welcome their new neighbors despite the fact that most were fellow Protestants. They resented the competition of Maryland tobacco planters, and they disliked the constraints on their own acquisition of land that Calvert's colony imposed.

### Troubles on the Chesapeake

The Catholics who came to Maryland did not find a peaceful haven from religious problems. Both Protestant and Catholic Marylanders brought religious hatreds with them to the New World. When the English Civil War broke out in 1642 between the Puritan-dominated Parliament and King Charles I, the conflict spread to this Catholic colony.

The triumph of the parliamentary forces, led by Oliver Cromwell, and the subsequent beheading of the king in 1649 spelled trouble for Calvert. In 1654, the militantly Protestant Parliament took Maryland away from the Calvert family and established a Protestant Assembly in the colony. The Assembly began persecuting Catholics and ultimately provoked Catholics to take up arms. At the Battle of Severn River in 1655, a smaller Puritan force routed a Catholic army of two hundred men. When Cromwell died in 1658, the local balance of power shifted once again as the English government returned Maryland to the Calverts. Still no peace followed. Protestants in Maryland organized rebellions in 1659, 1676, 1681, and 1691, the last of which was successful.

Seventeenth-century Virginia also witnessed a revolt, although for different reasons. By the 1670s, a planter aristocracy was entrenched in Virginia. Governor William Berkeley ran the colony for the benefit of himself and a group of planter cronies. They faced little opposition until Nathaniel Bacon arrived in the colony. Although Bacon was as well educated and refined as the local elite, he found himself outside the governor's circle of friends. Unable to acquire choice coastal land, he had no

choice but to take up land in the backcountry among poor neighbors, who were often freed white servants. Indian resistance to white expansion and high taxes on the backcountry posed serious constraints for Bacon and his neighbors.

Bacon's growing anger at the government erupted in 1676 when the Susquehannock Indians retaliated for the settlers' killing of five of their tribe. The Indians killed several dozen colonists, leading western planters to demand protection and reprisals. Governor Berkeley refused to send troops or to permit the westerners to raise an army of their own. Bacon then led a large number of armed planters in a march on Jamestown, threatening to demolish the capital unless the governor changed his mind. Furious but frightened, Berkeley gave in to Bacon's demand for a military commission. As soon as Bacon's army headed west, however, Berkeley revoked the military commission he had just given Bacon. He declared Bacon and his men "rebels and traitors" and ordered them to disband at once.

Bacon responded by turning his army around and heading back to Jamestown. Poor farmers, servants, craftsmen, artisans, and black slaves, to whom Bacon promised freedom, swelled the army's ranks as it neared Jamestown. What began as an uprising by a group of vigilantes was rapidly turning into a social revolution against a privileged elite.

Governor Berkeley tried desperately to rally his supporters, but to no avail. When Bacon's army reached Jamestown, even the governor fled. The rebels looted the town and then headed home to fight the Indians. Before Bacon could do so, however, he fell victim to a fatal attack of dysentery.

Without Bacon's leadership, the rebellion fell apart. Berkeley took revenge for all the insults and humiliations he had suffered by executing twenty-three of the rebels. Bacon's **Rebellion** was over,

**commission** Authorization to carry out a particular task or duty.

**vigilantes** People who take the law into their own hands.

**Bacon's Rebellion** A revolt of backcountry farmers against the colonial government of Virginia; it was triggered by inland taxes and strife with the Indians, and it collapsed after the death of Nathaniel Bacon.



- ◆ Nathaniel Bacon came to Virginia as a gentleman in the 1670s, but his resentment of the economic and political domination of the colony by a small group of planters transformed him into a backwoods rebel. In 1676, Bacon led an army of discontented farmers, servants, and slaves against the powerful coastal planters—and almost won. In this stained-glass window, discovered and restored in the twentieth century, Bacon's social class and his commanding presence are both evident. *The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities at Bacon's Castle, Library of Virginia.*

but resistance to the old planter government continued sporadically until 1683, when royal troops flushed the last of Bacon's men out of hiding.

### Colonial Chesapeake Life

Tobacco established rhythms of work, play, and life in Virginia and Maryland that differed dramatically from those in England. Planting, tending, harvesting, and drying tobacco took almost ten months of the year, beginning in late winter and ending just before Christmas. In the short period between the holiday and the beginning of the new planting sea-

son, Chesapeake planters frantically tried to catch up on other neglected farm chores. They mended fences, built new cabins and sheds, and cut timber and firewood. They also compressed their meager social life into these winter months. Courtships were not long in the Chesapeake.

Because tobacco exhausted the soil quickly, planters moved often to new fields on their land or acquired new land. With each move, they left drying sheds and workers' shacks behind. Planters placed little value on permanent homes until well into the eighteenth century. They were willing to sacrifice comfort and permanence to the profits of growing tobacco.

Planters searched endlessly for a large and cheap labor force. During the seventeenth century, economic hard times in England sent thousands of landless and jobless young men and women to them as indentured servants. Such servants worked for planters for four to seven years in exchange for their passage across the Atlantic and the promise of land at the end of their service. The planters' decided preference for male laborers resulted in very lopsided sex ratios in the Chesapeake. In many areas, there were more than three males for every female.

More than three-quarters of the white immigrants to the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century arrived as indentured servants. They spent long, backbreaking days stooped down among tobacco plants. Food rations were meager and whippings frequent. A shocking number did not survive their term of service. Malnutrition took a severe toll. Diseases to which the English had little or no immunity struck down planters as well as their servants. Life was so uncertain in the first century of settlement in the Chesapeake that the white population was unable to reproduce itself. Only immigration sustained the population.

Improving economic conditions in England during the second half of the seventeenth century meant

**indentured servant** Someone obligated to compulsory service for a fixed period of time, usually from four to seven years, most often agreed to in exchange for passage to the colonies. A labor contract called an indenture spelled out the terms of the agreement.

a declining number of people were willing to immigrate to the harsh conditions that prevailed in Maryland and Virginia. Tobacco planters turned increasingly to African slaves to meet their labor needs.

## **New England: Colonies of Dissenters**

Shortly after the founding of Jamestown, religious dissenters in a small English village began preparations to escape King James I's wrath. These residents of Scrooby Village were people of modest means. But they had angered the king by their declaration that the Church of England was hopelessly corrupt and that they intended to separate from it. James vowed to drive these **Separatists** out of England.

### **Founding Plymouth**

In 1608, a small group of Separatists took this threat to heart. These Pilgrims went to the city of Leyden, Holland, where they found religious freedom and prosperity. But William Bradford, a leader of the exiles, saw hidden dangers in this comfortable new life. He worried that the Pilgrims were being "drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses." Bradford decided it was time to become a pilgrim once more, this time to America.

In 1620, Bradford led thirty-five supporters back to England. There they joined a second, smaller group of Separatists and set sail for Virginia aboard an old, creaky ship. Nine weeks later, the *Mayflower* delivered them to Cape Cod, hundreds of miles north of their destination of Jamestown. Although many of the Pilgrims were disheartened by the captain's faulty piloting and the approach of winter, Bradford saw distinct advantages to the accident that had taken them so far from Virginia. In an isolated settlement, the Pilgrims would be able to pursue their own religious ideas without interference. Bradford's problem was to persuade the loudly complaining passengers to remain where they were.

To prevent a mutiny, Bradford negotiated an unusual contract with all the men aboard the *Mayflower*. The Mayflower Compact granted polit

ical rights to any man willing to remain and abide by the new colony's laws. Given such an unheard-of opportunity to participate in political decisions, the men chose to remain in what came to be called Plymouth Plantations.

Half of the colonists died during that first winter. The colony survived thanks to Squanto, a Patuxet Indian who came upon the struggling settlement in the spring of 1621. Squanto became the Pilgrims' teacher and adviser. He taught them how to plant corn, squash, and pumpkins. He acted as translator for William Bradford when he and Massasoit, leader of the local Wampanoag Indians, sat down to negotiate a treaty of friendship. The summer of cooperation between the Wampanoags and the Pilgrims saved Plymouth Plantations. In the fall of 1621, the English settlers and Indians sat down to a harvest feast of thanksgiving.

Over the next decades, Plymouth Plantations grew at a steady, modest pace. When William Bradford died in 1657, after a long career as governor, the colony had over thirteen hundred people. Most of the colonists lived comfortably by farming, fishing, or cutting timber. A few grew wealthy from the fur trade. Much of the of the colony's success was probably due to the alliance with the Wampanoags. For forty years, Plymouth Plantations grew peacefully by purchasing land from Massasoit's people. By the time of Bradford's death, however, the intense religious piety of the original Pilgrims had faded. Bradford had recognized the dangers of a comfortable life in Holland but not in America.

**Separatists** English Protestants who chose to leave the Church of England because they believed it was corrupt.

**Pilgrims** A small group of Separatists who left England in search of religious freedom and sailed to America on the *Mayflower* in 1620.

**William Bradford** Pilgrim leader who organized the *Mayflower* journey and became governor of the Plymouth colony.

**Mayflower Compact** An agreement drafted in 1620, when the Pilgrims reached Cape Code, granting political rights to all male colonists willing to abide by the colony's laws.

**Squanto** A Patuxet Indian who taught the Pilgrims how to survive in America and acted as a translator.

## Massachusetts Bay and Its Settlers

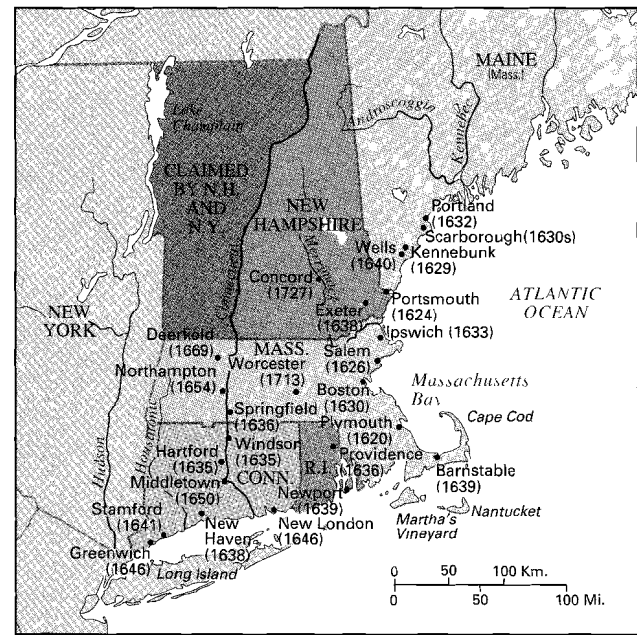
When Charles I came to the throne in 1625, the persecution of religious dissenters became unrelenting. William Laud, whom the king appointed as archbishop of Canterbury, was determined to rid the Church of England of all would-be purifiers. This persecution and a deepening economic depression in England led many Puritans who had opposed the Pilgrims' separatism to reconsider their choice to remain critics within the Church of England. The outcome was the planting of new colonies in America (see Map 3.1).

A young Puritan lawyer named John Winthrop agonized over the Puritans' increasingly desperate situation. His solution was to propose that the Puritans leave England yet retain their ties to the Anglican church. This proposal would free the Puritans from the taint of separatism yet allow them to create a truly godly community far from the prying eyes of the king's officials, especially Archbishop Laud. This ideal Puritan community would serve as a model for others and show England the error of its sinful ways.

King Charles I, who was more than willing to help dissenters leave England, approved the request by Winthrop's Massachusetts Bay Company for a northern colony. The company immediately began to recruit devout Puritan families to join in the religious experiment. Winthrop spoke of the colony in biblical terms, comparing the American "Wilderness Zion" of the Puritans to the desert wilderness in which the Hebrews wandered before reaching their "Promised Land." Winthrop's vision and the king's dismissal of Parliament in 1629 produced the **Great Migration** of nearly twenty thousand Puritans in the 1630s. Many more Puritans, however, remained in England.

The first years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony stood in sharp contrast to the lean and lonely beginnings of nearby Plymouth Plantations or Jamestown. An advance crew traveled to Massachusetts in early 1629 to prepare shelters and to clear fields for planting. Winthrop and over a thousand more colonists followed in 1630 in seventeen sturdy ships loaded with livestock, tools, supplies, and food. There was no "starving time" in the colony.

Aboard his flagship, the *Arbella*, John Winthrop preached a sermon in which he urged his audience



◆ **MAP 3.1 New England Settlement in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries** This map shows the major towns and cities of New England and their settlement dates. By the end of the seventeenth century, the region had four colonies. Colonists seeking land moved west and south toward the New York border and north toward French Canada. Those involved in trade, shipping, and crafts migrated to the seaport cities.

to create a model Protestant community. "We shall be a city upon a hill," he pointed out, observing that "the eyes of all peoples are upon us." God would protect and nurture their settlement if they kept their promises to Him. To falter in their mission, or to forget their purpose, however, would bring punishment from God.

The first government of the colony, called the General Court, consisted of Winthrop and the

**John Winthrop** English Puritan who was one of the founders of Massachusetts Bay Colony and served as its first governor.

**Great Migration** The movement of Puritans from England to America in the 1630s; it was caused by political conflict in England and by fear of persecution.

eleven other stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Company who had decided to emigrate. No man was permitted to vote or hold office unless he was an acknowledged church member, not simply a churchgoer. To be a church member, or saint, a person had to testify to an experience of "saving faith"—a moment of intense awareness of God's power that offered an assurance of salvation. Slowly, however, free white males who could not claim sainthood did win the right to vote on local matters, and by the mid-1630s the Puritan saints had wrested important political power from Winthrop and his fellow shareholders with the creation of a representative assembly.

Puritan authorities intended to enforce biblical laws as well as English civil law. A colonist's religious beliefs and practices, style of dress, sexual conduct, and personal behavior were all legally subject to regulation by the community. Every colonist was required to attend church, and the church joined the government in supervising business dealings, parent-child relationships, and marital life. The Puritan desire to create a godly community on earth led the colony's leaders to create standards of behavior that they imposed on every individual.

Massachusetts Bay developed into a society of small farming villages and small seaport towns. The Puritans believed that these close-knit settlements would help them create model Christian communities. In contrast to the Chesapeake settlers, the Puritans in Massachusetts largely re-created the village life they had known in England. They built their homes in clusters around a village green, where they also located the church. Farms were within walking distance of the village center. As town populations grew and the walking distance to fields lengthened, those who had to walk the farthest requested and were usually granted permission to start new communities for themselves.

The Bay Colony and other later Puritan colonies in New England were societies based on families. Because the Puritans arrived in family groups, roughly the same number of men and women lived in the Puritan settlements. Unlike the Chesapeake colonists, men and women in New England could expect to find marriage partners. Puritan couples could expect to raise a family of five to seven children and to see their children marry and produce children. Cool temperatures, good drink-

ing water, and an ample diet provided much more favorable conditions for a long life and for families than existed in the Chesapeake.

Family was also the building block for the larger society in New England. The Puritans and Pilgrims believed that it was the duty of families to teach children to obey and to be respectful. In Massachusetts Bay, criticizing a parent was a crime punishable by death, although the punishment was rarely enforced. Family government extended to wives. Puritan ministers reinforced the ideal of a hierarchy within a family by saying, "Wives are a part of the House and Family, and ought to be under a Husband's Government: they should obey their own Husbands." In return, the husband was expected to be loving, kind, and tender. But the man was the undisputed head of the household. He was owed obedience by all its members and had control over all its economic resources. Wives, no matter how wise or wealthy, had no property or political rights.

### **Dissenters in Zion**

Despite being victims of persecution, the Puritans did not favor religious toleration. They saw no reason to welcome **Quakers**, Jews, Catholics, or Anglicans into their midst. The Bay Colony dealt harshly with non-Puritans who came to Massachusetts. When Quaker missionaries arrived and attempted to convert the Puritans, they were flogged, beaten, imprisoned, and branded with hot irons. Some persistent Quakers were even hanged.

Puritan leaders showed just as little tolerance toward fellow Puritans who criticized or challenged them. Winthrop and his cofounders tried to

**saint** A person who was granted full membership in a Puritan church after testifying to an experience of "saving faith."

**hierarchy** A system in which people or things are ranked one above another.

**Quakers** Members of the Religious Society of Friends, a Protestant sect; Quakers believe in the equality of men and women, refuse to bear arms, and seek divine inspiration from the "inner light" within each individual.

enforce orthodoxy, or religious agreement, by labeling their critics heretics.

One of the most powerful challenges came from Roger Williams, the assistant minister in the Salem congregation, who was highly critical of every aspect of the colony's life. Williams condemned the government's seizure of Indian lands through intimidation and warfare as a "National Sinne." He insisted that true religious belief was a matter of personal commitment and could not be compelled by the government. "Forced religion," he said bluntly, "stinks in God's nostrils."

Williams's evident popularity and his dissident views led the General Court to banish him from the Bay Colony in the middle of the winter of 1635. Williams sought refuge with the Narragansett Indians, who lived south of the colony. In the spring, many of his most faithful followers joined him in exile. Providence, the community they established, became a magnet for Puritan dissenters, Quakers, and Jews. John Winthrop tolerated Providence, for he saw it as a dumping ground for troublemakers. In 1644, Providence Plantations acquired a colonial charter from England's new Puritan government. This charter clearly established Williams's principle of separation of church and state. The colony later became known as Rhode Island.

Another challenge to Winthrop's authority came from Anne Hutchinson, who arrived in the Bay Colony with her husband in 1634. Soon after their arrival, the Hutchinsons began to host meetings in their home to discuss their minister's sermons. The meetings were immediately popular. The brilliant Anne Hutchinson, who had been trained by her minister father to interpret the Scriptures, quickly acquired a reputation as a critic of the colony's clergy. She contended that the vast majority of the colony's clergy had slipped into what Calvinists considered a Catholic heresy: the belief that good works earned a person salvation. Hutchinson reemphasized the original Calvinist doctrine that only God's grace, not good behavior or obedience to biblical laws, could save a person's soul. Puritan ministers conceded this point but could not agree with Hutchinson that proper behavior had no place in a Christian community. They feared her thinking might lead to sin and anarchy.

The fact that Hutchinson was a woman made the challenge to Puritan authorities seem worse. Men

like John Winthrop believed that women had no business criticizing ministers and government officials. A surprising number of Puritans, however, were untroubled by Hutchinson's outspokenness. She developed a strong following among women and among merchants and artisans who were not saints. They appreciated her attacks on men who had political rights that they themselves lacked. Hutchinson also attracted Puritan saints who disliked the tight reins on business, personal, and social life that Winthrop and the clergy maintained.

In the end, however, none of Hutchinson's supporters could protect her. In 1637, she was arrested and brought to trial before the General Court. Although she was in the last stages of a troubled pregnancy, the judges forced her to stand throughout the long, exhausting, repetitive examination. Hutchinson was a clever defendant and seemed to be winning until she claimed that she had had direct communication with God. Such a claim was counter to Puritan teachings that God spoke to individuals only through the Bible, and it justified her conviction as a heretic. Triumphant, Winthrop and his court ruled her "unfit to our society" and banished her from the Bay Colony.

Some Puritans left Massachusetts voluntarily. In 1636, Reverend Thomas Hooker and his entire Newton congregation resettled in the Connecticut River valley. Other Puritan congregations followed. By 1639, the Connecticut valley towns had drafted their own government, and in 1664 they joined to create the colony of Connecticut. A number of Bay colonists searching for new or better lands made their way north to what later became Maine and New Hampshire. New Hampshire became a separate colony in 1679, but Maine remained part of Massachusetts until 1820.

**heretic** A person who publicly dissents from an officially accepted doctrine or religion.

**Roger Williams** A minister who was banished from Massachusetts for criticizing the Puritan leaders of the colony; in 1636 he founded Providence, a community based on religious freedom.

**Anne Hutchinson** A religious leader who was banished from Massachusetts in 1637 because of her heretical beliefs.





◆ King Philip's War was one of the bloodiest conflicts in colonial history. One out of every sixteen adult male colonists was killed, and local tribes like the Wampanoags and Narragansetts were virtually exterminated. The Puritan victory at the Battle of Hadley, depicted in this nineteenth-century drawing, was a turning point in this bitter struggle. Soon afterward, the leader of the Indian uprising, Metacomet (King Philip), was trapped and killed. *"General Goffe Repulsing the Indians at Hadley."* Library of Congress.

## Indian Suppression

The Puritans' commitment to building a godly community did not mean that they were pacifists or that they were always altruistic. Their treatment of the New England Indians offers ample proof that the Puritans were all too often motivated by greed.

In 1637, the Puritans used trumped-up murder charges against Sassacus, the leader of the **Pequots** in Connecticut, as an excuse to declare war on the tribe. The Puritans were often the "savages" in the Pequot War, as is evidenced by their attack on the civilian Indian population at Mystic Village. The Bay Colony's Captain John Underhill noted with satisfaction that there were "about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands." The Pequot War did not end until all the men had been killed and the women and children sold into slavery in the Caribbean.

In 1675, the long alliance between the Plymouth colonists and the Wampanoag Indians broke down when colonists encroached on Wampanoag lands. The Narragansetts and other smaller tribes joined Chief Metacomet (known to the English as King Philip) in **King Philip's War**. Indian resistance was dealt a crushing blow when the governor of New York sent Iroquois troops into battle against Metacomet's exhausted army. Metacomet escaped immediate capture, only to be killed in 1676 by an Indian ally of the English.

Metacomet's death ended Indian resistance in New England. Some tribes had been entirely

wiped out, or the survivors had been sold into slavery. Indians who escaped death or capture scattered to the north and the west. The outcome was a New England virtually depopulated of its original inhabitants.

## Religious and Political Change in New England

New England Puritans discovered that the Atlantic Ocean did not free them from English politics. The start of the English Civil War in 1642 affected New England profoundly. As Puritans seized control of England's government, England itself became a grand Puritan experiment. Massachusetts lost its special place as a "city upon a hill," and the sense of mission among its inhabitants declined.

The war affected New England in mundane ways as well. Population fell as many settlers returned to England to fight beside Oliver Cromwell. The end of the Great Migration dried up the flow

**Pequots** An American Indian people inhabiting eastern Connecticut; when the Pequots resisted colonial expansion, the Massachusetts Bay colonists declared war on them.

**King Philip's War** War between settlers and Indians in New England from 1675 through 1676; it ended after the Wampanoag chief Metacomet was killed.

of funds and supplies from England. New England's remaining colonists, who had profited by selling livestock and foodstuffs to immigrants, now had to find a new way to pay for the imported goods that they needed. When English fishing fleets could not make their usual voyages to New England's waters because of the war, colonists created local fishing fleets. By the end of the seventeenth century, Bay colonists were actively involved in transatlantic and Caribbean trade, and Boston had grown into the largest of the English mainland colonial cities.

Massachusetts faced new religious problems after the English Civil War. Puritan colonists who had been born in America lacked the religious intensity that marked their parents' sainthood. Perhaps their growing interest in trade and commerce lessened their zeal. Whatever the cause, fewer young Puritans became saints. The declining number of new church members led to the Half-Way Covenant of 1662. This allowed children of church members to be baptized even if they could not make a convincing declaration of their salvation. The Half-Way Covenant allowed those baptized to become halfway members of the church and thus to participate in church affairs.

Meanwhile, external political pressures were growing. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, King Charles II insisted that Anglicans and other Protestants be allowed to settle in New England. A growing number did so. Charles II also pressured Massachusetts to conform to English law. He revoked the colony's charter in 1683 when the colony refused to end its restriction of voting to church members. This marked the beginning of an effort to centralize royal control over the growing American empire.

King James II, who assumed the throne after his brother's death in 1685, took the next step in this process. He revoked the charter of every English mainland colony and combined the New England colonies as well as New Jersey and New York into the Dominion of New England.

James hoped the Dominion would increase the land grants and other political favors that he could distribute to loyal supporters. He also expected to increase the royal revenues by imposing duties and taxes on colonial goods. What he may not have foreseen was the strength of popular resistance to

his new Dominion and to the man he chose to govern it, Sir Edmund Andros. Andros offended New England's Puritans immediately by establishing the Church of England as the Dominion's official church. Then he alienated the non-Puritans by abolishing the General Court in Massachusetts. Nonsaints had been struggling for inclusion in this representative body, not for its destruction. So when Andros imposed new taxes, many saints and nonsaints refused to pay.

In 1689, when news of James II's downfall in the Glorious Revolution reached Boston, New Englanders imprisoned Andros and shipped him back to England for trial as a traitor. Puritans hoped that their new English rulers, William and Mary, would reward them by restoring their charter. But under the new charter of 1691, Massachusetts became a royal colony whose governor was appointed by the Crown. The charter did call for a popularly elected assembly. Potential voters, however, would now have to meet the standard English property **requirement**. Church membership was no longer relevant to the exercise of political rights in New England. The Puritan experiment had largely ended.

The Salem witch trials occurred in the context of these wrenching and bewildering changes in New England life. In 1692, a group of young women and girls in Salem began to show signs of "bewitchment." They fell into violent fits and their bodies contorted. Under questioning, they named several local women, including Tituba, a slave acquired from the West Indies, as their tormentors. The conviction that the devil had come to Massachusetts spread quickly, and the number of accused witches grew. By summer, over a hundred women, men, and even children filled local jails. Testimony of the alleged victims led to the execution of twenty witches, most by hanging, before the new royal governor, Sir William Phips, arrived in Massachusetts and forbade any further arrests. In January

Half-Way Covenant An agreement that gave partial membership in Puritan churches to the children of church members even if they had not had a "saving faith" experience.

property requirement The limitation of voting rights to people who own certain kinds of property.



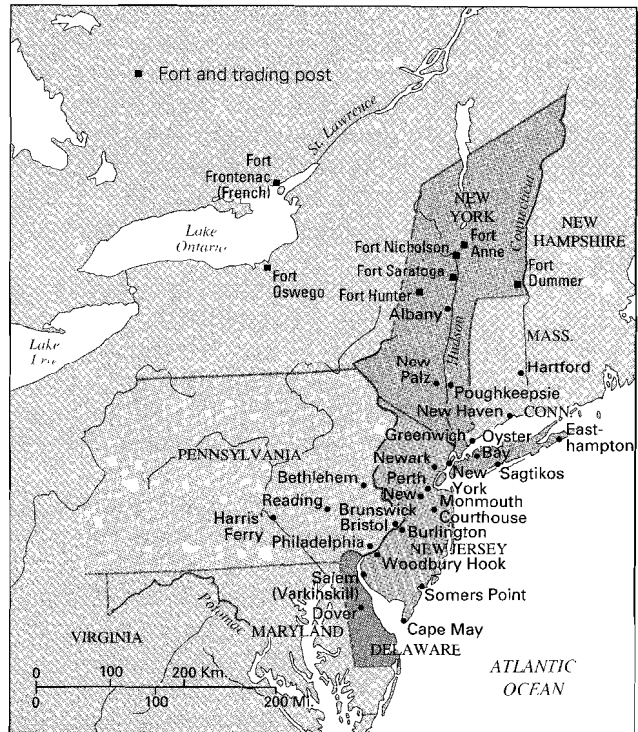
# Although often described as an African, Tituba was probably a West Indian. Tituba's accounts of witchcraft in Massachusetts were a powerful combination of her own Indian background, African traditions learned on the Barbadian plantation where she was a slave, and the Puritan beliefs acquired in the household of a local minister. *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem* by Elaine G. Breslaw.

1693, the governor assembled a new court that quickly acquitted the remaining prisoners.

Economic change and local resentments apparently played a role in the Salem witchcraft hysteria as well as uncertainties about the end of Puritan government. Those leveling the accusations typically lived on small farms outside the town of Salem; those accused of witchcraft were wealthier and lived in the rising seaport of Salem.

## The Pluralism of the Middle Colonies

Between the Chesapeake and New England lay a vast stretch of forests and farmland claimed by the Dutch. In the early seventeenth century, settlers



• MAP 3.2 The Middle Colonies This map shows the major towns, cities, and forts in the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania (including Delaware), and New Jersey. The prosperity of the region was based on the thriving commerce of its largest cities, Philadelphia and New York, and on the commercial production of wheat.

from Holland, Sweden, Germany, and France made New Netherland their home. But in the 1660s, the Dutch lost this American empire to England. The English divided the conquered territory into three colonies: New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (see Map 3.2).

### From New Amsterdam to New York

New Netherland in 1664 had only about eight thousand people, the majority of whom were not Dutch. The colony grew slowly because it was not very prosperous, thanks largely to the poor management of the Dutch West India Company.

The company was also unable to defend its colony. Eager to gain an advantage over the Dutch, England's main commercial rival, King Charles II

in 1664 granted New Netherland to his brother James, the duke of York. All James had to do was take this prize from the Dutch. When the duke's four armed ships arrived in New Amsterdam harbor, the colonists refused to defend the town. The Dutch had done little for them. Governor Peter Stuyvesant was forced to surrender the colony without a shot being fired, and New Netherland became New York.

New York grew rapidly under James's rule. Its population doubled between 1665 and 1685. Religious refugees, including French Protestants, English Quakers, and Scottish Presbyterians, found New York attractive because it offered religious toleration. The result was a remarkably diverse colonial population.

Diversity did not ensure harmony in the colony. English, Dutch, and German merchants in New York City competed fiercely for control of the colony's trade and for domination of the city's cultural life. Fierce rivalries also existed between New York City's merchants and Albany's fur traders.

New Yorkers were united only in their resentment of James's political control of the colony. Except for a brief period, New York lacked a representative assembly under his rule. Thus when King James II merged New York with the surrounding colonies in his Dominion of New England in 1686, local opposition was as great as it was in Massachusetts. In 1689, news of the Glorious Revolution prompted a revolt in New York City similar to the revolt in Boston. New Yorkers were also successful in deposing the king's officials.

## The Founding of New Jersey

In 1664, James granted the area west of Manhattan and east of the Delaware River to two loyal supporters. Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley were never able to profit from their New Jersey holdings. They did not anticipate the rush of Puritans, Quakers, and Baptists into New Jersey that began as soon as the Dutch surrendered New Netherland. The settlers refused to recognize the authority of the governor appointed by the proprietors or to pay rents.

Exasperated, Berkeley sold his half-interest in New Jersey to a group of Quaker merchants in

1672. Carteret held on to his half until his death in 1681, when a second group of Quaker merchants acquired it. The liberal policies of the Quakers drew great numbers of dissenters to the colony. The Quaker proprietors granted suffrage to all male inhabitants and established a representative assembly with broad powers. Colonists were ensured full religious freedom and the right to a trial by jury. These policies promoted a thriving and prosperous pair of communities. In 1702, West Jersey and East Jersey combined to form New Jersey.

## Pennsylvania: Another Holy Experiment

**William Penn** was eager to create a refuge for his fellow Quakers, who had been severely persecuted in England. Penn was in a unique position to accomplish this end. His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, who was not a Quaker, had been one of England's naval heroes and one of King Charles II's political advisers. Although Charles II disliked the Quakers, by the 1670s they had become the largest dissenting sect in England, and he wanted their political support in his battles with Parliament. He looked to the younger Penn to secure that support. For a decade, Penn combined political loyalty with generous loans to the king just as his father had done. As a reward, in 1681 Charles granted Penn a charter to a huge area west of the Delaware River, which Penn named Pennsylvania ("Penn's Woods"). King Charles gave Penn the same sweeping powers as proprietor that he gave others, but Penn did not intend to govern by whim. He planned a holy experiment based on Quaker values and principles.

Quakers believed that the divine spirit—or "inner light"—resided in every human being. They there-

**Presbyterians** Members of a Calvinist sect that eventually became the established church of Scotland; in the seventeenth century, it was sometimes opposed by Scotland's rulers.

suffrage The right to vote.

**William Penn** English Quaker who founded the colony of Pennsylvania in 1681.

fore respected all individuals and maintained a highly egalitarian church structure. The **Quaker** meeting was strikingly simple, without ceremony or ritual. Any congregation member who felt moved to speak was able to participate. Within the meetinghouse, distinctions of wealth and social status were not recognized. Women as well as men were welcome to speak in the meeting. In their plain dress and their refusal to remove their hats in the presence of their social "betters," Quakers demonstrated their belief that all men and women were equal.

Quaker egalitarianism influenced the political structure of Pennsylvania as well. All free male residents had the right to vote, and the legislature had full governing powers. William Penn, unlike his patron Charles II, did not interfere in the colony's lawmaking process. He honored the legislature's decisions even when they disturbed him. The political quarrels that developed in Pennsylvania's assembly actually shocked Penn, but his only action was to urge political leaders not to be "so noisy, and open, in your dissatisfactions."

Penn's land policy promoted a thriving colony of small, independent, landowning farmers. He wanted no politically powerful landlords and no economically dependent tenant farmers. He insisted that all land be purchased fairly from the Indians, and he strived for peaceful coexistence between Indian and English societies. Penn recruited settlers from outside England by publishing pamphlets that stressed the freedom and the economic opportunity available in Pennsylvania. Over eight thousand immigrants poured into the colony in the first four years. Many came from England, but Irish, Scottish, Welsh, French, Scandinavian, and German settlers came as well. To their English neighbors, German newcomers such as the Mennonites and Amish became known as the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

When William Penn died in 1717, he left behind a successful, dynamic colony. Philadelphia had already emerged as a great shipping and commercial center, rivaling Boston and New York City. But this success was achieved at some cost to Penn's original vision and to his Quaker principles. Most of the eighteenth-century settlers were not Quakers and had no strong commitment to egalitarianism, pacifism, or other Quaker principles. Penn's welcome to all immigrants ultimately jeopardized his holy experiment.

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## The Colonies of the Lower South

In 1663, Charles II granted eight of his favorite supporters several million acres of land south of Virginia. Gratitude certainly influenced Charles's grant, but so did his desire to secure an English foothold in this region that was also claimed by France, Spain, and Holland (see Map 3.3).

The new proprietors named their colony Carolina. Their plan for Carolina was similar to Lord Baltimore's, and to this end the *Fundamental Constitution of Carolina* sought to create a society of great landowners, yeoman **farmers**, and serfs. Like the Calverts, the Carolina proprietors found out that few Englishmen and women were willing to travel 3,000 miles to become serfs. The proprietors soon had to abandon their scheme and to adopt the headright system used in Virginia and Maryland.

### The Carolina Colony

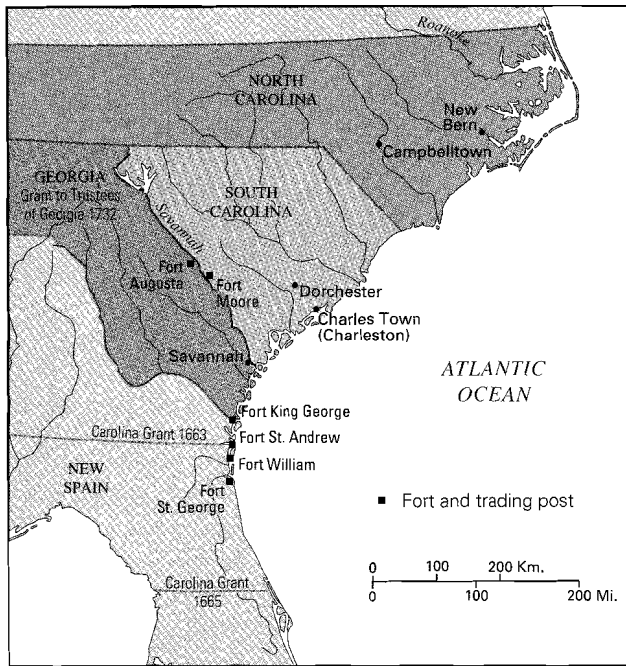
A fine natural harbor, fertile land, and the short distance to England's overcrowded possessions in the West Indies attracted settlers to Charleston in southeastern Carolina. Charleston (Charles Town before 1782) became the most important city in the southern colonies. The colony supported itself initially by trading with the local Indians for deerskins and for other Indians captured in tribal warfare. The deerskins were shipped to England, the Indians to the Caribbean as slaves. Other colonists took advantage of the region's pine forests to produce naval stores such as tar, resin, pitch, and turpentine, which were used in maintaining wooden ships.

Carolinians tried, unsuccessfully, to develop sugar cane, tobacco, silk, cotton, ginger, and olives

**Quaker meeting** A gathering of Quakers for reflection and silent or oral prayer.

**yeoman farmers** Owners of small landholdings who were entitled to vote.

**naval stores** Products such as timber, tar, resin, pitch, and turpentine, used in the building of wooden ships.



◆ **MAP 3.3 The Settlements of the Lower South** This map shows the towns and fortifications of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, as well as the overlapping claims by the Spanish and the English to the territory south and west of Fort King George. The many Georgia forts reflect that colony's role as a buffer state between rice-rich South Carolina and the Spanish troops stationed in Florida.

as cash crops. Cattle raising, which the settlers learned from African slaves imported from the West Indies, was successful. Later, rice planting, another African borrowing, proved even more profitable. The rice grown in swampy lowlands by African slaves quickly made Carolina planters the richest English colonists on the mainland. By 1708, African Americans outnumbered Europeans in the *rice* region.

In 1719, the Charleston planter elite wrested control of the southern half of Carolina from the original proprietors. In South Carolina, as it was now called, a small white elite dominated and controlled the lives of thousands of black slaves.

The northern region of Carolina around Albemarle Sound was economically unpromising and

isolated. It was bordered by swamps to the north and south. A chain of barrier islands blocked access to oceangoing vessels. Despite all these constraints, settlers had begun drifting into the area about 1660. These poor farmers and freed white servants from Virginia were searching for unclaimed land and a fresh start. They grew tobacco and produced naval stores from the pine forests around them.

In 1729, the Albemarle colonists overthrew proprietary rule and officially separated from the southern part of the colony to form North Carolina. Both South Carolina and North Carolina became royal colonies.

### Georgia: The Last Colony

In 1732, a group of wealthy English social reformers received a charter for an unusual social experiment. They hoped to reform the lives of thousands of imprisoned English debtors by giving them a new start in America.

James Oglethorpe and his colleagues gave few political rights to their colonists in Georgia. Georgians were not given a representative assembly or a voice in the selection of political or military officers. The reformers established many other restrictions. For example, no Georgian was allowed to buy or sell property in the colony, and slave labor was banned. Clearly, Oglethorpe felt that the ideal colonist was a hardworking farmer of permanently modest means.

Oglethorpe, however, could find few English debtors whom he considered as "deserving poor." Thus Georgia actually filled with South Carolinians searching for new land and with English men and women of the middling ranks. These colonists soon challenged all the land and labor policies imposed on Georgians. They won the right to buy and sell land. They introduced slave labor even though the founders refused to lift the ban on slavery. In 1752, Oglethorpe and his friends abandoned their reform project and turned Georgia over to the king.

**James Oglethorpe** Englishman who established the colony of Georgia as an asylum for debtors.

## Summary

The Virginia Company established Jamestown in *expectation* of profits from gold and silver. But the Virginians found no precious metals. *Constrained* for years by illness and the Powhatan Indians, they *chose* to cultivate tobacco. The *outcome* was a small coastal planter elite that ruled over a struggling frontier population.

Though intended as a refuge for Catholics, Maryland attracted mostly Protestant immigrants. Marylanders *chose* to cultivate tobacco through servant and slave labor as Virginians had done. One *outcome* was a tobacco-growing society throughout the Chesapeake.

The Pilgrims sought a refuge from religious persecution. Initially, they faced two main *constraints* on the New England coast: discontent among the settlers and the cold. They *chose* cooperation by offering political participation to all adult males and by establishing peaceful relations with the local Indians. The *outcome* was a society that attracted other religious dissenters.

The Puritan founders of New England *expected* to create a perfect religious society. Colonists were to obey biblical laws, and only church members were to participate in politics. The *outcome* of this experiment was not what the Puritans *expected*. No

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

uniformity existed, and the colony had to exile its dissenters. The Puritan experiment ended in 1691, when King William issued a new Massachusetts charter.

The region between the Chesapeake and New England was colonized by the Dutch and later conquered by the English. Tolerant policies there led a diverse population to *choose* to settle in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

In the Lower South, the proprietors of Carolina *expected* to create a medieval society, but settlers would not volunteer to live in such a colony. Carolinians eventually developed a thriving rice economy built on slave labor. The *outcome* in South Carolina was that a small planter elite dominated the culture. Georgia, the last of England's mainland colonies, was founded by philanthropists who *expected* to reform "worthy debtors." In Georgia too, labor supply *constraints* led to a reliance on slavery.

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## **SUGGESTED READINGS**

Barbour, Philip. *Pocahontas and Her World* (1970).

A factual account of the life of an American Indian princess celebrated in folklore.

Breslaw, Elaine G. *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (1996).

The author reconstructs the life of the West Indian slave who was a central figure in the Salem witch trials.

Demos, John. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (1970).

A beautifully written and very engaging portrait of family and community life in Plymouth Plantations.

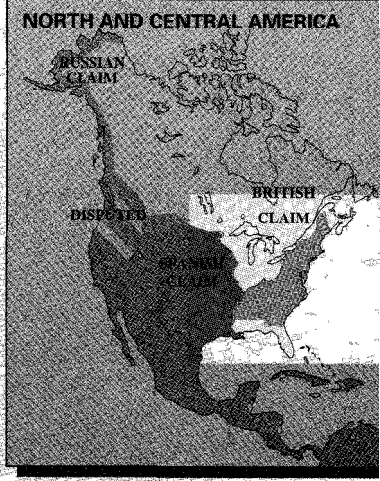
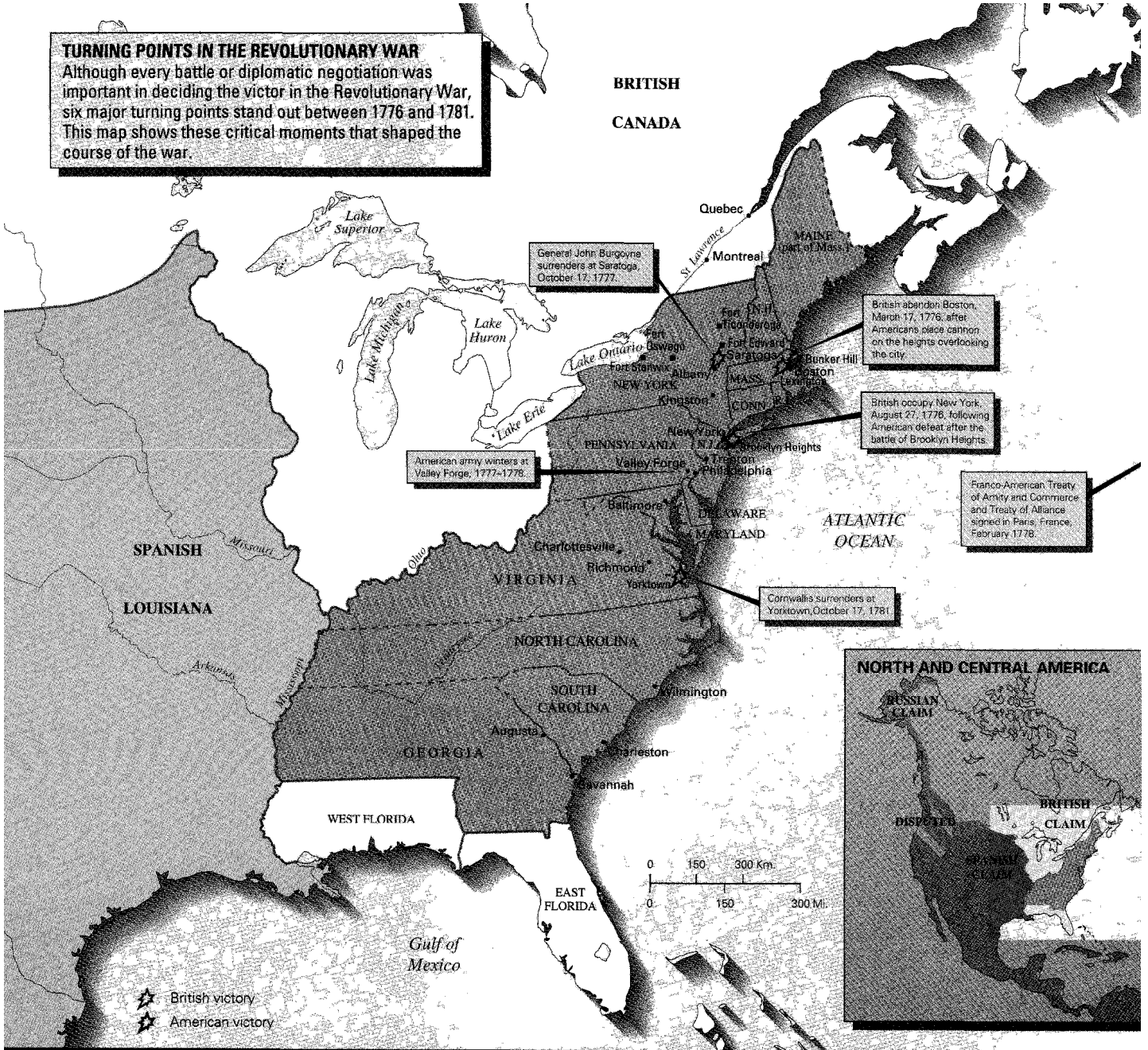
Erikson, Kai T. *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (1966).

The author discovers the values and ideals of Massachusetts Puritan society by examining the behavior and ideas these Puritans condemned, including witchcraft and Quakerism.

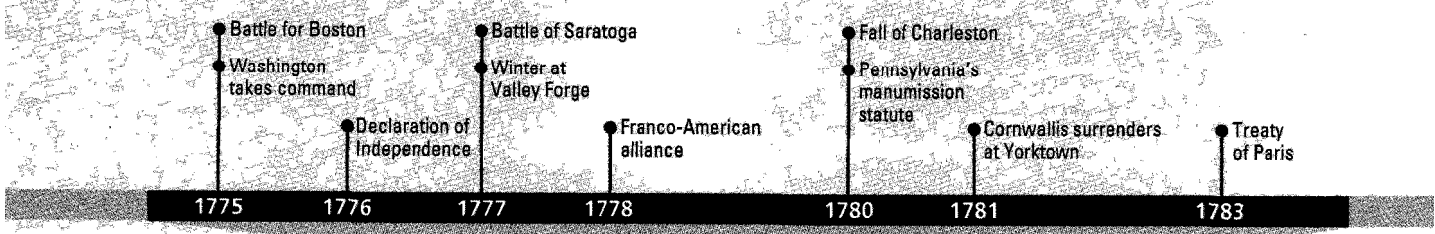


**TURNING POINTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR**

Although every battle or diplomatic negotiation was important in deciding the victor in the Revolutionary War, six major turning points stand out between 1776 and 1781. This map shows these critical moments that shaped the course of the war.



- ★ British victory
- ★ American victory



## CHAPTER 6

# Re-creating America: Independence and a

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## New Nation, 1775-1783

### **The First Two Years of War**

- What expectations shaped the British and American strategies in the early years of the war?
- What choices and constraints kept the British from achieving the quick victory many expected?

### **Influences away from the Battlefield**

- Why did the French choose to assist the Americans secretly in the early years of the war?
- Why did they choose to enter the war after Saratoga?

### **From Stalemate to Victory**

- What choices led to General Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown?
  - What were the most important outcomes of the peace treaty negotiations?
- 

### **Republican Expectations in a New Nation**

- How did the Revolution affect Americans' expectations regarding individual rights, social equality, and the role of women in American society?
- What choices were open to African Americans during and after the Revolution?
- What choices were open to loyalists?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

What began as a skirmish at Concord in April 1775 grew into an international war costing millions of pounds and thousands of lives. Great Britain *expected* victory over the colonial rebels, while the Americans' *expectations* were far less confident. Even George Washington frequently expressed his doubts that independence could be won.

To crush the rebellion, Great Britain *chose* to commit vast human and material resources. Between 1775 and 1781, it deployed over fifty thousand British soldiers and hired thirty thousand German mercenaries to fight in North America. The well-trained British troops were assisted and supplied by the most powerful navy in the world. Many Indian tribes, including the Iroquois, *chose* to fight as allies of the British. The Crown *expected* that thousands of white and black loyalists would fight beside them as well.

The Americans, by contrast, labored under many *constraints*. The Continental Congress had a nearly empty treasury. The country lacked the foundries and factories to produce arms and ammunition. Through most of the war, American soldiers could *expect* to be underpaid or unpaid, poorly equipped, hungry, and dressed in rags. Unlike the British, these Americans had little military training. Although some officers proved to have a feel for military strategy and tactics, many were just rash young men dreaming of glory. Even the size of this poorly equipped and badly prepared American

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

army was uncertain. Washington and his fellow commanders seldom knew how many soldiers would be marching with them on a campaign.

The British advantage was great but not absolute. They had to transport arms, provisions, and men across thousands of miles of ocean. The Americans were fighting on familiar terrain, and their vast society could not be easily conquered. European rivalries also worked to the Americans' advantage. Holland, France, and Spain supported the rebellion in the *expectation* that Britain's loss would be their gain. When France and Spain *chose* to recognize American independence, the war expanded into an international struggle. French naval support transformed General Washington's strategy. The *outcome* was victory at Yorktown.

Even though the *outcome* of the war was often in doubt, its impact on American men and women was not. No matter which side eighteenth-century Americans supported or what role they played in the war, they shared the experience of extraordinary events and the need to make extraordinary *choices*. In this most personal and immediate sense, the *outcome* was revolutionary.

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## The First Two Years of War

Thomas Gage, the British general who was military governor of Massachusetts, surely wished he were anywhere but Boston in the spring of 1775. The town was unsophisticated by British standards and unfriendly. Gage's army was restless, and his officers were bored. The thousands of colonial militiamen gathering on the hills surrounding Boston were clearly hostile. Yet in 1775, they were still citizens of the British Empire rather than for-

eign invaders or foes. Gage was caught up in the dilemma of an undeclared war.

**Thomas Gage** British general who was military governor of Massachusetts; he commanded the British army of occupation at the beginning of the Revolution.

**militiamen** Soldiers who were not members of a regular army but were ordinary citizens ready to be called out in case of an emergency.

## rebellion

1175 Battle for Boston  
George Washington-takes  
command of the Continental  
Army

1776 **British campaigns in** the Middle Colonies  
George Mason's Declaration of rights  
Declaration Of Independence

1777 Burgoyne'-New York campaign  
Battle of Saratoga  
Winter at Valley forge

1778 Alliance between France and America

British begin southern campaign

1780 Fall of Charleston  
Treason of Benedict Arnold  
Pennsylvania's manumission  
**statute**

1781 Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown  
Loyalists evacuate the United States

1782 British Parliament votes to end war

1783 Treaty of Paris

### The Battle for Boston

In early June, Gage proclaimed that all armed colonists were traitors but offered amnesty to any rebel who surrendered. The militiamen responded to this offer by expanding their hillside fortifications. Observing this activity, Gage decided it was time to teach the colonials a lesson. He ordered General William Howe to take Breed's Hill, across the Charles River from Boston, on June 17, 1775.

Despite the heat and humidity, General Howe ordered his twenty-four hundred soldiers to climb the hill in full-dress uniform. Howe also insisted on making a frontal attack on the Americans. The outcome was a near massacre of redcoats by Captain William Prescott's militiamen. When the Americans ran out of ammunition, however, the tables turned. Most of Prescott's men fled in confusion. The British bayoneted the few who remained to defend their position.

The British suffered more casualties that June afternoon than they would suffer in any other battle of the war. The Americans, who retreated to the safety of nearby Cambridge, learned the cost of a poor supply system that left fighting men without fresh powder and shot. Little was gained by either

side in the misnamed Battle of **Bunker Hill** (an adjacent hill).

On July 3, 1775, **George Washington** arrived to take command of the rebel forces at Cambridge. He could find no signs of military discipline. Instead, a carnival atmosphere prevailed. Men fired their muskets at random inside the camp, using their weapons to start fires and to shoot at geese flying overhead. They accidentally wounded and killed themselves and others. The men were dirty, and the camp resembled a pigpen. The general was disturbed but

**amnesty** A general pardon granted by a government, especially for political offenses.

**William Howe** British general in command at the Battle of Bunker Hill; three years later, he was appointed commander in chief of British forces in America.

**Battle of Bunker Hill** British assault on American troops on Breed's Hill near Boston in June 1775; the British won the battle but suffered heavy losses.

**George Washington** Commander in chief of the Continental Army; he led the Americans to victory in the Revolutionary War and later became the first president of the United States.

not surprised by what he saw. Many of these country boys were away from home for the first time in their lives. The prevailing chaos resulted from a combination of fear, excitement, boredom, inexperience, and plain homesickness, all brewing freely under poor leadership. Washington immediately set about reorganizing the militia units, replacing incompetent officers, and tightening discipline.

The siege of Boston ended when cannon captured from the British at Fort Ticonderoga, New York, reached Washington's army after being hauled some 300 miles across country. Once positioned on Dorchester Heights, which overlooked the city, these cannon made Gage's situation hopeless. In March 1776, a fleet of British ships carried Gage, the British army, and almost a thousand loyalist refugees away from Boston and north to Halifax, Nova Scotia. There Gage turned over command to General William Howe.

### The British Strategy in 1776

Howe immediately set to work on devising a strategy for subduing the rebellious colonies. The heart of his strategy was to locate areas of loyalist support, to establish a military occupation of these areas with the cooperation of loyalists, and then to expand the British area of influence.

Howe correctly identified New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the backcountry of the Carolinas as loyalist strongholds. The Middle Colonies had been slow to take up the cause of independence. In the Carolinas, the coastal planters' support of the revolution had led the majority of back-country farmers into the loyalist camp. Although the British did make one attempt in 1776 to capture Charleston, South Carolina, Howe concentrated his attention on New York.

Shortly after the American declaration of independence in July 1776, General William Howe and his brother, Admiral Richard Howe, sailed into New York harbor with the largest expeditionary force of the eighteenth century (see Map 6.1). With thirty thousand men, this British army was larger than the peacetime population of New York City. Washington had anticipated Howe's move and marched his twenty-three thousand troops to defend New York in April 1776.

The British began their advance on August 22, 1776, moving toward the Brooklyn neck of Long Island. Confronted with this large, well-armed British landing force and confused by the sound and the sight of battle, almost all the American troops surrendered or ran. Only Howe's slowness and poor planning prevented a fiasco for the Americans. Had Howe stationed ships to guard the East River, Washington's troops would have been trapped on Long Island, and the war might have ended there. But Washington and most of his army escaped to Manhattan and lived to fight another day.

Washington and his army survived primarily by retreating. Howe's troops chased him off Manhattan as well. Watching his men flee in disorder, Washington at one point threw his hat to the ground and shouted, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America!"

Concerted British pursuit might have put an end to Washington's inexperienced army. But after pushing Washington's force out of Manhattan, Howe spent a month consolidating his position in New York City. It was October 12 before he engaged Washington again. Howe's haphazard pursuit allowed Washington's army to escape to New Jersey and ultimately across the Delaware River to the safety of Pennsylvania before the arrival of winter.

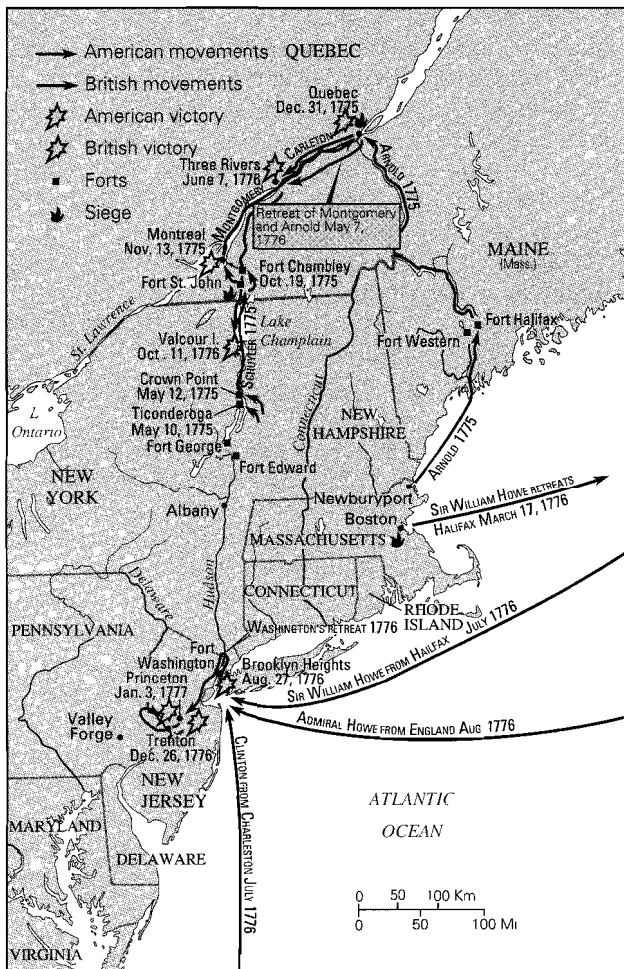
### Winter Quarters and Winter Victories

Following European custom, General Howe established winter quarters before the cold set in. The Redcoats and **Hessians** made their camps in the New York area and in Rhode Island that December. Washington did not follow this custom. Enlistment terms in what was left of his army would soon be up, and without some encouraging military suc-

**Richard Howe** British admiral who commanded British naval forces in America; General William Howe was his brother.

**expeditionary** Designed for military operations abroad.

**Hessians** German mercenaries known as Hessians after the German state of Hesse.



♦ **MAP 6.1 The War in the North, 1775-1777** The American attempt to capture Canada and General George Washington's effort to save New York from British occupation were failures, but Washington did manage to stage successful raids in New Jersey before retreating to safety in the winter of 1777. This map details the movements of both British and American troops during the northern campaign, and it indicates the victories and defeats for both armies.

cess, he expected that few of his soldiers would reenlist. Washington took a large gamble in his quest for a resounding victory. On Christmas night, in the midst of a howling storm, he and twenty-four hundred troops recrossed the Delaware River and then marched nine miles to Trenton, New Jersey. The

hostile weather worked to Washington's ultimate advantage. The several thousand Hessian troops garrisoned near Trenton, never expecting anyone to venture out on such a night, drank heavily before falling into their beds. They were in poor shape to resist when the Americans caught them by surprise the following morning, and quickly surrendered. Washington did not lose a single man in capturing nine hundred prisoners and many badly needed supplies, including six German cannon. Washington then made a rousing appeal to his men to reenlist. Washington had been correct in taking the Christmas night risk, for about half of the soldiers agreed to remain.

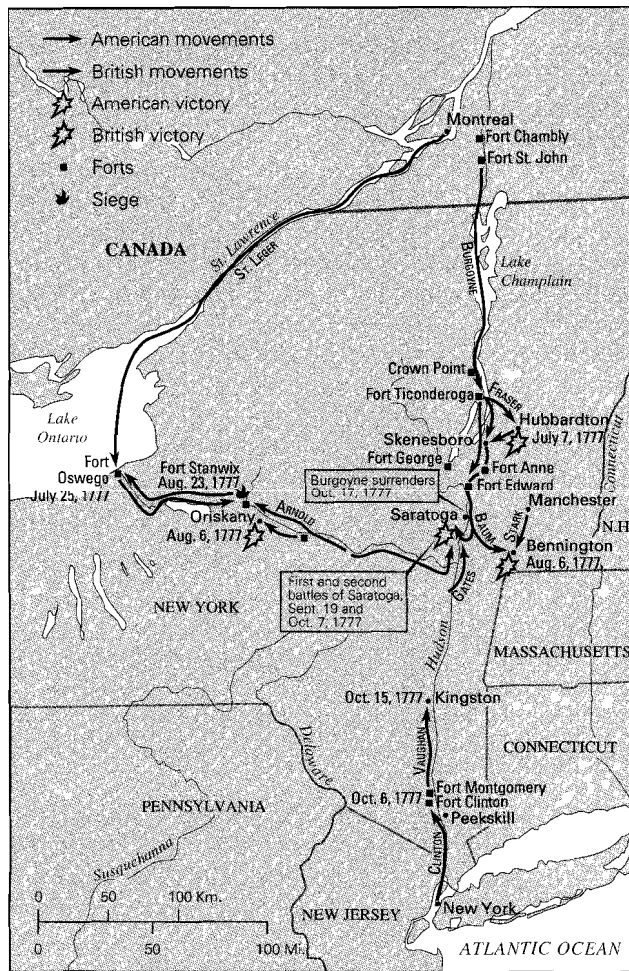
Washington enjoyed his next success even more. In early January, he again crossed into New Jersey and made his way toward the British garrison at Princeton. En route, his advance guard ran into two British regiments. As both sides lined up for battle, Washington rode back and forth in front of his men, shouting encouragement and urging them to stand firm. His behavior was reckless, for it put him squarely in the line of fire, but it was also effective. When the British turned in retreat, Washington rode after them, delighted to be in pursuit for once.

The Trenton and Princeton victories raised the morale of the Continental Army as it settled into winter quarters near Morristown, New Jersey. Those successes also stirred popular support. Still, the revolutionary forces had done little to stop the Howes. And neither Washington's polite requests nor his angry demands could get the Second Continental Congress to provide the assistance he needed. The Congress met his requests for supplies that winter with "permission" to **commandeer** what was needed from nearby residents. Washington refused, for he knew that seizing civilian property might turn potential patriots into enemies.

### Burgoyne's New York Campaign

In July 1777, General William Howe sailed with fifteen thousand men up Chesapeake Bay toward Philadelphia, causing the Continental Congress to

**commandeer** To seize for military use.



◆ **MAP 6.2 The Burgoyne Campaign, 1777** The defeat of General John Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga was a major turning point in the war. It led to the recognition of American independence by France and later by Spain and to a military alliance with both these European powers. This map shows American and British troop movements and the locations and dates of the Saratoga battles leading to the British surrender.

flee. Although the American forces did challenge Howe at Brandywine Creek, they could not stop the British from occupying the capital.

While Howe was settling in at Philadelphia, a British campaign was getting under way in northern New York. This campaign was part of General **John Burgoyne's** scheme to sever New England from the rest of the American colonies (see Map 6.2).

Burgoyne's complex plan called for three British armies to converge on Albany. He would move his army southward from Montreal, while a second army commanded by Colonel Barry St. Leger would head east from Fort Oswego. The third force would march north from New York City. These three armies would isolate New England and provide an opportunity to crush the rebellion.

This daring plan faced serious obstacles. First, no British official had any knowledge of the American terrain that had to be covered. Second, Burgoyne badly misjudged Indian support and loyalty. Third, General Howe had not been informed of the plan or his role in it.

Burgoyne's army departed from Montreal in high spirits in June 1777. The troops floated down Lake Champlain in canoes and flatbottom boats. They took Fort Ticonderoga easily, but the subsequent march to Albany proved a nightmare.

In true eighteenth-century British style, Burgoyne chose to travel well rather than lightly. The 30 wagons he brought with him contained not only 138 pieces of artillery for the campaign but also Burgoyne's mistress, her personal wardrobe, and a generous supply of champagne. The extra baggage might have been only a minor inconvenience across mild terrain, but the wagons had to travel through swamps and forests, across gullies and ravines. Movement slowed to a snail's pace, and food supplies began to run dangerously low.

The Americans took full advantage of Burgoyne's circumstances. Ethan Allen and the **Green Mountain Boys** harassed the British as they entered what is now Vermont. A confrontation with Allen near Bennington slowed his army even more. When Burgoyne finally reached Albany in mid-September, he was disturbed to discover neither St. Leger nor Howe waiting there.

St. Leger had counted on the support of the entire Iroquois League in his eastward march to Albany. He discovered, however, that some Iroquois

**John Burgoyne** British general who recaptured Fort Ticonderoga but was forced to surrender his entire army at Saratoga in October 1777.

**Green Mountain Boys** Vermont militiamen led by Ethan Allen.



◆ As Burgoyne's army moved south, Catherine Van Rensselaer rushed from Albany to rescue the furnishings of her country estate in Saratoga. Although panicked refugees fled past her, Van Rensselaer refused to turn back. She not only saved her furniture but set fire to her wheat fields to prevent the enemy from harvesting the grain. Such acts of sabotage were frequently carried out by patriot and loyalist women. *Los Angeles County Museum of Art; bicentennial gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Schaaf, Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Shoemaker, and Mr. and Mrs. Julian Ganz, Jr.*

had allied with the Americans. St. Leger faced resistance that grew fiercer the closer he got to the rendezvous point. When he learned that Benedict Arnold and an army of a thousand Americans were on their way to challenge him, St. Leger decided to retreat to the safety of Fort Niagara.

St. Leger's retreat and William Howe's ignorance of his role in this military operation left Burgoyne stranded. As his supplies dwindled, Burgoyne had few choices left by mid-September 1777. He could attempt to break through the American lines and retreat northward to Canada, or he could surrender. On September 19, Burgoyne attacked American forces commanded by Horatio Gates at Saratoga. But "Granny" Gates, as the general was affectionately called, held his ground. He again shut the door on Burgoyne on October 7. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne was forced to surrender.

News of Burgoyne's defeat gave a powerful boost to American confidence and an equally powerful blow to British self-esteem. The stunning victory at Saratoga also raised hopes that France might openly acknowledge American independence and join the war against Britain.

### Winter Quarters in 1777

For General Washington, Saratoga was a mixed blessing. The victory fueled expectations—which he did not share—that the war was practically at an end. Congress consequently ignored his urgent requests for money to support the Continental Army in its winter quarters some 20 miles from Philadelphia. The result was a long and dreadful winter at Valley Forge.

Rations were a problem from the start. Most soldiers at Valley Forge lived entirely on a diet of fire cakes, made of flour mixed with water and baked in the coals or over the fire on a stick. Keeping warm occupied these soldiers even more than

**Benedict Arnold** A Philadelphian whose acts of daring and bravery made him a favorite of George Washington until he committed treason in 1780.

**Valley Forge** Winter encampment (1777-1778) of Washington's army in Pennsylvania, where soldiers were poorly supplied and suffered terribly from cold and hunger.



keeping fed, for blankets were scarce, coats were rare, and firewood was precious. They sometimes traded their muskets for the momentary warmth provided by liquor.

The enlisted men at Valley Forge shared a common background. Most were unmarried farm boys, farm laborers, servants, apprentices, artisans, or even former slaves. Although some had wives and children, the majority had few dependents and few hopes of economic advancement. Yet poverty had not driven them into Washington's army. There were other, easier choices than soldiering. They could have secured more money, better food, and greater comfort if they had taken up begging. Those who preferred a military life could have served as substitutes for wealthy men in their local militia units and been well paid. Instead, they had chosen Washington's Continental Army out of their dedication to liberty and independence and intended to see the war to its conclusion.

What these soldiers needed, besides new clothes and hot baths, was professional military training. That is exactly what they got when an unlikely Prussian volunteer arrived at Valley Forge in the spring of 1778. Baron Friedrich **von Steuben** was almost 50 years old, dignified, and elegantly dressed. Although von Steuben was not the grand aristocrat that he claimed to be, he was a talented military drillmaster.

All spring, the baron drilled Washington's troops, alternately shouting in rage and applauding with delight. He expected instant obedience, set high standards, and criticized freely. But he also gave lavish praise when it was due and revealed a genuine affection and respect for the men. To Washington, Baron von Steuben was an invaluable surprise.

The spring of 1778 brought many changes besides a better-trained American army. General William Howe had been called home and replaced by his second-in-command, Henry **Clinton**. The most welcome news to reach Washington was that France had formally recognized the independence of the United States. He immediately declared a day of thanks, ordering cannon to be fired in honor of the new alliance and calling for an inspection of his troops. That day, the officers feasted with their commander, and Washington issued brandy to each enlisted man at Valley Forge.

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## Influences away from the Battlefield

The American Revolution, like most other wars, was not confined to the battlefield. Diplomacy in foreign capitals played a crucial role in its outcome. So did American popular support for the revolutionary government. In the end, diplomatic and political concerns could not be separated from the fate of the armies on the battlefield.

### The Long Road to Formal Recognition

In 1776, Great Britain's rivals in Europe thought the American Revolution would fail. Thus France, Spain, and the Netherlands were willing to provide aid secretly to the colonial rebels but unwilling to risk war with Britain by formally recognizing American independence. Even **Benjamin** Franklin, the American minister to France who had charmed everyone in Paris, could not produce a diplomatic miracle of this magnitude.

Burgoyne's surrender changed everything. After Saratoga, the French government immediately reassessed its diplomatic position. The comte de Vergennes, the chief minister of King Louis XVI, suspected that the British would quickly send a peace commission to America. France would gain nothing if the American Congress agreed to a compromise ending the rebellion. But if France gave Americans reason to hope for total victory, perhaps it could recoup some of the territory and prestige lost to Britain in the Great War for Empire. This meant,

**Friedrich von Steuben** Prussian military officer who volunteered to drill Washington's army at Valley Forge, giving the Continental troops much-needed military training at a pivotal period in the war.

**Henry Clinton** General who replaced William Howe as commander of the British forces in America in 1778; the change of command was in response to the British defeat at Saratoga.

**Benjamin Franklin** American writer, inventor, and diplomat who negotiated French support for the American Revolution in 1778.

of course, recognizing the United States and entering a war against Britain. Vergennes wavered.

Meanwhile, the British government was indeed preparing a new peace offer. George III believed that he was offering the Americans two great concessions. First, Parliament would renounce all intentions of ever taxing the colonies again. Second, Parliament would repeal the Intolerable Acts, the Tea Act, and any other objectionable legislation passed since 1763. For the American government, these concessions were too late in coming. By 1778, a voluntary return to colonial status was unthinkable.

Benjamin Franklin knew that Congress would reject the king's offer, but the comte de Vergennes did not. Franklin shrewdly played upon Vergennes's fears of compromise. He secured French recognition of American independence and a military alliance. Spain followed with recognition in 1779, and the Netherlands in 1780.

The Revolution thus grew into an international struggle that taxed British resources and made it impossible for Britain to concentrate all its military might and naval power in America. With ships diverted to the Caribbean and the European coast, the British no longer enjoyed the mastery of American waters.

### War and the American Public

In America, the most striking consequence of the treaty with France was an orgy of spending. Conditions were ripe for this in 1778. The value of government-issued paper money was dropping steadily, and spending rather than saving seemed more sensible. The profits that some farmers and civilians were making from supplying the American armies meant that there were more Americans with money to spend. Finally, some of the credit that American diplomats negotiated with European allies went to purchase foreign manufactured goods. Fear of a long and unsuccessful war had kept Americans wary of spending. When the treaty spurred new confidence that victory was on the way, the combination of optimism, cheap **money**, and the availability of foreign goods led to a wartime spending spree.

Many of these goods were actually made in Britain. Such products often found their way into American hands by way of British-occupied New

York City, where imports had reached their prewar levels by 1780. American consumers apparently saw no contradiction between patriotism and the purchase of enemy products such as tea.

The spirit of self-indulgence infected the government and the military. Corruption and graft were common, especially in the department of the quartermaster and in the **commissaries**. Administrators in these divisions sold government supplies for their own profit or charged the army excessive rates for shoddy goods and services. Civilians cheated the government too. Soldiers became accustomed to defective weapons, shoes, and ammunition. They were not immune to the lure of easy money. Some soldiers sold army-issued supplies to any buyers they could find.

Although American expectations of victory rose after Saratoga, victory itself remained out of reach. By 1778, the war effort was in financial crisis. Both Congress and the states had exhausted their meager sources of hard currency, leaving the Continental Army in desperate straits. Congress and the state governments met the crisis by printing more paper money. The result was a further lowering of the value of paper currency and complaints from soldiers that they were being cheated out of their pay. Congress acknowledged the justice of these complaints by giving soldiers pay raises in the form of certificates that could be redeemed after the war.

### From Stalemate to Victory

The entrance of France into the war did not immediately alter the strategies of British or American

cheap money Loans obtainable at a low rate of interest.

graft Unscrupulous use of one's position to derive profit or advantage.

quartermaster An officer responsible for purchasing the food, clothing, and equipment used by troops.

commissary A supplier of food and other essentials to the Continental Army. Members of a commissary received a commission for their services.

military leaders. After Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, British generals continued to be cautious. Washington, who was waiting for help from the French navy; was unwilling to take risks either. The result was a stalemate.

### The War Stalls in the North

Sir Henry Clinton, William Howe's successor as British military commander in America, was painfully aware that the French fleet could pose a serious problem for his army. Philadelphia was an easy target for a naval blockade. Clinton accordingly decided to abandon Philadelphia and to return to the safety of New York. By the spring of



◆ Mohawk chief Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) believed that Iroquois lands would be lost if the Americans were victorious. He urged an Iroquois alliance with the British, fought for the British, and directed a series of deadly raids against settlements in Pennsylvania and New York. After the war—as Brant had feared—his people were forced to relocate to Canada. *"Joseph Brant" by Wilhelm von Moll Berczy c. 1800. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.*

1778, Clinton's army was marching east toward New York.

Washington decided that the retreating British forces, with their long and cumbersome supply lines, were a ripe target. But Charles Lee, the American who commanded this attack, called for a retreat almost as soon as the enemy began to return fire. Only Washington's personal intervention rallied the retreating Americans. Trained by von Steuben, the men responded well. They held their lines and then drove the redcoats back. The Battle of Monmouth was not the decisive victory Washington had dreamed of, but it was a fine recovery after what appeared to be certain defeat.

The missed opportunity at Monmouth was followed by others. An early joint operation with the French was particularly upsetting. In August 1778, a combined French and American force landed to attack the large British base at Newport, Rhode Island. The French commander, Admiral d'Estaing, lost his nerve, abruptly gathered up his own men, and sailed to safety on the open seas. The Americans were left stranded, forced to retreat as best they could.

General Washington could hardly contain his frustration with the new allies. He was eager to map out a joint strategy using American military strengths and French naval resources to their best advantage. But no French admiral contacted him. All Washington could do was wait.

He did that as patiently as he could through the summer of 1779. That fall he learned that d'Estaing and his fleet had sailed for the West Indies to protect French possessions and perhaps to acquire new islands from the British. Washington understood the French priorities, but he was discouraged. D'Estaing's departure meant more months of inactivity for the general and his restless troops.

Charles Lee Revolutionary general who was envious of Washington and allowed his egotism to dictate his decisions on the battlefield; he was eventually dismissed from service.

Battle of Monmouth Battle fought in New Jersey in June 1778, in which the American retreat ordered by Charles Lee was stopped by General Washington.

## The War Moves South

By 1778 it had become apparent to the British that their campaigns in the northern colonies were a failure. Although they could occupy any port they selected, the countryside remained in patriot hands. And when British troops ceased their occupation of places such as Philadelphia, the rebels quickly resumed control. The British had little to show for three years of fighting in the North. General Henry Clinton decided to shift his attention to the South, where he hoped to find a stronger base of loyalists.

The southern campaign began in earnest with an assault on Savannah, Georgia, in the fall of 1778 (see Map 6.3). When Savannah fell that December, all resistance in Georgia collapsed. For once the British controlled the countryside. Clinton's next target was Charleston, South Carolina. Clinton sailed for Charleston, accompanied by eight thousand troops, in late 1779. After a month-long bombardment, Charleston fell in May 1780. The loss of Charleston was the costliest one of the entire war for the Americans: the whole garrison of fifty-four hundred soldiers surrendered.

Clinton then returned to New York, leaving the ambitious and able General **Charles Cornwallis** in charge. Cornwallis and his regular army were joined by loyalist militias who were eager to take revenge on their enemies. Since 1776, small roving bands of loyalist guerrillas had kept alive resistance to the Revolution. After the British victory at Charleston, these guerrillas increased their attacks, and a bloody civil war of ambush, arson, and brutality on both sides resulted. By the summer of 1780, the revolutionaries were now the resistance, and the loyalists were in control.

The revolutionary resistance produced legendary guerrilla leaders. None was more loved, or feared, than Francis Marion, known as the "Swamp Fox." Marion recruited both blacks and whites to his raiding bands. They steadily harassed Cornwallis's army and effectively cut British communication between Charleston and the interior of South Carolina.

When guerrillas and loyalists met in battle, few rules of war were honored. In October 1780, for example, in the **Battle of Kings Mountain**, revolu

tionaries surrounded loyalist troops and picked them off one by one. As this bitter civil war continued, civilians were terrorized and their farms and homes plundered. Outlaws posing as soldiers often did the worst damage.

The regular American army, under the command of the Saratoga hero, "Granny" Gates, enjoyed little success against Cornwallis. In August 1780, Gates suffered a crushing defeat at Camden, South Carolina. Washington ordered Gates's removal that fall, replacing him with Nathanael **Greene**, a younger, more energetic officer from Rhode Island.

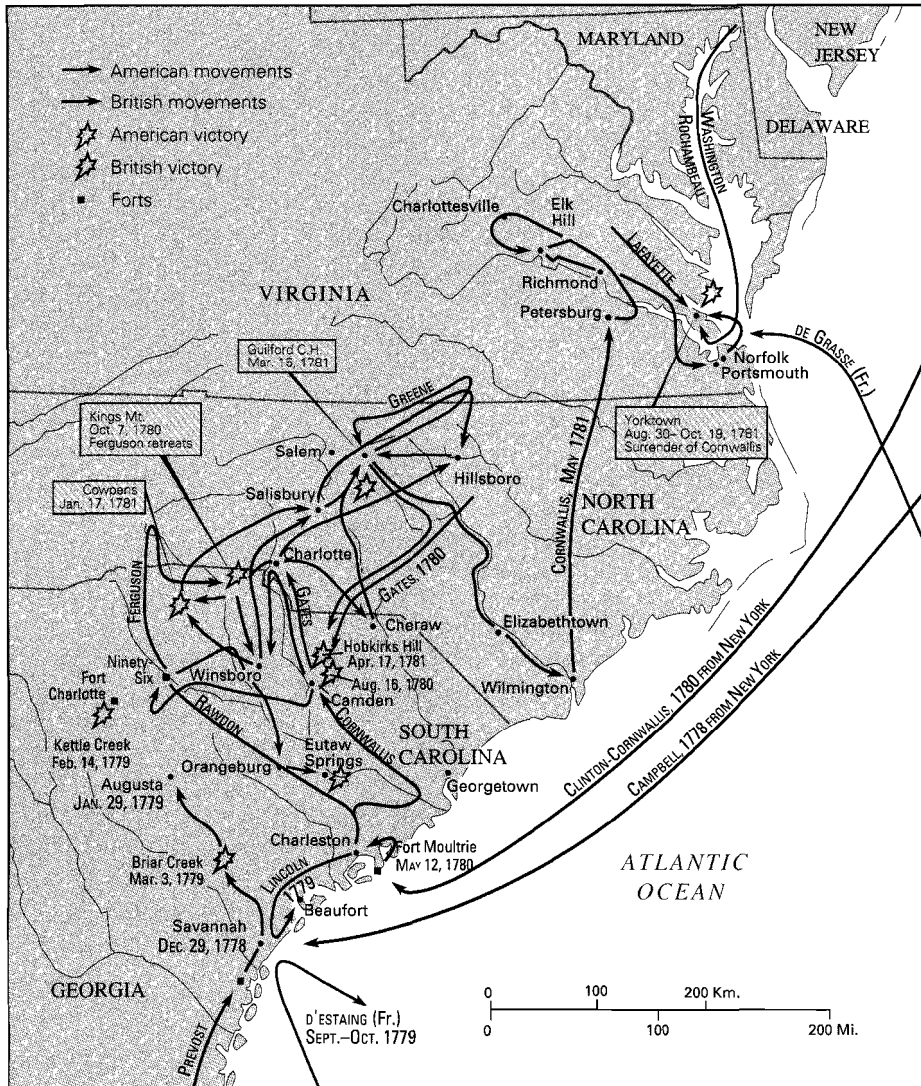
Greene was shocked when he arrived in South Carolina. Not only were his fourteen hundred troops tired, hungry, and poorly clothed, but they were "without discipline and so addicted to plundering that the utmost exertions of the officers cannot restrain them." Greene's first steps were to ease the strains caused by civil war and plundering by offering pardons to loyalists and proposing alliances with local Indian tribes. He managed to win all but the Creeks away from the British.

Greene's military strategy was to wear the British out by having them chase his small army. He boldly split his military force in half, sending six hundred soldiers to western South Carolina under the able command of Virginian Daniel Morgan. Cornwallis countered by sending Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton in pursuit. Morgan led the British officer on a hectic chase across rugged terrain. By the time Tarleton's men cornered the Americans on an open meadow called Cowpens, the British were tired and frustrated. There the smaller American force stood its ground and

**Charles Cornwallis** British general who was second-in-command to Henry Clinton; his surrender at Yorktown in 1781 brought the Revolutionary War to a close.

**Battle of Kings Mountain** Battle fought in October 1780 on the border between the Carolinas; revolutionary troops forced the British to retreat to South Carolina.

**Nathanael Greene** American general who took command of the Carolinas campaign in 1780.



**MAP 6.3 The Southern Campaign, 1778-1781** This map of the British attempt to crush the rebellion in the South shows the many battles waged in the Lower South before Cornwallis's encampment at Yorktown and his surrender there. This decisive southern campaign involved all the military resources of the combatants, including British, loyalist, French, and American ground forces and British and French naval fleets.

inflicted heavy casualties on the British, taking six hundred prisoners. Morgan and his soldiers then reunited with General Greene.

Cornwallis subsequently took the offensive against Greene. But the American general led the British commander on a long, exhausting chase into North Carolina. In March 1781, Greene decided it was time to stop running and to fight. Although the Americans withdrew from the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in

North Carolina, British losses were so great that Cornwallis was compelled to retreat to coastal Wilmington, where he could obtain fresh supplies and troops. Cornwallis then headed north into Virginia.



- ◆ John Trumbull celebrated the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in this painting. However, neither Cornwallis nor Washington actually participated in the surrender ceremonies. The British commander claimed illness and sent his general of the guards as his deputy. Washington, always sensitive to status as well as to protocol, promptly appointed an officer to equal rank, General Benjamin Lincoln, to serve as his deputy. *"Surrender of Lord Cornwallis" by John Trumbull. Yale University Art Gallery. Trumbull Collection.*

### Triumph at Yorktown

In May 1781, Washington's impatient wait for French action ended. Meeting with the French naval commander, the comte de Rochambeau, Washington pressed his case for an attack on New York. Rochambeau, however, had already decided to move against Cornwallis in Virginia and ordered Admiral de Grasse's fleet to Chesapeake Bay. Washington had little choice but to concur with Rochambeau's plan. On July 6, 1781, a French army joined Washington's forces just north of Manhattan for the long march to Virginia.

General Cornwallis, unaware that a combined army was marching toward him, busied himself

fighting skirmishes with local Virginia militia units. His first clue that trouble lay ahead came when a force of regulars, led by Baron von Steuben and the marquis de Lafayette, appeared in Virginia. Soon afterward, Cornwallis settled his army at the peninsula port of **Yorktown** to prepare for more serious battles ahead.

**marquis de Lafayette** French aristocrat who served on Washington's staff during the Revolution.

**Yorktown** Port town in Virginia on the York River near Chesapeake Bay; its location on a peninsula allowed American and French forces to trap the British in their encampment there.

By September 1781, French and American troops coming from New York had joined forces with von Steuben's and Lafayette's men to surround Cornwallis. Meanwhile, Admiral de Grasse's twenty-seven ships had arrived at Chesapeake Bay to seal the trap. General Clinton, still in New York, had been slow to realize what the enemy intended. He could send only a small number of ships from New York to rescue the trapped Cornwallis because most of the British fleet was in the Caribbean.

Admiral de Grasse had little trouble fending off Clinton's rescue squad. Then he and Washington turned their guns on the redcoats. For Cornwallis, there was no escape. On October 17, 1781, he admitted the hopelessness of his situation and surrendered.

Despite the surrender at Yorktown, loyalists and patriots continued to fight each other in the South for another year. Indian warfare continued in the backcountry. The British occupation of Charleston, Savannah, and New York continued. But after Yorktown, the British gave up all hope of military victory against the revolutionaries. On March 4, 1782, Parliament voted to cease "the further prosecution of offensive war on the Continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the Colonies to obedience by force." The war for independence had been won.

## Winning Diplomatic Independence

What Washington and his allies had won on the battlefield had to be preserved by American diplomats. Three men represented the United States at the peace talks in Paris: Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams. Each was a veteran of wartime negotiations with European governments. They knew that their chief ally, France, had its own agenda and that Great Britain still wavered about the degree of independence America was to enjoy.

Despite firm orders from Congress to rely on France at every phase of the negotiations, the American diplomats quickly put their own agenda on the table. They issued a direct challenge to Britain: you must recognize American independence as a precondition to negotiations. The British commissioner reluctantly agreed.

In the **Treaty of Paris** of 1783, the Americans emerged with two clear victories. First, the boundaries of the new nation were to be extensive, going all the way to the Mississippi River. The British did not, however, give up Canada as the Americans had hoped. Second, the treaty granted the United States unlimited access to the fisheries off Newfoundland, a particular concern of New Englander John Adams. But the treaty was vague about many other matters. For example, Britain ceded the Northwest to the United States, but the treaty set no timetable for British evacuation of this territory. In some cases, the vague language worked to the Americans' advantage. The treaty contained only the most general promise that the American government would not interfere with Britain's efforts to receive payment for the large prewar debts owed to British merchants. The promise to urge the states to return confiscated property to loyalists was equally vague. The American peacemakers were aware of the treaty's lack of clarity on some issues. But they had gained their major objectives and were willing to accept vagueness as the cost of avoiding stalemate.

## Republican Expectations in a New Nation

As an old man, John Adams reminisced about the American Revolution with his family and friends. The Revolution, Adams said, took place "in the hearts and the minds of the people." What he meant was that changes in American social values and political ideas were as critical as artillery, swords, and battlefield strategies in the making of the new nation. Significant changes certainly did take place in American thought and behavior during the war years. Many of these changes reflected the growing identification of the new American

**Treaty of Paris** Treaty that ended the Revolutionary War in 1783; it gave the Northwest to the United States, set boundaries between the United States and Canada, and called for the payment of prewar debts.

nation as a republic—that is, a nation in which supreme power rests in the people, not kings or aristocrats. Republican values could be seen in the emphasis on individual rights, in the establishment of representative and **limited government**, and in the ideals of civic-mindedness, patriotism, and a simple, unpretentious lifestyle.

### Protection of Individual Rights

After 1763, the debates over British colonial policy brought about a new emphasis on individual rights. By 1776, many Americans expected their government to protect fundamental rights such as life, liberty, and property. The belief that Britain had to respect and protect individual rights had been critical in justifying the Revolution. No government, Americans believed, had the authority to abuse or threaten their fundamental rights. Whatever form Americans chose for their new, independent government, they would demand that it protect their rights.

The emphasis on individual rights opened the door to a reform of laws affecting religion. Although individual dissenters such as Roger Williams in the seventeenth century had risked their lives for freedom of conscience, most colonists did not question the value of established churches until the Revolutionary era.

In 1776, the Virginia House of Burgesses approved George Mason's Declaration of Rights, which ensured the right to "the free exercise of religion." Virginia, however, continued to use tax monies to support the Anglican church. Not until the passage of the Statute of Religious Freedom in 1786 did the state sever its ties with the Anglican church and allow for complete freedom of conscience, even for atheists. Other southern states followed Virginia's lead.

New Englanders proved more resistant to **disestablishment**. Many wished to continue government support of the Congregational church. Others wished to retain the principle of an established church. As a compromise, the New England states allowed towns to decide which denomination would be the established church. New England did not separate church and state entirely until the nineteenth century.

### Protection of Property Rights

The American revolutionaries were very vocal about the importance of private property. They expected government to protect people's rights to own property. In the decade before the Revolution, much of the protest against British policy had focused on this issue. For property holders and aspiring property holders, life, liberty, and happiness were interwoven with the right of ownership.

The property rights of some, however, infringed or the freedoms of others. Slavery's reduction of human beings to private property produced a stark contradiction in values. Masters wielded control over the lives of indentured servants, including the power to forbid a servant to marry or to bear children. Constraints could be seen in the white community's denial of Indian claims to the land. Laws placed restrictions on women's property rights as well. Unless special contracts were drafted before marriage, a woman's property, including her clothing and personal items, fell under the control of her husband.

Although all free white males had the right to own property, not all of them were able to acquire it. When the Revolution began, at least one-fifth of the American people lived in poverty or depended on public charity. The uneven distribution of wealth among white colonists was obvious on the streets of colonial Boston and in the rise in the number of almshouses in Philadelphia.

### Social Equality and Legal Reforms

Despite wide variations in wealth, American republicans did believe in social equality. In particular, they aimed to create a society free of artificial

**republic** A nation in which supreme power resides in the citizens, who elect representatives to govern them.

**limited government** Government that guarantees the security and freedom of the people and interferes as little as possible with their lives.

**disestablishment** Depriving a church of official government support.

**almshouse** A public shelter for the poor.



privileges that benefited a few at the expense of the many. They eliminated primogeniture and entail for this reason. In Britain, primogeniture and entail together had created a landed aristocracy. Although the danger of the formation of a similarly privileged aristocracy in the United States was small, the revolutionaries repealed these laws.

The passion for social equality extended to national heroes. George Washington and his fellow Revolutionary War officers ran afoul of public opinion when they organized the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783 to sustain wartime friendships. Critics warned that the society's hereditary memberships, which were to pass from officer fathers to their eldest sons, would create a military aristocracy and pose a threat to republican government. Washington and his comrades were forced to revise the offending bylaws.

In some states, the principle of social equality had concrete political consequences. Pennsylvania and Georgia eliminated all property qualifications for voting among free white males. Other states lowered their property requirements for voters but refused to go as far as universal manhood suffrage.

### Women in the New Republic

American women would remember the war years as a time of shortages, worry, harassment, and difficult responsibilities. Men going off to war left women and children to manage the farm or the shop, to cope with shortages of food and supplies, and to survive on meager budgets. Many women faced these new circumstances with great anxiety. After the war, however, they remembered with satisfaction how well they had adapted to new roles. They expressed their sense of accomplishment in letters to husbands that spoke no longer of "your farm" and "your crop" but of "our farm" and even "my crop."

What struck many women most vividly was their sudden independence from men. Even women whose circumstances were difficult experienced a new sense of freedom. Grace Galloway, wife of loyalist exile Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, remained in America during the war in an effort to preserve her family property. Reduced

from wealth to painful poverty, Grace Galloway nevertheless confided to her diary that "Ye liberty of doing as I please Makes even Poverty more agreeable than any time I ever spent since I married."

Galloway's new self-confidence and her newfound liberty were certainly not characteristic of all women. For many, the war meant age-old experiences of vulnerability. Occupying armies, guerrilla bands, and outlaws posing as soldiers left trails of rape and physical attack, particularly in New Jersey, the Carolinas, and along the frontier.

For women, the war also meant adapting traditional behavior and skills to new circumstances. Women who joined husbands or fathers in army camps took up the familiar domestic chores of cooking, cleaning, laundering, and providing nursing care. On some occasions, however, they crossed gender boundaries. Women such as Mary Ludwig Hays (better known as "Molly Pitcher") carried water and ammunition to their husbands and took up the men's guns when they fell wounded. After the war, a number of these women applied to the government for pensions, citing evidence of wounds they had received in battle.

Both loyalist and patriot women served as spies, sheltered soldiers, and hid weapons in their cellars. Sometimes they burned their crops or destroyed their homes to prevent the enemy from using them. These were conscious acts of patriotism rather than wifely duties. The same was true of the small number of women who disguised themselves as men and fought in the military.

Such novel experiences created a new role for women in the family and in a republican society. This new role of **republican motherhood** called for women to be actively involved in the preservation of a republican society. Republican motherhood

primogeniture The legal right of the eldest son to inherit the entire estate of his father.

entail A legal limitation that prevents property from being divided, sold, or given away.

republican motherhood A role for women that stressed the importance of instructing children in republican virtues such as patriotism and honor.

stressed the importance of women as educators of the next generation of republicans. Republican motherhood did not arise solely from women's wartime experience. It had roots in the growth during colonial times of a prosperous urban class that could purchase many household necessities. These prosperous urban wives and mothers had more time to devote to raising children. Yet the Revolution did give republican motherhood its particular qualities. The republican woman was expected to possess an independence of mind and an ability to survive in times of crisis and disaster.

This new civic role for American mothers had profound implications for education. Women could not raise proper republican citizens if they themselves were ignorant and uneducated. It suddenly became important to teach women not just domestic skills but geography, philosophy, and history as well. By the 1780s, public education had come to include girls, and private academies had opened to educate the daughters of wealthy American families.

### **The War's Impact on Slaves and Slavery**

The protection of liberty and the fear of enslavement were major themes of the Revolution. The denial of liberty was a central reality in the lives of most African Americans. Ironically, the desire for freedom set many slaves against the Revolution. Of the fifty thousand or so slaves who won their freedom in the war, half did so by escaping to the British army. Only about five thousand African-American men joined the Continental Army. In both armies, however, African-American troops were paid less than white soldiers.

Slaves found other routes to freedom besides military service during the war. They escaped from farms and plantations to the cities, where they passed as free people. Or they fled to the frontier, where they joined sympathetic Indian tribes.

The long war also affected the lives of those who remained in slavery. Control and discipline broke down when the southern campaigns disrupted work routines. Slave masters complained loudly and bitterly that their slaves "all do now what they

please every where" or that slaves "pay no attention to the orders of the overseer."

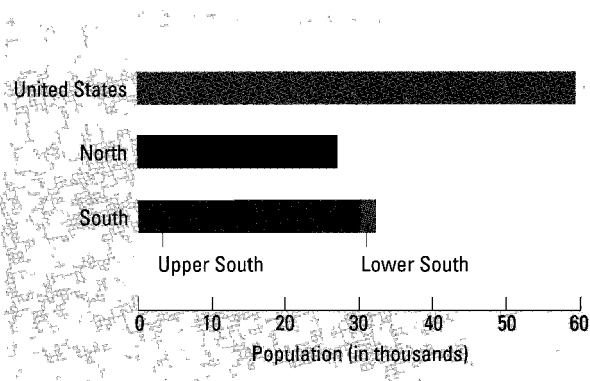
In the northern states, the revolutionaries' demand for liberty undermined black slavery. Loyalists taunted patriots, asking, "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" The question made the contradiction between revolutionary ideals and American reality painfully clear. In Boston, a young African-born slave named Phillis Wheatley, whose literary talents were encouraged by her master, called on the revolutionaries to acknowledge the universality of the wish for freedom. "In every human breast," Wheatley wrote, "God had implanted a Principle, which we call love of freedom; it is impatient of Oppression, and pants for Deliverance."

Free black Americans joined with white reformers to mobilize antislavery campaigns in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The broadly based antislavery sentiment in these states was not entirely a matter of moral commitment, however, for the region had few slaves outside New York City (see Figure 6.1).

Manumission increased during the 1770s, especially in the North. In 1780, Pennsylvania became the first state to pass an emancipation statute. Pennsylvania lawmakers, however, compromised on a gradual rather than an immediate end to slavery. Only persons born after 1780 were to be free, and only after they had served a twenty-eight-year term of indenture. By 1804, all northern states except Delaware had committed themselves to a slow end to slavery.

Slavery was far more deeply embedded in the South. In the Lower South, white Americans ignored the debate over slavery and continued to maintain the institution as if nothing had changed. Manumission did occur in the Upper South, where planters debated the morality of slavery in a republic. They did not all reach the same conclusions.

**Phillis Wheatley** African-born poet who became the first widely recognized black writer in America.  
**manumission** The legal act of giving a slave freedom.



◆ **FIGURE 6.1 Free Black Population, 1790** This graph shows the number of free African Americans in the United States in 1790, as well as their regional distribution. These almost sixty thousand free people were less than 10 percent of the African-American population of the nation. Although 40 percent of northern African Americans were members of this free community, only about 5.5 percent of Upper South blacks and less than 2 percent of Lower South blacks lived outside the bounds of slavery.

George Washington freed all his slaves when he died. In 1765, Patrick Henry had stirred the souls of his fellow Virginia legislators by shouting, "Give me liberty or give me death!" But after the war, he justified his decision to continue slavery with blunt honesty. Freeing his slaves, he said, would be inconvenient.

### The Fate of the Loyalists

After 1775, Americans loyal to the Crown flocked to the safety of British-occupied cities—first Boston and later New York City and Philadelphia. When the British left an area, most of the loyalists went with them. Over a thousand Massachusetts loyalists boarded British ships when the British abandoned Boston in 1776. Fifteen thousand sailed out of New York when the fighting ended in 1781. As many as a hundred thousand men, women, and children left America to take up new lives in Great Britain, Canada, and the West Indies.

Wealth often determined a loyalist's destination. Rich and influential men like Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts took refuge in Great Britain. But even wealthy colonials discovered that the cost of living there was so great that they could not live comfortably. Some were reduced to passing their days in seedy boarding houses. Even those who fared better lost their status and prestige. Ironically, many loyalists in Britain grew homesick.

When the war ended, most loyalists in Britain departed for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or the Caribbean. Some were specifically forbidden to return to the United States, while others had no desire to return. Those who did return adjusted slowly. Less prosperous loyalists, and especially those who had served in the loyalist battalions during the war, went to Canada after 1781. The separation from family and friends at first caused depression and despair in some exiles. One woman who had bravely endured the war and its deprivations cried when she landed in Nova Scotia. Like the revolutionaries, these men and women had based their political loyalty on a mixture of principles and self-interest. Unlike the revolutionaries, they had chosen the losing side. They would suffer the consequences for the rest of their lives.

Canada became the refuge of another group of loyalists: Indian tribes that had supported the Crown. The British ceded much of the Iroquois land in the United States in the Treaty of Paris, and American hostility toward "enemy savages" led the Iroquois to settle in new communities along the Grand River in Ontario in the 1780s.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

At the start of the American Revolution, both sides had *expectations* that proved incorrect. The British *expected* a short war from the inexperienced Americans. The Americans *expected* the British to aban-

don a war fought so far from home. The war, however, dragged on for seven years.

The British *chose* initially to invade New York, *expecting* to find strong loyalist support there. But the British were unable to deliver a crushing blow, and Washington's retreat across the Delaware saved the Americans from surrender.

A dramatic turning point in the war came in 1777, when British general John Burgoyne was forced to surrender at Saratoga, New York. The *outcome* of this American victory was an alliance between France and the United States that expanded the war into an international conflict. When the British *chose* to invade the South in 1778, their campaign ended in disaster. French and American forces together defeated General Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781.

Fighting continued for a time, but in March 1782 the British Parliament *chose* to end the conflict. The war for American independence had been won.

Independence from British rule was not the only *outcome* of the war. Victory led to transformations in American society. Individual rights were strengthened for free white men. Many white women developed a new sense of the importance of their domestic role as "republican mothers." Black Americans also made some gains. Fifty thousand slaves won their freedom during the war. Some northerners moved to outlaw slavery, but southern slaveholders *chose* to preserve the institution. Loyalists, having made their political *choices*, had to live with the consequences of defeat. The *outcome* for most was exile in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or the Caribbean.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Martin, Joseph Plumb. *Ordinary Courage: The Revolutionary War Adventures of Joseph Plumb Martin*, ed. James Kirby Martin (1993).

The military experiences of a Massachusetts soldier who served with the Continental Army during the American Revolution.

Nelson, William. *The American Tory* (1961).

An account of those who chose to align themselves with the British during the war.

Randall, Wallace Sterne. *Benedict Arnold: Patriot and Traitor* (1990).

The author tries to make sense of a man who might have been remembered as a great hero of the Revolu-

tion but whose name is synonymous in American history with *traitor*.

*Revolution*.

This feature-length film starring Al Pacino is available in most well-stocked video stores. Although it is a romance, the film captures some of the mood and spirit of the Revolutionary era.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## A Revolution in Women's Education

### The Context

In 1787, the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia opened its door to the daughters of America's revolutionary generation, offering a rigorous course of study that included literature, composition, sciences, arithmetic, oratory, and rhetoric. In the three decades that followed, similar schools appeared across the United States, in major cities like New York, Boston, and New Haven, and in smaller towns like Medford, Massachusetts; Litchfield, Connecticut; and Warrenton, North Carolina. The result, many believed, was a revolution in female education. (For further information on the context, see pages 120-121.)

### The Historical Question

Modern historians have traced the rapid growth of educational institutions for women in the

young republic. The significance of this "rise of the female academy" is debated, however. Did this educational trend reflect a change in ideas about women's intellectual capacities? Did it arise from or lead to a major shift in women's roles in American society?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions.

What new ideas about women's intellectual abilities and their **role in society may have found expression in the growth of women's educational institutions?**

### The Sources

**1** In 1635, John Winthrop, the Puritan governor I of Massachusetts, recorded in his journal this judgment on the illness suffered by a woman:  
*Mr. Hopkins . . . came to Boston and brought his wife with him . . . who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her . . . by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing . . . if she had attended to her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not . . . meddle[d] in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger . . . she [would have] kept her wits.*

**2** This colonial advertisement, appearing in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1772, describes a curriculum the school mistress believed appropriate for female students:

*E. Armston . . . continues the Schools at Point Pleasant, Norfolk Borough, where [there] is a large and convenient House proper to accommodate young Ladies as Boarders; at which School is taught Petit Point in Flowers, Fruit, Landscapes, and Sculpture, Nuns Work, Embroidery in Silk, Gold, Silver, Pearls, or embossed, Shading of all Kinds, in the various Works in Vogue, Dresden Point Work, Lace, Catgut in different Modes, Muslin after the Newest Taste, and most elegant Pattern, Waxwork in Figure, Fruit, or Flowers, Shell ditto, or grotesque, Painting in Water Colours and Mezzotints . . . Specimens of the Subscriber's Work may be seen at her House, as also of her Scholars; having taught several Years in Norfolk, and elsewhere to general Satisfaction. She flatters herself that those Gentlemen and Ladies who have hitherto employed her will grant her their further indulgence,*

*as no endeavors shall be wanted to complete what is above mentioned, with a strict attention to the Behavior of those Ladies entrusted to her Care.*

**3** Wealthy Philadelphia matron Esther DeBerdt Reed helped organize women's voluntary associations to raise funds and supplies for the American army during the Revolution. In "The Sentiments of an American Woman," printed in 1780, Reed discusses female patriotism:

*On the commencement of actual war, the Women of America manifested a firm resolution to contribute as much as could depend on them, to the deliverance of this country. Animated by the purest patriotism . . . they aspire to render themselves more really useful; and this sentiment is universal from the north to the south of the Thirteen United States . . . if the weakness of our [women's] Constitution, if opinion and manners did not forbid us to march to glory by the same paths as the Men, we should at least equal and sometimes surpass them in our love for the public good. I glory in all that which my sex has done great and commendable . . . Who knows if persons disposed to censure, and sometimes too severely with regard to us, may not disapprove . . . we are at least certain, that he cannot be a good citizen who will not applaud our efforts for the relief of the armies which defend our lives, our possessions, our liberty.*

**4** Like other advocates of female advancement, poet Susanna Haswell Rowson argued that nurture, not nature or divine dictates, created women's moral and intellectual inferiority to men. In "The Virtues of an Educated Wife," she wrote:

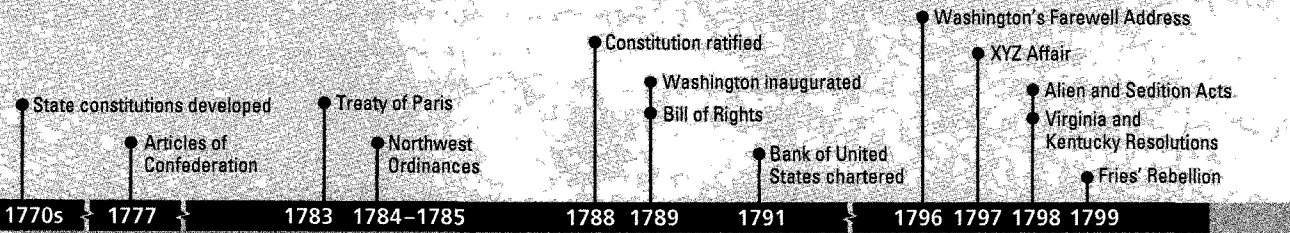
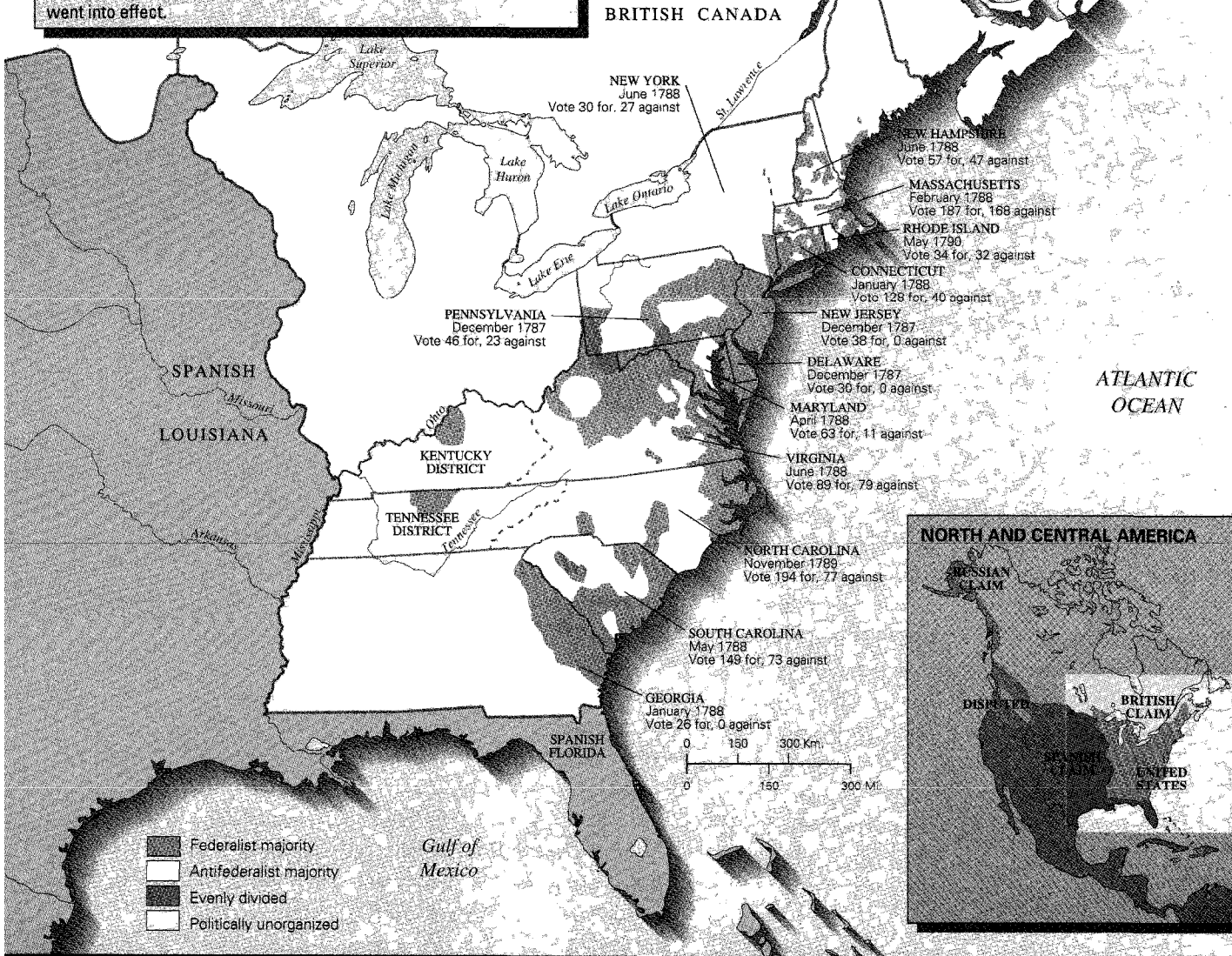
*When the creator formed this world in common, His last, best work, his master-piece, was woman.  
Taken from the side of man, and next his heart, Of all his virtues she partakes a part;  
And from that source, poor woman got a share Of vice and folly, mingled here and there.  
But would you treat us, scorning custom's rules, As reasonable beings, not as fools,  
And from our earliest youth, would condescend To form our minds, strengthen, correct, amend: Teach us to scorn those fools, whose only joys, Are placed in trifling idleness and noice. Teach us to prize the power of intellect; And whilst inspiring love, to keep respect; You'd meet the sweet reward of all your care; Find in us friends, your purest joys to share.*

**5** In July 1787, Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of Philadelphia's leading intellectuals and social reformers, addressed the entering class of the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia. Rush said:

*I know that the elevation of the female mind, by means of moral, physical, and religious truth, is considered by some men as unfriendly to the domestic character of a woman. But this is the prejudice of little minds and springs from the same spirit which opposes the general diffusion of knowledge among the citizens of our republic. If men believe that ignorance is favorable to the government of the female sex, they are certainly deceived, for a weak and ignorant woman will always be governed with the greatest difficulty . . . It will be in your power, LADIES, to correct the mistakes and practices of our sex upon these subjects by demonstrating that the female temper can only be governed by reason and that the cultivation of reason in women is alike friendly to the order of nature and to private as well as public happiness.*



**THE FEDERALIST AND ANTIFEDERALIST STRUGGLE OVER THE CONSTITUTION** The battle over ratification of the Constitution was fiercely fought throughout 1787 and 1788. This map shows the areas of strong antifederalism, the areas of Federalist strength, and the scattered pockets where opinion was evenly divided. The map also provides the final ratification vote for each state. Note that Rhode Island did not ratify the Constitution until after the new government went into effect.





## CHAPTER 7

# Competing Visions of a Virtuous

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## Republic, 1776-1800

### What Kind of a Republic?

- How did Americans define a good citizen of the republic?
- How did colonial experience influence the outcome of drafting state constitutions?
- What constraints did the Articles of Confederation place on the central government?

### Challenges to the Confederation

- What constraints undermined the Confederation, and what was the outcome?
- What was the outcome of Shays' Rebellion for national politics?
- What gains did nationalists expect from a stronger national government?

### Creating a New Government

- What major compromises did the framers choose to make in writing a new constitution?
- What positive outcome did James Madison see in his "checks and balances" system?

### Resolving the Conflict of Visions

- How did the Federalists' and Antifederalists' expectations of the Constitution differ?
- What was the outcome of the ratification process?

### Competing Visions Reemerge

- How did Alexander Hamilton's expectations for the new nation differ from Thomas Jefferson's? What
-

were the outcomes of their conflict?

- How did the French Revolution affect diplomatic choices during Washington's presidency?

### **Conflict in the Adams Administration**

- What did the Federalists hope to accomplish by declaring war on France in 1798?
- How did the Republicans respond to the constraints that the Federalists imposed during the Quasi-War?

# INTRODUCTION

Most Americans of the revolutionary generation rejected monarchy and *expected* to live in a republic. They disagreed, however, on what form of republic best suited their new nation. As a consequence, the transition from revolution to nationhood was neither smooth nor uncontested.

In the great political contests that occurred during this transition, fundamental *choices* were made about how power should be divided between local and national governments, how laws should be made and by whom, and who should administer those laws. Americans also had to *choose* the best way to protect their unalienable individual rights.

Americans made these political *choices* within the context of serious postwar *constraints*. After the Revolution, the nation struggled with economic depression, unpaid war debts, and vanishing credit. There were rivalries among the states over trade and territory, diplomatic problems with foreign nations and Indians, and disputes among Americans that sometimes erupted into violence.

The first national government, established by the Articles of Confederation, guided Americans through the last years of the war and the peace negotiations. The Articles, however, did not survive the decade of postwar adjustment. The nation *chose* to replace them with the Constitution. The Constitution greatly strengthened and expanded the role of the central government in matters such as regulating trade. The Constitution also provided the central government with powers that the Confederation government had lacked, including the right to levy taxes.

The creation of a new federal government was controversial. Its opponents, the Antifederalists, argued that the Constitution rejected basic revolutionary ideals such as the commitment to local representative government and the guarantee of protection from the dangers of centralized authority. Its supporters, the Federalists, argued that it would save America from economic disaster, international scorn, and domestic unrest. Leading patri-

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

ots of the 1760s and 1770s could be found on both sides of this debate, but the Federalists carried the day.

The framers of the Constitution knew they had left many problems unresolved. Tensions remained between people who supported an active, strong central government and those who believed strong local governments offered the best protection of their liberties. The framers did not *expect*, however, that these tensions would soon lead to the formation of rival political parties. Both the Republican followers of Thomas Jefferson and the Federalist followers of Alexander Hamilton believed that their vision of American republicanism was correct, and they exercised few *constraints* against their political enemies.

Although George Washington appealed for national unity in his Farewell Address in 1796, the victorious Federalists *chose* to ignore his advice. The *outcome* was a series of repressive laws and nearly a war with France.

## From Revolution to Nationhood

1770s State constitutions developed

1776 New Jersey constitution gives some women the right to vote  
Declaration of Independence

1777 Articles of Confederation adopted by Congress

1780 Massachusetts constitution establishes bicameral legislature

1781 Articles of Confederation ratified  
Surrender at Yorktown

1783 Treaty of Paris

1784 Ordinance of 1784 approved

1785 Land ordinance of 1785 approved

1786 Annapolis conference

1786-1787 Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts

1787 Constitutional Convention  
Northwest Ordinance enacted

1788 Constitution ratified  
First congressional elections

1789 Washington becomes first president  
Judiciary Act  
Bill of Rights adopted by Congress  
French Revolution begins

1791 Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures*  
First Bank of the United States chartered  
Bill of Rights ratified

1793 G net -affair  
Jefferson resigns as secretary of state

1794 Whiskey Rebellion in

Pennsylvania 1795 Jay's Treaty

1796 Washington's Farewell Address  
First contested presidential election

1797 XYZ affair

1798 Alien and Sedition Acts  
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

1799 Fries' Rebellion  
Napoleon seizes control in France  
Convention of Mortefontaine

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## What

### Kind of a Republic?

To late eighteenth-century Americans, a republic had three basic elements. First and most important, political power rested with the people rather than with a monarch. Second, the people elected those who governed them. Finally, officeholders were expected to represent the people's interests and to protect individual rights. Although there was broad agreement on these basics, Americans disputed much else about republican government.

### Competing Notions of Republicanism

Tom Paine spoke for many when he declared that republicanism was a moral code of behavior as well as a system of government. No representative government could survive without virtuous citizens who led simple, industrious lives and who

were willing to make sacrifices in the best interests of the community. If citizens became selfish or corrupt, a republic would succumb to tyranny. After all, history demonstrated that the **Roman republic**, which Americans greatly admired, had degenerated into a despotism when its formerly simple citizens adopted a luxurious and **decadent** lifestyle.

The belief that a republic depended on individual virtue was widespread but not universally held in eighteenth-century America. For some Americans, republicanism meant that individuals should be free to pursue their own self-interest. Advocates of this notion of republicanism drew their inspiration from economists and philosophers such as Adam Smith. They believed that a government that did not interfere with the individual's pursuit of wealth and success would win the enduring loyalty of its citizens. Thus, whereas one vision of republicanism held that the pursuit of self-interest would lead to the downfall of republican government, a conflicting vision argued that the purpose of government was to allow individuals to better themselves economically.

### **Creating Republican Governments: The State Constitutions**

The drafting of state constitutions after 1776 offers a revealing look at the many differences in how Americans defined republican government. The states were a laboratory for republican experiments. They came up with many different answers to such fundamental questions as who should be allowed to vote, who should be allowed to hold office, and what the structure of a republican government should be.

Pennsylvania passed the most democratic of the state constitutions. Its constitution abolished all property qualifications and granted the vote to all white males. Maryland, by contrast, continued to link property ownership to voting and required officeholders to possess considerable property.

The state constitutions also reflected disagreements over how political power should be distributed in a republic. Pennsylvania's constitution concentrated all power in a unicameral assembly.

Pennsylvania had neither a governor nor an upper house in the legislature. To ensure that the assembly remained responsive to popular will, the constitution required the annual election of all legislators. Maryland chose to divide power among a governor, an upper house requiring high property qualifications for its members, and a lower house. In this manner, Maryland ensured a voice for its elite.

Pennsylvania and Maryland represented two ends of the democratic spectrum. The remaining states fell somewhere between them. New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Georgia followed the democratic tendencies of Pennsylvania. New York, South Carolina, and Virginia chose Maryland's more conservative approach. New Jersey and Delaware took the middle ground. New Jersey's constitution was unusual in extending **suffrage** to white women who met modest property qualifications. New Jersey rescinded this right in 1807.

A state's history as a colony was likely to influence its constitution. New Hampshire, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina had all been dominated by coastal elites. Their first state constitutions corrected this injustice by giving more representation to small farmers in the interior. In Massachusetts, the memory of highhanded colonial governors and elitist upper houses led citizens to demand limited powers for their new government.

Revisions of the state constitutions in the 1780s generally expanded the powers of the state governments and curbed democratic tendencies. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 became a model for these constitutional reforms. It called for

**Roman republic** A republic in ancient Rome that lasted from 500 to 31 B.C., when it was replaced by the Roman Empire.  
**decadent** Being in a state of moral decay.

**Adam Smith** Scottish economist (1723-1790) and advocate of the principles of free trade.

**unicameral** Consisting of a single legislative house.

**suffrage** The right to vote.

a system of checks and balances among the legislative, judicial, and executive branches and for a bicameral legislature. Wealth returned as a qualification to govern in these revised constitutions, but the wealthy were not allowed to tamper with the basic individual rights of citizens. In seven states, a **bill of rights** guaranteed freedom of speech, religion, the press, and other rights.

### The Articles of Confederation

After declaring American independence, political leaders realized that some form of national government was needed. Popular sentiment, however, ran against a powerful central government. As John Adams later recalled, Americans wanted "a Confederacy of States, each of which must have a separate government."

Congress adopted the first national framework of government, the **Articles of Confederation**, in 1777 and submitted the plan to the state governments for their approval. The plan called for a confederation that preserved the rights and privileges of the states and that had few powers. This arrangement reflected the revolutionaries' fears that a strong central government was the enemy of liberty.

The Confederation government consisted of a unicameral legislature. It had no executive branch and no separate judiciary. Believers in democracy such as Tom Paine and Samuel Adams praised this concentration of powers in the hands of an elected assembly. John Adams, however, thought it "too democratical."

The Confederation government had no power to tax. The states retained this crucial power. Thus the Confederation government had to rely on the states for funds. It had no legal right to compel states to provide funds and no practical means of forcing them to contribute.

Voting in the Confederation Congress was to be done by states. Each state, whether large or small, had one vote. This jealous protection of state sovereignty also determined the amendment process for the Articles of Confederation. An amendment required the consent of all the states.

Fierce arguments developed over how each state's share of the federal budget was to be deter

mined. Proposals that everyone in a state be counted brought southern political leaders to their feet, for their states had large slave populations. If slaves were included, southern whites would have to shoulder a heavier tax burden. Congress ultimately decided to count slaves for tax purposes.

Such debates delayed ratification of the Articles. The biggest delay, however, was caused by the battle over western land claims. Based on their colonial charters, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut claimed the Pacific as their western boundary (see Map 7.1). Consequently, they could assert rights to the Northwest Territory, the region north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River. States with fixed western boundaries such as Maryland feared that they would be dwarfed by their neighbors that claimed western lands for expansion. Maryland advocated that western lands be set aside as part of a national domain controlled by Congress, not by the individual states. Although most states without western claims reluctantly ratified the Articles, Maryland would not endorse them without the establishment of a national domain.

To avoid further delays in ratification, Virginia ceded all its claims to Congress. The other states with western claims followed suit. In 1781, Maryland became the thirteenth and final state to ratify the Articles.

checks and balances Separation of the powers of government into executive, legislative, and judicial branches, each of which is intended to prevent the others from getting out of control.

bicameral Consisting of two legislative houses. bill of rights A formal summary of essential rights and liberties.

Articles of Confederation The first constitution of the United States; it created a central government with limited powers and was replaced by the Constitution in 1788.

confederation An association of states or nations united for joint action in matters that affect them all.

judiciary A system of courts of law for the administration of justice.



◆ MAP 7.1 Western Land Claims After American Independence This map indicates the claims made by several of the thirteen original states to land west of the Appalachian Mountains and in the New England region. The states based their claims on the colonial charters that governed them before independence. Until this land was ceded to the federal government, new states could not be created here as they were in the Northwest Territory.

## Challenges to the Confederation

Members of the first Confederation Congress had barely taken their seats when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. Even the most optimistic could see, however, that the new nation faced monumental challenges. The physical, psychological, and economic damage caused by the long and

brutal war was extensive. New York and Charleston had been burned. Communities in New Jersey and Pennsylvania bore the scars of rape and looting by the British armies. In the South, where civil war had raged, plantations had been destroyed and slaves had fled. A steady stream of refugees filled the cities.

### Depression and Financial Crisis

Americans were hard hit by a postwar depression. By the time peace was declared, small farmers who

had lost barns and livestock and planters who had lost slaves or seen their tobacco warehouses go up in smoke were desperate. Wages plummeted in the 1780s for urban workers and farm laborers. Soldiers waited without hope for their back pay.

Financial problems also plagued wealthy Americans. Many merchants feared ruin because they had overextended their credit to import foreign goods after the war. Land speculators had borrowed too heavily in order to grab up confiscated loyalist land or secure claims in the Northwest Territory. Independence hurt those who had once lived well by supplying British markets. Rice planters saw the demand for their crop fall dramatically after the war.

British policy also hurt the economy. Parliament banned the sale of American farm products in the West Indies and limited the rights of American ships to carry goods to and from Caribbean ports. These restrictions hit New England shipbuilders so hard that whole communities faced poverty.

This economic depression made it extremely difficult for the Confederation government to pay its debts. To finance the war, the Continental Congress had printed over \$240 million in paper money backed by "good faith" rather than by gold and silver. As expectations that the national government would ever **redeem** the paper for hard currency fell, the value of paper money declined rapidly. The phrase "not worth a Continental" indicated the low regard Americans had for it. Congress was equally embarrassed by substantial debts to foreign nations that it could not repay.

Congress appointed Robert Morris, a Philadelphia merchant who had earned a reputation during the war for his financial genius, to raise money to pay these debts. Morris knew from experience that he could not rely on the states for contributions. Instead, he asked the states for permission to impose a 5 percent federal tariff on imported goods. The states refused to give their unanimous permission in 1782, 1783, and again in 1784. Morris resigned in disgust in 1784.

## The Northwest Ordinances

The Confederation Congress turned next to western land sales as a way to raise money. Here at

least Congress did not need state approval. It had the exclusive authority to set policy for the settlement and governance of national territory.

National land policy took shape in three Northwest Ordinances enacted in 1784, 1785, and 1787. These ordinances had a significance far beyond their role in raising money. They guaranteed that men and women who moved west would not be colonial dependents of the original states. The 1784 ordinance prescribed that five new states would be carved out of the region and that each new state would be equal in status to the original thirteen. Settlers in the region could expect to acquire the rights of self-government quickly. Initially, each territory would have a governor appointed by Congress. As soon as there were enough voters, settlers were entitled to a representative assembly. Finally, the territory's voters would draft a state constitution and elect representatives to the Confederation Congress. Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin followed this path to statehood (see Map 7.2).

The ordinance of 1785 spelled out the terms for the sale of government land. It called for Congress to auction off 640-acre plots to individual settlers at a minimum price of a dollar per acre. When the original price proved too high for the average farm family, Congress lowered the price but also began to sell to wealthy speculators.

The ordinance of 1787 specified that any territory with sixty thousand white males could apply for admission as a state. Thomas Jefferson, who drafted this ordinance, took care to protect the liberties of the settlers with a bill of rights and to ban slavery forever north of the Ohio River.

speculator A person who buys or sells land or some

other commodity in hopes of making a profit.

redeem To pay a specified sum in return for something.

tariff A tax on imported or exported goods.

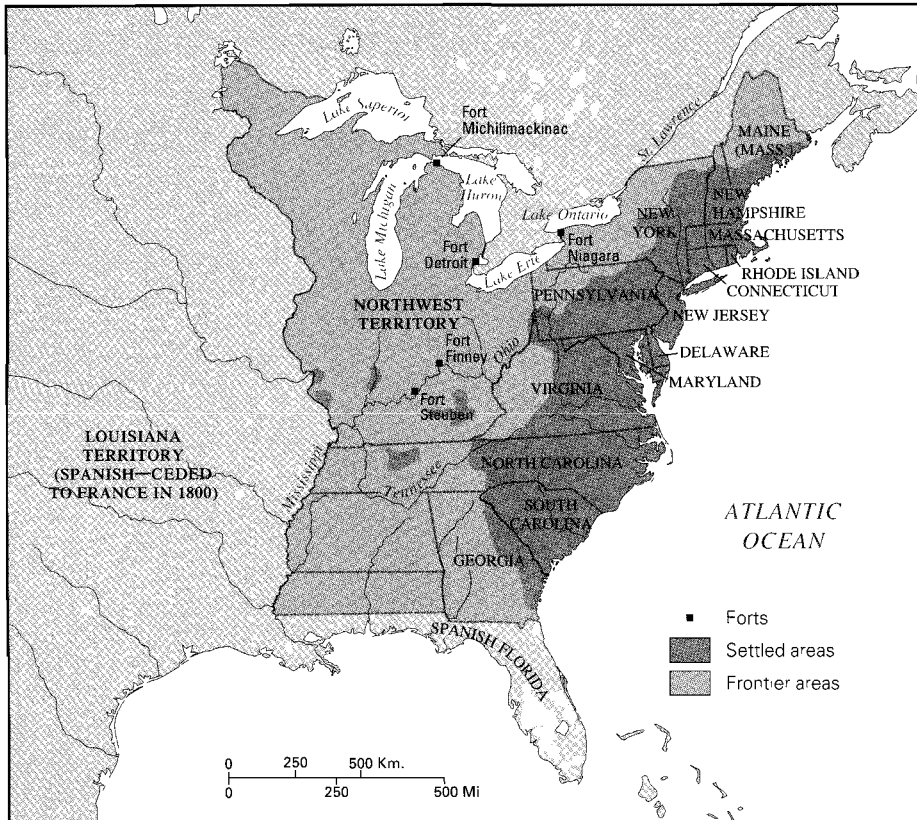
Northwest Ordinances Three laws (1784, 1785,

1787) that dealt with the sale of public land in the

Northwest Territory and established a plan for the

admission of new states to the Union.





◆ **MAP 7.2 The United States in 1787** This map shows the extent of American westward settlement in 1787 and the limits placed on that settlement by French and Spanish claims west of the Mississippi and in Florida. Plans for the creation of three to five states in the Northwest Territory were approved by Congress in 1787, ensuring that the settlers in this region would enjoy the same political rights as the citizens of the original thirteen states.

### Diplomatic Problems

Despite the Treaty of Paris, diplomatic relations between the new nation and its former mother country remained sour. The British refused to evacuate their western forts until the Americans repaid their war debts and allowed loyalists to recover confiscated property. Meanwhile, the British supported Indian resistance to American settlement in the Ohio valley by providing a steady supply of weapons to the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Delawares, and other tribes that refused to recognize the 1784 **Treaty of Fort Stanwix**. Made with

the remnants of the Iroquois League, the treaty opened up all Iroquois lands to white settlement, according to Americans. Tribes that were not party to the treaty disagreed and, with British assistance, waged warfare along the frontier for a decade.

Americans got little satisfaction from the British on this or other issues. John Adams, the American

**Treaty of Fort Stanwix** Treaty signed in 1784 that opened all Iroquois lands to white settlement.

minister to Britain, was unable to persuade the British to abandon their northwestern forts, to stop their aid to Indians, or to open up their markets to American goods.

The United States also experienced difficulties with its former allies. When Spain saw a steady stream of Americans heading into Kentucky and Tennessee, it became alarmed that Americans might soon threaten its interests west of the Mississippi. Aware that the Mississippi provided the only practical way for Americans west of the mountains to export their surplus goods, Spain banned all American traffic on the Mississippi to discourage migration into the trans-Appalachian area. American negotiator John Jay reported that talks with Spain produced no promise of access to the Mississippi.

The Confederation's failures in dealing with the Barbary pirates were military rather than diplomatic in nature. For many years, rulers along the Barbary Coast of North Africa had attacked ships engaged in Mediterranean trade. Most European nations paid blackmail to these pirates or provided naval escorts for their ships. Now sailing without British protection, American ships traveled at their own risk.

In 1785, the Barbary pirates captured an American ship, seized its cargo, and sold its crew into slavery. Despite outcries, the Confederation Congress could do nothing. It had no navy and no authority to create one. It could not even raise enough money to ransom the enslaved crew. Lack of resources and authority plagued the Confederation government in this and other efforts to conduct foreign affairs.

### **A Farmers' Revolt**

Among those hardest hit by the postwar depression were the farmers of western Massachusetts. Many were deeply in debt to creditors who held mortgages on their farms and land. When they asked the state government for debt relief, however, it turned a deaf ear. Instead, the legislature raised taxes to pay the state's war debts.

Farmers protested this additional burden by petitioning the legislature to lower their taxes. Their

protests again went unheeded. Hundreds of farmers led by Daniel Shays, a 39-year-old veteran of the Battle of Bunker Hill, then turned to armed resistance in the western part of the state.

In 1786, Shays' followers closed down several courts in which debtors were tried and freed their fellow farmers from debtors' prison. Fear of a widespread uprising prompted the Massachusetts government to order General William Sheperd and six hundred men to Springfield, where over a thousand farmers, most of them armed with pitchforks, had gathered to close the local courthouse. Sheperd let loose a cannon barrage that killed four rebels and set the rest to flight. In February 1787, a government force surprised the remaining rebels in the village of Petersham. Daniel Shays managed to escape, but the revolt was over.

Shays' Rebellion revealed the temper of the times. When the government did not respond to their needs, the farmers acted as they had before the Revolution. They organized; they protested; and when the government did not respond, they took up arms. Across the country, many Americans sympathized with these farmers.

But many did not. Among the southern planter elite and the prosperous commercial class of the North, the revolt raised the fear that other local insurrections would follow. Rebellions by slaves, pitched battles between debtors and creditors, and wars between the haves and have-nots could easily be imagined. Such anxieties led many Americans to wonder if their state and national governments were strong enough to preserve the rule of law.

**John Jay** New York lawyer and diplomat who negotiated with Great Britain and Spain on behalf of the Confederation; he later became the first chief justice of the Supreme Court.

**Barbary pirates** Pirates along the Barbary Coast of North Africa who attacked European and American vessels engaged in Mediterranean trade.

**Shays' Rebellion** Uprising by farmers in western Massachusetts who wanted to protest the indifference of the state legislature to the plight of farmers; the rebellion was suppressed by the state militia in 1787.



- ◆ In 1786, western Massachusetts farmers began an agrarian revolt against high taxes and mortgage foreclosures that soon spread to other New England states. Most of the leaders of the uprising, known as Shay's Rebellion, were veteran officers of the American Revolution; many had participated in the protest and resistance that preceded the war itself. The government of Massachusetts crushed the rebellion, driving Shays to seek asylum in Vermont. News of the uprising prompted elite political leaders like George Washington and Alexander Hamilton to press for a more powerful central government, able to ensure "law and order" throughout the nation. *National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.*

### The Revolt of the "Better Sort"

Even before Shays' Rebellion, many Americans had come to believe that a crisis was enveloping their young nation. They pointed to the Confederation's lack of power to solve critical problems as a major cause of this crisis. In the words of George Washington, "I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step."

To Washington, the solution was clear: a stronger national government. Support for a revision of the Articles grew in the key states of Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York, especially among the elite. They urged that the central government be given taxing powers and that some legal means of enforcing national government policies be instituted. These reforms would help improve the young republic's diplomatic and trade relations with foreign countries. But these reforms would also create a national government able to protect their property and to preserve their peace of mind.

The **nationalists'** agenda began to take shape in 1786 when they obtained approval from Congress for a conference at Annapolis, Maryland. Their stated purpose was to discuss trade restrictions and conflicts among the states. But the organizers

also meant to test support for revising the nation's constitution. Although only a third of the states participated, the nationalists were convinced that they had strong support. They asked Congress to call a convention for the following year in Philadelphia to discuss remedies for the Confederation's problems. News of Shays' Rebellion convinced doubters of the need for a convention. Leaders of the "better sort" thus won an opportunity to reopen debate on the nature of the republic.

### Creating a New Government

Late in May 1787, George Washington welcomed delegates from twelve of the thirteen states to the Constitutional Convention. Rhode Island had declined to attend, declaring that this was a meeting to revise the Articles masquerading as a discussion of interstate trade. The accusation was correct. The

**nationalist** A person devoted to the interests of a particular nation and favoring a strong central government.

fifty-five men in attendance intended to consider significant changes in their national government. The seriousness of their task explained their willingness to meet in a tightly closed room in the sweltering heat of Philadelphia.

### Revise or Replace?

Most of the delegates were nationalists, but they did not agree about whether to revise or abandon the Articles of Confederation. For five days, the convention debated this issue. Then Edmund Randolph of Virginia presented a plan that essentially scrapped the Articles of Confederation.

Although Randolph introduced the Virginia **Plan**, **James Madison** was its guiding spirit. The plan reflected the 36-year-old Madison's deep consideration of the following question: what kind of government was best for a republic? He concluded that a strong central government could serve a republic well. Fear of tyranny should not rule out a powerful national government. Abuse of power could be avoided, Madison believed, if internal checks and balances were built into the government's structure.

The Virginia Plan embodied this conviction. It called for a government with three distinct branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The Confederation Congress had performed all three of these functions. By dividing power, Madison intended to ensure that no group or individual could wield too much authority. And by allowing each branch of government some means to check the other branches, Madison intended to protect the interests of citizens.

Although the delegates supported the broad principles of the Virginia Plan, they were in sharp disagreement over many specific issues. The greatest controversy centered on representation in the legislative branch. Madison had proposed that membership in each house of the bicameral legislature be based on proportional representation. Large states supported the plan, for representation based on population was to their advantage. Small states objected that the Virginia Plan would leave them helpless in a federal government dominated by large states. They supported the **New Jersey**

**Plan**, which proposed that every state have an equal voice within a unicameral legislature.

The hopeless deadlock over the Virginia and New Jersey plans threatened to destroy the convention. Roger Sherman of Connecticut then introduced the **Great Compromise**. It called for **proportional representation** in the lower house (the House of Representatives) and equal representation in the upper house (the Senate).

The Great Compromise resolved the first major controversy at the convention. Another compromise settled the issue of how representatives were to be chosen. State legislatures would select senators, and a state's eligible voters would elect members of the House of Representatives.

The final stumbling block over representation was the question of who was to be counted in determining a state's population. Southern delegates argued that slaves should be counted for the purposes of representation but not for the purposes of taxation. Northern delegates countered that slaves should be considered property, and not people, for both purposes. The **Three-fifths Compromise** settled this issue. It stipulated that three-fifths of the slave population be included in a state's critical head count.

Virginia Plan A plan for a federal government submitted by the Virginia delegation; it gave states representation in a bicameral legislature in proportion to their population.

James Madison Virginia planter and political theorist who supported ratification of the Constitution; he later became the fourth president.

New Jersey Plan A plan for a federal government giving all states equal representation in a unicameral legislature.

Great Compromise A plan for a federal government that set up a bicameral legislature, with one house providing equal representation to all states and the other providing proportional representation based on population.

**proportional representation** Representation in the legislature based on population; it gives large states more power than small states.

**Three-fifths Compromise** An agreement to count three-fifths of a state's slaves to determine a state's representation in the House of Representatives.



- ◆ In 1867, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter painted his *Signing of the Constitution of the United States* honoring a group of statesmen that included James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and George Washington, who presided over the Constitutional Convention. Thomas Jefferson, absent because of his duties as ambassador to France, referred to the fifty-five delegates who crafted the Constitution as a gathering of "demigods." "*Signing of the Constitution of the United States*" by Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1867. Fraunces Tavern Museum.

### Drafting an Acceptable Document

The Three-fifths Compromise ended the long, exhausting debate over representation. No other issue provoked such controversy, and the Constitutional Convention proceeded calmly to implement the principle of checks and balances. For example, the president was named commander in chief of the armed forces and given primary responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs. To balance the president's executive powers, the rights to declare war and to raise an army were given to Congress. Congress was also given the critical power to tax, but this power was checked by the president's power to veto congressional legislation. Congress in turn could override a presidential veto by the vote of a two-thirds majority.

The procedure for electing a president reflected the delegates' fears that the ordinary people could not be trusted to perform such an important task. Their solution was to elect the president indirectly, through the **Electoral College**. This body consisted of electors chosen by the states to vote for presidential candidates. Each state was entitled to as many electors as it had senators and representatives in Congress. (No one serving in Congress was eligible to be an elector.) If two candidates received

the same number of votes in the Electoral College, or if no candidate received a majority of the Electoral College votes, the House of Representatives would select the new president.

The proposed Constitution won nearly unanimous support from the delegates. A weary George Washington at last declared the convention adjourned on September 17, 1787.

### Resolving the Conflict of Visions

For the new Constitution to go into effect, special state ratifying **conventions** had to approve of the proposed change of government. The framers of the

**Electoral College** A body of electors chosen by the states to elect the president and vice president; each state gets a number of electors equal to the number of its senators and representatives in Congress.

**ratifying conventions** Meetings in each state attended by delegates to determine whether that state would support the Constitution.

Constitution argued that these conventions would give citizens a more direct role in making this important political decision. This procedure also gave the framers two advantages. First, it allowed them to bypass the state legislatures, which stood to lose power under the new government and were thus likely to oppose it. Second, it allowed the framers to nominate their supporters and to campaign for their election to the state conventions. The framers added to their advantage by declaring that the approval of only nine states was necessary for ratification. Fortunately, the Confederation Congress agreed to all these terms and procedures. By the end of September 1787, Congress had passed the proposed Constitution on to the states, triggering the next debate over America's political future.

### **The Ratification Controversy**

The framers were leading figures in their states. These men of wealth, political experience, and frequently great persuasive powers put their skills to the task of ratifying the Constitution. But many revolutionary heroes and political leaders strongly opposed the Constitution, most notably Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams. Leadership on both sides of the issue was drawn from the political elite of the revolutionary generation.

Pro-Constitution forces won an early and important victory by calling themselves Federalists. This name had originally been associated with those who supported strong state governments and a limited national government. This shrewd tactic robbed opponents of the Constitution of their rightful name. The pro-Constitution forces then dubbed their opponents Antifederalists.

Although the philosophical debate over the best form of government for a republic was important, voters considered practical factors in choosing a Federalist or an Antifederalist position. Voters in states with a stable economy were likely to oppose the Constitution because the Confederation system gave their states greater independent powers. Voters in small states, by contrast, were likely to favor a strong central government that could protect them from their competitive neighbors. Thus the small states of Delaware and Connecticut ratified the Constitution quickly.

To some degree, the split between Federalists and Antifederalists matched the divisions between the urban, market-oriented communities of the Atlantic coast and the rural, inland communities. For example, the backcountry of North and South Carolina saw little benefit in a strong central government that might tax them. However, commercial centers such as Boston, New York City, and Charleston were eager to see an aggressive national policy regarding foreign and interstate trade. Artisans, shopkeepers, and even laborers in these urban centers joined forces with wealthy merchants and shippers to support the Constitution.

Antifederalists developed a number of arguments against the proposed Constitution. They rejected the claim that the nation was facing economic and political collapse. As one New Yorker put it, "I deny that we are in immediate danger of anarchy and commotions." Antifederalists struck hard as well against the dangerous **elitism** that they saw in the Constitution. They portrayed the Federalists as a privileged minority, ready to oppress the people if a powerful national government were ratified.

The Antifederalists' most convincing evidence of their opponents' potential for tyranny was that the Constitution lacked any bill of rights. Unlike many of the state constitutions, the Constitution did not contain written guarantees of the people's rights. Antifederalists asked what this glaring omission revealed about the intentions of the framers. The only conclusion, Antifederalists argued, was that the Constitution was a threat to republican principles of representative government, a vehicle for elite rule, and a document unconcerned with the protection of individual liberties.

The Federalists' strategy was to portray America in crisis. They pointed to the stagnation of the

Federalists Supporters of ratification of the Constitution; they believed in a strong central government.

Antifederalists Opponents of ratification of the Constitution; they feared that a strong central government would be an instrument of tyranny.

elitism The belief that certain people deserve favored treatment because of their social, intellectual, or financial status.

American economy, to the potential for revolt and social anarchy, and to the contempt that other nations showed toward the young republic. They also argued that the Constitution could preserve the republican ideals of the Revolution far better than the Articles of Confederation.

That was the primary argument of the *Federalist Papers*, a series of essays that appeared in New York newspapers. Signed by "Publius," they were actually written by **Alexander Hamilton**, James Madison, and John Jay in an effort to persuade New Yorkers of the merits of ratification. The essays linked American prosperity and a strong central government. They countered Antifederalist claims that a strong central government would endanger individual liberties by arguing that a system of checks and balances would protect those liberties. And as Madison pointed out in *The Federalist, No. 10*, a large republic with an effective national government offered far better protection against tyranny than the state governments, where it was far easier to form a permanent majority.

## The Federalist Victory

Practical politics influenced the decision of most state ratifying conventions. Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut—all states with small populations—quickly approved the Constitution. Although there was more opposition in Pennsylvania, Federalists won a quick victory there as well. In the remaining states, the two sides were more evenly matched.

Antifederalists had the majority initially in the Massachusetts convention. Many delegates were small farmers from the western counties, more than twenty of whom had participated in Shays' Rebellion. The Federalist strategy in Massachusetts was to woo key Antifederalists such as Samuel Adams and John Hancock with promises that a bill of rights would be added to the Constitution. This strategy yielded the Federalists a narrow 19-vote margin of victory out of the more than 350 votes cast.

After Massachusetts ratified, the Federalists in New Hampshire carried the day by a small majority. Rhode Island, true to its history of opposition

to strong central authority, refused to hold a convention. But Maryland and South Carolina ratified. Thus, as of June 1788, the requisite number of nine states had given their assent to the new plan of government. But this new government could not function effectively in the absence of such large and populous states as New York and Virginia. In Virginia, Antifederalist leaders Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and James Monroe focused on the absence of a bill of rights in the proposed Constitution. Edmund Randolph, James Madison, and George Washington directed the Federalist counterattack. In the end, Washington's presence and promises of a bill of rights proved decisive. Virginians expected this war hero to be the first president of the United States if the Constitution went into effect. Virginia became the tenth state to ratify the new government. Aware that the new government had already become a reality, New York's strongly Antifederalist convention followed Virginia's course. North Carolina ratified the Constitution in 1789, and a reluctant Rhode Island followed suit in 1790, two years after the first congressional elections.

## President George Washington

George Washington's unanimous selection by the Electoral College to become the nation's first president took no one by surprise. He was the hero of the Revolution. The celebrations surrounding Washington's inauguration in the temporary capital of New York in April 1789 bore witness to the genuine affection Americans of all classes and regions felt for the Virginian.

Washington's popularity served the new government well, for it softened general suspicion of

*Federalist Papers* Essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay in defense of the Constitution; they helped establish the basic principles of American government.

Alexander Hamilton New York lawyer and political theorist who worked to win ratification of the Constitution; he later became the first U.S. secretary of the treasury.

executive power. The new president understood that he symbolized a new national experiment in government and that his behavior in office would be watched carefully. Because he was the first person to hold the presidency, every action he took had the potential to set a precedent for those who followed.

Washington took particular care in selecting the men to head the four executive departments—Treasury, War, Attorney General, and State—created with approval from Congress. Naming his protégé Alexander Hamilton to head the Treasury Department was probably Washington's easiest decision. He asked Henry Knox of Massachusetts to head the War Department and fellow Virginians Edmund Randolph to serve as attorney general and Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state. Over time, the president established a pattern of meeting with these advisers regularly to discuss policy. Thus, although the Constitution made no provision for a **cabinet**, Washington established the precedent of cabinet meetings with the department heads and the vice president.

## Competing Visions Reemerge

A remarkable spirit of unity marked the early days of Washington's administration. Federalists had won the overwhelming majority of seats in the new Congress, and this success enabled them to work quickly and efficiently. This unity also proved to be fragile. As the government debated foreign policy and domestic affairs, two distinct groups slowly emerged. Alexander Hamilton's vision for America guided one; Thomas Jefferson's guided another.

### Unity's Achievements

One of the first Congress's major accomplishments was the creation of a federal judiciary. The **Judiciary Act of 1789** established a Supreme Court, thirteen district courts, and three circuit courts. It also empowered the Supreme Court to review the decisions of state courts and to nullify state laws

that violated either the Constitution or any treaty made by the federal government. Washington chose John Jay as the first chief justice of the Supreme Court.

The spirit of cooperation during Washington's first term enabled Congress to break the stalemate on the tariff issue. Discussion of tariffs had previously become snarled by regional interests. But James Madison was able to negotiate an import tax on items such as rum, cocoa, and coffee that was acceptable to northerners and southerners.

Madison also prodded Congress to draft the promised bill of rights. He gathered eighty suggested amendments and honed them down to nineteen for Congress to consider. Congress narrowed these to ten amendments and submitted them to the states for ratification in 1789. The required approval by three-fourths of the states came quickly, and by December 1791 the Bill of Rights had become part of the Constitution. Eight of these amendments spelled out the government's commitment to protect the civil liberties of individuals such as free speech and freedom of religion. The Ninth Amendment made clear that the inclusion of these rights did not imply the exclusion of others. The Tenth Amendment stated that any powers not given to the federal government or denied to the states belonged solely to the states or the people.

**protégé** One whose welfare or career is promoted by an influential person.

**cabinet** A body of officials appointed by the president to run the executive departments of the government and to act as his advisers.

**Judiciary Act of 1789** Law establishing the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts; it gave the Supreme Court the right to review state laws and state court decisions to determine constitutionality.

**Bill of Rights** The first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution, added in 1791 to protect certain basic rights of American citizens.

civil **liberties** Fundamental individual rights such as freedom of speech and religion, protected by law against interference by the government.



## Hamilton's and Jefferson's Differences

Alexander Hamilton dreamed of transforming an agricultural America into a manufacturing society that would rival Great Britain. His blueprint for achieving this goal included tariffs designed to protect developing American industry and government subsidies for new enterprises. It also called for close economic and diplomatic ties with Great Britain.

Thomas Jefferson and his ally James Madison had a different vision for America's future. They hoped America would remain a prosperous agrarian society. They favored a national policy of **free** trade rather than one employing protective tariffs. Jefferson was willing to tolerate commerce and industry as long as they complemented agrarian society. A dominant commercial society constituted a threat because it could exploit citizens or lead to the love of luxury, which every republican knew was bad.

Hamilton's group spoke of themselves as true Federalists. Those who agreed with Jefferson and Madison spoke of themselves as Republicans. The emergence of these two political camps troubled even the men who helped create them. The revolutionary generation had been taught that factions or parties were great political evils.

### Hamilton's Economic Plan

As secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton was responsible for solving the young republic's **fiscal** problems, particularly its foreign and domestic debts. For Hamilton, these problems were as much an opportunity as a challenge. His solutions, however, bitterly divided Congress in the early 1790s.

In January 1790, Hamilton submitted the *Report on Public Credit* to Congress. In it, he argued that the public debt fell into three categories, each requiring attention:

1. Foreign debts, owed primarily to France
2. State debts, incurred by the individual states to finance their war efforts
3. A national debt in the form of government notes (the notorious paper Continentals) that the Sec-

ond Continental Congress had issued to finance the war

To establish its credit and trustworthiness, Hamilton said, the nation must find a way to pay each type of debt. Hamilton proposed that the federal government assume responsibility for all three types. He insisted that the Continentals be redeemed at their face value, which was much greater than their current market value. And he proposed that the current holders of Continentals should receive that payment. These recommendations raised a storm of debate within Congress.

Before Hamilton's *Report*, James Madison had been the voice of unity in Congress. Now Madison leaped to his feet in protest. The government's debt, he argued, was not to the current holders of the Continentals but to the original bondholders. Many of the original holders were ordinary citizens and Continental soldiers who had sold their bonds to speculators at a tremendous loss during the postwar depression. If Hamilton's plan were adopted, Madison warned, these speculators rather than the nation's true patriots would reap enormous profits.

Hamilton responded by pointing out the difficulty of identifying and finding the original holders of the Continentals. Madison's solution was simply impractical. With some misgivings, Congress supported Hamilton.

Madison was still not prepared to accept Hamilton's proposal that the federal government as-

subsidy Financial assistance granted by a government in support of an enterprise regarded as being in the public interest.

**free trade** Trade between nations without protective tariffs.

**Federalists** Political group led by Alexander Hamilton that formed during Washington's first administration; they favored commercial growth and a strong central government.

**Republicans** Political group led by Thomas Jefferson that favored limited government and envisioned the United States as a nation of independent farmers.

**faction** A group of people with shared opinions and goals who split off from a larger group. fiscal Relating to government finances.

sume, or take over, the states' debts. A fierce nationalist, Hamilton wanted to concentrate political and economic power in the federal government. He knew that creditors, who included America's wealthiest citizens, would take a particular interest in the welfare and success of any government that owed them money. Hamilton intended to tie the material interests of America's elite to the federal government.

Maryland and Virginia, which had already paid their war debts, led the fight against assumption. If the national government assumed state debts and raised taxes to repay them, then the citizens of Maryland and Virginia would have to be burdened with debts that other states had not paid.

The Senate approved assumption, but the House deferred action. To ensure success, Hamilton conducted some behind-the-scenes negotiations with Madison and Jefferson. Hamilton's bargaining chip was the location of the national capital. Although the new government had made New York its temporary home in 1789, a permanent site for the national capital had not yet been decided on. Hamilton was willing to put the capital in Madison's and Jefferson's backyard in exchange for their support of federal assumption of state debts. The bargain appealed to the two Virginians, and they threw their support behind assumption. The future capital was to be located on a site between Maryland and Virginia.

Hamilton made still another proposal in 1791 to further his vision for America. This time he proposed chartering a national bank. The bank, modeled on the Bank of England, would serve as fiscal agent for the federal government, although it would not be an exclusively public institution. The bank would be funded by the government and by private sources in a partnership that would further tie national prosperity to the interests of private wealth.

Although James Madison questioned the constitutionality of this proposal, Congress nevertheless passed the legislation. Madison's argument did cause President Washington to consult Secretary of State Jefferson and Treasury Secretary Hamilton for their views on the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States before signing the bill.

Jefferson, like Madison, was a strict constructionist regarding the Constitution. Jefferson ar

gued that there were grave dangers in interpreting the government's powers broadly: "To take a single step beyond the boundaries . . . specifically drawn around the powers of Congress is to take possession of a boundless field of power." Hamilton saw no such danger in the proposed bank. A broad constructionist, Hamilton countered with Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution. This section grants Congress the right to "make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper" to exercise its legitimate powers. Hamilton believed that this language "ought to be construed liberally in advancement of the public good." Since the bank would serve a useful purpose in tax collections, Hamilton believed there could be no reasonable constitutional objection to it. Hamilton's argument persuaded the president.

Hamilton outlined the next phase of his economic development program for the United States in his *Report on Manufactures* in 1791. This report called for protective tariffs, government subsidies, and other policies that would make the country into an industrial power. These proposals, however, were too extreme for Congress. Still, Hamilton had done much to realize his dream of a commercial and manufacturing republic. The Bank of the United States and the establishment of sound national credit did much to create and to attract **capital** for new enterprises.

## **Foreign Affairs and Deepening Divisions**

The first signs of division in American politics had appeared in response to Hamilton's economic program. Those divisions hardened into permanent

**strict constructionist** A person who believes the government has only those powers that the Constitution specifically grants to it.

**broad constructionist** A person who believes the government has not only the powers specifically listed in the Constitution but whatever implied powers are in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution.

**capital** Money needed to start a commercial enterprise.

political parties when Americans were forced to respond to the French **Revolution** and its international repercussions. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, Americans had almost universally applauded it. The American Revolution and the French Revolution seemed close cousins in their shared political rhetoric and ideals. Like most Americans, Washington was pleased to be identified with this newest struggle for the "rights of man."

By 1793, however, American public opinion had begun to divide sharply on the French Revolution. Popular support weakened when the Revolution's most radical party, the Jacobins, imprisoned and then executed the king and queen. Shocked Americans denounced the Revolution when the Jacobins began the Reign of Terror against their opponents.

Meanwhile, France had become involved in a war with Great Britain, Spain, Austria, and Prussia. France expected the Americans to honor the terms of the 1778 alliance, which bound the United States to protect French possessions in the West Indies. Since the British were likely to strike these possessions, a second war between Britain and the United States loomed as a possibility.

American opinion about such a war was contradictory and complex. Some thought American honor dictated that the United States should aid France, its Revolutionary War ally. Others, including Thomas Jefferson, did not want the United States to become embroiled in a European war. Hamilton favored maintaining close ties with the British. While Americans struggled with these contradictory views, the French decided to mobilize American support directly.

In 1793, the French republic sent a diplomatic minister to the United States. When Edmond Genet arrived in Charleston, he did not present his credentials as an official representative from France. Instead he launched a campaign to recruit Americans for the war effort. Genet's flagrant disregard for formal procedures infuriated Washington. But popular support for the colorful Genet was strong. Prominent citizens welcomed and entertained him when he arrived in Philadelphia, the new temporary capital.

Washington responded to Genet's provocations by declaring American neutrality on April 22, 1793. He avoided a formal repudiation of the 1778

alliance with France but made it clear that the United States would not give the French military support. When Genet ignored Washington's proclamation of neutrality and commissioned several Americans as officers in the French army, even Jefferson thought that he had gone too far. Genet's influence declined rapidly, and the Genet affair was over.

The Genet affair had domestic as well as diplomatic consequences. For the first time, George Washington came under attack. A Republican newspaper editor questioned the president's integrity in refusing to honor the Franco-American treaty. Washington was furious with this assault. Federalist newspapers struck back, accusing Jefferson and his friends of encouraging Genet's outrageous behavior. By the end of 1793, Jefferson had resigned from Washington's cabinet.

### **More Domestic Disturbances**

Following Washington's election to a second term in 1792, both Federalists and Republicans tried to rouse popular sentiment in favor of their programs and policies and against those of their opponents. These appeals to popular opinion broadened participation in the debate over the future of the na-

**French Revolution** Political upheaval against the French monarchy and aristocratic privileges; it began in 1789 and ended ten years later; its republican ideals gradually gave way to violence and disorder.

**Jacobins** Radical republican party during the French Revolution.

**Reign of Terror** The period from 1793 to 1794 in the French Revolution, during which thousands of people were executed because the revolutionary government considered them to be enemies of the state.

**Edmond Genet** Diplomat whom the French revolutionary government sent to the United States to try to draw it into France's war against Britain and Spain.

**neutrality** The policy of not favoring either side in a conflict but treating both sides in the same way

**repudiation** The act of rejecting the validity or authority of something.

tion. Ordinary citizens began to form organizations to make demands on the government. The most troubling of these to President Washington were the **Democratic-Republican societies**.

Consisting primarily of craftsmen and men of "the lower orders," thirty-five of these pro-French political groups formed between 1793 and 1794. The societies also included some professional men, merchants, and planters. The Philadelphia society, for example, included the noted scientist and inventor David Rittenhouse. Regardless of their composition, the societies insisted that political officeholders were "agents of the people" and should act as the people wished.

In 1794, many western farmers believed that government was not responding to the people's needs. Kentuckians complained about not being able to navigate the Mississippi, while farmers all along the frontier protested a new federal excise tax on whiskey. Although the Democratic-Republican societies denied playing any role in creating unrest in these areas, Federalists saw the societies behind the tarring and feathering of government tax agents, the burning of the barns of tax supporters, and the intimidation of other government officials. The most determined resistance to the whiskey excise tax came from western Pennsylvania. In July 1794, a crowd burned the home of a tax collector and later made a threatening but largely peaceful march on Pittsburgh, where some supporters of the excise tax lived.

President Washington, fearful that the radical spirit of the French Revolution was spreading throughout America, was determined to crush the **Whiskey Rebellion**. Calling up thirteen thousand militiamen, the president accompanied these troops as far as Cumberland, Maryland, before handing command to General Henry Lee. The whiskey rebels quickly dispersed in the face of such an overwhelming force.

Washington blamed the Democratic-Republican societies for the western insurrection, and Federalists in Congress passed resolutions condemning them. Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, for example, accused the societies of spreading "jealousies, suspicions, and accusations" against the government. The Jeffersonians, generally believed to be sympathetic to the societies, were forced to remain silent in the aftermath of the Whiskey Rebellion.

By 1796, Democratic-Republican societies had disappeared. Washington's condemnation and Congress's criticism certainly damaged the organizations' reputation. But improved conditions on the western frontier also diminished farmers' interest in protest. In October 1795, Thomas Pinckney was able to secure free navigation of the Mississippi River in the Treaty of San Lorenzo with Spain. This treaty not only gave western farmers an outlet for their produce through New Orleans but also ensured their protection from Indian attacks launched from Spanish-held territories.

### **Jay's Treaty**

Washington was far less successful in securing a favorable treaty with Great Britain. The British believed that Washington's 1793 proclamation of American neutrality in the dispute between Britain and France, as well as American assertions of the right to free trade, favored the French. The British accordingly began seizing American ships that were trading with the French Caribbean islands.

These seizures posed serious difficulties for the largely pro-British Washington administration. Many people were calling for war against the British, and the situation worsened when the governor of British Canada encouraged Indian violence against American settlers in the Northwest. The House of Representatives considered trade restrictions against the British. Mobs even attacked British seamen and tarred and feathered Americans expressing pro-British views.

Washington's response to the growing domestic crisis was to send Supreme Court Chief Justice John Jay to Britain as his special envoy early in

**Democratic-Republican societies** Political organizations formed in 1793 and 1794 to demand greater responsiveness by the state and federal governments to the needs of the people.

**Whiskey Rebellion** An uprising by grain farmers in western Pennsylvania in 1794 over a federal tax on whiskey; Washington led militias from nearby states to quell the rebellion.

**envoy** A government representative who is sent on a special diplomatic mission.

1794. The treaty that Jay negotiated was not a great victory for American diplomacy, but it did resolve some old, nagging issues. The British agreed to evacuate the western forts and to grant some small trade concessions in the West Indies. The United States in return agreed to see that all prewar debts to British merchants were at last paid. But Jay was forced to abandon America's demand for freedom of the seas and conceded the Royal Navy's right to remove French property from any neutral ship. Jay returned home to strong public criticism and very little praise. The Federalists credited Jay's Treaty with preserving the peace, but the Republicans condemned it. The treaty squeaked through the Senate in 1795. Neutrality, compromised and shaky, continued to be the nation's policy.

The Washington administration did far better in military and diplomatic affairs in the West. In August 1794, at the **Battle of Fallen Timbers**, General "Mad" Anthony Wayne's army decisively defeated Indians from several tribes in the Northwest Territory. In the **Treaty of Greenville** in August 1795, the Indians ceded most of the land that later became Ohio.

## Washington's Farewell

The bitter political fight over Jay's Treaty, nagging press criticism of his policies, and the hardening of party lines between Federalists and Republicans helped George Washington decide not to seek a third term as president. In 1796, he retired to Mount Vernon, his beloved Virginia home, and resumed the life of a gentleman planter.

When Washington retired, he left behind a nation very different from the one whose independence he had helped win. The postwar economic depression was over. The economy of the United States had moved decisively in the direction that Alexander Hamilton had envisioned. The pursuit of profit and of individual success had captured the imaginations of many white Americans. Hamilton's policies as secretary of the treasury had promoted the expansion of trade, the growth of markets, and the development of American manufacturing and industry. In its political life, the re-

public had seen the relationships between the states and the central government redefined. America's political leadership, taught that factions were dangerous, had nevertheless created and begun to work within an evolving party system.

In his **Farewell Address** to the public, Washington reflected on these changes. He spoke against political parties, urging the nation to return to nonpartisan cooperation. He also warned America not to "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition." An honorable country must "observe good faith and justice toward all nations," said the aging Virginian, but not let any alliance draw it into a foreign war.

## Conflict in the Adams Administration

Although retiring president George Washington had warned of the "baneful effects of the spirit of party" in his Farewell Address, few in the newly organized parties listened to him. The Republicans were eager to unseat the politicians who were responsible for causing the Whiskey Rebellion and for tying the United States to Great Britain. The Federalists were eager to rid the nation of those who might pull down Hamilton's economic pro-

**Jay's Treaty** Treaty between the United States and Britain negotiated in 1794 by John Jay; it addressed issues such as British refusal to evacuate forts in the Northwest and British seizure of American ships.

**Battle of Fallen Timbers** Battle in August 1794 in which Kentucky riflemen defeated Indians of several tribes, hastening the end of Indian resistance in the Northwest.

**Treaty of Greenville** Treaty of 1795 under which Northwest Indians were paid about \$10,000 to cede land that later became the state of Ohio.

**Farewell Address** Speech that George Washington made at the end of his second term as president; in it he called for nonpartisan cooperation and warned against entanglements with foreign nations.

gram and the philosophy of government by the well-to-do.

## The Split Election of 1796

Thomas Jefferson was the Republican party's logical choice to represent the party in the presidential election of 1796. **Aaron Burr**, a brilliant young New York attorney and member of the U.S. Senate, was chosen to balance the ticket. Both Jefferson and Burr were veterans of the revolutionary struggles in 1776 and outspoken champions of democracy.

The unity of the Republicans contrasted sharply with the disunity of the Federalists. Most Federalists favored John Adams from Massachusetts, but many preferred South Carolinian **Thomas Pinckney** because of his diplomatic success in opening the Mississippi River to American commerce (see page 145). Alexander Hamilton, to whom the majority of Federalists looked for leadership, supported Pinckney's candidacy in large part because he felt that he could influence the mild-mannered southerner more than he could the stiff-necked Yankee. Many old revolutionaries viewed Adams, like Washington, as a **statesman** above politics whose conscience would help the new nation avoid the pitfalls of party.

Hamilton's scheming nearly lost the election for the Federalists. He was counting on a peculiarity in the election process. According to Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution, each member of the Electoral College could vote for two candidates. The highest vote getter (regardless of party) became president, and the runner-up (again regardless of party) became vice president. Hamilton urged Pinckney supporters to withhold votes from Adams so that Pinckney would win more votes than the former vice president. Adams's supporters learned of the plot, however, withheld their votes from Pinckney, and gave them to Jefferson. Jefferson ended up with more votes than Pinckney. The first truly contested presidential election thus produced a president (Adams) and a vice president (Jefferson) who belonged to different political parties.

Never known for charm, subtlety, or willingness to compromise, Adams was ill-suited to lead a deeply divided nation. The new president did little

to put Republicans' fears to rest. He retained Secretary of Treasury Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of War James McHenry, and Secretary of State Timothy Pickering from Washington's cabinet—all Hamilton men. Republicans had hoped Hamilton's influence would wane now that he had retired from government service to practice law, but the selection of these ardent Federalists dashed that hope.

## XYZ: The Power of Patriotism

The revolutionary government in France had been angry with the Federalists ever since the signing of the pro-British Jay Treaty of 1795. Under the terms of that treaty, American ships bound for French territory that were carrying food and naval stores—not just military supplies—were considered to be carrying contraband and were thus subject to British seizure. In the wake of the Jay Treaty, France applied the same logic to America's trade with Great Britain. By Adams's inauguration in 1797, France had confiscated cargoes from some three hundred American ships and broken diplomatic relations with the United States.

Faced with this diplomatic crisis, Adams wisely pursued two courses simultaneously. Asserting that the United States would not be "humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and a sense of inferiority," he pressed Congress to build up America's military defenses. At the same time, he dispatched John Marshall of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts to join **Charles Cotesworth Pinckney** in Paris to arrange a peaceful settlement of differences.

**Aaron Burr** New York lawyer who became Thomas Jefferson's vice president after the House of Representatives broke a deadlock in the Electoral College.

**Thomas Pinckney** South Carolina politician and diplomat who was an unsuccessful Federalist candidate for president in 1796.

**statesman** A political leader who acts out of concern for the public good and not out of self-interest.

**Charles Cotesworth Pinckney** Federalist politician and brother of Thomas Pinckney; he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Paris in 1797 during a period of unfriendly relations between France and the United States.

French foreign minister Talleyrand declined to receive Pinckney and the peace delegation. As weeks passed, three Parisian businessmen suggested a way to meet with Talleyrand. If the Americans were willing to pay a bribe to key members of the French government and to guarantee an American loan of several million dollars to France, the businessmen would be able to get them a hearing. Offended at such treatment, Pinckney reportedly responded, "No, no, not a sixpence." In relating the affair to President Adams, Pinckney refused to name the three businessmen, calling them only "X," "Y," and "Z."

Americans' response to the **XYZ affair** was overwhelming. In Philadelphia, people paraded in the streets to protest France's arrogance, chanting Pinckney's response to X, Y, and Z. "Millions for defense but not a cent for tribute!" became the rallying cry of the American people. The president vowed not to resume diplomatic relations with France until the U.S. envoy was "received, respected and honored as a representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation."

The patriotic response to the XYZ affair overcame the divisions that had plagued the Adams administration, giving the president a virtually unified Congress. Adams pressed for increased military forces, and in short order Congress created the Department of the Navy, appropriated the money to build a fleet of warships, and authorized a standing army of twenty thousand troops. Washington came out of retirement to lead the new army. Although the old general saw no action, sea battles between French and American ships resulted in the sinking or capture of many vessels. This undeclared war became known as the Quasi-War.

Despite the combat, Adams continued to press for a peaceful solution. In doing so, he clashed with Hamilton's wing of the party, which wanted desperately to declare war. Hamilton and his supporters dreamed of crushing the French revolutionary state, which they regarded as the evil fruit of democracy. Hamilton also saw war with France as a way to destroy the Jeffersonian opposition, which had been sympathetic to the French Revolution.

## The War at Home

The Quasi-War led the Federalists to identify the Republican party as an enemy nearly as great as France. The Federalists attacked foreigners living in the United States (especially those from Ireland and France, who detested the Federalists' pro-British stance) and the Jeffersonian press, which showed little restraint in attacking the Adams administration.

In 1798, Federalists in Congress passed three acts designed to counter the influence of immigrants. The Naturalization Act extended the residency requirement

for citizenship from five to fourteen years. The **Alien Act** authorized the president to deport any foreigner he judged "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." Another bill, the Alien Enemies Act, permitted the president to imprison or banish any foreigner he considered dangerous during a national emergency. The Naturalization Act was designed to prevent recent immigrants from supporting the Republican cause. The other two acts served as a constant reminder that the president could arbitrarily imprison or deport any resident alien who stepped out of line.

Later in 1798, the Federalist Congress passed the Sedition Act to silence the Jeffersonian press. The **Sedition Act** outlawed the publication or utterance of any criticism of the government that might be regarded as "false, scandalous and malicious" or that would bring the government "into contempt or disrepute." In the words of one Federalist newspaper, "It is patriotism to write in favour

- XYZ affair A diplomatic incident in which American envoys to France were told that the United States would have to loan France money and bribe government officials as a condition for negotiation.
- Alien Act Law passed by Congress in 1798 authorizing the president to order out of the United States any alien regarded as dangerous to the public peace or safety.
- Sedition Act Law passed by Congress in 1798 outlawing any criticism of the U.S. government that might bring the government into disrepute; the law was enforced mainly against Republicans.

of our government, it is **sedition** to write against it." Federalists brandished the law against criticism directed toward the government or the president. Not surprisingly, most of the defendants were prominent Republican newspaper editors.

One case involved a Republican journalist named James Thompson Callender, a notorious radical who had been forced to flee Britain *in* 1793. In the United States, he wielded his pen in support of Jefferson and became widely disliked by the Federalists. In 1798, Callender was arrested for writing a pamphlet that attacked Adams and the Federalists. Federalist judge Samuel Chase fined Callender \$200, sentenced him to nine months in jail, and ordered him to post a bond of \$1,200 to ensure his continued compliance with the Sedition Act.

Republicans complained that the Alien and Sedition Acts violated the Bill of Rights, but the Federalist Congress and judiciary paid no attention. Jefferson and Madison had little choice but to take their case to the states. In 1798, Madison submitted a resolution to the Virginia legislature, and Jefferson submitted one in Kentucky.

The Virginia and Kentucky **Resolutions** argued that the national government was simply a compact that the individual states had created and that the states could declare inappropriate federal laws null and void. In the Virginia Resolution, Madison asserted that the collective will of the states should overrule federal authority. Jefferson went further in the Kentucky Resolution, arguing that each individual state had the "natural right" to interpose its own authority to protect the rights of its citizens.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions passed in the respective state legislatures in 1798, but no other states followed suit. Nevertheless, the resolutions brought the disputed relationship between federal law and **states'** rights into national prominence. This relationship would be a major bone of contention in the decades to come.

Another dispute arose over the methods used to finance the Quasi-War with France. Although tariffs and **excises** were the primary sources of revenue, the Federalists also imposed a tax on land, hitting cash-poor farmers especially hard. In 1799, farmers in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, used the tactics employed during the Whiskey Rebellion to avoid paying the land tax. After several tax resisters

had been arrested and jailed, John Fries raised an armed force to break them out of jail. The federal troops sent by Adams to subdue Fries' Rebellion arrested Fries and two of his associates. A federal court found them guilty and condemned them to death.

### **Settlement with France**

Shortly after the XYZ affair, George Logan, a Quaker friend of Jefferson, secretly departed for France to seek a peaceful solution to the diplomatic crisis. Logan gained quick admission to see Foreign Minister Talleyrand, who told him that France would gladly receive an American peace overture. When Logan returned to America, Adams ignored his party's advice and met with him. Soon thereafter, without consulting his cabinet, Adams instructed the American minister to the Netherlands, William Vans Murray, to lead a delegation to Paris.

Hamilton and his supporters were furious, and the fissure that had opened between Adams and Hamilton during the 1796 election widened. Adams responded to his Federalist critics by firing Hamilton's supporters in the cabinet. In addition, he pardoned the Pennsylvanians who had been condemned after Fries' Rebellion.

Adams's diplomatic appeal to France was well timed. On November 9, 1799, **Napoleon Bonaparte** overthrew the government that was responsible for the XYZ affair. Napoleon was more interested

**sedition** Conduct or language inciting rebellion against the authority of a state.

**Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** Statements issued by the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures in 1798 asserting their right to declare the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional.

**states' rights** Limited federal powers and the greatest possible autonomy for the states.

**excise** A tax on the production, sale, or consumption of a commodity or the use of a service.

**overture** A proposal or the actions that lead up to a proposal.

**Napoleon Bonaparte** General who took control of the French government at the end of the revolutionary period and eventually proclaimed himself emperor of France.



in establishing an empire in Europe than in continuing a conflict with the United States. Murray and Napoleon negotiated the Convention of Mortefontaine, which ended the Quasi-War. All prisoners captured during the conflict were released. French restrictions on trade with the United States were removed, and France was forgiven for seizing American property worth \$20 million.

## **SUMMARY**

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

After winning independence, Americans faced the challenge of creating a new nation out of thirteen distinct states. *Constrained* by enormous debt and still surrounded by real and potential enemies, the United States appeared dangerously vulnerable. To many Americans and foreigners, *expectations* for its survival seemed doubtful.

During the Revolution and immediately after, the states drafted their own constitutions. Some *chose* relatively democratic forms of government. Others *chose* to retain less democratic features such as high property qualifications for voting. A major *constraint* on state cooperation was the Articles of Confederation. The Articles guaranteed state representatives the right to withhold important powers from the national governing body. The *outcome* of this weak central government was continuing financial crises and debt.

The Confederation *chose* the sale of western lands as one solution to its financial problems. The *outcome* was conflict with the British, Indians, and Spanish. Farmers, too, felt the *constraints* of economic depression and indebtedness, and Massachu

setts farmers rose in revolt during Shays' Rebellion. The continuing national crisis convinced many of the nation's elite that critical *choices* had to be made about revising the system of government.

In the summer of 1787, experienced political leaders met in Philadelphia to draft the Constitution of the United States. This document steered a middle course between a central government that was too powerful and one that was too weak. The states ratified the Constitution after a vigorous battle between Federalists and Antifederalists. George Washington was elected the nation's first president.

Although harmony prevailed initially, sharp differences in political opinion soon emerged between Alexander Hamilton's Federalists and Thomas Jefferson's Republicans. Federalists wanted an industrial nation and opposed the French Revolution. Republicans *expected* the United States to remain agrarian and generally supported the Revolution. The *outcome* was deeper divisions between these two political groups. The United States remained neutral, however, when France and Britain went to war.

By the end of Washington's second term, the United States had expanded its borders, negotiated with Spain for access to the Mississippi River, and established a national bank that promoted economic growth. The departing Washington warned Americans not to allow competing visions of America's future to harm their republic.

Washington's advice went unheeded. Federalists *expectations* of a war with France in the wake of the XYZ affair led them to regard the Republican opposition as an enemy fully as dangerous as France. They passed laws intended to act as major *constraints* on the Republicans.

President John Adams, however, *chose* to break with his party when it came to the issue of war with France. The *outcome* was negotiations that led to peace with France.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Butterfield, Lyman, et al. *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762-1784* (1975).

The editors of the Adams Papers have collected part of the extensive correspondence between John and Abigail Adams during the critical decades of the independence movement.

Morris, Richard B. *Witness at the Creation* (1985).

A distinguished scholar re-creates the drama of the Constitutional Convention by focusing on the personalities and motives of the framers.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion* (1986).

A vivid account of the major challenge to the Washington government.

Wills, Gary. *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment* (1984).

A beautifully written biography of our first president and his times.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## Restraining Federal Power

### The Context

The Alien and Sedition Acts raised serious questions about Congress's right to pass laws affecting free speech and free assembly. They also raised questions about who had the right to determine whether acts of Congress violated the Constitution. Kentucky and Virginia passed legislative resolutions, written by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison respectively, laying out two approaches to this issue. Other states responded, outlining their views on this fundamental problem in the checks-and-balances system and the separation of powers. (For further information on the context, see pages 148-149.)

### The Historical Question

Historians continue to debate the constitutional issues relating to the Alien and Sedition Acts. Now, as then, the question hinges on interpreting exactly what the Constitution means. Madison

and Jefferson offered slightly different opinions, and others challenged their interpretations. What were the most appropriate avenues for questioning the constitutionality of the acts? What legitimate recourse could individuals have pursued? What responsibilities did various branches of government have to protect individual rights from potential violation? What, really, did the Constitution say?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, the Constitution, (printed as an appendix at the end of this book), and other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions. **If you were** an interested and impartial citizen **living in the United States** in 1798, which of the arguments presented here would you find most convincing? Why?

### The Sources

**1** Thomas Jefferson was sure that the Sedition Act was unconstitutional, but there was no clear mechanism for challenging a federal law. In the first Kentucky Resolution, written in October 1798, Jefferson came to the following conclusion:

. . . the government created by this compact [the Constitution] was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right

. . . "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people"; and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States, or to the people. . . . Therefore [the Sedition Act], which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress. . . .

**2** James Madison was particularly concerned that with Federalists in control of all three branches of the national government, the separation of powers he had built into the Constitution had broken down. Some other check seemed to be necessary in the "checks and balances" system. Madison said:

*. . . the [Alien Act] exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government, and which, by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of [the] executive, subverts the general principles of free government, . . .*

*. . . the good people of this commonwealth, having ever felt and continuing to feel the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other states, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution . . . doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions of the other states, in confidence that they will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional; and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for co-operating with this state, in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.*

**3** No other state joined Kentucky and Virginia in challenging the constitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Acts. Several, in fact, issued proclamations criticizing the resolutions. The Rhode Island legislature had this to say:

*"The judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the laws of the United States,"—vests in the Federal Courts, exclusively, and in the Supreme Court of the United States, ultimately, the authority*

*of deciding on the constitutionality of any act or law of the Congress of the United States.*

*That for any state legislature to assume that authority would be-*

*1st. Blending together legislative and judicial powers;*

*2d. Hazarding an interruption of the peace of the states by civil discord, in case of a diversity of opinions among the state legislatures; each state having, in that case, no resort, for vindicating its own opinions, but the strength of its own arm;*

*3d. Submitting most important questions of law to less competent tribunals; and*

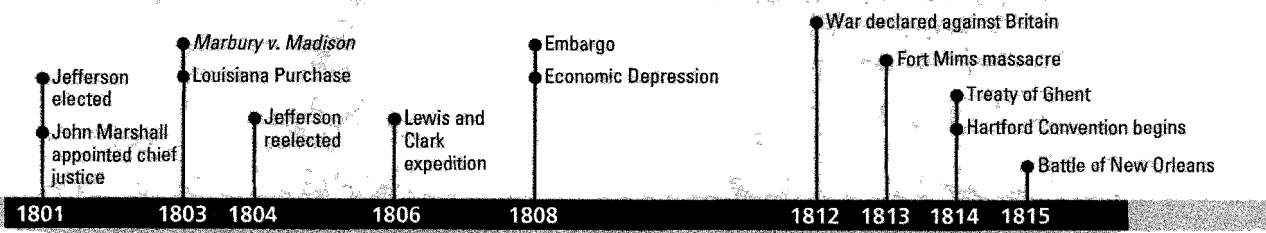
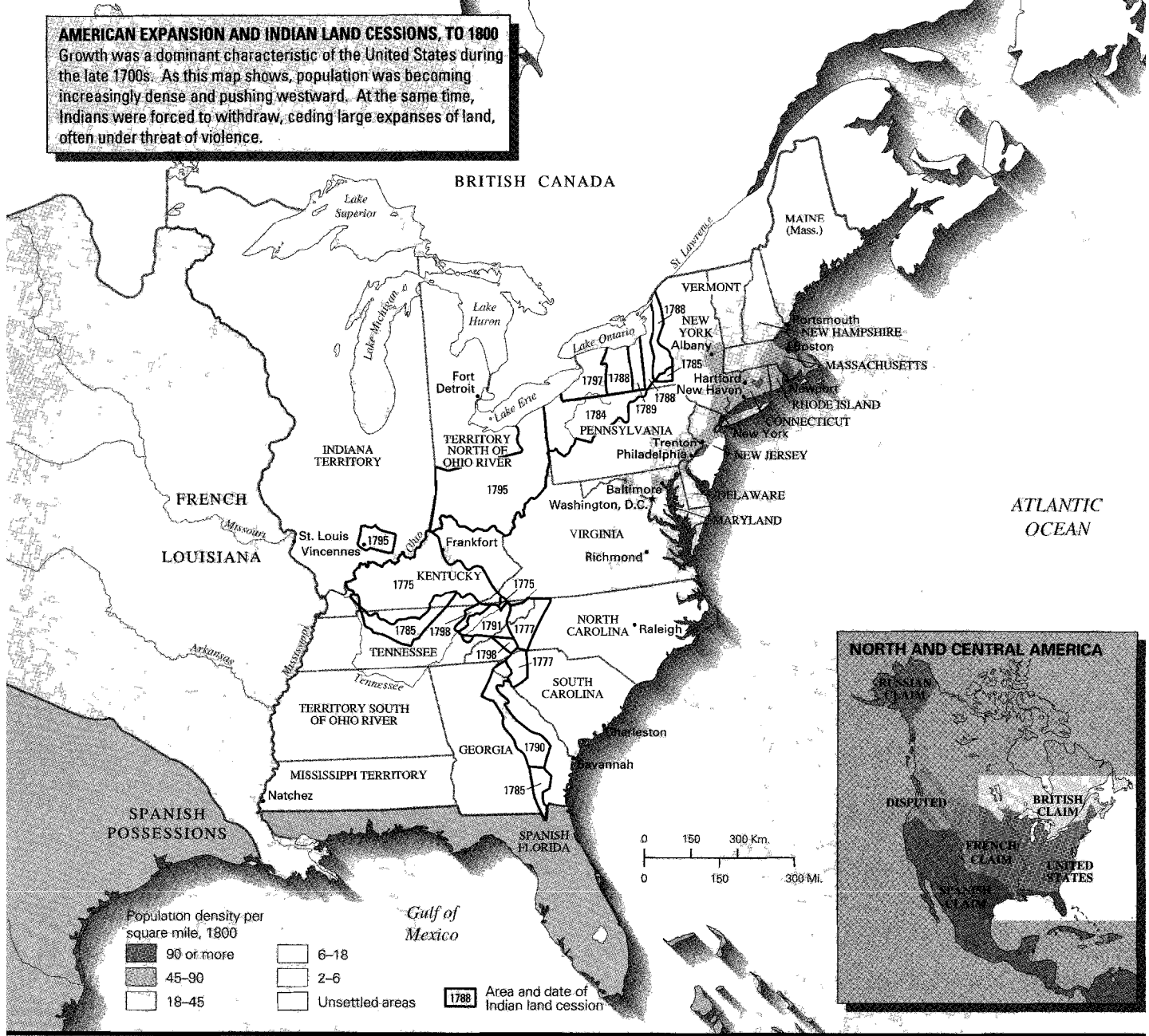
*4th. An infraction of the Constitution of the United States, expressed in plain terms.*

**4** Timothy Pickering, Adams's secretary of state and a stalwart Federalist, denied that the acts were in any way unreasonable. He wrote: *The Sedition Act has . . . been shamefully misrepresented as an attack upon the freedom of speech and of the press. But we find, on the contrary, that it prescribes a punishment only for those pests of society and disturbers of order and tranquillity "who write, print, utter, or publish any false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President, with intent to defame, or bring them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States; or to stir up sedition, or to abet the hostile designs of any foreign nation."*

*What honest man can justly be alarmed at such a law, or can wish unlimited permission to be given for the publication of malicious falsehoods, and with intentions the most base?*



**AMERICAN EXPANSION AND INDIAN LAND CESSIONS, TO 1800**  
 Growth was a dominant characteristic of the United States during the late 1700s. As this map shows, population was becoming increasingly dense and pushing westward. At the same time, Indians were forced to withdraw, ceding large expanses of land, often under threat of violence.



# The Triumphs and Trials of

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## Jeffersonianism, 1800-1815

### The "Revolution of 1800"

What constraints did the Federalists attempt to impose on Jefferson's presidency?

- How did Republicans choose to deal with Federalist constraints?

### Republicanism in Action

What were Jefferson's expectations for American development?

What policies did he choose to meet those expectations?

### Challenge and Uncertainty in Jefferson's America

- How did the expectations of most Americans change during Jefferson's presidency?

What were Jefferson's expectations concerning Native Americans and African Americans?

### Troubling Currents in Jefferson's America

- How did regional interests constrain Jefferson's political and economic expectations?

## Crises in the Nation

- What constraints arose from Jefferson's economic and Indian policies?
- How did the expectations of frontier politicians such as William Henry Harrison help lead to war in 1812?

## The Nation at War

- What developments finally convinced the United States to choose war against Great Britain in 1812?
- Why were American military choices successful or unsuccessful?

## The War's Strange Conclusion

- What constraints on American national development did the outcome of the War of 1812 remove?
- How did the war change Americans' expectations about politics, economics, and national expansion?



## ( INTRODUCTION )

The *outcome* of Federalist efforts to maintain power at any cost was the loss of voter support. In 1800, voters *chose* to remove Federalists from office, turning the government over to Thomas Jefferson. But enough people remained faithful to the Federalist position to maintain that faction's existence and to ensure that it would act as a continuing *constraint* on Republican political activity.

Although Jefferson claimed that he distrusted and disapproved of federal power, he used his power as president to pursue his policy goals. Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory despite the fact that there was no constitutional provision permitting such a purchase.

The entire direction of national development changed during Jefferson's presidency. The Louisiana Purchase and the elimination of internal taxes indicated that the days of eastern-dominated mercantilism were at an end. Now the nation's future would be tied to the West. Most Americans saw significant improvement in their *expectations* thanks to a thriving economy, and the nation became increasingly optimistic. But prosperity was a product of international problems as much as it was of Jefferson's *choice*. The nearly constant war in the Old World allowed Americans to make money by selling grain to Europeans. National security and economic prosperity depended on Jefferson's ability to keep America a neutral player on the world stage, a role that became harder to sustain in his second term.

After 1804, increasing *constraints* on American trade forced Jefferson and his successor, James Madison, to make hard *choices*. Believing that Europe needed American food more than America needed European manufactures, Republicans *chose* to prohibit American ships from trading with Europe. The *outcome* was economic depression in the United States. Adding to the problem were widening cracks in Jefferson's party support. Some Republicans thought Jefferson had overstepped his bounds in *choosing* to make the Louisiana Purchase. Federalists too were upset, especially in the Northeast. They believed that Jefferson had

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

*chosen* to serve southern and western interests exclusively.

The *expectations* and *choices* of others played havoc with Jefferson's hopes for a peaceful and prosperous nation. French and British policymakers *chose* not to respect American neutrality. American politicians of various stripes *chose* to oppose the president. In the West, whites seeking land for expansion *expected* that war against the Indians and the British would best serve their ends, while Indians increasingly *chose* to stop retreating. The *outcome* of these *choices* was another war with Great Britain in 1812.

Ill prepared and underfinanced, the United States initially fared badly against Great Britain and its Indian allies. An economic crisis and political infighting divided the nation even more. But a series of improbable American victories prompted a war-weary British public to demand peace.

Officially, the outcome of the war changed nothing. The Treaty of Ghent simply restored relations between the United States and Great Britain to what they had been before hostilities broke out. But in reality, much had changed. Americans emerged from the conflict with a new sense of national pride and purpose and a new set of *expectations* about the future.

## Domestic Expansion and international Crisis

1800 Jefferson and Burr tie in Electoral College

1801 Judiciary Act of 1801

Jefferson elected president by House of Representatives

John Marshall becomes chief justice

1803 Louisiana Purchase

Renewal of war between France and Britain

*Marbury v. Madison*

1804 Thomas Jefferson re-elected president

Britain steps up impressment

Duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr

1804-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition 1805 Beginning of

Shawnee religious revival

1807 Burr conspiracy trial Founding of Prophetstown

*Chesapeake* affair

1808 Embargo goes into effect

Economic depression begins James Madison elected president

1809 Fort Wayne Treaty  
Non-Intercourse Act

1810 Macon's Bill No. 2  
Formation of the War Hawks

1811 United States breaks trade relations with  
Britain  
Destruction of Prophetstown

1812 United States declares war against Britain  
United States invades Canada  
Madison re-elected

1813 Fort Mims massacre  
Battle of Put-in-Bay  
Embargo of 1813  
Battle of the Thames

1814 Battle of Horseshoe Bend  
Napoleon defeated  
Battle of Plattsburgh  
British capture and burn Washington, D.C.  
Treaty of Ghent  
Hartford Convention begins

1815 Battle of New Orleans

## The "Revolution of 1800"

The partisan press portrayed the election of 1800 in terms of stark contrasts. The Republican press characterized Adams as a monarchist who planned to rob citizens of their freedom and to turn the United States back into a British colony. By contrast, Federalist newspapers painted Vice President Jefferson as a dangerous, atheistic radical who shared French tastes for violent politics and loose sexual morals.

### The Lesser of Republican Evils

As the election of 1800 approached, the split within the Federalist party widened. Disgusted by the president's failure to declare war on France, Hamilton schemed to elevate Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, hero of the XYZ affair, to the presidency over Adams. Hamilton's methods backfired. They drove southern Federalists into supporting Jefferson. Bitter

factional disputes within the Federalist party and hatred of the taxes the Federalists had imposed in 1798 led to a Republican victory in 1800.

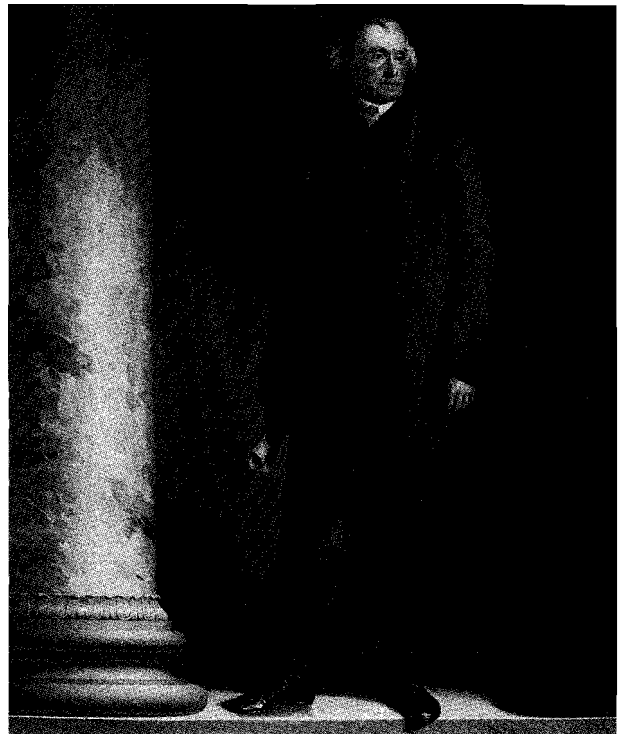
Still, it was not clear who would be the next president. Jefferson and his running mate, Aaron Burr, emerged with the same number of electoral votes, thereby throwing the election into the House of Representatives. The majority of the House consisted of hard-line Federalists elected during the Quasi-War hysteria in 1798. These Federalists were forced to choose between two men, both of whom they regarded as dangerous radicals. Neither Jefferson nor Burr could win a clear majority of House votes. Burr could have ended the deadlock at any time by withdrawing, but he sat silent.

Hamilton helped to break the deadlock by convincing several Federalists that Jefferson was far more conservative than his rhetoric implied. Another development that tipped the scales in Jefferson's favor was the mobilization of the Virginia and Pennsylvania militias. These states feared that the Federalists might attempt to steal the election from Jefferson. As Delaware senator James Bayard described the situation, Federalists had to admit "that we must risk the Constitution and a Civil War or take Mr. Jefferson." Finally, on the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson emerged with a clear majority.

The Jefferson-Burr deadlock of 1801 led to the passage of the Twelfth **Amendment**. Ratified in 1804, this amendment separated balloting in the Electoral College for president and vice president and thereby eliminated the confusion that had nearly wrecked the nation in 1800.

### **Federalist Defenses and Party Acceptance**

The Federalists were not about to leave office without erecting a strong bulwark against the Republicans. During its last days in office, the Federalist Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801, which created sixteen new federal judgeships, six additional circuit courts, and many federal marshal-ships and clerkships. President Adams filled all these positions with loyal Federalists, signing appointments right up to midnight on his last day in office. Adams appointed his secretary of state, John Marshall, as chief justice of the Supreme Court.



◆ Suffering a lifelong sensitivity to cold as well as a dislike for formality, Thomas Jefferson usually chose to dress practically, in fairly plain clothes that kept him warm. This 1822 portrait by Thomas Sully captures the former president in his customary greatcoat, unadorned suit, and well-worn boots. *"Thomas Jefferson" by Thomas Sully, West Point Museum, United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y.*

**Twelfth Amendment** Constitutional amendment ratified in 1804 that provides for separate balloting in the Electoral College for president and vice president.

**Judiciary Act of 1801** Law that the Federalist Congress passed to increase the number of federal courts and judicial positions; President Adams rushed to fill these positions with Federalists before his term ended.

**John Marshall** Virginia lawyer and politician made chief justice of the Supreme Court by President Adams; his legal decisions helped shape the role of the Court in American government.

Despite these last-minute Federalist appointments, Jefferson's inaugural address was conciliatory. "We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists," Jefferson said. In his mind, all Americans shared the same fundamental principles established in 1776. Yet even Jefferson considered the election of 1800 "a revolution in the principles of our government."

Jefferson sought to restore the republic envisioned by revolutionaries twenty-five years before. Unlike the Federalists, Jefferson was unalterably opposed to sedition acts or other government restraints directed against political opponents. The Republican Congress endorsed Jefferson's commitment to free speech by letting the Sedition Act and the Alien Acts expire. Congress also repealed the Naturalization Act, replacing its fourteen-year naturalization period with one of five years.

**Jefferson's conciliatory** policies and tone led Americans to see political parties in a new light. Many concluded that people in opposite political camps could hold different positions and not be enemies. As Jefferson observed, "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principles." Even extreme Federalists like Fisher Ames of Massachusetts came to realize that a "party is an association of honest men for honest purposes." Such realizations marked the beginnings of accepting political parties in the United States.

### **Madison Versus the Midnight Appointments**

The power of the judicial branch to interpret and enforce federal law became a major issue during Jefferson's first administration. His secretary of state, James Madison, had held back the appointment letters that had not been delivered before the expiration of Adams's term. One jilted appointee was William Marbury, who was to have been justice of the peace for the newly created District of Columbia. Marbury filed suit in the Supreme Court, claiming the Judiciary Act of 1789 gave the Court the power to demand that Madison deliver Marbury's appointment letter.

In considering *Marbury v. Madison*, Chief Justice Marshall believed that the Judiciary Act did re-

quire Madison to deliver the letter. He was keenly aware, however, that the Court had no power to enforce its orders. Ordering Madison to appoint Marbury justice of the peace could lead to a confrontation between the executive and judicial branches, a confrontation that Marshall was sure the Court would lose. He thus ruled in 1803 that the Constitution contained no provision for the Supreme Court to issue orders such as the Judiciary Act of 1789 required. Therefore the 1789 act was unconstitutional.

Jefferson and Madison accepted Marshall's decision because it meant they did not have to place Adams's handpicked men in powerful judicial positions. But it also meant that they would have to acknowledge that the Supreme Court, not the individual states or the branches of the federal government, had the right to determine the **constitutionality** of federal laws. Most Republicans endorsed Marshall's decision, which asserted the principle of **judicial review** over acts of Congress. Because of their experience with the Alien and Sedition Acts, however, many southerners continued to assert that states had the fundamental right to determine the constitutionality of the laws.

Having blocked the appointment of many new Federalists to judicial posts, some Republicans in Congress chose to wage a partisan war against those already on the bench. Their first target was New Hampshire Federalist John Pickering, an alcoholic who used his federal judgeship to rail against Republicanism. Brought before the Senate on **impeachment** charges, the Republican majority

**conciliatory** Striving to overcome distrust or to regain someone's good will.

*Marbury v. Madison* Supreme Court decision (1803) declaring part of the Judiciary Act of 1789 unconstitutional and thus establishing the principle of judicial review.

**constitutionality** Agreement with the principles or provisions of the Constitution.

**judicial review** The power of the Supreme Court to review the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress and the states.

**impeachment** The presentation of formal charges of wrongdoing against a public official.

quickly found him guilty and removed him from office. Flushed by that success, staunch Republicans decided to go after bigger game: Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase. Though extremely competent as a jurist, Chase was notorious for making partisan decisions. There was no evidence, however, that Chase had committed the "high crimes and misdemeanors" required for the removal of a federal judge. Even so, House Republicans ordered a bill of impeachment and sent Chase to trial before the Senate. Many expected the Senate, chaired by radical Republican Aaron Burr, to make quick work of disrobing Chase, but Burr surprised his colleagues by conducting a fair trial during which Chase presented a convincing defense. The war on the courts came to a sudden end when both Federalists and the majority of Republicans chose to dismiss the charges against Chase, marking an important precedent against the partisan use of impeachment powers.

## Republicanism in Action

When Jefferson assumed office, he brought a new spirit to national politics and the presidency. He was the first president to be inaugurated in the new national capital of Washington City. He led a much simpler life than his predecessors had. He refused, for example, to ride in a carriage, preferring to go by horseback through Washington's muddy and rutted streets. He abandoned the fashion of wearing a wig, letting his red hair stand out.

### Jefferson's Vision for America

Jefferson had a strong, positive vision for the nation that was guided by his fears and hopes for the American experiment in republican government. The greatest dangers to a republic, he believed, were high population density and the concentration of money in the hands of a few. These led to corruption and the rise of tyrants like George III. Accordingly, Jefferson wanted to steer America away from the large, publicly supported industries that Hamilton advocated. Jefferson wanted America to be a nation of farmers who owned their own land, produced their own food, and were beholden to no one. Such yeoman farmers, Jefferson believed, could make political decisions based solely on reason and good sense.

Jefferson did not want Americans to be deprived of the benefits of industry and commerce. But he did want to preserve American independence and freedom from corruption. His solution was simple: America's vast

surpluses of food should be traded for European manufactures.

Jefferson was also an advocate of free trade. He believed that businesses should make their own decisions and succeed or fail in a marketplace free of government interference. This belief contrasted with the mercantilist theory that governments should control prices and restrict trade to benefit the nation-state.

Responsibility for implementing this economic policy fell to Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin. Gallatin's first goal was to make the United States free of debt by 1817. He cut the budget drastically, even closing several American embassies. At home, he pared administrative costs by reducing staff and putting an end to fancy receptions and balls. The administration reduced the army from four thousand to twenty-five hundred men and the navy from twenty-five ships to a mere seven. In making these cuts, Gallatin subtly weakened the central government's economic presence, putting more responsibilities back onto the states, where he thought they belonged.

Gallatin's plan also called for a significant change in how the government raised revenue. In 1802, the Republican Congress repealed all internal taxes, including the hated whiskey excise tax, leaving customs duties and the sale of western lands as the sole sources of federal revenue. With this one gesture, Gallatin struck a major blow for Jefferson's economic vision by tying the nation's financial future to westward expansion and foreign trade.

The success of Jefferson's economic policy depended greatly on his handling of foreign affairs. During Jefferson's presidency, two foreign issues

**Albert Gallatin** Treasury secretary in Jefferson's administration; he favored limited government and reduced the federal debt by cutting spending.

loomed large. One was the need to improve navigation on North America's inland waterways. The other was the need to ensure free navigation of the open seas. France and Spain posed a major challenge to the first of these, and pirates threatened the other.

### **War in the Mediterranean**

The challenge to free navigation came from pirates who patrolled the northern coast of Africa from Tangier to Tripoli. Ever since the 1790s, the United States had paid the Barbary pirates not to attack American ships. By 1800, fully a fifth of the federal budget was earmarked for this purpose. Gallatin wanted to eliminate this expense. For Jefferson, the principle of free navigation of the seas was just as important. Noting that "tribute or war is the usual alternative of these Barbary pirates," Jefferson decided on war and dispatched navy ships to the Mediterranean in 1801.

The war that followed was far from successful. The American navy suffered a major defeat when the warship *Philadelphia* and its entire crew were captured. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, Jr.'s bold raid left the *Philadelphia* in ashes so it could not be used by the ruler of Tripoli, but the ship's crew remained in captivity. The United States finally negotiated peace terms in 1805, paying \$60,000 for the release of the hostages, while Tripoli promised to halt pirate raids on American shipping.

### **Crisis in America's Interior**

As settlers continued to pour into the region west of the Appalachian Mountains, the commercial importance of the Mississippi River increased. Whoever controlled the mouth of the Mississippi would have the power to make or break the economy of the interior.

In Pinckney's treaty of 1795 (see page 145), Spain had granted American farmers the right to ship cargoes down the Mississippi. In 1800, however, Napoleon had exchanged some French holdings in southern Europe for Spain's land in North America. The deal between Spain and France threatened to scuttle American commerce on the river. Such fears took on substance when Spanish officials suspended free trade in New Orleans.

Jefferson responded by dispatching James Monroe to talk with the British about a military alliance. He also had Monroe instruct the American minister to France, Robert Livingston, to purchase New Orleans and as much adjacent real estate as he could get for \$2 million.

Napoleon may have been considering the creation of a North American empire when he acquired Louisiana from Spain. **Santo Domingo**, a French colony in the Caribbean, would likely have been the hub for such an empire. But Napoleon's invasion force that was sent in 1802 to reclaim Santo Domingo from rebellious slaves was unsuccessful.

### **The Louisiana Purchase**

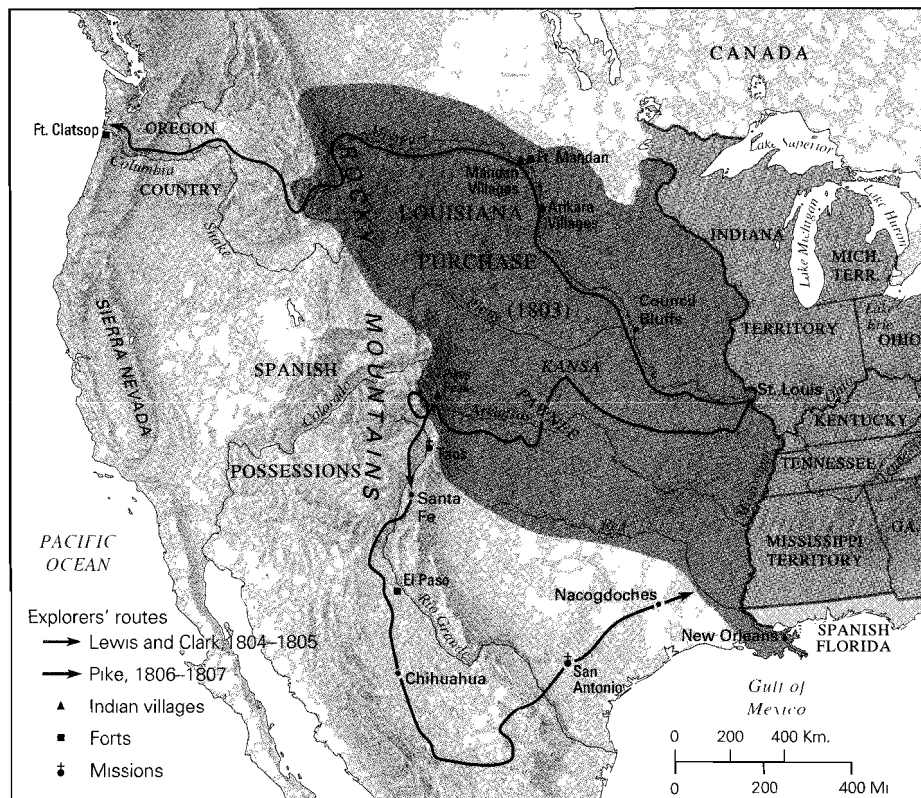
Having failed in the Caribbean, Napoleon turned his full attention to conquest in Europe. Desperate for money, the French emperor greeted Monroe and Livingston with an offer to sell the whole of Louisiana for \$15 million. Although Livingston and Monroe had been authorized to spend only \$2 million, they jumped at the deal. The president not only approved of their action but was overjoyed. The deal offered three important benefits. It saved him from having to ally the United States with Britain. It secured the Mississippi River for shipments of American agricultural products to Europe. And it doubled the size of the United States, opening up uncharted expanses for settlement by yeoman farmers. Jefferson recommended that the Senate ratify the purchase, even though the Constitution was silent on the acquisition of new territories. The Senate approved the **Louisiana Purchase** overwhelmingly in November 1803.

Jefferson subsequently sent a small party to explore this area (see Map 8.1). **Meriwether Lewis**,

Santo Domingo Island shared by the modern nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Louisiana Purchase The U.S. purchase of Louisiana from France for \$15 million in 1803; the Louisiana Territory extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains.

Meriwether Lewis Jefferson aide who was sent to explore the Louisiana Territory in 1803; he later served as its governor.



\*MAP 8.1 Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition As this map shows, President Jefferson added an enormous tract of land to the United States when he purchased Louisiana from France in 1803. The president was eager to learn as much as possible about the new territory and sent two exploration teams into the West. In addition to collecting information, Lewis and Clark's and Pike's expeditions sought to commit Indian groups along their paths to alliances with the United States and to undermine French, Spanish, and British relations with the Indians, even in those areas that were not officially part of the United States.

Jefferson's private secretary, and his co-commander, Indian fighter **William Clark**, were to note the numbers of French, Spanish, and Indians in the area and to chart major waterways and other important strategic sites. They were also to undermine the Indians' relations with the Spanish and French.

The expedition set out by boat in the spring of 1804, arriving among the Mandan Indians in present-day North Dakota in the late fall. The explorers spent the winter there, gathering information from the Mandans and from French Canadian fur traders. The next spring, they set out across the mountains, led by a French trapper named Charbono and his Shoshone wife, **Sacajawea**. With the

William Clark Soldier and explorer who joined Meriwether Lewis on the expedition to explore the

Louisiana Territory; he was responsible for mapmaking.  
Sacajawea Shoshone woman who served as guide and interpreter on the Lewis and Clark expedition.

help of Sacajawea's people and other Indians, the expedition reached the Pacific Ocean in November 1805, wintering near the mouth of the Columbia River. When spring came, the party retraced its steps eastward. Finally, after nearly three years, Lewis and Clark arrived back in Washington carrying the information they had been asked to gather. They had also obtained promises from many Indian tribes to join in friendship with the new American republic.

## **Challenge and Uncertainty in Jefferson's America**

Jefferson's policies brought a new spirit into the land. The Virginian's commitment to opportunity and progress, to openness and frugality, offered a stark contrast to the policies of his predecessors. Nevertheless, some disturbing social and intellectual developments began to surface. In particular, rapid westward expansion strained conventional social institutions. The economic opportunities in the West caused a quiet rebellion of young adults against the authority of their parents.

### **The Heritage of Partisan Politics**

The popularity of Jefferson's Republican party was abundantly clear by the 1804 election. The Republicans had virtually eclipsed the Federalists in the congressional elections of 1802, and by 1804 the Federalists were in disarray. Prominent Federalists such as Fisher Ames and John Jay had withdrawn from public life altogether. In the absence of more prominent alternatives, the Federalists chose Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to face off against Jefferson.

In launching their campaign, the Federalists focused on the Louisiana Purchase, charging that Jefferson had overstepped his constitutional authority. Most Americans, however, considered this technicality unimportant compared to the benefits of opening up the West. Also, Jefferson had eliminated internal taxes, encouraged westward migration, eliminated the hated Alien and Sedition Acts, and fostered hope in the hearts of many disaffected

Americans. He had also proved that he was no threat to national commerce. America's international earnings grew at the same pace during Jefferson's tenure in office as they had in the 1790s. This substantial record won Jefferson a resounding victory in 1804. He captured 162 electoral votes to Pinckney's 14, carrying every state except Connecticut and Delaware.

## **Westward Expansion and Social Stress**

By 1810, vast numbers of young adults had grabbed at Jefferson's frontier vision. The population of Ohio, for example, grew from 45,000 in 1800 to 231,000 in 1810. Similar spurts occurred in Tennessee and Kentucky. Although such rapid growth was a source of pride, it was also a source of anxiety to westerners trying to establish order in new communities.

Social instability was common in the West. The odd mixture of ethnic, religious, and national groups that made their way west did little to bring cohesiveness to community life. Most of the population consisted of young men. There were few women or older people to encourage stable behavior.

The expansion of the American West had an unsettling effect on communities in the East as well. During the eighteenth century, older people had maintained their authority by controlling the distribution of land to their children. Sons and daughters lived with and worked for their parents until their elders saw fit to deed property to them. As a result, children living in the East generally did not marry or operate their own farms and businesses until they were in their thirties. Economic opportunities on the frontier lessened young people's need to rely on their parents for support and lowered the age at which they began to break away from their parents.

During the early nineteenth century, the age at which children attained independence fell steadily. By the 1820s, children were marrying in their early to mid-twenties. Breathing the new air of independence, intrepid young people moved out of their parents' homes, migrating westward to find land and new opportunities.



## The Religious Response to Social Change

The changes taking place in the young republic stirred conflicting religious currents. One was rationalism in religious thought. The other was a new **evangelicalism**.

Jefferson, Franklin, Paine, and many others of the revolutionary generation had embraced the **deism** of the Enlightenment (see page 75). They viewed God as a vague "first cause" whose universe was a perfectly crafted machine that had been left to run itself according to rational laws. Religion had to be plain, reasonable, and verifiable to be acceptable to such rationalists. Jefferson, for example, edited his own version of the Bible, keeping only the moral principles and the solid historical facts and discarding anything that he regarded as supernatural. Thomas Paine rejected Christianity altogether, calling it the "strangest religion ever set up."

Rationalism also permeated some mainstream denominations during the Revolutionary era. Some New England Congregationalists began to question predestination and to emphasize instead the individual's role in salvation, especially the significance of reason in that pursuit. Like Jefferson, these rationalist reformers rejected much of the mystery in Christian faith, including the ideas of the Trinity and Christ's divinity. Unitarianism, as this form of Christian worship came to be called, grew by leaps and bounds during and after the Revolution.

Unitarianism held great appeal for the young generation in fast-growing port cities like Boston, New York, and Baltimore. In a nation where young people were carving out economic lives for themselves in the worlds of commerce and manufacturing, the notion that they were powerless to effect their own salvation seemed increasingly ridiculous.

While deism and Unitarianism were gaining footholds in eastern cities, a very different kind of religious response was taking shape in the West. There Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians emphasized the centrality of conversion in the life of a Christian. Conversion was that emotional moment during which one realizes that one is damned and can be saved only by the grace of God. Typically, conversions were brought about by spirited preaching. These denominations concentrated on

training a new, young ministry and sending it to preach in every corner of the nation. The Second Great Awakening, which began in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801, spread throughout the country.

Like the rationalist sects, the evangelicals stressed individuals' roles in their own salvation and de-emphasized predestination. However, the new awakeners breathed new life into the old Puritan notion of God's plan for the world and the role that Americans were to play in this plan. They also emphasized the importance of Christian community in areas where other forms of community were lacking.

Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches provided ideological underpinnings for the expansive behavior of westerners and a sense of mission to ease the insecurities produced by venturing into the unknown. They also provided some stability for communities in which traditional controls were lacking. These attractive features helped evangelicalism sweep across the West.

### The Problem of Race in

#### Jefferson's Republic

Jefferson's policies enabled many Americans to benefit from the nation's development, but they certainly did not help everyone. Neither Indians nor African Americans had much of a role in Jefferson's America.

A slaveholder, Jefferson doubted the capabilities of blacks. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), he asserted that blacks were "inferior to whites in the endowments both of body and mind." Although Phillis Wheatley had won acclaim for her

**rationalism** The theory that the exercise of reason, rather than the acceptance of authority or spiritual revelation, is the only valid basis for belief and the best source of spiritual truth.

**evangelicalism** Protestant movements that stress personal conversion and salvation by faith.

**deism** The belief that God created the universe in such a way that no divine intervention was necessary for its continued operation.

**Trinity** The Christian belief that God consists of three divine persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

poetry (see page 121), Jefferson dismissed her work as "below the dignity of criticism." He similarly refused to accept the accomplishments of the black mathematician, astronomer, and engineer Benjamin Banneker as proof that blacks were the intellectual equals of whites.

Throughout the Jeffersonian era, the great majority of blacks in America were slaves in the southern states. From the 1790s onward, the number of free blacks increased steadily. Emancipation did not bring equality, however, even in northern states that had mandated the gradual abolition of slavery (see page 121). Many states did not permit free blacks to testify in court, to vote, or to exercise other fundamental freedoms accorded to whites. Public schools often refused admission to African-American children. Even churches were often closed to blacks.

Free blacks began to respond to systematic exclusion by forming their own institutions. In Philadelphia, tension between white and free black Methodists led former slave Richard Allen to form the Bethel Church for Negro Methodists in 1793. Ongoing tension with the white Methodist hierarchy eventually led Allen to secede from the church and to form his own African Methodist Episcopal church (Bethel) in 1816. Similar controversies in New York led James Varick to found the African Methodist Episcopal church (Zion) in 1821.

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church grew rapidly. Besides providing places of worship and centers for cultural and social activities, AME churches joined with other African-American churches to provide schools and other services withheld by whites. Bishop Allen's organization launched the first black magazine in America and eventually founded its own college, Wilberforce University.

The place of Indians in Jeffersonian thought was somewhat paradoxical. Jefferson considered Indians to be savages but was not convinced that they were biologically inferior to Europeans. Jefferson attributed the differences between Indians and Europeans to the Indians' cultural retardation. He argued that harsh economic conditions and lack of a written language had kept the Indians in a condition of "barbarism." Jefferson was confident that whites could help lift Indians out of their uncivilized state.

Jefferson's Indian policy reflected this attitude. As president, he created government-owned trading posts at which Indians were offered goods at cheap prices. He believed that Indians who were exposed to white manufactures would recognize the superiority of white culture and adopt that culture. Until this process was complete, the Indians, like children, were to be protected from those who would take advantage of them. Also like children, the Indians were not to be given the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. What rights they had

were not to be protected by the Constitution but were to be subject to the whims of the Senate.

The chief problem for Jeffersonian Indian policy was not the Indians' supposed cultural retardation but their rapid progress and acculturation. This was particularly true of the Cherokees and Creeks. Alexander McGillivray of the Creeks, for example, deftly played American, French, and Spanish interests off against each other while building a strong economic base founded on both communal and privately owned plantations. In similar fashion, the Cherokee elite in 1794 established a centralized government that brought the Cherokees wealth and power.

The Indians' white neighbors generally did not think that this represented the right kind of progress. From their perspective, the Indians' destiny was to vanish along with the receding wilderness. Eyeing Cherokee lands, Georgia contended that Indians within its borders were no concern of the federal government. Jefferson insisted, however, that federal authority over Indian affairs was essential for maintaining peace and ensuring the Indians' future welfare.

Jefferson nonetheless feared that an all-out war between the states and the Indians might develop. He accordingly suggested that large reserves in the Louisiana Territory be created for Indians. This

**Benjamin Banneker** African-American mathematician and astronomer who published an almanac that calculated the movements of stars and planets.

**African Methodist Episcopal church** African-American branch of Methodism established in Philadelphia in 1816 and in New York in 1821.

would remove Indians from state jurisdictions and from the corrupting influence of the baser elements of white society. He made many efforts, largely unsuccessful, to convince the Indians to exchange traditional lands for new lands west of the Mississippi.

## **Troubling Currents in Jefferson's America**

Racial problems were not the only ones that beset Jefferson's party following its success in the 1804 election. Factions that would challenge Jefferson's control were forming. A small but vocal coalition of disgruntled Federalists threatened to **secede** from the Union. Even within his own party, voices were raised against Jefferson. Diplomatic problems also would trouble Jefferson's second administration.

### **Emerging Factions in**

#### **American Politics**

The Federalists' failure in the election of 1804 nearly spelled their demise. With the West and the South firmly in Jefferson's camp, New England Federalists found themselves powerless. Federalist leader Timothy Pickering was so disgruntled that he advocated the secession of the northeastern states from the Union. He formed a political coalition called the **Essex Junto** to carry out his scheme, which came to nothing at this time.

Rifts appeared in Jefferson's party as well. Throughout Jefferson's first administration, some southerners had criticized the president for expanding federal power and interfering with states' rights. One of Jefferson's most vocal critics was his cousin, congressman **John Randolph** of Roanoke. Randolph considered himself the last true Republican, and he opposed any legislation that violated his principles.

The tension between the two Virginia Republicans came to a head in 1804 over the **Yazoo affair**, a scandal stemming from Georgia's sale of most of present-day Alabama and Mississippi to political insiders in 1795. Outraged voters forced the Georgia legislature to overturn the *sale* the following

year, but lawsuits were still pending when Georgia ceded the area to the United States in 1802. Jefferson advocated federal compensation for those who had lost money because of the overturned sale. Randolph claimed that would violate Republican principles and plain morality, and he used his power in Congress to block Jefferson's efforts.

In 1806, Randolph broke with Jefferson completely. He regarded Jefferson's requesting Congress for a \$2 million gift to France for trying to influence Spain to part with its claims in Florida as nothing more than bribery. Randolph formed a third party, the **Tertium Quids**, fracturing Jefferson's united political front.

A second fissure in the Republican party opened over Vice President Aaron Burr. Burr's failure to renounce the presidency in the election of 1800 had deeply angered Jefferson. Jefferson snubbed Burr throughout his first term and then dropped Burr from the ticket in 1804. Burr then ran for governor of New York with the support of the Essex Junto, which was scheming to have New York join a northern confederacy. Alexander Hamilton was furious when he perceived Burr's intentions and loudly denounced Burr as "a dangerous man . . . who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government." Burr lost the election in a landslide.

Steaming with resentment, Burr blamed Hamilton for his defeat and challenged him to a duel. Although Hamilton hated dueling, he accepted

**secede** To withdraw formally from membership in an alliance or association.

**Essex Junto** Group of Federalists in Essex County, Massachusetts, who called for New England and New York to secede from the Union during Jefferson's second term.

**John Randolph** Virginia politician who was a cousin of Thomas Jefferson; he believed in limited government and opposed the acquisition of Florida.

**Yazoo affair** Notorious deal in which the Georgia legislature sold a huge tract of public land to speculators for a low price; the sale was overturned by a new legislature a year later.

**Tertium Quids** Republican faction formed by John Randolph in protest against Jefferson's plan for acquiring Florida from Spain.

Burr's challenge. The vice president wounded Hamilton mortally in July 1804. Burr was indicted for murder and fled. While in hiding, he hatched a plot with James Wilkinson, a Revolutionary War commander who had become something of a soldier of fortune. The nature of this plot remains obscure. Whatever they had in mind, rumors that Burr and Wilkinson intended to seize Louisiana soon surfaced. Federal authorities began investigating when they received a letter from Wilkinson in December 1806.

Double-crossing Burr and playing innocent, Wilkinson warned of a "deep, dark, wicked, and widespread conspiracy" against America. Burr, learning that Wilkinson had turned him in, tried to reach Spanish Florida but was captured early in 1807 and put on trial for treason. Chief Justice John Marshall instructed the jury that treason, according to the Constitution, consisted of "levying war against the United States or adhering to their enemies." Because Burr had not waged war and because neither Spain nor Britain was then an enemy of the United States, the jury acquitted the former vice president.

### **The Problem of American Neutrality**

Shortly after the conclusion of the Burr trial, new concerns about the possibility of war with Great Britain emerged. The impressment of American seamen and violations of American neutrality had led to deteriorating relations with Great Britain since 1803, when war resumed between Britain and France. Britain, strapped for mariners by renewed warfare and by thousands of desertions, pursued a vigorous policy of reclaiming British sailors, even if they were on neutral American ships and, more provocatively, even if they had become naturalized American citizens. The British abducted as many as eight thousand sailors from American ships between 1803 and 1812. The loss of so many seamen hurt American shippers, but it wounded American pride even more. Like the XYZ affair, impressment insulted national honor.

The escalating economic warfare between France and Britain quickly involved Americans. A pivotal event occurred in June 1807. A British frigate fired on the American warship *Chesapeake* inside American territorial waters when the latter

refused to hand over British sailors. The British broadsides crippled the American vessel, killing three men. The British then boarded the *Chesapeake* and dragged off four men, three of them naturalized American citizens. Americans were outraged.

Napoleon responded to more aggressive British enforcement by declaring economic war against neutrals. In the **Milan Decree**, he vowed to seize any neutral ship that even carried a license to trade with Britain. Ships that had been boarded by the British would be subject to immediate French capture.

Many Americans viewed the escalating French and British sanctions as extremely insulting. The *Washington Federalist* observed, "We have never, on any occasion, witnessed . . . such a thirst for revenge." If Congress had been in session, it probably would have called for war. But Jefferson stayed calm. War would bring his whole political program to a crashing halt. He had insisted on inexpensive government, lobbied for American neutrality, and hoped for renewed prosperity through continuing trade with Europe. War would destroy all those things. But doing nothing also would put the country in great peril.

Believing that Europeans were far more dependent on American goods than Americans were on European manufactures, Jefferson issued an **embargo**—an absolute ban—on all American trade with Europe in December 1807. It went into effect at the beginning of 1808.

### **Crises in the Nation**

While impressment, blockade, and embargo plagued America's Atlantic frontier, a combination of European and Indian hostility along the western

**broadside** The simultaneous discharge of all the guns on one side of a warship.

**Milan Decree** Napoleon's order authorizing the capture of any neutral vessels sailing from British ports or submitting to British searches.

**embargo** A government order that bans trade with another nation or group of nations.

frontier added to the air of national emergency. The resulting series of domestic crises played havoc with Jefferson's vision of a peaceful, prosperous nation.

### **The Depression of 1808**

Jefferson's embargo resulted in the worst economic depression since the founding of the American colonies. Trade slumped disastrously. American exports fell from \$109 million to \$22 million, and net earnings from shipping plummeted by almost 50 percent. During 1808, earnings from legitimate business enterprise in America declined to less than a quarter of their value in 1807.

The depression shattered economic and social life in many eastern towns. Some thirty thousand sailors were thrown out of work. In New York City alone, 120 businesses went bankrupt, and 1,200 New Yorkers were imprisoned for debt in 1808. New England, where the economy had become almost entirely dependent on foreign trade, was hit harder still. The Federalists enjoyed a comeback, not in spite of but because of their rhetoric calling for disobedience of federal law and the possibility of secession.

New Englanders screamed loudest about the embargo, but southerners and westerners were just as seriously hurt by it. The economy of the South had depended on the export of staple crops like tobacco since colonial times. The embargo meant near death to all legitimate trade. The loss of foreign markets caused tobacco prices to fall from \$6.75 per hundredweight to \$3.25, and cotton from 21 to 13 cents per pound. In the West, wholesale prices for agricultural products also spiraled downward.

Although trading interests in New England suffered during the depression, a new avenue of economic expansion opened there as a result of the embargo. Cut off from European manufactured goods, Americans started to make more textiles and other items for themselves. The expansion in cotton spinning is a case in point. Prior to 1808, only fifteen cotton mills had been built in the United States. Between the passage of the embargo and the end of 1809, eighty-seven mills sprang up, mostly in New England.

### **The Prophet and Tecumseh**

The crisis along the Atlantic frontier was echoed by a problem along the nation's western frontier. Relations with Indians in the West had been peaceful since the Battle of Fallen Timbers in Ohio in 1794, but only because the Indians had been crushed into submission. The Shawnees and other groups had been thrown off their traditional homelands in Ohio by the Treaty of Greenville and forced to move to new lands in Indiana. Food shortages, disease, and continuing encroachment by settlers caused many young Indians to lose faith in their traditional beliefs and in themselves as human beings. A growing number turned to alcohol to escape feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. Traditional leaders seemed unable to halt the growing tide of white expansion.

In the midst of the crisis, one disheartened, diseased alcoholic rose above his sickness to lead the Indians into a brief new era of hope. A young Shawnee named Lalawathika claimed that he remembered dying and meeting the Master of Life, who showed him the way to lead his people out of degradation. He then returned to the world of the living and awoke, cured of his illness. He immediately adopted the name Tenskwatawa ("The Way") and launched a revival in 1805 to teach the ways revealed to him by the Master of Life. Whites called him "the Prophet."

**The Prophet** preached a message of ethnic pride, nonviolence, and passive resistance. Blaming the decline of his people on their adoption of white ways, the Prophet taught them to discard whites' clothing, religion, and especially alcohol and to live as their ancestors had. Whites, he said, were dangerous witches, and Indians must avoid them. He also urged his followers to unify against the white exploiters and to hold on to what remained of their lands. If they followed his teachings, the Indians would regain control of their lives

**The Prophet** Shawnee religious visionary who called for a return to Indian traditions and founded the community of Prophetstown on Tippecanoe Creek in Indiana.

and their lands, and the whites would vanish from their world.

In 1807, the Prophet established a new community, Prophetstown, on the banks of Tippecanoe Creek in Indiana. This community was to serve as a model for revitalized Indian life. Liquor, guns, and other white goods were banned from the settlement. The residents of Prophetstown worked together, using traditional forms of agriculture, hunting, and gathering.

The Prophet's message of passive resistance underwent a significant change in the face of continuing white opposition. He began to advocate more forceful solutions to the Indians' problems. In April 1807, the Prophet suggested that warriors unite to resist white expansion. Although he did not urge his followers to attack whites, he claimed that the Master of Life would protect his followers in the event of war.

Whereas the Prophet continued to stress spiritual means for stopping white aggression, his older brother **Tecumseh** advocated a political course of action. A brave fighter and a persuasive political orator, Tecumseh traveled the western frontier working out alliances with other Indian tribes. Although he did not want to start a war against white settlers, Tecumseh exhorted Indians to defend every inch of their remaining land.

Tecumseh's success in organizing Indian groups caused confusion among whites. British authorities in Canada were convinced that the Prophet and Tecumseh were French agents trying to divert British attention from the war in Europe. Americans were equally convinced that the brothers were British agents. Both the British and the Americans were wrong. Like many other gifted Indian leaders, Tecumseh played whites off against each other to gain what he wanted for his people. He did go to Canada in 1807 and secured promises of British support, but he did not become a British agent. Rather, Tecumseh wanted the Americans to believe that he had a powerful ally.

Identifying Tecumseh as a British spy, however, served the purposes of some Americans. Indiana Governor William Henry Harrison, for example, had built a military career and then a political career as an advocate of westward expansion. Harrison, who had first made his reputation at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, believed nothing should stand

in the way of American control of all of North America.

War with Britain and its supposed Indian allies was an attractive option to American expansionists for at least three reasons. First, a war could justify Americans' invading and seizing Canada. Taking Canada from the British would open up rich timber, fur, and agricultural lands for Americans. More important, it would secure American control of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, the primary shipping route for agricultural produce from upper New York, northern Ohio, and the newly opening areas of the Old Northwest.

Second, many believed that the British in Canada stirred up Indian conflict on America's frontiers. A war could remove this source of trouble and remove obstacles to American expansion. It would further provide an excuse to attack the Shawnees and break up their emerging confederacy.

Finally, frontiersmen, like other Americans, blamed Britain for the economic depression that began in 1808. They believed that eliminating British interference would restore a boom economy for western farmers. Thus westerners banded together to raise their voices in favor of American patriotism and war against Britain.

### Choosing War

In 1808, Jefferson followed Washington's lead and left the presidency after two terms. When he stepped down from the presidency, he pegged fellow Virginian James Madison as his successor. Madison easily defeated his Federalist opponent, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. But the one-sided election disguised deep political divisions in the nation. Federalist criticism of Jefferson's embargo found a growing audience as the depression deepened, and the Republicans lost twenty-four congressional seats to the Federalists.

Internal dissent also weakened the Republican party. In 1810, sixty-three mainstream Republicans lost their congressional seats to dissident

Tecumseh Shawnee leader and brother of the Prophet; he tried to establish an Indian confederacy along the frontier as a barrier to white expansion.

Republicans who did not agree with Madison's conciliatory policy toward the British. The newcomers' increasingly strident demands for aggressive action against Britain earned them the nickname **War Hawks**.

**Henry Clay** and **John C. Calhoun** quickly assumed the leadership of this group of young southerners and westerners. Clay was the dominant voice among the younger representatives. Born in Virginia in 1777, Clay at the age of 20 had moved to Kentucky to practice law and carve out a career in politics. He became Speaker of the Kentucky state assembly when he was only 30 years old and won a seat in the House of Representatives four years later.

A year younger than Clay, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was a dedicated nationalist who wanted to break Britain's stranglehold on the American agricultural economy. Together, he and Clay called for aggressive action against British provocations. Events soon played into their hands.

In 1809, Congress revoked the Embargo Act and replaced it with the **Non-Intercourse Act**, which forbade trade only with Britain and France. Even though this act was much less restrictive than the embargo, American merchants were relieved when it expired in 1810. Congress then passed an even more liberal boycott, **Macon's Bill No. 2**. Under this new law, merchants could trade even with the combatants if they wanted to take the risk. Also, if either France or Britain lifted its blockade, the United States would stop trading with the other.

Napoleon responded to Macon's Bill in August by promising to suspend French restrictions on American shipping. Although the French emperor had no intention of living up to his promise, Madison sought to use it as a lever against Great Britain. Madison instructed the American mission in London to tell the British that France's action would force the president to close down trade with Britain unless Britain ended its trade restrictions. Sure that Napoleon was lying, the British refused. In February 1811, the provisions of Macon's Bill forced Madison to end trading with Britain.

Events in the West added the final element to the unfolding diplomatic crisis. In August 1810, Tecumseh and a delegation of Indians had told **William Henry Harrison** that they regarded the Fort Wayne Treaty, signed a year earlier, as fraudu-

lent. Tecumseh claimed that the three tribes that had sold millions of acres in Indiana and Illinois to the government had no right to sell this land. Harrison insisted that the Fort Wayne Treaty was legitimate. Tecumseh countered that "bad consequences" would follow if whites attempted to settle on the disputed lands. The meeting resulted in a stalemate.

The meeting with Harrison convinced the Indians that they must prepare for a white attack. The Prophet increasingly preached that the Master of Life would support the faithful in battle against the whites. Tecumseh traveled the frontier to enlist additional allies for his confederacy.

Convinced that war was imminent, Harrison determined to attack the Indians before they could unite. He got his chance in the fall of 1811 when Potawatomis raided a village in Illinois. Harrison assembled over a thousand soldiers and militiamen to march on Prophetstown, even though the Indians there had had nothing to do with the raid.

The Prophet ignored Tecumseh's advice to avoid confrontation and unleashed the Indians on Harrison's army. Prepared for the assault, the white soldiers routed the attackers and made a mockery of the Prophet's assurance that the Mas-

**War Hawks** Members of Congress from the West and South who campaigned for war with Britain in the hopes of stimulating the economy and annexing new territory.

**Henry Clay** Congressman from Kentucky who was a leader of the War Hawks; he helped negotiate the treaty ending the War of 1812.

**John C. Calhoun** Congressman from South Carolina who was a leader of the War Hawks; he later became an advocate of states' rights.

**Non-Intercourse Act** Law passed by Congress in 1809 reopening trade with all nations except France and Britain and authorizing the president to reopen trade with them if they lifted restrictions on American shipping.

**Macon's Bill No. 2** Law passed by Congress in 1810 that offered exclusive trading rights to France or Britain, whichever recognized American neutral rights first.

**William Henry Harrison** Indiana governor who led U.S. forces at the Battle of Tippecanoe; he later became the ninth president of the United States.

ter of Life would make the Indians victorious. Disheartened, most of the warriors from Prophets-town deserted the settlement, which enraged frontiersmen then burned.

Tecumseh was away trying to win southwestern Indians over to his cause when Harrison's men burned Prophetstown. When he learned that hope for a peaceful settlement had vanished, he gathered an army of Indian allies to defend Indian territory. Harrison immediately called on the federal government for military support against what he portrayed as a unified Indian and British declaration of war. He had no doubt that the British stood behind Tecumseh.

The **Battle of Tippecanoe** provided the War Hawks with the excuse they had been looking for. John C. Calhoun declared that Great Britain had left Americans with the choice between "the base surrender of their rights, and a manly vindication of them." Calhoun was out to vindicate American rights, and he introduced a war bill in Congress in 1812. His bill declaring war on Great Britain passed by a vote of 79 to 49 in the House and 19 to 13 in the Senate. Representatives from heavily Federalist regions that depended the most on overseas trade—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York—voted against war. Republican western and southern representatives voted in favor.

## The Nation at War

Although the prospect of war had been likely for some time, the United States was woefully unprepared when the breach with Great Britain finally came. With virtually no army or navy, the United States was taking a terrible risk in confronting the world's most formidable military power. Not surprisingly, defeat and humiliation were the early fruits of the War of 1812.

### The Fighting Begins

In line with War Hawk ambitions, the first military campaign was a three-pronged drive toward Canada (see Map 8.2). Harrison's force was successful in raiding undefended Indian villages but

was unable to make any gains against British troops. Farther east, Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer's force was defeated by a small British and Indian army. Meanwhile, Henry Dearborn's troops lunged at Montreal but withdrew into U.S. territory after an inconclusive battle.

American sailors fared much better. Leading the war effort at sea were the *Constitution* (popularly known as **Old Ironsides**), the *President*, and the *United States*. In mid-August, the *Constitution* outmaneuvered a British frigate and sank it. The *United States* enjoyed a similar victory.

The biggest threat to British seafaring, however, came from armed American privateers. During the first six months of the war, privateers captured 450 British merchant ships valued in the millions. American naval victories were all that kept the nation's morale alive in 1812. One observer commented, "But for the gallantry of our noble Tar's [sailors], we should be covered with shame and disgrace." Vowing to reverse the situation, Congress increased the size of the army to fifty-seven thousand men and offered a \$16 bonus to encourage enlistments.

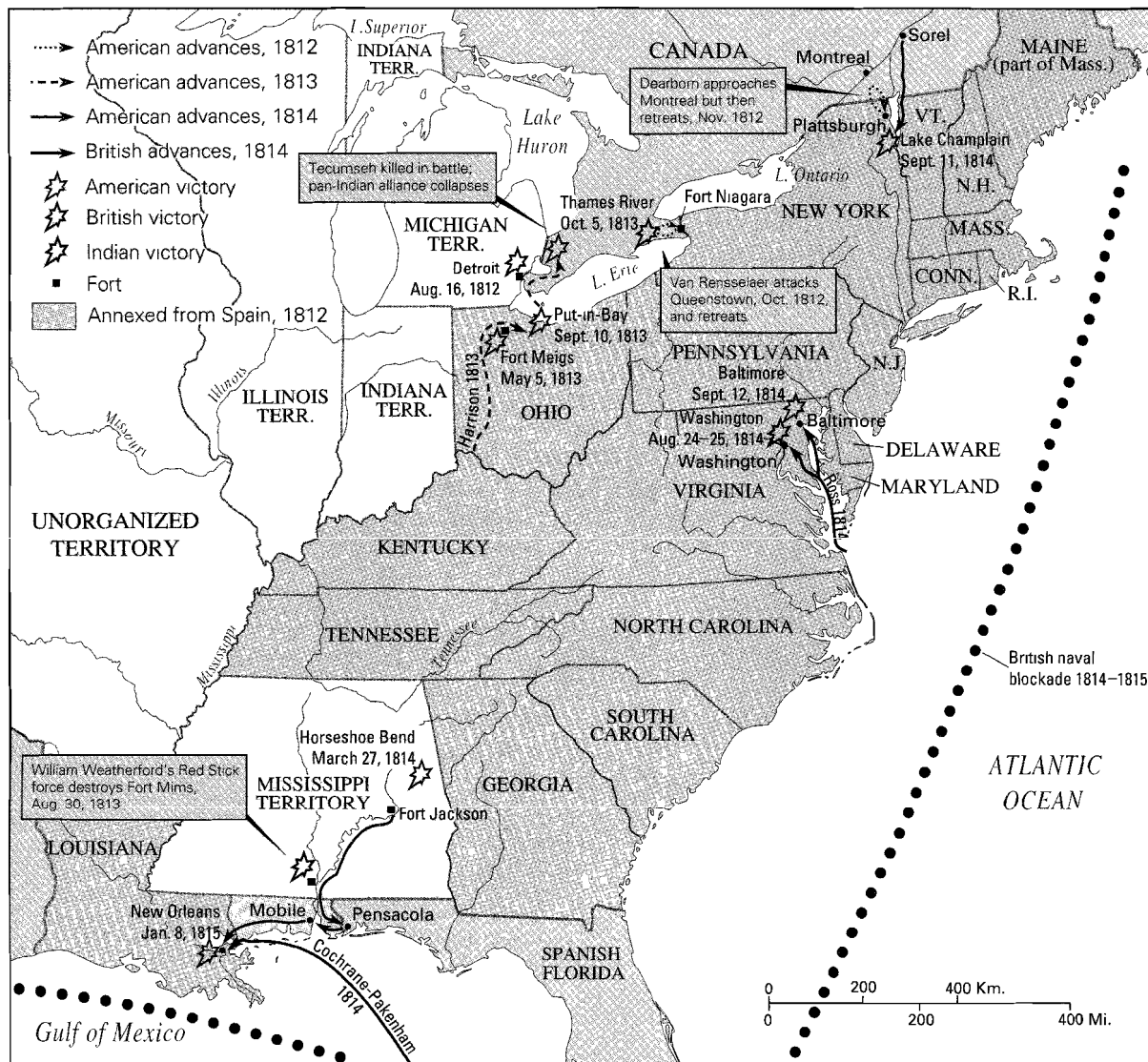
Madison thus stood for re-election at a time when the nation's military fate appeared uncertain and his own leadership seemed shaky. Although the majority of his party's congressional caucus supported him for re-election, nearly a third of the Republican congressmen—mostly those from New York and New England—rallied around New Yorker DeWitt Clinton. Clinton was a Republican who favored Federalist economic policies and agreed that the war was unnecessary. Most Federalists supported Clinton and did not field a candidate of their own.

**Battle of Tippecanoe** Battle near Prophetstown in Indiana Territory in 1811; American forces led by William Henry Harrison defeated Shawnee followers of the Prophet.

**Old Ironsides** Nickname of the *Constitution*, the forty-four-gun American frigate whose victory over the *Guerrière* bolstered sagging morale in the War of 1812.

**frigate** A very fast warship rigged with square sails and usually carrying thirty guns on its gun deck.





◆ **MAP 8.2 The War of 1812** The heaviest action during the first two years of the War of 1812 lay along the U.S./Canadian border. In 1814, the British sought to knock the United States out of the war by staging three offensives: one along the northern frontier at Plattsburgh, New York; one into the Chesapeake; and a third directed at the Mississippi River in New Orleans. All three offensives failed.

The outcome of the election was nearly the same as that of the congressional vote on the war bill earlier in 1812. New York and New England rallied behind Clinton; the South and West supported Madison, the Republicans, and war. Madison won, but his share of electoral votes fell from 72 percent in 1808 to 59 percent in 1812. The Republicans also lost strength in the House and the Senate.

### The War's Fruitless Second Year

In the spring of 1813, American forces challenged British control of the Great Lakes and the uninterrupted supply line those lakes afforded. On Lake Ontario, the Americans met with frustration; on Lake Erie, they met with success. **Oliver Hazard Perry** met the British at the Battle of Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie in September 1813. After two hours of cannon fire, Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*, had been nearly destroyed. Still, Perry refused to surrender. He slipped off his damaged vessel and took command of a nearby ship. What remained of his command then cut the enemy to pieces and captured six British vessels. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," Perry reported to William Henry Harrison.

Harrison's land campaign was not going nearly so well. In the spring of 1813, Tecumseh and the British general Henry Procter had surrounded Harrison's camp on the Maumee Rapids in Ohio. Finally, on May 5, Kentucky militiamen arrived to drive the enemy off. However, they lost nearly half of their number in pursuing the British and Indian force.

After harassing American forces throughout the summer of 1813, Procter and Tecumseh withdrew to Canada in the fall. Harrison pursued them. His army surprised the British and Indian forces at the Thames River, about 50 miles east of Detroit, on October 5. The British surrendered quickly, but the Indians abandoned the fight only after Tecumseh was killed. His body was torn apart by the victorious Americans following the Battle of the Thames.

Another war front opened up during 1813. Although the Creek Confederacy as a whole remained neutral, the Red Stick faction had allied with Tecumseh in 1812. When war broke out, the Red Sticks raided settlements in what are now Alabama and Mississippi. Alexander McGillivray's

heir, William Weatherford, led a Red Stick army against Fort Mims, 40 miles north of Mobile (see Individual Choices: William Weatherford). The attackers overran the fort, killing all but about thirty of the more than three hundred people there.

The Fort Mims massacre enraged whites in the Southeast. In Tennessee, twenty-five hundred militiamen enlisted under the command of **Andrew Jackson**. Nicknamed "Old Hickory" because of his toughness, Jackson promised that "the blood of our women & children shall not call for vengeance in vain." Along with other volunteers from Tennessee and Georgia, Jackson's troops hounded the Red Sticks throughout the summer and fall.

Meanwhile, the British shut down American forces at sea. Embarrassed by the success of *Old Ironsides* and other American frigates, the British sent sufficient ships to bottle up the American fleet and **merchant marine** in port. British control over the Atlantic was so complete that they decided to bring the war home to Americans living near the shore. Admiral Sir George Cockburn raided the countryside around Chesapeake Bay during the spring of 1813. In Maryland, Cockburn burned an American fleet in Frenchtown and then burned Georgetown, Fredericktown, and Havre de Grace. The Americans seemed powerless against these raids.

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## The War's Strange Conclusion

The War of 1812 assumed a new character when Britain and its European allies defeated Napoleon's army in the fall of 1813. By the end of March 1814, they had forced Napoleon's abdication and

**Oliver Hazard Perry** American naval officer who led the fleet that defeated the British in the Battle of Put-in-Bay during the War of 1812.

**flagship** The ship that carries the fleet commander and bears the commander's flag.

**Andrew Jackson** General in the War of 1812 who defeated the British at New Orleans in 1815; he later became the seventh president of the United States.

**merchant marine** A nation's commercial ships.

## Choice in Civil War



### William Weatherford

*Tecumseh's effort to unite all Indians into a single political military alliance split the Creek Confederacy into two warring factions. At first, William Weatherford tried to mediate between the two, but he encountered serious constraints and finally chose to lead the Red Stick faction into war against the United States.*

Tennessee State  
Library & Archives.

William Weatherford had the potential to be the most powerful man in the Creek Nation. Like his maternal uncle Alexander McGillivray, Weatherford was part white and part Indian. But among the Creeks, family roots were traced back only through the mother's line, making him fully Creek in the tribe's eyes. The Creek tradition also marked him to inherit McGillivray's position as the dominant chief in the confederacy. But by 1800, historical pressures on the Creeks had eroded traditional ways of doing things, and Weatherford's position was far from secure. In 1812, he found himself facing a difficult choice: he had to choose sides in a Creek Nation split in two by civil war.

The Creek Nation was a confederacy consisting of a variety of Indian groups that spoke a variety of languages, had different customs, and practiced quite different economies. Over time, these groups had aligned themselves into two large organizations: the Lower Towns—villages in the low-lying southern portion of the Creek territory in modern-day Georgia and Alabama—and the Upper Towns—villages in the more mountainous and heavily wooded northern part of the region. Geographical and cultural diversity was part of what held the Creek confederacy together: the many different resources controlled by different Creek member villages led them to depend on each other.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the mutually dependent economy that had kept the Creek towns aligned had given way to greater dependence on the Europeans. In the Upper Towns, where Weatherford was born, the fur trade distracted hunters from providing meat and other necessities for the confederacy. In the Lower Towns, the lure of growing cotton and tobacco for sale to the whites distracted the

people from providing corn. In many villages, essential commodities now had to be purchased outside the confederacy.

The economic separation between the two areas became a source of major conflict after 1808, when President Jefferson's embargo triggered a depression. Suddenly, Creeks in the Upper Towns had no market for their furs. Blaming whites for their dependence on the fur trade, and the fur trade for their dire economic situation, many in the Upper Towns found the Prophet's message of turning away from white ways appealing. More appealing still was Tecumseh's suggestion of empowerment through joint action. Not surprisingly, when Tecumseh visited the Creeks in 1811, he was well received in the Upper Towns. Many chose to follow his red war stick.

It appears that Weatherford was leery of Tecumseh, but the response of the Lower Towns to Tecumseh's visit forced Weatherford's hand. Allied by common economic interests with southern white planters, Creeks in the Lower Towns feared that an alliance between Creeks in the Upper Towns and the Shawnees might ruin their economy further and, more important, close off avenues of improvement through political cooperation with their white neighbors. The Lower Towns began putting enormous pressure on the Upper Towns to turn away from Tecumseh's message. Weatherford and other responsible leaders tried to keep the peace, but when war broke out between the Americans and the British in 1812, that became hard to do. In February 1813, rogue bands of Red Sticks went on forays against settlements, aiming to punish whites for attacks or rumored attacks on Indians.

Bent on preventing war with the Americans, the Creeks in the Lower Towns sent an armed party against the Upper Towns to put an end to Red Stick violence, but the situation only worsened. Determined to defend themselves, the Upper Towns sent a party under Red Stick leader Peter McQueen to the Spanish post at Pensacola to buy guns and ammunition.

Though not yet committed to the Red Stick position, Weatherford accompanied this party, possibly hoping to prevent further violence. A combined force of white militiamen and Creeks from the Lower Towns stumbled on them at midday on July 27, attacking them while they ate lunch. Most of McQueen's party was able to escape, but the bodies of the twenty men who were killed in the surprise attack were brutally mutilated. For Weatherford, that was the last straw. An honorable peace no longer seemed possible, so he chose war.

A little over a month later, Weatherford led about seven hundred Red Sticks on a raid against Fort Mims, a post jointly occupied by Creeks from the Lower Towns and white militiamen with their families. Weatherford and his force launched their assault as the lunch bell rang at noon on August 30. Within minutes, they swept into the surprised post, and a general melee began. When the fighting stopped, between three hundred and five hundred people lay dead, and the fort was in flames. Major Joseph P. Kennedy, who arrived at the fort ten days after the battle, reported, "Indians, negroes, white men, women, and children lay in one promiscuous ruin."

Although he preferred peace and was no convert to the teachings of Tecumseh, Weatherford had seen his choices narrow as differing interests among the Creeks pulled the confederacy apart. His decision to join Tecumseh irreversibly altered the Creek Nation's future. After the massacre at Fort Mims, there was no going back: the destiny of the Creeks would depend on Tecumseh's plan and British military success.

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imprisoned him. Napoleon's defeat left the United States as Great Britain's sole military target. Republican Joseph Nicholson expressed a common lament when he said, "We should have to fight hereafter not for 'free Trade and sailors rights,' not for the Conquest of the Canadas, but for our national Existence."

### **The Politics of Waging War**

American choices in the war were complicated by the British offer in December 1813 to open peace negotiations. President Madison responded by forming an American peace commission. The British peace overture made the unruly Congress even more difficult to deal with. Federalist William Gaston of North Carolina proclaimed it "inexpedient to prosecute military operations against the Canadas" while negotiations were pending. Fellow Federalists joined him in supporting bills to limit American military operations to "the defence of the territories and frontiers of the United States." Madison's supporters objected. John C. Calhoun proclaimed that the entire war was "defensive."

While this debate was going on, Madison turned his attention to diplomacy. He proposed another embargo to hasten negotiations with the British. Madison had two objectives in mind: (1) to stop the flow of American flour and other supplies to British military commissaries in Canada and (2) to stop the drain of American currency from the country. He asked and obtained Congress's approval to prohibit American ships and goods from leaving port and to ban British imports.

The Embargo of 1813 was the most far-reaching trade restriction bill ever passed by the American Congress. It had a devastating economic impact. The embargo virtually shut down the economies of New England and New York and crippled the economy of nearly every other state.

### **A Stumbling British Offensive**

As combat-hardened British veterans began arriving in North America after Napoleon's fall, the survival of the United States was in jeopardy (see Map 8.2). By September 1814, the British had thirty thousand troops in Canada. From this posi-

tion of strength, they prepared three offensives to bring the war to a quick end.

The main thrust of the British offensive in the North was against eastern New York. Sir George Prevost, governor-general of Canada, massed ten thousand troops for an attack against Plattsburgh, New York. Prevost's plans were upset when a small American fleet shredded British naval forces on Lake Champlain on September 11. Prevost broke off his attack when he learned about the fate of the British lake fleet and ordered a retreat. The New Yorkers gave chase and turned the retreat into a rout. Prevost's failure in the Battle of Plattsburgh marked the end of the major fighting on the Canadian frontier.

The British opened a second front farther south in August 1814. It began when twenty British warships and several troop transports sailed up Chesapeake Bay. British General Robert Ross landed a force outside Washington, D.C., on August 24. Some seven thousand Maryland militiamen held off the experienced British regulars for several hours, but when they ran out of ammunition, the British broke their defensive line and seized the capital.

The defenders did stop the British long enough to allow most of the civilians in the capital, including the president, to escape. Dolley Madison, the president's wife, managed to save a number of treasures from the presidential mansion, as well as important cabinet documents. Department clerks succeeded in moving most of the government's vital papers. Even so, much of value was lost. The British looted many buildings, including the White House, and then torched most of the structures, including the Capitol, which housed the Library of Congress. The British finally abandoned the ruins of Washington on August 25, marching toward Baltimore.

At Baltimore, the British navy had to knock out Fort McHenry and control the harbor before they could take the city. On September 12, British ships armed with heavy **mortars** and rockets attacked

Embargo of 1813 An absolute embargo on all American trade and British imports.  
mortar A portable, muzzle-loading cannon.

the fort. During a twenty-five-hour bombardment, the British fired more than fifteen hundred rounds at the American post. Despite the pounding, the American flag continued to wave over Fort McHenry. The sight moved a young volunteer named **Francis Scott Key**, who had watched the shelling as a prisoner aboard a British ship, to record the event in a verse that later became the national anthem of the United States.

## The Gulf Coast Campaign

On the third front, the British pressed an offensive against the Gulf coast designed to take the pressure off Canada and to close the Mississippi River. The campaign began in May 1814 when the British occupied the Spanish port city of Pensacola, Florida. From there the British began working their way toward New Orleans and the Mississippi.

The defense of the Gulf coast fell to Andrew Jackson and his Tennessee volunteers. Having spent the winter raising troops and collecting supplies, Jackson was determined to punish the Red Sticks. At the **Battle of Horseshoe Bend** on the Tallapoosa River in Alabama, Jackson's forces killed nearly eight hundred Red Sticks, destroying the Creeks' power.

Jackson then moved on the British depot at Pensacola. Although ordered to stay out of Florida to avoid war with Spain, he ignored the order. He attacked Pensacola on November 7, 1814. The Spanish did nothing, and the overmatched British withdrew.

Jackson immediately left Pensacola and raced his army to New Orleans, where the main British force was closing in. When he arrived on December 1, he found the city ill prepared to defend itself. The local militia, consisting mostly of French and Spanish residents, would not obey American officers. Local banks and businesses refused to support government efforts, fearing a collapse in the nation's economy.

A man of forceful action, Jackson permitted no opposition or apathy. "Those who are not for us are against us, and will be dealt with accordingly," he proclaimed. Through the example of his own energy and enthusiasm he transformed the community. "General Jackson electrified all hearts," one observer said. Soon volunteers flooded to the

general's assistance. Free blacks in the city formed a regular army corps, and Jackson created a special unit of black refugees from Santo Domingo. Proper white citizens protested when Jackson armed runaway slaves and when he accepted a company of Baratarian pirates under the command of **Jean Laffite**, but Jackson ignored them. The pirate commander became Jackson's constant companion during the campaign.

Having pulled his ragtag force together, Jackson settled in to wait for the British attack. On January 7, 1815, it came. Jackson's men waited until the British were only five hundred yards away before they fired their cannon. When the British got to within three hundred yards, riflemen opened fire. And when the British were within one hundred yards, the men armed with muskets began to shoot. One British veteran said that it was "the most murderous fire I have ever beheld before or since." General Edward Pakenham tried to keep his men from running but was cut in half by a cannon ball. General John Lambert, who took over command, raised a white flag immediately.

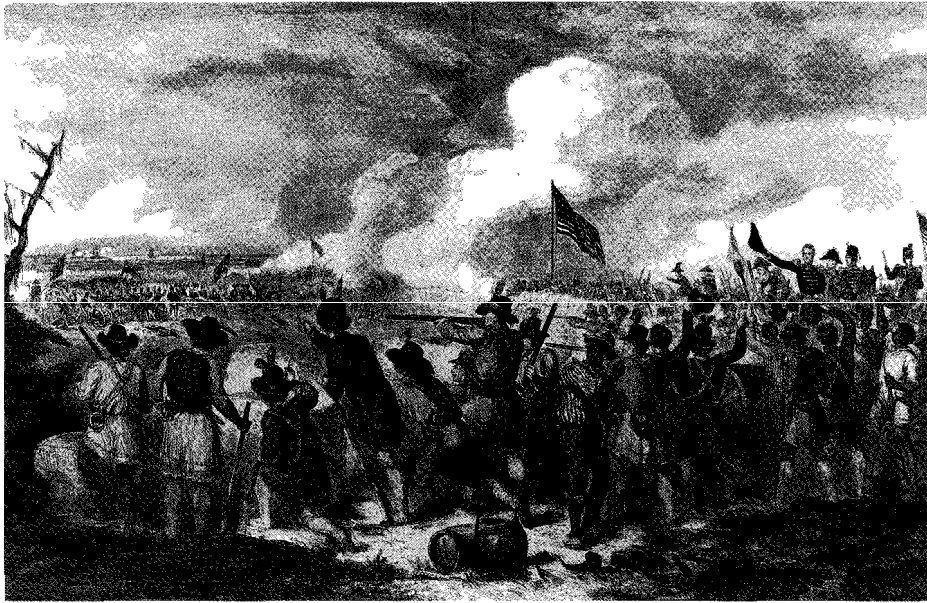
The **Battle of New Orleans** was by far the most successful battle fought by Americans during the War of 1812. The British lost over two thousand men, the Americans only seventy. Ironically, the war was already officially over before the battle began.

**Francis Scott Key** Author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which chronicles the British bombardment of Fort McHenry at Baltimore in the War of 1812; it became the official U.S. national anthem in 1916.

**Battle of Horseshoe Bend** Battle in 1814 between Tennessee militia and Creek Indians in Alabama; the American victory marked the end of Indian power in the South.

**Jean Laffite** Leader of a band of pirates off Barataria Bay in southeast Louisiana; he offered to fight for the Americans at New Orleans in return for the pardon of his men.

**Battle of New Orleans** Battle in the War of 1812 in which American troops commanded by Andrew Jackson repulsed the British attempt to seize New Orleans.



- ◆ The nearly miraculous American victory in the Battle of New Orleans—fought two weeks after the Americans and British had signed a peace treaty—helped launch a new era in American nationalism. As this illustration from a popular magazine shows, it also made Andrew Jackson, shown waving his hat to encourage his troops, a national hero of greater than human proportions. *Library of Congress.*

## The Treaty of Ghent

While the British were closing in on Washington in August 1814, treaty negotiations were beginning in Ghent, Belgium. Confident of victory, the British refused to enter meaningful negotiations. They declined to discuss impressment and insisted that the security of Canada be ensured by the formation of an Indian buffer state between Canada and the United States.

The Americans, however, were anxious for a peaceful settlement. Madison ordered the delegation to drop impressment as an issue. He justified this decision by saying that the end of the war in Europe had so greatly reduced Britain's need for sailors that impressment was no longer an important issue. Far more important was the British plan for an Indian buffer state.

When Prevost lost the Battle of Plattsburgh and the Lake Champlain fleet, however, the British demand for an Indian buffer zone suddenly became negotiable. The sticking point then became what territories each country would retain when the war ended. The British proposed that each nation keep whatever land it held when the hostilities stopped. The Americans rejected this because it would require giving up much of Maine, some

territory around the Great Lakes, and perhaps even New Orleans and the nation's capital.

At that point, domestic politics in Britain intervened. After two decades at arms, the British people were weary of war and wartime taxes. The failure at Plattsburgh made it appear that the war would drag on endlessly. Moreover, the American war interfered with Britain's European diplomacy. Still trying to arrive at a peace settlement for Europe at the Congress of Vienna, a British official commented, "We do not think the Continental Powers will continue in good humour with our Blockade of the whole Coast of America." Like the proposed Indian buffer state, British territorial demands fell before practical considerations.



- ◆ Following the War of 1812 and the death of Tecumseh, aggressive American expansionists put great pressure on Indians living on the east side of the Mississippi River to move farther west. Artist James Otto Lewis was present at the 1825 Prairie du Chien treaty meetings, where various Sauk and Fox, Menominee, Iowa, Winnebago, Ojibwa, and Sioux bands gave up much of their land. He was present the following year at similar talks at Fond du Lac, where he painted these three Chippewa (Ojibwa) women. *"Chippeway Squaws at the Treaty of Fond du Lac"* by James Otto Lewis, 1826. Chicago Historical Society.

In the end, the **Treaty of Ghent**, completed on December 24, 1814, restored diplomatic relations between Britain and the United States to what they had been before the war. The treaty said nothing about impressment, blockades, or neutral trading rights. It left Canada in British hands. Although the Americans had not fulfilled any of the initial goals for which the war was fought, they still considered it a victory. They had secured national survival against the world's most formidable military power and could point to the Battle of New Orleans with justifiable pride.

The War of 1812 also proved to be a pivotal experience in American history. First, the conflict entirely discredited Jefferson's plan for an agricultural nation that would exchange raw materials for European manufactures. Americans now meant to steer clear of entanglement in European affairs and tried to become more self-sufficient. Pioneering developments in American manufacturing during the embargo of 1808 helped make this course possible. The pace of industrialization quickened considerably during the war. In the years to come, factories in New England and elsewhere would supply more and more of America's consumer goods. Industrial areas in turn offered an enlarging market for the

nation's harvests. In an economic sense, the War of 1812 truly was a second war for independence.

Second, relations between the United States and the Indian nations changed profoundly. When Harrison's soldiers burned Prophetstown and later killed Tecumseh, they wiped out all hopes for a pan-Indian confederacy. Jackson's victories against the Red Sticks destroyed the power of the Creeks and the other southern tribes. As a result, no serious Indian resistance occurred for decades. During that time, white settlers occupied most of the eastern half of the continent.

Third, the failure to take Canada and its water routes convinced Americans that they had to improve inland transportation. British control of the Great Lakes had demonstrated how poor American transportation was. The lack of roads and the resulting shortage of men and equipment in the interior had ruled out any significant American vic-

- k **Treaty of Ghent** Treaty ending the War of 1812, signed in Belgium in 1814; it restored peace but was silent on the issues over which the United States and Britain had clashed.



tories on the Canadian front. In the following decades, Americans built canals, national roads, and other transportation links to tie the expanding West to the rest of the nation.

Finally, the war's conclusion helped bring an end to political factionalism. As the war dragged on, the Essex Junto grew in strength. From mid-December 1814 until January 5, 1815, New England Federalists met in Hartford, Connecticut. At the Hartford Convention, party members finally went public with their threat to secede. If Madison did not repeal the Embargo of 1813 and submit constitutional amendments that protected New England's minority rights, New England was ready to leave the Union. News of the Treaty of Ghent and the Battle of New Orleans, however, made the Federalists appear to be traitors. Madison and the Republicans were able to drive their political opponents into retreat. The Federalists managed to hold on in hard-core areas of New England until the 1820s, but the party as a whole was on a steepening decline. They vanished altogether in 1825.

Thus, after 1815, a new surge of hopefulness and national pride engulfed Americans. The United States had fought the greatest military power in the world to a standstill and in the process had launched new ventures in manufacturing, swept away Indian resistance, and restored political unity.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Many Americans *expected* a political revolution when Jefferson and the Republicans triumphed in the 1800 election. In the waning days of the Adams administration, however, the Federalists erected a formidable *constraint* against the Republicans by filling the federal courts with their appointees. As Alexander Hamilton *expected*, Jefferson also *chose* to be much more moderate in his actions while in office than his former radical rhetoric had led many to believe.

The *outcome* of the first transfer of power from one political party to another was a redirection of government, not a revolution. Jefferson did have the much-despised excise taxes repealed, and he did pare down the expenses of government. He also cherished the *expectation* that he had secured the future for America's yeoman farmers when he authorized the Louisiana Purchase and doubled the size of the nation.

Jefferson and his Republican successor, James Madison, faced increasingly difficult diplomatic *constraints* after 1803 when renewed warfare broke out between Great Britain and France. Both chose to steer a neutral course and to avoid becoming entangled in a war with either European power. The War Hawks, however, regarded British violations of American neutrality and British incitement of the Indians living in the Northwest as insults to the national honor. The *outcome* was the War of 1812.

Although there were moments of glory for the Americans, the war was mostly a disaster. The Americans were fortunate that a war-weary British public chose peace in 1814. The Treaty of Ghent restored diplomatic relations to what they had been before 1812. Nevertheless, news of peace and of Andrew Jackson's stunning victory at New Orleans produced an unlikely *outcome*—a surge of national pride, confidence, and unity.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet* (1983); *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (1984).

Each of these biographies is a masterpiece. They present the most complete recounting of the lives and accomplishments of these two fascinating brothers and their historical world.

Hickey, Donald. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (1989).

Arguably the best single-volume history of the war; encyclopedic in content but so colorfully written that it will hold anyone's attention.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System* (1969). The classic account of the rise of legitimate opposition in the American party system.

McCoy, Drew. *The Last of the Fathers; James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (1989).

Hailed by most critics as the best book on Madison and his role in making the early republic.

McCoy, Drew. *The Elusive Republic* (1980).

The best summary of Jefferson's agrarian vision; engagingly written and forcefully argued.

Miller, John C. *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (1977).

A master historian confronts the dichotomy between Jefferson's attitudes about race and the actuality of slavery.

Ronda, James. *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (1984).

A bold retelling of the expedition's story, showcasing the Indian role in both Lewis and Clark's journey and the nation's successful expansion into Louisiana.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (1973).

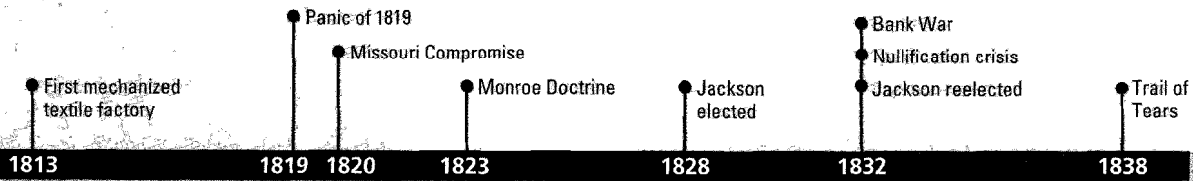
An evaluation of Jefferson's attitudes toward Indians and his Indian policy, beautifully written by one of the nation's best Indian policy historians.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830* (1983).

An excellent view of the politics and diplomacy surrounding the War of 1812.



**TRANSPORTATION IN AMERICA** As this map shows, before 1820 roads and trails crisscrossed the United States. However, most of the roads shown here were little more than dirt tracks, with no bridges and few accommodations for travelers. It was impossible to ship large loads of goods along such roads, limiting economic expansion.



# The Rise of a New Nation,

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## 1815-1836

### **The Emergence of New Expectations**

- How did the end of the War of 1812 foster new expectations for Americans?
- What choices did each region make to realize those expectations?

### **Politics and Diplomacy in an "Era of Good Feelings"**

- What choices did the Republicans make to help create a market economy?
- How did new expectations influence American diplomacy?

### **Dynamic Growth and Political Consequences**

- How did expectations of economic prosperity lead to a financial panic in 1819?
  - How did economic issues contribute to choices that led to sectional conflict and political contention?
-

### **The "New Man" in Politics**

- What factors helped change Americans' political expectations during the 1820s?
- How did the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 reflect those new expectations?

### **The Presidency of Andrew Jackson**

- Analyze the choices Andrew Jackson made in his Indian policy.
- What constraints influenced the regional divisions reflected in the nullification crisis and the Bank War?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

The United States emerged from the War of 1812 with new confidence. "The veterans of Wellington attest the prowess of our troops," one Protestant preacher declared at war's end, "and the world is astonished at the facility with which our naval heroes have conquered . . . those who have conquered all other nations." The United States had finally become a nation to be reckoned with, and nationalism emerged as the dominant force in domestic and international affairs.

Confident *expectations* for national development led to *choices* that would greatly influence the country's future. Both James Madison and his successor, James Monroe, sought to develop a national market economy. Nationalists like Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun steered bills through Congress designed to strengthen the nation's currency and encourage economic development. Others, like John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, expanded the boundaries of the nation itself.

Expanding economic opportunities created optimistic business and financial *expectations*. Initial *constraints* were brushed aside as a confident generation developed new technologies and organiza-

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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tional innovations. The entire country felt the pressure to modernize. Paradoxically, the *outcome* of efforts to promote economic interdependence was a regional economic specialization that bred sectional cultures and conflict.

Politics also underwent a profound change after the War of 1812. The old generation of Revolutionary statesmen was dying out and being replaced by a new, restless generation of politicians. This younger generation called for freer access to government, even for those who owned no property. General Andrew Jackson became their champion. Sweeping from the backwoods of Tennessee into the White House, Jackson brought a new kind of politics onto the national scene. Assuming greater presidential powers than even Alexander Hamilton had imagined, Jackson placed his own personal stamp on the era and the nation.

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## **The Emergence of New Expectations**

The War of 1812 imposed some severe restrictions on the American economy and revealed the shortcomings of that economy. Consequently, the war did much to change Americans' thinking about economic matters. For example, the war exposed the liabilities of relying on other countries to produce manufactured goods. Thomas Jefferson's vision of a nation of yeoman farmers trading for foreign manufacturers died with the war.

The war also accelerated economic trends already under way in the nation's regions. The disruption of trade in New England, for example, prompted an ex-tensive redirection of investment from shipping into textile factories and other enterprises. The economic boom that immediately followed the war reinforced trends toward regional economic specialization.

## **New Expectations in the Northeastern Economy**

Although trading interests in the Northeast suffered during Jefferson's embargo and were nearly ruined by the war, a new avenue of economic expansion opened in New England. Cut off from European manufactured goods, Americans started to make more textiles and other items for themselves.

Samuel Slater, an English immigrant, had introduced the use of machines for spinning cotton



## **New Optimism and a New Democracy**

- 1794 Eli Whitney patents the cotton gin
- 1814 Treaty of Ghent ends War of 1812
- 1816 Tariff of 1816
  - James Monroe elected president
- 1817 Second Bank of the United States opens for business
  - Rush-Bagot Agreement
- 1818 Convention of 1818
  - Andrew Jackson invades Spanish Florida
- 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty
  - Missouri applies for statehood Panic of 1819
- 1820 Monroe re-elected Missouri Compromise
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine
  - 1825 House of Representatives elects John Quincy Adams president
  - Prairie du Chien treaties
- 1826 Disappearance of William Morgan;
  - beginning of Antimasonry
- 1827 Ratification of Cherokee constitution
- 1828 Tariff of Abominations
  - Publication of *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest*
  - Andrew Jackson elected president
- 1830 Webster-Layne debate Indian Removal Act
- 1831 *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*
- 1832 *Worcester v. Georgia*
  - Bank War
  - Nullification crisis
  - Jackson re-elected
- 1836-1838 Federal removal of Creeks, Chickasaws, and Cherokees

thread to the United States in 1790. Although Slater's mill was successful, it was not widely emulated. British cloth was inexpensive, and the risks of manufacturing were high. The Embargo of 1807 suddenly made British cloth very expensive and the risks more acceptable. The number of American textile mills jumped from 15 in 1807 to 102 in 1809.

It was Francis Cabot Lowell, however, who revolutionized the American textile industry by combining all the processes of converting raw cotton into finished cloth under one roof. Lowell then mechanized every stage in the production process at the Boston Manufacturing Company, organized in 1813.

Thanks in part to Lowell's inventiveness and in part to the unavailability of British goods, textile manufacturing spread even more rapidly during the War of 1812. By 1816, perhaps as many as one hundred thousand people worked in the industry. In the years to come, factories in New England and elsewhere supplied more and more of the nation's consumer goods. In the process, they changed the economic roles and hopes of many Americans.

## **The Emergence of the Old South**

Before the War of 1812, the southern economy had been sluggish and the future of the region's single-crop agricultural system doubtful. Tobacco was no longer the glorious profit maker it had been during the colonial period. Sea Island cotton, rice, sugar, and other products continued to find markets,



◆ Before the transportation revolution, traveling was highly risky and uncomfortable. This painting by Russian traveler Pavel Svinin shows a rather stylish stagecoach, but its well-dressed passengers are clearly being jostled. Note how the man in the front seat is bracing himself, while the man behind him has lost his hat under the wheels. *"Travel by Stagecoach Near Trenton, NJ" by Pavel Svinin. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1942, (42.95.11).*

but they could be grown only in limited areas. Now, though, postwar technological and economic changes pumped new energy into the South's economy. In only a few decades, an entirely new South emerged, one that became known to history as the Old South.

Although southern planters had grown cotton since colonial times, the demand for it was small until the mechanization of the British textile industry in the 1780s. The production of cotton cloth rapidly increased, and the need for raw cotton fiber grew.

Planters along the Carolina coast had responded by growing long-staple, or Sea Island, cotton for the British market. This variety could be grown only in warm, wet, semitropical climates like that of the Carolina Sea Islands. Short-staple cotton could be grown throughout much of the South, but the difficulty of separating the sticky seeds from the fibers made it unprofitable. A worldwide shortage of cotton threatened Britain's textile industry.

Eli Whitney, a 1792 graduate of Yale College, found a solution. In 1793, while a guest at a Georgia plantation, he learned about the difficulty of removing the seeds from short-staple cotton. In a matter of weeks, Whitney designed a machine that quickly combed out the seeds without damaging the fibers. He obtained a patent for the cotton gin (short for "engine") in 1794.

Whitney's inventiveness allowed short-staple cotton to spread rapidly throughout inland South Carolina and Georgia. With the arrival of peace and the end of the British blockade, cotton spread westward rapidly into land once fiercely defended by the Red Stick Creeks (see page 173), into Alabama and Mississippi, and later into Arkansas, northern Louisiana, and east Texas. Between 1790 and 1840, the South's annual cotton crop grew from about 3,000 bales to nearly 1.5 million bales.

Most of the South's cotton was initially exported to Britain, but a significant and growing amount went to New England's textile factories (see pages 211-215). Cotton from the South thus helped spur industrialization in the North. Northern demand in turn encouraged southern suppliers to plant more cotton. This dynamic interaction between North and South pushed their regional economies in dif-

mechanization The substitution of machinery for hand labor.

Eli Whitney American inventor and manufacturer; his cotton gin revolutionized the cotton industry.  
 patent A government grant that gives the creator of invention the sole right to produce, use, or sell that invention for a set period of time.

ferent directions. Although both remained predominantly rural, the North moved toward mechanization and urbanization, and the South depended more and more on the labor of people rather than on the power of machines. These transformations are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

## **New Opportunities in the West**

Cotton growers were not the only people who saw new opportunities in the West after the war. Many Americans rushed to the frontier to seek their fortunes.

One of the most important outcomes of the War of 1812 was the change brought about between the United States and various Indian nations. When William Henry Harrison's soldiers burned Prophetstown and killed Tecumesh (see page 169), they wiped out any hope for a pan-Indian confederacy. Furthermore, Jackson's decisive victory against the Red Stick Creeks removed all meaningful resistance to westward expansion in the South. The Creeks were forced to sell 20 million acres of their land.

A similar but more gradual assault on Indian land began in the Northwest in 1815. Although the United States signed peace accords with tribes that had sided with the British during the war, national policy was directed at wresting lands east of the Mississippi from tribes such as the Kickapoos, Sauks, Foxes, Chippewas, and Dakotas. The Prairie du Chien treaties of 1825 secured an enormous cession of land from them. Pioneer farmers subsequently came pouring into the Northwest. The population of Ohio more than doubled between 1810 and 1820. Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan experienced similar growth.

The war also opened up the interior of the continent to American fur traders. Even before the war, John Jacob Astor, a German immigrant, had attempted to establish a series of trading posts along the route followed by Lewis and Clark. The key to Astor's vision of a fur empire was an outpost at the mouth of the Columbia River, from which he intended to ship furs directly across the Pacific to Asia. Although the British seized Astor's outpost during the war, this proved to be only a temporary setback. After the war, Astor expanded his fur business and Asian trade to become a leading fig

ure in world commerce. When he died in 1848, he was the richest man in the United States.

August Chouteau, a French frontiersman, played a similar role in organizing the fur trade in the Southwest. Changing nationality as circumstances demanded, he and his brother employed an extensive kinship network that included French, Spanish, and Indian connections to collect furs. Chouteau's trading network reached deep into the Missouri region and as far as Spanish Santa Fe. After the war, Chouteau branched into other businesses, including banking, flour milling, distilling, and real estate.

The examples set by Astor and Chouteau proved to many that great fortunes were to be made on the frontier. Although the promise was almost always greater than the reality, the allure of the West was unmistakable. After the War of 1812, the nation's aspirations became more firmly tied to that region's growth and development.

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## **Politics and Diplomacy in an "Era of Good Feelings"**

The nationalism that arose after the War of 1812 caused the Federalists to be seen as traitors or fools, and they disappeared from politics. For the first time since Washington's administration, the air was free of party politics, prompting a Boston newspaper to proclaim the dawn of an Era of Good Feelings.

## **The "American System" and New Economic Direction**

The nationalism that characterized the Era of Good Feelings was evident in the Republican economic plan, which Henry Clay called the

**Era of Good Feelings** The period from 1816 to 1823 when the decline of the Federalist party and the end of the War of 1812 gave rise to a time of political cooperation.

American System. The American System depended on three essential developments. First, a national bank was needed to promote the country's economic growth. Although Republicans had opposed Alexander Hamilton's Bank of the United States, they came to appreciate the need for a national bank after the difficulties of financing the recent war. In 1816, the overwhelmingly Republican Congress chartered the Second Bank of the United States for twenty years. The Second Bank, which opened in Philadelphia in 1817, had many of the same powers and responsibilities as Hamilton's bank. Congress provided \$7 million of its initial \$35 million capital and appointed one-fifth of its board of directors.

Second, the war had shown that improvements in communication and transportation were needed. Poor lines of supply and communication had spelled disaster for American military efforts. Congress approved legislation to finance a national transportation program that would include building roads and canals.

Finally, Republicans advocated **protective tariffs** to help the fledgling industries that had hatched during the war. Incubated by trade restrictions, American cotton-spinning plants had mushroomed between 1808 and 1815. But with the reopening of trade at war's end, British merchants dumped accumulated inventories of cotton cloth below cost, hampering further American development. Although most southerners and westerners remained leery of tariffs, Clay and Calhoun were able to gain enough support to pass the Tariff of 1816.

The American System was designed to create a national market economy. Since colonial times, local market economies had existed in the trading centers of the Northeast. Individuals in these areas produced items for cash sale and used the cash they earned to purchase goods produced by others. Economic specialization was the natural outcome. Farmers, for example, chose to grow only one or two crops and sell the whole harvest for cash, which they used to buy goods that they had once grown or made for themselves.

But outside such commercial centers, people generally bartered goods and labor. Families tried to make or grow as much of what they needed as they could and exchanged some surplus goods for sugar, tea, metal goods, and other items they could not

produce. Little cash changed hands in this economic world.

Advocates of the American System envisioned a time when whole regions would specialize in producing commodities for which they were most suited. Agricultural regions in the West, for example, would produce food for the industrializing Northeast and the fiber-producing South. The North would depend on the South for cotton, and both the South and the West would look to the Northeast for manufactured goods. Improved transportation systems would make this flow of goods possible, and a strong national currency would ensure orderly trade. Advocates of the American System were confident that regional specialization would free the nation from economic dependence on manufacturing centers in Europe.

The popularity of Madison's programs was apparent in the 1816 election. His handpicked successor, fellow Virginian James Monroe, won 184 electoral votes to Federalist Rufus King's 34. Republicans swept over three-fourths of the seats in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

### **James Monroe and the Nationalist Agenda**

Monroe's first diplomatic goal was to solve important issues not settled by the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812. He assigned this task to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Adams first helped establish peaceful borders with British Canada. In the 1817 Rush-Bagot Agreement, both

**American System** An economic plan sponsored by nationalists in Congress; it was intended to spur U.S. economic growth and the domestic production of goods previously bought from foreign manufacturers.

**protective tariff** Tax on imported goods intended to make them more expensive than similar domestic goods and thus to protect domestic producers.

**market economy** An economic system based on the buying and selling of goods and services, with money as the primary medium of exchange and the forces of supply and demand setting prices.

**barter** To trade goods or services without the exchange of money.

nations agreed to cut back their Great Lakes naval fleets to a few vessels. A year later, the two nations drew up the Convention of 1818. The British agreed to honor American fishing rights in the Atlantic, to recognize a boundary between the Louisiana Territory and Canada at the 49th parallel, and to occupy the Oregon Territory jointly with the United States.

With these northern border issues settled, Adams set his sights on defining the nation's southern and southwestern frontiers. Conditions in Spanish Florida had been extremely unsettled since Napoleon had deposed the king of Spain in 1808. Pirates, runaway slaves, and Indians used Florida as a base for launching raids against American settlements and shipping. By December 1817, matters in Florida seemed critical. General Andrew Jackson urged the president to take possession of Spanish Florida by invading it.

A short time later, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun ordered Jackson and his troops to patrol Georgia's border with Spanish territory. Claiming that he had received secret authorization from Monroe, Jackson crossed into Spanish territory, where his troops brutally destroyed peaceful Seminole villages. He then invaded the Spanish capital at Pensacola on May 24, 1818, forcing the governor to flee to Cuba. The zealous general capped his already reckless venture by executing two British citizens for conspiring with the Indians.

In response to Spanish and British protests, Calhoun and others recommended privately that the general be severely disciplined. Adams, however, saw Jackson's raid as an opportunity to settle the Florida border issue. Jackson's raid, he claimed, was an act of self-defense, and he warned that it would be repeated unless Spain could police the area adequately. Fully aware that Spain could not do that, Adams proposed that Spain give up Florida. Understanding his country's precarious position, Spanish minister Don Luis de Orís ceded Florida in the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. The United States in return released Spain from \$5 million in damage claims resulting from pirate and Indian raids.

## The Monroe Doctrine

Spain's declining power posed a more general diplomatic problem. In the early nineteenth cen-

tury, many of its colonies in Latin America had rebelled and established themselves as independent republics. Fearful that their own colonists might follow this example, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and other European powers considered helping Spain reclaim its overseas empire.

Neither Great Britain nor the United States wanted European intervention in the Western Hemisphere. The British had developed a thriving trade with the new Latin American republics. Americans supported Latin American independence for various reasons. Some hoped the new countries would follow in America's footsteps and move toward greater democracy. Others favored an independent Latin America as a fertile ground for American expansion.

In 1823, British foreign minister George Canning proposed that the United States and Britain form an alliance to end European meddling in Latin America. Most of Monroe's cabinet supported this proposal, but Adams, who disliked the British intensely, protested that America would be reduced to a "cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." In other words, Adams feared that the United States would always be following the British lead. Instead, he suggested that the United States should act unilaterally in declaring the Western Hemisphere off-limits to "future colonization by any European power."

Monroe ultimately supported Adams's position. In December 1823, he announced that the United States would regard any effort by European countries "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." European intervention in the hemisphere would be seen as an act of war against the United States.

The **Monroe Doctrine**, as this statement was later called, announced the arrival of the United States on the international scene as a nation to be

**unilateral** Undertaken or issued by only one side and thus not involving an agreement made with others.

**Monroe Doctrine** President Monroe's 1823 statement declaring the Americas closed to further European colonization and discouraging European interference in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

contended with. Both Europeans and Latin Americans, however, thought it was a meaningless statement. Despite proud assertions, the policy depended on the British navy and on Britain's informal commitment to New World autonomy.

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## **Dynamic Growth and Political Consequences**

During the Napoleonic wars, massive armies had drained Europe's manpower, laid waste to crops, and tied up ships, making European nations dependent on America. Although those wars ended in 1815, a war-torn Europe continued to need American food and manufactures. Encouraged by a ready European market and easy credit, southern planters, northern manufacturers, and western farmers embarked on a frenzy of speculation. They rushed to borrow money to buy equipment, land, and slaves for what they were sure was a golden future.

Entrepreneurs in the North, West, and South, however, had different ideas about the best course for the American economy. As the American System drew the regions together into increasing mutual dependency, the tensions among them began to swell. As long as economic conditions remained good, there was little reason for conflict, but when the speculative boom collapsed, sectional tensions increased dramatically.

### **The Panic of 1819**

Developments in Europe undermined the foundations of postwar American prosperity. When Europe began to recover several years after the Napoleonic wars, its demand for American products, particularly foodstuffs, dropped rapidly. The bottom fell out of the international market that had fueled land speculation in the United States.

Congress tried to head off disaster by tightening credit. In 1817, it stopped installment payments on new land purchases and demanded that land be paid for in hard currency. The Second Bank of the United States in 1818 tightened credit further by demanding immediate repayment of loans in either gold or silver. State banks and land speculators fol

lowed suit. Instead of curing the problem, however, tightening credit and recalling loans burst the speculative balloon, creating the Panic of 1819.

Six years of economic depression followed. As prices declined, individual farmers and manufacturers, unable to repay loans for land and equipment, faced **repossession** and imprisonment for debt. Bankruptcy sales were a daily occurrence. Factories fell idle, and the ranks of the unemployed grew steadily. The number of paupers in New York more than doubled between 1819 and 1820.

Although the financial panic was the result of Americans' own reckless speculation, they tended to point the finger of blame elsewhere. Many blamed the national bank and called for the destruction of this "Monster Bank." Some understood that controlling credit was the only way to prevent similar crises, but the Second Bank's critics prevented any meaningful financial reforms.

### **Economic Woes and Political Sectionalism**

The Panic of 1819 drove a wedge between the nation's geographical sections. The depression touched each region differently, and for several years the halls of Congress rang with debates rooted in sectional economic needs.

The issue that pitted section against section more violently than any other was protective tariffs. Before 1816, the tariffs enacted by Congress were designed to produce tax revenue. The goal of President Madison's Tariff of 1816, however, was

**Napoleonic wars** Wars in Europe waged by or against Napoleon between 1803 and 1815.

**installment** Partial payment of a debt to be made at regular intervals until the entire debt is repaid.

**Panic of 1819** A financial panic that began when the Second Bank of the United States tightened credit and recalled government loans.

**repossession** The reclaiming of land or goods by the seller after the purchaser fails to pay installments due.

**Tariff of 1816** First protective tariff in U.S. history; its purpose was to protect America's fledgling textile industry.

the protection of American industry. As the Panic of 1819 spread economic devastation throughout the country, the coal, iron, and textile industries began clamoring for more protection against foreign competition.

Farmers were split on the issue. Small farmers favored a free market that would keep the price of manufactures low. By contrast, commercial farmers who specialized in cash crops such as wheat and wool joined industrialists, factory managers, and industrial workers in supporting protection against the foreign dumping of such products. Southern cotton and tobacco farmers did not favor protection.

After supporting the Tariff of 1816, John C. Calhoun and other southerners became firm opponents of tariffs. Cotton growing had slowed the development of industry in the South, so protection offered small benefit to southerners. Also, Britain, not the United States, was the South's main supplier of manufactured goods and its primary market for raw cotton. Protective tariffs raised the price of the former and might cause Britain to enact a tariff on southern cotton. If that happened, southerners would pay more for manufactures but receive less for cotton.

In 1820, northern congressmen proposed a major increase in the tariff. Small farmers in the West and cotton growers defeated the measure. Northerners then wooed western congressmen by supporting bills favorable to westerners. These bills lowered the minimum price of public land from \$2 to \$1.25 per acre and authorized the extension of the national road into the West. Western congressmen reciprocated in 1824 by favoring a greatly increased tariff.

### **The Missouri Compromise**

As all three regions sought solutions to the nation's economic woes, the regional balance of power in Congress became a matter of crucial importance. The delicate balance began to tip when the Missouri Territory applied for statehood in 1819. New York congressman James Tallmadge, Jr., provoked the crisis when he proposed that no new slaves be taken into Missouri and that those already in the territory be emancipated gradually. His amendment generated a moral and political debate that nearly led to national collapse.

The political issue in the Missouri controversy was straightforward. If Missouri was admitted as a slave state, its congressional **bloc** would undoubtedly support the southern position on tariffs and other key issues. But if Missouri was admitted as a free state, its congressmen would be inclined to support the position taken by representatives from the Old Northwest.

Both sides in the debate about Missouri were deeply entrenched. In 1820, Henry Clay suggested a compromise. He proposed that Missouri be admitted as a slave state and that Maine, which had separated from Massachusetts in 1819, be admitted as a free state. Clay also proposed that slavery be banned in the rest of the Louisiana Territory above 36°30' north latitude, the line that formed Missouri's southern border (see Map 9.1). Congress approved the Missouri **Compromise**, and the issue of slavery in the territories quieted down for a while.

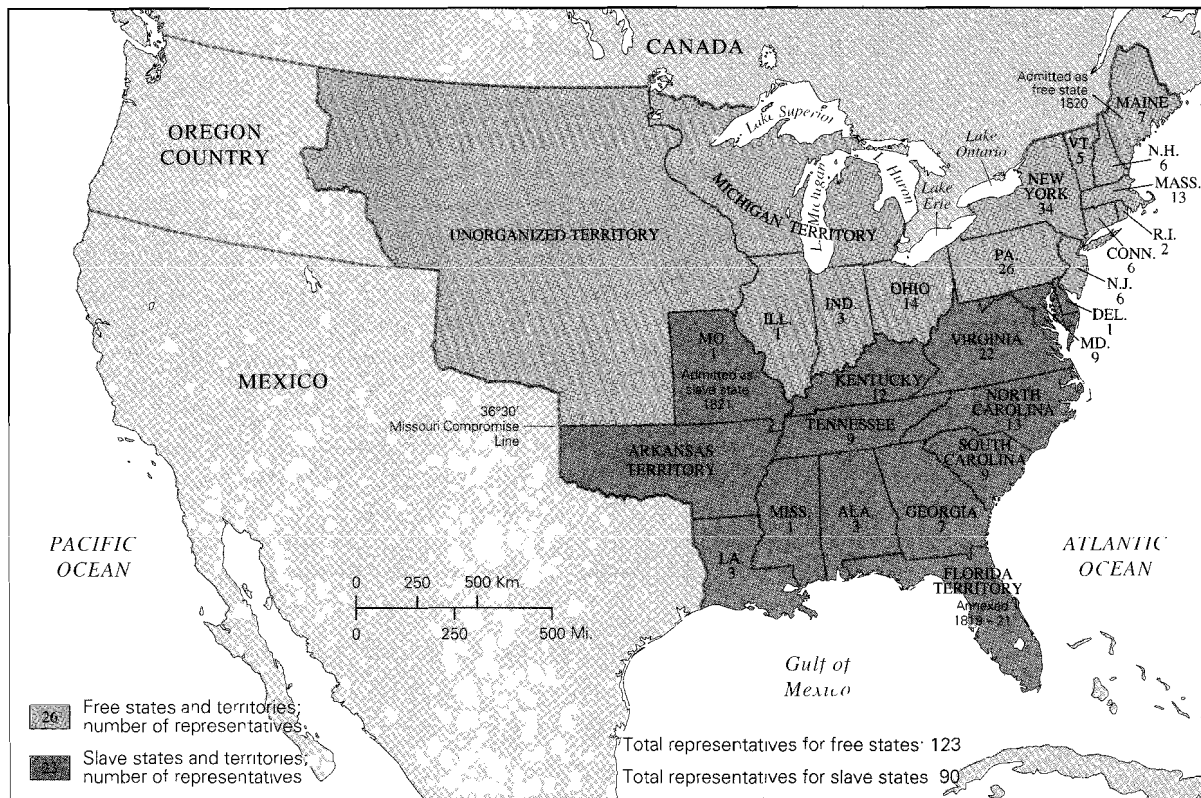
### **New Politics and the End of Good Feelings**

Conducted in the midst of the Missouri crisis, the presidential election of 1820 went as smoothly as could be expected. Monroe faced no meaningful political opposition. The people's faith in Jefferson's party and his handpicked successors remained firm. As the election of 1824 approached, however, it became clear that the Panic of 1819 and the Missouri crisis had broken Republican unity.

In 1824, the southern-dominated Republican caucus named Georgia states' rights advocate William Crawford as its presidential candidate. As nationalists, Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams were so disappointed with this selection that each defied party discipline by deciding to run without the approval of the caucus. The Tennessee legislature then named its own candidate, Andrew Jackson.

**bloc** A group of people united for common action.

**Missouri Compromise** Law proposed by Henry Clay in 1820 admitting Missouri to the Union as a slave state and Maine as a free state and banning slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of latitude 36°30'.



◆ **MAP 9.1 Missouri Compromise and Representative Strength** The Missouri Compromise fixed the boundary between free and slave territories at 36°30'. This map shows the results in both geographical and political terms. While each section emerged from the compromise with the same number of senators (twenty-four), the balance in the House of Representatives and Electoral College tilted toward the North.

The 1824 election brought home how deeply divided the nation had become. Northern political leaders rallied behind Adams, southerners supported Crawford, and northwestern commercial farmers and other supporters of the American System lined up behind Clay. Many independent yeoman farmers, traditional craftsmen, and immigrants supported Jackson.

The Tennessean said little during the campaign, but his reputation as the hero of the Battle of New Orleans spoke louder than words. Jackson won the most popular votes, capturing 153,544 to Adams's 108,740, Clay's 47,136, and Crawford's 46,618. Jackson also received more electoral votes than any other candidate, but he did not have the majority needed to win the election. The Constitution specifies that in such cases a list of the top three vote getters be passed to the House of Representatives for a final decision.

By the time the House convened to settle the election, Crawford had suffered a disabling stroke and was no

longer a contender. Clay's name was not put before the House because he had finished fourth. As Speaker of the House, however, he had considerable influence over the outcome of the election. Backers of both candidates asked him for support. Seeing himself as the leading spokesman for western interests, Clay viewed Jackson as a rival rather than a kindred spirit. Although Clay had no great love for the New Englander either, their views on tariffs, manufacturing, and foreign affairs were quite compatible. Clay therefore threw his



support to Adams, who won the House election and in 1825 became the nation's sixth president.

Adams subsequently named Clay as his secretary of state, the position that had been the springboard to the presidency for every past Republican who had held it. Although Adams had done nothing illegal, Jacksonians accused him of having made a "corrupt bargain" with Clay, whom they dubbed the "Judas of the West." In anger and disgust, Jackson supporters withdrew from the party of Jefferson, bringing an end to the Era of Good Feelings.

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## "New Man" in Politics

Since Washington's day, Americans had expected their presidents to be gentlemen. The social changes unleashed after the War of 1812, however, altered those expectations. New voters with radically varying political and economic views began making political demands. Many felt isolated from a political system that permitted the presidency to pass from one propertied gentleman to another. Clearly, changing times called for political change.

### Adams's Troubled Administration

John Quincy Adams may have been the best prepared man ever to assume the office of president. The son of a former president, he had been a diplomat, a U.S. senator, a Harvard professor, and an exceptionally effective secretary of state. But he was singularly lacking in the personal warmth and political skill that might have made him a successful chief executive.

Rigidly idealistic, the new president believed himself to be above partisan politics. Apart from his appointment of Henry Clay as secretary of state, he refused to distribute political favors, and so he had few political followers. Adams was thereby exposed to the constant sniping of his critics, and his administration floundered.

Adams's policies also alienated many. He proposed increased tariffs to protect American manufacturers and wanted the Second Bank of the United States to provide ample loans to finance new manufacturing ventures. Southerners op

posed these measures because they feared the increase in federal power that Adams's policies implied and because they disliked tariffs.

The **Tariff of Abominations**, passed in 1828, illustrates Adams's difficulties as president. Manufacturers insisted on raising the tariff even higher than Adams had recommended. Some of Adams's opponents also supported the bill so that it would pass and thereby discredit Adams in the fall *election*. Only southerners universally opposed the proposed legislation.

### Democratic Styles and Political Structure

Adams's political style added to his problems. The detached style appropriate in his father's era became a liability in his own. The easy informality of Adams's archrival, Andrew Jackson, was better suited to an increasingly democratic age than Adams's stiff reserve.

Adams's demeanor would not have been so damaging if a huge increase in voter turnout had not framed his presidency. In the election of 1824, 356,038 people cast votes for the presidency. In 1828, over three times that number voted. These numbers reflect the mobilization of a new **electorate**. Voting rights in the early republic had been restricted to landowners. This restriction had raised no controversy earlier because a majority of white Americans owned land. The expansion of a commercial and industrial economy, however, meant that an increasing number of people did not own land and were therefore not entitled to vote. The emerging middle class clamored for suffrage reform. In 1800, only three of the sixteen states had no qualifications for voting. Three other states permitted taxpayers who were not landowners to vote. By 1830, only six of the twenty-four states continued to demand property qualifications. Nine others required tax payment only, and the remaining nine

**Tariff of Abominations** Tariff passed by Congress in 1828 that outraged the southern states by placing high duties on raw materials.

**electorate** The portion of the population that is qualified to vote.

The

had no qualifications. As a result, the number of voters grew enormously and rapidly. The United States was evolving from a republic into a democracy in which all white males could vote.

Changes in the structure of politics accompanied this expansion of the electorate. Among the most important was the popular selection of members of the Electoral College. By 1828, only two states continued to name electors. Another important change was that government jobs that had been appointive became elective. States increasingly dropped property qualifications for officeholding, opening new fields for political participation.

Opportunists quickly took advantage of the new situation. Men like New Yorker **Martin Van Buren** organized political factions into tightly disciplined local and statewide units. A long-time opponent of Governor DeWitt Clinton, Van Buren molded disaffected Republicans into the so-called Bucktail faction. In 1820, the Bucktails' charges that the Clintonians were corrupt and aristocratic swept Clinton out of office. The new politics practiced by the Bucktails had clearly triumphed. This new politics combined political patronage and fiery speeches to draw newly qualified voters into the political process.

These new voters were often frustrated that their voting had little impact. The "corrupt bargain" that had denied the presidency to Andrew Jackson in 1824 was a prime example. Secret, elite societies such as the **Masons** also appeared to thwart the popular will. The most notorious case of Masonic influence concerned William Morgan, a New York bricklayer and Mason who mysteriously disappeared in 1826 after threatening to publish some Masonic secrets. Morgan's presumed murder caused an outcry. When an investigation turned up no clues, many suspected that the Masons had used their political clout to suppress the facts. Within a year, young politicians such as New Yorkers Thurlow Weed and William Seward and Pennsylvanian Thaddeus Stevens had exploited the Morgan case to form a new political organization. Based on the resentments felt by craftsmen, small farmers, and others, the **Antimasonic** party had no platform beyond a disapproval of politics as usual.

New York typified political developments throughout the country. As the party of Jefferson dissolved, a rash of political factions broke out. It

was Van Buren who forged an alliance that would fundamentally alter American politics.

### **The Rise of Andrew Jackson**

By 1826, Van Buren had brought together political outsiders and dissidents from all over the country into a new political party, the Democratic-Republicans, or the **Democrats**. The Democrats in some ways looked to the past. They denounced the National Republicans by calling for a return to Jeffersonian simplicity, states' rights, and democratic principles. But they relied on the modern political tactics and organization that Van Buren had perfected in New York. The appeal to Jeffersonian ideals and the use of tight party discipline attracted new voters and political outsiders. In the congressional elections of 1826, Van Buren's coalition gained a majority in the House of Representatives and in the Senate.

Perhaps the key to the Democrats' electoral success was their use of Andrew Jackson's name. Jackson became synonymous with the new party. Thus voters who identified with him identified with the new party. In many ways, Jackson was a perfect reflection of the new voters. He had been born into humble circumstances and had lost his family as a youngster. Jackson epitomized the self-made man who, through sheer will and hard work, had risen far above his modest beginnings. Voters did not begrudge the fact that by the 1820s Jackson had become one of the wealthiest men in Tennessee and owned over two hundred slaves. They admired

**Martin Van Buren** New York politician known for his skillful handling of party politics; he helped found the Democratic party and later became eighth president of the United States.

**Masons** An international fraternal organization with many socially and politically prominent members, including a number of U.S. presidents.

**Antimasonic party** Political party formed in 1827 to capitalize on popular anxiety about the influence of the Masons; it opposed politics as usual without offering any particular substitute.

**Democrats** Political party that brought Andrew Jackson into office; it harked back to Jeffersonian principles of limited government and drew its support from farmers and small businessmen.

him for his accomplishments and hoped to emulate his example. Despite fame and fortune, Jackson remained a common man with the common touch. He had become a man of substance without becoming a snob. Jackson was also a military hero. His exploits along the southern frontier during the War of 1812, culminating in the Battle of New Orleans, had become legendary (see page 177).

The images of Jackson and Adams, not substantive issues, dominated the election of 1828. Jackson forces accused Adams of diverting public funds to buy personal luxuries, providing the Russian tsar with a young American mistress to win his diplomatic support, and bowing to special **interests** in defining his tariff and land policies. Adams's supporters charged Jackson with being a dueler, an insubordinate military adventurer, and a rustic backwoodsman who had lived with a married woman before she had divorced her first husband.

The charges of corruption were entirely untrue. The charges against Jackson were all too true, but voters saw them as irrelevant. Rather than damaging Jackson's image, such talk made him appear romantic and daring. The Tennessean polled a hundred thousand more popular votes than did the New Englander and won the majority of states, taking every one in the South and the West.

Jackson's inauguration on March 4, 1829, was cause for celebration among his supporters and for contempt among his detractors. A crowd of ten thousand well-wishers packed the capital to witness Jackson take the oath of office. Boisterous supporters then followed him into the presidential mansion, where they climbed over furniture, broke glassware, and generally frolicked. The new president was finally forced to flee the near riot by climbing out a back window. A new spirit was alive in the nation's politics.

## **The Presidency of Andrew Jackson**

Jackson had promised the voters "retrenchment and reform." He gave them retrenchment, but reform was more difficult to manage. Jackson tried to reform (1) Indian affairs, (2) internal improvements

and public land policy, (3) the collection of revenue and the enforcement of federal law, and (4) the nation's banking and financial system. The steps that he took to reform the nation nearly tore it apart.

Jackson had courted public support with the implied promise that he would run the nation for the benefit of the people against the manipulations of the privileged. He had pulled together a coalition from all three sections of the nation, but keeping the coalition together was not easy in a time of increasing sectional tension.

### **Launching Jacksonian Politics**

Jackson faced a novel problem in that he suspected he could not trust the ten thousand civil servants his Republican predecessors had appointed. Jackson's supporters also claimed that many of these government employees were incompetent and had been retained only because of their political connections. Jackson's solution was to introduce the principle of rotation in office for federal officials. Appointments in his administration, he promised, would last only four years. After that, civil servants would have to return to "making a living as other people do."

Rotation in office was intended to accomplish several goals. First, it would rid the government of entrenched bureaucrats and replace them with honest, publicly minded men. The average citizen, Jackson believed, was fully capable of carrying out public responsibilities. Such duties were "so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." Second, rotation in office opened up many federal jobs. The Jacksonian adage became, "To the victor belong the **spoils.**" The Jacksonian practice of distributing government jobs to loyal party members became known as the spoils system.

**special interest** A person or organization that attempts to influence legislators to support one particular interest or issue.

**civil servants** Workers in government administration, excluding the courts, the legislature, and the military; they are usually appointed rather than elected.

**spoils** Jobs and other rewards for political support.

Patronage appointments extended to the highest levels of government. Jackson selected cabinet members not for their experience but for their political loyalty. The president abandoned his predecessors' practice of holding regular cabinet meetings and of giving cabinet members a vote on major issues. Jackson called virtually no meetings and seldom asked for his cabinet's opinion. Instead, he surrounded himself with an informal network of friends and advisers known as the **Kitchen Cabinet**.

Jackson conducted himself in office unlike any of his predecessors. He raged, pouted, and stormed at those who disagreed with him. Earlier presidents had at least pretended to believe in the equal distribution of power among the three branches of government. Jackson, however, believed that the executive should be supreme because the president was the only member of the government elected by all the people. (This belief conveniently ignored the fact that the Electoral College actually elected the president.) The president was to be the people's advocate in the face of entrenched interests, whether in banks, factories, or the halls of Congress. One sign of his testy relationship with the legislative branch was that he vetoed twelve bills while in office, three more than all his predecessors combined. Through his policies and his style, Jackson changed the presidency profoundly.

### **Jackson and the Indians**

Immediately after the War of 1812, the federal government began pressuring eastern tribes to give up their lands and to resettle west of the Mississippi River. Between 1815 and 1820, a number of smaller northern tribes exchanged their land for reservations west of the Mississippi. During the 1820s, many other tribes, plied with money from the federal government, followed suit. Factions within the tribes, however, often fought to stay on ancestral lands.

The **Five Civilized Tribes**—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, Creeks, and Chickasaws—were also pressured to relocate. They were able to resist the lure of money more successfully than their smaller northern neighbors. These more powerful southern tribes numbered nearly seventy-five thousand people and occupied large areas of Geor

gia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Although these tribes had made significant strides in becoming acculturated to European ways, most southern whites saw them merely as obstacles to obtaining rich cotton land.

John Quincy Adams had at least paid lip service to honest dealings with the Indians, and on one occasion he even overturned a fraudulent treaty. Jackson, however, had never been troubled by such niceties. "I have long viewed treaties with the Indians an absurdity not to be reconciled to the principles of our government," he proclaimed in 1817. Indians were subjects of the United States, he said, and there was no point in negotiating treaties with them. His policy was to remove all the eastern Indians west of the Mississippi (see Map 9.2). If persuasion did not accomplish this goal, Jackson advocated the use of force. Congress gave Jackson this authority when it passed the **Indian Removal Act** in 1830.

The case of the Cherokees provides an excellent illustration of the new, more aggressive Indian policy. By 1830, the Cherokees had shown considerable progress in following Jefferson's advice to become as much like white Americans as possible. They had created a formal government with a bicameral legislature and a court system. They ratified their written constitution, modeled on the U.S. Constitution, in 1827. The next year they began publication of a newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, written in English and in the eighty-six-character Cherokee alphabet invented by tribal member **George Guess (Sequoyah)**.

**Kitchen Cabinet** President Jackson's informal advisers, who helped him shape both national and Democratic party policy.

**Five Civilized Tribes** Term used by whites to describe the Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw Indians, many of whom were Europeanized farmers and merchants.

**Indian Removal Act** Law passed by Congress in 1830 providing for the removal of all Indian tribes east of the Mississippi and the purchase of western lands for their resettlement.

**George Guess (Sequoyah)** Cherokee silversmith and trader who created an alphabet that made it possible to transcribe the Cherokee language according to the sounds of its syllables.



◆ Andrew Jackson always presented himself as a friend of the Indians, but this satirical drawing captures his attitude that they were as unimportant as dolls. The engraving shown in

None of these accomplishments won the acceptance of their white neighbors. From the frontiersmen's point of view, Indians were supposed to be dying out, not flourishing. The Georgia legislature responded by annulling the Cherokee constitution in 1828 and, when gold was found on Cherokee land in 1829, ordering all tribal lands seized.

Subsequently, Georgia passed a series of laws to make life as difficult as possible for the Cherokees. When Christian missionaries living with the tribe

the upper right corner depicts his approach to Indian resistance: Liberty with her foot on the neck of a conquered enemy. *William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.*

encouraged the Cherokees to seek federal assistance, Georgia passed a law that required teachers among the Indians to obtain state licenses. When Samuel Austin Worcester and Elizar Butler refused to apply for the licenses, a company of Georgia militia invaded the Cherokee country and arrested them.

Two notable lawsuits came out of these arrests. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the Cherokees claimed that Georgia's enforcement of a state law within Cherokee territory was entirely illegal because they were a sovereign nation. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear this case on the grounds that the Cherokee Nation was not sovereign. As American citizens, however, Worcester and Butler did have a standing in federal law. In 1832, Chief Justice John Marshall held that Georgia did not have legitimate power to pass laws regulating Indian behavior or to invade Indian land. The court thus declared that all the laws Georgia had passed to harass the Cherokees were null and void and ordered Georgia to release Worcester and Butler from jail (see *Individual Choices: Samuel Austin Worcester*, page 200).

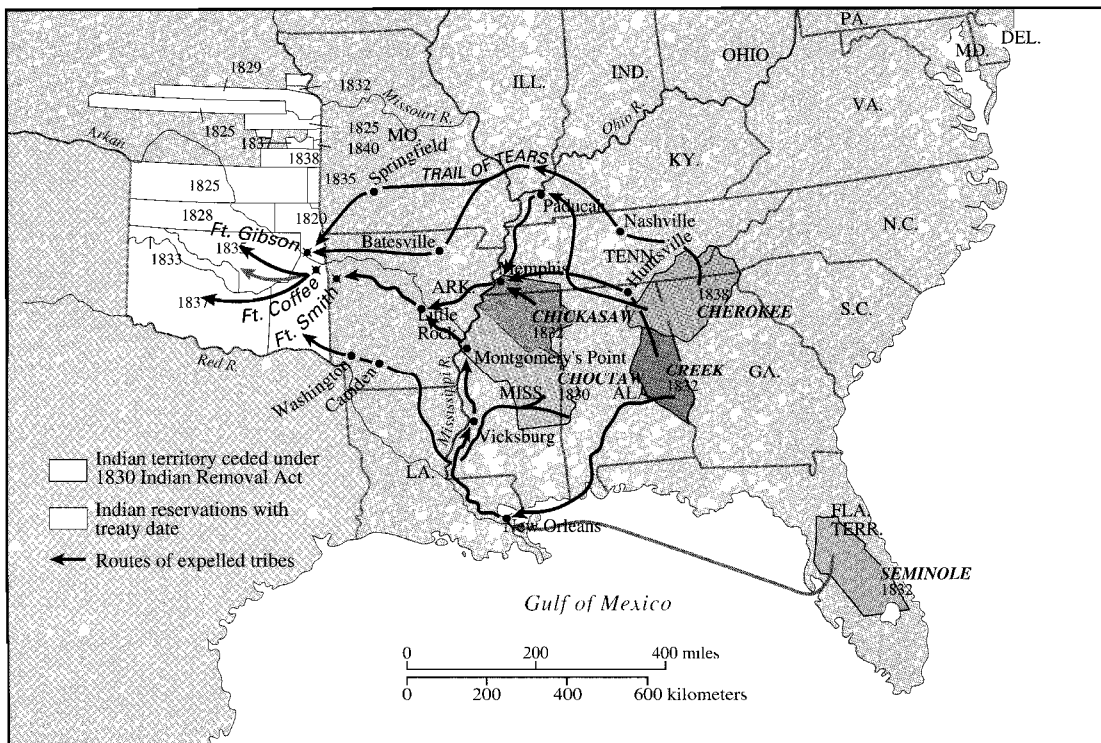
The Cherokees' joy was brief. When Jackson heard the verdict in *Worcester v. Georgia*, he refused to use federal troops to carry out Marshall's order. Jackson reportedly fumed, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it."

Jackson's refusal to act broke the back of tribal unity. Most Cherokees stood fast with their leader, John Ross. But another faction advocated relocation. Federal Indian agents named this faction as the true representative of the tribe and convinced it

**annul** To declare a law or contract invalid.

*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* Supreme Court case (1831) concerning Georgia's annulment of all Cherokee laws; Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that Indian tribes did not have the right to appeal to the Supreme Court.

*Worcester v. Georgia* Supreme Court case (1832) concerning the arrest of two missionaries living among the Cherokees in Georgia; the Court found that Georgia had no right to rule in Cherokee territory.



**MAP 9.2 Indian Removal** The outcome of Andrew Jackson's Indian policy appears clearly on this map. Between 1830 and 1838, all the Civilized Tribes except Osceola's faction of Seminoles were forced to relocate west of the Mississippi River. Thousands died in the process.

to sign the **Treaty of New Echota** (1835), which sold the last 8 million acres of Cherokee land in the East for \$5 million.

A similar combination of pressure, manipulation, and outright fraud led to the dispossession of the other Civilized Tribes. During the winter of 1831-1832, the Choctaws were removed forcibly from their lands in Mississippi and Alabama to Indian Territory, in what is now Oklahoma. They were joined by the Creeks in 1836 and by the Chickasaws in 1837. In 1838, President Martin Van Buren ordered federal troops to round up the entire Cherokee tribe, nearly twenty thousand people, and force-march them to Indian Territory. The Cherokees suffered terribly in the course of the long trek known as the **Trail of Tears** (see Map 9.2). Nearly a fourth of the Cherokees died of disease, exhaustion, or heartbreak on this march.

The only Civilized Tribe to adopt a policy of military resistance was the Seminoles. Like the other tribes, the Seminoles were deeply divided. Some chose peaceful relocation, but a group led by **Osceola** declared war on the protreaty group and

**Treaty of New Echota** Treaty in 1835 that gave all Cherokee land east of the Mississippi to the U.S. government in return for \$5 million and land in Indian Territory.

**Trail of Tears** Forced march of the Cherokee people from Georgia to Indian Territory in the winter of 1838; thousands of Cherokees died.

**Osceola** Seminole leader in Florida who opposed removal of his people to the West and led resistance to U.S. troops; he was captured by treachery while bearing a flag of truce.

on the United States. After years of guerrilla swamp fighting, Osceola was finally captured in 1837. The antitreaty faction fought on until 1842, when the United States withdrew its troops. Eventually, even Osceola's followers agreed to move west, though a small faction of the Seminoles remained in Florida's swamps.

### **Jackson and the West**

Jackson's Indian policy enhanced his popularity in the West, but two other western demands proved troublesome for Old Hickory. The demand for federally funded internal improvements clashed with his notions of small and frugal government, and the demand for more liberal public land policies endangered government revenues and Jackson's relationship with supporters outside the West.

Jackson's views on federal spending for roads, canals, and other internal improvements were influenced more by political than by regional considerations. For example, Jackson vetoed a bill appropriating money to build a road from Maysville, Kentucky, on the Ohio border, to Lexington. He claimed that it would benefit only one state and was therefore unconstitutional. But political considerations clearly influenced this decision. Lexington was the hub of Henry Clay's political district, and Jackson wanted to do nothing that would aid his rival. In this case, Jackson's constitutional scruples coincided with his political interests.

The issue of public land policy proved more difficult for Jackson. Many aspiring farmers could not afford to pay \$1.25 per acre for public land and clamored for a price reduction. Jackson's response was to propose that federal land be offered for sale at what it cost to survey the land and process the sale. This proposal represented a departure from previous land policy, which assumed that land sales should profit the government. Easterners and southerners were alarmed at proposals to sell federal land at cost. They feared that migration would drain their population and give the West an even bigger voice in the nation's economics and politics. Southerners were also concerned that Congress would replace revenues lost from the sale of public land by raising tariffs. Northern employers were afraid that westward migration would drive up

the price of labor. The result was nearly three years of debate in Congress that hinted at the difficulties that sectionalized politics could cause.

### **The Nullification Crisis**

Southern concerns about rising tariffs were felt most keenly in South Carolina. Soil exhaustion and declining agricultural prices left many planters in the state in an economic pinch. South Carolina had protested loudly in 1828 when Congress passed the Tariff of Abominations. Calhoun, who had turned away from Clay's nationalist program to support southern interests and states' rights as the economy turned sour in 1819, led the protest.

In 1828, Calhoun wrote an anonymous pamphlet, *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest*. In it he argued that tariffs benefited only one part of the country rather than the nation at large and should be considered unconstitutional. More important, Calhoun echoed the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 in asserting that the states were the ultimate judge of the national government's legitimate power. The states had given up none of their sovereignty when they signed the Constitution. It was thus reserved for the states, not the Supreme Court, to judge the constitutionality of any law.

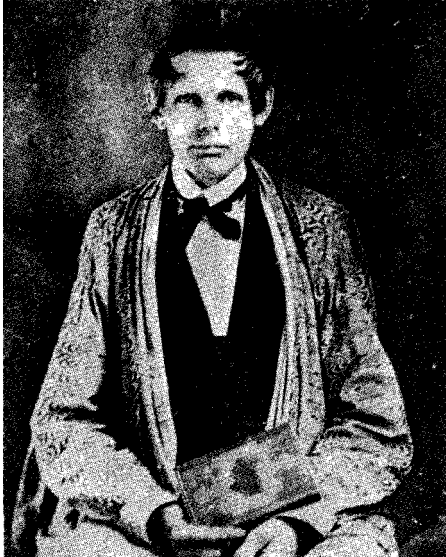
This reasoning led Calhoun to assert that the Tariff of Abominations could not be imposed on a state that believed it unjust. Such a state had the right to call a popular convention to consider a disputed law. If the state convention decided against the law, the law would not be binding within the state. In other words, a state had the right to declare the law invalid within the state's jurisdiction. This idea came to be called nullification.

As Calhoun's pamphlet circulated, nationalists like Clay and Jackson became more anxious about the potential threat to federal power. The first test came in 1830, when Senator Robert Y. Hayne of

survey To determine the area and boundaries of land through measurement and mathematical calculation.

**nullification** Refusal of a state to recognize or enforce a federal law within its boundaries.

### Choosing Justice or Union



#### Samuel Austin Worcester

*Samuel Austin Worcester chose to help the Cherokee Indians when Georgia passed a series of discriminatory laws. This aid led to Worcester's imprisonment. He took his case all the way to the Supreme Court, which sided with him. But he chose to back away from his position when it became clear that civil war would be the result of defending Cherokee rights. From "Cherokee Messenger" by Althea Bass, University of Oklahoma Press.*

During the waning days of 1830, two very different groups met in Georgia to discuss the impact of the Indian Removal Act. One, the Georgia state legislature, was flush with victory:

when enforced, the new federal law would sweep the Cherokees out of western Georgia, freeing up the tribe's rich lands. The other was a group of missionaries. At its head was the frail-looking and scholarly heir to seven generations of New England ministers, Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, who, with his associates, vowed to resist Cherokee removal.

Announcing their vow in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, Worcester stated that Andrew Jackson's Indian policy had moral as well as political implications "inasmuch as it involves the maintenance or violation of the faith of our country." Moreover, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had declared in 1810 that it would bring about the Christian conversion of the entire world within a single generation, and removing the Cherokees would delay their conversion and imperil the board's agenda.

For their part, the Georgia state legislators had spent years attempting to drive the Cherokees out of the state, and they regarded missionary support for the Indians as an irritation. Now, with victory nearly at hand, the legislators wanted to cut off missionary assistance. They passed a new law ordering the missionaries to sign a loyalty oath to the state promising to comply with Georgia law. If they signed the oath, Georgia could legally order them to stop helping the Indians. If they did not sign the oath, they would be imprisoned.



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The new law became effective on March 1, 1831, and shortly thereafter Worcester and his colleagues were arrested. Because Worcester was the federal postmaster for the community of New Echota, a Georgia judge released him. But on May 15, Worcester received notice from Georgia governor George R. Gilmer that politicians had pulled strings in Washington to have his postmaster's commission suspended. The governor told Worcester that he had ten days to sign the oath, leave the state, or face arrest. Writing back to the governor, Worcester asserted that he did not believe the state of Georgia had the authority to enforce its will within the Cherokee Nation. Even if it did, he said, he was answerable to a higher law.

On July 7, Worcester was arrested again. He posted a bond and regained his freedom, but threats of further harassment forced him to move to neighboring Tennessee, leaving his ailing wife and baby at the mission in New Echota. On August 14, his baby daughter died, and when he rushed home to be with his family, he was arrested. When the court learned why he had returned to Georgia, he was released but was forced to return to exile in Tennessee.

Worcester thus lived like a fugitive, separated from his family and subject to legal harassment, until his case finally came to trial on September 16. The facts were clear. Worcester's own letter to the governor had declared his guilt, and the jury quickly made it official. Samuel Worcester and ten other missionaries were sentenced to four years at hard labor in the Georgia state penitentiary.

After refusing to hear the case of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Chief Justice John Marshall informed Cherokee tribal lawyers that he was eager for them to bring a stronger case. Worcester's case filled the bill, and the Cherokee Nation and the American Board jointly appealed Worcester's conviction before the Supreme Court. The Court agreed to hear the case, and in a landmark decision ordered Worcester and

his co-defendants released, declaring all the laws passed to harass the Cherokees null and void. Technically, Worcester should have been a free man, but President Jackson refused to acknowledge Marshall's decision and would not order Georgia to release him. The American Board's attorneys had to return to Marshall and ask for a federal court order instructing Jackson to force Worcester's release. In the meantime, however, the Bank War and the nullification crisis had hit the nation with full force, threatening the fabric of the Union. Hoping to avoid yet another blow, newly elected Georgia governor Wilson Lumpkin told Worcester and his associates that he would grant them a pardon if they chose not to press their case. The American Board instructed the missionaries to accept the pardon and end the legal struggle. Their decision to follow the board's instruction is understandable, but there is truth to the charge leveled by historian William G. McLoughlin that Worcester and the American Board chose to "sacrifice the Cherokees to save the Union."

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South Carolina and Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts debated Calhoun's ideas. Hayne supported Calhoun's ideas completely. Webster countered with one of the most stirring orations ever delivered in the Senate. He concluded his speech by proclaiming, "Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!"

Jackson soon made his position clear. At a political banquet, he offered a toast: "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved." Calhoun then rose and countered Jackson's toast with one of his own: "The Union—next to our liberty most dear. May we always remember that it can only be preserved by distributing evenly the benefits and burthens of the Union." These toasts marked a complete rift between Jackson and Calhoun, who had been elected as Jackson's vice president in 1828.

Two years passed before the crisis finally came to a head. In 1832, Jackson sought to enhance his re-election prospects by asking Congress to lower tariff rates. (Jackson dropped Calhoun as his running mate in favor of Martin Van Buren.) It gladly complied. This action still did not satisfy the nullifiers in South Carolina. They called for a special convention to consider the matter of the tariff. The convention met in November 1832 and voted overwhelmingly to nullify the tariff.

Jackson quickly proved true to his toast of two years before. Bristling that nullification violated the Constitution, Jackson immediately reinforced federal forts in South Carolina and sent warships to enforce the collection of the tariff. He also asked Congress to pass a "force bill" giving him the power to invade the rebellious state if necessary. In hopes of placating southerners and winning popular support in the upcoming election, Clay proposed and Congress passed a lowered tariff, but it also voted to give Jackson the power he asked for.

Passage of these measures prompted South Carolina to repeal its nullification of the tariff. But it then nullified the force bill. Although Jackson ignored this action, the problem was not resolved. The issue of federal versus states' rights continued to fester throughout the antebellum period.

### **Jackson and the Bank War**

Jackson faced another major crisis related to federal power in 1832, this one involving the Second Bank

of the United States. Casting about for an issue that might dampen Jackson's popularity in an election year, Webster and Clay seized on the bank. Although the bank's twenty-year charter was not due for renewal until 1836, several considerations led Jackson's political enemies to press for renewal on the eve of the 1832 election. First, Jackson was a known opponent of the bank. Second, the country was prosperous at the time, and the bank was apparently popular. Many attributed this prosperity to the economic stability provided by the bank under the leadership of Nicholas **Biddle**, who had been its president since 1823. Proponents of the bank reasoned that Democratic unity might break down if Jackson opposed renewing the bank's charter.

Jackson's opponents were partially right. Congress passed the renewal bill and Jackson vetoed it, but the envisioned rift between Jackson and congressional Democrats did not open. The president stole the day by delivering a powerful veto message. Jackson launched the Bank War by denouncing the Second Bank as an example of vested privilege and monopoly power that served the interests of "the few at the expense of the many" and injured "humbler members of society—the farmers, the mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves." Jackson further asserted that foreign interests, many of which were seen as enemies to American rights, had used the bank to amass large blocks of American securities.

Although the charter was not renewed, the Second Bank could operate for four more years on its existing charter. Jackson, however, wanted to kill the bank immediately. He withdrew federal funds from the bank and redeposited the money in state banks.

**Daniel Webster** Massachusetts senator and lawyer who was known for his forceful speeches and considered nullification a threat to the Union.

**Nicholas Biddle** President of the Second Bank of the United States; he struggled to keep the bank functioning when President Jackson tried to undermine its powers.

**Bank War** The political conflict that occurred when Andrew Jackson tried to destroy the Second Bank of the United States, which he thought represented special interests at the expense of the common man.

Powerless to stop the withdrawal of federal funds, Biddle sought to replace dwindling assets by calling in loans owed by state banks and by raising interest rates. In this way, the banker believed, he would not only head off the Second Bank's collapse but also trigger a business panic that might force the government to reverse its course. By the time this panic occurred, however, Andrew Jackson was no longer in the White House.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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With the end of the War of 1812, President Madison and the Republicans *chose* to promote an agenda for an expansive America. They champi-

oned a national market economy and passed federal legislation to create a national bank and to protect American industry. Madison gave free rein to nationalists such as John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, who expanded the nation's sphere of influence.

Ironically, the *outcome* of postwar economic expansion was an increase in tensions among regions. During the economic hard times that followed the Panic of 1819, the nation's geographical sections *chose* to wrestle for control over federal power in an attempt to solve their economic ills. The political contention over the admission of Missouri reflected these economic tensions and marked the end of the Era of Good Feelings.

Meanwhile, newly politicized voters *chose* to sweep the gentlemanly John Quincy Adams out of office and replace him with the presumably more democratic Andrew Jackson. Backed by a machine that reflected sectional interests, Jackson had to juggle all the regions' financial, tariff, and Indian policy demands while trying to hold his political alliance and the nation together. The *outcome* was a series of regional crises—Indian removal, nullification, and the Bank War—that alienated the regions.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Dangerfield, George. *The Era of Good Feelings* (1952).

A book so well written and informative that it deserves its status as a classic. All students will enjoy this grand overview.

Rogin, Michael Paul. *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (1975).

A controversial and enjoyable psychoanalysis of Andrew Jackson. Focuses on his Indian policy but gives an interesting view of his entire personality.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (1951).

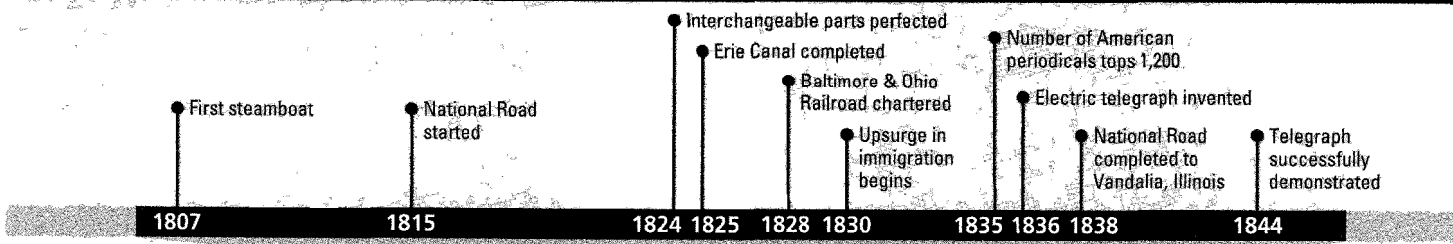
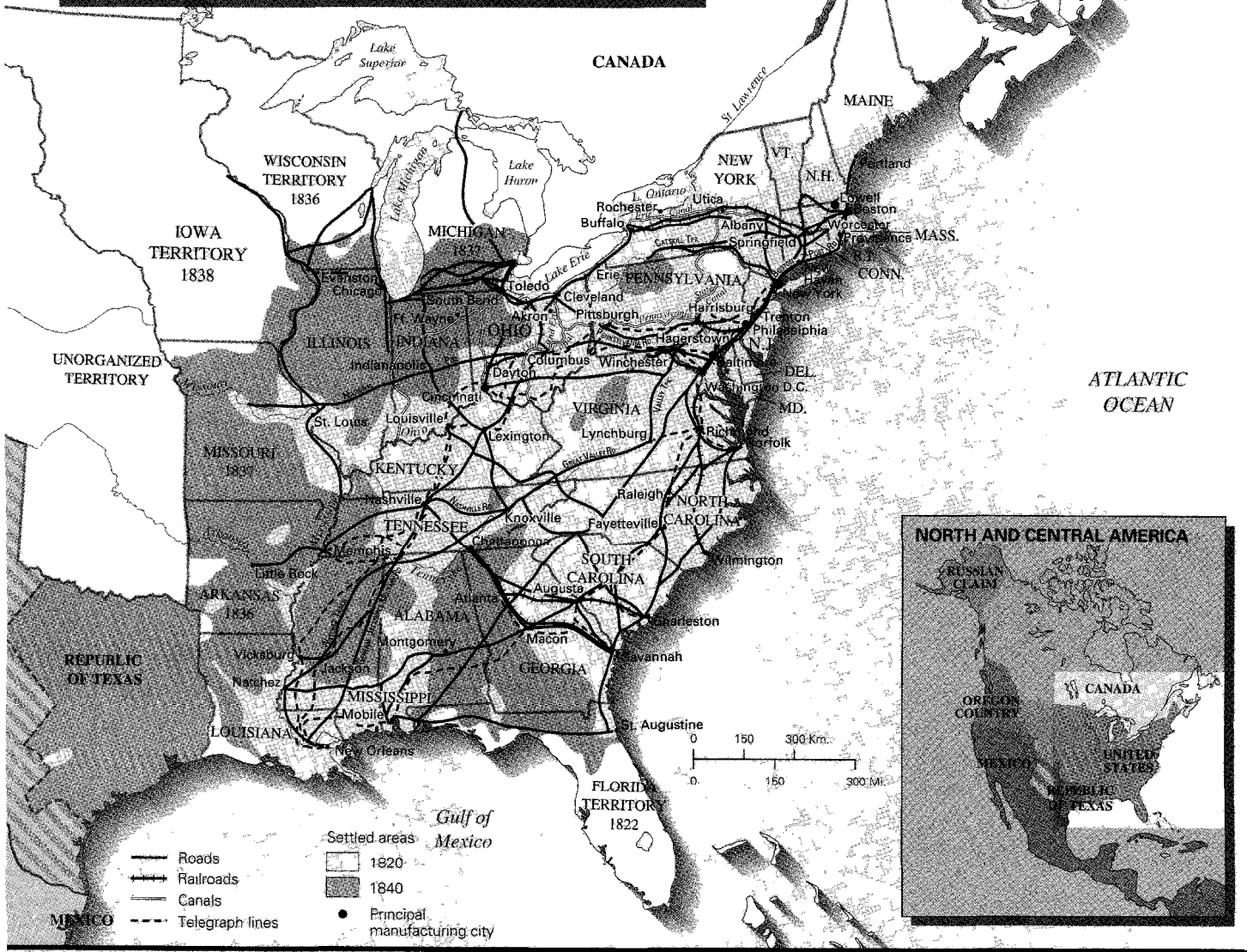
The only comprehensive treatment of changes in transportation during the antebellum period and their economic impact. Nicely written and comprehensive in treating the topic.

Ward, John William. *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (1955).

A classic and fascinating view of how Jackson was shaped as a man and the reasons for his dramatic hold on the American imagination.



**ROADS, CANALS, RAILWAYS, AND TELEGRAPH LINES, 1850** A transportation and communications revolution took place between 1820 and 1850 as roads, canals, rails, and telegraph lines reached out to bind the many parts of the nation together. The intimate connections made possible by the new lines of communication shown here ensured economic growth but also increased tensions between the nation's sections by making it difficult to ignore the vast differences between regional cultures.



# The Great Transformation,

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## 1815-1840

### **The Transportation Revolution**

- How did newly emerging networks of transportation and communication change the expectations of Americans in the North, West, and South?

### **The Manufacturing Boom**

- How did new manufacturing techniques following the adoption of interchangeable parts change the nature of work?
- How did the developing factory system affect the expectations of artisans and elite and middle-class Americans?

### **The New Cotton Empire in the South**

- How did the expectations of southerners—black and white—change after 1820?
  - How did white southerners choose to respond to these changing expectations, and what new constraints resulted for slaves, free blacks, and poor whites?
-

# ( INTRODUCTION )

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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In the quarter century after the War of 1812, the United States underwent a profound economic transformation that affected the lives of virtually all Americans. Although most Americans *chose* to remain farmers as of 1840, it was clear that the agrarian republic of the Founding Fathers was rapidly disappearing, particularly in the Northeast, where an industrial revolution was well under way.

The effects of this economic transformation were felt even in regions where farming remained the mainstay. Whether growing cotton or corn, farmers by 1840 expected to sell their crops in distant markets rather than subsisting on the fruits of their toil. Most had become thoroughly integrated into a national market economy. Jefferson's ideal of the isolated, self-sufficient yeoman farmer had largely vanished.

The spread of commercial farming and the proliferation of manufacturing were made possible by a revolution in transportation that occurred after the War of 1812. Although some *constraints* on transportation still remained as of 1840, a network of roads, canals, and railroads connected the nation in a way that had been unimaginable in 1815. The improving transportation system encouraged the *expectations* of manufacturers, farmers, and businessmen that they could sell products profitably in faraway markets.

In the North, new techniques of manufacturing such as the invention of interchangeable parts and new methods of organizing work led to a host of

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unexpected *outcomes*. Skilled workers were no longer needed to make complicated machines, and the value of labor declined along with the range of *choices* open to workers. Factory owners and their families *chose* to live in fashionable neighborhoods far away from their factories, leaving daily operations of the workplace in the hands of clerks and managers.

The American South underwent a profound transformation during this era as well. The hunger that British and American textile mills shared for raw cotton gave southerners great *expectations* for enormous prosperity. The astounding growth of cotton agriculture led to the equally explosive growth of slavery. The *outcome* was a political and social economy in the South that would shape every soul in the region.

Each step in this great transformation generated waves of change, altering *expectations*, removing old *constraints*, and then creating new ones. A whole generation was forced to make *choices* the likes of which no previous generation of Americans had faced. One long-term *outcome* of the choices these people made was that the foundation for a modern America was set firmly in place.

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## The Transportation Revolution

The movement to improve transportation after the War of 1812 had two origins. The first was the recognition that the poor state of American roads had been a considerable handicap for American troops during the war. The second was the rapid settlement of the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest. As farmers moved into these fertile

lands, they began producing huge agricultural surpluses. It quickly became apparent that improved transportation was needed to take advantage of the agricultural bounty being produced in these regions.

Before the War of 1812, travel on the nation's roads was a wearying, bone-rattling experience. Those who could afford to travel by stagecoach were bounced along over muddy, rutted roads at the pace of 4 miles per hour. The enjoyment of such



## Chronology

### A Revolution in Transportation

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1807 Robert Fulton tests the <i>Clermont</i>  | 1830 Steam locomotive <i>Tom Thumb</i> beaten by a horse in a race |
| 1815 Government funding for the National Road   | 1830-1840 Immigration approaches 600,000 for the decade            |
| 1812 First successful steamboat run from Pittsburgh to New Orleans                                | 1834 Main Line Canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh completed     |
| 1817 Construction of Erie Canal begins  | 1836 Samuel F. B. Morse invents electric telegraph                 |
| 1819 <i>Dartmouth College v. Woodward</i><br><i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i>                         | 1838 National Road completed to Vandalia, Illinois                 |
| 1824 John H. Hall perfects interchangeable parts for gun manufacturing<br><i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i> |  |
| 1825 Erie Canal completed   |  |

dubious luxury cost the equivalent of a pint of good whiskey for each mile traveled.

Although some private turnpikes had existed since the 1790s, the road-building business took on new energy after the War of 1812 when the federal and state governments began financing road improvements. The federal commitment began in 1815 when President Madison supported the government-funded National Road between Cumberland, Maryland, and Wheeling, Virginia. Such a road was a military and postal necessity, Madison declared. By 1838, the government had spent in excess of \$7 million on this road, also known as the **Cumberland Road**, extending it all the way to Vandalia, Illinois.

New roads helped to alleviate the transportation problems faced by the growing nation, but they hardly solved them. Some small manufactured goods could be hauled west along the roads, and relatively lightweight items like whiskey could move the other way. But heavy, bulky products were still difficult and expensive to move. At a minimum, hauling a ton of freight along the nation's roads cost 15 cents per mile.

Water transportation remained the most economical means for shipping large loads. Unfortunately, navigable rivers and lakes seldom formed usable transportation networks. Holland and other European countries had solved this problem by digging canals. After the War of 1812, the state governments opened an era of canal building.

New York State was the most successful at canal development. In 1817, the state started work on a canal that would run more than 350 miles from Lake Erie at Buffalo to the Hudson River at Albany.

**turnpike** A highway on which tolls are collected at barriers set up along the way; companies that hoped to make a profit from the tolls built the first turnpikes.

**Cumberland Road** A national highway built with federal funds; it eventually stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois, and beyond.

**freight** Any goods or cargo carried in commercial transport.

This canal would tap the rich agricultural regions of western New York and the Great Lakes. When completed in 1825, the Erie Canal revolutionized shipping. The cost of shipping a ton of oats from Buffalo to Albany fell more than 80 percent, and the transit time dropped from twenty days to eight. The canal enabled a flood of goods from America's interior to reach New York City and made that city the nation's commercial center.

The spectacular success of the **Erie Canal** prompted state governments to offer all manner of financial incentives to canal-building companies. The result was an explosion in canal building that lasted through the 1830s.

Pennsylvania's experiences were typical. Jealous of New York's success, Pennsylvania proposed a system of canals and roads that would make it the commercial hub of the Western Hemisphere. At the center of this system was the Main Line Canal connecting Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The problem was that the two cities were separated by mountains over two thousand feet high. Using locks to raise boats over this height was a technological impossibility. Engineers finally designed a portage railroad over the Allegheny Mountains.

The Allegheny Portage Railroad permitted passengers and cargo to make the trip across the mountains on land but without leaving canal boats. The canal boats were floated onto submerged railcars. Steam power was then used to pull the railcars, which were attached to a cable, up a series of inclined planes. After being pulled up five steep inclines, the railcars began the descent to the canal at the other side of the mountains. At the bottom of the last incline, the boats were unloaded and placed in the canal to continue the trip to Philadelphia or Pittsburgh.

The portage railroad was an engineering marvel. The completion of the Main Line system in 1834 allowed a family to travel relatively quickly and comfortably all the way from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. The tolls alone, however, cost as much as six acres of prime farmland. In the long run, the Main Line Canal was a dismal financial failure, never earning investors one cent of profit.

Despite Pennsylvania's experience, nearly every state in the North and West undertook some canal building between 1820 and 1840.

States and private individuals invested over \$100 million on nearly 3,500 miles of canals during the heyday of canal building. Nearly all experienced the same sad financial fate as Pennsylvania's Main Line Canal.

## Steam Power

Canals solved one problem of water transportation but did not address the issue of how to move people and goods upstream on America's great rivers. While a barge could make it downstream from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in about a month, the return trip took over four months, if it could be made at all. As a result, most shippers barged their freight downriver, sold the barges for lumber in New Orleans, and walked back home along the Natchez Trace.

In 1807, Robert Fulton perfected a design that made steam-powered shipping practical. His *Clermont* used steam-driven wheels mounted on the sides of the vessel to push it up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany. Unfortunately, the *Clermont* was not well suited to most of America's waterways. Heavy and narrow-beamed, Fulton's ship needed deep water to carry a limited payload. It did not take long, however, for engineers to design broader-beamed, lighter vessels that could

Erie Canal A 350-mile canal stretching from Buffalo to Albany; it revolutionized shipping in New York.

**lock** An enclosed section of a canal, with gates at each end, used to raise or lower boats from one level to another by admitting or releasing water; locks allow canals to compensate for changes in terrain.

portage The carrying of boats or supplies overland between two waterways.

Natchez Trace A road connecting Natchez, Mississippi, with Nashville, Tennessee; it evolved from a series of Indian trails and had commercial and military importance in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

payload The part of a cargo that generates revenue, as opposed to the part needed to fire the boiler or supply the crew.



- ◆ Though painted many years after the event, this picture captures the excitement of the historic race between the steam-powered *Tom Thumb* and a stagecoach horse that took place in the summer of 1830. The horse won, leading the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to scrap steam power and hitch horses to their cars rather than locomotives. "*The Race of the Tom Thumb*" by Herbert D. Stitt. *The Chessie System, B&O Railroad Museum Archives.*

carry heavy loads in shallow western rivers. By 1812 the *New Orleans* had made a successful run from Pittsburgh to New Orleans.

Steam power took canal building's impact on inland transportation a revolutionary step further. Between 1816 and 1840, the cost of shipping a ton of goods down American rivers fell from an average of 1 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cents per mile to less than half a cent. The cost of upstream transport fell from over 10 cents per mile to about half a cent. In addition, steamboats could carry bulky and heavy objects that could not be hauled upstream for any price by any other means. Dependable river transportation drew cotton cultivation farther into the nation's interior and allowed fur trappers and traders to press up the Missouri River. Only the development of steam railroads would ultimately have a greater impact on nineteenth-century transportation.

Merchants from cities without extensive navigable rivers, such as Baltimore, took the lead in developing this new technology. In 1828, the state chartered the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad. The B&O soon demonstrated its potential when inventor Peter Cooper's steam locomotive *Tom Thumb* sped 13 miles along B&O tracks. Ironically, the B&O abandoned steam power and replaced it with horses temporarily after a stagecoach horse beat the *Tom Thumb* in a widely publicized race held in 1830.

Despite this race, South Carolina invested in steam technology and chartered a 136-mile rail line from Charleston to Hamburg. Here the first full-size American-built locomotive was used to pull cars. Even the explosion of this engine did not deter the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad from continuing to use steam engines.

Rail transport could not rival water-based transportation systems during this early period. By 1850, individual companies had laid approximately 9,000 miles of track, but not in any coherent network. Also, the

distance between tracks varied from company to company. As a result, cargoes had to be unloaded from the cars of one company's trains at line's end, lugged to the railhead of another line, and reloaded onto the other company's cars. There were other problems too. Boiler explosions, fires, and derailments were common. Entrenched interest groups used their power in state legislatures to limit the extension of railroads. These obstacles prevented railroads from becoming a major factor in American life until the 1850s.

## The Information Revolution

Since the nation's founding, American leaders had feared that the sheer size of the country would make true federal democracy impractical. During the 1790s, it took a week for a letter to travel from Virginia to New York City and three weeks from Cincinnati to the Atlantic coast. Thomas Jefferson speculated that the continent would become a series of allied republics, each small enough to operate efficiently given the slow speed of communication. The transportation revolution, however, made quite a difference in how quickly news got around.

The Erie Canal enabled letters posted in Buffalo to reach New York City within six days and New Orleans in about two weeks. The increased flow of information caused an explosion in the number of newspapers and magazines published in the country. In 1790, the 92 American newspapers had a total circulation of around 4 million. By 1835, the number of periodicals had risen to 1,258, and circulation had surpassed 90 million.

Samuel F. B. Morse's invention of the electric telegraph greatly enhanced the speed of the communications revolution. His invention, first tested in 1836, consisted of a transmitter and receiver of electrical impulses. The transmitter sent either a short electrical pulse (a dot) or a long electrical pulse (a dash), from which Morse devised his famous code. The major obstacle that Morse faced was sending these electrical pulses long distances over wires. By 1843, he had worked out this problem, and Congress agreed to finance an experimental line between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. On May 24, 1844, he sent his first message over the line: "What hath God wrought!"

## Legal Anchors for New Business Enterprise

Before wholesale changes could take place in American transportation and business, some thorny legal issues needed to be resolved. The American System made questions of authority over finance and interstate commerce increasingly

important. In three landmark legal cases, John Marshall, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, resolved such questions and cleared the way for the expansion of interstate trade.

If businesses were going to build and operate large enterprises, they had to have confidence in the sanctity of legal contracts. In the case of *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), the Supreme Court made contracts secure. The 1769 charter for Dartmouth College specified that the college's board of trustees would be self-perpetuating. In 1816, to gain control over the college, the New Hampshire legislature passed a bill allowing the state's governor to appoint board members. The board sued, claiming that the charter was a legal contract that the legislature had no right to alter. Marshall concurred that the Constitution protected the sanctity of contracts and that state legislatures could not interfere with them.

In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Marshall established the superiority of the federal government over state authorities in matters of finance. The case involved the cashier of the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States, who refused to put state revenue stamps on federal bank notes as required by Maryland law. McCulloch (the cashier) was indicted by the state but appealed to federal authorities. Marshall ruled that the states could not impose taxes on federal institutions and that McCulloch was right in refusing to comply with Maryland's law. As he wrote, "The Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme."

The supremacy of federal authority was demonstrated again in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824). This case involved a New York charter given to Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston that granted them exclusive rights to run steamboats on rivers in that state. Thomas Gibbons also operated a

**circulation** The number of copies of a publication sold or distributed.

**electric telegraph** Device used to send messages in the form of electrical signals.

**indict** To make a formal accusation against someone.

steamboat service in the same area, but under the authority of the federal Coasting Act. When a conflict between the two companies ended up in court, Marshall ruled in favor of Gibbons, arguing that the monopoly that New York had granted conflicted with federal authority and was therefore invalid.

Those three cases helped ease the way for the development of new businesses. With contracts free from state and local meddling and the superiority of Congress in banking and interstate commerce established, businesses had the security they needed to turn Henry Clay's dream of a national market economy into a reality.

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## Manufacturing Boom

During the opening years of the nineteenth century, manufacturing in America was largely a home-based affair. Before the 1820s, American households produced most of the manufactured goods they used. More than 60 percent of the clothing Americans wore was spun from raw fibers and sewn by women in their homes. Craftsmen also worked in their homes, assisted by family members and an extended family of apprentices and **journeymen**.

Beginning during the War of 1812, textile manufacturing led the way in moving production out of the home and into the factory. The intimate ties between manufacturers and workers were severed, and both found themselves surrounded by strangers in new and unfamiliar urban environments.

### The "American System" of Manufacturing

At first, mechanized production played only a small part in the manufacturing of textiles. Even Samuel Slater (see pages 184-185), depended on the putting-out **system** to finish the manufacturing process. In this system, manufacturers provided thread and other materials to women arti-

sans, who then wove, dyed, and sewed the final products at home. During slack times in the agricultural year, entire families participated in this home industry. When the householders had used all the thread, they took the finished goods to the manufacturer and were paid for their work.

A radical departure in cloth manufacturing took place in 1813, when the Boston Manufacturing Company mechanized all the stages in the production of finished cloth, bringing the entire process under one roof. By 1822, the factory's success led the company to build a larger one in Lowell, Massachusetts, a town named after one of the company's founders, Francis Cabot Lowell.

The design of the Lowell factory was widely copied during the 1820s and 1830s. Spinning and weaving on machines located in one building cut the time and the cost of manufacturing significantly. Quality control became easier because employees were under constant supervision. As a result, the putting-out system for turning thread into cloth went into serious decline, as did home production of clothes for family use. Ready-made clothing became standard wearing apparel in the 1830s and 1840s.

A major technological revolution helped to push factory production into other areas of manufacturing during these same years. In traditional manufacturing, individual artisans crafted each item one at a time. A clockmaker, for example, either cast or carved individually by hand all

The

**monopoly** The right to exclusive control over a commercial activity; it may be granted by the government.

**apprentices** Individuals who work for a master craftsman in order to learn a trade or skill.

**journeyman** A person who has finished an apprenticeship in a trade or craft and is a qualified worker in the employ of another.

**putting-out system** A system of production in which manufacturers provided artisans with materials such as thread and dye for use in producing goods at home.

**quality control** The effort to ensure that all goods produced meet consistent standards.

the gears, levers, and wheels. As a result, the innards of a clock worked together only in the clock for which they had been made. If that clock ever needed repair, new parts had to be custom-made for it. The lack of **interchangeable parts** made manufacturing extremely slow and repairs difficult.

Eli Whitney, inventor of the cotton gin (see page 186), was the first American to propose the large-scale use of interchangeable parts, to manufacture guns in 1798. Whitney's efforts failed because of a lack of start-up money and precision machine tools. But his former partner, John H. Hall, proved that manufacturing guns from interchangeable parts was practical at the federal armory in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1824. This "American system of manufacturing" spread to the Springfield Armory in Massachusetts and then to private gun manufacturers like Samuel Colt. Within twenty years, products ranging from sewing machines to farm implements were being made from interchangeable parts.

The use of interchangeable parts speeded up the manufacture of important products and improved their dependability. The new technology also made repairing guns and other standardized mechanisms easy and relatively cheap. Like the textile mills, factories assembling interchangeable parts slashed the production costs. The use of interchangeable parts allowed employers to hire unskilled workers to assemble those parts. Extensive training became irrelevant. A gunsmith with years of experience was likely to find himself working on equal terms alongside a youngster or recent immigrant with no craft experience at all.

### **New Workplaces and New Workers**

Moving manufacturing from the home to the factory changed the nature of work and altered the traditional relationship between employers and employees. To attract workers, some entrepreneurs developed company towns. Families recruited from the economically depressed New England countryside were installed in neat row houses, each with its own small vegetable garden. Each

family member was employed by the company. Women worked on the production line. Men ran heavy machinery and worked as millwrights, carpenters, haulers, or day laborers. Children did light work in the factories and tended gardens at home.

Lowell's company developed another system. Hard-pressed to find enough families to work in the factories, it recruited unmarried farm girls. Because most of the girls saw factory work as a transitional stage between girlhood and marriage, the company assured them and their families that the moral atmosphere in its dormitories would be strictly controlled to maintain the girls' reputations.

In New York, Philadelphia, and other cities, enterprising manufacturers found an alternative source of labor in the immigrant slums. In the shoe industry, for example, they assigned one family to make soles, another to make heels, and so forth. Making shoes this way was not as efficient as making them in a factory, but it did have advantages. Such manufacturers did not have to build factories and could pay rock-bottom wages to desperate slum dwellers.

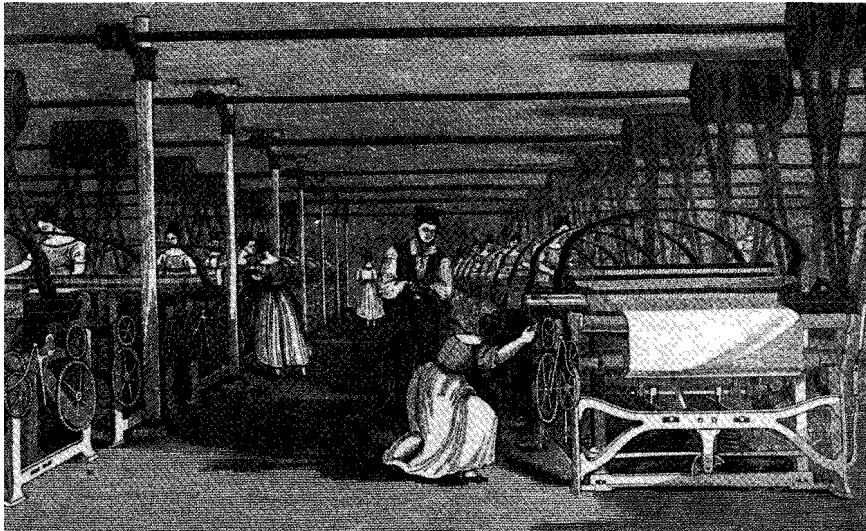
Machine production and the growing pool of labor proved economically devastating to the working class. No longer was the employer a master craftsman who felt some responsibility toward his workers. Factory owners had obligations to investors and bankers, but not to their workers. Owners kept wages low, regardless of the workers' cost of living. As the supply of labor swelled and wages declined, increasing numbers of working people faced poverty and squalor.

The increasing number of immigrants who came to America after 1820 contributed signifi-

**interchangeable parts** Parts that are identical and can be substituted for one another.

**company town** A town built and owned by a single company; its residents depend on the company not only for jobs but for stores, schools, and housing.

**millwright** A person who designs, builds, or repairs mills or mill machinery



- ◆ Women who worked in the new textile factories complained about the noise, tedium, and dangers. This engraving, from the *Memoir of Samuel Slater* (1836), shows the conditions under which they worked. *Museum of American Textile History.*

cantly to the desperate situation of the working class. Between 1820 and 1830, for example, slightly more than 151,000 people immigrated to the United States. In the following decade, that number increased to nearly 600,000; between 1840 and 1850, it soared to more than a million and a half people (see Map 10.1). This enormous increase in immigration changed the cultural and economic face of the nation. Immigrants flocked to the port and manufacturing cities of the Northeast, where they joined Americans fleeing the countryside after the Panic of 1819. Former master craftsmen, journeymen, and apprentices combined with immigrants and refugees from the farm to form a new social class and culture in America.

Nearly half of all immigrants to the United States between 1820 and 1860 came from Ireland, a nation beset with poverty, political strife, and, after the potato blight appeared in 1841, starvation. Few Irish had marketable skills or more money than the voyage to America cost. They arrived penniless and virtually unemployable. Many of them spoke not English but Gaelic.

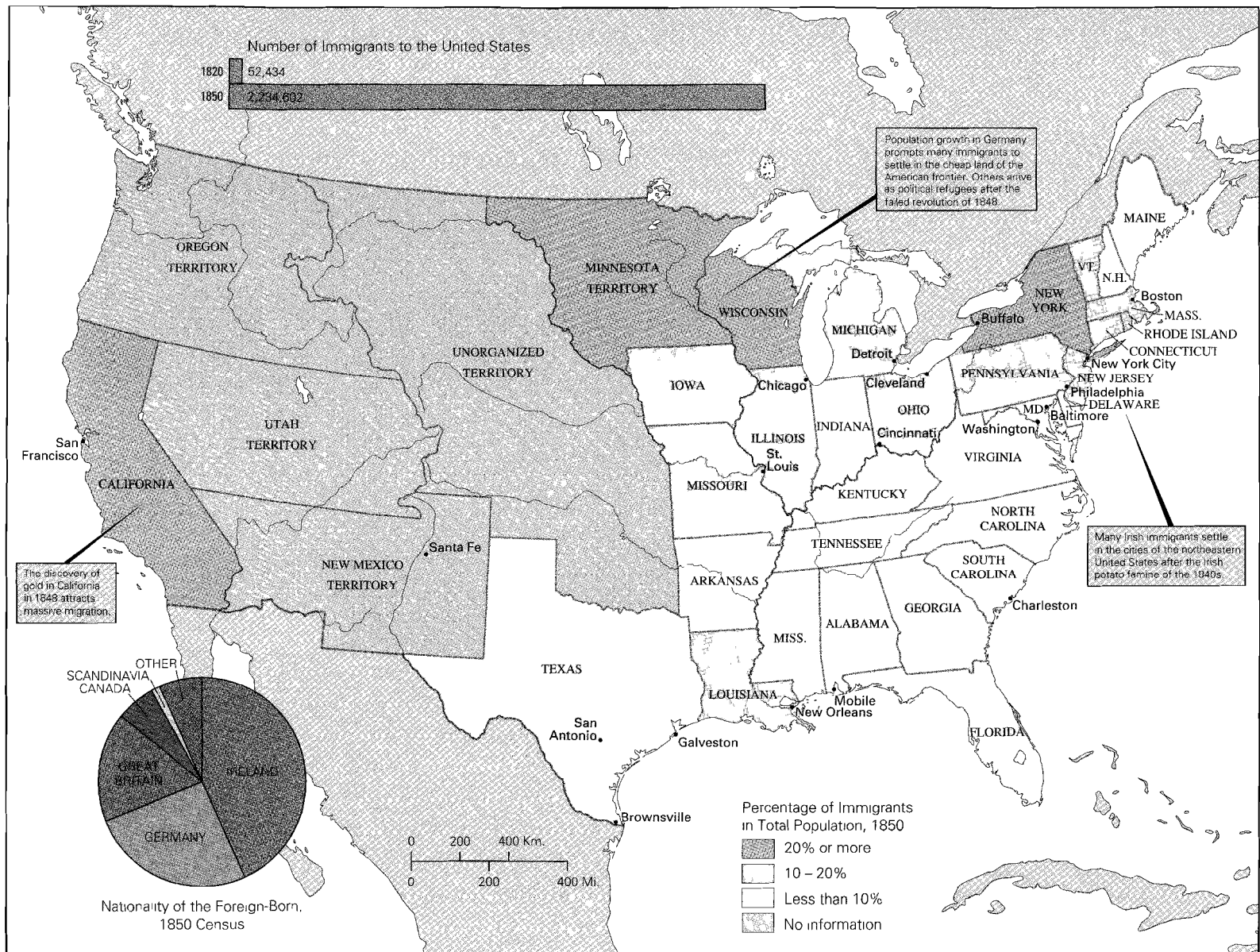
The same was true of many Germans, the second most numerous immigrant group. Radical economic change and political upheaval put peasants and skilled craftsmen into flight. Like Irish peasants, German farmers arrived in America destitute and void of opportunities. Trained German craftsmen had a better chance at finding employment, but mechanization threatened their livelihoods as well. Adding to their difficulties was their lack of fluency in English.

Not only were the new immigrants poor and unskilled, but most were culturally different from native-born Americans. Catholicism separated most from the vast majority of Americans, who were Protestants. In religion, language, dress, eating and drinking habits, and social values, the new immigrants were very different from the people whose culture dominated American society.

Poverty, cultural distinctiveness, and the desire to live among fellow immigrants created ethnic neighborhoods in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities. Here, people with the same culture and religion built churches, stores, pubs, beer halls, and other familiar institutions to help themselves cope with the shock of transplantation and to adapt to life in the United States. They started fraternal organizations and clubs to overcome loneliness and isolation. Living conditions were crowded, uncomfortable, and unsanitary.

Desperate for work, the new immigrants were willing to do nearly anything to earn money. For





◆ **MAP 10.1 Origin and Settlement of Immigrants, 1820-1850** Immigration was one of the most important economic, political, and social factors in American life during the antebellum period. As this map shows, with the exception of Louisiana, immigration was confined almost exclusively to areas where slavery was not permitted. This gave the North, Northwest, and California a different cultural flavor than the rest of the country and affected the political balance between those areas and the South.

manufacturers, they were the perfect work force. As immigration increased, the traditional labor shortage in America was replaced by a labor glut, and the social and economic status of all workers declined accordingly.

## Living Conditions in Industrializing America

Working conditions for factory workers reflected the labor supply, the manufacturing company's capital, and the personal philosophy of the factory owner. Girls at Lowell's factories described an environment of familiar paternalism. Factory managers and boarding-house keepers supervised every aspect of their lives. As for the work itself, one mill girl commented that it was "not half so hard as . . . attending the dairy, washing, cleaning house, and cooking." What bothered her most was the repetitive work and the resulting boredom.

Boredom could have disastrous consequences. Inattentive factory workers were likely to lose fingers, hands, arms, or even lives to whirring, pounding, slashing mechanisms. Some owners tried to make the workplace safe, but investors discouraged many from buying safety devices. Samuel Slater complained bitterly to investors after a child was chewed up in a factory machine. "You call for yarn," he declared, "but think little about the means by which it is to be made."

Such concern became increasingly rare as factory owners withdrew from overseeing daily operations. The influx of laborers from the countryside and foreign lands wiped out the decent wages and living conditions that manufacturing pioneers had offered. Laborers were increasingly expected to provide their own housing, food, and entertainment.

Large areas in cities became working-class neighborhoods. Factory workers, journeymen, and day laborers crammed into the boxlike rooms of **tenements**. Large houses formerly occupied by domestic manufacturers and their apprentices were broken up into tiny apartments and were rented to laborers. In some working-class areas of New York City, laborers were crowded fifty to a house.

Sewage disposal, drinking water, and trash removal were sorely neglected in such areas.

## Social Life for a Genteel Class

The factory system also altered the daily lives of manufacturers. In earlier years, journeymen and apprentices had lived with master craftsmen and their families. Craftsmen exercised great authority over their workers but felt obligated to care for them almost as parents would. Such working arrangements blurred the distinction between employee and employer. The factory system ended this relationship. The movement of workers out of owners' homes permitted the emerging elite class to develop a genteel lifestyle that set them apart from the rest of the population.

Genteel families aimed at the complete separation of their private and public lives. Men in the elite class spent their leisure time socializing with each other in private clubs and organizations instead of drinking and eating with their employees. The lives of genteel wives also changed. The wife of a traditional craftsman had been responsible for important tasks in the operation of the business. Genteel women, by contrast, were expected to leave business dealings to men. They became immersed in what is called the cult of domesticity, which encouraged women to focus their lives completely on their homes and children. Women who did so believed they were performing an important duty for God and country and fulfilling their natural calling.

**labor glut** Oversupply of labor in relation to the number of jobs available.

**tenement** Urban apartment house, usually with minimal facilities for sanitation, safety, and comfort.

**genteel** The manner and style associated with the elite classes, usually characterized by elegance, grace, and politeness.

**cult of domesticity** The belief that women's proper role lay in domestic pursuits.

Motherhood consumed genteel women during the antebellum period. The new magazines and advice manuals of the 1820s and 1830s urged mothers to nurture rather than punish their children. Influential author Bronson Alcott helped to convince an entire generation of the need for a gentle and supporting hand and for a departure from harsh, Puritan methods of child rearing.

Despite the demands of motherhood, many genteel women found themselves isolated with time on their hands. They sought activities that would provide a sense of accomplishment without imperiling their genteel status. Many found outlets in fancy needlework, reading, and art appreciation societies. But some wished for more challenging activities. As Sarah Huntington Smith complained in 1833, "To make and receive visits, exchange friendly salutations, attend to one's wardrobe, cultivate a garden, read good and entertaining books, and even attend religious meetings for one's own enjoyment; all this does not satisfy me." Smith chose to become a missionary. Other genteel women during the 1830s and 1840s used their nurturing and purifying talents to reform what appeared to be a chaotic and immoral society by involving themselves in crusades against alcohol and slavery.

### **Life and Culture Among the New Middle Class**

The new class of clerks, bookkeepers, and managers that helped to run the factories owned by the genteel elite sought to find their own cultural level. This middle class had many of the same prejudices and ideals as the elite class. They read the same advice magazines, often attended the same churches, and sometimes belonged to the same civic and reform societies. Nevertheless, the lives of these two classes were different in many respects.

One distinguishing characteristic of the new middle class was its relative youth. These young people had flocked from the countryside to newly emerging cities in pursuit of formal education and employment. While middle-class men found employment as clerks, bookkeepers, and managers, middle-class women parlayed their education and perceived gift for nurturing children into work as teachers. It became acceptable for women to work as teachers for several years before marriage. Some avoided marriage altogether to pursue their hard-won careers.

Middle-class men and women tended to put off marriage until they had established themselves socially and economically. They also tended to have fewer children than their parents had. Because middle-class

children were sent to school to prepare them to pursue careers, they were an economic liability rather than an asset. Late marriage and birth control kept middle-class families small.

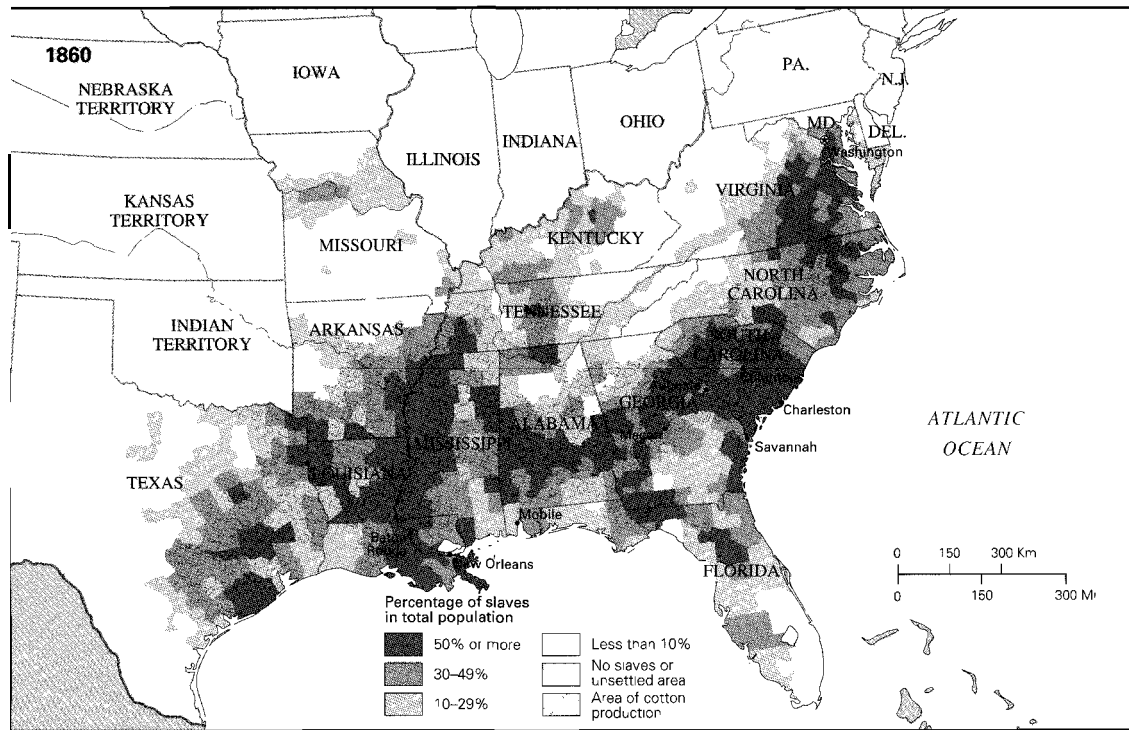
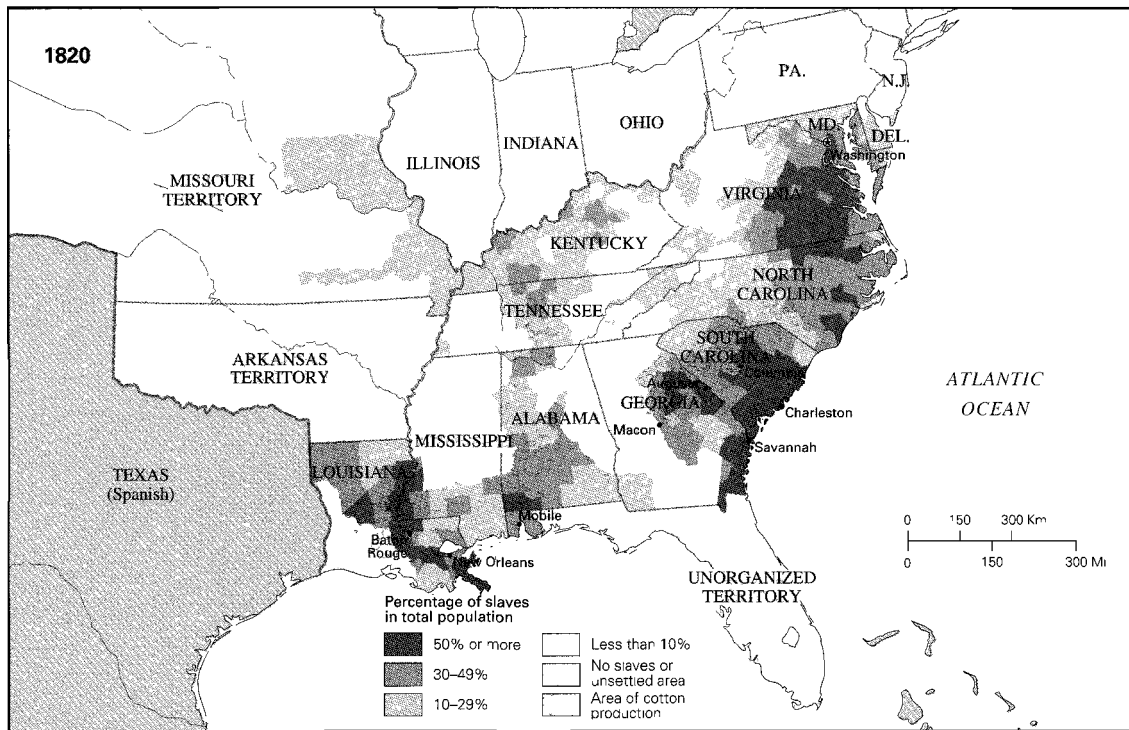
Middle-class city life cut people off from the comforting sociability of farm families and the church-centered communities that shaped and directed rural life. Many unmarried men and women seeking their fortunes in town boarded in private homes or rooming houses. After marriage, they emulated the closely knit isolation of the elite. Accordingly, these couples looked to each other for companionship and guidance.

Like the elite class, this new group sought bonds in voluntary associations. College students formed discussion groups, preprofessional clubs, and benevolent societies. For those out of school, groups like the Odd Fellows and the Masons brought people together for companionship. Such organizations helped enforce traditional values through rigid membership standards stressing moral character, upright behavior, and, above all, order.

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## **The New Cotton Empire in the South**

While increasing multitudes packed into the industrializing cities of the North, the South exploded outward seeking new land on which to grow cotton. By 1850, cotton was being grown from the southeastern corner of Virginia to eastern Texas. The ascendancy of King Cotton affected the outlook and experiences of everyone



• **MAP 10.2 Cotton Agriculture and Slave Population** Between 1820 and 1860, the expansion of cotton agriculture and the extension of slavery went hand in hand. As these maps show, cotton production was an isolated activity in 1820, and slavery remained isolated as well. By 1860, both had extended westward.

who lived in the region—large-scale planters, slaves, free blacks, and poor whites.

## A New Birth for the Slavery System

Before the emergence of King Cotton, many southerners questioned slavery. In 1782, Virginia made it legal for individual masters to free their slaves, and many did so. In 1784, Thomas Jefferson proposed an ordinance that would have prohibited slavery in all the nation's territories after 1800. Some southern leaders advocated abolishing slavery and transporting freed blacks to Africa. But the cotton boom after the War of 1812 required the expansion of slavery, not its elimination.

The rapid expansion of cotton production revived the slave system. A map showing cotton production and one showing slave population appear nearly identical (see Map 10.2). In the 1820s, when cotton was most heavily concentrated in South Carolina and Georgia, the greatest density of slaves occurred in the same area. As cotton spread west, so did slavery. By 1860, both cotton growing and slavery would appear as a continuous belt stretching from the Carolinas to the Brazos River in Texas.

Although a majority of slaves—58 percent of men and 69 percent of women—were employed as field hands, slaves did much more than just pick cotton. Two percent of slave men and 17 percent of women were employed as house slaves. The remaining 14 percent of slave women were employed in occupations like sewing, weaving, and food processing. Seventeen percent of slave men drove wagons, piloted riverboats, and herded cattle. The remaining 23 percent of the male slaves on plantations were managers and craftsmen. This percentage was even higher in cities, where slave artisans such as carpenters were often allowed to hire themselves out on the open job market. The number of slave artisans declined during the 1840s and 1850s due to pressure from white craftsmen. Nevertheless, they remained a significant proportion of the slave population.

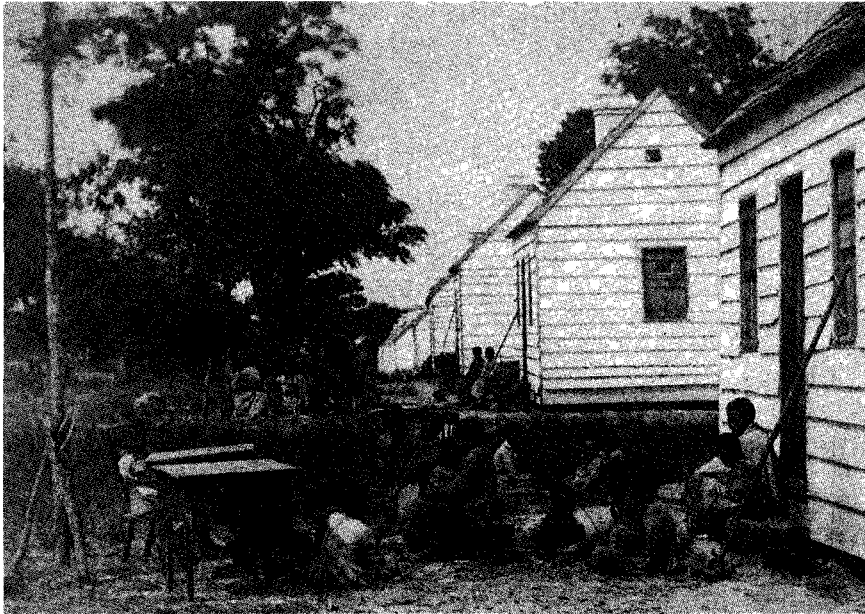
The owners of cotton plantations made an excellent living from slave labor. Although they often complained of debt and poor markets, large-scale planters could expect an annual return on capital of between 8 and 10 percent—the equivalent of what the most successful northern industrialists were making. Agricultural profits in noncotton areas were significantly lower. Outside the Cotton Belt, tobacco, rice, and sugar growers earned considerable money selling off slaves that were not essential to their operations. The enormous demand for workers in the Cotton Belt created a profitable interstate slave trade. Thus even planters who did not grow cotton came to have a significant stake in its cultivation.

Slaves were a major capital investment. In the 1850s, a healthy male field hand in his mid-twenties sold for an average of \$1,800, a skilled craftsman for \$2,500. Even a male child too young to work in the fields or a man in his fifties cost anywhere from \$250 to \$500. The price for female slaves was more variable. A female field hand did less heavy work than a healthy male of the same age and thus cost proportionately less. A particularly beautiful young woman might bring as much as \$5,000 at auction. Such women generally became the mistresses of the men who bought them.

## Living Conditions for Southern Slaves

Slaveowners' enormous economic investment in their human property played a significant role in their treatment of slaves. Damaging or killing a healthy slave resulted in a large financial loss, even

- field hands People who did agricultural work, such as planting, weeding, and harvesting.
- house slaves People who did domestic work, such as cleaning and cooking.
- return on capital The yield on money that has been invested in an enterprise or product.
- Cotton Belt The region in the southeastern United States in which cotton is grown (see Map 10.2).



This early photograph, taken on a South Carolina plantation before the Civil War, freezes slave life in time, giving us a view of what slave cabins looked like, how they were arranged, how slaves dressed, and how they spent what little leisure time they had. *Collection of William Gladstone.*

if **slave codes** allowed an owner to do anything to his property. A delicate balance between power and profit shaped planters' policies toward slaves and set the tone for slave life.

Housing for slaves was seldom more than adequate. Generally, slaves lived in a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor and a fireplace or stove. The cabin was usually about 16 by 18 feet and housed five or six people. Slaveowners seldom crowded people into slave quarters. As one slaveowner explained, "In no case should two families be allowed to occupy the same house. The crowding [of] a number into one house is unhealthy. It breeds contention; is destructive of delicacy of feeling, and it promotes immorality between the sexes."

Slave quarters were not particularly comfortable. The windows had only wooden shutters and no glass, so they let in flies in summer and cold in winter. An open fireplace or stove provided light as well as heat for cooking. The need for a cooking fire required slaves to build fires even at the hottest time of year. Furnishings were usually crude. Bedding consisted of straw pallets stacked on the floor. Equally simple rough-hewn wooden benches and plank tables could sometimes be found.

Clothing, too, was basic. "The proper and usual quantity of clothes for plantation hands is two suits of cotton for spring and summer, and two suits of woolen for winter; four pair of shoes and three hats," a Georgia planter observed in 1854. On many plantations, slave women made a durable but rough cotton fabric called osnaburg, which was uncomfortable to wear. One slave complained that the material was "like needles when it was new." Children often went naked in the summer and were fitted with long, loose-hanging osnaburg shirts during the colder months.

Whether slaves were fed an adequate diet remains a controversial issue among historians. Some historians have claimed that slaves were actually fed better—in terms of how much meat they ate—than contemporary workers in the North, in Germany, and in Italy. Although they concede that the slaves' typical fare of corn and pork was monotonous, these historians point out that it was

**slave codes** Laws that established the status of slaves, denying them basic rights and classifying them as the property of slaveowners.

quite adequate. As one slave noted, there was "plenty to eat such as it was."

Other historians, however, have pointed to high infant mortality rates and low birth weights among slaves as evidence that slave mothers did not receive adequate nutrition. It would also appear that at least until the age of six, slave children as well were not fed a sufficient diet. American slaves at that age were shorter than their contemporaries in Europe, Africa, North America, and the Caribbean—evidence of "disastrous malnutrition." Yet by the age of 17 American male slaves were taller than factory workers in England and German peasants. This evidence suggests that American slaves began to be fed much better once they were capable of working.

What is clear is that diet-related diseases plagued slave communities. These diseases were probably no more common among slaves than among their owners, who also lived on meals consisting mostly of corn and pork. Such a diet often led to diseases such as pellagra that were caused by vitamin deficiencies. Because of the lack of proper sanitation, slaves did suffer from dysentery and cholera more than southern whites.

With the possible exception of sexual exploitation, no other aspect of slavery has generated more controversy than violence. The image of sadistic white men beating slaves permeates the dark side of the southern myth. Such behavior was not unknown, but it was far from typical. Slaves represented money, and damaging slaves was expensive. Still, given the need to keep up production, slaveowners were not shy about using measured force. "When picking cotton I never put on more than 20 stripes [lashes with a whip] and verry frequently not more than 10 or 15," one plantation owner observed. But not all owners were so practical when it came to discipline.

The significant number of slaves who lived on small farms probably did not live much better than plantation slaves. Owners of such farms saw slaves as vehicles for social and economic advancement and were willing to overwork or sell their slaves if it would benefit themselves. When all was going well, slaves might be treated like members

of a farmer's family. But when conditions were bad, slaves were the first victims.

### **A New Planter Aristocracy**

Few other images have persisted in American history longer than that of courtly southern planters in the years before the Civil War. Songs and stories have immortalized the myth of a southern aristocracy of enormous wealth and polished manners upholding a culture of romantic chivalry. Charming though this image of the antebellum South is, it is not accurate.

Statistics indicate that the great planters of popular myth were few and far between. In the early nineteenth century, only about a third of all southerners owned slaves. Large-scale planters were a tiny minority of these. Nearly three-fourths of these slaveholders were small farmers who owned fewer than ten slaves. Another 15 percent of slave-holders owned between ten and twenty slaves. The true planters, who possessed more than twenty slaves, constituted just 12 percent of all slaveholders. Only the very wealthy—less than 1 percent—owned more than one hundred slaves.

Even among true southern planters, the aristocratic manners and trappings of the idealized plantation were rare. King Cotton brought a new sort of man to the forefront. These new aristocrats were generally not related to the old colonial plantation gentry. Most had begun their careers as land speculators, financiers, and rough-and-tumble yeoman farmers. They had parlayed ruthlessness, good luck, and dealings in the burgeoning cotton market into large landholdings and armies of slaves.

The wives of these planters bore little resemblance to their counterparts in popular fiction. Far from being frail, helpless creatures, southern plantation mistresses carried a heavy burden of responsibility. A planter's wife supervised large staffs of

**antebellum South** The South in the period from 1815 to 1860 before the Civil War; *antebellum* means "before the war."

slaves, organized and ran schools for the white children on the plantation, looked out for the health of everyone, and managed the plantation in the absence of her husband.

All those duties were complicated by a sex code that relegated southern women to a peculiar position in the plantation hierarchy. On the one hand, white women were expected to exercise absolute authority over their slaves. On the other, they were to be absolutely obedient to white men. "He is master of the house," said Mary Boykin Chesnut about her husband. "To hear [him] is to obey."

This is not to say that the image of grand plantations and aristocratic living is entirely false. Enormous profits from cotton in the 1840s and 1850s permitted some planters to build elegant mansions and to affect the lifestyle that they had read about in romantic literature. Planters assumed what they imagined were the ways of medieval knights, adopting courtly manners and the nobleman's **paternalistic** obligation to look out for their social inferiors, both black and white. Women decked out in the latest gowns flocked to formal balls and weekend parties. Young men were sent to academies where they could learn the aristocratic virtues of militarism and honor. Courtship became highly ritualized, a modern imitation of imagined medieval court manners.

### **Plain Folk in the South**

Another enduring myth about the South holds that society there was sharply divided between two kinds of people: slaveholders and slaves. If the planter myth is only partially true, this myth is totally false.

Fully two-thirds of southern white families owned no slaves. A small number of these families owned stores, craft shops, and other businesses in Charleston, New Orleans, Atlanta, and other southern cities. The great majority, however, were proud and independent small farmers.

Often tarred with the label "poor white trash," most of these yeomen were actually productive stock raisers and farmers. They concentrated on growing and producing what they needed to live,

but all aspired to produce small surpluses of grain, meat, and other commodities that they could sell. Many grew small crops of cotton to raise cash. Whatever money they made was usually spent on needed manufactured goods, land, and, if possible, slaves.

These small farmers had a troubled relationship with white planters. On the one hand, many yeoman farmers yearned to join the ranks of the great planters. On the other, they resented the aristocracy and envied the planters' exalted status and power.

### **Free Blacks in the South**

Free blacks are entirely absent from the myth of the South. The Lower South had very few free blacks, but in states such as Virginia free blacks amounted to 10 percent of the black population. Some could trace their origins back to the earliest colonial times, when African Americans had served limited terms of indenture. The majority, however, had been freed since the late 1700s. Most worked for white employers as day laborers.

Some opportunities were available to free blacks. In the Upper South, they could become master carpenters, coopers, painters, brick masons, blacksmiths, boatmen, bakers, and barbers. Black women had few opportunities as skilled laborers. Some became seamstresses, washers, and cooks. A few grew up to run small groceries, taverns, and restaurants. Folk healing and **midwifery** might also lead to economic independence for black women. Some resorted to prostitution.

Mounting restrictions on free blacks during the first half of the nineteenth century limited their freedom of movement, their economic freedom, and their legal rights. Skin color left them open to abuses and forced them to be extremely careful in their dealings with whites.

**paternalistic** Treating social dependents as a father treats his children, providing for their needs without allowing them rights or responsibilities.

**midwifery** Assistance in childbirth.



## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

Although seemingly the most old-fashioned region of the country, the South that emerged during the years leading up to 1840 was a profoundly different place than it had been before. As an industrial revolution overturned the economies in Great Britain and the American Northeast, *expectations* for southerners changed radically. Although they clothed their new society in romanticized medieval garb, they were creating an altogether new kind of economy and society. The efficient production of cotton by the newly reorganized South was an essential aspect of the emerging national market economy and a powerful force in a great transformation.

Change in the North was more obvious. As factories replaced craft shops and cities replaced towns, the entire fabric of northern society seemed to come unraveled. The new economy and new technology created wonderful new *expectations* but also imposed serious *constraints*. A new social structure replaced the traditional order as unskilled and semiskilled workers, a new class of clerks, and the genteel elite made *choices* concerning their lives. As in the South, the *outcome* was a great transformation in the lives of everyone in the region.

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And tying these two regions together was a new network of roads, waterways, and communications systems that accelerated the process of change. After 1840, it was possible to ship goods from any one section of the country to any other, and people in all sections were learning more about conditions in far distant parts of the growing country. Often this new information raised *expectations* of prosperity, but it also made more and more people aware of the enormity of the transformation taking place and the glaring differences between the nation's various regions. The twin *outcomes* would be greater integration in the national economy and increasing tension as mutually dependent participants in the new marketplace struggled with change and with each other.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves Without Masters* (1975).

A masterful study of a forgotten population: free African Americans in the Old South. Lively and informative.

Cecil-Fronsman, Bill. *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina* (1992).

A pioneering effort to describe the culture, lifestyle, and political economy shared by the antebellum South's majority population: nonslaveholding whites. Though confined in geographical scope, the study is suggestive of conditions that may have prevailed throughout the region.

Cott, Nancy M. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (1977).

A classic work on the ties that held the women's world together but collectively bound them into a secondary position in American life.

Dublin, Thomas. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (1979).

An interesting look at the ways in which the nature of work changed and the sorts of changes that were brought to one manufacturing community.

Eisler, Benita, ed. *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women, 1840-1845* (1977).

Firsthand accounts of factory life and changing social conditions written by the young women who worked at Lowell's various factories.

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. *Within the Plantation Household* (1988).

A look at the lives of black and white women in the antebellum South. This study is quite long but is well written and very informative.

Mitchell, Margaret. *Gone with the Wind* (1936).

Arguably the most influential book in conveying a stereotyped vision of antebellum southern life. The film version, directed by Victor Fleming in 1939, was even more influential.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (1981).

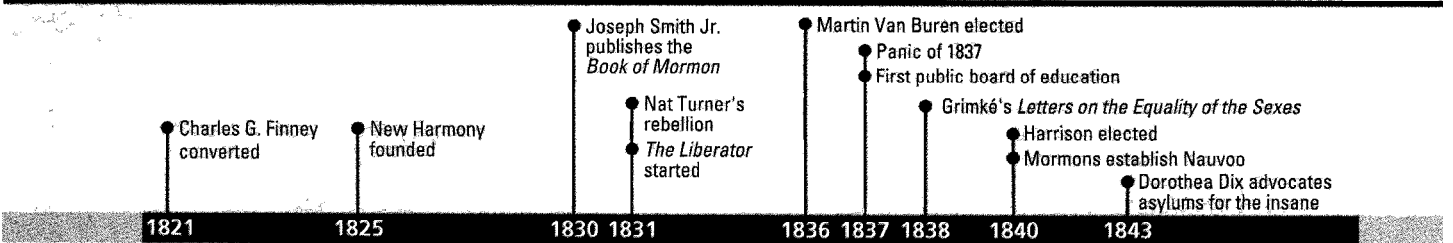
A marvelous synthesis of materials focusing on the emergence of a new social and economic class in the midst of change from a traditional to a modern society.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (1951).

The only comprehensive treatment of changes in transportation during the antebellum period and their economic impact. Nicely written.



**POPULATION GROWTH AND CHANGING SUFFRAGE QUALIFICATIONS** Two of the most important changes that accompanied the great transformation in American society were population growth and the extension of political suffrage. As this map shows, population density was going up in virtually every part of the country. At the same time, most states were easing their requirements for voter qualifications. These two forces together changed the face of American politics as the number of people participating in the political system expanded explosively.



# Chapter 11

## Responses to the Great

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### Transformation, 1815-1840

#### Reactions to Changing Conditions

- What choices did Americans make in dealing with the stresses created by rapid change during the Jacksonian era?
- What was the cultural outcome?

#### Toward an American Culture

- How did the choices made in American arts and letters reflect the spirit of change during the Jacksonian era?
- What were some other cultural outcomes of the stresses of rapid change during the era?

#### The Whig Alternative to Jacksonian Democracy

- What expectations did Jackson's opponents have when they built their coalition to oppose the Democrats?
- Was the outcome what they expected? Why or why not?



## ( INTRODUCTION )

The great transformation in American economics and society created vast new opportunities and *expectations* for people during the antebellum period. But new *constraints* arose as quickly as new hopes. A man could amass a fortune one day and find a place among the genteel elite, only to lose it the next and find himself among the mass of hourly wage workers. Some entrepreneurs experienced this cycle many times during their careers. Others experienced no mobility at all; they were stuck either as underpaid urban workers or, worse yet, as slaves.

Different groups of Americans reacted differently to this precarious situation, as their *choices* attest. Some found relief in a new evangelical faith that empowered them to rule their own souls while forging them into close-knit congregations. Others responded more violently, attacking those they believed were responsible for the *constraints* on their lives. Some banded together in tightly organized societies bent on removing from the world sinfulness, drunkenness, ignorance, and a thousand other evils. Others *chose* to escape the world altogether, isolating themselves in communes devoted to anything from socialism to celibacy to free love. The *outcome* was a peculiar mixture of emerging societies that often were at odds with each other, frequently adding to the tensions that had driven them to make particular *choices*.

At the same time, various American cultures were coming into being. The elite and the middle class could *choose* to sip tea and read romantic poems or the novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne and James Fenimore Cooper. But the economic and social *constraints* that working-class people faced led them to choose cheap whiskey and rowdy theater performances or athletic competitions. Slaves faced even more serious *constraints*, *choosing* to stave off the worst effects of their condition by crafting a creative African-American culture. The *outcome* of these various *choices* was the foundation for the rich culture the United States enjoys today.

In politics, too, change was in the air. Old-line nationalists like Henry Clay and Daniel Webster

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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chafed under Andrew Jackson's personal political style. Southerners like John C. Calhoun found Jackson's forcefulness discomfiting and a dangerous threat to states' rights. And many Americans, like those who flocked to the Antimasonic movement, were skeptical of politics in general and of Jackson's politics in particular. Seeking to unseat Jackson, these disaffected groups invited reforming evangelicals to join them in a new coalition. In 1840, the Whig party used every political trick it could to woo voters away from the Democrats. The *outcome* of that election was a Whig victory and a new kind of politics that forever changed the way Americans conducted their public business.

## Modernization and Rising Stress

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1806 Journeyman shoemakers strike in New York City   | 1834 Riot in Charlestown, Massachusetts, leads to the destruction of a Catholic convent  |
| 1821 Charles G. Finney experiences a religious conversion  | 1835 Protestants and Catholics clash in New York City streets  |
| 1823 James Fenimore Cooper's <i>The Pioneers</i>   | 1836 Congress passes the gag rule<br>Martin Van Buren elected president  |
| 1825 Thomas Cole begins Hudson River school of painting<br>Robert Owen establishes community at New Harmony, Indiana | 1837 Horace Mann heads the first public board of education<br>Panic of 1837<br>Ralph Waldo Emerson's "American Scholar" speech |
| 1826 Shakers have eighteen communities in the United States  | 1838 Emerson articulates transcendentalism   |
| 1828 weaver's Protest and riot in New York City<br>Andrew Jackson elected president                                  | 1840 Log-cabin campaign<br>William Henry Harrison elected president<br>Mormons build Nauvoo,                                   |
| 1830 Joseph Smith, Jr., publishes the Book of Mormon   | 1841 Brook Farm established  |
| 1831 Nat Turner's Rebellion<br>William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing <i>The Liberator</i>                         | 1842 <i>Commonwealth v. Hunt</i><br>1843 Dorothea Dix advocates state-funded asylums for the insane                            |
| 1832 Jackson reelected   |  |

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## Reactions to Changing Conditions

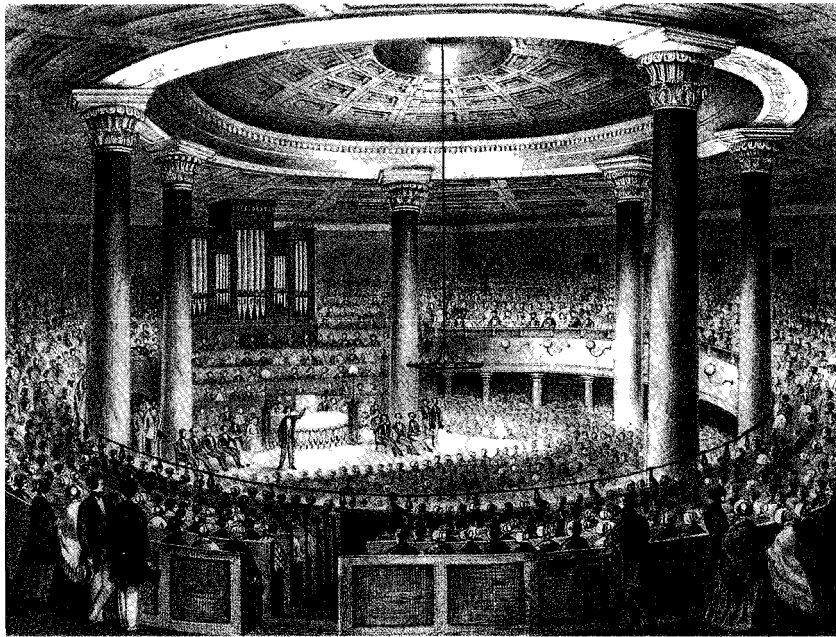
In the grasping, competitive conditions that were emerging in the dynamic new America, an individual's status, reputation, and welfare seemed to depend exclusively on his or her economic position. "It is all money and business, business and money which make the man now-a-days; success is everything," failed entrepreneur Chauncey Jerome lamented. The combination of rapid geographical expansion and new opportunities in business produced a highly precarious social world for all

Americans. Desperate for some stability, many pushed for various reforms to bring the fast-spinning world under control.

## A Second Great Awakening

Popular religion was a major counterbalance to rapid change. Beginning in the 1790s, Protestant theologians sought to create a new Protestant creed that would maintain Christian community in an era of increasing individualism and competition.

Mirroring tendencies in society, Protestant thinking during the early nineteenth century emphasized the role of the individual. Traditional



- ◆ Marking his triumphant arrival in New York City, evangelist Charles G. Finney had this massive tabernacle built to his own specifications. Here he held the same sort of revival meetings he had been leading in rural tents and village churches for years before arriving in the city. *Oberlin College Archives.*

Puritanism had emphasized predestination, the idea that individuals can do nothing to win salvation. Nathaniel Taylor of Yale College created a theology that was consistent with the new secular creed of individualism. According to Taylor, God offered salvation to all who sought it. Thus the individual had "free will" to choose or not choose salvation. Taylor's ideas struck a responsive chord in a restless and expanding America. Hundreds of ministers carried his message of a democratic God.

Most prominent among the evangelists of the **Second Great Awakening** was Charles Grandison Finney. A former schoolteacher and lawyer, Finney experienced a soul-shattering religious conversion in 1821 at the age of 29. Finney performed on the pulpit as a spirited attorney might argue a case in court. Seating those most likely to be converted on a special "anxious bench," he focused his whole attention on them. Many of those on the anxious bench fainted, experienced bodily spasms, or cried out in hysteria. Such dramatic results brought Finney enormous publicity, which he and an army of imitators used to gain access to communities all over the West and the Northeast. This religious revival spread across rural America like wildfire until Finney carried it into Boston and New York in the 1830s.

**Revival meetings** were remarkable affairs. Usually beginning on a Thursday and continuing until the following Tuesday, they drew crowds of up to twenty-five thousand people. Those attending listened to spirited

preaching in the evenings and engaged in religious study during the daylight hours.

The revivals led to the breakdown of traditional church organizations and the creation of various Christian denominations. The Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists split between those who supported the new theology and those who clung to more traditional notions. Such fragmentation worried all denominations that state support of any

**predestination** The doctrine that God has predetermined everything that happens, including the final salvation or damnation of each person.

**Second Great Awakening** Series of religious revivals that began around 1800 and were characterized by emotional public meetings and conversions.

**revival meeting** A meeting for the purpose of reawakening religious faith, often characterized by impassioned preaching and emotional public testimony by converted sinners.



one church might give that denomination an advantage in the continuing competition for souls. Oddly, those most fervent in their Christian beliefs joined deists and other Enlightenment-influenced thinkers in arguing for even more stringent separation of church and state.

Although religious conversion had become an individual matter, revivalists did not ignore the notion of community. At revival meetings, for example, when individuals were overcome by the power of the spirit, those already saved began "surrounding them with melodious songs, or fervent prayers for their happy resurrection, in the love of Christ." Finney put great emphasis on creating a single Christian community to stand in opposition to sin. As he observed, "Christians of every denomination generally seemed to make common cause, and went to work with a will, to pull sinners out of the fire."

The intimacy forged during revivals gave a generation of isolated individuals a sense of community and a sense of duty. According to the new theology, it was each convert's obligation to carry the message of salvation to the multitudes still in darkness. New congregations, missionary societies, and a thousand other **benevolent** groups rose up to lead America in the continuing battle against sin.

### **The Middle Class and Moral Reform**

The missionary activism that accompanied the Second Great Awakening dovetailed with the inclination toward reform among genteel and middle-class people. The Christian benevolence movement gave rise to voluntary societies that aimed to outlaw alcohol and a hundred other evils. These organizations provided both genteel and middle-class men and women with a purpose missing from their lives. Such activism drew them together in common causes and served as an antidote to the alienation and loneliness common in early nineteenth-century America.

As traditional family and village life broke down, voluntary societies pressed for public intervention to address social problems. The new theology emphasized that even the most depraved might be saved if proper means were applied. This

idea had immediate application to crime and punishment. Criminals were no longer characterized as evil but were seen as lost and in need of divine guidance.

Mental illness underwent a similar change in definition. Rather than being viewed as hopeless cases suffering an innate spiritual flaw, the mentally ill were now spoken of as lost souls in need of help. **Dorothea** Dix, a young, compassionate, and reform-minded teacher, learned firsthand about the plight of the mentally ill when she taught a Sunday school class in a Boston-area prison. "I tell what I have seen," she said to the Massachusetts legislature in 1843. "Insane persons confined within the Commonwealth, in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience!" For the balance of the century, Dix toured the country pleading the cause of the mentally ill.

Middle-class Protestant activists targeted many other areas for reform. They insisted on stopping mail delivery and closing canals on Sundays. Others joined Bible and tract societies that distributed Christian literature. They founded Sunday schools or opened domestic missions to win the irreligious and Roman Catholics to what they regarded as the true religion.

Many white-collar reformers were genuinely interested in forging a new social welfare system. A number of their programs, however, appear to have been aimed more at achieving control over others than social reform. Such reformers often tried to force people to conform to a middle-class standard of behavior. Reformers believed that immigrants should willingly discard their traditional customs and learn American ways. Immigrants who clung to familiar ways were suspected of disloyalty. Social control was particularly prominent in public education and **temperance**.

benevolent Concerned with doing good or organized for the benefit of charity.

Dorothea Dix Philanthropist, reformer, and educator who was a pioneer in the movement for specialized treatment of the mentally ill.

irreligious Hostile or indifferent to religion.

temperance Avoidance of alcoholic drinks.

Some communities, like Puritan Boston, had always emphasized compulsory education for children. Most communities, however, did not require children to attend school. The apprenticeship system rather than schools often provided the rudiments of reading, writing, and figuring. But as the complexity of life increased during the early nineteenth century, **Horace Mann** and others came out in favor of formal schooling.

Mann, like Charles Finney, was trained as a lawyer but believed that ignorance, not sin, lay at the heart of the nation's problems. He became the nation's leading advocate of publicly funded education for all children. "If we do not prepare children to become good citizens," Mann proclaimed, "if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it."

Massachusetts took the lead in formalizing schooling in 1837 when the state founded the country's first public board of education. Appointed head of the board, Mann extended the school year to a minimum of six months and increased teachers' salaries. Gradually, the state board changed the curriculum in Massachusetts schools, replacing classical learning and ministerial training with courses like arithmetic, practical geography, and physical science.

Education reformers were interested in more than knowledge. Mann and others were equally concerned that new immigrants and the urban poor be trained in Protestant values and middle-class habits. Thus schoolbooks emphasized promptness, persistence, discipline, and obedience to authority. In cities with numerous Roman Catholics, Catholic parents resisted the Protestant-dominated school boards by establishing parochial **schools**.

Social control was also evident in the crusade against alcohol. Before the early nineteenth century, the consumption of alcohol was not broadly perceived as a significant social problem. Two factors contributed to a new perception. One was the increasing visibility of drinking and its consequence, drunkenness, as populations became more concentrated in cities. By the mid-1820s, Rochester, New York had nearly a hundred drinking establishments that included groceries, barbershops, and even candy stores.

The changing taste of genteel and middle-class people was the second factor that contributed to a new view of alcohol. As alternatives to alcohol such as clean water and coffee became available or affordable, these people reduced their consumption of alcohol and disapproved of those who did not. By 1829, the middle class saw strong drink as "the cause of almost all of the crime and almost all of the misery that flesh is heir to." Drinking made self-control impossible and endangered morality and industry. Thus behavior that had been acceptable in the late eighteenth century was judged to be a social problem in the nineteenth.

Like most of the reform movements, the temperance movement began in churches touched by the Second Great Awakening and spread outward. Drunkenness earned special condemnation from reawakened Protestants, who believed that people besotted by alcohol could not possibly gain salvation. Christian reformers believed that stopping the consumption of alcohol was necessary not only to preserve the nation but to save people's souls.

The religious appeal of temperance was enhanced by a powerful economic appeal. Factory owners recognized that workers who drank heavily threatened the quantity and quality of production. They rallied around temperance as a way of policing their employees in and out of the factory. By promoting temperance, reformers believed they could increase production and turn the raucous lower classes into clean-living, self-controlled, peaceful workers.

### **The Rise of Abolitionism**

Another reform movement that had profound influence in antebellum America was **abolitionism**.

**Horace Mann** Educator who called for publicly funded education for all children and was head of the first public board of education in the United States.

**parochial school** A school supported by a church parish.

**abolitionism** A reform movement favoring the immediate freeing of all slaves.

Although Quakers had long opposed slavery, there was little organized opposition to it before the American Revolution. During the Revolution, many Americans saw the contradiction between asserting the "unalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and holding slaves (see page 121). By the end of the Revolution, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had taken steps to abolish slavery. And by the mid-1780s, most states, except those in the Lower South, had active anti-slavery societies. In 1807, when Congress voted to outlaw the importation of slaves, little was said in defense of slavery. But by 1815, the morality of slavery had begun to emerge as a national issue. The profits to be made in cotton made it impossible for many white southerners to even think about ending slavery.

The American Colonization Society, founded in 1817, reflected public feeling about slavery. Humanitarian concern for slaves' well-being was not the only reason for the society's existence. Many members believed that the black and white races could not live together and advocated that emancipated slaves be sent back to Africa. Although the American Colonization Society began in the South, its policies were particularly popular in the Northeast and West. In eastern cities, workers feared that free blacks would lower their wages and take their jobs. Western farmers similarly feared economic competition.

Most evangelical preachers supported colonization, but a few individuals advocated more radical reforms. The most vocal leader was William Lloyd Garrison. A Christian reformer from Massachusetts, Garrison in 1831 founded the nation's first prominent abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*. In it he advocated immediate emancipation for blacks and no compensation for slaveholders. Garrison founded the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833.

At first, Garrison had few followers. Some Christian reformers joined his cause, but the majority supported colonization. At this early date, radical abolitionists were almost universally ignored or, worse, attacked. Throughout the 1830s, riots often accompanied abolitionist rallies as angry mobs stormed stages and pulpits to silence abolitionist speakers. Still, support for the move

ment gradually grew. In 1836, petitions demanding an end to the slave trade in the District of Columbia flooded Congress. Congress responded by passing a gag **rule**, which lasted until 1844, to avoid any discussion of the issue. But debate over slavery could not be silenced.

## **The Beginnings of Working-Class**

### **Culture and Protest**

Wretched living conditions and dispiriting poverty encouraged working-class people in northern cities to choose social and cultural outlets that were very different from those of upper- and middle-class Americans. Offering temporary relief from unpleasant conditions, drinking was the social distraction of choice among working people. Whiskey and gin were cheap and available during the 1820s and 1830s as western farmers used the new roads and canals to ship distilled spirits to urban markets. In the 1830s, consumers could purchase a gallon of whiskey for 25 cents.

Even activities that did not center on drinking tended to involve it. While genteel and middle-class people remained in their private homes reading, working people attended popular theaters. **Minstrel shows** featured fast-paced music and raucous comedy. Plays, such as Benjamin Baker's *A Glance at New York in 1848*, depicted caricatures of working-class "Bowery B'hoys" and "G'hals" and of the well-off Broadway "pumpkins" they poked fun at. To put the audience in the proper

#### **American Colonization Society** Organization

established in 1817 to send free blacks from the United States to Africa; it used government money to buy land in Africa and found the colony of Liberia.

**William Lloyd Garrison** Abolitionist leader who founded and published *The Liberator*, an anti-slavery newspaper.

**gag rule** A rule that limits or prevents debate on an issue.

**minstrel show** A variety show in which white actors made up as blacks presented jokes, songs, dances, and comic skits.

mood, theater owners sold cheap drinks in the lobby or in basement pubs. Alcohol was usually also sold at sporting events such as bare-knuckle boxing contests.

Stinging from their low status in the urbanizing and industrializing society, and freed from inhibitions by hours of drinking, otherwise rational workingmen pummeled one another to let off steam. Fistfights often turned into brawls and then into riots, pitting Protestants against Catholics, immigrants against the native-born, and whites against blacks.

Working-class women experienced the same dull but dangerous working conditions and dismal living circumstances as working-class men, but their lives were even harder. Single women were particularly bad off. They were paid significantly less than men but had to pay as much and sometimes more for living quarters, food, and clothing. Marriage could reduce a woman's personal expenses—but at a cost. While men congregated in the barbershop or pub during their leisure hours, married women were stuck in tiny apartments caring for children and doing household chores. Social convention banned women from many activities that provided their husbands, boyfriends, and sons some relief.

In view of their working and living conditions, it is not surprising that some manufacturing workers began to organize in protest. Skilled journeymen took the lead in making their dissatisfaction with new methods of production known to factory owners.

Journeyman shoemakers staged the first labor strike in America in 1806 to protest the hiring of unskilled workers to perform work that the journeymen had been doing. The strike failed, but it set a precedent for labor actions for the next half-century. The replacement of skilled workers remained a major cause of labor unrest in the 1820s and 1830s. Journeymen bemoaned the decline in craftsmanship and their loss of power to set hours, conditions, and wages. Industrialization was costing journeymen their independence and forcing some to become wage laborers.

Instead of attacking or even criticizing industrialization, however, journeymen simply asked for decent wages and working conditions. To achieve these goals, they banded together in **trade unions**.

During the 1830s, trade unions from different towns formed the beginnings of a national trade union movement. In this way, house carpenters, shoemakers, hand-loom weavers, printers, and comb makers attempted to enforce national wage standards in their industries. In 1834, many of these merged to form the National Trades' Union, which was the first labor union in the nation's history to represent many different crafts.

The trade union movement accomplished little during the antebellum period. Factory owners, bankers, and others who wanted to keep labor cheap used every device available to prevent unions from gaining the upper hand. Employers formed their own associations to resist union activity. They also used the courts to keep unions from disrupting business. A series of local court decisions upheld employers and threatened labor's right to organize.

A breakthrough for trade unions finally came in 1842. The Massachusetts Supreme Court decided in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* that Boston's journeyman boot makers had the right to organize and to call strikes. By that time, however, the Panic of 1837, which threw many people out of work for long periods of time, had so undermined the labor movement that legal protection became somewhat meaningless.

Not all labor protests were peaceful. In 1828, for example, immigrant weavers protested the low wages paid by Alexander Knox, New York City's leading textile employer. Demanding higher pay, they stormed and vandalized his home. The weavers then marched to the homes of weavers who had not joined the protest and destroyed their looms.

More frequently, however, working men took out their frustrations not on their employers but on other ethnic groups. Ethnic riots shook New York, Philadelphia, and Boston during the late 1820s and 1830s. In 1834, rumors that innocent girls were be-

**trade union** A labor organization whose members work in a specific trade or craft.

**National Trades' Union** The first national association of trade unions in the United States; it was formed in 1834.

ing held captive and tortured in a Catholic convent near Boston led a Protestant mob to burn the convent to the ground. A year later, as many as five hundred native-born Protestants and immigrant Irish Catholics clashed in the streets of New York. These ethnic tensions were the direct result of declining economic power and terrible living conditions. Native-born journeymen blamed immigrants for lowered wages and loss of status. Immigrants hated being treated like dirt.

Apart from drinking and fighting among themselves, working people in America during the early nineteenth century did little to protest their fate. Why were American workers so unresponsive? One reason may be that as poor as conditions were, life was better than in Ireland and Germany. Another reason is that workers did not see themselves staying poor. As one English observer commented, women in America's factories were willing to endure boring twelve-hour days because "none of them consider it as their permanent condition." Men expected to "accumulate enough to go off to the West, and buy an estate at 11/4 dollar an acre, or set up in some small way of business at home."

### **Culture, Resistance, and Rebellion Among Southern Slaves**

Like their northern counterparts, slaves fashioned for themselves a culture that helped them survive and maintain their humanity under inhumane conditions. The degree to which African practices endured in America is remarkable, for slaves seldom came to southern plantations directly from Africa. That many African practices were passed on from one generation to another demonstrates the strength of slave families, religion, and folklore. What evolved was a unique African-American culture.

Traces of African heritage were visible in slaves' clothing, entertainment, and folkways. Often the plain garments that masters provided were supplemented with colorful head scarves and other decorations similar to those worn in Africa. Hairstyles often resembled those characteristic of African tribes. Music, dancing, and other forms of public entertainment and celebration also showed

strong African roots. Musical instruments were copies of traditional ones, modified only by the use of New World materials. Other links to Africa abounded. Healers used African ceremonies, Christian rituals, and both imported and native herbs to effect cures. These survivals and adaptations of African traditions provided a strong base on which blacks erected a solid African-American culture.

Strong family ties helped make possible this cultural continuity. Slave families endured despite a precarious life. Husbands and wives could be sold to different owners or be separated at the whim of a master, and children could be taken away from their parents. Families that remained intact, however, remained stable. When families did suffer separation, the **extended family** of grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives offered emotional support and helped maintain some sense of continuity.

Relationships within slave families closely resembled relationships among white families. As in southern white families, black women, when not laboring at the assigned tasks of plantation work, generally performed domestic work and tended children while the men hunted, fished, did carpentry, and performed other "manly" tasks. Children were likely to help out by tending family gardens and doing other light work until they were old enough to join their parents in the fields or learn skilled trades.

Religion was another means for preserving African-American traits. White churches virtually ignored the religious needs of slaves until the Great Awakening (see pages 75-76), when many white evangelicals turned their attention to the spiritual life of slaves. In the face of slaveowners' negligence, evangelical Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists took it upon themselves to carry the Christian message to slaves.

The Christianity that slaves practiced resembled the religion practiced by southern whites but also differed from it in many ways. Slave preachers

**extended family** A family group consisting of various close relatives as well as the parents and children.

untrained in white theology often equated Christian and African religious figures, creating unique African-American religious symbols. The joining of African musical forms with Christian lyrics gave rise to a new form of Christian music: the spiritual. Masters often encouraged such worship, thinking that the Christian emphasis on obedience and meekness would make slaves better and more peaceful servants. Some, however, discouraged religion among their slaves, fearing that large congregations of slaves might be moved to rebellion. Thus some religious slaves had to meet in secret to practice their own particular form of Christianity.

Despite the hopes of white masters, slaves did resist and rebel, sometimes subtly and sometimes quite openly and violently. Slaves adopted clever strategies for getting extra food, clothing, and other supplies and developed sly techniques for manipulating their masters. Slaves often stole food simply to fluster their masters. Farm animals disappeared mysteriously, tools broke in puzzling ways, and people fell ill from unknown diseases.

The importance of clever resistance is evident in the tales that slaves told among themselves. Perhaps the best known are the stories of Br'er Rabbit (Brother Rabbit), the physically weak but shrewd character who uses deceit to get what he wants. One particularly revealing tale tells of Br'er Rabbit's being caught by Br'er Fox. Unable to get a fire started to cook the helpless rabbit, Fox threatens Rabbit with all sorts of horrible tortures. Rabbit replies that Fox can do anything he wants so long as he does not throw him into the nearby briar patch. Seizing on Rabbit's apparent fear, Fox pitches him deep into the briar patch, expecting to see Rabbit die amid the thorns. But Br'er Rabbit had been raised in a briar patch, and so he scampers away, laughing at how he has tricked Br'er Fox into doing exactly what he wanted him to do. Such stories taught slaves how to deal with powerful adversaries.

Not all slave resistance took covert forms. Perhaps the most common form of active resistance was running away (see Map 11.1). An average of about a thousand slaves made their way to freedom each year between 1840 and 1860. Most of them lived in the border states or Texas, where freedom lay not far away. Most were also young male slaves between the ages of 16 and 35. Artisans

and other slaves with special skills became fugitive slaves more frequently than other slaves.

Runaway slaves left few documents explaining why they were willing to face hounds, patrollers, hunger, and other dangers. Frederick Douglass, who became a famous abolitionist leader, ran away because he grew tired of turning his wages over to his master. Many ran away to be with wives who had been sold. But contemporary observers thought that fear of punishment was the most common motivation for running away. One former slave disagreed with this explanation: "They didn't do something and run. They run before they did it, 'cause they knew that if they struck a white man there wasn't going to be a nigger."

To southerners, the most frightening form of slave resistance was armed revolt. The nineteenth-century South saw very few actual rebellions, although a number of planned uprisings were betrayed before they could take place. Such was the fate of Gabriel Prosser's rebellion in Richmond, Virginia, in 1800, and the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in Charleston in 1822.

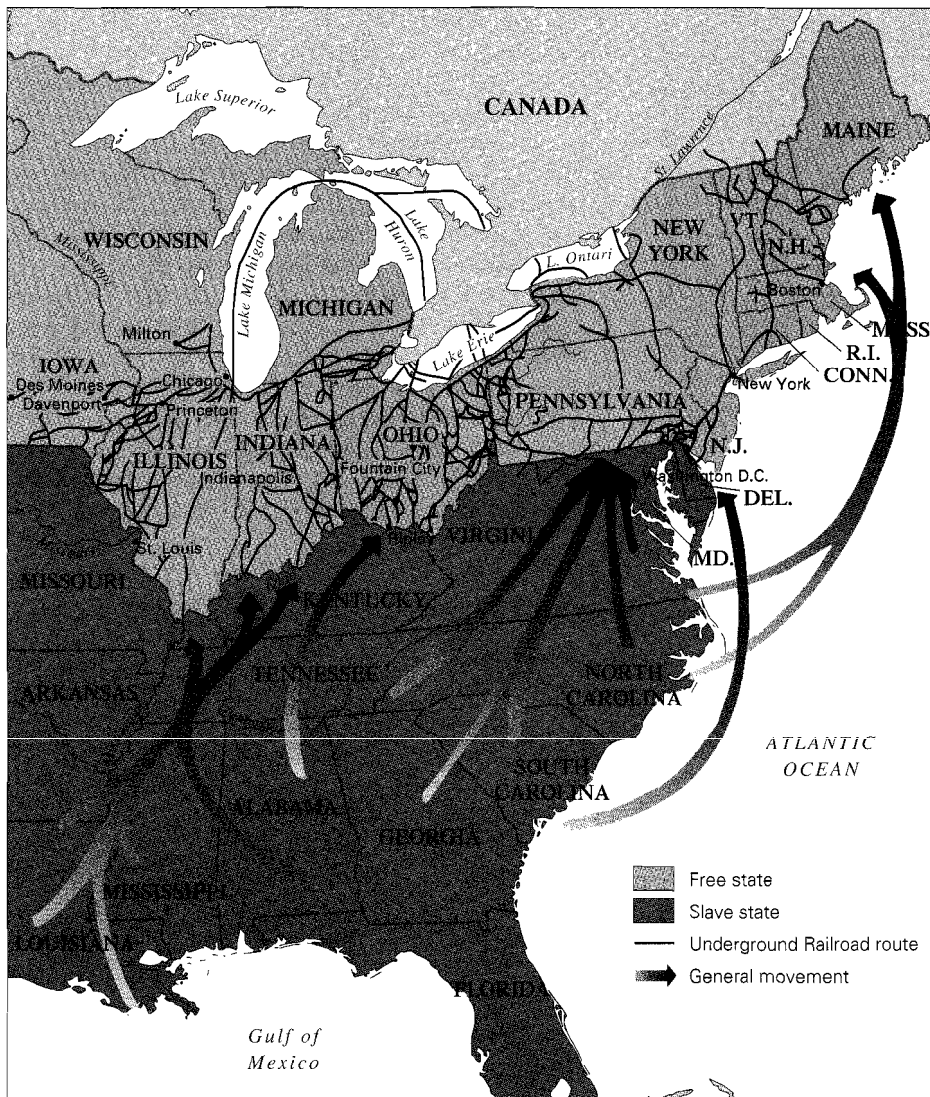
Nat Turner, a black preacher, carried out the most serious and violent of the antebellum slave revolts. In 1831, Turner led about seventy slaves in a predawn raid against the slaveholding households in Southampton County, Virginia. During the four days of Nat Turner's Rebellion, the slaves slaughtered fifty-five white men, women, and children. Angry whites finally captured and executed Turner and sixteen of his followers.

In the wake of such frightening revolts, southern courts and legislatures clapped stricter controls on slaves and free blacks. In most areas, free blacks were denied the right to own guns, to buy liquor, and to hold public assemblies. Slaves were forbidden to attend unsupervised worship services and to learn reading and writing. The new

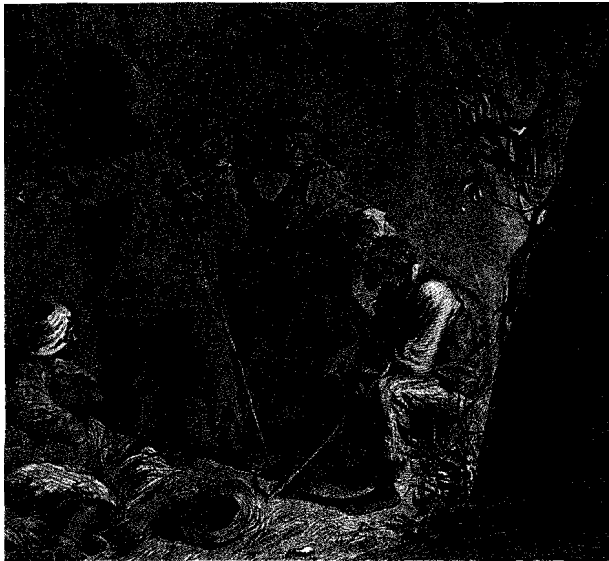
**spiritual** A religious folksong originated by

African Americans, often expressing a longing for deliverance from the constraints and hardships of their lives.

**border states** The slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, which shared a border with states in which slavery was illegal.



◆ **MAP 11.1 Escaping from Slavery** Running away was one of the most prominent forms of slaves resistance during the antebellum period. Success often depended on help from African Americans who had already gained their freedom and from sympathetic whites. Beginning in the 1820s, an informal and secret network called the Underground Railroad provided escape routes for slaves who were daring enough to risk all for freedom. The routes shown here are based on documentary evidence, but the network's secrecy makes it impossible to know whether they are all drawn accurately.



◆ No pictures of famed slave revolt leader Nat Turner are known to exist, but this nineteenth-century painting illustrates how one artist imagined the appearance of Turner and his fellow conspirators. White southerners lived in terror of scenes such as this and passed severe laws designed to prevent African Americans from having such meetings. *Library of Congress.*

laws virtually eliminated slaves as unsupervised urban craftsmen after 1840.

Fear of slave revolts reached paranoid levels in areas where slaves outnumbered whites. Whites felt justified in passing strong restrictions and using harsh methods to enforce them. White citizens formed local vigilance **committees**, which rode armed through the countryside to intimidate slaves. Local authorities pressed court clerks and ship captains to limit the freedom of blacks. White critics of slavery, who had been numerous and well respected before the birth of King Cotton, were harassed and sometimes beaten into silence. Increasingly, the extension of slavery limited the freedom of both whites and blacks.

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## Toward an American Culture

The profound political, social, and economic changes of the early nineteenth century gave birth

to a distinctly American culture by 1840. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this culture was a widely shared commitment to individualism. Americans came to believe that the individual was responsible for his or her destiny. They stressed the power of the individual self, not fate or accidents of birth. The popularity of Andrew Jackson, whom Americans regarded as a self-made man, reflected this belief in individualism.

American emphasis on the individual also reflected a decline in community and family ties. Such ties simply could not survive the corrosive effects of social and geographical mobility. The desire to get ahead often took precedence over everything else. As the visiting French nobleman Alexis de Tocqueville observed, Americans seemed to be "animated by the most selfish cupidity [greed]."

### Romanticism and Genteel Culture

Romanticism, a European import, was another major ingredient in shaping contemporary American culture. In Europe, the Romantics had rebelled against Enlightenment rationalism, stressing the heart over the mind, the wild over the controlled, the mystical over the mundane. The United States, with its millions of uncharted acres, its wild animals, and its colorful frontier myths, was the perfect setting for romanticism to flourish.

American intellectuals combined individualism and romanticism to celebrate the positive aspects of life in the United States. This combination won broad acceptance among the genteel and middle classes.

**vigilance committees** Groups of armed private citizens who use the threat of mob violence to enforce their own interpretation of the law.

**Alexis de Tocqueville** French aristocrat who toured the United States in 1830-1831 to investigate and write about political and social conditions in the new democracy.

**romanticism** Artistic and intellectual movement characterized by interest in nature, emphasis on emotion and imagination, and rebellion against social conventions.



Romanticism and individualism had their greatest spokesman in Ralph **Waldo Emerson**. Emerson by 1829 had become pastor of the prestigious Second Unitarian Church in Boston. He was thrown into a religious crisis, however, when his young wife, Ellen Louisa, died in 1831 after only two years of marriage.

Emerson could find no consolation in the rationalism of Unitarianism. He sought alternatives in Europe, where he met the famous Romantic poets William Wordsworth and Thomas Carlyle. They taught Emerson to seek truth in nature and spirit rather than in reason and order. Building from their insights, Emerson created a new philosophy and religion called **transcendentalism**. Recovered from his grief, he returned to the United States to begin a new career as an essayist and lecturer.

The problem with historical Christianity, Emerson told students at the Harvard Divinity School in 1838, is that it treated revelation as "long ago given and done, as if God were dead." Emerson, however, believed that revelation could happen at any time and that God was everywhere. Only through direct contact with the transcendent power in the universe could men and women know the truth. "It cannot be received at second hand," Emerson insisted, but only through the independent working of the liberated mind.

Although Emerson emphasized nonconformity and dissent in his writings, his ideas were in tune with the economic currents of his day. In celebrating the individual, Emerson validated the surging individualism of Jacksonian America. Rather than condemning the "selfish cupidity" that Alexis de Tocqueville said characterized Jacksonian America, Emerson stated that money represented the "prose of life." Little wonder, then, that Emerson's ideas found a wide following among young people of means in the Northeast.

Emerson's declaration of literary independence from European models in an 1837 address titled "The American Scholar" set a bold new direction for American literature. During the next twenty years, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and others spread the transcendentalist message, emphasizing the uniqueness of the individual and the role of literature as a vehicle for self-discovery. "I celebrate

myself, and sing myself," Whitman proclaimed in *Leaves of Grass*, published in 1855. Like the romantics, the transcendentalists celebrated the primitive and the common. Longfellow wrote of the legendary Indian chief Hiawatha and sang the praises of the village blacksmith. In "I Hear America Singing," Whitman made poetry of the everyday speech of mechanics, carpenters, and other common folk.

Perhaps the most radical of the transcendentalists was Emerson's good friend **Henry David Thoreau**. Emerson advocated self-reliance, but Thoreau embodied it. He lived for several years at Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts, where he did his best to live independently of the rapidly modernizing market economy. "I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately," Thoreau wrote, "and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived."

James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edgar Allan Poe pushed American literature in a romantic direction. Even before Emerson's "American Scholar," Cooper had launched a new sort of American novel and American hero. In *The Pioneers* (1823), Cooper introduced Natty Bumppo, a frontiersman whose honesty, independent-mindedness, and skill as a

Ralph Waldo Emerson Philosopher, writer, and poet whose essays and poems made him a central figure in the transcendentalist movement and an important figure in the development of literary expression in America.

Unitarianism Christian religious association that considers God alone to be divine; it holds that all people are granted salvation and that faith should be based on reason and conscience.

transcendentalism A philosophical and literary movement asserting the existence of God within human beings and in nature and the belief that intuition is the highest source of knowledge.

transcendent Lying beyond the normal range of experience.

nonconformity Refusal to accept or conform to the beliefs and practices of the majority.

Henry David Thoreau Writer, naturalist, and friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson; his best-known work is *Walden* (1854).

marksman represented the rough-hewn virtues so beloved by romantics. Altogether, Cooper wrote five novels featuring the plucky Bumpo.

Like Cooper, Herman Melville emphasized primitive scenes and noble savages in his adventure novels. Beginning with *Typee* (1846), Melville's semiautobiographical accounts of an American seaman among the natives of the South Pacific became overnight best sellers. Melville followed these with his most famous novel, *Moby Dick* (1851), an allegorical tale of a good man turned bad by his obsession for revenge against a whale he believed to be evil. Literary critics and the public hated *Moby Dick*.

Nathaniel Hawthorne had more financial success than Melville in exploring the contest between good and evil. In his first famous work, *Twice-Told Tales* (1837), Hawthorne presented readers with a collection of moral allegories stressing the evils of pride, selfishness, and secret guilt. He brought these themes to fruition in his 1850 novel *The Scarlet Letter*, in which adulteress Hester Prynne overcomes shame to gain redemption and her secret lover, Puritan minister Arthur Dimmesdale, is destroyed by his hidden sins.

Edgar Allan Poe excelled in telling Gothic tales of pure terror. For Poe, the purpose of writing was to stir the passions of the reader. Poe tried to instill fear, which he believed was the strongest emotion. Haunting short stories like "The Tell-Tale Heart," "The Masque of the Red Death," and "The Pit and the Pendulum" did precisely that.

The drive to celebrate America and American uniqueness also influenced the visual arts during this period. Greek and Roman themes had dominated American art through the first decades of the nineteenth century. Horatio Greenough's statue of George Washington, for example, depicted the nation's first president wrapped in a toga.

After 1825, however, American scenes gradually replaced classical ones. Thomas Cole, a British immigrant painter, was the dominant force in this movement. Cole fell in love with the landscapes he saw in New York's Hudson River valley. The refreshing naturalness and Americanness of Cole's paintings created a large following known as the Hudson River school, who lived in and painted landscapes of this valley.

George Caleb Bingham started a different artistic trend in his realistic pictures of common people engaged in everyday activities. He departed from traditional portrait artists, who painted the well-to-do posed in their finery. The flatboatmen, marketplace dwellers, and electioneering politicians in Bingham's paintings were artistic testimony to the emerging democratic style of America in the Jacksonian period.

The Jacksonian era also saw a proliferation of women writers. Some, like Sarah Moore Grimké, the sister of abolitionist Angelina Grimké, deplored the status of women in American society in her *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* (1838). Margaret Fuller, who edited the influential transcendentalist magazine *The Dial*, explored the same theme in *Women in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). The most popular women writers of the day, however, depicted the new genteel woman in an approving, sentimental fashion. Lydia Sigourney, one of the first women to carve out an independent living as a writer, was contributing regularly to more than thirty popular magazines by 1830. Poe, who dismissed her work as shallow, nevertheless solicited her to write for his magazine. She wrote two best sellers in 1833, *How to Be Happy* and *Letters to Young Ladies*, both of which glorified women in their domestic roles.

### **Radical Attempts to Regain**

#### **Community**

Some religious groups and thinkers tried to ward off the excesses of Jacksonian individualism by

**allegorical** Having the characteristics of an allegory, a literary device in which characters and events stand for abstract ideas.

**Gothic** A style of fiction that emphasizes mystery, horror, and the supernatural; it is so named because the action often takes place in gloomy, ghost-infested castles built in the medieval Gothic style of architecture.

**Hudson River school** The first native school of landscape painting in the United States (1825-1875); it attracted artists rebelling against the neoclassical tradition.

forming communities that experimented with various living arrangements and ideological commitments. Nearly all of these experiments were in the North, where the unsettling effects of a market-driven economy were felt most acutely. Those who joined these communes hoped to strike a new balance between self-sufficiency and community support.

Brook Farm, a commune near Boston founded by transcendentalist George Ripley in 1841, was such a community. Ripley's goal in establishing Brook Farm was to "permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions." Each member of the community was expected to work on the farm to make the group self-sufficient. Brook Farm attracted few residents during its first few years. The adoption in 1844 of the socialist ideas of Frenchman Charles Fourier, however, attracted numerous artisans and farmers. Fourierism emphasized community self-sufficiency but also called for the equal sharing of earnings among members of the community. A disastrous fire in 1845 cut the experiment short. Brook Farm was one of nearly a hundred Fourierist communities founded during this period from Massachusetts to Michigan. All ended in failure.

So did Robert Owen's community at New Harmony, Indiana. Owen, a wealthy Welsh industrialist, believed that the solution to poverty was to collect the unemployed into self-contained and self-supporting villages. In 1825, Owen attempted to put his ideas into practice when he purchased an existing agricultural commune. At New Harmony, Owen opened a textile factory in which ownership was held communally and decisions were made by group consensus. Despite such innovations, internal dissent and economic difficulties forced New Harmony to close in 1827.

Communal experiments based on religious ideas fared much better than those founded on secular theories. The **Oneida Community**, established in central New York in 1848, reflected the religious ideas of its founder, John Humphrey Noyes. No church was willing to ordain him because of his beliefs that Christ had already returned to earth and had commanded his followers to live communally and to practice group marriage. Unlike Brook

Farm and New Harmony, the Oneida Community was financially successful, establishing thriving logging, farming, and manufacturing businesses. It finally disbanded in 1881 because of local outcries about the "free love" practiced by its members.

The Shakers avoided the Oneida Community's problems by banning sex altogether. Called the "Shaking Quakers" because of the ecstatic dances they performed as part of their worship services, they grew steadily after their founder, Ann Lee, emigrated from Great Britain in 1774. By 1826, there were eighteen Shaker communities in eight states. The Shakers at one time claimed nearly six thousand members. Their emphasis on celibacy stemmed from their belief that sexuality promoted selfishness and sinfulness. Farming activities and the manufacture and sale of widely admired furniture and handicrafts brought them success. After 1860, however, recruiting new members became difficult. The Shakers' rules of celibacy ultimately spelled their demise.

**Brook Farm** An experimental farm based on cooperative living; established in 1841, it first attracted transcendentalists and then serious farmers before fire destroyed it in 1845.

**socialist** Someone who believes in the public ownership of manufacturing, farming, and other forms of production so that they benefit society rather than create individual profit.

**Fourierism** Social system advanced by Charles Fourier, who argued that people were capable of living in perfect harmony under the right conditions, which included communal life and republican government.

**New Harmony** Utopian community that Robert Owen established in Indiana in 1825; economic problems and discord among members led to its failure two years later.

**Oneida Community** A religious community established in central New York in 1848; its members shared property, practiced group marriage, and reared children under communal care.

**Shakers** A mid-eighteenth-century offshoot of the Quakers, the Shakers practiced communal living and strict celibacy; they gained members only by conversion or adoption.

By far the most successful of these communal groups were the Mormons. They harnessed the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening, the romantics' appeal to the primitive, and the inclination to communal living displayed by the Shakers and other groups. This peculiarly American movement was founded by Joseph Smith, Jr., a New York farmer. Smith claimed in 1827 that an angel had led him to a set of golden plates inscribed in a strange hieroglyphic language. Smith's translation of these plates resulted in the Book of Mormon, printed in 1830.

Smith then founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, also called the Mormon church, after the prophet Mormon, who had written the golden plates. A revelation inspired Smith in 1831 to lead his congregation out of New York to Kirtland, Ohio. Stressing community, faith, and hard work, the Mormons thrived there for a while. More traditional Protestants, however, regarded Smith's followers with suspicion, envy, and hostility. Their misgivings increased markedly after 1840, when Smith and other elders in the church began to practice polygamy. Increasing persecution convinced Smith to lead his followers farther west into Missouri.

The Mormons found Missouri frontiersmen no less resentful than easterners. Smith then decided to lead his congregation to Illinois, founding the city of Nauvoo in 1840. Continuing conversions to the new faith brought a flood of Mormons to Smith's Zion in Illinois. In 1844, Nauvoo, with a population of fifteen thousand Mormons, dwarfed every other Illinois city.

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## The Whig Alternative to Jacksonian Democracy

Although Andrew Jackson was perhaps the most popular president since George Washington, not all Americans agreed with his philosophy, policies, or political style. Men like Henry Clay and Daniel Webster opposed Jackson in and out of Congress. Gradually, anger over Jackson's policies and anxiety about the changing character of the nation convinced dissidents to combine into a new national party.

## The End of the Old Party Structure

Jackson's enemies were deeply divided among themselves. Henry Clay had started the Bank War (see page 202) to rally Jackson's opponents behind a political cause. Southern politicians like John C. Calhoun, however, feared and hated Clay's nationalistic policies as much as they did Jackson's assertions of federal power. And political outsiders like the Antimasons distrusted all political organizations.

The Antimasons kicked off the anti-Jackson campaign in September 1831 when they held a national nominating convention in Baltimore. The convention drew a wide range of people who were disgusted with politics as usual. Thurlow Weed cajoled the convention into nominating William Wirt, a respected lawyer from Maryland, as its presidential candidate. Weed fully expected that the Republicans would later rubber-stamp the Antimasonic nomination and present a united front against Jackson. But the Republicans, fearful of the Antimasons' odd combination of machine politics and antiparty philosophy, nominated Clay for president.

Even having two anti-Jackson parties in the running did not satisfy some. Distrustful of the Anti-masons and hating Clay's nationalist philosophy, some southerners refused to support any of the announced candidates. They backed nullification advocate John Floyd of Virginia.

Lack of unity spelled disaster for Jackson's opponents. The president received 219 electoral votes to Clay's 49, Wirt's 7, and Floyd's 11. Despite un-

**Joseph Smith, Jr.** Founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, also known as the Mormon church; he led his congregation westward from New York to Illinois, where he was murdered by an anti-Mormon mob.

**Mormons** Members of the church founded by Joseph Smith in 1830; Mormon doctrines are based on the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and revelations made to church leaders.

**polygamy** The practice of having more than one husband or wife at a time.

**machine politics** The aggressive use of influence, favors, and tradeoffs by a political organization, or "machine," to mobilize support among its followers.

BORN TO COMMAND.



**KING ANDREW THE FIRST.**

- ◆ Calling themselves Whigs after the British political party that opposed royal authority, Henry Clay, John E. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster joined forces to oppose what they characterized as Andrew Jackson's kingly use of power. This lithograph from 1834, depicting Jackson in royal dress stepping on the Constitution, expresses their view quite vividly. *Tennessee Historical Society.*

## The New Political Coalition

If one lesson emerged clearly from the election of 1832, it was that Jackson's opponents needed to unite if they expected to challenge the Democrats

settling changes in the land and continuing political chaos, the people still wanted the hero of New Orleans as their leader.

successfully. By 1834, the various factions opposing Jackson had formed the Whig party. The term "Whig" referred to the party in opposition to the British king. In adopting it, Clay and his associates called attention to Jackson's growing power and what they saw as his monarchical pretensions. They took to calling Jackson "King Andrew."

Clay's supporters formed the heart of the Whigs. The nullifiers, however, quickly came around. Late in 1832, Clay and Calhoun joined forces in opposing Jackson's appointment of Martin Van Buren, whom Jackson had picked as his political successor, as American minister to Britain. The Antimasons joined the Whig coalition prior to the 1834 congressional elections. Not only was Jackson a Mason, but his use of patronage and back-alley politics disgusted the Antimasons sufficiently to overcome their distrust of Clay's party philosophy. Christian reformers who wanted to eliminate alcohol, violations of the Sabbath, and dozens of other perceived evils also joined the Whigs. Evangelicals disapproved of Jackson's lifestyle and his views on issues ranging from slavery to alcohol.

The new Whig coalition proved its ability to challenge Jacksonian Democrats in the 1834 election. In their first electoral contest, the Whigs won nearly 40 percent of the seats in the House and over 48 percent in the Senate.

## Van Buren in the White House

Jackson had seemed to be a tower of strength when he was first elected to the presidency in 1828, but he was aging and ill by the end of his second term. Nearly 70 years old and plagued by various ailments, Old Hickory decided not to run for a third term. Instead, he did all that was within his power to ensure that Martin Van Buren would win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1836.

Meanwhile, Clay and the Whigs were hatching a novel strategy. Rather than holding a national

Whig party Political party that came into being in 1834 as an anti-Jackson coalition and that charged "King Andrew" with executive tyranny.

convention and nominating one candidate, the Whigs let each region's party organization nominate its own candidates. As a result, four favorite **sons** ran on the Whig ticket: Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee, W. P. Mangum of North Carolina, and William Henry Harrison of Ohio. Whig leaders hoped the large number of candidates would confuse voters and throw the election into the House of Representatives. This strategy failed narrowly. Van Buren squeaked by in the Electoral College, winning by a margin of less than 1 percent.

Van Buren's entire presidency was colored by the economic collapse that occurred just weeks after he took office. Although the Panic of 1837 was a direct outcome of the Bank War and Jackson's money policies, Van Buren bore the blame. The crisis had begun with bank president Nicholas Biddle's manipulation of credit and interest rates in an effort to have the Second Bank rechartered. Jackson had added to the problem by issuing the Specie Circular on August 15, 1836. The intent of the Specie Circular was to make it more difficult for speculators to obtain public land by requiring payment in specie, or hard money. The effect was to remove paper money from the economy.

The contraction in credit and currency had the same impact in 1837 as in 1819: the national economy collapsed. By May 1837, New York banks were no longer accepting any paper currency, a policy soon followed by all other banks. Hundreds of businesses, plantations, farms, factories, canals, and other enterprises were thrown into bankruptcy by the end of the year. Over a third of Americans lost their jobs. Those fortunate enough to keep their jobs found their pay reduced by as much as 50 percent. The nation sank into an economic and an emotional depression.

As credit continued to collapse through 1838 and 1839, President Van Buren tried to address the problems but only made them worse. His first mistake was to continue Jackson's hard-money policy of accepting payment only in specie. The outcome was more contraction in the economy. Then, to keep the government solvent, Van Buren cut federal spending to the bone, accelerating the downward economic spiral. The public began referring to him as Martin Van Ruin.

### **The Log-Cabin and Hard-Cider**

#### **Campaign of 1840**

The Whigs had learned their lesson in 1836: only a party united behind one candidate could possibly beat the Democrats. For that candidate, they selected William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe. The general had a distinguished military record and few enemies. John Tyler, a Virginian who had bolted from the Democrats during the Bank War, was chosen as his running mate.

Although the economy was in bad shape, the Whigs avoided addressing any serious issues. Instead, they launched a smear campaign against Van Buren. The Whig press portrayed Van Buren, the son of a tavern keeper, as an aristocrat with expensive tastes in clothes, food, and furniture. Harrison, by contrast, had been born into the Virginia aristocracy, but the Whigs characterized him as a simple frontiersman who had risen to greatness through his own efforts. Whig claims were so extravagant that the Democratic press soon satirized Harrison in political cartoons as a rustic hick rocking on the porch of a log cabin and swilling hard cider. The satire backfired. Whig newspapers and speechmakers sold Harrison, the long-time political insider, as a simple man of the people who truly lived in a log cabin. At campaign rallies, Whigs passed out cider to voters while they chanted, "Van, Van, Van, Oh! Van is a used-up man."

Unfortunately for Van Buren, the slogan was on target. By the time the cider had been drunk and the votes counted, Harrison was swept out of his log cabin and into the White House.

favorite **son** A candidate nominated for office by delegates from his or her own region or state.

Specie Circular Order issued by President Jackson in 1836 stating that the federal government would accept only gold and silver as payment for public land.

John Tyler Virginia senator who left the Democratic party after conflicts with Andrew Jackson; he was elected vice president in 1840 and became president when Harrison died.

## SUMMARY

William Henry Harrison inherited a deeply troubled country from outgoing president Martin Van Buren. Economic *constraints* triggered by Andrew Jackson's unwise *choice* in issuing the Specie Circular were worsened by Van Buren's error in revamping the treasury system, and both were compounded by Nicholas Biddle's malevolence. The new party system that emerged promised excitement but not much in the way of solutions. Still, Americans must have had great *expectations* from the new politics: nearly twice as many men *chose* to vote in the 1840 election as had done so in any other presidential contest.

This *outcome* came on top of a number of other *choices* Americans made in response to the many unsettling changes that had been taking place as part of the great transformation. Different economic classes responded by creating their own cultures and by *choosing* specific strategies for dealing with anxiety. Some *chose* violent protest, some passive resistance. Some looked to heaven for solutions and others to earthly utopias. And out of this

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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complex swirl of new *expectations* and *constraints*, something entirely new and unexpected emerged. The *outcome* was a new America, on its way to being socially, politically, intellectually, and culturally modern.

In the election of 1840, a man who had become a national figure by fighting against Indian sovereignty and for westward expansion swept a new sentiment into national politics. Increasingly, Americans shared the *expectation* that the West would provide the solutions to the problems raised by the great transformation. In the short term, the *outcome* was an exciting race by Americans toward the Pacific. But new *constraints* pared down available *choices*, propelling the nation toward a sectional crisis.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Genovese, Eugene D. *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (1979).

Although it focuses somewhat narrowly on confrontation, as opposed to more subtle forms of resistance, this study traces the emergence of African-American political organization from its roots in antebellum slave revolts.

Haltunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (1982).

A wonderfully well-researched study of an emerging class defining and shaping itself in the evolving world of early-nineteenth-century urban space.

Pessen, Edward. *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (1967).

A look at the early labor movement and reform by one of America's leading radical scholars.

Wallace, Anthony F. E. *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (1978).

A noted anthropologist's reconstruction of a mill town and the various class, occupational, and gender cultures that developed there during its transition from a traditional village.

Walters, Ronald G. *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (1978).

The best overview of the reform movements and key personalities who guided them during this difficult period in American history.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (1984).

An insightful view of working-class culture and politics in the dynamic setting of New York City during the heyday of the Erie Canal.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## ◆ Prescribing Middle-Class Expectations

### The Context

Chapter 11 discusses the emergence of a new economic and social class in the United States: the middle class. Being a new class and living under new circumstances, these people had to figure out new rules for appropriate behavior, proper appearance, and desirable relationships. Those rules then had to be communicated. What emerged was a flood of what historians call "prescriptive literature," writing that recommends certain modes of behavior, dress, and social conduct. Through mass-publishing syndicates like the American Tract Society, literature prescribing middle-class cultural values spread to every class in America. (For further information on the context, see pages 229-230.)

### The Historical Question

Few historians would dispute that a major cultural shift took place during the forty-six years that separated the War of 1812 and the Civil War, but many questions remain concerning the causes

for this shift, the exact nature of it, and the media by which it spread. Examining prescriptive literature from the period is one way to approach those questions. What did the prescriptive literature have to say about class roles, gender roles, and roles for different age groups? How does advice given to one such group help to inform us about desirable roles for the other groups? What expectations were being formed about people's behavior, dress, and social relations?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions. What roles and responsibilities were being prescribed for middle-class men, women, and children during the early nineteenth century? How do these roles reflect new economic and social realities during the period?

### The Sources

**1** Prescriptive literature for young women took many forms—ranging from parables to sentimental poetry. Catherine Beecher was inclined to write manifestoes. In *The Duty of American Women to Their Country* (1845), she said:

*Women, then, are to be educated for teachers, and sent to the destitute children of this nation by hundreds and by thousands. This is the way in which a profession is to be created for women—a profession as honourable and as lucrative for her as the legal, medical, and theological are for men. . . .*

*And who else, in such an emergency as this, can so appropriately be invoked to aid? It is woman who is the natural and appropriate guardian of childhood. It is woman who has those tender sympathies which can most readily feel for the wants and sufferings of the young. . . .*

*It is woman, too, who has that conscientiousness and religious devotion which, in any worthy cause, are the surest pledges of success.*

*Every woman has various duties pressing upon her attention. It is right for her, it is her duty, to cultivate her own mind by reading and study, not merely for her own gratification or credit, but with the great end in view of employing her knowledge and energies for the good of others. It is right, and a duty for a woman to attend to domestic affairs; but,*



*except in cases of emergency, it is not right to devote all her time to this alone. It is a duty for her to attend to religious efforts and ordinances; but it is not right for her to give all her time to these alone. . . .*

**2** Prescriptive literature for men usually avoided the sentimental and took on an air of friendly conversation. T. S. Arthur's *Advice to*

*Young Men on Their Duties and Conduct in Life*

(1853) was one such advice manual. Arthur wrote:

*. . . It is no light task which a man takes upon himself—that of sustaining, by his single efforts, a whole family. . . . You have an education that enables you to take a respectable position in society; you have a groundwork of good principles; habits of industry; in fact, all that a young man need ask for in order that he may rise in the world; and for these you are indebted to your father. To give you such advantages, cost him labor, self-denial, and much anxious thought. Many times has he been pressed down with worldly difficulties. . . . He has seen his last dollar, it may be, leave his hand, without knowing certainly where the next was to come from. But still, his love for his children has urged him on. . . .*

*. . . you should make it a point of duty always to go with your sisters into company, and to be their companion, if possible, on all public occasions. By so doing, you can prevent the introduction of men whose principles are bad; or, if such introductions are forced upon them in spite of you, can throw in a timely word of caution. . . . The great thing is to guard, by every means in your power, these innocent*

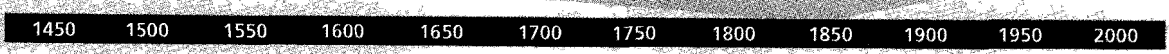
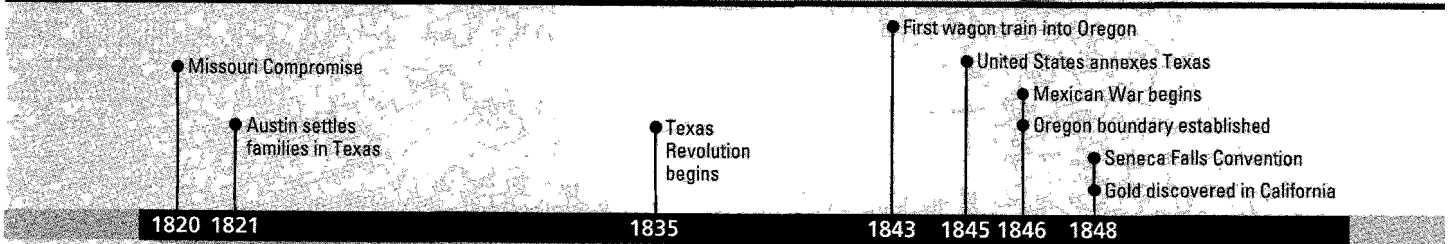
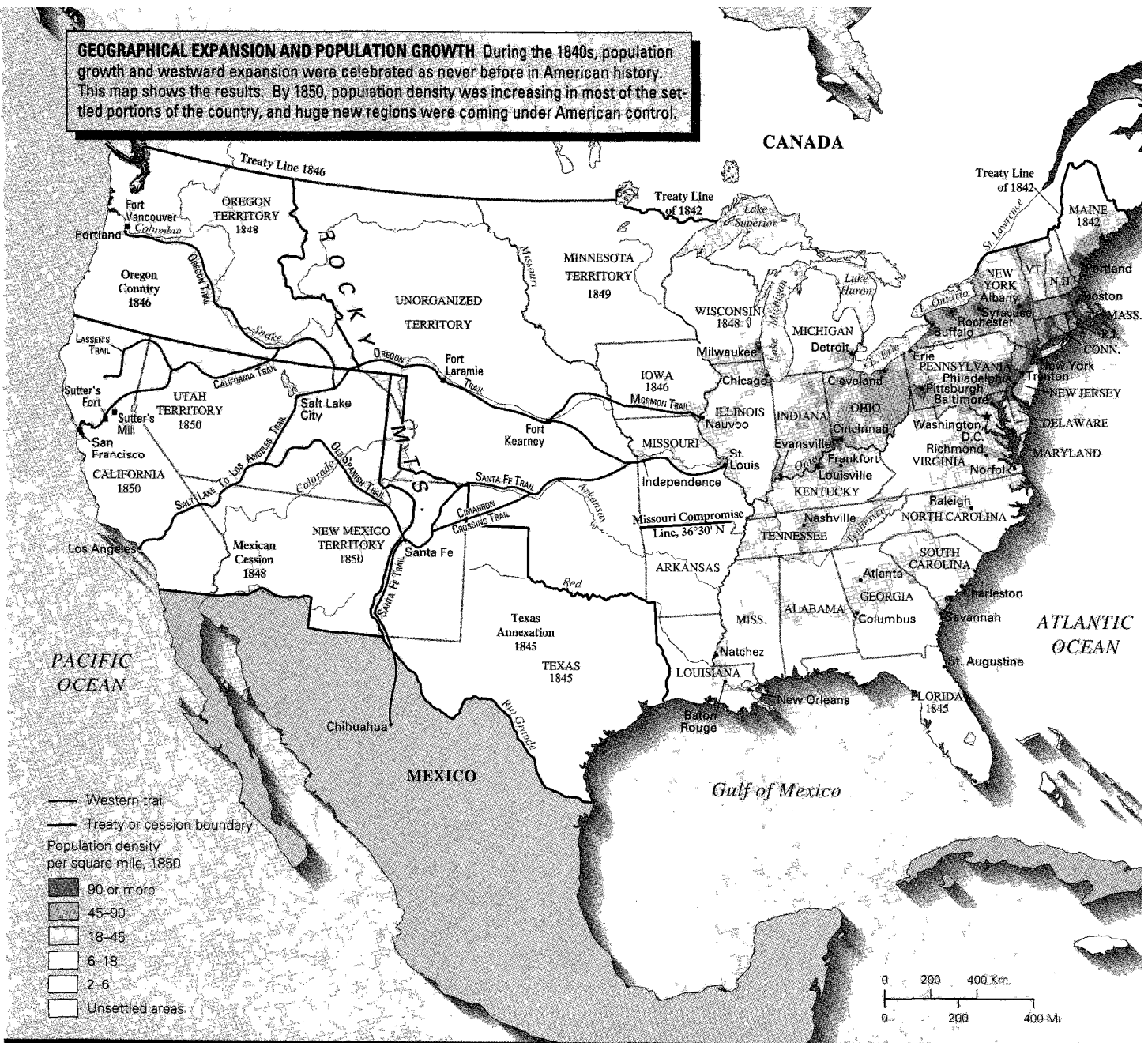
ones from the polluting presence of a bad man. You cannot tell how soon he may win the affections of the most innocent, confiding, and loving of them all, and draw her off from virtue. And even if his designs be honorable . . . he cannot make her happy, for happy no pure-minded woman ever has been, or even can be made by a corrupt, evil-minded, and selfish man.

. . . But not only should you seek to guard them from the danger just alluded to,—your affection for them should lead you to enter into their pleasures as far as in your power to do so; to give interest and variety to the home circle; to afford them, at all times, the assistance of your judgment in matters of trivial as well as grave importance.

**3** Probably more prescriptive words were written to and about children than about any other subject during the antebellum period. An anonymous pamphlet issued by the American Tract Society advised: *Be careful in the formation of intimate friendships. Attach yourself to those chiefly who are diligent, thoughtful, and amiable. Behave always in the most respectful manner to your teachers, and to all that occasionally visit you. Avoid the extremes of bashfulness and bold presumption; frankness and modesty form a happy union. In diet be moderate; in apparel neat; among your companions, cheerful and kind. . . . Never tell a lie, nor conceal the truth when it is your duty to make it known; at the same time remember that a tale-bearer in a school is an odious character.*



**GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION AND POPULATION GROWTH** During the 1840s, population growth and westward expansion were celebrated as never before in American history. This map shows the results. By 1850, population density was increasing in most of the settled portions of the country, and huge new regions were coming under American control.



# Westward Expansion and

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## Manifest Destiny, 1841-1849

### **The Explosion Westward**

- What expectations pulled Americans westward between 1820 and 1848?

### **The Social Fabric in the West**

- To what extent did people in the West expect to

create new and different societies in that region?

- What sorts of cultures emerged in response to western constraints?
-

## **The Triumph of "Manifest Destiny"**

- What expectations contributed to the idea of manifest destiny?
- Did choices by American settlers in Oregon and Texas reflect those expectations? Why or why not?

## **Expansion and Sectional Crisis**

- How did expansionist and economic expectations shape Americans' positions on slavery in the 1840s?

## ( INTRODUCTION )

The election of frontier hero William Henry Harrison to the presidency in 1840 was but one milestone in a progressive westward tilt in the nation's political and cultural focus. As transportation systems extended the American frontier and as industrialization generated new capital, speculators invested in the newly opened West. Americans looking for economic opportunities, places to transplant particular religious or political beliefs, or simply adventure followed those entrepreneurs. They *expected* to find a wide-open land of opportunity.

But men and women moving into the West faced many *constraints*. The land itself was often not what they *expected*. Water was frequently in short supply, and wild animals were a constant threat to crops and livestock. In addition, most of the land in the West was already claimed by Indians, the Spanish, or the British.

Environmental and cultural *constraints* forced change on pioneers and led to the creation of new societies. Mormon farmers in the Utah deserts, for example, had to learn to cooperate with each other in building irrigation systems. Pioneers in the Southwest had to learn about the Spanish language and culture.

Westward expansion brought great pressure to bear on the nation's political and economic institutions. Easterners disagreed about what institutions should be planted in the new territories. Southerners *expected* to spread cotton agriculture. Northerners were equally convinced that a diversified entrepreneurial economy was the wave of the future. And each region had specific notions about tariffs, taxes, the money supply, and the role of the federal government in the economy.

Each section *chose* to push for its own vision of westward expansion, but each met *constraints*. The United States fought a war with Mexico and then faced a national crisis over what to do with newly acquired territories. The *outcome* was a political dispute that rocked the halls of Congress and moved some to call for outright civil disobedience.

At the core of the debate lay the issue of slavery. Although only a few Americans were disturbed

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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about its moral implications, slavery symbolized the cultural, economic, and political differences between northerners and southerners. Independent farmers and businessmen feared the *constraint* of competition from wealthy southern planters. Workers, too, wondered how they could compete successfully against slave laborers. While more and more people in the North and the Old Northwest *chose* to raise their voices against the expansion of slavery, southerners worked all the harder to ensure their freedom to take slaves anywhere they *chose*.

As the debate over slavery and expansion broadened, another group of Americans chafed under discrimination. Evangelical women had *chosen* to join a wide variety of reform movements, including abolitionism, but they found that their sex was a major *constraint* to their participation. Few men were willing to give them the political and economic voice they believed they needed to carry out their mission. Increasing frustration was the *outcome* for such women.

## Expansion and Crisis

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1820 Missouri Compromise  | 1843 First wagon train into Oregon<br>First Organic Laws adopted in Oregon   |
| 1821 Stephen F. Austin settles Americans<br>in Texas  | 1844 James K. Polk elected president<br>Murder of Joseph Smith   |
| 1834 Mexican government begins seizure of<br>California mission lands   | 1845 United States annexes Texas<br>Term "manifest destiny"<br>coined  |
| 1835 Texas Revolution begins  | 1846 Mexican War begins<br>Oregon boundary established; United<br>States and Britain end joint occupation<br>California declares itself a republic |
| 1836 Rebellion against Mexican rule in California   | 1847 Whitman massacre<br>Mormons arrive in<br>Utah   |
| 1838 John Quincy Adams filibusters<br>against annexation of Texas<br>Armed confrontation between Maine<br>and New Brunswick | 1848 Gold discovered in California<br>Zachary Taylor elected president<br>Seneca Falls Convention<br>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo                   |
| 1839 John Sutter founds New Helvetia  | 1855 Indians in the Pacific Northwest settled<br>on reservations   |
| 1840 William Henry Harrison elected president   |  |
| 1841 John Tyler becomes president<br>Congress passes preemption<br>bill   |  |
| 1842 Elijah White named federal Indian agent<br>for Oregon  |  |

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## The

## Explosion Westward

Western pioneers seldom sought to create new and different lifestyles for themselves, but the physical and cultural environments in the West shaped their society in peculiar ways. Thus cultures that contrasted sharply with those in the industrializing North and the plantation South emerged in the new West.

## The Complicated Worlds of the West

Two views of the West dominated the popular imagination in the 1840s. One, traceable to Zebu-



Ion Pike's expedition in 1806-1807, envisioned the West as a "great American desert" unsuitable for habitation by any but the hardiest Indians. The other, traceable to the Lewis and Clark expedition, imagined a verdant region rich in resources. Common to both was the notion that the West was a virgin land free for the taking.

Realities in the Far **West** were much more complex than the myths suggested. Indeed, vast areas of the region had extremely dry and fragile ecologies largely unsuitable for the sort of economic

**Far West** In North America, the lands west of the Mississippi River.

exploitation nineteenth-century Americans desired. At the other extreme, some regions were so wet that their rain forests were virtually impassable. But nowhere was there virgin land.

For thousands of years, various Indian groups had extracted a rich living from the many different environments in the Far West. By moving from place to place and trading, Indians had taken advantage of the West's diversity, receiving what each ecological zone had to offer. This flexible approach to the complicated and often fragile ecology of the Far West provided an excellent living and did minimal damage to natural resources. If the land appeared to expansionists in the United States to be unoccupied, it was only because they would not, or could not, recognize a system of land use with which they were unfamiliar.

With the arrival of Spanish, French, Russian, and other Europeans, the complex world of intergroup relations in the West became even more complicated. Indians on the Great Plains used the mobility provided by European horses to expand not just their hunting range but also their trading range. Goods from the Plains made their way regularly to Spanish settlements in New Mexico, and replacement horses, guns, and other European goods flooded northward in return. This was the world into which early western entrepreneurs like John Jacob Astor and Auguste Chouteau had entered earlier in the century. No unexploited land or great American desert could have supported their monumental visions of an inland fur empire. What both men did was to tap into an already complicated trading world.

The image of the solitary trapper braving a hostile environment and even more hostile Indians is the stuff of American adventure novels and movies. Although characters like Christopher ("Kit") Carson and Jeremiah ("Crow Killer") Johnson really did exist, these men were merely advance agents for an extractive industry geared to the efficient removal of animal pelts.

What drew men like Carson and Johnson into the Far West in the 1830s and 1840s was an innovation instigated by a former Astor employee and one-time partner of Chouteau, William Henry Ashley. Taking advantage of the presence of large numbers of underemployed young men seeking fortune and adventure in the West, Ashley in 1825

set up the highly successful rendezvous system for collecting pelts. Under this arrangement, individual trappers like Carson combed the upper Missouri for furs. Once each year, Ashley conducted a fur rendezvous in the mountains, where the trappers brought their furs and exchanged them for goods.

Ashley's, Chouteau's, and Astor's strategies for harvesting wealth from the Far West inadvertently led to the decline of the fur trade. Astor's Asian trade opened the way for vast silk imports. Soon silk hats became a fashion rage in both America and Europe, replacing beaver hats, which had sustained the fur trade. In addition, the efficiency of these enterprises virtually wiped out beaver populations in the Rocky Mountains. By the 1830s, the beaver business had slowed to a near standstill.

Many beaver hunters stayed in the West to become founding members of new communities. As early as 1840, fur trapper Robert ("Doc") Newell reportedly told his companion Joe Meek, "The fur trade is dead in the Rocky Mountains, and it is no place for us now, if ever it was." The two men then headed to the Willamette Valley in Oregon to become settlers.

Often the first to join the former fur trappers in the West were not rugged yeoman farmers but highly organized and well-financed land speculators. Liberalization of the land laws during the first half of the nineteenth century had put smaller tracts within reach of more citizens, but speculators continued to play a role in land distribution by offering even smaller tracts and more liberal credit.

A third group of expectant fortune hunters was lured into the Far West by the discovery of gold. Most fortune hunters did not find gold, but many stayed to establish trading businesses, banks, and

**extractive industry** An industry, such as fur trapping, logging, or mining, that removes natural resources from the environment.

**rendezvous system** A system in which trappers gathered furs independently in their own territories and met traders once a year to exchange the furs for goods.

farms. Others moved on, still seeking their fortunes. But usually they too eventually settled down to become shopkeepers, farmers, and entrepreneurs.

### The Attraction of the West

The underlying cause for westward migration was the hope of economic opportunity. The promise of cheap land was especially enticing after the panics of 1819 and 1837.

Although the promise of economic opportunity pulled most people westward, some were pushed in that direction, particularly New Englanders. Two sources of land pressure combined to uproot these descendants of the Puritans. First, the New England tradition of dividing family holdings equally among adult children had created a shortage of workable farms in the region. Second, innovations in spinning and weaving wool had created a sheep-raising craze after 1824. Sheep required little labor but a lot of land. Between 1825 and 1840, sheep displaced people throughout much of the New England countryside as smaller, poorer farmers sold out.

Thus young people in New England faced a choice between moving into cities or heading west. Those who opted to migrate west sought an environment friendly to their moral and religious outlook in areas like upper New York, Michigan, and Oregon, where Protestant missionaries were establishing little New Englands in the wilderness.

The image of the independent farmer fleeing the restrictions of civilized life and hewing out a living on the frontier is a persistent myth in American history. Although a few antisocial sorts moved to the frontier to escape neighbors, most went west as part of a larger community.

Most migrants to Texas in the 1820s and 1830s came in large groups under the direction of men like **Stephen F. Austin**. Beginning in 1821, the Spanish government in Mexico gave these empresarios land grants and the right to assess fees in exchange for encouraging settlement in its northern colony. Spanish authorities stipulated that all the families had to be Roman Catholic or be willing to convert.

Austin offered families land for a filing fee of only 12% cents per acre and had no trouble find

ing willing settlers. He led his first overland party from Louisiana into Texas in 1821. After Mexico became independent of Spain in 1822, Austin convinced the Mexican government to extend his license.

The first permanent agricultural settlements in the Pacific Northwest were begun by Protestant missionaries to the Indians. These missionaries encouraged mass migration to the new territory. Their calls appealed to people eager for economic opportunity in familiar cultural surroundings. When the Methodist church issued a call for a "great reinforcement" for its mission in Oregon, it received a flood of applications. Three separate reinforcements arrived in Oregon by ship in 1840, but it was not until 1843 that large-scale migration began.

Beginning in the spring of 1843 and every spring thereafter for decades, families from all over the East gathered in Missouri to start the overland trek by wagon train. Although trail life was novel for most of the Oregon-bound migrants, the division in domestic labor remained much as it was at home. "Everybody was supposed to rise at daylight, and while the women were preparing breakfast, the men rounded up the cattle, took down the tents, yoked the oxen to the wagons and made everything ready for an immediate start after the morning meal was finished," one young pioneer woman remembered. Even social customs remained the same. "We were expected to visit our neighbors when we paused for rest," the same woman noted. "If we did not, we were designated as 'high-toned' or 'stuck-up.'"

And so life went on during the six months it took to cross the more than 2,000 miles to the **Oregon Country**. Families arriving in Oregon tended to settle in rings around the existing missions,

**Stephen F. Austin** American colonizer in Texas who was imprisoned by the Mexican government on suspicion of revolutionary sympathies and who later took part in the Texas Revolution.

**empresario** In the Spanish colonies, a person who organized and led a group of settlers in exchange for land grants and the right to assess fees.

**Oregon Country** The region to the north of Spanish California extending from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast.



◆ With two wives and several children to help share the burden of work, this Mormon settler was in a good position to do well, even in the harsh conditions that prevailed in the near-desert environment of Utah. Sensitive to disapproval from more traditional Christians, families like this tended to associate exclusively with other Mormons and pressured outsiders to leave as quickly as possible. *Denver Public Library.*

which soon became the hubs for transplanted New England—style villages.

The Mormons established another migration pattern into the **Great Basin**. Persecution continued to haunt Joseph Smith's followers after their move to Illinois and became much worse when the church leadership declared polygamy acceptable. In 1844, Smith was murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, leading many Mormon leaders to conclude that the community would never be safe until they moved far from mainstream American civilization. **Brigham Young**, Smith's successor, led sixteen hundred Mormons beyond the Rocky Mountains in search of a refuge. On July 24, 1847, Young's advance party finally pushed into the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Despite their differences, pioneers shared the fundamental problem of being short of hard cash. Western farmers barely made ends meet when conditions were good and fell into debt when weather or other hazards interrupted farming. Still, those who were lucky and exercised careful management could carve out an excellent living. Strongly centralized authority and a deeply felt sense of community helped the Mormons to prosper. Many people in other communities, however, had their land repossessed or had to sell out to pay off creditors.

Many pioneers had no legal claim to their farms. People often settled wherever they could find unoccupied land. Thousands of squatters living on unsold federal land were a problem for the national government when the time came to sell off the public domain. Western politicians frequently advocated bills guaranteeing "squatter rights." They finally maneuvered the passage of a **preemption** bill in 1841 that gave squatters the right to settle on unsurveyed federal land.

Squatters still had to buy the land once it came up for sale.

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## The Social Fabric in the West

Migrants to Texas, Oregon, and Utah seldom intended to create a new social order in the West. Rather, they intended to re-create the society they

**Great Basin** A desert region including most of present-day Nevada and parts of Utah, California, Idaho, Wyoming, and Oregon.

**Brigham Young** Mormon leader who took over in 1844 after Joseph Smith's death and guided the Mormons from Illinois to Utah, where they established a permanent home for the church.

**Great Salt Lake** A shallow, salty lake in the Great Basin, about 83 miles long and 51 miles wide; the Mormons established a permanent settlement near it in 1847.

**preemption bill** A temporary law that gave squatters the right to buy land they had settled on before it was offered for sale at public auction.

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were leaving behind. The physical and cultural environments into which they moved, however, forced change on them. Pioneers had to accommodate themselves to the geography and people they found there. Thus some significant differences in the culture and society of the Far West emerged.

### **The New Cotton Country**

Migrants to cotton country in Texas and Arkansas often started out as landless herders. These families carved out claims beyond the **frontier line** and worked as herders until they could put the land into production. Frequently, they did not have to clear land because Indians had already done so.

Although some areas were cleared and extremely fertile, others were swampy, rocky, and unproductive. Differences in the quality of land helped recreate the southern class system in the new areas. Those fortunate enough to get profitable land might become great planters; those less fortunate had to settle for lesser prosperity.

Southern pioneers devoted most of their time to the tasks necessary for survival. Even their social and recreational life tended to center on practical tasks. House building, planting, and harvesting were often done in cooperation with neighbors. On such occasions, plenty of food and homemade whiskey were consumed. Women gathered together separately for large-scale projects like group quilting. Another community event for southwestern settlers was the periodic religious revival, which might last for days. Here they could make new acquaintances, court sweethearts, and discuss the common failings in their souls and on their farms.

### **Westering Yankees**

The frontier experience for migrants to Michigan and Oregon differed from that of southwesterners. In the Old Northwest, as Indians such as the Winnebagos were pushed out, pioneers snatched up their deserted farms. Settlers quickly established villages like those left behind in New England. Law courts, churches, and schools were likely to be the first institutions set up in northwestern towns. These institutions and the similarity of this region

to New England helped prevent the growth of class distinctions that had developed so quickly along the southern frontier.

Conditions in the Oregon Country resembled those farther east in most respects, but some significant differences did exist. Most important, the Indians in the Oregon Country had never practiced agriculture. Their environment was so rich in fish, meat, and wild vegetables that farming was unnecessary. Large, open prairies flanking the Columbia, Willamette, and other rivers provided fertile farmland.

Much like the Indians in colonial New England, the Nez Perces, Cayuses, and Kalapuyas of the Oregon Country made whites welcome. In 1831, the Nez Perces and the Flatheads even issued an appeal for whites to come live among them. Although occasional tensions arose between white settlers and Indians, no serious conflict took place until 1847, when a disillusioned group of Cayuse Indians killed missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman. The so-called Whitman massacre triggered the Cayuse War and a concerted effort by white Americans to confine all the northwestern tribes to reservations. By 1855, this effort had succeeded.

### **The Hispanic Southwest**

Frontier life in California was unique in many ways. One major reason was that the Spanish left a lasting cultural imprint on California. Spanish exploration into what is now California did not begin until 1769. Prompted by Russian expansion into North America, the Spanish established garrisons at San Diego and Monterey. Eventually, Franciscan monks established twenty-one missions, each placed one day's travel from the next, extending from San Diego to the town of Sonoma, north of San Francisco.

The mission system provided a skeleton for Spanish settlement in California. The missions were soon surrounded by groves, vineyards, and lush farms, all tended by California Indians, who

frontier line The outer limit of agricultural settlement bordering on the wilderness.



◆ Using Indian labor, Franciscan missionaries transformed the dry California coastal plain into a blooming garden and built beautiful missions in which to celebrate their religion. This early nineteenth-century painting by Oriana Day shows the Carmel Mission at the peak of its prosperity. *"Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo" by Oriana Day, oil on canvas 20"x 30". The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. Gift of Mrs. Eleanor Martin.*

often became virtual slaves. California's coastal plain became a vast and productive garden at the cost of thousands of Indian lives.

The Franciscans continued to control these missions after Mexico won its independence from Spain. Between 1834 and 1840, however, the Mexican government seized the California missions and sold them off to private citizens. An elite class of Spanish-speaking Californians snatched up the rich lands. Never numbering more than about a thousand people, this Hispanic elite eventually owned some 15 million acres of California's richest land. In 1836, the **Californios** and non-Hispanic newcomers rebelled against Mexico to place Californio Juan Bautista Alvarado in the governorship of California. The landholding elite never ended California's official relationship with Mexico but nevertheless ran the region's government.

At first, the Californios welcomed outsiders as neighbors and trading partners. Ships from the United States called regularly at California ports,

picking up cargoes of beef tallow and cowhides. The settlers they brought were given generous grants and assistance to open up new lands and businesses. **John Sutter**, for example, a Swiss immigrant, was given a grant of land in the Sacramento valley, where he established a colony called New Helvetia in 1839. This settlement drew trappers, traders, Indians, and other settlers like a magnet.

**Californios** Spanish colonists in California in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

tallow Hard fat obtained from the bodies of cattle and other animals and used to make candles and soap.

**John Sutter** Swiss immigrant who founded a colony in California; in 1848 the discovery of gold on his property attracted hordes of miners who seized his land and left him financially ruined.

In New Helvetia, San Francisco, and other centers in northern California, a cosmopolitan society developed. Farther south, however, in the heartland of Spanish California, the Hispanic landholding elite resented intrusions by lower-class Mexicans and other newcomers. Governor Alvarado had a number of American and British citizens arrested on the suspicion that they were plotting to overthrow his government.

A more harmonious pattern of interracial cooperation existed in Santa Fe, where an elite class emerged from the intermingled fortunes and intermarriages among Indian, European, and American populations. Thus the Hispanic leaders of New Mexico, unlike those of California, consistently worked with their kinsmen.

In Texas, the economic desperation of impoverished southern frontiersmen combined with cultural insensitivity and misunderstanding to create the sort of tensions that were rare in New Mexico. **Texians** (non-Hispanic settlers) tended to cling to their own ways, and **Tejanos** (migrants from Mexico) did the same.

## The Mormon Community

Physical conditions in the Great Basin led to a completely different social and cultural order in that area. Utah is a high desert plateau where water is scarce and survival depends on its careful management. The tightly knit community of Mormons was perfectly suited to that hostile environment.

Mormons followed the principle that "land belongs to the Lord, and his Saints are to use so much as they can work profitably." The church measured off plots of up to 40 acres and assigned them to settlers on the basis of need. Thus a man with several wives, many children, and enough wealth to hire help might receive a grant of 40 acres, but a man with one wife, few children, and little capital might receive only 10. Community work parties among the Mormons were more rigidly controlled and formal than in other settlements. Men had to supply labor in direct proportion to the amount of land they were granted. A man who had been granted 40 acres had to provide four times the amount of labor as one who had been granted 10.

Because of their bad experiences in Missouri and Illinois, the Mormons were unaccepting of strangers. The **General Authorities** of the church made every effort to keep Utah an exclusively Mormon society. The one exception was American Indians. Because Indians occupied a central place in Mormon sacred literature, the Mormons practiced an accepting and gentle Indian policy. The Mormon hierarchy used its enormous power in Utah to prevent private violence against Indians whenever possible.

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## The Triumph of "Manifest Destiny"

Economic opportunity was the primary reason for westward movement before the Civil War erupted in 1861, but it was not the only reason people ventured west. Cultural and religious issues also pushed people west. So did the idea of **manifest destiny**.

### The Rise of Manifest Destiny

To some extent, manifest destiny was as old as the Puritan idea of a "wilderness Zion" (see pages 54-56). Like John Winthrop, many early nineteenth-century Americans believed they had a mission to go into new lands. During the antebellum period, romantic nationalism, land hunger, and the Second Great Awakening shaped this sense of divine mission into a powerful incentive to expand westward.

Evangelical Protestants came to believe that the westward movement was part of a divine plan for

**Texians** Non-Hispanic settlers in Texas in the nineteenth century.

**Tejanos** Mexican settlers in Texas in the nineteenth century.

**General Authorities** Leaders in the Mormon church hierarchy; the prophet, his two assistants, twelve apostles, and several full-time administrators.

**manifest destiny** Term first used in the 1840s to describe the inevitability of the continued westward expansion of the United States.

North America and the rest of the world. The earliest and most aggressive proponents of expansion were Christian missionary organizations, whose many magazines, newsletters, and reports were the first to give it formal voice. Politicians were not far behind. Democrat Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri quickly adopted the missionary rhetoric in promoting liberal land policies, territorial acquisition, and overseas expansion. By 1845, when journalist John L. O'Sullivan coined the expression "manifest destiny," the idea that the United States should occupy all of North America was already an established one.

### Expansion to the North and West

One major obstacle to manifest destiny was that Spain, Britain, Russia, and other countries already owned large parts of North America. The continued presence of the British proved to be a constant irritation.

The disputed border between Maine and Canada threatened to lead to a major confrontation in 1838, when Canadian loggers moved into the disputed region and began cutting trees. Fighting broke out when American lumberjacks attempted to drive them away. The Canadian province of New Brunswick and the state of Maine then mobilized their militias; Congress called up fifty thousand men; and President Van Buren ordered General Winfield Scott to the scene. Scott arranged a truce, but tensions continued to run high.

Another source of conflict with Britain was the **Oregon Question**. At the close of the War of 1812, the two countries had been unable to settle their claims and had agreed to joint occupation of Oregon for ten years. This arrangement was extended indefinitely in 1827.

Joint occupation began to be undermined when American settlers in the Willamette Valley held a series of meetings in 1843 to create a civil government. A constitutional convention was called for May 2. Although the British tried to prevent the convention, the assembly passed the First Organic Laws of Oregon on July 5, 1843, making Oregon an independent republic in all but name. Independence, however, was not the settlers' long-term

goal. They desired **annexation** by the United States of America.

### Revolution in Texas

Unlike the situation in Maine and the Oregon Country, the ownership of the Southwest was fairly clear. Present-day Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and portions of Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Wyoming belonged to Spain prior to Mexico's successful revolution in 1821. After that revolution, title presumably passed to Mexico. But owning this vast region and controlling it were two different matters. The distance between the capital in Mexico City and the northern provinces made governing the region difficult.

Anglo-American settlers in the Southwest generally ignored Mexican customs, including their pledge to practice Roman Catholicism. The distant and politically unstable Mexican government could do little to enforce laws and customs. In addition, many Tejanos desired greater autonomy from Mexico City as much as their American counterparts did.

In an effort to forge a peaceful settlement with the Mexican government, Stephen F. Austin went to Mexico City in 1833. While Austin was there, **Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna** seized power. A key figure in the adoption of a republican constitution in 1824, Santa Anna had come to the conclusion that Mexico was not ready for democracy. He suspended the constitution, dismissed congress, and declared himself the "Napoleon of the West."

Austin pressed several petitions advocating reforms and greater self-government in Texas upon

**Oregon Question** The question of the national ownership of the Pacific Northwest; the United States and Great Britain renegotiated the boundary in 1846, establishing it at 49° north latitude.

**annexation** The incorporation of a territory into an existing political unit such as a neighboring country.

**Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna** Mexican general who was president of Mexico when he led an attack on the Alamo in 1836.





◆ **MAP 12.1 The Texas Revolution** This map shows troop movements and the major battles in the Texas Revolution, as well as the conflicting boundary claims made by Texans and the Mexican government. The Battle of San Jacinto and the Treaty of Velasco ended the war, but the conflicting land claims continued when Mexico repudiated the treaty.

the Mexican president. Believing that Santa Anna agreed with him, Austin departed for home, only to be arrested and dragged back to Mexico City in chains on charges of advocating revolution in Texas. Though finally cleared of all charges in 1835, Austin had decided by the time he arrived back in Texas that "war is our only recourse." In early September, he called for a convention of delegates from all over Texas to discuss what should be done.

By the time this convention met in November 1835, the first shots of the **Texas Revolution** had al

ready been fired. The convention formed itself into a provisional government but refrained from declaring its independence from Mexico.

The first major confrontation of the rebellion occurred at San Antonio (see Map 12.1). Santa Anna personally led the Mexican army against that city, which had been captured by the rebels. Knowing that Santa Anna was on his way, Texas commander William Travis moved his troops into a former mission called the **Alamo**. On March 6, 1836, Santa Anna ordered an all-out assault on the Alamo. Storming the walls, the Mexican army sustained staggering casualties but captured it nevertheless. Most of the post's defenders were killed in the assault. Santa Anna executed those who survived the battle, including former congressman and frontier celebrity Davy Crockett.

Texas rebels elsewhere were consolidating the revolution. On March 2, a convention met at Washington-on-the-Brazos and issued a declaration of independence. The convention also ratified a constitution, based largely on the Constitution of the United States, on March 16. It elected David G. Burnet president of the new republic and Lorenzo de Zavala, one of the many Tejanos who had joined the rebellion, as vice president (see Individual Choices: Lorenzo de Zavala). **Sam Houston** had earlier been named commander of the army.

Despite the loss at the Alamo, Texans continued to underestimate Santa Anna's strength. On March 18, a large Mexican detachment under General Jose Urrea captured the town of Goliad and its defenders. Over the next several days, Urrea scoured the countryside for additional prisoners. On Palm

**Texas Revolution** A revolt by American colonists in Texas against Mexican rule; it began in 1835 and ended with the establishment of the Republic of Texas in 1836.

**Alamo** A Franciscan mission that the Mexican commander at San Antonio fortified; rebellious Texas colonists were besieged there by Santa Anna's forces in 1836.

**Sam Houston** American general and politician who fought in the struggle for Texas's independence from Mexico and became president of the Republic of Texas.

## INDIVIDUAL CHOICES

### Choosing Texas and Independence



#### Lorenzo de Zavala

*Lorenzo de Zavala fought against tyranny in his native Mexico. When the government he helped establish after a successful revolution against Spain refused to create a democracy, de Zavala moved to Texas. In 1835, he chose to join the Texas Revolution against Mexico and was elected vice president of the Republic of Texas. "Lorenzo de Zavala" by E. E. Proctor. Archives Division, Texas State Library. Photo by Eric Beggs.*

Although Lorenzo de Zavala was a physician by training, his heart persistently pulled him into politics. An ardent liberal and federalist, he was elected to the Merida city council in his native Yucatan, in southern Mexico, when he was only 23 years old. Then, in 1814, he was elected a delegate to the Spanish parliament, though he never assumed his seat. The young liberal was imprisoned by Spain's King Ferdinand VII for antimonarchical sentiments. Gaining his release in 1817, de Zavala returned to Yucatan.

De Zavala chafed at Spanish rule, and as revolutionary movements broke out in all parts of Mexico in 1820, he again entered politics, winning election as the secretary of the Yucatan assembly. From this position, he assisted the Mexican independence movement. Shortly after it succeeded in 1821, he was elected to the Mexican constituent congress, serving there and in the national senate until 1827, when he was made governor of the province of Mexico.

By 1829, de Zavala was having doubts about how things were going in Mexico. The independent government had proved far from stable, and the ruling authorities seemed just as reactionary as the Spaniards. The liberals' demand to allocate farmland to peasants, for example, was continually refused by the government. Seeking some way to help the peasants, de Zavala resigned his governorship and secured an empresario grant to settle five hundred poor Mexican families in Texas.

For the next several years, de Zavala traveled and wrote a history of the revolutionary movement in Mexico, which he published in 1831. Then, finding himself in Paris, de Zavala

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accepted a post as Mexico's ambassador to France in 1833, returning to public service and politics. In 1834, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna pushed his way into power, suspending the constitution, dissolving the national congress, and assuming dictatorial control. Watching events unfold from his post in Paris, de Zavala became increasingly disaffected with Santa Anna. In 1835, he resigned as ambassador and sailed for Texas, where, he believed, he might join with others to oppose Santa Anna and restore the constitution. When Stephen F. Austin called for a "general consultation of the people" in the fall of 1835, de Zavala sought and won a seat.

Like many settlers in Texas—whether they were originally from the United States, Europe, or Mexico—de Zavala wanted reform, but not necessarily independence. Thus he agreed with the consultation's decision in November 1835 to form a provisional government using the Mexican constitution of 1824—a document he had helped write—as a legal foundation. But when Santa Anna declared all members of the consultation traitors and ordered troops into Texas, de Zavala gave up hope of a peaceful settlement. On March 2, 1836, he chose to join his colleagues in signing a declaration of independence and then threw himself into the task of writing a constitution for Texas. The resulting document was an interesting hybrid: a mixture of de Zavala's and James Madison's views concerning liberal federalism.

The Texas consultation ratified the new constitution on March 16, 1836. Then, in recognition of de Zavala's strong political voice and the significant role he had played in helping to launch the revolution, the consultation unanimously elected him vice president of the Republic of Texas.

The revolution and the establishment of the Texas republic represented a victory for views that de Zavala and many Mexican-born Texans had held for a lifetime. Throughout his political career, de Zavala had fought for reform in Mex

ico, helping to win independence from Spain and pushing for liberal federalism. His expectations had been dashed by the harsh constraints imposed by self-interested political factions, which had created such instability that Santa Anna had bullied his way to the top and ended liberal government. For de Zavala and many others, the choice was clear: if Mexico could not be reformed, they would throw their lot in with a new state where their views might be brought into reality. The Republic of Texas became the seat for their dreams.

Sunday, Urrea ordered all 445 able-bodied prisoners to be marched out of town, where their guards shot and killed them.

The Texans had their vengeance on April 21 after Santa Anna ordered his troops to pause at the San Jacinto River. Arriving in the vicinity undetected, Houston's force of just over nine hundred formed up quietly. Shouting "Remember the Alamo" and "Remember Goliad," the Texans stormed the Mexican camp. In just eighteen minutes, 630 Mexican soldiers lay dead. Santa Anna attempted to escape but was captured. In exchange for his release, the Mexican president signed the **Treaty of Velasco**, in which he agreed to withdraw his troops south of the Rio Grande.

Many leaders in Texas hoped for annexation by the United States. In 1838, Houston, by then president of the Republic of Texas, invited the United States to annex Texas. He was forced to withdraw the invitation when John Quincy Adams, elected to Congress after his loss in the presidential election of 1828, filibustered in the House of Representatives for three weeks against the acquisition of such a big bloc of potentially slave territory.

### **The Politics of Manifest Destiny**

Adams certainly did not speak for the majority of Whigs on the topic of national expansion. The party of manufacturing, revivalism, and social reform inclined naturally toward manifest destiny. William Henry Harrison, the party's first national candidate, had been a prominent War Hawk and Indian fighter, and his political campaign in 1840 had celebrated the virtues of frontier life. When Harrison died only a month after taking office in 1841, his vice president, John Tyler, picked up the torch of American expansionism.

Tyler was an atypical Whig. A Virginian and a states' rights advocate, he had been a staunch Democrat until the nullification crisis. Although he had objected to Jackson's use of presidential power, Tyler as president was as unyielding as Old Hickory where political principles were concerned. He vetoed high protective tariffs, internal improvements bills, and attempts to revive the Second Bank of the United States. Tyler's refusal to

promote Whig economic policies led to a general crisis in government in 1843, when his entire cabinet resigned over his veto of a bank bill.

Tyler did share his party's desire for expansion. He assigned Secretary of State Daniel Webster to settle the Maine border dispute with Britain. The resulting **Webster-Ashburton Treaty** (1842) gave over half of the disputed territory to the United States and finally established the nation's northeastern border with Canada. Tyler adopted an aggressive stance on the Oregon Question by appointing Elijah White as the federal Indian agent for the region in 1842. This action flew in the face of the mutual occupation agreement between the United States and Great Britain. Historians have speculated that Tyler also encouraged migration to Oregon to strengthen the U.S. claim to the region.

Tyler similarly pushed a forceful policy toward Texas and the Southwest. He opened negotiations with Sam Houston that led to a proposed treaty of annexation in 1844. Proslavery and antislavery forces in the Senate fiercely debated the treaty, however, and failed to ratify it. The issue of Texas's annexation then joined the Oregon Question as a major campaign issue in the presidential election of 1844.

The issue of expansion put the two leading presidential contenders, Democrat Martin Van Buren and Whig Henry Clay, in an uncomfortable position. Van Buren had opposed the extension of slavery and was therefore against the annexation of Texas. Clay, a slaveholder, was opposed to any form of expansion that would fan sectional ten-

**Treaty of Velasco** Treaty signed by Santa Anna in May 1836 after his capture at the San Jacinto River; it granted recognition to the Republic of Texas but was later rejected by the Mexican congress.

**filibuster** To use obstructionist tactics, especially prolonged speechmaking, to delay legislative action.

**Webster-Ashburton Treaty** Treaty negotiated by Secretary of State Daniel Webster and British minister Lord Ashburton in 1842 that established the present border between Canada and northeastern Maine.

sions. Both candidates stated that they favored annexation only if Mexico agreed.

President Tyler's constant refusal to support the larger Whig political agenda led the party to nominate Clay as its candidate in 1844. Van Buren was not so lucky. The strong southern wing of the Democratic party was so put off by Van Buren's position on slavery that it nominated Tennessee congressman **James K. Polk**.

The Democrats proclaimed in their platform that they stood for "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period." Polk vowed to stand up to the British by claiming the entire Oregon Country up to 54°40' north latitude and to defend the territorial claims of Texas. The Democrats appealed to the expansionist sentiments of northerners and southerners. Clay ignored expansionism, emphasizing economic policies instead.

The temper of the people was evident in the election's *outcome*. Clay was a national figure, well respected and regarded as one of the nation's leading statesmen. Polk was barely known outside Tennessee. Even so, Polk captured the presidency by sixty-five electoral votes.

Outgoing president Tyler accomplished one of the Democrats' platform goals before Polk assumed the presidency. In a special message to Congress in December 1844, Tyler proposed a **joint resolution** annexing Texas. Congressmen who had opposed annexation could not ignore the clear mandate given to manifest destiny in the presidential election. The bill to annex Texas passed in February 1845, just as Tyler was about to leave the White House.

Often called "Young Hickory" because of his political resemblance to Andrew Jackson, Polk promoted expansion by asking Congress to end the joint occupation of Oregon and by negotiating with Mexico to purchase much of the Southwest. The president urged Congress to pursue exclusive control over the Oregon Country and to obtain the Southwest even if doing so meant war.

Neither the United States nor Britain intended to go to war over Oregon. The only issue was where the border would be. Polk insisted on 54°40'. The British lobbied for the Columbia River, but their position softened quickly. The fur trade

along the Columbia had become unprofitable by the early 1840s. As a result, in the spring of 1846, the British foreign secretary offered Polk a compromise boundary at the 49th parallel. The Senate recommended that Polk accept the offer, and a treaty settling the Oregon issue was ratified on June 15, 1846.

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## Expa

### nsion and Sectional Crisis

Significant political controversy accompanied the extension of the nation's borders. At the heart of the matter lay slavery. Although only a few radicals were totally opposed to southern slavery, many people in the North and West were strongly opposed to its expansion. For them this was less a moral than an economic issue. The expansion of slavery meant economic competition with slaves or slaveholders for jobs and profits. Southerners, by contrast, demanded that slavery be allowed to expand as far as economic opportunity permitted. Not surprisingly, southerners believed that the nation should expand into areas where cotton would grow and slavery would be profitable. Given these strong economic motives, the debate over expansion turned into a debate over slavery.

#### The Texas Crisis and Sectional Conflict

In annexing Texas, the United States had offended Mexico, which immediately severed diplomatic relations and threatened war. The Mexican government held that Texas was still a province of Mexico, not an independent republic, and that Texas's southern boundary was the Nueces River, not the Rio Grande. Polk responded by blustering that the entire Southwest should be annexed.

**James K. Polk** Tennessee congressman who was a leader of the Democratic party and the dark-horse winner of the presidential campaign in 1844.

**joint resolution** A special resolution adopted by both houses of Congress and subject to approval by the president; if approved, it has the force of law.

Polk sought his objectives peacefully but was prepared to use force. Late in 1845, he dispatched John Slidell to Mexico City to negotiate the boundary dispute, authorizing Slidell to purchase New Mexico and California. He also sent American troops to Louisiana, ready to strike if Mexico resisted Slidell's offers. And he notified the American consul in California that American naval ships had orders to seize California ports if war broke out with Mexico.

The Mexican government refused to receive Slidell. In January 1846, Slidell reported that his mission was a failure. Polk then ordered Zachary Taylor to lead troops into the disputed area between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Shortly thereafter, an American military exploration party led by **John C. Frémont** violated Mexican territory by crossing the mountains into California's Salinas Valley.

On April 22, Mexico responded by declaring war. Two days later, Mexican troops engaged a detachment of Taylor's army at Matamoros on the Rio Grande, killing eleven and capturing the rest. When news of this action reached Washington on May 9, Polk asked Congress for a declaration of war, charging that Mexico had "invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon American soil." Although the nation was far from united, Congress declared war on May 13, 1846 (see Map 12.2).

The outbreak of war disturbed many Americans. In New England, protest ran high. Henry David Thoreau chose to be jailed rather than pay taxes that would support the war. The United States had lost its reputation as a "refuge of liberty," he wrote, when it held a sixth of its population as slaves and engaged in an unjust war with Mexico. Other protesters also made the connection between the war with Mexico and slavery.

The annexation of Texas brought slavery to the attention of the American people like nothing before. To southerners, this land represented economic and political power. Proslavery constitutions in these newly acquired territories would ensure the immigration of friendly voters and the strengthening of the South's interests in Congress. Northerners saw something much more alarming in the southern expansion movement. Since the Missouri Compromise in 1820, some

northerners had come to believe that a slaveholding **oligarchy** controlled life and politics in the South. Abolitionists warned that this "Slave Power" sought to expand its reach until it controlled every aspect of American life. Many viewed Congress's adoption of the gag rule in 1836 and the drive to annex Texas as evidence of the Slave Power's influence. Thus debates over Texas pitted two regions of the country against each other in what champions of both sides viewed as mortal combat.

The contenders joined battle in earnest over appropriations for the war effort. In August 1846, David Wilmot, a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania, proposed an amendment to a military appropriations bill specifying that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist" in any territory gained in the Mexican War. The **Wilmot Proviso** passed in the House of Representatives but failed in the Senate. The vote on the proviso was an ominous one, for it followed sectional and not party lines. After several more efforts to pass the proviso, the House finally decided in April 1847 to appropriate money for the war without stipulating whether slavery would be permitted in territories acquired from Mexico.

## **War with Mexico**

Americans quickly took control of the Southwest from Mexico. In California, American settlers in

**Zachary Taylor** American general whose defeat of Santa Anna at Buena Vista in 1847 made him a national hero and the Whig choice for president in 1848.

**John C. Fremont** Explorer, soldier, and politician who explored and mapped much of the American West and Northwest; he later ran unsuccessfully for president.

**oligarchy** Government by a small group of people or families.

**Wilmot Proviso** Amendment to an appropriations bill in 1846 proposing that any territory acquired from Mexico be closed to slavery; it was defeated in the Senate.



◆ **MAP 12.2 The Southwest and the Mexican War** When the United States acquired Texas, it inherited the Texans' boundary disputes with Mexico. This map shows the outcome: war with Mexico in 1846 and the acquisition of the disputed territories in Texas as well as most of Arizona, New Mexico, and California through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

the Sacramento Valley captured the town of Sonoma in June 1846 and declared themselves independent. They crafted a flag depicting a grizzly bear and announced the birth of the Republic of California, also called the Bear Flag Republic. Frémont's force joined the Bear Flag rebels and marched south toward Monterey. There they found that the American navy had already seized the city. The Mexican forces were in full flight southward.

Polk had also ordered Colonel Stephen Kearny to invade New Mexico on May 15. After leading his men across 800 miles of desert to Santa Fe, Kearny found a less-than-hostile enemy force facing him. The interracial upper class of Santa Fe, which had already expressed interest in joining the United States, surrendered without

firing a shot. Within a short time, all of New Mexico and California were securely in the hands of U.S. forces.

Zachary Taylor faced more serious opposition in Mexico. After marching across the Rio Grande, Taylor captured the Mexican city of Monterrey in September 1846, but then allowed the enemy garrison to retreat through his lines. From Monterrey,

Taylor planned to turn southward toward Mexico City, but politics intervened.

After Taylor's victory at Monterrey, Polk feared that Taylor might use his military success to challenge him for the presidency. That Taylor had allowed the Mexican garrison to escape also convinced the president that Taylor was not aggressive enough to win the war quickly. Thus Polk ordered General **Winfield Scott** to lead American troops in the assault against Mexico City.

Polk complicated the military situation by plotting with deposed Mexican president Santa Anna, who had been exiled to Cuba after his defeat at San Jacinto. Santa Anna promised that he would help end the war in America's favor if Polk would help him return to Mexico. The American president agreed, and Santa Anna soon resumed the presidency of Mexico. To Polk's dismay, however, Santa Anna vowed to resist American expansion. Thus Mexico's most able general was back in command.

Santa Anna and his numerically superior army encountered Taylor at Buena Vista in February 1847. Tired from marching across the desert, the Mexican army was in no shape to fight, but Santa Anna ordered an attack anyway. Although the **Battle of Buena Vista** was a draw, Santa Anna was compelled to withdraw into the interior of Mexico.

Scott's forces captured the port of Veracruz on March 9 and then moved relentlessly toward Mexico City. An ambush at Cerro Gordo turned into a disaster for Santa Anna. Scott's forces captured three thousand Mexican troops, most of Santa Anna's equipment and provisions, and even the president's personal effects. By May 15, however, Scott had run into trouble. Nearly a third of his army went home when their twelvemonth enlistments expired on that date. Three months later, Scott received reinforcements and resumed his march on Mexico City. Leading a brilliant assault, Scott captured the city on September 13, 1847.

Scott's enormous success caused Santa Anna's government to collapse, leaving no one to negotiate with American peace commissioner Nicholas Trist. After a month had passed with no settlement, Polk concluded that Trist was not pressing

hard enough and removed him as peace commissioner. But by the time Polk's orders arrived, the Mexican government had elected a new president and told Trist that Mexico was ready to begin negotiations. Trist ignored Polk's orders and pressed on with negotiations. On February 2, 1848, Trist and the Mexican delegation signed the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**, granting the United States all the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande and all the territory between there and the Pacific. In exchange, the United States would pay Mexico \$15 million and all claims made by Texans for war damages.

Polk was very angry when he heard the terms of the treaty. He felt that Scott's sweeping victory at Mexico City should have gained the United States more territory for less money. Political realities in Washington, however, prevented Polk from trying to get a more aggressive treaty ratified by the Senate. Although the president had strong support for annexing all of Mexico, antislavery voices loudly protested the acquisition of so much land south of the Missouri Compromise line. Others opposed the annexation of Mexico because they feared that the largely Roman Catholic population of Mexico might threaten Protestant institutions in the United States. Still others had moral objections to taking any territory by force. Congress was also unwilling to appropriate more money for war if peace was within reach. Thus Polk submitted the treaty Trist had negotiated, and the Senate approved it by a vote of 38 to 14.

**Winfield Scott** Virginia soldier and statesman who led troops in the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico; he was still serving as a general at the start of the Civil War.

**Battle of Buena Vista** Battle in February 1847 during which U.S. troops led by Zachary Taylor forced Santa Anna's forces to withdraw into the interior of Mexico.

**Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** Treaty signed in 1848 under which Mexico gave up Texas above the Rio Grande and ceded New Mexico and California to the United States in return for \$15 million.



## The Antislavery Crusade and Women's Rights

As the debates over the Mexican War indicate, abolitionist voices were getting louder in the 1840s. Despite sometimes violent opposition, the abolition movement had continued to grow, especially among the privileged and educated classes in the Northeast. Throughout the 1830s, evangelicals increasingly stressed the sinful nature of slavery and broke away from the gradualism of the American Colonization Society. Men and women steeped in evangelical zeal joined with William Lloyd Garrison and Angelina Grimké in urging the immediate, uncompensated liberation of slaves.

Garrison, however, consistently alienated his followers. Calling the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," Garrison burned a copy of it, and he urged his followers to have no dealings with a government that permitted so great an evil as slavery. Citing the reluctance of most organized churches to condemn slavery outright, Garrison urged his followers to break with them as well. He also alienated many of his white, evangelical supporters by associating with and supporting free black advocates of violent abolition. In 1840, moderates in the American Anti-Slavery Society withdrew from Garrison's organization to found the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Garrison's persistent insistence that women should play a key role in the abolition effort also fragmented the movement. Having assumed the burden of eliminating sin from the world, many evangelical women rallied around Garrison and the antislavery cause. Their growing prominence in the movement led Garrison to insist that they play a more equal role. In 1841, women were members of Garrison's delegation to the first World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London. British antislavery advocates, like their American counterparts, considered the presence of women inappropriate and refused to seat them. Garrison's group walked out in protest. Increasingly in the 1840s, slights like that made women in the abolition movement feel there was a similarity between their condition and that of the slaves they were seeking to free.

Angelina Grimké was one of the first to make a public proclamation of the frustration women

were feeling. In her speech before the Massachusetts state assembly in 1838, she had asked, "Have women *no* country—no interests staked in public weal—no liabilities in the common peril—no partnership in a nation's guilt and shame?" That same year, her sister Sarah wrote a powerful indictment against the treatment of women in America. In *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman*, Sarah proclaimed, "The page of history teems with woman's wrongs . . . and it is wet with woman's tears."

Many women began backing away from the male-dominated abolitionist cause and instead advanced their own cause. In 1848, two women who had been excluded from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, called women to a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss their common problems. At Seneca Falls, they presented the Declaration of Sentiments based on the Declaration of Independence, citing "the history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." The convention adopted eleven resolutions relating to equality under the law, rights to control property, and other prominent issues. A twelfth resolution, calling for the right to vote, failed to receive unanimous endorsement.

### Issues in the Election of 1848

The presidential election of 1848 came along at the peak of national tension. Sectional differences

**gradualism** The belief that slavery in the United States should be abolished gradually by methods such as placing territorial limits on slavery or settling free blacks in Africa.

**Lucretia Mott** Quaker minister who founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (1833) and co-organized the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention in 1848.

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton** Pioneering woman-suffrage leader and co-organizer of the first Women's Rights Convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

were reaching crisis proportions. Rather than offering solutions, however, both major parties continued to practice the politics of avoidance.

In poor health, Polk declined to run for a second term. The Democrats chose Lewis Cass of Michigan, a long-time moderate on slavery issues, as their candidate. The Whigs hoped to ride a wave of nationalism following the Mexican War by running military hero Zachary Taylor, a Louisianan and a slaveholder, for president. During the campaign, Cass tried to avoid offending anyone by advocating the policy of popular sovereignty. Under this policy, territories would choose for themselves whether to admit slavery. Taylor echoed Calhoun's opinion that Congress did not have the authority to control slavery in the territories.

A third party cut to the heart of the slavery issue. A number of northern Democrats and northern Whigs joined forces with members of the former Liberty party to form the Free-Soil party. The party acquired this name because it wanted to exclude slavery from the territories. It named Martin Van Buren as its candidate.

Although the Free-Soilers won 10 percent of the votes cast in the election, Taylor emerged as the victor. Congress remained split between Whigs and Democrats. Sectional issues had not yet fragmented the political system, but large cracks were showing.

These fissures widened noticeably when the question of admitting California to the Union arose. During the winter of 1847-1848, workmen had discovered gold while digging a ditch for John Sutter. Word soon reached San Francisco that huge gold deposits had been discovered at New Helvetia. By mid-May 1848, prospectors were swarming into the Sacramento Valley from all over California and Oregon. By September, the news had reached the East. Over a hundred thousand forty-niners took up residence in California the next year.

The twin issues of expansion and slavery were raised once again. Southerners wanted California to be open for slavery. But northerners were not about to turn the richest source of gold yet discovered over to the Slave Power. Thus although the discovery of gold in California seemed to announce God's approval of American expansionism, it drove an enormous wedge into an already cracking political system.

**popular sovereignty** The doctrine that the people of a territory had the right to determine whether slavery would exist within their territory.

**Liberty party** The first antislavery political party; it was formed in Albany, New York, in 1840.

**Free-Soil party** A political party that opposed the extension of slavery into any of the territories newly acquired from Mexico.

forty-niners Prospectors who streamed into California in 1849 after the discovery of gold at New Helvetia in 1848.

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## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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During the first half of the nineteenth century, the westward movement of Americans steadily gained momentum. Successful fur traders like William Henry Ashley made enormous profits from their *choice* to move west. Land speculators and gold seekers also helped open areas to settlement.

Communities in Texas, Oregon, California, Utah, and elsewhere in the West sprang up like weeds. One *outcome* was the development of a variety of cultures and economies, which evolved from the interplay of old habits, new ideals, and environmental *constraints*.

Conflicting *expectations* about the country's manifest destiny promoted an air of crisis in the nation at large. Northerners wanted a West that

would be free for diversified economic development. Southerners wanted the West to be open to slavery and staple crops. And people from each region *chose* to use expansion to add to their power in Congress.

Slavery began to eclipse all other issues in symbolizing the differing demands made by North and South. For northerners, the idea of going to war to win Oregon was acceptable because the Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery there, but the idea of going to war to acquire Texas was quite another matter. The possibility of many new southern senators and representatives filled northerners with dread. Nevertheless, the nation *chose* to fight a war with Mexico between 1846 and 1848. It

thereby gained California and vast territories in the Southwest. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 made that region a new bone of contention in the sectional debate.

Meanwhile, radical abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison still labored for acceptance. What made Garrison's message hard for many to accept was his insistence on an equal role for women. But severely discriminatory conditions *constrained* the many women who participated in abolition and other reform movements. One *outcome* was the Seneca Falls conference in 1848, where politically active women called for greater equality with men.

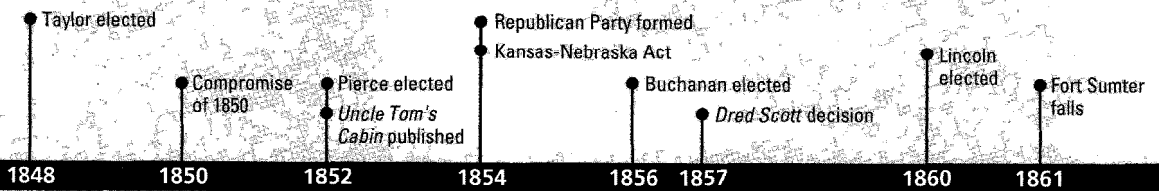
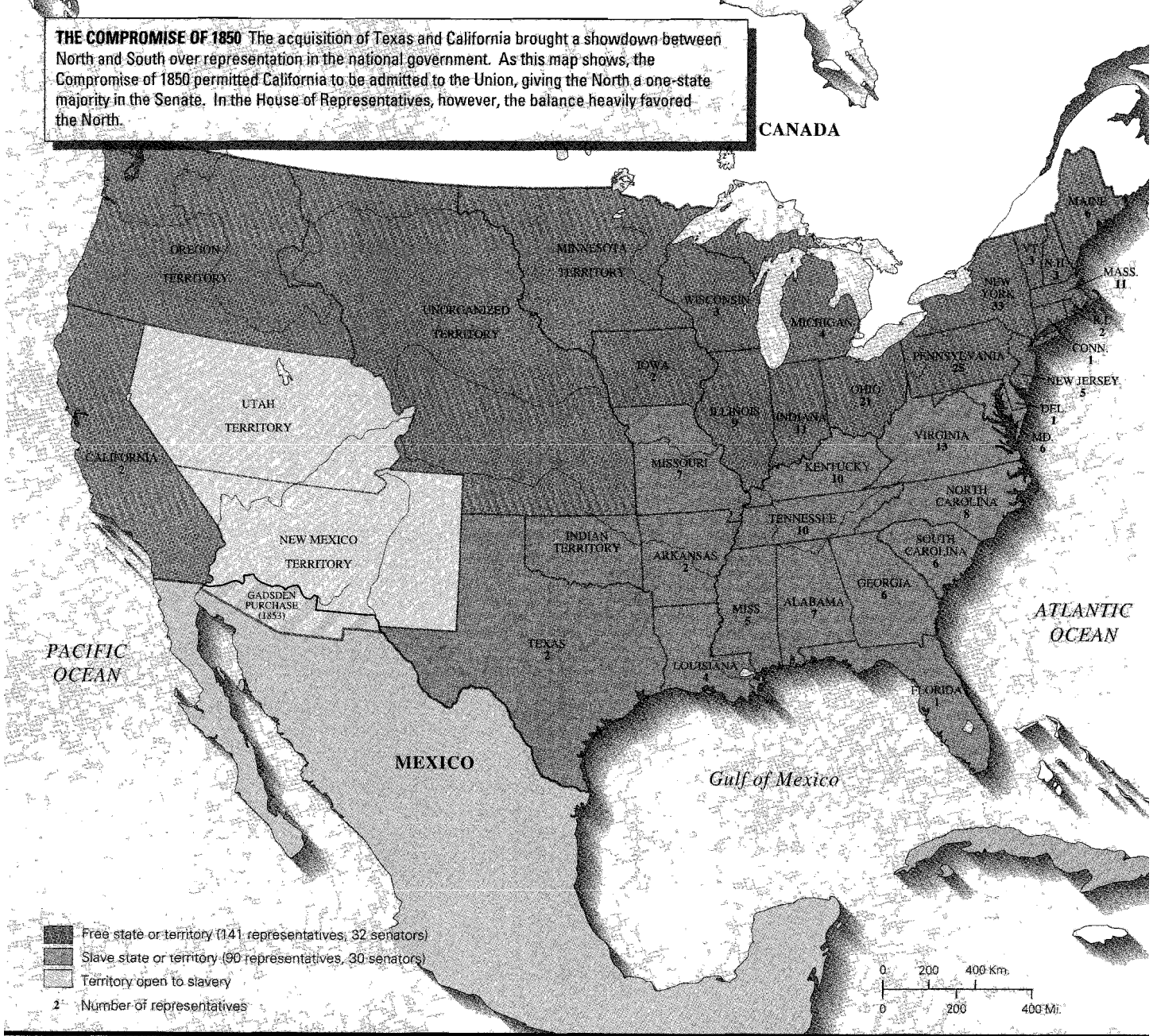
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**THE COMPROMISE OF 1850** The acquisition of Texas and California brought a showdown between North and South over representation in the national government. As this map shows, the Compromise of 1850 permitted California to be admitted to the Union, giving the North a one-state majority in the Senate. In the House of Representatives, however, the balance heavily favored the North.



# Chapter 13

## Sectional Conflict and

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### Shattered Union, 1850-1861

#### **New Political Choices**

- What constraints convinced voters to make new political choices during the 1850s?
- What was the outcome for the political party system?

#### **Toward a House Divided**

- What did Stephen A. Douglas expect when he proposed to organize the Nebraska Territory?
- What choices and constraints influenced the outcome of this proposal?

#### **The Divided Nation**

- What did northerners and southerners expect to happen in the presidential election of 1860?
- What choices did they make as a result, and what was the outcome?

#### **The Nation Dissolved**

- What choices were available to Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis in March 1861?
    - What political factors constrained their choices?
-

## ( INTRODUCTION )

The United States entered a period of major growth and transition during the 1850s. Wealth and population grew dramatically as technology and industry continued to advance rapidly. After the successful military adventure against Mexico, the future seemed to hold infinite promise. Many Americans *expected* that their nation's growing wealth and vitality would open great opportunities for them. The nation simply needed to chart a correct course to claim its destiny.

But achieving the national destiny meant *choosing* particular goals and specific methods. Sharp disagreements *constrained* Americans seeking the correct national course. Most agreed that railroad development was good, but not everyone agreed on where the rail lines should run, how development should be funded, or what should be carried on the rails. Technological advances and industrial development brought new *constraints*, altering the nation's social structure and adding to disagreement. Social disruption occurred as unskilled immigrant factory laborers displaced native-born artisans. Disruption also occurred as commercial cotton growing and slave labor expanded farther into the American continent.

These problems quickly became the subject of political debate. Old-line northeastern and southern political interests continued to clash over traditional matters like tariffs and currency control. But rising immigration and westward migration brought new voters and new interests into play, particularly regarding the expansion of slavery. Reformers continued their efforts to restore order and virtue, and to fight for moral reform. All of these voter groups had extremely diverse *expectations* about the correct course for the nation.

The *outcome* of these diverse *expectations* was a changing political environment. Both the Whigs and the Democrats attempted to direct and exploit the events of the 1850s. But both faced new *constraints* in the changing social, economic, and political climate. The total number of voters grew significantly, but so did the diversity of the electorate. Building a coalition strong enough to win a national

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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election became increasingly difficult as regional, ethnic, and social distinctions influenced voters.

In this fragmented climate, the expansion of slavery into the territories became the dominant political issue. Political leaders *chose* either to seek compromise or to ignore the slavery question. In reality, they could do neither. Through all the debates, political platforms, and confrontations, two separate societies attempted to control the course of national destiny.

As the nation's leaders wrestled with a host of new issues amid political fragmentation, the confrontation between those two societies peaked. Although many people wanted peace and favored reconciliation, the political structure thwarted that desire. *Constrained* by the regional interests that had given birth to them, the new political coalitions proved incapable of compromise. The *outcome* was the end of the Union.

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## Toward a Shattered Union

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1848 Zachary Taylor elected president<br>Immigration to the United States exceeds<br>100,000 for the first time  | 1855 Sack of Lawrence, Kansas<br>Pottawatomie massacre                                     |
| 1850 Compromise of 1850  | 1856 James Buchanan elected president  |
| 1852 First railroad line completed to Chicago<br>Publication of <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> by Harriet Beecher Stowe<br>Franklin Pierce elected president<br>Destruction of the Whig party begins<br>American party emerges | 1857 <i>fired Scott</i> decision<br>Proslavery Lecompton constitution adopted in<br>Kansas |
| 1853 Gadsden Purchase  | 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates   |
| 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act<br>Ostend Manifesto<br>Formation of the Republican party  | <b>1859</b> John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry   |
|  | 1860 Abraham Lincoln elected president<br>Crittenden compromise fails                      |
|  | 1861 Formation of the Confederate States of<br>America<br>Shelling of Fort Sumter          |

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### Choices

The presidential election in 1848 had celebrated American expansion and nationalism, but the flow of Americans into California soon created a crisis. It began when newly elected president Zachary Taylor ordered Californians to draw up a state constitution and apply for statehood. California produced a document that barred slavery in the state. Taylor then recommended that California be admitted as a free state and that Utah and New Mexico be organized as territories without reference to slavery.

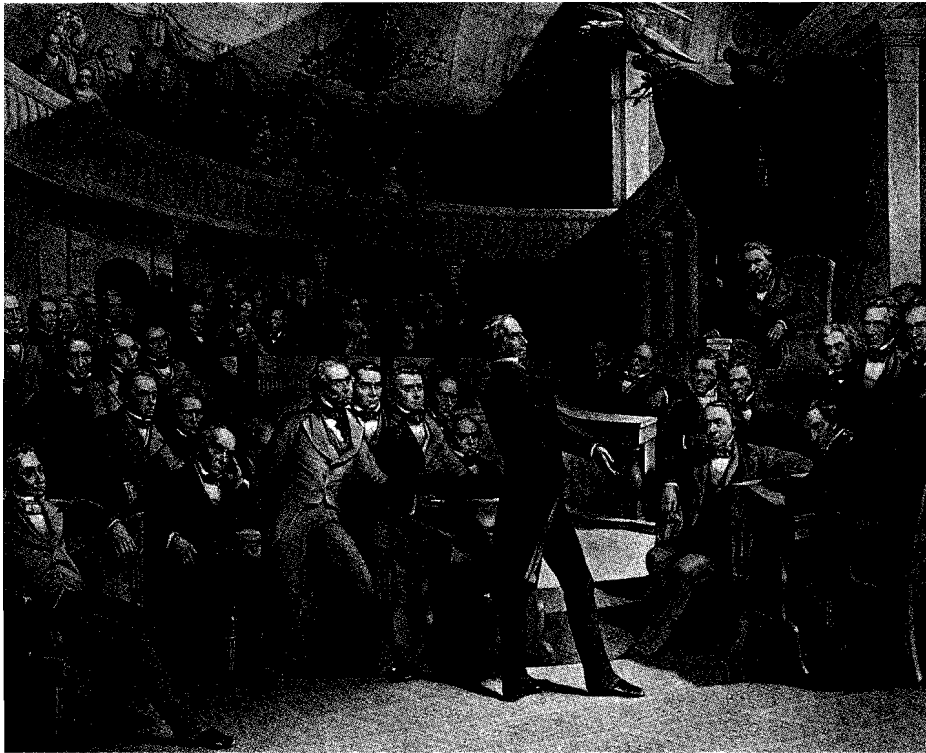
Taylor's proposal frightened and angered southerners, for they had assumed that California would be open to slavery. Southerners also pointed out with alarm that another free state would unbalance sectional representation in the Senate. John C. Calhoun stated, "I trust we shall persist in our resistance until restoration of all our rights, or disunion, one or the other, is the consequence."

### New Political

### The Politics of Compromise

Henry Clay, who had crafted the Missouri Compromise, believed that any successful agreement would have to address all sides of the issue. He proposed an **omnibus** bill—a package of separate proposals—to the Senate early in 1850. California would enter the Union as a free state, but the slavery question would be left to popular sovereignty in all other territories acquired from Mexico. Clay then called for an end to the slave trade in the District of Columbia to appease abolitionists and for a new, more effective fugitive slave law to ensure southern support of his proposed legislation.

**omnibus** Including or covering many things.  
fugitive slave law Law providing for the return of escaped slaves to their owners; a 1793 law was replaced with a stiffer version as part of the Compromise of 1850.



◆ This painting shows Henry Clay attempting to convince his fellow senators to support his omnibus compromise bill in 1850. Clay failed, but Illinois senator Stephen Douglas was able to get the compromise passed by breaking up the complicated bill, calling for a vote on each separate provision. *Library of Congress.*

Congress debated the bill for six months, then finally defeated it in July 1850. However, **Stephen A. Douglas** of Illinois revived the compromise by submitting each component of Clay's omnibus package as a separate bill. Using persuasion and backroom political arm-twisting, he steered each bill through Congress. President Taylor's sudden death on July 9 also made passage of the compromise package easier because his successor, Millard Fillmore, obtained northern Whig support for the bills. Finally, in September, Congress passed the Compromise of 1850.

The Compromise of 1850 did little to settle underlying regional differences. Many northerners resented the fact that slaveowners could pursue runaway slaves into northern states and return them back into slavery. Nor did southerners find reason to celebrate. They had lost the balance of

power in the Senate and gained no protection for slavery, either in the territories or at home. Still, the compromise created a brief respite from the slavery-extension question.

Stephen A. **Douglas** Illinois senator who tried to reconcile northern and southern differences over slavery through the Compromise of 1850 and sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Millard Fillmore Vice president who succeeded Zachary Taylor when he died in office and who tried to occupy a middle ground on slavery.

Compromise of 1850 Plan intended to reconcile North and South on the issue of slavery; it recognized the principle of popular sovereignty and included a strong fugitive slave law.

The compromise soon took its toll on the political system, particularly the Whigs. They passed over Millard Fillmore in 1852 in favor of Mexican War hero General Winfield Scott as their presidential nominee. The Democrats tapped the virtually unknown Franklin **Pierce** of New Hampshire. Despite the fact that Scott was a national figure and a distinguished military hero, he was overwhelmed by Pierce. Pierce gathered 254 electoral votes to Scott's 42. Although no one knew it at the time, the election of 1852 marked the end of the Whig party. It was the casualty of a changing political environment.

### A Changing Political Economy

During the 1850s, industrial growth accelerated. By 1860, fewer than half of all northern workers made a living from agriculture. Steam began to replace water as the primary power source, and factories were no longer limited to locations along rivers and streams. The use of interchangeable parts became more sophisticated and intricate. For example, in 1851, Isaac Singer began mass-producing sewing machines. As industry expanded, the North became more reliant on the West and South for raw materials and for the food that northeastern factory workers consumed.

Railroad development stimulated economic and industrial growth. Between 1850 and 1860, American railroad trackage jumped from 9,000 to more than 30,000 miles. Most of these lines linked the Northeast with the Midwest, carrying produce to eastern markets and eastern manufactures to western consumers. In 1852, the Michigan Southern Railroad completed the first line into Chicago from the East, and by 1855 that city had become a major transportation hub.

Railroads quickly reshaped the expanding American economy. Western farmers, who had previously shipped their products downriver to New Orleans on slow and undependable barges and boats, now sent them much more rapidly by rail to eastern industrial centers. Warehouses and grain elevators sprang up to accommodate such shipments. Reliable transportation and storage facilities induced farmers to cultivate more land. Mining boomed, particularly the iron industry, as

the rail lines not only transported ore but became a major consumer.

Government actively supported railroad development and expansion, particularly in sparsely settled areas where returns on investment were expected to be meager. State and local governments loaned money directly to rail companies, financed them indirectly by purchasing stock, or extended state tax exemptions. The most crucial aid to railroads, however, was federal land grants. These were given to railroad developers who then leased or sold plots along the proposed route to finance construction. In 1850, a 2.6-million-acre land grant went to a railroad between Chicago and Mobile. Congress also invested \$150,000 in 1853 to survey routes for a transcontinental railroad.

Railroads and improved farm technology opened up many parts of the Midwest to commercial farming. The steel plow, devised in 1837 by **John Deere**, allowed farmers to cultivate more acres with greater ease, and the mechanical reaper, invented in 1841 by Cyrus McCormick, could harvest more than fourteen field hands could. The combination of greater production and speedy transportation prompted westerners to increase farm size and concentrate on cash crops. It also greatly increased the economic and political power of the West.

The Midwest developed as America's breadbasket as food shortages and poverty were driving millions from Europe. Beginning in the 1840s, a potato blight in Ireland caused extensive crop failures and increasing numbers of people to flee. Total immigration to the United States exceeded

**Franklin Pierce** New Hampshire lawyer and politician who was chosen as a compromise candidate at the 1852 Democratic convention and became the fourteenth president of the United States.

**grain elevator** A building equipped with mechanical lifting devices and used for storing grain.

**John Deere** American industrialist who pioneered the manufacture of steel plows especially suited for working prairie soil.

**Cyrus McCormick** Virginia inventor and manufacturer who developed a machine for harvesting crops in 1841 and built a factory to mass-produce the McCormick reaper in 1847.

100,000 for the first time in 1848. In 1851, 221,000 immigrants arrived from Ireland alone. Crop failures and political upheavals also pushed large numbers of Germans toward the United States. In 1852, German immigrants reached 145,000. Many newcomers, particularly the Irish, were unskilled and settled in the industrial cities of the Northeast. The concentration of immigrants there played a significant role in the unraveling of antebellum American politics.

### **Decline of the Whigs**

During the 1850s, many unemployed artisans were forced to accept factory work at a time when the flood of immigrants was driving wages down. Such artisans wanted a political party that would address their most pressing problems: loss of status, income, and jobs.

The Whig party had been their voice in politics during the party's glory days. During the elections in 1848, however, the Whigs had tried to win Catholic and immigrant voters away from the Democrats. Not only did the Whigs fail to attract immigrant voters, but they alienated two groups of supporters. One group was artisans, who saw immigrants as the main source of their economic and social woes. The other was Protestant evangelicals, to whom Roman Catholic immigrants symbolized all that was threatening to the American republic. As a result, increasing numbers abandoned the Whig party to form coalitions more in tune with voters' hopes and fears. Between 1852 and 1856, the Whig party dissolved and was replaced by two emerging parties: the Know-Nothing, or American, party, and the Republican party.

The anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant, Know-Nothings traced their origins back to secret nativist societies that had come into existence during the 1830s. These secret fraternal organizations entered politics by endorsing candidates who shared their views about immigration. They told their members to say "I know nothing" if they were questioned about the organization or its political intrigues, hence the name Know-Nothings. After the election of 1852, the societies began nominating and voting for their own candidates under the banner of the American party. The party charged that immigrants were part

of a Catholic plot to overthrow democracy in the United States. The party advocated a twenty-one-year naturalization period, a ban against naturalized citizens holding public office, and the use of the Protestant Bible in the public schools.

Know-Nothings disagreed about many issues, but they agreed that the Whig and Democratic parties were corrupt and that the only hope for the nation lay in scrapping traditional politics. As Ohio governor Rutherford B. Hayes noted, the people were expressing a "general disgust with the powers that be."

Local antislavery coalitions also deserted the Whigs. Sectional tensions doomed all Whig attempts to formulate a national policy. Those tensions were heightened in 1852 with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Stowe portrayed the darkest inhumanities of southern slavery in the first American novel to include African Americans as central characters. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold three hundred thousand copies in its first year and became one of the most popular plays of the period. It drew attention to the new fugitive slave law and its harsh provisions for individuals caught helping runaway slaves. The work of Stowe and the lectures of people like Harriet Tubman, a former slave who rescued hundreds from slavery, made northerners increasingly aware of the plight of slaves (see Individual Choices: Harriet Tubman). When Free-Soilers and "conscience" (antislavery) Whigs saw that the party was incapable of addressing the slavery question, they began to look for other political options.

**Know-Nothings** Members of secret organizations that aimed to exclude Catholics and "foreigners" from public office; members' "I know nothing" response to questions about the organizations produced their nickname.

**nativist** Favoring native-born inhabitants of a country over immigrants.

**Harriet Beecher Stowe** American novelist and abolitionist whose novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* fanned antislavery sentiment in the North.

**Harriet Tubman** Antislavery activist who escaped from slavery and led many others to freedom on the Underground Railroad.

## Increasing Tension Under Pierce

The Democrats were not immune to the problems caused by a changing electorate and by the issue of slavery. In May 1853, only two months after assuming office, Franklin Pierce inflamed antislavery forces by sending James Gadsden, a southern railroad developer, to Mexico to purchase a strip of land lying south of the Arizona and New Mexico territories. Pierce and his southern supporters wanted to buy this land because any southern transcontinental rail route would have to pass through it to go to California. The Gadsden Purchase, ratified by Congress in 1853, added 29,640 square miles to the United States for a cost of \$10 million and set the southwestern border of the United States.

The Gadsden Purchase led to a more serious sectional crisis. It prompted advocates of a southern transcontinental railroad to push for government sponsorship of the project. They found themselves blocked, however, by Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas.

A consummate politician, Douglas wanted a national railroad that would pass through Chicago and the Midwest, strengthening that region's economic and political strength and furthering his own career. Using his position as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, Douglas thwarted efforts to build a southern transcontinental railroad. Because the northern route that Douglas favored would have to pass through territory that had not yet been organized, Douglas introduced a bill in January 1854 that called for incorporating the Nebraska Territory.

Douglas knew that he would need northern and southern support to get his bill through Congress. Hoping to avoid yet another debate over slavery, Douglas proposed that the issue of slavery be settled by popular sovereignty within the territory. Southerners pointed out, however, that Congress might prohibit popular sovereignty in the Nebraska Territory because it was north of the Missouri Compromise line. Douglas finally supported an amendment to his original bill that divided the territory in half: Nebraska in the north and Kansas in the south (see Map 13.1). He assumed that popular sovereignty would lead to slavery in Kansas and a system of free labor in Nebraska.

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## Toward a House Divided

The Kansas-Nebraska bill angered northern Democrats, "conscience" Whigs, and Free-Soil advocates. All of them feared that without the Missouri Compromise limitations, slavery would spread throughout the territories. Once again, slavery threatened national political stability. In the North, opponents of the bill formed local coalitions to challenge its passage. On January 24, 1854, a group calling itself the Independent Democrats, who included Salmon P. Chase, Gerrit Smith, Joshua Giddings, and Charles Sumner, denounced the bill as an "atrocious plot" to make Nebraska a "dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves." On February 28, other opponents of the bill met in Ripon, Wisconsin, and recommended the formation of a new political party. Similar meetings elsewhere in the North led to the emergence of the Republican party.

### A Shattered Compromise

Despite strong opposition, Douglas and Pierce secured passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Its passage crystallized northern antislavery sentiment. As Senator William Seward of New York stated, "We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right."

Southerners were determined to prevail in this struggle. They had come to believe that the expansion of slavery was necessary to prevent northern

**Gadsden Purchase** A strip of land in present-day Arizona and New Mexico that the United States bought from Mexico in 1853 to secure a southern route for a transcontinental railroad.

**Republican party** Political party that arose in the 1850s and opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories.

**Kansas-Nebraska Act** Law passed by Congress in 1854 that allowed residents of the Kansas and Nebraska territories to decide whether to allow slavery.

## INDIVIDUAL CHOICES

### To Free Others



#### Harriet Tubman

*Fearful of being torn from her family in Maryland and sold to a cotton plantation in the Deep South, Harriet Tubman chose to run away from slavery. Seeking to reunite her family, she returned to the South to help them escape. Despite personal danger to herself, she chose to continue her efforts, finally conducting as many as 300 slaves along the Underground Railroad to freedom. She is seen here (on the left) with some of the slaves whom she helped free. Sophia Smith Collection.*

Resisting slavery seemed second nature to Harriet Tubman. Born a slave on a Maryland plantation in 1820, she quickly developed a fiery spirit and was not shy about protesting bad treatment. One such incident so angered the plantation overseer that he hit her over the head with a lead weight, inflicting a permanent brain injury that would cause her to suddenly lose consciousness several times a day for the rest of her life. To overcome this disability, she worked on building herself up physically, becoming an uncommonly strong woman. It was said that she could single-handedly haul a boat fully loaded with stones, a feat deemed impossible for all but the strongest men.

Although Tubman dreamed about freedom after learning of Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831, her disability and fear of being caught prevented her from acting. But in 1849, all that changed when the owner of her plantation died. Rumors began circulating that the man's estate was going to be liquidated and that the slaves were to be sold "down the river" to cotton plantations in the Deep South. The thought of being taken so far away from any avenue to freedom forced Tubman to choose.

Leaving the plantation, she slowly made her way northward by land, stopping at places she had heard about where free blacks or sympathetic whites would provide food and shelter. After a harrowing flight, she finally arrived in Philadelphia. She was free but was not content with winning freedom just for herself. Tubman had left a large family behind in Maryland and would not be happy until she had won their freedom as well.

Soon after arriving in Pennsylvania, Tubman met William Still, a black clerk for the Pennsyl-

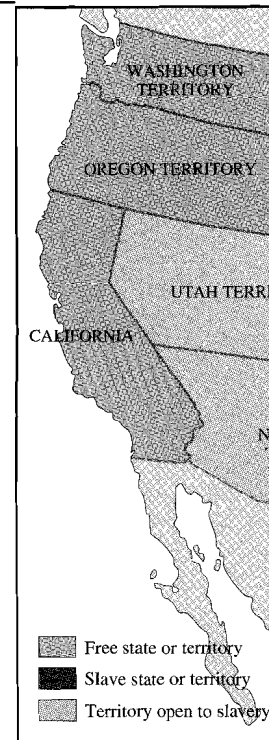
vania Anti-Slavery Society. Still had worked since 1847 as a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad. Every so often, he and others like him made their way secretly into the South, contacted slaves who wanted to escape, and led them northward, stopping at prearranged stations—homes and businesses owned by free blacks or white abolitionists—for food and shelter. With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Tubman decided that the only way she could win freedom for her family was to become a conductor herself. She chose to risk her freedom—even her life—to bring her parents, her brother and his family, and her own two children out of slavery.

It took Tubman several trips into the South to accomplish her aim of reuniting her family. In the course of her adventure, what began as a commitment to her immediate kin became a mission to her entire people. In all, Tubman made nineteen trips back into the slave South between 1850 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. It was said that she was personally responsible for conducting three hundred slaves to freedom. In between trips she, like Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, and other escaped slaves, told her story to northern audiences, seeking support for her efforts to free individual slaves and for the larger effort to free all slaves. Her activities as a speaker and as an underground agent brought her acclaim and notoriety. John Brown consulted her while planning his raid on Harpers Ferry, and authorities in the South acknowledged her impact by posting a \$40,000 reward for her capture.

Tubman continued her activities after the war broke out. Like other black women who had either been born into or had won freedom, she volunteered to go into the South with Union forces to serve as a nurse and cook and to help evacuate slaves from areas won by Federal troops. She also continued speaking out in the interest of her people. To beat the South, she admonished, President Lincoln must set the slaves free.







**MAP 13.1 The Kansas-Nebraska Act** This map shows Stephen Douglas's proposed compromise to the dilemma of organizing the vast territory separating the settled part of the United States from California and Oregon. His solution, designed to win profitable rail connections for his home district in Illinois, stirred a political crisis by repealing the Missouri Compromise and replacing it with popular sovereignty.

domination. They saw northern industrial and commercial power as a threat to reduce the South to a "colony" controlled by northern bankers and industrialists. The South needed to expand to survive.

Some southerners attempted to expand slavery by mounting private expeditions into the Caribbean and Central America. They believed that places such as Cuba and Nicaragua could be added to the list of slaveowning states. Although these expeditions were the work of a few power-hungry individuals, many northerners believed them to be part of the Slave Power conspiracy.

President Pierce perhaps unintentionally aggravated this sentiment. In October 1854, three of Pierce's European ministers, including future president James Buchanan, met in Ostend, Belgium, and secretly drafted a statement outlining conditions that might justify taking Cuba from Spain by force.

When the so-called **Ostend Manifesto** became public in 1855, many northerners feared that Pierce and the Democratic party secretly approved of adventurism to expand slavery. These perceptions stirred antislavery anxieties and fueled the growth of the newly formed anti-Democratic coalitions.

### **Bleeding Kansas**

Meanwhile, frictions were producing sparks in the Kansas Territory. In April 1854, Eli Thayer of

**Ostend Manifesto** Declaration by American foreign ministers in 1854 that if Spain refused to sell Cuba, the United States might be justified in taking it by force.

Worcester, Massachusetts, organized the New England Emigrant Aid Society to encourage antislavery supporters to move to Kansas. He hoped to "save" the region from slavery by flooding it with right-minded emigrants. The society eventually sent two thousand settlers to Kansas and equipped them with rifles and ammunition. Proslavery southerners, particularly those in Missouri, also encouraged settlement of the territory. Like their northern counterparts, these southerners came armed and ready to fight for their cause.

As proslavery and abolitionist settlers vied for control of Kansas, the region became a testing ground for popular sovereignty. When the vote came on March 30, 1855, armed slavery supporters from Missouri—so-called border ruffians—crossed into Kansas and cast ballots. These unlawful ballots gave proslavery supporters a large majority in the legislature. They promptly expelled all antislavery legislators and passed laws meant to drive all antislavery forces out of the territory. Antislavery advocates, however, refused to acknowledge the validity of the election or the laws. They organized their own free-state government at Lawrence and drew up an alternative constitution.

Bloodshed soon followed when a proslavery judge, Samuel LeCompte, sent a **posse** of about eight hundred armed men to Lawrence. There they "arrested" the antislavery forces and sacked the town. With that, civil war erupted in Kansas. **John Brown**, an antislavery zealot, took his four sons and three others to exact "an eye for an eye" for the five antislavery settlers who had been killed in Kansas. Brown murdered five proslavery men living along the Pottawatomie River. (The victims had not been involved in the sack of Lawrence.) The Pottawatomie massacre triggered a series of reprisals that killed over two hundred men.

The Kansas issue also led to violence in Congress. During the debates over the admission of the territory, **Charles Sumner**, a senator from Massachusetts, delivered an abusive speech against the proslavery elements in Congress. In "The Crime Against Kansas," he insulted South Carolina senator Andrew Butler by contending that Butler was a "Don Quixote" who had "made his vows" to "the harlot, slavery." Three days later, Representative Preston Brooks, Butler's nephew, beat Sumner unconscious with a cane to avenge his uncle's honor.

Sumner was badly hurt and needed almost three years to recover. Though **censured** by the House of Representatives, Brooks was overwhelmingly reelected and openly praised by his constituents for his actions. He received canes as gifts from admirers all over the South. Northerners were appalled by Brooks's action and by southern responses to it.

As the presidential election of 1856 approached, Kansas and slavery dominated the agenda. The Know-Nothings had split over slavery at their initial national convention in 1855. Disagreement over the Kansas-Nebraska Act caused most northerners to bolt from the convention and to join Republican coalitions. In 1856, the remaining Know-Nothings nominated former president Millard Fillmore as the American party's standard-bearer.

John C. Frémont, a moderate abolitionist who had achieved fame as the liberator of California, got the Republican nomination. The few remaining Whigs endorsed Fillmore at their convention. The Democrats rejected both Pierce and Douglas and nominated **James Buchanan** from Pennsylvania, believing that he would be less controversial than the other two.

The election became a contest for the right to challenge Democratic occupancy of the office of president rather than a national referendum on slavery. Buchanan received 45 percent of the popular vote and 163 electoral votes. Frémont finished second with 33 percent of the popular vote and 114 electoral votes. Fillmore received 21 percent of the popular vote but only 8 electoral votes. Frémont's surprising showing demonstrated the appeal of

**posse** A group of people usually summoned by a sheriff to aid in law enforcement.

**John Brown** Abolitionist who fought proslavery settlers in Kansas in 1855; he was hanged after seizing the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859 as part of an effort to liberate southern slaves.

**Charles Sumner** Massachusetts senator who was brutally beaten by a southern congressman in 1856 after delivering a speech attacking the South.

**censure** To issue an official rebuke, as by a legislature to one of its members

**James Buchanan** Pennsylvania senator who was elected president in 1856 after gaining the Democratic nomination as a compromise candidate.

the newly formed Republican coalition to northern voters. The Know-Nothings, fragmented over slavery, disappeared.

### **Bringing Slavery Home to the North**

Two days after Buchanan assumed office in March 1857, the Supreme Court issued a ruling that sent shock waves through the already troubled nation. **Dred Scott**, a slave formerly owned by an army officer, sued his current owner for his freedom. Although he resided in Missouri, Scott had accompanied his former master to Illinois and to a part of the Wisconsin Territory west of the Mississippi River, where slavery was outlawed by the Missouri Compromise. Scott's attorney argued that living in free territory made Scott a free man. When Missouri courts rejected this argument, Scott, with the help of abolitionist lawyers, appealed to the Supreme Court.

In a 7-to-2 decision, the Court ruled against Scott. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, a Maryland slaveowner, argued that slaves were not people but property, could not be citizens of the United States, and had no right to petition the Court. Taney then ignited a political powder keg by stating that Congress had no constitutional authority to limit slavery in a federal territory, thus totally negating the Missouri Compromise. The Court's ruling marked the first time since its 1803 decision in *Marbury v. Madison* that it had declared a federal law unconstitutional.

Antislavery forces and northern evangelical leaders called the *Dred Scott* decision a mockery of justice. Some radical abolitionists, harking back to the Hartford Convention's threat of secession (see page 180), argued that the North should separate from the Union. Others advocated impeaching the Supreme Court. Antislavery leaders contended that the next move of the Slave Power would be to get the Supreme Court to strike down antislavery laws in northern states.

While debates raged over the *Dred Scott* decision, the Kansas issue simmered. Although very few slaveholders had actually moved into the territory, proslavery leaders meeting in Lecompton in June 1857 drafted a state constitution favoring slavery. Antislavery forces protested by refusing to vote on this constitution, so it was easily ratified. But

when the constitution was submitted to Congress for approval, northern Democrats such as Stephen Douglas joined Republicans in denouncing it. Congress ultimately returned the Lecompton constitution to Kansas for another vote. This time Free-Soilers participated in the election and defeated the proposed constitution. Kansas remained a territory.

The Kansas controversy and the *Dred Scott* case figured prominently in the 1858 contest in Illinois for the Senate between Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, a small-town lawyer and moderate antislavery Republican. Born in Kentucky in 1809, Lincoln as a young man had worked odd jobs as a farm worker, ferryman, flatboatman, surveyor, and store clerk. In 1834, he was elected to the Illinois legislature and began a serious study of law. Lincoln had steered a middle course between the "cotton" and "conscience" wings of the Whig party. He acknowledged that slavery was evil but contended that it was the consequence of black racial inferiority. The only way to escape the evil, he believed, was to prevent the expansion of slavery into the territories.

Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of seven debates about slavery that were to be held throughout Illinois. During the debate at Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas to explain how the people of a territory could exclude slavery in light of the *Dred Scott* ruling. Douglas's reply became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**. Slavery, he said, needed the protection of "local police regulations." In any ter-

**Dred Scott** Slave who sued for his liberty in the Missouri courts, arguing that four years on free soil had made him free; in 1857 the Supreme Court ruled against him.

**Lecompton constitution** State constitution written for Kansas in 1857 at a convention dominated by proslavery forces, which tried to slant the document in favor of slavery; Kansas voters rejected it in 1858.

**Abraham Lincoln** Illinois lawyer and politician who argued against popular sovereignty in his debates with Stephen Douglas in 1858; he lost the senatorial election to Douglas but was elected president in 1860.

**Freeport Doctrine** Stephen Douglas's belief, stated at Freeport, Illinois, that a territory could exclude slavery by writing local laws or regulations that made slavery impossible to enforce.

ritory, citizens could elect representatives who would "by unfriendly legislation" prevent the introduction of slavery "into their midst." Voters apparently found Douglas's position more attractive than Lincoln's. They elected a majority of Douglas supporters to the state legislature, which then returned Douglas to his Senate seat.

## Radical Responses to Abolitionism and Slavery

Southerners reacted with fear to the threat of limitations on the extension of slavery. Because intensive agriculture had depleted the soil in the South, expansion seemed necessary for economic survival. Although Republican leaders maintained that they had no intention of outlawing slavery where it already existed, their commitment against expansion appeared to sentence slavery to death.

Southern apologists defended their system against northern charges that it was immoral and evil. Charles C. Jones and other southern evangelicals offered a religious defense of slavery. They claimed that the Bible condoned slavery, pointing out that the Israelites practiced slavery and that Jesus walked among slaves but never mentioned freedom. The apostle Paul even commanded slaves to obey their masters.

Northern radicals such as John Brown, however, were developing plans that called for slaves to overthrow their masters. In 1857, Brown came east to convince prominent antislavery leaders to finance a daring plan to raise an army of slaves against their masters. Brown and twenty-one followers, including four free blacks, attacked the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, on October 16, 1859, attempting to seize weapons.

Brown's force seized the arsenal but could not convince any slaves to join the uprising. Local citizens surrounded the building until federal troops, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee, arrived. On October 18, Lee's forces battered down the barricaded entrance and arrested Brown. He was tried, convicted of treason, and hanged on December 2, 1859.

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry captured the imagination of radical abolitionists and terri-

fied southerners. Although Republican leaders denounced it, other northerners proclaimed Brown a martyr. Church bells tolled in many northern cities on the day of his execution, and radical evangelicals offered eulogies to Brown's cause. Brown's raid and the perception that Republicans had secretly sponsored it caused many moderate southerners to consider **secession**. The Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida legislatures resolved that a Republican victory in the upcoming presidential election would provide justification for such action.

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## The Divided Nation

The Republicans were a new phenomenon on the American political scene: a purely regional political party. The party drew its strength and ideas almost entirely from the North. The Republican platform—"Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men"—stressed the defilement of white labor by slavery. By taking up a cry against "Rum, Romanism, and Slavery," the Republicans drew former Know-Nothings and temperance advocates alike into their ranks.

### Democratic Divisions and Nominating Conventions

During the Buchanan administration, Democrats found it increasingly difficult to achieve national party unity. Northern Democrats realized that any commitment to slavery would cost them votes at home. Southern Democrats, however, believed that protecting slavery was absolutely necessary. In April 1860, these conflicting views on slavery met when the party convened in Charleston, South Carolina.

The fight began over the party platform. Douglas's supporters championed a popular sovereignty

**Harpers Ferry** Town in present-day West Virginia and site of the U.S. arsenal that John Brown briefly seized in 1859.

**secession** Withdrawal from the United States.

position. Southern radicals countered by demanding the legal protection of slavery in the territories. After heated debates, the Douglas forces carried the day on this issue. Disgusted delegates from eight southern states walked out of the convention, thereby denying Douglas the two-thirds majority required for nomination. Shocked, the remaining delegates adjourned the convention and reconvened in Baltimore in June. A boycott by most southern delegates allowed Douglas to win the presidential nomination easily. The party's final platform supported popular sovereignty and emphasized allegiance to the Union, hoping to attract moderate voters from both North and South.

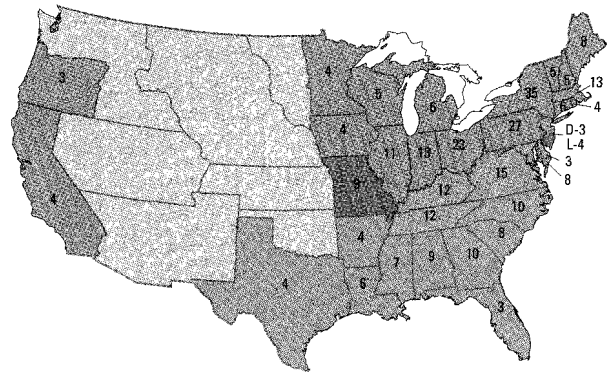
The southern Democratic contingent met one week later and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as its presidential candidate. The southern Democrats' platform vowed support for the Union but called for federal protection of the right to own slaves in the territories and for the preservation of slavery where it already existed.

In May 1860, a group of former Whigs, Know-Nothings, and some disaffected Democrats from the Upper South formed the Constitutional Union party. They nominated John Bell, a wealthy slave-holder from Tennessee, for president. This group had no hope of winning but believed it could gather enough support to throw the election into the House of Representatives. The party resolved to take no stand on the sectional controversy and pledged to uphold the Constitution and the Union.

The front runner for the Republican nomination was William Seward of New York. A former Whig, Seward had actively opposed the extension of slavery. Abraham Lincoln emerged as Seward's main challenger at the party's Chicago convention. Many delegates considered Seward too radical and doubted his honesty. Lincoln, by contrast, had a reputation for integrity and had not alienated any of the Republican factions. Lincoln won the nomination on the third ballot.

### The Election of 1860

The 1860 presidential campaign began as two separate contests. Lincoln and Douglas competed for



	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
Lincoln (Republican)	180 59.4%	1,865,593 39.8%
Douglas (Northern Democratic)	12 3.9%	1,382,713 29.5%
Breckinridge (Southern Democratic)	72 23.8%	848,356 18.1%
Bell (Constitutional Union)	39 12.9%	592,906 12.6%

◆ **MAP 13.2 Election of 1860** The election of 1860 confirmed the worst fears expressed by concerned Union supporters during the 1850s: changes in the nation's population made it possible for one section to dominate national politics. As this map shows, the Republican and southern Democratic parties virtually split the nation, and the Republicans were able to seize the presidency

northern votes, and Breckinridge and Bell vied for the South. The Republicans were not even on the ballot in the **Deep South**. Breckinridge and the southern Democrats expected no support in the North. Douglas proclaimed himself the only national candidate. Bell and the Constitutional Unionists attempted to campaign in both regions but at-

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**Constitutional Union party** Political party that organized on the eve of the Civil War with no platform other than the preservation of the Constitution, the Union, and the law.

**Deep South** The region of the South farthest from the North; usually said to comprise the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

tracted mostly southern voters who wanted to avoid the crisis of disunion.

Sensing that Lincoln would win the North, Douglas launched a last-ditch effort to hold the Union together by campaigning in the South. Douglas tried unsuccessfully to form a coalition between moderate Democrats and Constitutional Unionists. Already in poor health, he exhausted himself trying to prevent disunion.

As the election drew near, rumors of slave uprisings incited by Yankee strangers led to hysteria in the South. Reports of violence, arson, and rape in faraway places filled southern newspapers. Although supported by no hard evidence, these rumors contributed to the climate of gloom in the South. Even moderate southerners started to believe that the Republicans intended to crush their way of life.

To improve the party's image, Republican leaders forged a platform promising not to interfere with slavery in areas where it already existed but opposing its expansion. Particularly in the Midwest, party leaders worked hard to portray themselves as "the white man's party" rather than as "black Republicans," as their opponents contemptuously called them. These tactics alienated a few abolitionists but appealed to many northerners and westerners.

On November 6, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States with a clear majority of the electoral votes but only 40 percent of the popular vote. He carried all the northern states, California, and Oregon (see Map 13.2). Douglas finished second with 29 percent of the popular vote but only 12 electoral votes. Bell won in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Breckinridge carried the Deep South but won only 72 electoral votes and 18 percent of the popular vote nationwide. For the first time in American history, a purely regional party held the presidency. The Republicans also swept congressional races in the North and had a large majority in Congress for the upcoming term.

### The First Wave of Secession

After the Republican victory, southern sentiment for secession intensified, especially in the Deep

South. The Republicans were a "party founded on a single sentiment," stated the *Richmond Examiner*: "hatred of African slavery." The *New Orleans Delta* agreed, calling the Republicans "essentially a revolutionary party." To a growing number of southerners, the Republican victory was proof that secession was the only alternative to political domination.

Most Republicans did not believe that the South would actually leave the Union. Calls for secession had been heard in the South for a decade. Seward had ridiculed threats of secession as an attempt "to terrify or alarm" the northern people. Lincoln himself believed that the "people of the South" had "too much sense" to launch an "attempt to ruin the government." He continued to urge moderation.

In a last-ditch attempt at compromise, **John J. Crittenden** of Kentucky introduced several proposals in the Senate on December 18, 1860. He suggested extending the Missouri Compromise line westward across the continent. Crittenden's plan also called for compensation to slaveowners who were unable to recover fugitive slaves from northern states.

Lincoln did not like Crittenden's plan. The extension of the Missouri Compromise line, he warned, would "lose us everything we gained by the election." He let senators and congressmen know that he wanted no "compromise in regard to the extension of slavery." The Senate defeated Crittenden's proposals by a vote of 25 to 23.

Meanwhile, on December 20, 1860, delegates in South Carolina voted 169 to 0 to dissolve their ties with the United States. Seceding from the Union, they proclaimed, was the sovereign right of a state. Other southern states followed South Carolina's lead. During January 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana voted to secede from the Union.

**John J. Crittenden** Kentucky senator who made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the Civil War by proposing a series of constitutional amendments protecting slavery south of the Missouri Compromise line.

On February 4, 1861, delegates from the six seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the Confederate **States of America**, or the Confederacy. Shortly afterward, Texans voted to leave the Union and join the Confederacy. The Confederate congress drafted a constitution, and the Confederate states ratified it on March 11, 1861. The Confederate constitution created a government modeled on the government of the United States—but with a few notable differences. It emphasized the "sovereign and independent character" of the states and guaranteed the protection of slavery in any new territories. The document limited the president and vice president to a single six-year term. A bicameral legislative body and six executive departments whose heads served as the cabinet rounded out the government. The U.S. Constitution, excluding provisions in conflict with the Confederate constitution, would remain in force in the Confederacy.

### Responses to Disunion

Even as late as March 1861, not all southerners favored secession. John Bell and Stephen Douglas together had received over 50 percent of southern votes in 1860, winning support from southerners who desired compromise and had only limited stakes in upholding slavery. Nonslaveholders constituted the majority in many southern states. The border states, which had numerous ties with the North, were not strongly inclined toward secession. In February, Virginia had even called for a peace conference in Washington. Like Crittenden's efforts, this attempt failed.

The division in southern sentiments was a major stumbling block to the election of a president of the Confederacy. Many moderate delegates to the constitutional convention refused to support radical secessionists. The convention remained deadlocked until Mississippi moderate Jefferson Davis was put forward as a compromise candidate.

Davis appeared to be the ideal choice. A West Point graduate, he had served during the Mexican War and as secretary of war under Franklin Pierce. He had twice been elected to the Senate, resigning

immediately after Lincoln's victory in 1860. Although Davis had long championed southern interests, he was no romantic, fire-eating secessionist. Before 1860, he had been a strong Unionist. He had supported the Compromise of 1850. Like many of his contemporaries, however, Davis had become increasingly alarmed as he watched the South's political power decline.

To moderates like Davis, the presidential election of 1860 demonstrated that the South could no longer control its own affairs. It had no other option than to withdraw from the nation. Shortly after his inauguration as president of the Confederate States of America on February 9, 1861, Davis asserted: "The time for compromise has now passed. The South is determined to maintain her position, and make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel."

Northern Democrats and Republicans alike watched developments in the South with dismay. Lame-duck president Buchanan argued that any state leaving the Union did so unlawfully. But he also believed that the federal government had no constitutional power to "coerce a State" to remain in the Union. Buchanan accepted no responsibility for the situation and did little to alleviate the tension.

During the four months between the election and Lincoln's inauguration, the Republicans could do nothing about secession. But Lincoln quickly defined his position: "My opinion is that no state can, in any way, lawfully get out of the Union, without the consent of the others." He tried to reassure southerners that his administration would not interfere with their slaves, but he refused to consider any compromise on the extension of slavery.

**Confederate States of America** Political entity formed by the seceding states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana in February 1861.

**Jefferson Davis** Former U.S. Army officer, secretary of war, and senator from Mississippi who resigned from Congress when Mississippi seceded and became president of the Confederacy

Black abolitionist Frederick Douglass assessed the crisis this way: "Much as I value the current apparent hostility to Slavery, I plainly see that it is less the outgrowth of high and moral conviction against Slavery, as such, than because of the trouble its friends have brought upon the country." Many northerners, as Douglass correctly perceived, were much more concerned about the breakup of the nation than they ever had been about slavery.

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## The Nation Dissolved

Lincoln's inaugural address on March 4, 1861, repeated themes that he had been stressing since the election: no interference with slavery in existing states, no extension of slavery into the territories, and no tolerance of secession. "The Union," he contended, was "perpetual," and no state could withdraw from it. Lincoln pledged "that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States." This policy, he continued, necessitated "no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority."

### Lincoln, Sumter, and War

Lincoln's first presidential address drew mixed reactions. Most Republicans found it firm and reasonable. Union advocates in both North and South thought the speech held promise for the future. Even former rival Stephen Douglas stated, "I am with him." Moderate southerners believed the speech was all "any reasonable Southern man" could have expected. Confederates, however, branded the speech a "Declaration of War." Lincoln had hoped the address would foster a climate of reconciliation, but it did not.

Even before Lincoln assumed office, South Carolina officials had ordered the state militia to seize two federal forts and the federal arsenal at Charleston. In response, Major Robert Anderson moved all federal troops from Charleston to **Fort**

Sumter, an island stronghold in Charleston harbor. The Confederate congress demanded that President Buchanan remove all federal troops from Confederate territory. Despite his sympathy for the southern cause, Buchanan announced that Fort Sumter would be defended "against all hostile attacks." On January 3, 1861, a Charleston harbor battery fired on a supply ship as it attempted to reach the fort. Buchanan denounced the action but did nothing.

Immediately after taking office, Lincoln received a report from Fort Sumter that supplies were running low. Under great pressure from northern public opinion to do something without starting a war, he informed South Carolina governor Francis Pickens of his peaceful intention to send unarmed boats to resupply the besieged fort. Lincoln thus placed the Confederacy in the position of either accepting the resupply of federal forts and losing face or firing on the unarmed supply ships and starting a war. From Lincoln's perspective, the plan could not fail. If no shots were fired, he would achieve his objective by holding the fort. But if armed conflict evolved, he could blame the Confederates for starting it.

Confederate officials determined not to allow Sumter to be resupplied. Jefferson Davis ordered the Confederate commander at Charleston, General P. G. T. Beauregard, to demand the evacuation of Sumter and, if the Federals refused, to "proceed, in such a manner as you may determine, to reduce it." On April 12, Beauregard demanded that Anderson surrender. When Anderson refused, shore batteries opened fire. After a thirty-four-hour artillery battle, Anderson surrendered. Neither side had inflicted casualties on the other, but civil war had officially begun.

Public outcry over the shelling of Fort Sumter was deafening. Newspapers across the North

**Fort Sumter** Fort at the mouth of the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina; it was the scene of the opening engagement of the Civil War in April 1861.

**battery** An army artillery unit, usually supplied with heavy guns.





◆ In this vivid engraving, South Carolina shore batteries under the command of P. G. T. Beauregard shell Fort Sumter, the last federal stronghold in Charleston harbor, on the night of April 12, 1861. Curious and excited civilians look on from their rooftops, never suspecting the horrors that would be the outcome of this rash action. *Library of Congress*.

rallied behind the Union cause. In New York, where southern sympathizers had once vehemently criticized abolitionist actions, a million people attended a Union rally. Even northern Democrats rallied behind the Republican president. Stephen Douglas proclaimed, "There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots—or traitors." Spurred by the public outcry, Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand militiamen to save the Union. Northern states responded immediately and enthusiastically. Across the Upper South and the border regions, however, the call to arms meant that a choice had to be made between the Union and the Confederacy.

### **Choosing Sides in the Upper South**

As of April 12, 1861, seven slaveholding states had seceded, but eight remained in the Union. The Upper South, consisting of Virginia, North Carolina, and

Tennessee, and the Border States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware were critical to the hopes of the Confederacy, for they contained over two-thirds of the South's white population and possessed most of its industrial capacity. If the Confederacy were to have any chance, the human and physical resources of the Upper South were essential.

After Lincoln's call to mobilize the militia, Virginia initiated a second wave of secession. On May 23, the state's voters overwhelmingly ratified an ordinance of secession. The Confederate congress accepted Virginia's offer of **Richmond** as the new Confederate capital. Not all Virginians were flattered by becoming the seat for the Confederacy. Residents of the western portion of the state had strong Union ties and long-standing political differences with their neighbors east of the Allegheny Mountains. They called mass Unionist meetings to protest the state's secession and, at a June convention in Wheeling, elected their own governor and drew up a constitution.

For many individuals in the Upper South, the decision to support the Confederacy was not an easy one. No one typified this dilemma more than Virginian **Robert E. Lee**, the son of Revolutionary War hero Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee. Lee had strong ties to the Union. A West Point graduate and career officer in the U.S. Army, he had a distinguished record in the Mexican War and as superintendent of West Point. General Winfield Scott, commander of the Union forces, called Lee "the best soldier I ever saw in the field." Recognizing his military skill, Lincoln offered Lee field command of the Union armies. Lee agonized over the decision but told a friend, "I cannot raise my hand against my birthplace, my home, my children." He resigned his U.S. Army commission and accepted command of Virginia's defenses in April 1861.

Influenced by the Virginia convention and by the events at Fort Sumter, North Carolina and Tennessee joined the Confederacy. Tennessee, the eleventh and final state to join the Confederacy, remained divided between eastern residents, who favored the Union, and westerners, who favored the Confederacy. East Tennesseans attempted to divide the state much as West Virginians had done, but Davis ordered Confederate troops to occupy the region, thwarting the effort.

### **Trouble in the Border States**

The start of hostilities brought political and military confrontation in three of the four slave states that remained in the Union. Delaware, which had

few slaveholders, quietly stayed in the Union. Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, however, each contained large, vocal secessionist minorities and appeared poised to bolt to the Confederacy.

Maryland was particularly vital to the Union, for it enclosed Washington, D.C., on three sides. If Maryland had seceded, the Union might have been forced to move its capital. Because southern sympathizers controlled the legislature, Governor Thomas Hicks, a Unionist, refused to call a special legislative session to consider secession.

Even without a secession ordinance, pro-southern Marylanders caused trouble. On April 6, a mob attacked a Massachusetts regiment that was passing through Baltimore on its way to the capital. The soldiers returned fire. When the violence subsided, twelve Baltimore residents and four soldiers lay dead. Secessionists subsequently destroyed railroad bridges to keep additional northern troops out of the state and effectively cut Washington, D.C., off from the North.

Lincoln ordered the military occupation of Baltimore and declared martial law. He then had the army arrest suspected southern sympathizers and hold them without formal hearings or charges. When the legislature met again and appeared to be planning secession, Lincoln ordered the army to surround Frederick, the legislative seat. With southern sympathizers suppressed, new state elections were held that resulted in an overwhelmingly Unionist legislature.

Kentucky had important economic ties to the South but was strongly nationalistic. Kentuckian

**Richmond** Port city on the James River in Virginia; it was already the state capital and became the capital of the Confederacy.

**Unionist** Loyal to the United States of America during the Civil War.

**Robert E. Lee** A Virginian with a distinguished career in the U.S. Army who resigned from that army to assume command of the army of the Confederate States of America.

martial law Temporary rule by military authorities, imposed on a civilian population in time of war or when civil authority has broken down.

Henry Clay had engineered compromises between the regions, and John Crittenden had made the only significant attempt to resolve the current crisis. Most Kentuckians favored compromise. The governor refused to honor Lincoln's call for troops, but the state legislature voted to remain neutral. Both North and South honored that neutrality. Kentucky's own militia, however, split into two factions, and the state became a bloody battleground of brother against brother. In Missouri, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, a former border ruffian, pushed for secession. When Unionists frustrated the secession movement, Jackson's forces seized the federal arsenal at Liberty. Union sympathizers fielded their own forces and fought Jackson at every turn. Jackson's secessionist movement sent representatives to the Confederate congress, but Union forces controlled the state and drove pro-southern leaders into exile.

### Summary

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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As social and economic change heightened Americans' expectations during the 1850s, individuals made a variety of choices, creating a new political environment. New political allegiances changed party composition and platforms. As the Compromise of 1850 failed to alleviate regional tensions, the Whig party disintegrated. Two completely new groups, the American and Republican parties, replaced the Whigs. Events such as the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the *Dred Scott* decision intensified regional polarization, and radicals on both sides fanned the flames of sectional rivalry.

The constraints imposed by regional interests left the new parties with far less ability to achieve com-

### **SUGGESTED READINGS**

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *Slavery, Law, and Politics: The Dred Scott Case in Historical Perspective* (1981).

promise than their more nationally oriented predecessors. Even the Democratic party could not hold together, splitting into northern and southern wings. By 1859, the young Republican party, committed to containing slavery, seemed poised to gain control of the federal government. Southerners expected that a Republican victory would doom their way of life.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, seven southern states chose to withdraw from the Union. Last-minute efforts at compromise failed, and on April 12, 1861, five weeks after Lincoln's inauguration, Confederate forces fired on federal troops at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor.

Lincoln's call to arms forced wavering states to choose sides. Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri had to make painful choices that frequently brought violence and military action. A second wave of secession and conflict over the Border States solidified the lines between the two competing societies. The sides were quickly drawn, the stakes were set, the division was completed. The nation now faced the bloodiest war in its history.

An excellent interpretive account of this landmark antebellum legal decision, placing it firmly in historical context.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *Prelude to Greatness* (1962).

A well-written and interesting account of Lincoln's early career.

Gienapp, William E., et al. *Essays in American Antebellum Politics, 1840-1860* (1982).

A collection of essays by the rising generation of new political scholars. Exciting and challenging reading.

Holt, Michael F. *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (1978).

Arguably the best single-volume discussion of the political problems besetting the nation during this critical decade.

Oates, Stephen B. *To Purge This Land with Blood* (1984).

The best biography to date on John Brown, focusing on his role in the emerging sectional crisis during the 1850s.

Potter, David. *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (1976).

An extremely long and detailed work but beautifully written and informative.

Rawley, James. *Race and Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War* (1969).

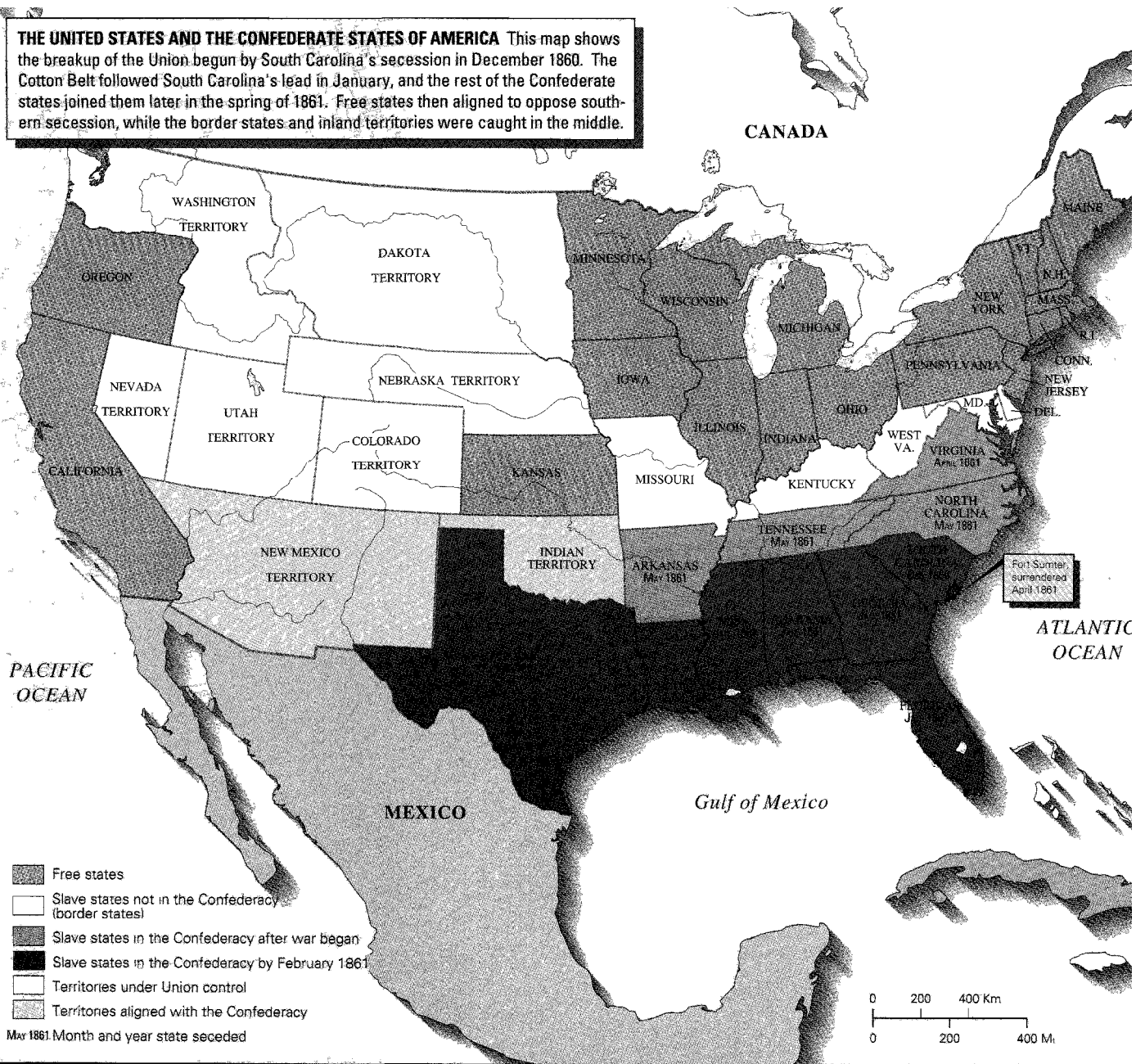
An interesting look at the conflicts in Kansas, centering on racial attitudes in the West. Insightful and captivating reading.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852; reprint, 1982).

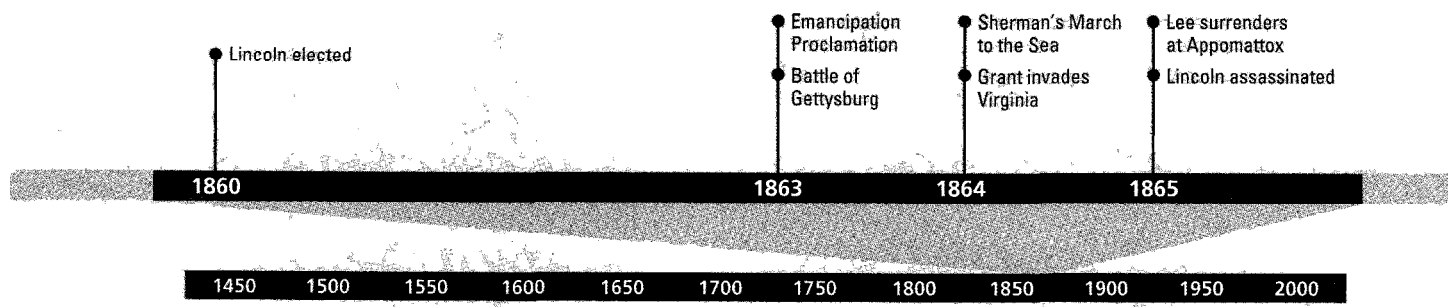
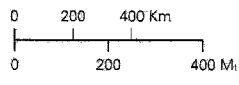
This reprint includes notes and a chronology by noted social historian Kathryn Kish Sklar, making it especially informative. See also the one-hour film version produced by the Program for Culture at Play, available on videocassette from Films for the Humanities.



**THE UNITED STATES AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA** This map shows the breakup of the Union begun by South Carolina's secession in December 1860. The Cotton Belt followed South Carolina's lead in January, and the rest of the Confederate states joined them later in the spring of 1861. Free states then aligned to oppose southern secession, while the border states and inland territories were caught in the middle.



- Free states
  - Slave states not in the Confederacy (border states)
  - Slave states in the Confederacy after war began
  - Slave states in the Confederacy by February 1861
  - Territories under Union control
  - Territories aligned with the Confederacy
- May 1861. Month and year state seceded



## A Violent Solution:

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# Civil War, 1861-1865

### **The Politics of War**

What constraints did Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis face as they led their respective nations into war?

- How did they choose to deal with those constraints?

- How did military action during the opening years of the war affect the expectations of people in the North and South?

- How did the Emancipation Proclamation change expectations for the war's outcome?

### **From Bull Run to Antietam**

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### **The Human Dimensions of War**

How did constraints created by the war affect society during the course of the fighting?

What choices did individuals and governments make to meet those constraints?

### **Waging Total War**

- What expectations contributed to military choices on both sides after 1862?

- What were the outcomes of those choices?



# ( INTRODUCTION )

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Union president Abraham Lincoln and Confederate president Jefferson Davis faced serious political, economic, and military *constraints* as they mobilized for war. Lincoln felt *constrained* by an aged army, a tiny navy, and a sluggish economy, yet even that was more than Davis had to work with. Both presidents also had to contend with political disagreements and demands. These *constraints* combined to shape their *expectations* and *choices*. Davis *chose* to pursue a defensive strategy, *expecting* that the North would soon tire of war. Lincoln, blessed with superior manpower, manufacturing capability, and natural resources, *chose* to use the military to squeeze the South economically, *expecting* that the Confederacy would soon sue for peace. When disastrous losses early in the war and political pressure from radicals in the Republican party upset Lincoln's plan, he *chose* a more aggressive approach. Davis was forced to *choose* a more aggressive course also. The *outcome* was total war as Union and Confederate armies clashed across the better part of a continent.

The economy in the North actually grew as industry moved into high gear to supply the troops. The Union Army kept Confederates from disrupting northern production, and the Union Navy kept international commerce flowing. Meanwhile, the southern economy deteriorated. *Expecting* sales of cotton overseas to keep money flowing in for the war effort, southerners were disappointed when Britain stopped buying cotton and remained neutral. Southerners also had to face the unpleasant reality of

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invading troops' marching across their land and pitched battles being fought where corn, beans, and cotton once grew. The *outcome* was economic chaos. Many southern people—black as well as white, loyal as well as rebel—went hungry; some even starved.

In the fall of 1862, Lincoln boldly *chose* to change the direction of the war by announcing the Emancipation Proclamation. Knowing that the South would not sue for peace after that development, Lincoln pressed his generals to deal a death blow to southern resistance. In the summer of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman *chose* military strategies that took a terrible human toll. While Sherman slashed his way through the Deep South, Grant sacrificed tens of thousands of his men's lives to contain the Confederate forces under Robert E. Lee. The *outcome* was Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865.

Lincoln then began planning how to bring the defeated South back into the Union. But the man who had led the nation through the war did not survive to pursue his plans for peace. Lincoln was shot by an actor sympathetic to the South. The president died, leaving the nation in mourning, uncertain what the final *outcome* would be.

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## The Politics of War

Running the war posed complex problems for both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. At the outset, neither side had the experience, soldiers, or supplies to wage an effective war. Foreign diplomacy and international trade were vital to both sides. The Union needed to convince the rest of the world that this conflict was a **rebellion** against le-

gitimate authority, the Confederacy that this was a war between nations. The distinction was important. International law permitted neutral nations to trade, negotiate, and communicate with nations engaged in a war. International law forbade neu-

**rebellion** Open, armed, and organized resistance to a legally constituted government.

## War Between the States

1860 Lincoln elected	Battle of Chancellorsville and death of Stonewall Jackson
1861 Lincoln takes office	Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg
Fort Sumter falls	Draft riots in New York City
First Battle of Bull Run	1864 Grant invades Virginia
George McClellan organizes the Union army	Sherman captures Atlanta
Union naval blockade begins	Lincoln reelected
1862 Grant's victories in the Mississippi Valley	Sherman's March to the Sea
U.S. Navy captures New Orleans	1865 Sherman's march through the Carolinas
Battle of Shiloh	Lee abandons Petersburg and Richmond
Peninsular Campaign	Lee surrenders at Appomattox
Battle of Antietam	Lincoln proposes a gentle reconstruction policy
African Americans permitted in Union army	Lincoln is assassinated
1863 Emancipation Proclamation takes effect	
Union enacts conscription	

trials from having any dealings with rebels against a legally constituted government.

Perhaps the biggest challenge confronting both Davis and Lincoln, however, was internal politics. Lincoln had to contend not only with northern Democrats and with Copperheads—northerners who sympathized with the South—but also with divisions in his own party. Davis too faced internal political problems. The Confederate constitution guaranteed considerable autonomy to the Confederate states, and each state had a different opinion about war strategy.

### Union Policies and Objectives

Lincoln's first objective was to rebuild an army that was in disarray. When hostilities broke out, the Union had only sixteen thousand men in uniform. Nearly one-third of the officers had resigned to support the Confederacy. The remaining military leadership was aged: General in Chief Winfield Scott was 74 years old. The only two Union officers who had ever commanded a brigade were

in their seventies. Weapons were old, supplies were low, and personnel was limited. On May 3, acting on his executive authority because Congress was not in session, Lincoln called for regular army recruits to meet the crisis.

Lincoln then ordered the U.S. Navy to stop all incoming supplies to the states in rebellion. In 1861, the navy had few resources, but Navy Secretary Gideon Welles quickly turned that situation around. Starting with almost nothing, he built an effective navy that could both blockade the South and support land forces. By 1862, the Union navy had 260 warships on the seas and a hundred more under construction.

Winfield Scott drafted the initial Union military strategy. He advised that the blockade of southern ports be combined with a strong Union thrust

**Copperheads** Derogatory term (the name of a poisonous snake) applied to northerners who supported the South during the Civil War.

down the Mississippi River. This strategy would split the Confederacy in two, separating Confederate states and territories west of the river from the rest of the Confederacy. It also would cut the Confederacy off from trade with the outside world. Scott believed that economic pressure would bring southern moderates forward to negotiate a return to the Union. The northern press sneered at this **Anaconda Plan**, noting that Scott intended to "squeeze the South to military death." A passive strategy did not appeal to war-fevered northerners who hungered for complete victory.

When Congress convened in a special session on July 4, 1861, Lincoln explained the actions he had taken in Congress's absence and outlined his plans. He said that he had no intention of abolishing slavery. Rebellion, not slavery, had caused the war, he said, and the seceding states must be brought back into the Union. On July 22 and 25, 1861, Congress passed resolutions validating Lincoln's actions.

This seemingly unified front lasted only briefly. **Radical Republicans** regarded vengeance as the primary objective of the war. Radical leader **Thaddeus Stevens** of Pennsylvania pressed for and got a law promoting severe penalties against individuals in rebellion. Treason was punishable by death, and anyone aiding the rebellion was to be punished with imprisonment, confiscation of property, and the emancipation of slaves. All persons living in the eleven seceding states, whether loyal to the Union or not, were declared enemies of the Union.

The Radicals splintered any consensus Lincoln might have achieved in his own party, and northern Democrats railed against his accumulation of power. Lincoln attempted to appease both factions and used military appointments to smooth political feathers. Still, his attitudes frequently enraged radical abolitionists. Lincoln maintained his calm in the face of their criticism. Nevertheless, ongoing divisiveness hindered efforts to run the war.

### **Confederate Policies and Objectives**

At the start of the war, the Confederacy had no army, no navy, no war supplies, no government structure, and no foreign alliances. It had less than half the

people of the Union (9 million as opposed to 23 million) and almost none of the Union's manufacturing capabilities. After the attack on Fort Sumter, the Confederate government's main task was amassing supplies, troops, ships, and war materials.

The Union naval blockade posed an immediate problem. The Confederacy had no navy and no capacity to build ships. Nevertheless, Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory converted river steamboats, tugboats, and **revenue cutters** into harbor patrol gunboats. He also developed explosive mines that were placed at the entrance to southern harbors and rivers. Commander James D. Bulloch purchased boats from the British. On one occasion, he bought a fast merchant ship, loaded it with military supplies, maneuvered through the Union blockade at Savannah, and then equipped it to ram Union vessels. The C.S.S. *Sumter* captured or burned eighteen Union ships during the first months of the war.

The Confederates pinned their main hope of winning the war on the army. Southerners strongly believed they could "lick the Yankees" despite being outnumbered. Southern boys rushed to enlist to fight the northern "popinjays." By the time Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand militiamen, the Confederates already had sixty thousand men in uniform.

Despite this rush of fighting men, the South faced major handicaps. Even with the addition of the four Upper South states, Confederate industrial capacity and transportation systems were still

**Anaconda Plan** Winfield Scott's plan (named after a snake that smothers prey in its coils) to blockade southern ports and take control of the Mississippi River, thus splitting the Confederacy, cutting off southern trade, and causing an economic collapse.

**Radical Republicans** Republican faction that tried to limit presidential power and enhance congressional authority during the Civil War.

**Thaddeus Stevens** Pennsylvania congressman who was a leader of the Radical Republicans, hated the South, and wanted to abolish slavery.

**revenue cutter** A small, lightly armed boat used by government customs agents to look for merchant ships violating customs laws.

outstripped by the North. The southern states built only 3 percent of all firearms manufactured in the United States in 1860. The North produced almost all of the country's cloth, **pig iron**, boots, and shoes. Early in the war, the South produced enough food but lacked the means to transport it where it was needed.

Josiah Gorgas worked miracles as the Confederate chief of **ordnance**. Gorgas purchased arms from Europe while his ordnance officers bought or stole copper stills to make **percussion caps**, bronze church bells to make cannon, and lead to make bullets. He built factories and foundries to manufacture small arms. But despite all his skill, he could not supply all the Confederate troops. In 1861, more than half of the enlistees were turned away because of lack of equipment.

Internal politics also plagued the Davis administration. Despite the shortage of arms, state governors hoarded weapons seized from federal arsenals for their own state militias. Powerful state politicians with little military experience, such as Henry A. Wise of Virginia, received appointments as generals. Davis contributed to the political problems by constantly interfering with the war department and squabbling with everyone.

Davis favored a defensive war. He thought that by counterattacking and yielding territory, the Confederacy could prolong the war and make it so costly that the Union would finally relent. State leaders, however, demanded that their state's borders be protected. In any case, most southerners preferred an aggressive policy. As one editor put it, "Waiting for blows, instead of inflicting them is altogether unsuited to the genius of our people."

## The Diplomatic Front

Perhaps the biggest challenge facing the Confederacy was gaining international recognition and foreign aid. The primary focus of Confederate foreign policy was Great Britain. For years, the South had been exporting large amounts of cotton to Britain. Many southerners felt that Britain would recognize the Confederacy immediately following the organization of a government. Such was not the case. Although the British allowed southern agents

to purchase ships and goods, they remained neutral and did not recognize the Confederacy. Not convinced that the Confederacy could make good on its bid for independence, the British steered a safe course. They set the tone for other European responses.

Lincoln had to take care not to provoke the British while trying to prevent aid to the Confederacy. Despite his best efforts, an incident at sea nearly scuttled British-American relations. In November 1861, the U.S. warship *San Jacinto* stopped the *Trent*, a British merchant ship carrying two Confederate diplomats, James Mason and John Slidell. The Confederates were then taken to Boston for confinement.

The British were not pleased. They viewed the *Trent* affair as a violation of international law. President Lincoln calmed the British by arguing that the *San Jacinto's* captain had acted without orders. He ordered the release of the prisoners and apologized to the British.

## The Union's First Attack

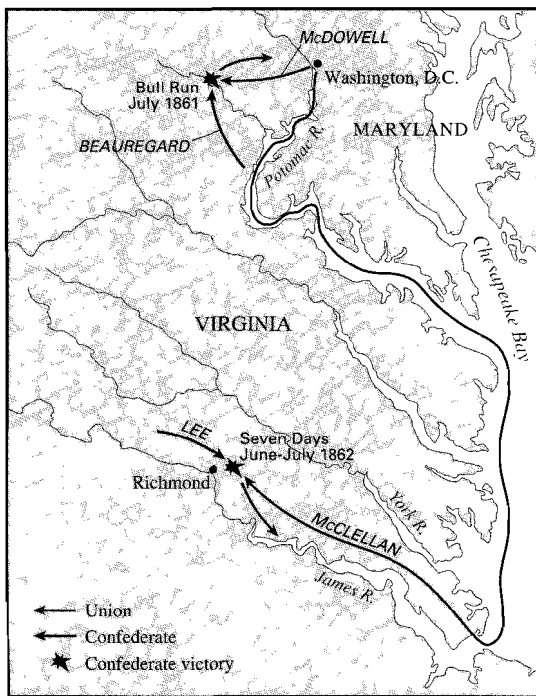
Confident that the Union could end the war quickly, General Irvin McDowell moved his troops into Virginia in July 1861 (see Map 14.1). McDowell's poorly trained troops ambled along as though they were on a country outing. Their dawdling allowed Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard enough time to defend a vital rail center near Manassas Junction along a creek called **Bull Run**.

**pig iron** Crude iron, direct from a blast furnace, that is cast into rectangular molds called pigs in preparation for conversion into steel, cast iron, or wrought iron.

**ordnance** Weapons, ammunition, and other military equipment.

**percussion cap** A thin metal cap containing gunpowder that explodes when struck.

**Bull Run** A creek in Virginia not far from Washington, D.C., where Confederate soldiers forced federal troops to retreat in the first major battle of the Civil War, fought in July 1861.



◆ **MAP 14.1 Union Offensives into Virginia, 1861-1862** This map shows two failed Union attempts to invade Virginia: the Battle of Bull Run (July 1861) and the Peninsular Campaign (April-July 1862). Confederate victories embarrassed the richer and more populous Union.

McDowell attacked on Sunday, July 21. He seemed poised to overrun the Confederates until southern reinforcements under Thomas J. Jackson took a position on a hill and, fighting furiously, stalled the Union advance. Jackson's stand at Bull Run turned the tide for the Confederacy and earned him the nickname "Stonewall." Under intense cannon fire, Union troops panicked and began retreating pell-mell toward Washington. The Confederates were also in disarray, and they made no attempt to pursue the fleeing Union forces.

This battle profoundly affected both sides. In the South, the victory stirred confidence that the war would be short. Northerners, disillusioned and embarrassed, pledged that no similar retreats would occur. Lincoln replaced General Scott with George B. McClellan.

General McClellan's strengths were in organizing and in inspiring his troops. Both were sorely

needed. After Bull Run, the army's confidence was badly shaken. Under McClellan, months of training turned the 185,000-man army into a well-drilled and efficient unit. Calls to attack Richmond began anew, but McClellan continued to drill the troops and remained in the capital.

The new year began with Lincoln's taking a much more aggressive stance. On January 27, 1862, he called for a broad offensive, but McClellan ignored the order. Frustrated, Lincoln removed McClellan as general in chief on March 11 but left him in command of the Army of the Potomac.

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**From**

## **Bull Run to Antietam**

After Bull Run and McClellan's rebuilding of the Union army, it became clear that the war would be neither short nor glorious. Military, political, and diplomatic strategies became increasingly entangled as both the North and the South struggled for ways to end the war.

## **The War in the West**

Both the United States and the Confederacy coveted the western territories. In 1861, Confederate Henry Hopkins Sibley led an expedition in an attempt to gain control of New Mexico and Arizona. Sibley recruited thirty-seven hundred Texans and marched into New Mexico. Although he defeated a Union force at Valverde and Santa Fe, lack of provisions forced Sibley and his troops to retreat to Texas.

Confederate leaders also sought to gain western territory by making alliances with Indian tribes,

**Thomas J. Jackson** Confederate general nicknamed "Stonewall" who commanded troops at both battles of Bull Run and who was mortally wounded by his own troops at Chancellorsville in 1863.

**George B. McClellan** U.S. general who replaced Winfield Scott as general in chief of Union forces; a skillful organizer, he was slow and indecisive as a strategist.

particularly those in the newly settled Indian Territory south of Kansas. Indians who had endured removal to the West had no particular love for the Union. If these tribes aligned with the Confederacy, they not only could supply troops but could form a buffer between Union forces in Kansas and the thinly spread Confederate defenses west of the Mississippi.

Although one Cherokee leader, Stand Watie, became a Confederate general and distinguished himself in battle, Confederate Indian troops never provided the kind of assistance hoped for. They disliked army discipline and became disgusted when promised supplies failed to materialize. Many Indian troops defected when ordered to attack other Indians. Still, several battles, such as the 1862 Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas, pitted Indian troops against each other. The divisions between Indian groups allied with the North and with the South often reflected long-standing tribal animosities.

### Struggle for the Mississippi

While McClellan stalled in the East, one Union general finally had some success in the western theater. Ulysses S. Grant moved against southern strongholds in the Mississippi valley in 1862. On February 6, he took Fort Henry along the Tennessee River and ten days later captured Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River (see Map 14.2). Grant's army suffered few casualties and took more than fifteen thousand prisoners of war. As Union forces approached Nashville, the Confederates retreated to Corinth, Mississippi. In this one stroke, Grant brought Kentucky and most of Tennessee under Federal control.

At Corinth, Confederate general Albert Sidney Johnston finally reorganized the retreating southern troops. Early on April 6, to Grant's surprise, Johnston attacked at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, near a small country meetinghouse called Shiloh Church. Union forces under General **William Tecumseh Sherman** were driven back, but the Confederate attack soon lost momentum. The **Battle of Shiloh** raged until midafternoon. When Johnston was mortally wounded, General Beauregard took command. Believing the enemy de

feated, he ended the action at the end of the day. Union reinforcements who arrived during the night enabled Grant to counterattack the next morning and to push the Confederates back to Corinth.

Losses on both sides were staggering, by far the heaviest to date in the war. The Union had 13,047 men killed, wounded, or captured, while the Confederacy suffered a loss of 10,694 men. The Battle of Shiloh made the reality of war apparent to everyone. After Shiloh, one Confederate wrote: "Death in every awful form, if it really be death, is a pleasant sight in comparison to the fearfully and mortally wounded." The number of casualties at Shiloh stunned people in the North and South alike.

Farther south, Admiral David G. Farragut's fleet of U.S. Navy gunboats captured New Orleans on April 25. Farragut then sailed up the Mississippi. He scored several victories until he reached Port Hudson, Louisiana, where Confederate defenses and shallow water forced him to halt. Meanwhile, on June 6, Union gunboats destroyed a Confederate fleet at Memphis, Tennessee, and brought the upper Mississippi under Union control. Vicksburg, Mississippi, remained the only major obstacle to Union control of the entire river (see Map 14.2).

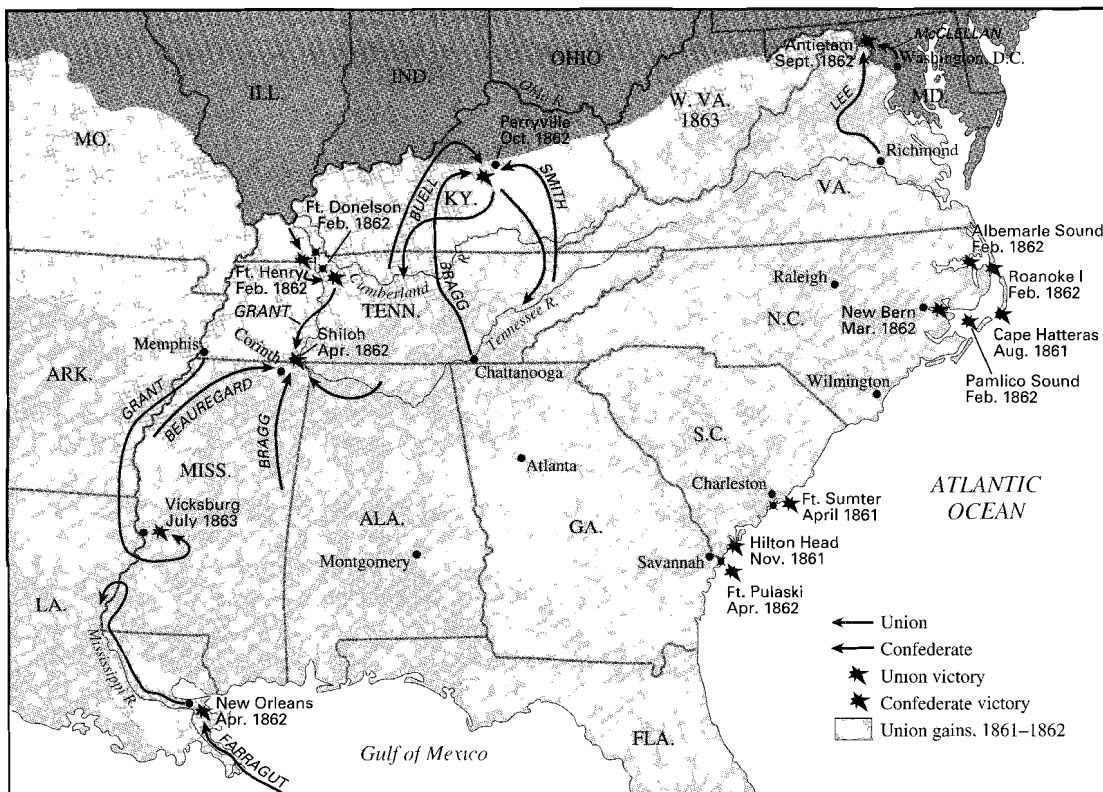
Grant launched two attacks against Vicksburg in December 1862, but Confederate cavalry and the cannon defending Vicksburg thwarted his offensives. Grant had to come up with a new strategy for taking the city. Union efforts along the Mississippi stalled, but by the close of 1862, Union forces

**Ulysses S. Grant** U.S. general who became commander in chief of the Union army in 1864 after the Vicksburg campaign; he later became president of the United States.

**William Tecumseh Sherman** U.S. general who captured Atlanta in 1864 and led a destructive march to the Atlantic coast.

**Battle of Shiloh** Battle in Tennessee in April 1862 that ended with an unpursued Confederate withdrawal; both sides suffered heavy casualties for the first time, and neither side gained ground.

**Vicksburg** Confederate-held city on the Mississippi River that surrendered on July 4, 1863, after a siege by Grant's forces.



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**AP 14.2 The Anaconda Plan and the Battle of Antietam** This map illustrates the Anaconda Plan at work. The Union navy closed southern harbors while Grant's troops worked to seal the northern end of the Mississippi River. The map also shows the Battle of Antietam (September 1862), in which Confederate troops under Robert E. Lee were finally halted by a Union army under General George McClellan.

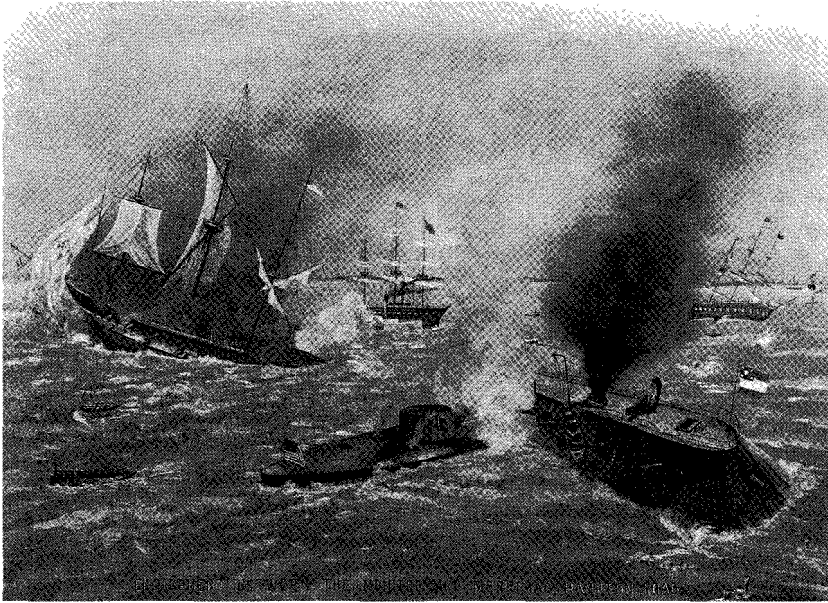
had wrenched control of the upper and lower ends of the river away from the Confederacy.

### Lee's Aggressive Defense of Virginia

Although Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan was well on its way to cutting the Confederacy in two, the northern public thought that the path to victory led to Richmond, the Confederate capital. To maintain public support for the war, Lincoln needed victories over the Confederates in the East. Confederate leaders responded by making the defense of Richmond the South's primary military goal. More supplies and men were assigned to Virginia than to defending Confederate borders elsewhere.

A naval battle early in 1862 cleared the way for a Union offensive against Richmond. Early in the war, Confederate forces had captured a Union ship, the

*Merrimac*. Hoping to break the Union naval blockade around Norfolk, Virginia, Confederate naval architects redesigned the *Merrimac* in a revolutionary way. They encased the entire ship in iron plates and renamed it the *Virginia*. Operating out of Norfolk, the Confederate ironclad sank several nearly defenseless wooden Union blockaders in a single day. The Union navy countered with the *Monitor*, a low-decked ironclad vessel with a revolving gun turret. In March, the *Virginia* and the *Monitor* shelled each other for five hours in the first battle between ironclad ships. Both were badly damaged but still afloat when the *Virginia* with-



Desperate to break the grip of the Union anaconda, the Confederate navy captured the U.S.S. *Merrimac* and converted it into the ironclad C.S.S. *Virginia*. Virtually immune to any weapon carried by Union frigates, the *Virginia* dominated the sea-lanes out of Norfolk. Eager to launch an invasion up the Chesapeake, Union officials commissioned their own ironclad, the U.S.S. *Monitor*, and sent it into battle against the *Virginia*. After five hours of repeated ramming and artillery pounding, the *Virginia* was so badly damaged that it retreated to Norfolk and never saw action again. "Engagement Between Monitor and Merrimac" by J. G. Tanner. National Gallery of Art, Gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch.

drew, and limped back to Norfolk, never to leave harbor again. Nevertheless, the age of wooden battleships was over.

Taking advantage of the *Monitor's* success and Union naval superiority, McClellan transported the entire Army of the Potomac by ship to Fort Monroe, Virginia. The army then marched up the peninsula between the York and James rivers to begin what became known as the Peninsular Campaign. McClellan expected to surprise the Confederates by attacking Richmond from the south (see Map 14.1). In typical fashion, he proceeded cautiously. The outnumbered Confederate forces bluffed McClellan into thinking that he was facing a whole army and slowly retreated to Richmond. On May 31, General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, attacked at Seven Pines, hoping to surprise his opponent. Johnston was severely wounded, forcing Jefferson Davis to find a replacement.

Davis named Robert E. Lee as that replacement. Lee had previously advised Davis and helped organize the defense of the Atlantic coast. Daring, bold, and tactically aggressive, he enjoyed combat, pushed his troops to the maximum, and was well liked by those serving under him. Lee had an uncanny ability to read the character of his oppo

nents, predict their maneuvers, and turn their mistakes to his advantage.

As McClellan worked his way toward Richmond, Stonewall Jackson staged a brilliant diversionary thrust up the Shenandoah Valley toward Washington. Jackson seemed to be everywhere at once. In thirty days, he and his men marched 350 miles, defeated three Union armies in five battles, captured a fortune in provisions and equipment, inflicted twice as many casualties as they received, and confused and immobilized Union forces in the region.

Following Jackson's brilliant campaign, Lee launched a series of attacks to drive McClellan away from the Confederate capital. Over a seven-day period in late June and early July, he forced McClellan to abandon the Peninsular Campaign.

**Army of the Potomac** Army created to guard the U.S. capital after the Battle of Bull Run in 1861; it became the main Union army in the East.

**Peninsular Campaign** McClellan's attempt in the spring and summer of 1862 to capture Richmond by advancing up the peninsula between the James and York rivers.



Fed up with McClellan, Lincoln gave command of the Army of the Potomac to General John Pope. In the Second Battle of **Bull Run**, fought on August 30, 1862, Lee soundly defeated Lincoln's new general. Thoroughly disappointed with Pope's performance and not knowing whom else to turn to, Lincoln once again named McClellan commander of the Army of the Potomac.

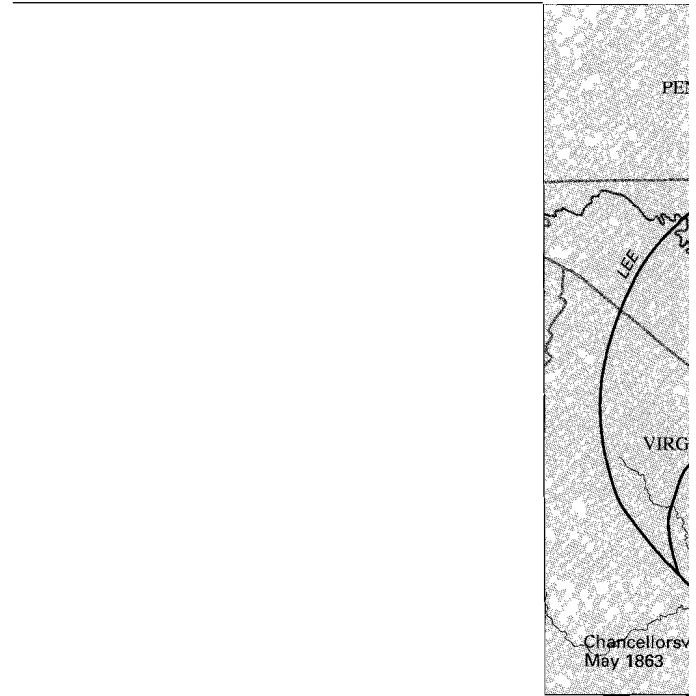
### Lee's Invasion of Maryland

Feeling confident after the victory at Bull Run, Lee devised a bold offensive against Maryland. His plan had three objectives: (1) to move the fighting out of war-torn Virginia so that farmers could harvest food, (2) to acquire volunteers from Maryland, and (3) to gain diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy by Europe. He hoped to force the Union to sue for peace. On September 4, Lee crossed the Potomac into Maryland, dividing his army into three separate attack wings. McClellan learned of Lee's plans when Union soldiers found a copy of Lee's detailed instructions wrapped around some dropped cigars.

If McClellan had acted swiftly on this intelligence, he could have crushed Lee's army piece by piece, but he waited sixteen hours before advancing. By then Lee had learned of the missing orders. After bitter fighting at Fox's Gap, Lee reunited some of his forces at Sharpsburg, Maryland, near Antietam Creek (see Map 14.2). There, on September 17, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia engaged in the bloodiest single-day battle of the Civil War.

The casualties in this one battle were more than double those suffered in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War combined. One Union soldier said of the Battle of Antietam, "The whole landscape turned red." Both armies were exhausted by the bitter fighting, which ended in a virtual draw. After a day of rest, Lee retreated across the Potomac. For the first time, Lee had been stopped.

Nevertheless, Lincoln was displeased with the performance of his army's leadership. He felt that Lee's force could have been destroyed if McClellan had attacked earlier or pursued the fleeing Confederate army. He fired McClellan again, this time for good, and placed Ambrose E. Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.



MAP 14.3 Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg  
This map shows the campaigns that took place during the winter of 1862 and spring of 1863, culminating the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1863). General Meade's victory at Gettysburg may have been the critical turning point in the war.

Burnside moved the army to the east bank of the Rappahannock River overlooking Fredericksburg, Virginia (see Map 14.3). On December 13, in one of the worst mistakes of the war, Burnside ordered a daylong frontal assault against Lee's heavily

Second Battle of Bull Run Union defeat near Bull 1

Run in August 1862; Union troops led by John Pope were outmaneuvered by Lee.

Antietam Creek Site of a battle that occurred in 1  
September 1862 when Lee's forces invaded Maryland; both sides suffered heavy losses, and Lee retreated into Virginia.

Fredericksburg Site in Virginia of a Union defeat in December 1862, which demonstrated the incompetence of the new Union commander, Ambrose E. Burnside.

fortified positions. Federal troops suffered tremendous casualties, and once again the Army of the Potomac retreated to Washington.

## **Diplomacy and the Politics of Emancipation**

The year 1862 ended with mixed results for both sides. Union forces in the West had scored major victories, taking Memphis and New Orleans. But the failure of the Army of the Potomac outweighed the Union's success in the West. Lee's victories, however, carried heavy casualties. A long, drawn-out conflict favored the Union unless Jefferson Davis could secure help for the Confederacy from abroad.

The Confederacy still expected British aid, but nothing seemed to shake Britain's commitment to neutrality. The brilliant diplomacy of Charles Francis Adams, Lincoln's ambassador in London, and the fact that Britain possessed a surplus of cotton helped prevent British recognition of the Confederacy. Finally, any prospects the Confederacy had of recognition disappeared with Lee's failure at Antietam.

Five days after the battle, Lincoln unveiled the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation, which went into effect on January 1, 1863, abolished slavery in rebellious areas. Ironically, the proclamation actually freed no slaves. The four slave states that remained in the Union and Confederate territory under Federal control were exempt from its terms. Moreover, Lincoln had no power to enforce emancipation in areas still controlled by the Confederacy. Lincoln's wording of the proclamation, however, was quite deliberate. He knew that he could not afford to antagonize the slaveholding border states and drive them into the Confederacy. For that reason, the proclamation was not a resounding moral denunciation of slavery.

Still, many northerners considered it a monumental step forward. Frederick Douglass wrote, "We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree." Others, however, thought it carried little significance. Confederate leaders argued that the proclamation merely demonstrated Lincoln's hypocrisy. Conservative British newspapers pointed to the paradox of the proclamation: it de-

dared an end to slavery in areas where Lincoln could not enforce it, but it had no effect on slavery in areas under Lincoln's control. British abolitionists, however, applauded the document, as did Radical Republicans.

Lincoln's new general in chief, Henry Halleck, understood the underlying significance of the proclamation. He explained to Grant that the "character of the war has very much changed within the last year. There is now no possible hope of reconciliation." The war was now about slavery as well as secession. As Lincoln told one member of his cabinet, the war would now be "one of subjugation."

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## **The Human Dimensions of War**

The Civil War placed tremendous stress on American society, both North and South. As men marched off to battle, women faced the task of caring for families and property alone. As casualties increased, the number of voluntary enlistments decreased. The armies consumed vast amounts of weapons, ammunition, food, clothing, and hardware. Government spending was enormous, hard currency was scarce, and inflation soared as both governments printed paper money to pay their debts. Society in both North and South changed to meet an array of constraints as individuals attempted to carry on their lives in the midst of the war's devastation.

### **Instituting the Draft**

By the end of 1862, heavy casualties, massive desertion, and declining enlistments had depleted both armies. Although the North had a much larger population than the South, military fortunes sagged during 1862 and enlistments were low.

Emancipation Proclamation Lincoln's order abolishing slavery in states "in rebellion" but not in border territories still loyal to the Union as of January 1, 1863.

Over a hundred thousand Union soldiers were absent without official leave. State drafts netted few replacements because the Democrats, who made tremendous political gains in 1862, at times refused to cooperate. In March 1863, Congress passed the Conscription Act to ensure enough manpower to continue the war. The law declared all single men between the ages of 20 and 45, and married men between 20 and 35, eligible to be drafted. Draftees were selected by a lottery.

The conscription law offered two ways for draftees to avoid military service. They could hire an "acceptable substitute" or pay a \$300 fee to purchase exemption. In effect, the wealthy were exempt from the law. The burden of service thus fell on farmers and urban workers who were already suffering from high taxation and inflation. Together, conscription and emancipation, which touched on long-standing racial resentments, created a sense of alienation among the urban poor that exploded in the summer of 1863.

Some of the worst urban violence in American history began on July 13 in New York City. Armed demonstrators protesting unfair draft laws rioted for five days, during which many blacks were beaten and six were lynched. Businesses owned by blacks and by people who employed African Americans were ransacked. Thousands of poor Irish Americans and other groups who competed for jobs with blacks joined in the riot.

The rioters vented their rage against Republican spokesmen and officials as well. They hanged Republican journalist Horace Greeley in effigy and sacked the homes of other prominent Republicans. After five days of chaos, a rain of rifle fire from Federal troops put an end to the riots, during which at least 105 people had died. Fearful of more violence, the New York City Council voted to pay the \$300 exemption fee for all poor draftees who chose not to serve in the army.

Conscription in the South also met with considerable resentment and resistance. Believing that slaves would not work unless directly overseen by masters, Confederate officials in 1862 exempted planters owning twenty or more slaves from military service. Like Union exemptions, the southern policy fostered the feeling that the poor were going off to fight while the rich stayed safely at home.



◆ Angered by the fact that rich men were virtually exempt from the draft, frightened by the prospect of job competition from freed southern slaves, and frustrated by the lack of resolution on the battlefield, workingmen took to the streets in New York City during the summer of 1863 to protest against the war. Well-dressed men, African Americans, and leading war advocates were the main targets of mob violence during five days of uncontrolled rioting. Many homes and businesses and the Colored Orphan Asylum were burned. At least 105 people died and many more were injured. *Library of Congress.*

Conscription Act Law passed by Congress in 1863 that established a draft but allowed wealthy people to escape it by hiring a substitute or paying the government a \$300 fee.

**Horace Greeley** Journalist and politician who helped found the Republican party; his newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, was known for its antislavery stance.  
effigy A likeness or image, usually three-dimensional. I

Confederate conscription laws also ran afoul of states'-rights advocates. Southerners developed several forms of passive resistance to the draft laws. Thousands of draftees simply never showed up, and local officials, jealously guarding their political autonomy, made little effort to enforce the draft.

## **Wartime Economy in the North and South**

Although riots, disorder, and social disruption plagued northern cities, the economy of the Union actually grew stronger as the war progressed. Manufacturers of war supplies benefited from government contracts. Textiles and shoemaking boomed as new laborsaving devices improved efficiency and increased production. Congress stimulated economic growth by means of railroad subsidies and land grants to support a transcontinental railroad and higher tariffs to aid manufacturing.

The South began the war without an industrial base and in desperate need of outside help if it was to have any chance of winning. In addition to lacking transportation, raw materials, and machines, the South lacked managers and skilled industrial workers. The Confederate government intervened more directly in the economy than did its Union counterpart, offering generous loans to companies that would produce war materials. Josiah Gorgas started government-owned production plants in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. These innovative programs, however, could not compensate for inadequate industrialization.

The supply of money was another severe problem in the South. The South printed paper money, eventually issuing more than \$1 billion in unbacked currency. The outcome was runaway inflation. By 1865, a pound of bacon cost \$10.

Southern industrial shortcomings severely handicapped the military. Many Confederate soldiers went barefoot because shoes were in such short supply. Ordnance was always in demand. Northern plants could produce over five thousand muskets per day; Confederate production never exceeded three hundred. The most serious shortage, however, was food. Although the South was an agricultural region, most of its productive farmland was devoted to commercial agriculture. Supplies of corn and rice, the primary food products, were continually reduced by military campaigns and Union occupation. Southern cattle were range stock grown for hides and tallow rather than for food. Hog production suffered because of the war. Hunger became part of daily life for the Confederate armies. Before the war ended, many Union soldiers referred to their opponents as "scarecrows."

Southern civilians suffered from shortages as well. Distribution of goods became almost impossible as invading Union forces cut the few Confederate rail lines. The flow of cattle, horses, and produce from the West diminished when Union forces gained control of the Mississippi. Although some blockade runners made it through, their number decreased as the war continued. The fall in 1862 of New Orleans, the South's major port, was devastating to the southern economy. Cities faced food shortages, newspapers were printed on wallpaper, clothes were made from carpet, and pins were made from dry thorns. Cut off from the outside world, the South consumed its existing resources and found no way to obtain more.

## **Women in Two Nations at War**

Because the South had fewer men than the North, a larger proportion of southern families were left in the care of women. Some women worked farms, herded livestock, and supported their families. Others found themselves homeless. Some tried to persuade their husbands to desert. The vast majority, however, fully supported the war effort despite the hardships at home. Women became responsible for much of the South's agricultural and industrial production. As one southern soldier wrote, women bore "the greatest burden of this horrid war."

Women in the North served in much the same capacity as their southern counterparts. They maintained families and homes alone, working to provide income and raise children. Although they did not face shortages of goods or the ravages of battle, they did work in factories, run family businesses, teach school, and supply soldiers. Women assumed new roles that helped prepare them to

become more involved in social and political life after the war.

Women from both sections actively participated in the war. In addition to serving as nurses, they served as scouts, couriers, and spies. More than four hundred even disguised themselves as men and served as active soldiers until they were discovered. General William S. Rosecrans expressed dismay when one of his sergeants was delivered of "a bouncing baby boy." Army camps frequently included officers' wives, female camp employees, and camp followers. One black woman served the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops for years without pay. She taught the men to read and write and bound up their wounds.

### **Free Blacks, Slaves, and War**

The Civil War opened new choices and imposed new constraints for African Americans, both free and slave. At first, many free blacks attempted to enlist in the Union army but were turned away. In 1861, General Benjamin F. Butler began using runaway slaves, called contrabands, as laborers. A few other northern commanders also adopted the practice.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, however, Union officials began recruiting former slaves, forming them into regiments known as the U.S. Colored Troops. Some northern state governments sought free blacks to fill state draft quotas. Agents offered generous bonuses to those who signed up. By the end of the war, about 180,000 African Americans had enlisted in northern armies, and over 200,000 had served in the armed forces. By the end of the war, African Americans accounted for about 10 percent of the Union's military manpower.

Army officials discriminated against African-American soldiers in many ways. Units were segregated, and until 1865 blacks were paid less than whites. All black regiments had white commanders, for the government refused to allow blacks to lead blacks. Only one hundred were commissioned as officers, and no African-American soldier ever received a commission higher than major.

At first, African-American regiments were used as laborers or kept in the rear. But when they were finally sent into battle, they performed so well that

they won grudging respect. These men fought in every theater of the war and had a casualty rate 35 percent higher than that of white soldiers. Still, acceptance by white troops was slow, and discrimination was the rule.

As the war progressed, the number of African Americans in the Union army increased dramatically. By 1865, almost two-thirds of Union troops in the Mississippi valley were black. Some southerners violently resented the Union's use of these troops. African-American soldiers suffered atrocities because some Confederate leaders refused to take black prisoners. At Fort Pillow, for example, Confederate soldiers massacred more than a hundred black soldiers who were trying to surrender.

Probably no other unit acquitted itself better than the 54th Massachusetts. On July 18, 1863, it led a frontal assault on Confederate defenses at Charleston harbor. Despite sustaining heavy casualties, the black troops gained the parapet and held it for nearly an hour before being forced to retreat. Their conduct in battle had a large impact on changing attitudes toward black soldiers.

The war effort in the South relied heavily on the slave population, mostly as producers of food and as military laborers. Slaves constituted over half of the work force in armament plants and military hospitals. The use of slave labor freed southern whites for battle.

### **Life and Death at the Front**

Many volunteers on both sides had romantic notions about military service. Most were disappointed. Life as a common soldier was anything but glorious. Letters and diaries written by soldiers tell of long periods of boredom in overcrowded camps, punctuated by furious spells of dangerous action and long marches when they had to carry 50- to 60-pound packs.

**courier** A messenger carrying official information, sometimes secretly.

**54th Massachusetts** Regiment of black troops from Massachusetts commanded by Robert Gould Shaw; it led an assault on Fort Wagner in Charleston harbor.



◆ The 54th Massachusetts Regiment was an all-black volunteer unit raised, in part, by Frederick Douglass. This Currier & Ives print shows the daring charge that took the parapet of Fort Wagner, South Carolina. Such bravery won grudging respect for African-American soldiers during the war. *Collection of William Gladstone.*

Although life in camp was tedious, it could be nearly as dangerous as time spent on the battlefield. Problems with supplying safe drinking water and disposing of waste constantly plagued military leaders. Dysentery and typhoid fever frequently swept through unsanitary camps. And in the overcrowded conditions that often prevailed, smallpox, pneumonia, and malarial fevers passed rapidly from person to person. At times, as many as a quarter of the uninjured people in camps were disabled by these diseases.

Lacking in resources, organization, and expertise, the South did little to upgrade camp conditions. In the North, however, women drew on the organizational skills they had gained as antebellum reformers and created voluntary organizations to address the problem. Mental health advocate Dorothea Dix (see page 229) was one of these crusaders. In June 1861, President Lincoln responded to their concerns by creating the United States Sanitary Commission, a government agency responsible for advising the military on public health is

sues. "The Sanitary," as it was called, put hundreds of nurses into the field, providing much-needed relief for overburdened military doctors.

Nurses on both sides, most of whom were women, showed bravery and devotion. Often working under fire at the front and with almost no medical supplies, these volunteers nursed sick and wounded soldiers and offered as much comfort and help as they could. Clara Barton, a famous northern nurse known as the "Angel of the Battlefield," called the soldiers her "boys." Unlike Barton, most nurses labored in relative obscurity.

United States Sanitary Commission Government commission established by Abraham Lincoln to improve public health conditions in military camps and hospitals.

Clara Barton Organizer of a volunteer service to aid sick and wounded Civil War soldiers; she later founded the American branch of the Red Cross.

Hospitals were unsanitary, overflowing, and underfunded. One northern nurse noted that the daily food allowance was a mere "eight cents per day" per man.

The problem of dealing with the wounded was unprecedented. New rifled muskets had many times the range of the old smooth-bore weapons used during earlier wars. The effective range of the Springfield rifle used by many Union soldiers was 400 yards, and a stray bullet could still kill a man at 1,000 yards. Waterproof cartridges, perfected by gunsmith Samuel Colt, made these weapons much less prone to misfire and much easier to reload. And at closer range, the revolver, also perfected by Colt, could fire six shots without reloading. Rifled artillery also added to the casualty count, as did exploding artillery shells, which sent deadly shrapnel ripping through lines of men. Many surgeons on the frontlines could do little more than amputate limbs to save lives.

The war exacted a tremendous emotional toll on everyone, even on those who escaped physical injury. As one veteran put it, soldiers had seen "so many new forms of death" and "so many frightful and novel kinds of mutilation."

Conditions were even worse in prison camps. Throughout much of the war, an agreement provided for prisoner exchanges, but as the war dragged on, the exchange system broke down. The major reason was the refusal by Confederate officials to exchange African-American prisoners of war. Those who were not slaughtered like the men at Fort Pillow were enslaved. Also, late in the war, Union commanders suspended all prisoner exchanges in hopes of depriving the South of much-needed replacement soldiers.

The most notorious of the Civil War prison camps was Andersonville in northern Georgia, where thousands of Union captives languished in an open stockade with only a small creek for water. Designed to house 10,000 men, Andersonville held more than 33,000 prisoners during the summer of 1864. As many as 100 men died of disease and malnutrition there each day, and estimates put the death toll at that one prison at nearly 14,000 during the war. In the North, a camp at Elmira, New York, had a similar record for atrocities.

Death became all too familiar to Americans between 1861 and 1865. Eight percent of the white

male population in the United States between the ages of 13 and 43 died in those years. "Death does not seem half so terrible as it did long ago," one Texas woman reported. "We have grown used to it."

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## Waging Total War

As the war entered its third year, Lincoln faced severe challenges on several fronts. The losses to Lee and Jackson in Virginia and the failure to catch Lee at Antietam had eroded public support. Many northerners resented the war, conscription, and abolitionism.

### Lincoln's Generals and

#### Northern Successes

Lincoln had replaced McClellan with Burnside, but the results had been disastrous. Lincoln then elevated General Joseph Hooker. Despite Hooker's reputation for bravery in battle, Lee soundly defeated "Fighting Joe" Hooker at Chancellorsville in May 1863 (see Map 14.3). Lincoln replaced Hooker with General George E. Meade.

Chancellorsville was a devastating loss for the North, but it was perhaps more devastating for the Confederates. On the evening after the battle, Confederate troops mistook Stonewall Jackson's party for Union cavalry and opened fire, wounding Jackson. Doctors amputated Jackson's arm. "He has lost his left arm," said Lee, "but I have lost my right." Eight days later, Jackson died of pneumonia.

In the West, Union forces were mired during the first half of 1863. General Rosecrans was bogged down in a campaign to take Chattanooga, Tennessee. Grant had settled in for a long, drawn-out siege at Vicksburg (see Map 14.4). Nowhere did

**Andersonville** Confederate prisoner-of-war camp in northern Georgia where some fourteen thousand

Union prisoners died of disease and malnutrition.

**Chancellorsville Site** in Virginia where, in May 1863, Confederate troops led by Lee defeated a much larger Union force; Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded in this battle.

there seem to be a prospect for the dramatic victory Lincoln needed.

The summer of 1863, however, turned out to be a major turning point in the war. When Confederate leaders met in Richmond to weigh their options, Davis and his cabinet considered sending troops to relieve Vicksburg. Lee, however, advocated another major invasion of the North. Such a maneuver, he believed, would allow the Confederates to gather supplies and encourage the northern peace movement. Confederate leaders agreed and approved Lee's plan.

Confederates met only weak opposition as they marched into Maryland and Pennsylvania, where they seized livestock, supplies, food, clothing, and shoes (see Map 14.3). Then, on June 30, a Confederate brigade searching for shoes encountered a Union cavalry unit west of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Meade, who had been trailing behind Lee's army, moved his forces into Gettysburg. On July 1, Lee forced the Union army to fall back.

Meade took up an almost impregnable defensive position on Cemetery Ridge. The Confederates hammered both ends of the Union line on July 2 but could gain no ground. On the third day, Lee ordered a major assault on the middle of the Union position. Over thirteen thousand men, led by Major General George E. Pickett, tried to cross open ground and take the hills held by Meade. Pickett's charge was one of the few tactical mistakes Lee made during the war. Meade's forces drove off the attack. The whole field was "dotted with our soldiers," wrote one Confederate officer. Losses on both sides were high, but Confederate casualties during the three-day battle exceeded twenty-eight thousand men, more than a third of Lee's army. Lee retreated, his invasion of the North a failure.

On the heels of Gettysburg came news from Mississippi that Vicksburg had finally fallen. Union forces had been shelling the city continuously for nearly seven weeks, driving residents into caves and shelters, but it was starvation and disease that finally laid waste to the city. On July 4, Vicksburg surrendered. Then on July 9, Port **Hudson** followed suit. The Mississippi River was now totally under Union control. The "Father of Waters," said Lincoln, "again goes unvexed to the sea."

The losses at the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg devastated the Confederates. Cut off from al

most any hope of foreign intervention and low on food, munitions, uniforms, shoes, and weapons, Confederate morale plummeted. As Josiah Gorgas wrote in his diary after the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, "The Confederacy totters to its destruction." But the Confederacy proved more resilient than many expected.

Meade, like McClellan, failed to pursue Lee and his retreating troops, allowing them to escape into Virginia. When he learned of Lee's escape, Lincoln grumbled, "Our Army held the war in the hollow of their hand and they would not close it."

Nor was General Meade Lincoln's only source of irritation. In Tennessee, Rosecrans had moved no closer to Chattanooga. The war, which had appeared to be nearly over, was, in Lincoln's words, "prolonged indefinitely." Lincoln needed a general with killer instincts.

### **Grant, Sherman, and the Invention of Total War**

Two generals rose to meet Lincoln's needs: Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman. These two men invented a new type of warfare—total war—that brought the South to its knees. Both were willing to wage war not only against the government and armed forces of the Confederacy but also against the civilian population. Their goal was to destroy the South's means and will to continue the struggle.

Lincoln placed Grant in charge of all Union forces in the West on October 13. Grant's immediate goal was to relieve Union forces that had captured Chattanooga but had then been besieged by Confederate forces under Braxton Bragg. Grant

Gettysburg Site of a major battle that occurred in Pennsylvania in July 1863 when Lee led Confederate forces in an unsuccessful invasion of the North.

**Port Hudson** Confederate garrison on the Mississippi River that surrendered to Union forces in July 1863, thus giving the Union unrestricted control of the Mississippi.

total war War waged not only against enemy troops but also against the civilian population to destroy morale and economic resources.





- ◆ Disliked by most of his fellow officers because of his coarse behavior and unfounded rumors of binge drinking, Ulysses S. Grant had the right combination of daring, unconventionality, and ruthlessness to wear down Robert E. Lee's forces in Virginia and finally defeat the Confederate army. *National Archives.*

first relieved the pressure on Chattanooga by sending Sherman's troops there. Troops under Sherman and General George H. Thomas then stormed the Confederate strongholds that overlooked the city and drove Bragg's forces out of southern Tennessee. Confederate forces also withdrew from Knoxville in December, leaving the state under Union control. Delighted with Grant's successes, Lincoln promoted him again on March 10, 1864, this time to general in chief. Grant immediately left his command in the West to prepare an all-out attack on Lee and Virginia. He authorized Sherman to pursue a campaign into Georgia.

Grant also suspended prisoner-of-war exchanges. Realizing that the Confederates needed

soldiers badly, he understood that one outcome of this policy would be slow death by starvation for Union prisoners. Cruel though his policy was, Grant reasoned that victory was his primary goal and that suffering and death were unavoidable in war. Throughout the remainder of the war, this single-mindedness pushed Grant to make decisions that cost tens of thousands of lives on both sides but led to Union victory.

On May 4, 1864, Grant marched toward Richmond. The next day, Union and Confederate armies collided in a tangle of woods called The Wilderness near Chancellorsville. Two bloody days of fighting followed, broken by a night during which hundreds of wounded burned to death in brushfires between the two lines. Grant decided to skirt Lee's troops and head for Richmond, but Lee anticipated the maneuver and blocked Grant's route at Spotsylvania. Twelve more days of fighting brought neither side a victory.

Casualties on both sides at Spotsylvania were staggering, but Union losses were especially high. As one Confederate officer put it, "We have met a man, this time, who either does not know when he is whipped, or who cares not if he loses his whole army."

Grant withdrew and attempted to move around Lee, but again Lee anticipated his approach. On June 1, the two armies met once again at Cold Harbor, Virginia. Grant ordered a series of frontal attacks against the entrenched Confederates. Lee's veteran troops waited patiently as Union soldiers marched toward them. Many of the young attackers had pinned their names on their shirts so that they might be identified after the battle. The Confederates fired volley after volley until dead Union soldiers lay in piles. One southerner described Grant's assaults as "incredible butchery."

**The Wilderness** Densely wooded region of Virginia that was the site, in May 1864, of a devastating but inconclusive battle between Union forces under Grant and Confederates under Lee.

**Cold Harbor** Area of Virginia, about 10 miles from Richmond, where Grant made an unsuccessful attempt to drive his forces through Lee's center and

1 capture Richmond.

During the three campaigns, Grant lost sixty thousand troops, more than Lee's entire army. In a single day of frontal assaults at Cold Harbor, Grant lost twelve thousand men. Said Lee, "This is not war, this is murder." But Grant's seeming wantonness was calculated, for the Confederates lost over twenty-five thousand troops. And Grant knew, as did Lee, that the Union could afford the losses but the Confederacy could not. He also saw no other way to end the conflict. Despite diminished manpower and resources, Lee refused to surrender. And so the killing continued.

Now near Richmond, Grant guessed that Lee would expect him to assault the city. Instead, he swung south of Richmond and headed for Petersburg. His objective was to take the vital rail center and cut off the southern capital. Shaken by devastating losses, Grant's generals advanced cautiously, allowing Lee time to respond. Lee rapidly shifted the vanguard of his troops and occupied Petersburg. Grant bitterly regretted the indecision of his generals, feeling that he could have ended the war. Instead, the campaign settled into a siege.

## The Election of 1864 and Sherman's March to the Sea

Lincoln was under fire from two directions. On May 31, 1864, a splinter group of Radical Republicans, concerned that Lincoln would be too soft on southerners after the war, nominated John C. Fremont as their presidential candidate. Lincoln's wing of the party, which began calling itself the Union party, renominated Lincoln in June. To attract Democrats who still favored fighting for a victory, Union party delegates dumped Vice President Hannibal Hamlin and chose Andrew Johnson, a southern Democrat, as Lincoln's running mate.

In August, the Democratic National Convention selected McClellan as its presidential candidate. The Democrats included a peace plank in their platform. Thus Lincoln sat squarely between one group that criticized him for pursuing the war and another group that rebuked him for failing to punish the South vigorously enough.

Confederate president Jefferson Davis also had political problems. As military losses mounted, resistance to the war increased. Several states refused

to comply with the Confederate congress's call for a new draft. Governors in Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina kept troops at home and defied Davis to enforce conscription. Like Lincoln, Davis was under growing pressure to end the war.

The two sides did have several conversations about negotiating a settlement. Lincoln stated his terms: reunion, abolition, and amnesty for Confederates. Davis responded that "amnesty" implied criminal behavior, which he categorically denied, insisting that "independence" or "extermination" was the only possible outcome for the South.

Sherman gave Lincoln the push he needed to win the election. During the summer of 1864, he advanced his army slowly toward Atlanta, one of the South's few remaining industrial centers (see Map 14.4). Only General Joseph E. Johnston's skillful retreats kept Sherman from annihilating his army. But the continuous retreats prompted President Davis to replace Johnston with the more aggressive John Bell Hood. Hood attacked, but Sherman inflicted such serious casualties that Hood had to retreat to Atlanta.

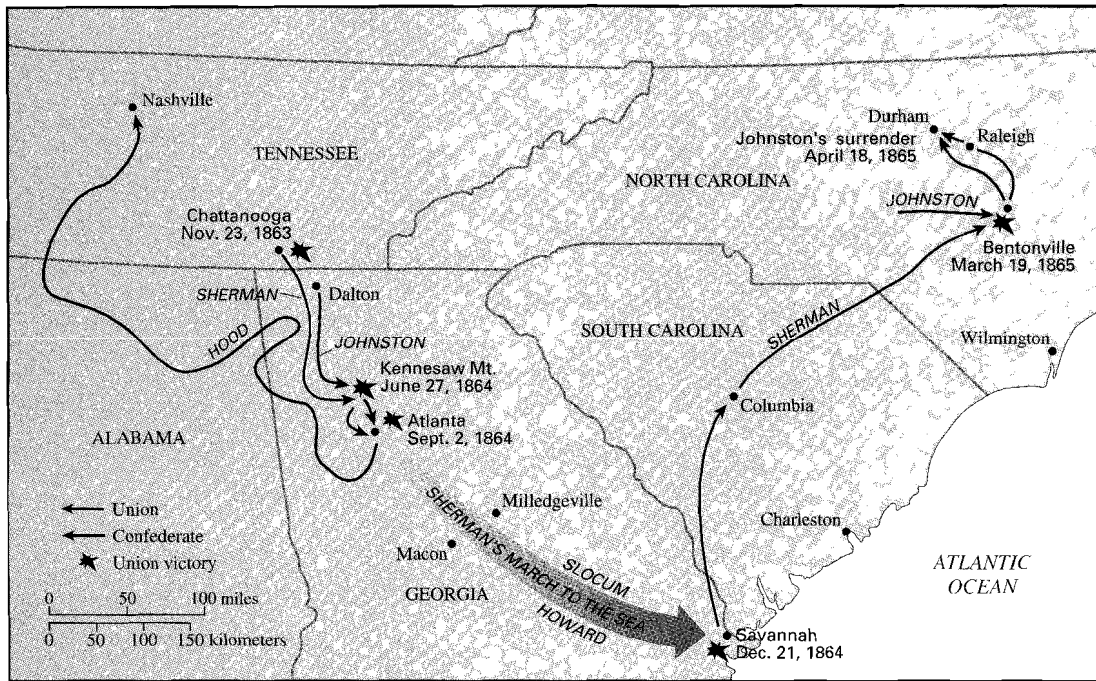
For days, Sherman shelled the city. When a last-ditch southern attack failed, Hood evacuated Atlanta on September 1. Union troops occupied the city the following day. This victory caused despair among Confederates and gave great momentum to Lincoln's re-election campaign.

Lincoln's re-election efforts were also given a boost by General Phil Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. In June, Confederate commander Jubal Early led a raid into Maryland. Sheridan headed off Early's offensive and then pursued him down the Shenandoah. Sheridan's men lived off the land and destroyed both military and civilian supplies whenever possible. Sheridan drove Early from the region in October and laid waste to much of Lee's food supplies.

These victories proved the decisive factor in the election of 1864. They defused McClellan's

**vanguard** The foremost position in any army advancing into battle.

**Andrew Johnson** Tennessee senator who became Lincoln's running mate in 1864 and who succeeded to the presidency after Lincoln was killed.



◆ **MAP 14.4 Sherman's Campaign in the South** This map shows how William Tecumseh Sherman's troops slashed through the South, destroying both civilian and military targets and reducing the South's will to continue the war.

argument that Lincoln was not competent to direct the Union's military efforts and quelled much antiwar sentiment in the North. These victories also caused the Fremont candidacy to disappear before election day. Lincoln defeated McClellan by half a million popular votes but won in the Electoral College by an overwhelming margin of 212 to 21.

The southern peace movement had viewed a Democratic victory as the last chance to reach a settlement. Now all hope of negotiation appeared lost. Despite the bleak prospects, Lee's forces still remained in Petersburg, as did Hood's in Georgia. Southern hopes were dimmed but not extinguished.

Sherman grew frustrated with the occupation of Atlanta and posed a bold plan to Grant. He wanted to ignore Hood, leave the battered Confederates loose at his rear, go on the offensive, and "cut a swath through to the sea." "I can make Georgia howl," he promised. Despite some misgivings, Grant agreed and convinced Lincoln.

A week after the election, Sherman began preparing for his 300-mile March to the Sea (see Map 14.4). His intentions were clear. "We are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people," he stated. By devastating the countryside and destroying the South's ability to conduct war, he intended to break down southerners' will to resist. "We cannot change the hearts of those people of the South," he concluded, but we can "make them so sick of war that generations would pass away before they would again appeal to it." With that, he burned most of Atlanta and then set out for Savannah. His troops plundered and looted farms and

**March to the Sea** Sherman's march from Atlanta to Savannah from November 16 to December 20, 1864, during which Union soldiers carried out orders to destroy everything in their path.

towns on the way, foraging for food and supplies and destroying everything in their path.

As Sherman began moving toward Savannah, Hood seized the opportunity by drawing on Nathan Bedford Forrest's Confederate cavalry for reinforcements to attack General George H. Thomas's Union force at Nashville. Hood struck at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 30, but Thomas's troops shattered the attacking force, leaving the Confederate Army of Tennessee in fragments.

Sherman entered Savannah unopposed on December 20. The March to the Sea completed, Sherman turned north toward Columbia, South Carolina. Sherman's "bummers," so called because they lived off the land, took special delight in ravaging the countryside of South Carolina, which they regarded as the seat of the rebellion. When they reached Columbia, flames engulfed the city. Whether Sherman's men or retreating Confederates started the blaze is not clear.

With the capital in flames, Confederate forces abandoned South Carolina and moved north to join Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina. Union forces quickly moved into abandoned southern strongholds, including Charleston. Major Robert Anderson, who had commanded Fort Sumter in April 1861, returned to raise the Union flag over the fort that he had surrendered four years earlier.

### **The Fall of Lee and Lincoln**

Sherman's marches were the centerpiece of a Union strategy that was a brutal variation on Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan. In concert with Sherman's efforts, other Union armies attacked various southern strongholds. Admiral Farragut had already closed the port of Mobile, Alabama. The primary target, however, was Lee. Grant maintained the siege at Petersburg while Sherman moved north. His goal was to join Grant in defeating Lee and ending the war.

Hoping to keep the Confederacy alive, Lee made a desperate move in early April 1865. Fearing encirclement by Grant's forces, Lee advised Davis to evacuate Richmond. Lee then abandoned his stronghold in Petersburg and moved west as rapidly as possible, toward Lynchburg. From Lynchburg, Lee hoped to use surviving rail lines to move his troops south to join Johnston's force in North Carolina.

Grant ordered an immediate assault as Lee's forces deserted Petersburg. Lee had little ammunition, almost no food, and only thirty-five thousand men. As they retreated westward, hundreds of Confederates collapsed from hunger and exhaustion. By April 9, Union forces had surrounded Lee's broken army. Saying, "There is

nothing left for me to do but go and see General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths," Lee sent a note offering surrender.

The two generals met at the courthouse in Appomattox, Virginia. Grant offered generous terms, allowing Confederate officers and men to go home "so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside." This guaranteed them immunity from prosecution for treason and became the model for surrender. Grant sent the starving Confederates rations and allowed them to keep their horses.

Lee's surrender did not end the war. Joseph E. Johnston's forces did not surrender until April 18, at Durham Station, North Carolina. Even then, Jefferson Davis remained in hiding and called for continued resistance. But one by one, the Confederate officers surrendered to their Union opponents. On May 10, Davis and the Confederate postmaster general were captured near Irwinville, Georgia. The last Confederate general to lay down his arms was Cherokee leader Stand Watie, who surrendered on June 23, 1865.

The price of victory was high for both the winner and the loser. Over 360,000 Union soldiers were killed in action, and at least 260,000 Confederates died in the failed cause of southern independence. The war wrecked the economy of the South. Union military campaigns wiped out most southern rail lines, destroyed the South's manufacturing capacity, and severely reduced agricultural productivity. Both sides had faced rising inflation during the war, but the Confederacy's actions had bled the South of most of its resources and money.

Soldiers and civilians on both sides had faced tremendous adversity. The war exacted a tremendous emotional toll on everyone, even on those who escaped physical injury. Perhaps Carl Schurz, a Union general who fought at Chancellorsville,

Gettysburg, and Chattanooga, best summed up the agony of the Civil War: "There are people who speak lightly of war as a mere heroic sport. They would hardly find it in their hearts to do so, had they ever witnessed scenes like these, and thought of the untold miseries connected with them that were spread all over the land."

But the nation had one more horror to face. On April 11, Lincoln addressed a crowd outside the White House about his hopes and plans for rebuilding the nation, urging a speedy reconciliation between the two sections. Three days later, he joined his wife and some friends for a relaxing evening at the theater. At about ten o'clock, an actor and southern sympathizer named **John Wilkes Booth** entered the president's box and shot him behind the ear. Lincoln died the next morning, leaving the nation with no clear sense of what to expect next.

John Wilkes Booth Actor and southern sympathizer who on April 14, 1865, five days after Lee's 1 surrender, fatally shot President Lincoln at Ford's Theater in Washington.

## SUMMARY)

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Both the Union and the Confederacy entered the war in 1861 with glowing *expectations*. Jefferson Davis *chose* to pursue a defensive strategy, certain that northerners would soon tire of war and let the South withdraw from the Union. Abraham Lincoln *chose* to use the superior human, economic, and natural resources of the North to strangle the South into submission. But many *con-*

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Abel, Annie Heloise. *The Slaveholding Indians*, 3 vols. (1919-1925; reprint, 1992-1993).

This long-ignored classic work focuses on Indians as slaveholders, participants in the Civil War, and subjects of

*straints* frustrated both leaders during the first year of the war.

For Lincoln, the greatest *constraint* was military leadership. Union forces seemed unable to win any major battles despite their numerical superiority. Although Ulysses S. Grant scored victories in the Mississippi valley, Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson defeated every Union general that Lincoln sent to oppose them.

The war's nature and direction changed after the fall of 1862. Lee *chose* to invade Maryland and was defeated at Antietam. After that Union victory, Lincoln *chose* to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, *expecting* that it would undermine southern efforts and unify northern ones. After the proclamation, there could be no *choice* for either side but total victory or total defeat.

Union forces turned the tide in the war by defeating Lee's army at Gettysburg and by taking Vicksburg after a long siege. With an election drawing near, Lincoln spurred his generals to deal the death blow to the Confederacy, and two rose to the occasion. During the summer and fall of 1864, William Tecumseh Sherman made Georgia howl. And Grant, in a brutal campaign in northern Virginia, drove Lee into a defensive corner. In November, buoyed by Sherman's victories in Georgia, Lincoln was re-elected.

In the spring of 1865, Lee made a desperate *choice* to keep the Confederacy alive, racing to unify the last surviving remnants of the once-proud southern army. But Grant surrounded Lee's troops, forcing surrender. Lincoln's assassination a short time later left the nation in shock and a southern Democrat, Andrew Johnson, as president. In North and South, the *outcome* of the Civil War was uncertainty about what would follow.

Reconstruction. Its three volumes have been updated by historians Theda Purdue and Michael

Green. Each volume can stand on its own and will reward the patient reader.

Catton, Bruce. *This Hallowed Ground: The Story of the Union Side of the Civil War* (1956).

Catton is probably the best in the huge company of popular writers on the Civil War. This is his most comprehensive single-volume work. More detailed, but still very interesting, titles by Catton include *Glory Road: The Bloody Route from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg* (1952), *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (1962), *A Stillness at Appomattox* (1953), and *Grant Moves South* (1960).

Escott, Paul D. *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (1978).

An excellent overview of internal political problems in the Confederacy by a leading Civil War historian.

Josephy, Alvin M. *The Civil War in the American West* (1991).

An excellent overview of an often forgotten chapter in the Civil War. A former editor for *American Heritage*, Josephy writes an interesting and readable story.

McPherson, James. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (1988).

Hailed by many as the best single-volume history of the Civil War Era; comprehensive and very well written.

Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederate Nation* (1979).

A classic history of the Confederacy by an excellent southern historian.

Wills, Garry. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (1992).

A prizewinning look at Lincoln's rhetoric and the ways in which his speeches, especially his Gettysburg Address, recast American ideas about equality, freedom, and democracy. Exquisitely written by a master biographer.

*Gettysburg*

Ronald Maxwell directed this four-hour epic detailing one of the Civil War's most famous battles. Based on Michael Shaara's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Killer Angels*, this ambitious film seeks to capture not only the historical events but also the atmosphere and personalities of the era.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## The Choice for Emancipation

### The Context

When Abraham Lincoln became president in 1861, he swore to the nation that he had no intention of interfering with the institution of slavery. But the pressure of war and of politics made that promise difficult to keep. By March 1862, the president was asking Congress to pass a bill compensating slaveholders for the value of their human property if the war brought the institution down. Over the next several months, he discussed various approaches to the thorny problem with members of his cabinet, but publicly he resisted any suggestion of a unilateral presidential order emancipating slaves. Finally, on September 22, 1862, he made an official announcement that shook the nation. The southern states had one hundred days to put down their weapons, or he would use his powers as commander in chief of the U.S. Army and Navy to free every slave in every region of the country that was still at war with the United States. This announcement was the Emancipation Proclamation. (For further information on the context, see page 301.)

### The Sources

**1** In his first inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln swore that he would not threaten the institution of slavery where it existed. He even denied that he had the legal right to do so. Here is what he said:

*I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. . . ."*

*I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most con-*

### The Historical Question

During the years following the Civil War, Republicans heralded the Emancipation Proclamation as the ultimate expression of their party's commitment to American principles and Abraham Lincoln's commitment to liberty. But many questions surround Lincoln's choice to issue the proclamation. If this was a long-standing commitment, why did he wait so long? Why did he choose to free only some slaves and not all slaves? Was there another agenda beyond a commitment to freedom?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions.

What were Abraham Lincoln's **purposes for issuing** the Emancipation Proclamation when and in **the form that** he did?

*elusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration.*

**2** On August 19, 1862, the *New York Tribune* published an open letter to President Lincoln claiming that 20 million people in the United States were "sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of rebels." Lincoln replied:

*My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy Slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about Slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty.*

**3** Less than a month later, Lincoln received a delegation representing Christian interests in Chicago, who echoed the *Tribune's* earlier complaint. Lincoln explained:

*What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative. . . . Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel states? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. . . .*

*I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, . . . I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. . . .*

**4** Four days after Lincoln told the Chicago delegation that an emancipation proclamation would be futile, the Union won a major victory at Antietam. Five days after that, Lincoln issued the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, giving the southern states one hundred days to stop the war. When the South refused to surrender, Lincoln made the following statement:

*Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, so, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose to do so, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate [the following] as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States. . . .*

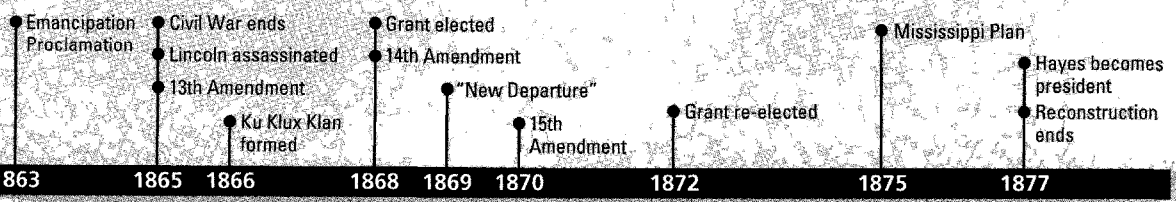
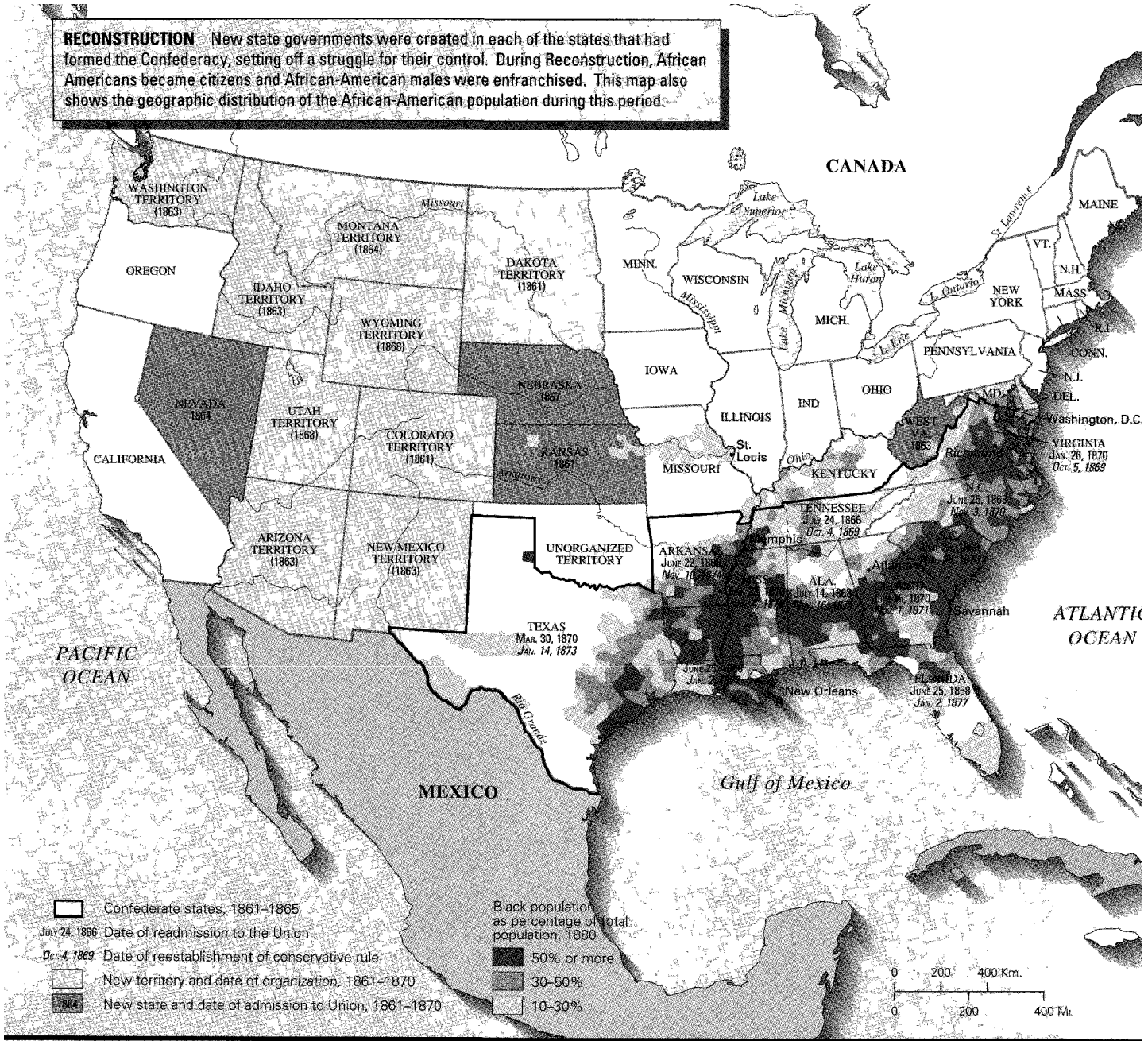
*And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and hence forward shall be free. . . .*

*And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.*





**RECONSTRUCTION** New state governments were created in each of the states that had formed the Confederacy, setting off a struggle for their control. During Reconstruction, African Americans became citizens and African-American males were enfranchised. This map also shows the geographic distribution of the African-American population during this period.



# Reconstruction: High Hopes and Broken Dreams,

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## 1865-1877

### Presidential Reconstruction

- What did President Lincoln and President Johnson expect to accomplish through their reconstruction plans?
- At first, how did white southerners choose to respond to Lincoln's and Johnson's efforts at reconstruction? What were the initial outcomes of the presidents' choices?

- What expectations did southern whites hold at the end of the Civil War? What initial choices did they make to define the legal status of the freed people?

### Freedom and the Legacy of Slavery

- What expectations did freed people hold for freedom? What choices did they make based on those expectations?
-

## **Congressional Reconstruction**

- What did Republicans in Congress expect to accomplish by taking control of Reconstruction? What choices did they make to accomplish those goals?
- How did the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments transform the nature of the federal Union?

## **Black Reconstruction**

- Who made up the Republican party in the South during Reconstruction? Why did each major group choose to be Republican?
- What important choices did Republican state administrations make during Reconstruction? How effective were their actions?

## **The End of Reconstruction**

- What was the Mississippi Plan, and how was it related to the end of Reconstruction?
  - What were the final outcomes of Reconstruction?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

By 1865, the war had touched the life of nearly every American. When the last Confederate military resistance collapsed, some 2.6 million men had served in the Union or Confederate army since 1861—about 40 percent of the male population ages 15 to 40 in 1860. More than six hundred thousand had died. Women made important contributions to the war effort as civilians and even as soldiers.

Except for Gettysburg, the major battles in the Civil War had occurred in the South or the border states. Toward the end of the war, Union armies swept across the South, leaving devastation behind them: burned and shelled buildings, ravaged fields, twisted railroad tracks. This destruction, and the collapse of the region's financial system, posed significant *constraints* on economic revival in the South.

More devastating for many white southerners than the property damage and destruction was the emancipation of four million slaves. In 1861, fearful *expectations* about the future of slavery had caused the South to *choose* secession. The *outcome* of the war made those fears a reality. The end of slavery forced southerners of both races to reconsider their *expectations* and to make a series of *choices* about social, economic, and political relations between the races.

Reconstruction, the period between 1865 and 1877, was a time of physical rebuilding throughout the South. The term "Reconstruction," however, refers primarily to the rebuilding of the federal Union and to the political, economic, and social

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

---

changes that came to the South after the war. Reconstruction involved *choices* about some of the most momentous questions in American history. How was the defeated South to be treated? What was to be the future of the former slaves? Were key decisions to be made in Washington or in the state capitals? Was Congress or the president to establish policies?

As the Republicans reconstructed the Union, they redefined the very nature of the Union. They made *choices* about the terms on which the South might rejoin the Union and about the rights of the former slaves. They also permanently changed the definition of American citizenship.

These changes conflicted with the *expectations* of most white southerners. *Choices* over the future of the South and of the freedmen also produced conflict between the president and Congress. A lasting *outcome* of these *choices* was a significant increase in the power of the federal government and new *constraints* on state governments. In the end, however, the *outcome* of Reconstruction failed to fulfill African Americans' *expectations* for freedom and equality.

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## Presidential Reconstruction

On New Year's Day, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln began the process by which all people in the nation became free by signing the Emancipation Proclamation. Although the proclamation abolished slavery only in territory under Confederate control, where it could not be enforced, every subsequent advance of a Union army brought the reality of emancipation to the Confederacy.

## Republican War Aims

The Emancipation Proclamation established the destruction of slavery as a war aim second in importance only to preserving the Union. Freedom for the slaves became a central concern in part be-

**emancipation** Release from bondage; freedom.

## Reconstruction

1863 Emancipation Proclamation  
Ten-Percent Plan

1864 Abraham Lincoln reelected

1865 Freedmen's Bureau created  
Civil War ends  
Lincoln assassinated  
Johnson becomes president  
Thirteenth Amendment (abolishing slavery)  
ratified

1866 Ku Klux Klan formed  
Congress begins to assert control over  
Reconstruction  
Civil Rights Act of 1866  
Riots by whites in Memphis and  
New Orleans

1867 Military Reconstruction Act  
Tenure of Office Act

1868 Impeachment of President Johnson  
Fourteenth Amendment (defining  
citizenship) ratified  
Ulysses S. Grant elected president

1869-1870 Victories of "New Departure"  
Democrats in some southern  
states

1870 Fifteenth Amendment (guaranteeing voting  
rights) ratified

1870-1871 Ku Klux Klan Acts

1872 Grant re-elected

1875 Civil Rights Act of 1875  
Mississippi Plan ends Reconstruction in  
Mississippi

1876 Disputed presidential election: Hayes  
vs. Tilden

1877 Compromise of 1877  
Hayes becomes president  
End of Reconstruction

cause **abolitionists** were an influential element within the Republican party. This powerful Republican **faction** developed a third objective: citizenship for the former slaves and the equality of all citizens before the law. The people who held what were then considered extreme views on black rights were called Radical Republicans or simply **Radicals**.

Thaddeus Stevens, the Radical leader in the House of Representatives, had argued as early as 1838 that voting rights should be extended to Pennsylvania's free African Americans. He became an uncompromising advocate of equal rights for African Americans. So did Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the leading Radical in the Senate. He had argued for **racial integration** of

Massachusetts schools in 1849 and won election to the U.S. Senate in 1851. A defender of slavery

**abolitionist** Someone who condemned slavery as morally wrong and believed that it should be abolished.

**faction** A group of people with shared opinions and goals who split off from a larger group.

**Radicals** A faction of the Republican party that advocated citizenship for former slaves; Radical Republicans believed the South should be forced to meet congressional goals for reform.

**racial integration** The bringing together of people of different racial groups into unrestricted and equal association in a society or organization.



This engraving celebrating the Emancipation Proclamation first appeared in 1863. Although it places a white Union soldier in the center, it also portrays the important role of African-American troops and emphasizes the significance of education and literacy. *The Library Company of Philadelphia.*

had caned Sumner severely on the Senate floor in 1856 because of his outspoken views against slavery.

Most Radicals demanded a drastic restructuring not only of the South's political system but also of its economy. They had opposed slavery on moral grounds, but they also believed that free labor was crucial to democracy itself. "The middling classes who own the soil, and work it with their own hands," Stevens once proclaimed, "are the main support of every free government." The Radicals concluded that free labor would have to be elevated to a position of honor for the South to be fully democratic.

Not all Republicans accepted the proposals of the Radicals. All Republicans had objected to the expansion of slavery, but not all Republicans had been abolitionists, and not all Republicans wanted to extend citizenship rights to the former slaves. Some moderate Republicans were undecided about the proper course to take. Other moderates favored rapid restoration of the South so that the federal government could concentrate on stimulating economic growth and developing the West.

### **Lincoln's Approach to Reconstruction: "With Malice Toward None"**

President Lincoln and congressional Radicals agreed that emancipation had to be a condition for the return of the South to the Union. However, major differences appeared over other terms for reunion when Lincoln issued a Proclamation of **Amnesty** and Reconstruction (the "Ten-Percent Plan") in December 1863.

The proclamation offered a full pardon to those who swore their loyalty to the Union and accepted the abolition of slavery. Only high-ranking Confederate leaders were not eligible. When those who took the oath amounted to 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election, the pardoned voters were to write a new state constitution that abolished slavery. They were then to elect state officials. Lincoln hoped such leniency would encourage prominent southerners to abandon the Confederacy and to accept emancipation.

Many Republicans thought that Congress should be more involved in restoring the southern states to the Union. Two leading Radicals, Benjamin F. Wade and Henry W. Davis, proposed that 50 percent of a state's white males be required to swear loyalty to the Union before a new civil government could be formed. Congress passed the Wade-Davis bill in

**moderates** Those whose views are midway between two more extreme positions; in this case, Republicans who favored some reforms but not all the Radicals' proposals.

**amnesty** A general pardon granted by a government, especially for political offenses.

July 1864. Lincoln, however, killed it with a **pocket veto**.

Lincoln continued to hope that his Ten-Percent Plan might hasten the end of the war. New state governments were established in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee during 1864 and early 1865. In Louisiana, the new government denied voting rights to black males, and it maintained restrictions on plantation laborers. Radicals complained loudly, but Lincoln urged patience. The Radicals became convinced that freed people were unlikely to receive equitable treatment from state governments formed under the Ten-Percent Plan. Moderate Republicans moved toward the Radicals' position that only **suffrage** could protect the freedmen's rights and that only federal action could secure suffrage for blacks.

All Republicans could agree by 1865 that slavery had to be destroyed permanently. The Emancipation Proclamation had not affected slavery in states such as Delaware and Kentucky, where it remained legal. To destroy slavery forever throughout the Union, Congress in early 1865 approved the Thirteenth **Amendment**.

By December 1865, only nineteen of the twenty-five Union states had ratified the amendment; however, eight of the reconstructed southern states had ratified it, bringing the total to twenty-seven, the number needed for ratification. Thus the abolition of slavery was accomplished by reconstructed state governments in the South.

### Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction

After the assassination of Lincoln in mid-April 1865, Vice President Andrew Johnson became president. A Tennessee Democrat who had been born into poverty, Johnson was the only southerner who did not resign from his U.S. Senate seat after **secession**. Lincoln had appointed him military governor of Tennessee early in the war. Johnson had harsh words for Tennessee secessionists, especially the wealthy planters whom he blamed for secession. Radical Republicans applauded Johnson's verbal assaults on these Confederates. He received the Republican nomination for vice president in 1864 because Lincoln wanted to appeal to Democrats and to Unionists in border states.



♦ Radical Republicans initially hoped that Andrew Johnson would be their ally. Instead he proved to be unsympathetic to most Radical goals. His self-righteous and uncompromising personality led to conflict that eventually produced an unsuccessful effort to remove him from office in 1868. *Library of Congress.*

**pocket veto** The veto that occurs when Congress adjourns before the end of the ten-day period that the Constitution gives the president for considering whether to sign a bill and the president's decision is to "pocket" the bill—that is, not to sign it and let it expire.

**suffrage** The right to vote.

**Thirteenth Amendment** Constitutional amendment ratified in 1865 that abolished slavery in the United States and its territories.

**secession** The withdrawal of eleven southern states from the United States in 1860-1861, giving rise to the Civil War.



The Radicals hoped that Johnson as president would join in their plans for transforming the South. Johnson, however, soon made it clear that he opposed the Radicals. "White men alone must manage the South," Johnson told one visitor. He did recommend that a few freedmen be given limited political roles. But Johnson saw the major task of Reconstruction as empowering the region's white middle class and keeping the planters from regaining power.

In practice, Johnson's approach to Reconstruction differed little from Lincoln's. Like Lincoln, he relied on his power to grant pardons. Despite his bitterness toward the southern elite, he granted amnesty to most former Confederates who pledged loyalty to the Union and support for emancipation.

Johnson appointed provisional governors for the southern states that had not already been reconstructed and instructed them to call constitutional conventions. Some provisional governors, however, appointed former Confederates to state and local offices, outraging those who expected that Unionists would be appointed to these offices.

Johnson expected the state constitutional conventions to abolish slavery within each state, to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and to renounce secession and the state's war debts. The states were then to hold elections and resume their place in the Union. State conventions during the summer of 1865 usually complied with these provisions. Nearly all ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. They renounced secession. However, they all rejected black suffrage.

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## Freedom and the Legacy of Slavery

After the war, African Americans throughout the South set about creating new, free lives for themselves. Slaves and most free blacks in the South had previously led lives tightly constrained by law and custom. They had been permitted few social organizations of their own. Now freed, they faced enormous changes in almost every aspect of

their lives. They quickly developed hopes for a future free from the old constraints.

The central theme of the black response to emancipation was "a desire for independence from white control," historian Eric Foner observes. This desire for autonomy affected every aspect of life: family, churches, schools, newspapers, and a host of other social institutions.

### Defining the Meaning of Freedom

Freedom was not something that Lincoln or the Union armies gave to enslaved blacks. It came, instead, when individual slaves stopped working for a master and claimed the right to be free. Nor did freedom come to all slaves at the same time. For some, freedom had come before the Emancipation Proclamation, when they had walked away from their owners, crossed into Union-held territory, and asserted their freedom. Toward the end of the war, many slaves simply declared their freedom and left their former masters. Owners were surprised when even their most favored slaves left them. For Kentucky slaves, freedom did not come until ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Across the South, the approach of Yankee troops set off a joyous celebration that the slaves called a Jubilee. One Virginia woman remembered that "when they knew that they were free they, oh! baby! began to sing. . . . Such rejoicing and shouting you never heard in your life." A man recalled that with the appearance of the Union soldiers, "We was all walking on golden clouds. Hallelujah!" Black historian W. E. B. Du Bois described it this way: "A great human sob shrieked in the wind, and tossed its tears on the sea,—free, free, free."

**autonomy** Self-government or the right of self-determination.

**W. E. B. Du Bois** American historian and civil rights activist who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and wrote several influential studies of black life in America.



- ◆ Before emancipation, slaves typically made their own simple and rough clothing, or they received the cast-off clothing, of their owners and overseers. With emancipation, those freed people who had an income could afford to dress more fashionably. The Harry Stephens family probably put on their best clothes for a visit to the photographer G. Gable in 1866. *Gilman Paper Company, New York.*

The freed people expressed their new freedom in many ways. Some chose new names. Many changed their style of dress. Some acquired guns. A significant benefit of freedom was the ability to travel without a pass. Many freed people took advantage of this new opportunity. Most, however, traveled only short distances to find work, to seek family members separated from them by slavery, or to return to homes that war had forced them to leave.

Many African Americans felt they had to leave the site of their enslavement to experience full freedom. One woman explained that she left the plantation where she had been a slave because "if I stay here I'll never know I'm free." Many freed people did not return to their former homes because of the poor treatment they had suffered there.

The towns and cities of the South attracted many freed people. The presence of Union troops seemed to offer protection from the random violence that occurred in many rural areas. The cities and towns also offered black churches, schools, and other social institutions begun by free blacks before the war. Urban wages were usually better than those on the plantations. Cities and towns, however, had little housing for the influx of former slaves. Most crowded into black neighborhoods of hastily built shanties where sanitation was poor and disease common.

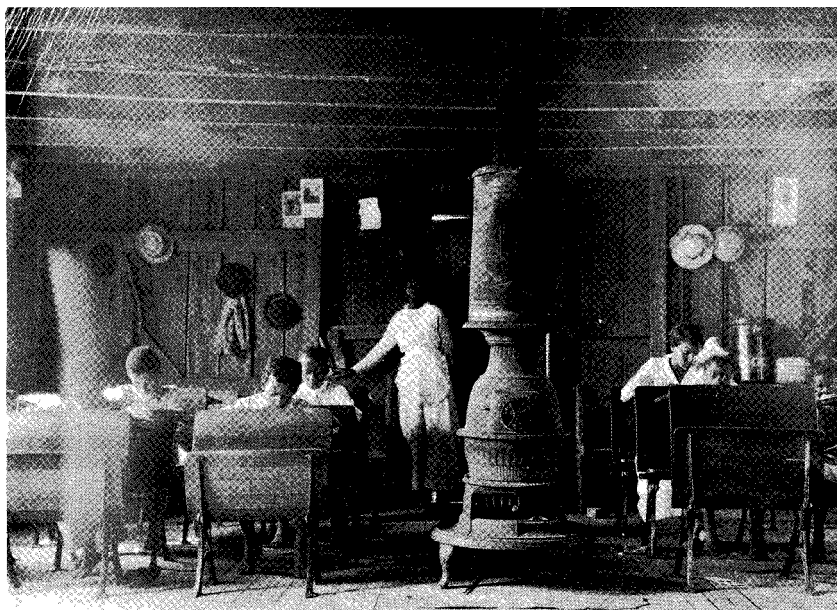
## Creating Communities

During Reconstruction, African Americans created their own communities with their own social institutions.

Freed people hoped to strengthen family ties. Some families were reunited after years of separation caused by the sale of children or spouses. Some spent years searching for lost family members.

The new freedom to conduct religious services without white supervision was centrally important. Churches became the most prominent social organization in African-American communities. Black ministers advised and helped to educate congregation members as they adjusted to the changes brought by freedom. Ministers emerged as important leaders within developing African-American communities.

Freed people understood the importance of education. Setting up a school, said one, was "the first proof" of independence. Many of the new schools were not just for children but also for adults who



. During Reconstruction, freed people gave a high priority to the establishment of schools, often with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau and northern missionary societies. This photograph of a newly established school, showing both the barefoot students and the teacher, was taken around 1870. *Library of Congress.*

had previously been barred from learning by state laws. The desire to learn was widespread and intense. One freedman in Georgia wrote: "The Lord has sent books and teachers. We must not hesitate a moment, but go on and learn all we can."

Public school systems had not existed in much of the South before the war. In many places, freed people created the first public schools. The region faced a severe shortage of teachers, books, and schoolrooms. Northern reformers assisted the transition to freedom by focusing on education.

In March 1865, Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau**, an agency run by the War Department to assist the freed people. The nation's first welfare agency, it helped them find employment or become farmers. Its most lasting contribution, however, was helping to establish a black educational system. Northern aid and missionary societies, together with the Freedmen's Bureau, also established schools to train black teachers. By 1870, the Bureau supervised more than 4,000 schools, with more than 9,000 teachers and 247,000 students. Still, in 1870, the schools had room for only one black child in ten.

African Americans also developed political organizations. In politics, their first objective was recognition of their equal rights as citizens. Frederick Douglass insisted that "slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot." Political conventions of African Americans in 1865 attracted hundreds of delegates. In calling for equality and voting rights, these conventions pointed to black contributions in the Civil

War as evidence of patriotism and devotion. They also appealed to the Declaration of Independence's assertion that "all men are created equal."

### **Land and Labor**

Former slaveowners reacted to emancipation in a variety of ways. Some tried to keep their slaves from learning of their freedom. A very few, like Mary Chesnut of South Carolina, actually welcomed an end to slavery. Few provided any compensation to assist their former slaves. One freedman stated, "I do know some of dem old slave owners to be nice enough to start der slaves off in

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**Freedmen's Bureau** Agency established in 1865 to aid former slaves in their transition to freedom, especially by administering relief and sponsoring education.

freedom wid somethin' to live on . . . but dey wasn't in droves, I tell you."

Many freed people looked to Union troops for assistance. When General Sherman led his army through Georgia in 1864, thousands of African Americans followed. They told Sherman that what they wanted most was to "reap the fruit of our own labor." In January 1865, Sherman responded by issuing Special Field Order No. 15. It set aside forty acres of land in the Sea Islands and coastal South Carolina and provided for the loan of an army mule for each family who settled there. By June, some forty thousand freed people had settled on 400,000 acres of "Sherman land."

Sherman's action encouraged many African Americans to expect that the federal government would order a similar redistribution of land throughout the South. "Forty acres and a mule" became a rallying cry. Land, Thaddeus Stevens proclaimed, would give the freed people control of their own labor. "If we do not furnish them with homesteads," he once said, "we had better left them in bondage."

The Freedmen's Bureau took the lead in the efforts to assist the freed people toward landownership and free labor. At the end of the war, the Bureau controlled more than 850,000 acres of land abandoned by former owners or confiscated from leading Confederates. In July 1865, General Oliver O. Howard, head of the Bureau, directed agents to divide this land into 40-acre plots.

The widespread expectation of "forty acres and a mule" came to an end when President Johnson issued pardons to the former owners of the confiscated land and ordered Howard to return the land to them. Johnson's order displaced thousands of African Americans who had already taken their 40 acres. They and others who had hoped for land now felt disappointed and betrayed. One recalled years later that they had expected "a heap from freedom dey didn't git."

**Sharecropping** slowly emerged across the South once expectations of **land redistribution** evaporated. Sharecropping grew out of the realities of the southern agricultural economy. Landowners owned large tracts but had no one to work them. Both black and white families wanted to raise their own crops but had no land, supplies, or money. The entire region was short of **capital**. Un-



- ◆ Sharecropping gave African Americans more control over their labor than did labor contracts. But sharecropping also contributed to the South's dependence on one-crop agriculture and helped perpetuate widespread rural poverty. Notice that the child standing on the right is holding her kitten, probably to be certain it is included in this family photograph. *Library of Congress.*

der sharecropping, an individual signed a contract with a landowner to rent land. The rent was typically a share of the annual harvest, ranging from a quarter to a third. If the landlord also provided mules, tools, seed, and fertilizer, however, the rent might be half or even two-thirds of the crop. Landowners preferred sharecropping because it encouraged tenants to be productive. Tenants preferred sharecropping to wage labor because they had more control over their work.

**sharecropping** Agricultural system in which tenant farmers give landlords a share of the crops as rent rather than cash.

**land redistribution** The division of land held by large landowners into small plots that are turned over to people without property.

**capital** Money needed to start a commercial enterprise.

Sharecroppers nevertheless often found themselves in debt to a local merchant who had advanced supplies on credit until the harvest came. Many landlords required tenants to patronize the stores they ran. All too often, the debt owed the store exceeded the value of the tenant's share of the harvest. Many southerners, black and white alike, became trapped by sharecropping and debt.

Until the 1890s, the act of casting a ballot on election day was an open process, and any observer could see how an individual was voting. Thus the power of the landlord and the merchant often extended to politics. When a landlord or merchant advocated a particular candidate, the unspoken message was often an implicit threat to cut off credit at the store or to evict a farmer from his plot if he did not vote as directed. Such forms of economic coercion had the potential to undercut voting rights.

### **The White South: Confronting Change**

The slow spread of sharecropping was just one of many ways that the end of slavery transformed the lives of white southerners. For some, the changes were nearly as profound as for the freed people. With Confederate money worthless, savings vanished. Some found their homes and other buildings destroyed. Thousands sold their landholdings and left the South.

Southern whites were unprepared for the extent of change facing them. Their early response to emancipation suggests that, apart from the abolition of slavery, they expected conditions to return to what they had been before the war. The newly reconstructed state legislatures passed black codes in 1865 to define the new legal status of African Americans. Black codes placed significant restraints on the freedom of black people. They required all African Americans to have an annual employment contract, restricted them from moving about the countryside without permission, forbade them from owning guns or carrying weapons, restricted ownership of land, and required those without a job to perform forced labor. The black codes clearly represented an effort by white southerners to define a legally subordinate place for African Americans.

Other white southerners used violence to coerce the freedmen into accepting a subordinate status. Violence and terror became closely associated with the **Ku Klux Klan**, a secret organization formed in 1866. Most Klan members were small-scale farmers and workers, but the leaders were often prominent citizens. Former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest became a leader of the Klan. Klan groups throughout the South aimed to restore white supremacy and to end Republican rule.

Klan members covered their faces with hoods, wore white robes, and rode horses draped in white. So attired, they set out to intimidate leading black Republicans and their white Radical allies. Klan members also attacked African Americans accused of not showing deference to whites. Nightriders burned black churches and schools. The Klan devastated Republican organizations in many communities.

In 1866, two events dramatized for the nation the violence routinely inflicted on African Americans. In May, a three-day riot by whites in Memphis, Tennessee, left forty-five blacks and three whites dead. In New Orleans, some forty people died in July, most of them African Americans attending a black suffrage convention, in an altercation with police. "It was not a riot," insisted General Philip Sheridan, the military commander of the district. "It was an absolute massacre by the police."

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## **Congressional Reconstruction**

By early 1866, most congressional Republicans had concluded that Johnson's Reconstruction policies

**black codes** Laws passed by the southern states after the Civil War to limit the freedoms of African Americans and force them to return to agricultural labor.

**Ku Klux Klan** A secret society organized in the South after the Civil War to resurrect white supremacy by means of violence and intimidation.

**white supremacy** The racist belief that whites are inherently superior to all other races and are therefore entitled to rule over them.

had encouraged the white South to expect that it would be able to govern the region as it saw fit. The black codes, violence against freed people, and the failure of southern authorities to stem the violence turned opinion in Washington against the president's approach to Reconstruction. Increasing numbers of moderate Republicans now joined the Radicals in concluding that southern whites must be constrained.

## **Challenging Presidential Reconstruction**

In December 1865, the Thirty-ninth Congress (elected in 1864) met for the first time. In both houses of Congress, Republicans outnumbered Democrats by more than three to one. The president's annual message proclaimed Reconstruction complete and the Union restored, but few Republicans agreed. Radical Republicans especially had been angered by Johnson's lack of support for black suffrage. To accomplish black suffrage, they needed to assert congressional power over Reconstruction. Most Republicans agreed with the Radicals' commitment to defining and protecting basic rights for the freed people. Most also agreed that Congress had the right to withhold representation from the South until state governments there met these conditions.

When the Thirty-ninth Congress first met, the newly elected congressmen from the South were excluded. Republicans were outraged that such high-ranking former Confederates as Alexander Stephens, the vice president of the Confederacy, stood ready to take his place in Congress. Republicans set up the Joint Committee on Reconstruction to determine whether the southern states were entitled to representation. Thaddeus Stevens, head of the committee, announced that he intended to investigate the whole question of Reconstruction. While the committee worked, the former Confederate states were to have no representation in Congress.

At the same time, Republicans extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau. Congress also passed a civil rights bill that gave citizenship to African Americans and defined the rights of all citizens. Johnson vetoed both measures, but Congress passed them over his veto. Congress had asserted its control over Reconstruction.

## **The Civil Rights Act of 1866**

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 defined all persons born in the United States (with the exception of certain Indians) as citizens. It also listed certain rights of all citizens, including the right to testify in court, own property, make contracts, bring lawsuits, and enjoy "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of

person and property." It authorized federal officials to bring suit against violations of civil rights.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was the first effort to define some of the rights of American citizenship. It stipulated that the rights of national citizenship were to take precedence over the powers of the states. By expanding the power of the federal government in unprecedented ways, the law not only challenged traditional concepts of states' rights but did so on behalf of African Americans.

When President Johnson vetoed the civil rights bill, he argued that it violated states' rights. Johnson may have hoped to generate enough political support to elect a more cooperative Congress in 1866. Instead, the veto led most moderate Republicans to give up all hope of cooperation with him. Congress's passage of the Civil Rights Act over Johnson's veto in April 1866 marked the first time that Congress had overridden a veto of major legislation.

## **Defining Citizenship: The Fourteenth Amendment**

Leading Republicans worried that the Civil Rights Act could be repealed by a later Congress or declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Only a constitutional amendment could permanently safeguard the freed people's rights as citizens.

The Fourteenth Amendment, approved by Congress in June 1866, defined American citizenship in much the same way as the Civil Rights Act of 1866. It then specified:

*No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any*

*person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.*

The Constitution and Bill of Rights prohibited federal interference with basic civil rights. The Fourteenth Amendment extended this protection against action by state governments. The amendment penalized states that did not enfranchise African Americans by reducing their congressional and electoral representation.

Some provisions of the amendment stemmed from Republicans' fears that a restored South might try to undo the outcome of the war. One section barred from public office anyone who had sworn to uphold the federal Constitution but then "engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same." Only a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress could counteract this provision. (In 1872, Congress pardoned nearly all former Confederates.) The amendment also prohibited either federal or state governments from assuming any of the Confederate debt or compensating slaveowners.

Although Congress adjourned in the summer of 1866, the nation's attention remained fixed on Reconstruction. The bloody riots in Memphis and New Orleans kept northern attention focused on the South. Johnson, who opposed the Fourteenth Amendment, also undertook a speaking tour in which he urged voters to turn the fall election into a referendum on Reconstruction policies. His reckless tirades alienated many who heard him. Republicans swept the 1866 elections, outnumbering Democrats 143 to 49 in the new House of Representatives, and 42 to 11 in the Senate.

## **Radicals in Control: impeachment of the President**

By March 1867, it was clear that the Fourteenth Amendment had fallen short of ratification. The amendment had been rejected by twelve states: Delaware, Kentucky, and all the Confederate states except Tennessee. Moderates became more receptive to other proposals put forth by the Radicals.

The Military Reconstruction Act of 1867, passed on March 2 over Johnson's veto, divided the Confederate states (except Tennessee) into five military

districts, each governed by a military commander. The act established a military occupation of the South—the only such episode in American history. The ten states were to hold constitutional conventions, and all adult male citizens were to vote, except former Confederates barred from office under the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. The constitutional conventions were to create new state governments that permitted black suffrage and that ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Then, perhaps, Congress might recognize those state governments as valid.

On March 2, Congress also limited some of Johnson's constitutional powers. The Tenure of Office Act specified that officials appointed with the Senate's consent were to remain in office until the Senate approved a successor. This measure was intended to prevent Johnson from replacing federal officials who opposed his policies.

Some Radicals soon began to consider impeaching Johnson for his obstruction of their policies. The House Judiciary Committee initially found no convincing evidence of misconduct. Johnson, however, confronted Congress over the Tenure of Office Act by removing Edwin Stanton, a Lincoln appointee, from his cabinet post as secretary of war. This action provided the Radicals with grounds for impeachment. On February 24, 1868, the House approved a recommendation for impeachment based on charges stemming from the Stanton affair. The actual motivation was that the Radicals disagreed with Johnson's actions and disliked him.

Johnson remained president after the Senate voted on his impeachment in May 1868 by the narrowest of margins. Thirty-five senators voted in favor of conviction, one vote short of the required two-thirds majority. Moderate Republicans who

**enfranchise** To grant the right to vote to a person or group of people.

**referendum** The submission to the public for its approval or disapproval of a law passed or proposed by the legislature.

**impeach** To formally charge a public official with improper conduct in office and to bring the official to trial for that offense.

regarded the charges against Johnson as dubious thus saved his presidency.

## **Political Terrorism and the Election of 1868**

Shortly after the impeachment vote, the Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant for president. Grant seemed the right person to end the conflict between the White House and Congress. During the war, he had fully supported Lincoln and Congress in implementing emancipation. By 1868, he had committed himself to the congressional view of Reconstruction. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, a former governor of New York, and focused most of their campaign against Reconstruction.

In the South, the campaign stirred up fierce activity by the Ku Klux Klan and similar groups. **Terrorists** assassinated an Arkansas congressman, three members of the South Carolina legislature, and several delegates to state constitutional conventions. Mobs attacked Republican newspaper offices and campaign meetings. Such coercion had its intended effect. In St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, where two hundred blacks were killed, not a single Republican vote was cast on election day.

Despite such violence, many Americans probably expected a calmer political future. In June 1868, Congress had readmitted seven southern states that met its requirements, which included ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment. In July, the Fourteenth Amendment was declared ratified. In August, Thaddeus Stevens died. In November, Grant won the presidency, taking twenty-six of the thirty-four states and 53 percent of the vote.

## **Voting Rights and Civil Rights**

Grant's election confirmed that Reconstruction was not likely to be overturned. Radical Republicans now addressed voting rights for all African Americans. As of 1869, voting rights were still defined by the states, and only seven northern states allowed blacks to vote. To guarantee the voting rights of blacks everywhere, Congress approved the **Fifteenth Amendment** in February 1869.

Widely considered to be the final step in Reconstruction, the amendment prohibited states from denying the right to vote because of a person's "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Democrats condemned the amendment as a "revolutionary" change in the rights of states.

Susan B. Anthony and other advocates of woman suffrage opposed the amendment for a different reason: it ignored restrictions based on sex. Before emancipation, supporters of woman suffrage had been among the staunchest opponents of slavery. Now many woman-suffrage advocates urged that the vote be extended to women and black men at the same time. The break between the women's movement and the black movement was patched over somewhat once black suffrage was accomplished, but the wounds never completely healed.

Despite such opposition, within thirteen months the proposed amendment had been ratified by the states. Success came in part because Republicans who had been reluctant to impose black suffrage in the North recognized that the party's future success required black suffrage in the South.

The Fifteenth Amendment did nothing to reduce the violence that had become almost routine in the South. When Klan activity escalated in 1870, southern Republicans turned to Washington for support. In 1870 and 1871, Congress enacted the so-called Ku Klux Klan Acts to enforce the rights specified in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The prosecution of Klansmen began in 1871. Hundreds were indicted in North Carolina, and many were convicted. In Mississippi, federal officials indicted nearly seven hundred. In South Carolina, President Grant declared martial law and sent federal troops to occupy the region. Hundreds

↳ **terrorists** Those who use threats and violence, often against innocent parties, to achieve ideological or political goals.

**Fifteenth Amendment** Constitutional amendment ratified in 1870 that prohibits states from denying the right to vote because of a person's race or because a person used to be a slave.



of arrests followed. By 1872, federal intervention had broken the strength of the Klan.

Congress passed one final Reconstruction measure, largely because of the persistence of Charles Sumner. Passed after Sumner's death, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 prohibited racial **discrimination** in the selection of juries, in public transportation, and in public **accommodations**.

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## Reconstruction

Congressional Reconstruction set the stage for new developments throughout the South, as newly enfranchised black men organized for political action. **Black Reconstruction** began with the efforts of African Americans to take part in politics as early as 1865 and lasted until 1877.

### The Republican Party in the South

Nearly all blacks who took an active part in politics did so as Republicans. Throughout Reconstruction, they formed a large majority of the Republican party's supporters in the South. The southern wing of the party also included transplanted northerners and some native white southerners.

Suffrage made politics important in African-American communities. In Louisiana and South Carolina, more than half of the delegates to state constitutional conventions were black. With suffrage established, African Americans began to be elected to public office. Between 1869 and 1877, fourteen black men served in the national House of Representatives and two in the U.S. Senate.

At the state level, blacks were most likely to be elected to the relatively unimportant offices of lieutenant governor and secretary of state. More than six hundred black men served in southern state legislatures during Reconstruction, three-quarters of them in just four states: South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. Only in South Carolina did African Americans ever have a majority in the state legislature.

## Black

Most African-American officeholders had some education and had been born free. Of the eighteen who served in statewide offices, only three had been slaves. Blanche K. Bruce was one of these. He had been educated, however, and after the war he attended Oberlin College in Ohio. He then moved to Mississippi, where he was elected U.S. senator in 1875.

Black Republicans achieved power only by securing at least some support from whites. Opponents referred to white Republicans as either **carpetbaggers** or **scalawags**. Both groups included idealists but also included some opportunists who hoped only to fatten their own purses.

Southern Democrats used the term "carpetbagger" to suggest that northerners who came to the South after the war were second-rate opportunists, with their belongings packed in a cheap bag made of carpet. In fact, most northerners who came south were well-educated people from middle-class backgrounds. Most men had served in the Union army and moved South soon after the war to pursue financial opportunities, not politics. Some had left behind prominent roles in northern communities. Others hoped to transform the South by creating new institutions based on free labor and free schools. Carpetbaggers made up a sixth of the delegates to the state constitutional conventions but often took key roles in the conventions and the state legislatures.

**discrimination** Treatment based on class or racial category rather than on merit; prejudice.

**public accommodations** Places such as hotels, bars and restaurants, and theaters set up to do business with anyone who can pay the price of admission.

**Black Reconstruction** The period of Reconstruction when African Americans took an active role in state and local government.

**carpetbagger** Derogatory southern term for the northerners who came to the South after the Civil War to take part in Reconstruction.

**scalawag** Derogatory southern term for white southerners who aligned themselves with the Republican party.



◆ This lithograph from 1883 depicts prominent African-American men, several of whom had leading roles in Black Reconstruction. *Library of Congress.*

Southern Democrats reserved their greatest contempt for scalawags—a term used to describe completely unscrupulous and worthless people. Scalawags were white southerners who became Republicans. Many had been political foes of the Democrats before the war. They made up the largest single category of delegates to the state constitutional conventions. Scalawags included many southern Unionists and others who thought the Republicans offered the best hope for economic recovery. Scalawags included small-town merchants, artisans, and professionals. Others were small-scale farmers from the backcountry, who had traditionally opposed plantation owners. For them, Reconstruction promised an end to political domi

nation by the plantation counties. Still others had been Whigs before the Civil War.

Despite differences, freedmen, carpetbaggers, and scalawags used the Republican party to inject new ideas into the South. Throughout the South, Republican governments extended the role of state and local government and expanded public institutions. They established or expanded schools, hospitals, orphanages, and penitentiaries.

### **Creating an Educational System and Fighting Discrimination**

Free public education was perhaps the most permanent legacy of Black Reconstruction. Reconstruction constitutions required tax-supported public schools. Implementation, however, was expensive and proceeded slowly. By 1875, only half of southern children attended public schools.

The Reconstruction state governments debated whether white and black children should attend the same schools. Most blacks probably favored **integrated** schools. Southern whites, however, warned that integration would drive whites away. Only Louisiana and South Carolina did not mandate that schools be segregated. Most blacks probably agreed with Frederick Douglass that separate schools were "infinitely superior" to no public education.

Funding for the new schools was rarely adequate. They had to be funded largely through property taxes, and property tax revenues declined during the 1870s as property values fell. Creating and operating two educational systems, one white and one black, was expensive. Black schools almost always received less support than white schools.

Reconstruction state governments moved toward equal rights in other areas. The new state constitutions prohibited discrimination and protected

**integrated** Open to people of all races and ethnic groups without restriction.

**property taxes** Taxes paid by property owners according to the value of their property; often used in the United States to provide funding for local schools.

civil rights. Some states guaranteed equal access to public transportation and public accommodations. White Republicans, however, often opposed such laws. Such conflicts pointed up the internal divisions within the southern Republican party. Even when equal access laws were passed, they were often not enforced.

## Railroad Development and Corruption

Republicans nationally sought to use the power of government to stimulate economic growth. They typically encouraged railroad construction. In the South, Reconstruction governments granted state land to railroads, loaned them money, or helped to underwrite bonds. Sometimes they promoted railroads without finding out whether companies were financially sound. Such efforts often failed. During the 1870s, only 7,000 miles of new track were laid in the South, compared to 45,000 miles in the North.

Railroads sometimes tried to secure favorable treatment by bribing public officials, and all too many accepted their offers. The post-Civil War period saw the ethics of public officials reach a low point. From New York City to Mississippi, revelations and allegations of corruption became staples in political campaigning.

Conditions in the South were especially ripe for political corruption. Opportunities abounded for the ambitious and unscrupulous. Reconstruction governments included many whites and blacks who had only modest holdings but aspired to better things. One South Carolina legislator bluntly said: "I was pretty hard up, and I did not care who the candidate was if I got two hundred dollars." Corruption seemed especially prominent among Republicans only because they held the most important offices. Still, some Reconstruction Republicans remained scrupulously honest. In fact, Mississippi's government under Republican rule was far more honest than it had been under prewar Democratic rule.

to maintain white supremacy and to restore elements of a bound labor system. They used terrorism against the advocates of black rights. Such resistance, however, had caused Congress to pass more severe terms for Reconstruction. This backlash drove some southern opponents of Reconstruction to rethink their strategy.

## The "New Departure"

By 1869, some leading southern Democrats had abandoned their resistance to change and had chosen instead to accept key Reconstruction measures. At the same time, they also tried to restore the political rights for former Confederates. The **New Departure** Democrats believed that continued resistance would only prolong federal intervention in state politics.

Sometimes southern Democrats supported conservative Republicans. The outcome of this strategy was to dilute Radical influence in state government. Democrats first tried this strategy in Virginia. There William Mahone, a leading Democrat, forged a political coalition that accepted black suffrage. Mahone's organization then elected a northern-born, moderate Republican banker as governor. In this way, Virginia became the only Confederate state to avoid Radical Republican rule.

Similar coalitions won in Tennessee in 1869 and in Missouri in 1870. Leading Democrats elsewhere also endorsed the New Departure. They attacked Republicans more for raising taxes and increasing state spending than for their racial policies. Whenever possible, they added charges of corruption.

**equal access** The right of any group to use a public facility such as streetcars as freely as all other groups.  
**underwrite** To assume financial responsibility for; in this case, to guarantee the purchase of bonds so that a project can go forward.

**New Departure** A policy of cooperation with key Reconstruction measures that leading southern Democrats adopted in the hope of winning compromises favorable to their party.

**coalition** An alliance, especially a temporary one of different people or groups.

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**The End**

## of Reconstruction

Most white southerners resisted the new social order imposed on them. They created the black codes

Such campaigns brought a positive response from many taxpayers because southern tax rates had risen dramatically to support the new schools, subsidies for railroads, and other new programs.

The victories of New Departure Democrats coincided with terrorist activity aimed at Republicans. In Colfax, Louisiana, whites killed 280 African Americans in 1872 in the bloodiest racial incident of the Reconstruction era. A few southern Republicans responded by proposing to create black militias. Most Republicans, however, feared that this might provoke a race war. In most of the South, the suppression of Klan terrorism came only with federal action.

### **The 1872 Election**

The New Departure movement coincided with a division within the Republican party. The Liberal Republican movement began in 1870 as a revolt against corruption in the Grant administration. Liberal Republicans found allies among Democrats when they came out against the Radicals.

Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, won the Liberal nomination for president. Although Greeley had long opposed the Democrats, the Democrats also nominated him. The Liberal Republicans and Democrats were united almost solely by their opposition to Grant and the Radicals. Few Republicans found Greeley an attractive alternative to Grant, and Greeley alienated many northern Democrats by calling for the prohibition of alcohol. Grant won convincingly in 1872 (see Map 15.1). He carried 56 percent of the vote and captured every northern state.

### **Redemption by Terror: The "Mississippi Plan"**

After 1872, southern whites began to abandon the Republicans. The region became polarized largely along racial lines, and the elections of 1874 proved disastrous for Republicans. Democrats won over two-thirds of the South's seats in the House of Representatives and "redeemed" Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas—meaning they regained political control of these states.

Republican candidates in 1874 lost in many parts of the North because of the economic depression that began in 1873. After the 1874 elections, Democrats outnumbered Republicans in the House by 169 to 109. Southern Republicans could no longer look to Congress for assistance.

Terrorism against black Republicans and their remaining white allies played a role in the victory of the

**Redeemers** in 1874. The Klan had worn disguises and ridden at night, but Democrats now openly formed rifle companies and marched and drilled in public. In some areas, armed whites prevented African Americans from voting.

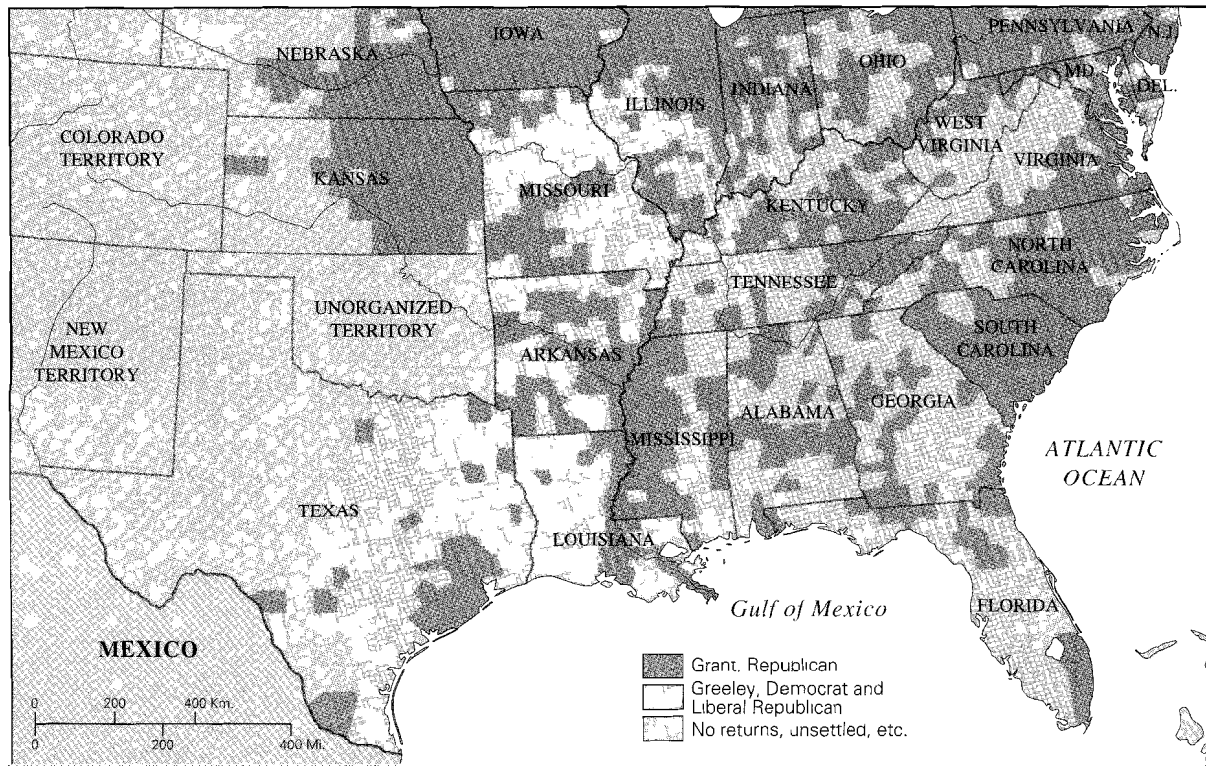
Political violence reached such an extreme in Mississippi in 1875 that the use of terror to overthrow Reconstruction became known as the Mississippi Plan. Democratic rifle clubs operated freely, attacking Republican leaders in broad daylight. When Mississippi's carpetbagger governor, Adelbert Ames, requested federal help, President Grant declined to give it. The president had grown weary of the continuing costs of Reconstruction and the seemingly endless bloodshed that it occasioned. The Democrats swept the Mississippi elections. When the legislature convened, it removed the black Republican lieutenant governor from office. The legislature then brought similar impeachment charges against Governor Ames. Ames resigned and left the state.

### **The Compromise of 1877**

In 1876, the nation stumbled through a potentially dangerous presidential election. As revelations of corruption grew nationally, the issue of reform took center stage. The Democratic party nominated Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York, as

**depression** A period of drastic decline in a national or international economy, characterized by decreasing business activity, falling prices, and unemployment.

**Redeemers** Southern Democrats who hoped to bring the Democratic party back into power and to suppress Black Reconstruction.



**MAP 15.1. Popular Vote for President in the South, 1872** This map shows which candidate carried each county in the southern United States in 1872. Looking at both this map and the chapter opener map, you can see the relationship between Republican voting and African-American population, as well as where the southern Republican party drew strong support from white voters.

its presidential candidate. Tilden had earned a reputation for reform by opposing the Tweed Ring, the corrupt Democratic political machine that ran New York City government. The Republicans also selected a reform candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, a Civil War general and governor of Ohio. Hayes's unblemished reputation proved to be his greatest asset.

First election reports indicated a close victory for Tilden, who carried most of the South and crucial northern states such as New York and Indiana. But in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, Republicans still controlled the counting of ballots. Republican election boards in those states rejected enough ballots to give Hayes those three states and thus a one-vote margin of victory in the Electoral College.

The Democrats cried fraud. Some vowed to see Tilden inaugurated by force if necessary. For the first time,

Congress had to face the problem of disputed electoral votes that could decide an election. To resolve the problem, Congress created a commission consisting of five senators, five representatives, and five Supreme Court justices. Eight Republicans and seven Democrats sat on the commission.

The nation braced itself for a potentially violent confrontation. However, as commission hearings droned on into February 1877, informal discussions took place among leading Republicans and Democrats. The result was a series of informal agree-

ments usually called the **Compromise of 1877**. Southern Democrats demanded **home rule**, by which they meant an end to federal intervention in southern politics. They also called for federal subsidies for railroad construction and waterways in the South. In return, southern Democrats were willing to abandon Tilden's claim to the White House if the commission ruled for Hayes.

Most of the agreements that were part of the Compromise of 1877 were kept. By a straight party vote, the commission confirmed the election of Hayes. Soon after his peaceful inauguration, he ordered the last of the federal troops withdrawn from the South. The Radical era of a powerful federal government pledged to protect "equality before the law" for all citizens was over. Without federal protection, the last three Republican state governments fell in 1877. The party of white supremacy held sway in every southern state.

The Compromise of 1877 marked the end of Reconstruction. The war was more than ten years in the past, and the passions it had stirred had slowly cooled. Many who had yearned to punish the South for its treason turned to other matters. Some reformers concentrated on civil service or currency issues. A major depression in the mid-1870s, unemployment and labor disputes, the growth of industry, the emergence of big business, and the economic development of the West focused public attention on economic issues.

### After Reconstruction

Southern Democrats read the events of 1877 as their permit to establish new systems of politics and race relations. Most Redeemers set out to reduce taxes, to dismantle Reconstruction legislation and agencies, to take political influence away from black citizens, and eventually to reshape the South's legal system to establish African Americans as subordinate. They also began the process of turning the South into a one-party region.

Although voting and officeholding by African Americans did not cease in 1877, the political context changed profoundly once they lost federal enforcement of their rights. The threat of violence from nightriders and the potential for economic re

taliation sharply reduced independent action by African Americans. Black political leaders increasingly recognized that efforts to mobilize black voters posed dangers to both candidates and voters. The public schools remained, segregated and underfunded, but important as both a symbol and a real opportunity to learn. Many Reconstruction era laws remained on the books.

Not until the 1890s did black disfranchisement and thoroughgoing racial segregation become widely embedded in southern law (see page 396). From the mid-1870s to the late 1890s, the South lived an uneasy compromise: African Americans had certain constitutional rights, but they exercised their rights at the sufferance of the dominant whites. Such a compromise bore the seeds of future conflict.

For generations after 1877, Reconstruction was held up as a failure. The southern version of Reconstruction—that conniving carpetbaggers and scalawags had manipulated ignorant freedmen—appealed to the racial bias of many white Americans in the North and South alike, and it gained widespread acceptance among novelists, journalists, and historians. Thomas Dixon's popular novel *The Clansman* (1905) inspired the highly influential film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Historically inaccurate and luridly racist, the book and the movie portrayed Ku Klux Klan members as heroes who rescued the white South, and especially white southern women, from domination and debauchery at the hands of depraved freedmen and carpetbaggers. Although black historians such as W. E. B. Du Bois challenged this picture of Reconstruction, it was not until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s that large numbers of American historians began to reconsider Reconstruction.

**Compromise of 1877** Compromise in which southern Democrats agreed to allow the Republican candidate the victory in the disputed presidential election in return for the removal of federal troops from the South.

**home rule** Self-government; in this case, an end to federal intervention in the South.

Historians today recognize that Reconstruction was not the failure that had earlier been claimed. The creation of public schools was but one of the important changes in southern life. At a federal level, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments eventually were used to restore the principle of equality before the law. Historians also recognize that Reconstruction collapsed not so much because of internal flaws as because of the political terrorism that was unleashed in the South against blacks and Republicans.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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At the end of the Civil War, the nation faced difficult *choices* regarding the future of the defeated South and the future of the freed people. Committed to an end to slavery, President Lincoln *chose* a lenient approach to restoring states to the Union. When Johnson became president, he continued Lincoln's approach.

The end of slavery brought new *expectations* for all African Americans. Taking advantage of the *choices* that freedom opened, they tried to create independent lives for themselves and developed social institutions that helped to define black communities. Few were able to acquire land of their own. Most became either wage laborers or sharecroppers. White southerners *expected* to keep African Americans subordinate through black codes and violence.

In reaction against the black codes and violence, Congress *chose* to wrest control of Reconstruction from President Johnson. An attempt to remove Johnson from the presidency was unsuccessful. Reconstruction measures included the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. One *outcome* of these measures was to strengthen the federal government at the expense of the states.

Enfranchised freedmen, transplanted northerners, and some southern whites created a southern Republican party that governed most southern states for a time. The most lasting contribution of these state governments was the creation of public school systems. Like government

officials elsewhere, however, some southerners fell prey to corruption.

In the late 1860s, many southern Democrats *chose* a "New Departure": they grudgingly accepted some features of Reconstruction and sought to recapture control of state governments. The 1876 presidential election was hotly disputed, but key Republicans and Democrats *chose* to compromise. The Compromise of 1877 permitted Hayes to take office and brought Reconstruction to an end. Without further federal protection for their civil rights, African Americans faced severe *constraints* in exercising their rights. Sharecropping consigned most to a subordinate economic status. Terrorism, violence, and even death confronted those who *chose* to challenge their subordinate social role. The *outcome* of Reconstruction was white supremacy in politics, the economy, and social relations.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Donald, David. *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (1970).

A good account not just of this important Radical leader but of important Reconstruction issues.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (1935; reprint, 1969).

Written more than a half-century ago, Du Bois's book is still useful for both information and insights.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (1988).

The most thorough recent treatment, incorporating insights from many historians who have written on the subject during the past forty years. Also available in a condensed version.

Litwack, Leon F. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (1979).

Focuses on the experience of the freed people.

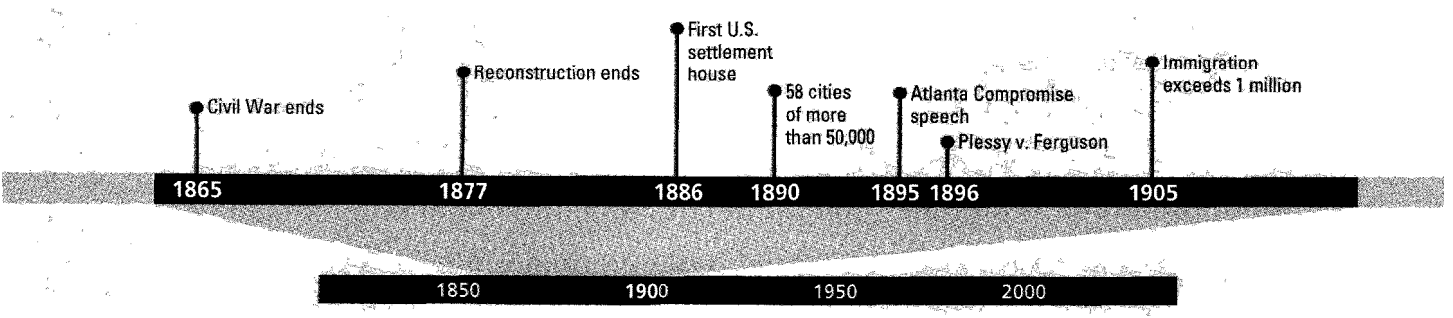
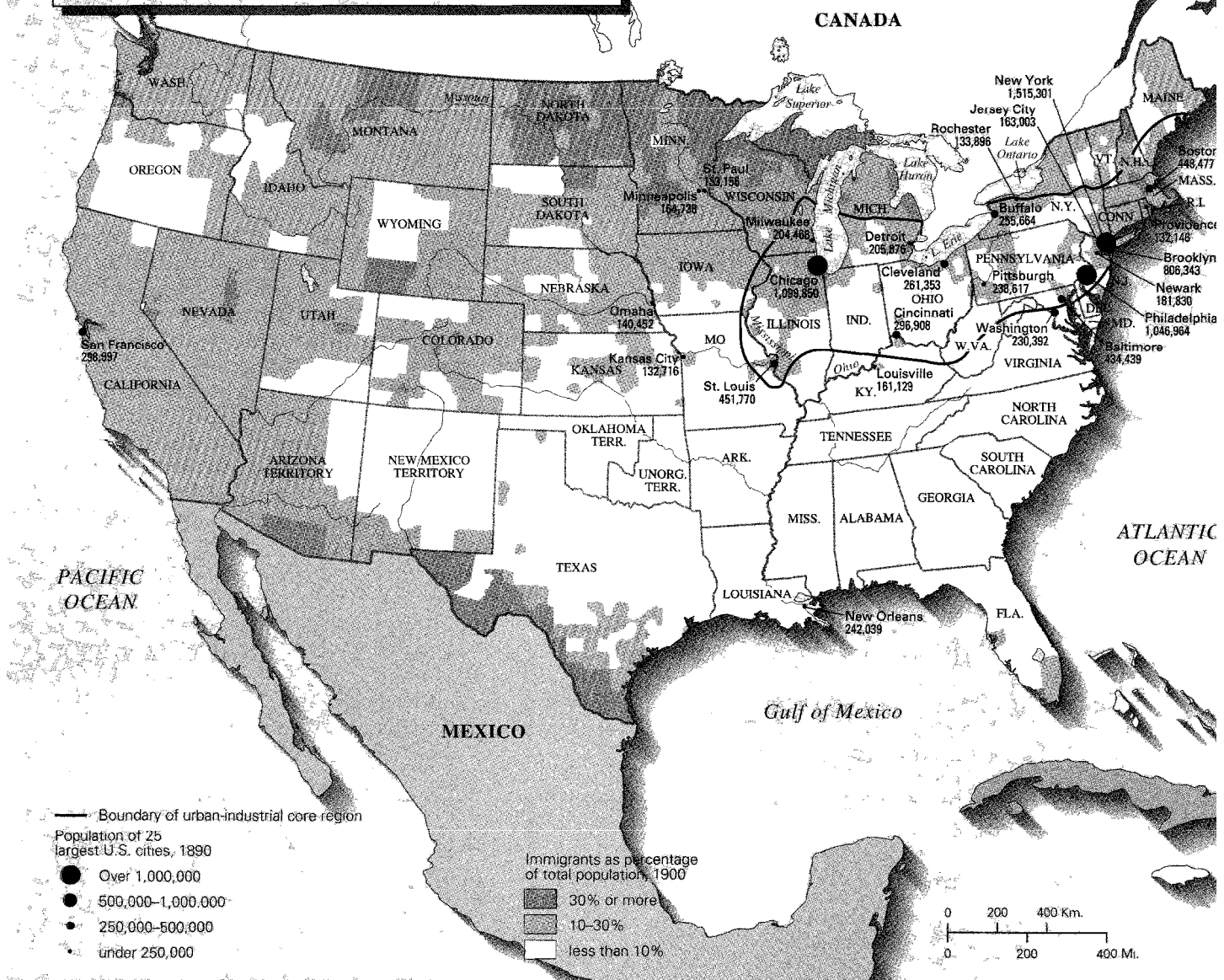
Woodward, C. Vann. *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (1956).  
The classic account of the Compromise of 1877.







**IMMIGRATION AND URBANIZATION, 1865–1900** After the Civil War, many aspects of American life were significantly changed by the growth of cities and a surge in immigration, especially of people from Europe. By 1900, an urban-industrial core region had emerged in the Northeast.



# The New Social Patterns of Urban and Industrial America,

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## 1865-1917

### **The New Urban Environment**

- What expectations led many people to move to American cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
- What constraints did urban Americans have to overcome?

### **Poverty and the City**

- What constraints and choices shaped the lives of newcomers to the growing American cities?
- How did different groups analyze the constraints of urban poverty?

- What choices about assisting the poor did their analyses lead them to make?

### **New Americans from Europe**

- What expectations prompted immigrants to leave their homelands for the United States?
- What constraints did they encounter?
- How did immigrants' expectations and choices regarding assimilation compare to those of nativists?

### **New South, Old Issues**

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- What outcome did southern officials seek when they wrote new laws on race relations during the 1880s and 1890s?
- What choices did black southerners make in response to the state of race relations in the South?

### **New Patterns of American Social and Cultural Life**

- How did Americans' expectations and choices contribute to important social and cultural trends during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

# INTRODUCTION

In 1872, two neighbors in Hartford, Connecticut, concluded they could write a better novel than the ones then in vogue. The first-time novelists, Charles Dudley Warner and Samuel L. Clemens, titled their satire on business and politics *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*. The popular novel gave its name to the years from the 1860s through the 1890s: the Gilded Age. The label suggests both the golden gleam of a gilded surface and the cheap nature of the base metal underneath.

Many aspects of late nineteenth-century life justify terming it gilded. The dramatic expansion of business, the technology that typified "progress" for many people, the glittering wealth of the new industrial entrepreneurs, and the rapid economic development of the West all provided the gleaming surface. The grim realities of life for most industrial workers and the plight of racial and ethnic minorities, however, lay uncomfortably just below that golden surface. This chapter examines the *expectations, constraints, choices, and outcomes* of the period by looking at social and cultural changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New patterns of life rocked the burgeoning cities. Ethnic and racial groups related to each other in new ways, and new developments revolutionized education, gender roles, creative expression, and cultural participation.

Most of these *choices* and *outcomes* were related to the great transforming experiences of the late 1800s: industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and the development of the West. Together they broke down old *constraints* and created new ones. They fostered new *expectations* among Americans about how people should live and how social groups should relate to one another. Americans' *expectations* sometimes expanded individual *choices* and opportunities. However, some groups tried to impose their values and behaviors on others.

As Americans revised old *expectations* for social relations and forged new ones, the pace of growth created *constraints* that sometimes forced troubling choices. Cities expanded so rapidly that municipal governments faced difficult *choices*. For example,

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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should they use their limited resources to pave streets or build sewers? At the same time, however, the expansion of the educational system removed *constraints* on Americans' opportunities to learn and presented many Americans with new *choices*, such as whether to go to college. Educational opportunities for women helped to expand career *choices*, including such previously all-male professions as medicine and law, or the new profession of social work. In the South, where industrialization lagged, some people made *choices* intended to develop new social and economic patterns.

The expanding industrial economy and rapidly growing cities convinced people throughout Europe to come to America. Such *choices* were often made with the *expectation* of acquiring free land or earning high wages. Some succeeded and turned their dreams into reality. But the hopes of others were dashed by the *constraints* posed by the difficulty of finding available land or steady jobs. The *outcome* of these many *choices* about where to live, how to live, and how to relate to other groups was the transformation of American society and culture during the Gilded Age.

## Social and Cultural Change

- 1865 Civil War ends  
248,120 immigrants enter U.S.
- 1868 First medical school for women
- 1870 25 cities exceed 50,000 people
- 1871 Great Chicago fire Boss  
Tweed indicted
- 1872 Clemens and Warner name the Gilded Age
- 1874 Women's Christian Temperance Union  
founded
- 1876 National League (professional baseball)  
formed
- 1877 Reconstruction ends
- 1879 Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*
- 1882 788,992 immigrants enter U.S.
- 1883 Civil Rights cases
- 1885 Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*
- 1886 First U.S. settlement house
- 1887 American Protective Association founded  
Florida segregates railroads
- 1888 First electric streetcar system
- 1889 Hull House opens
- 1890 58 cities exceed 50,000 people  
Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives*  
Second Mississippi Plan
- 1893 Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the  
Streets*
- 1895 Booker T. Washington delivers Atlanta  
Compromise
- 1896 South Carolina adopts white primary  
*Plessy v. Ferguson*
- 1897 President Cleveland vetoes immigration  
restriction  
First southern steel mill
- 1899 Scott Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag"
- 1901 Frank Norris's *The Octopus*  
Anarchists barred from U.S.  
Oil discovered in Texas, Oklahoma, and  
Louisiana
- 1903 First World Series
- 1903-1906 Pogroms against Russian Jews
- 1907 1,285,349 immigrants enter U.S.
- 1913 President Taft vetoes immigration  
restriction  
Armory Show
- 1916 Madison Grant's *Passing of the  
Great Race*
- 1917 Congress requires literacy test to limit  
immigration, overriding President  
Wilson's veto

## The New Urban Environment

"The city is the nerve center of our civilization. It is also the storm center." So said Josiah Strong, a leading Protestant minister, pointing up the ambivalence with which many Americans viewed their rapidly growing cities. For recent immigrants and long-time residents, for men and women, for industrial workers and farmers, the ever-expanding cities posed the greatest challenge to their expectations and gave them the widest range of choices.

### Surging Urban Growth

What Americans saw in their cities often fascinated them. Cities boasted the technological innovations that many equated with progress. When the journalist William Allen White moved to Kansas City in 1891, the city's streetcars were "marvels" to him and its telephones "a miracle." But the lure of the city stemmed from far more than telephones, streetcars, and technological gadgetry. It also offered theaters, concerts, lectures, fairs, exhibitions, and galleries.

Other visitors were repulsed by what they saw in American cities. A British traveler in 1898 described Pittsburgh as "a most chaotic city. A cloud of smoke hangs over it by day. The glow of scores of furnaces light the river banks by night. . . . All nations are jumbled up here, the poor living in tenement dens or wooden shanties thrown up or dumped down with very little reference to roads." Guillermo Prieto, visiting San Francisco in 1877, was struck by the contrast of luxurious wealth and desperate poverty: "Behind the palaces run filthy alleys, or rather nasty dungheaps without sidewalks or illumination, whose loiterers smell of the gallows."

The odd mixture of fascination and repulsion Americans felt toward cities stemmed in part from the rapidity of urban growth. Cities with more than fifty thousand people grew almost twice as fast as rural areas. The nation had twenty-five cities of that size in 1870 and fifty-eight in 1890, most of them in the Northeast and Midwest. Urban growth came largely through migration from rural areas in Europe and, to a lesser extent, in the United States. The mechanization of farm work meant that fewer workers were required than be

fore. High rural birth rates also contributed to urban growth.

Growth of manufacturing went hand in hand with urban expansion. By the late nineteenth century, the nation had developed a manufacturing belt that included nearly all the largest cities as well as the bulk of the nation's manufacturing and finance (see chapter opener map). Some cities began as ports; others developed as industrial centers. Cities often became known for a particular product: iron and steel in Pittsburgh; clothing in New York; textiles in Lowell, Massachusetts; meat-packing in Chicago; flour milling in Minneapolis.

### New Cities of Skyscrapers and Streetcars

As the urban population swelled, technological advances permitted cities to expand upward and outward. In the early 1800s, residents got around by foot in cities that measured only a few miles across. Buildings were seldom more than three stories high. In the late nineteenth century, however, new building and transportation technologies removed previous constraints and spelled the end of the "walking city."

Until the 1880s, construction techniques had limited building heights. The higher a building was, the thicker its lower walls had to be. Chicago architects, most notably Louis Sullivan, took the lead in designing taller buildings by using a steel frame to carry the weight of the walls. Economical and efficient, tall buildings created unique city skylines.

Just as steel-frame buildings allowed cities to grow upward, so new forms of transportation allowed cities to expand outward. Electricity transformed urban transit. Frank Sprague, a protégé of Thomas Edison, designed a streetcar driven by an electric motor. Sprague's electric streetcars first appeared in Richmond, Virginia, in 1888, and quickly replaced horse cars and cars pulled by underground cables.

**manufacturing belt** A region of the country in which an urban population, transportation systems, and other infrastructure support heavy industry.



By the early 1900s, networks of streetcar lines crisscrossed most large cities, connecting neighborhoods to downtown. Some carried middle-class women wearing white gloves and stylish hats to shop at downtown department stores. Skilled workers rode others to their factory jobs. Still other lines carried typists and businessmen to banks and offices. Cities expanded by annexing suburban areas that grew up along the spreading transportation lines. Chicago grew from 17 to 178 square miles between 1860 and 1890.

New railroad lines also brought outlying villages within commuting distance of cities. Wealthier urban residents could now escape the city at the end of the workday. By 1890, commuter lines brought more than 100,000 workers daily into New York City just from its northern suburbs.

## The New Urban Geography

Areas within the largest cities became increasingly specialized by economic function. Iron and steel making, meatpacking, shipbuilding, and oil refining had to be established on the outskirts of cities. Land was plentiful and relatively cheap there, and the city center suffered less from the noise, smoke, and odor of heavy industry.

As heavy manufacturing moved to the outskirts of the cities, city centers tended to become more specialized as well. By 1900, a large city usually had a district of light manufacturing that might include clothing and printing. Nearby was usually a wholesale trade district with warehouses and offices of wholesalers. **Retail** shopping districts, anchored by department stores, emerged in a central location accessible by streetcar. In the largest cities, banks, insurance companies, and corporation headquarters clustered near one another to form a financial district. A hotel and entertainment district often lay close to both the financial and retail blocks. These areas together made up a central business district.

Residential areas as well as downtowns developed according to economic status. New suburbs ranged outward from the city center in order of wealth. Those who could afford to travel the farthest could also afford the most expensive homes. Those too poor to ride the new transportation lines

lived in crowded apartments or small houses within walking distance of work.

## Building an Urban Infrastructure

During the rapid urban growth after the Civil War, local governments did little to regulate urban expansion or construction practices. Cities grew with only the most basic planning. Most choices about land use and construction were made by individual landowners, developers, and builders. Everywhere, builders and owners hoped to achieve a high return on their investment by producing the most living space for the least cost. Such profit calculations rarely left room for varied designs or open space.

Private companies sometimes provided gas, electricity, telephone, and public transit under franchises from the city. Companies eagerly competed for such franchises, sometimes bribing city officials to secure one. As a result, cities usually found themselves well supplied with franchised utilities. New residential areas sometimes had gas and electric lines before any houses were framed.

The unplanned nature of most urban growth meant that cities could rarely keep up with the demands for fire and police protection, schools, sewage disposal, street maintenance, parks, and water. As a result, city residents sometimes faced contaminated drinking water, inadequate disposal of sewage and garbage, and epidemic disease. By 1900, however, most cities had improved their infrastructure substantially. The quality and quantity of the water supply varied greatly from city to city. To enlarge its water supply, New York City spent seven years and \$24 million constructing what was then the largest aqueduct in the world. Baltimore and Boston also undertook huge water projects. Water quality, though, remained a problem. As city officials began to understand that germs caused

**wholesale** Engaged in the sale of goods in large quantities, usually for resale by a retailer.

**retail** Engaged in the sale of goods in small quantities directly to consumers.

**franchise** Government authorization allowing a private company to provide a public service in a certain area.



- ◆ Monday was laundry day throughout much of America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New York tenements were no exception, as is clear from this photograph taken around 1900. Because buildings were so close together, hanging the laundry became a social event, as neighbors leaned out their windows, pinned their clothes to the line, and exchanged greetings. Note the high population density in such areas. *Library of Congress.*

many diseases, cities introduced filtration and **chlorination** of their water to eliminate disease-carrying organisms. Even so, only 6 percent of urban residents received filtered water by 1900.

Cities faced similar constraints in disposing of sewage, cleaning streets, and removing garbage. Even when cities built sewer lines, they usually emptied the untreated sewage into some nearby body of water. One sanitary expert in 1877 called Boston Harbor "one vast cesspool." In most cities, few streets were paved. The rest became mudholes in the rain, threw up clouds of dust in dry weather, and froze into deep ruts in the winter. Chicago counted 2,048 miles of streets in 1890, but only 629 miles were paved. In the late nineteenth century, however, most eastern cities began using asphalt paving, following the lead of Washington, D.C.

Everywhere, urban growth outstripped cities' ability to provide for it. Despite the introduction of

uniformed police during the Civil War era, urban crime mushroomed. The great Chicago **fire** of 1871, which devastated three square miles, killed more than 250 people, and left 18,000 homeless, demonstrated the inadequacy of existing fire protection. The Chicago fire spurred efforts to improve fire protection by creating a well-trained and well-equipped staff of firefighters and by regulating construction practices.

Although change came slowly, city utilities and services improved significantly between 1870 and

**chlorination** The treatment of water with the chemical chlorine to purify and disinfect it.

**great Chicago fire** The 1871 disaster that destroyed much of the city and spurred national efforts to improve fire protection.

1900. By the early twentieth century, large American cities had more extensive sewer systems and provided more water to each resident than similar cities in Germany. But as late as 1900, no city larger than 150,000 people had a sewage treatment plant.

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## Poverty and the City

In 1879, in *Progress and Poverty*, Henry George pointed out that the "enormous increase in productive power" had failed to eliminate poverty or to improve the lives of working people. He concluded that progress and poverty went hand in hand: "The 'tramp' comes with the locomotive, and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of 'material progress' as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches." George was one of many who focused attention on the growing numbers and problems of the urban poor.

### "How the Other Half Lives"

In 1890, Jacob **Riis** shocked many Americans with his book *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*. In a city of a million and a half inhabitants, Riis claimed, half a million had begged for food at some time over the preceding eight years. Of them, only 6 percent were physically unable to work. Most of Riis's book describes the appalling conditions of the **tenements** that housed three-quarters of the city's population. The living space for an entire family often consisted only of a 10-by-12-foot living room and one or two dark, tiny bedrooms. A tenement might house a dozen or more families. Such accommodations, Riis insisted, "make for evil; because they are the hotbeds of the epidemics that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts; . . . above all, they touch the family life with deadly moral contagion."

Crowded conditions in working-class areas developed in part because so many people were constrained by the need to live within walking distance of their work. By dividing buildings into small rental units, landlords packed in more tenants and collected more rent. Rents were high com

pared to wages, so tenants often took in boarders. Such practices produced alarmingly high population densities. No other American city was as densely populated as New York, but nearly all urban, working-class neighborhoods throughout the United States were crowded.

Few agreed on the causes or cures for the widespread urban poverty. Riis divided the blame among greedy landlords, corrupt officials, and the poor themselves. Henry George pointed to private ownership of property as the culprit. The influential Charity Organization Society (COS), by contrast, argued that individual character defects such as immorality and laziness produced poverty. COS officials expected the recipients of aid to be moral, thrifty, and hardworking.

### The Mixed Blessings of Machine Politics

Not everyone blamed the urban poor for their own distress. In most cities, political organizations built loyal followings in poor neighborhoods by addressing desperate needs in a direct and personal way. Instead of repentance, they wanted the votes of the poor.

George W. Plunkitt illustrates the kind of politics such organizations practiced. Born in a poor Irish neighborhood of New York City, Plunkitt became a district leader of Tammany **Hall**, which dominated the city's Democratic party. Plunkitt described how he kept the loyalty of the voters in his neighborhood in a 1905 newspaper interview:

*Go right down among the poor families and help them in the different ways they need help. . . . It's philanthropy, but it's politics, too—mighty good politics. . . . The poor are the most grateful people*

**Jacob Riis** New York journalist whose exposure of slum conditions in American cities appalled middle-class Americans and led to calls for slum clearance and new building codes.

**tenement** An unsafe and often unsanitary apartment building usually occupied by poor families.

**Tammany Hall** A New York political organization whose "machines" dominated city and sometimes state politics.

*in the world, and, let me tell you, they have more friends in their neighborhoods than the rich have in theirs. If there's a family in my district in want I know it before the charitable societies, and me and my men are first on the ground. . . . The consequence is that the poor look up to George W. Plunkitt as a father, come to him in trouble—and don't forget him on election day.*

Plunkitt typified many big-city politicians across the country. Neighborhood **saloons** often served as social gathering places, especially for working-class men. Not surprisingly, would-be politicians frequented these saloons and often owned them. They responded to the needs of the urban poor by providing a bucket of coal on a cold winter day, a basket of food at Thanksgiving, or a job on a city crew. In return, they expected recipients to follow their lead in politics. Political organizations based among working-class and poor voters, usually led by men of poor, immigrant parentage, emerged in nearly all large cities. Opponents denounced the leader of the organization as a **boss** and the organization itself as a machine.

One of the earliest city bosses was **William Marcy Tweed**, who became head of the Tammany Hall organization in 1863. Tweed and his associates built public support by spending tax funds on various charities, and they gave to the poor from their own pockets—pockets often lined with public funds or bribes. Under Tweed's direction, city government launched such major construction projects as public buildings and improvements in streets, parks, sewers, and docks. Much of the construction was riddled with corruption. Between 1868 and 1871, the Tweed Ring may have plundered as much as \$200 million from the city, mostly in **kickbacks** from contractors. In 1871, evidence of corruption led to Tweed's conviction and imprisonment. Reformers in practically every city subsequently charged officeholders with corruption, but most bosses were more cautious than Tweed.

Perhaps the most important single function the bosses served was to centralize political decision making. As one Boston boss said, "There's got to be in every ward somebody that any bloke can come to—no matter what he's done—to get help." If a pushcart vender needed a permit to sell tinware or a railroad president needed permission to

build a bridge, the machine could help him—if he showed the proper gratitude.

## **Combating Urban Poverty: The Settlement Houses**

By the 1890s, young college-educated men and women began to confront urban poverty in an altogether different way. These humanitarians took an environmental approach in assisting the poor. The **settlement house** idea, which originated in London in 1884, involved opening a house in the slums where idealistic university graduates lived among the poor and tried to help them. The first settlement house in the United States opened in New York in 1886.

**Jane Addams** and Ellen Gates Starr opened **Hull House** in Chicago in 1889. For many Americans, Jane Addams became synonymous with the settlement house movement. Settlement house workers provided a wide range of assistance to slum families: cooking and sewing classes, public baths, childcare facilities, instruction in English, and housing for unmarried working women. Ad-

**saloon** A place common to middle-class and working-class neighborhoods where patrons could buy and drink alcoholic beverages.

**boss** Name applied to the head of an urban political organization that based its success on lower-income voters.

**William Marcy Tweed** New York City political boss who used the Tammany machine to maintain control over city and state government from the 1860s until his downfall in 1871.

**kickback** A sum of money that a contractor illegally gives "under the table" to the official who awarded the contract.

**settlement house** Community center operated by resident social reformers in a slum area to help poor people in their own neighborhood.

**Jane Addams** Illinois social worker who sponsored child labor laws and was a leader in the settlement house movement. She won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

**Hull House** Settlement house founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in Chicago in 1889 to improve community and civic life in the slums.

dams and other settlement house workers became forces for urban reform, promoting better education, improved public health, and honest government. Settlement houses spread rapidly, with some four hundred operating by 1910. The settlement houses became the first institutions to be created and staffed primarily by college-educated women.

Church-affiliated settlement houses often reflected the Social Gospel, a movement initiated by Protestant ministers who were concerned about the social and economic problems of the cities. One of the best known, Washington Gladden of Columbus, Ohio, called for an "Applied Christianity"—the adoption of Christian principles by businesses. By this he meant that businesses should follow Christ's injunctions to love one another and to treat others as you would have them treat you.

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## New

### Americans from Europe

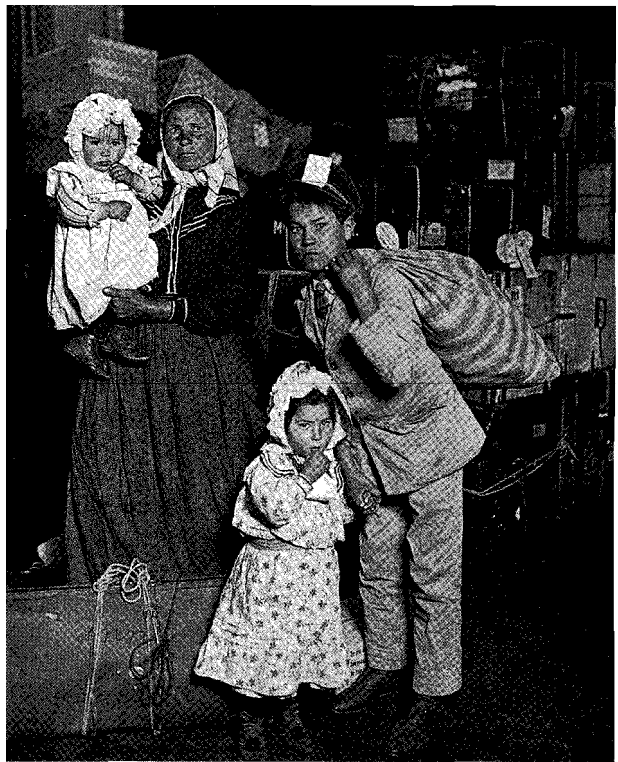
The flood of immigrants that fed the burgeoning cities and industrial labor force from the Civil War to World War I represents the highest level of immigration in American history. In 1865, when the Civil War ended, 248,120 immigrants entered the United States. The number rose to 788,992 in 1882 and peaked at 1,285,349 in 1907.

Most immigrants came from Europe and settled in cities. By 1910, in eighteen of the twenty-five largest cities, immigrants and their children made up more than half the population. Three-fourths of New Yorkers and Chicagoans were first- or second-generation immigrants.

### A Flood of Immigrants

Before 1890, most immigrants came from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia. After 1890, most came from southern and eastern Europe, especially Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia.

Most immigrants came because of the United States' reputation as the "land of opportunity," where farms were cheap or free, labor was in demand, and wages were high. Some were attracted by America's reputation for religious toleration and commitment to democracy. Others were re-



◆ The photographer Lewis Hine took this picture of a family from eastern Europe who arrived in the United States in 1905. After 1890, immigrants came ashore at Ellis Island and were processed by the Immigration Service. For millions of immigrants, Ellis Island was their portal to America. *Courtesy George Eastman House.*

cruited by agents sent to Europe by sparsely populated western states or by railroad companies seeking buyers for their land. The reasons for coming varied from country to country, year to year, and person to person.

Groups exhibited distinctive patterns of settlement in the United States. The greatest number of

**Social Gospel** A moral reform movement of the late nineteenth century led by Protestant clergymen who drew attention to urban problems and advocated social justice for the poor.

**Scandinavia** The region of northern Europe consisting of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Irish immigrants, many desperately poor, arrived between 1847 and 1854, after the potato blight hit, but Irish immigration continued at high levels until the 1890s. Ninety percent were Catholic. They settled initially in the cities of the Northeast, composing a quarter of the population of New York City and Boston as early as 1860. Although many Irish immigrants worked in the West, the Irish as a group remained urban.

Germans outnumbered all other immigrant groups in the United States before 1900. Rural **overpopulation**, changes in agriculture, and crop failures in the 1840s and 1850s all contributed to the desire to move from Germany. Religious and political persecutions affected some as well. German peasants sold their holdings at home and thus arrived in the United States with the expectation of buying farms. Many did so, especially in the north-central states. Even more German immigrants, however, settled in midwestern towns and cities.

Scandinavian immigration followed the German patterns. The high point of Scandinavian immigration came in the 1880s and 1890s, when Scandinavians accounted for 12 percent of American immigrants. Scandinavian farmers left because of overpopulation and changes in agriculture. Many settled on farms in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, and Nebraska; others landed in Washington State.

Italian immigrants illustrate a different situation. Landless farm laborers from southern Italy and Sicily began to leave in significant numbers in the 1880s. Their numbers increased slowly until, between 1900 and 1915, Italians outnumbered any other single group of immigrants arriving in the United States. At first, many young men worked in construction or agriculture during the summer and returned to Italy during the winter. Eventually, some chose to stay and sent for their families. Large numbers of Italians made the cities of the Northeast their home. In California, Italians became prominent in growing grapes and making wine.

The immigration of Eastern European Jews reveals still a different pattern. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one-third of the Jews living in eastern Europe left there, and 90 percent of those came to the United States. The largest number came from Russia, accounting for nearly one-eighth of all immigrants after 1900. Extended

**pogroms** occurred in Russia in the early 1880s and from 1903 to 1906. This religious persecution was the most important reason for Jewish migration. Jewish immigration was also different in that entire communities chose to emigrate as a group. They became the most urban of immigrant groups. Half of all the eastern European Jews in America resided in New York in 1914.

Large numbers of Slavic-speaking immigrant groups came only in the 1890s and after, accounting for more than a third of all European immigrants between 1900 and 1914. They immigrated primarily for economic opportunity. The largest single group, Poles, were nearly all Catholic and settled in New York and in the cities of the Midwest. By 1910, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Buffalo had large Polish populations. Most Slavic-speaking groups tended to locate in urban and industrial areas.

### **An Ethnic Patchwork**

Immigrant groups tended to congregate in ethnic neighborhoods in American cities. For example, in Manhattan in 1890, the Irish predominated on the West Side and the Germans on the East Side. Neighborhoods of Italians, African Americans, Jews, Chinese, Czechs, Arabs, Finns, Greeks, and Swiss completed the ethnic patchwork. Ethnic patchworks composed of distinctive immigrant communities were not limited to cities. Scandinavians, Dutch, Swiss, Czechs, and Germans were most likely to be farmers, but there were rural farming settlements of many groups. The map at the beginning of the chapter reveals concentrations of immigrants both in the manufacturing belt and in western areas with cheap farmland or mines.

These patterns of settlement reflect the expectations immigrants held about America as well as the opportunities they found when they arrived. The British, Germans, Scandinavians, and Czechs came with capital in the 1870s and 1880s, when good

**overpopulation** The growth of a population beyond the point where it can be supported by its environment.

**pogrom** Violent mob attacks on Jewish communities, often resulting in massacres.

farmland could still be acquired relatively cheaply in the north-central states. By contrast, fewer Irish had the necessary capital, and so fewer came with the expectation of becoming farmers. Some post-1900 immigrants, especially Italians and Poles, came without any expectations of staying in America permanently. They planned to work for a time and then return home with full pockets. After 1890, farmland was more difficult to obtain. Newcomers at that point were more likely to find work in the rapidly expanding industrial sectors of the economy.

### **Hyphenated America**

In the nineteenth century, many **old-stock Americans** (sometimes only a generation removed from immigrant forebears themselves) assumed that immigrants should learn English quickly and become citizens resembling themselves. Immigrants from Britain often did assimilate rapidly. They already spoke English and had similar religious values. Most other immigrants, however, resisted rapid assimilation. They held fast to elements in their own culture at the same time that they took up a new life in America. Conscious of being a German or an Italian in America, they often came to think of themselves as **hyphenated Americans**: German-American or Italian-American.

On arriving in America, with its strange language and unfamiliar customs, many immigrants reacted by seeking people who shared their cultural values, practiced their religion, and spoke their language. Ethnic communities thus played significant roles in newcomers' transition from the old country to America. They gave immigrants a chance to learn about their new home with the assistance of those who had come before. At the same time, the newcomers could retain the values and behaviors from their old country that they found most important.

Hyphenated America developed a unique blend of ethnic institutions. Ethnic fraternal lodges sprang up to provide not only social ties but also benefits in case of illness or death. Among them were the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Irish), the Sons of Hermann (German), and the Sons of Italy. Singing societies devoted themselves to the music of the old country. Foreign-language newspapers

were vital in connecting the old country to the new, for they provided news from the old country as well as from other similar communities in the United States.

For nearly every group, the church provided the single most important element in ethnic group identity. Immigrant churches shared religion, language, and culture. By 1900, for example, there were separate Lutheran churches speaking German, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Finnish, and Icelandic. Catholic services were sometimes conducted in the language of the parish's largest ethnic group and sometimes featured special observances transplanted from the old country.

### **Nativism**

Many old-stock Americans expected that immigrants would embrace the behaviors and beliefs of old-stock Americans and blend neatly into their culture. These expectations came to be identified with the image of the melting pot. But the melting-pot metaphor rarely described the reality of immigrants' lives. Most immigrants changed their ways slowly, over their lifetimes.

Few old-stock Americans understood the immigrants' adjustment to their new home. Instead of seeing the ways immigrants changed, many old-stock Americans saw only immigrants' efforts to retain their own culture. They fretted over the multiplication of foreign-language newspapers and feared to go into communities where they rarely heard English. Such fears and misgivings fostered the growth of nativism: the view that old-stock values and social patterns were preferable to those of

**old-stock Americans** Term used by the Census Bureau to describe people who were born in the United States.

**hyphenated Americans** Americans with a strong ethnic identity based on their ancestry who felt that they had been shaped by two cultures—Irish-American, for example.

**melting pot** A phrase describing the vision of American society as a place where immigrants set aside their distinctive cultural identities and were absorbed into a homogeneous culture.

immigrants. Nativists argued that only their values and institutions were genuinely American.

American nativism was often linked to anti-Catholicism because so many immigrant groups were Catholic. The American Protective Association (APA), founded in 1887, noisily proclaimed itself the voice of anti-Catholicism. Its members pledged not to hire Catholics, not to vote for them, and not to strike with them. The APA claimed a half million members by 1894. It dominated the Republican party in parts of the Midwest and occasionally fomented mob violence against Catholics.

Jews, too, faced religious antagonism. Beginning in the 1870s, organizations and businesses began to discriminate against Jews. By the early twentieth century, such discrimination intensified. Some employers refused to hire Jews, many college fraternities and sororities refused to admit them, and **restrictive covenants** constrained them from buying homes in certain areas.

Labor organizations sometimes looked at unlimited immigration as a threat to jobs and wage levels. Anti-Chinese sentiment among Pacific Coast unions contributed to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 (see page 378). The depression of the 1890s convinced the American Federation of Labor in 1897 to call for a literacy test as a way to reduce the influx of immigrants.

The rise of labor and radical political organizations also contributed to anti-immigrant sentiment. By 1900, a few employers had begun to argue that unions represented foreign, un-American interests. Far more serious was the association of immigrants with radicalism, especially anarchism. Congress banned anarchists from immigrating after Leon Czolgosz, an American-born anarchist with a foreign-sounding name, assassinated President William McKinley in 1901. The link between immigrants and radicalism seemed to be confirmed later when Socialist party candidates received strong support from immigrant voters.

The shift in the sources of immigration from northwestern Europe to southern and eastern Europe also contributed to the rise of nativism in the 1890s. Nativists viewed these **new** immigrants as less desirable than old immigrants from northwestern Europe.

The arrival of significant numbers of new immigrants coincided with the glorification of Anglo-

Saxons (Germanic ancestors of the English). Relying on Social Darwinism and its argument for survival of the fittest (see page 359), proponents of Anglo-Saxonism were alarmed by statistics that showed old-stock Americans having fewer children than the new immigrants. Some voiced fears of a "race suicide" in which Anglo-Saxons were bred out of existence. Madison Grant, a wealthy New Yorker, epitomized this thinking. Grant

claimed in *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) that all civilization had been created by Nordics—tall, blond, blue-eyed northern Europeans—and that other Europeans had proven themselves unable to sustain civilization.

By the 1890s, these religious, economic, political, and racist strains resulted in demands that the government restrict immigration from Europe. Advocates of restriction initially called for immigrants to pass a literacy test. Opposition came from immigrant organizations and from employers seeking a larger supply of labor. Congress passed literacy measures in 1897, 1913, and 1917, but presidential vetoes prevented the first two from passing. The 1917 law, which did not specify literacy in English, had little impact because most immigrants by then were literate in their own language.

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## New South, Old

### Issues

The term New South refers to efforts by some southerners to diversify the region's economy and

**restrictive covenant** Provision in a property title designed to restrict subsequent sale or use of the property, often specifying sale only to a white Christian.

**new immigrants** Newcomers to America from southern and eastern Europe who began to arrive in large numbers in the 1880s.

**old immigrants** Newcomers to America from Britain, Germany, Ireland, and Scandinavia who came in waves that peaked during the years 1840-1880.

**New South** Term first used by southern journalist Henry Grady to promote the image of an industrialized South as the region recovered from the devastation of the Civil War.



to industrialize after Reconstruction. These efforts took place as the South grappled with the legacy of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. One outcome of these efforts was a modest diversification of the southern economy. Another was that white southerners created a society based on racial segregation that lasted for more than a half-century.

### **The New South**

Following the Civil War, the state of southern railroads was a critical constraint on the region's economic growth. During the 1880s, however, southern railroads more than doubled their miles of track. In the 1890s, J. P. Morgan reorganized southern railroads into three large systems.

The emergence of better transportation led some entrepreneurs to think in terms of new industries, particularly textiles. The 1880s marked a boom era for that industry. New southern mills had more modern equipment and were more productive than the mills of New England. By the 1890s, many New England firms had moved their operations south rather than compete with southern mills. Southern textile mills had cheaper labor costs than those in New England, partly because they relied on child labor. An estimated 70 percent of southern cotton-mill workers were under 21 years of age. A few other industries also developed in the South, including tobacco and cottonseed oil processing, but they did little to transform the regional economy. Nearly all these industries took advantage of the South's cheap, unskilled, and nonunionized labor.

Of greater potential was the iron and steel industry that emerged in northern Alabama. Dominated by the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, the industry drew on coal from Tennessee and Alabama mines and iron ore from northern Alabama. By the late 1890s, Birmingham, Alabama, had become one of the world's largest producers of pig iron. In 1897, the first southern steel mill opened in Ensley, Alabama, and soon became a serious rival of Pittsburgh's mills. In 1907, J. P. Morgan arranged the merger of the Tennessee Company into his United States Steel Corporation.

The turn of the century also saw the beginning of a southern oil industry near Beaumont, Texas, with the tapping of the Spindletop Pool. The center of petroleum production now shifted from the Midwest to Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, where important discoveries were made in 1901. These discoveries prompted the growth of new companies, notably Gulf and Texaco.

Some southerners tried to diversify the region's agriculture. In doing so, however, they ran up against the cotton textile and cigarette industries. In the end, southern agriculture changed little: owners and sharecroppers farmed small plots, obligated by their rental contracts or crop liens to raise cotton or tobacco.

The late nineteenth century also saw the myth of the Old South and of the so-called Lost Cause blossom. Popular fiction and song, North and South, romanticized the pre—Civil War South as a place of gentility and gallantry, where "kindly" plantation owners cared for "loyal" slaves. The Lost Cause myth portrayed the Confederacy as a heroic effort to retain the life and values of the Old South. Leading southerners, especially Democrats, promoted the Lost Cause myth. Hundreds of statues of Confederate soldiers appeared on courthouse lawns.

### **The Second Mississippi Plan and the Atlanta Compromise**

Dreams of the Old South and the Lost Cause helped fuel the politics of white supremacy that dominated the South after Reconstruction. As long as the Civil Rights Act of 1875 remained in place,

**crop lien** A claim against a crop, typically held by a storekeeper as the price for extending credit.

**Old South** Term used to describe the antebellum, or pre—Civil War, South, especially by those who characterized the period as a time of gentility and gallantry.

**Lost Cause** Term used to describe the Confederate struggle in the Civil War, especially by white southerners who characterized it as a noble but doomed effort to preserve a way of life.

African Americans were theoretically protected against discrimination in public places. Segregation existed, to be sure, but largely without force of law. Restrictions on black political voting and officeholding were also extralegal.

Then, in the Civil Rights cases (1883), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. The Court's decision specified that the "equal protection" of the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to state governments, not to individuals and companies. This meant that private businesses need not offer equal access to their facilities. In response, southern lawmakers slowly began to require businesses to practice segregation. In 1887, the Florida legislature required separate accommodations on railroad trains. By 1891, six other states had passed similar laws. Both social custom and local laws began to specify greater racial separation as well.

Mississippi whites took a bolder step in 1890, holding a state constitutional convention to eliminate political participation by African Americans. Shrewdly, the new provisions did not mention the word race. Instead they specified payment of a poll tax, passing a literacy test, and other requirements for voting. Everyone understood that these measures were intended to disfranchise black voters. Those who failed the literacy test could still vote if they could understand a section of the state constitution or law after it was read to them. This "understanding" clause gave white officials discretion in deciding who passed the test, and they usually permitted white illiterates to vote. The South followed this so-called Second Mississippi Plan with great interest. Except for the poll tax, however, no other state imitated its provisions immediately.

Then, in 1895, a black educator signaled his apparent willingness to accept disfranchisement and segregation in a speech at the opening of the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta. Founder of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, **Booker T. Washington** seemed to accept an inferior status for blacks, at least for the present: "No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top." He also seemed to condone segregation: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as sepa-

rate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. . . . The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly." He agreed that equal rights had to be earned rather than belonging to all citizens.

The speech, soon dubbed the Atlanta **Compromise**, earned great acclaim for Washington among whites. His message that blacks were willing to accept segregation and disfranchisement in return for interracial peace and economic opportunity was one that southern whites wanted to hear. Northern whites, too, were receptive to the notion that the South would work out its race relations by itself. Until his death in 1915, Washington held sway as the most prominent black leader in the nation. His message found a mixed reception among African Americans. Some accepted his approach as the best that might be secured at the time. Others criticized his willingness to sacrifice black rights. Henry M. Turner, a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church in Atlanta, declared that Washington "will have to live a long time to undo the harm he has done our race."

### **Separate but Not Equal**

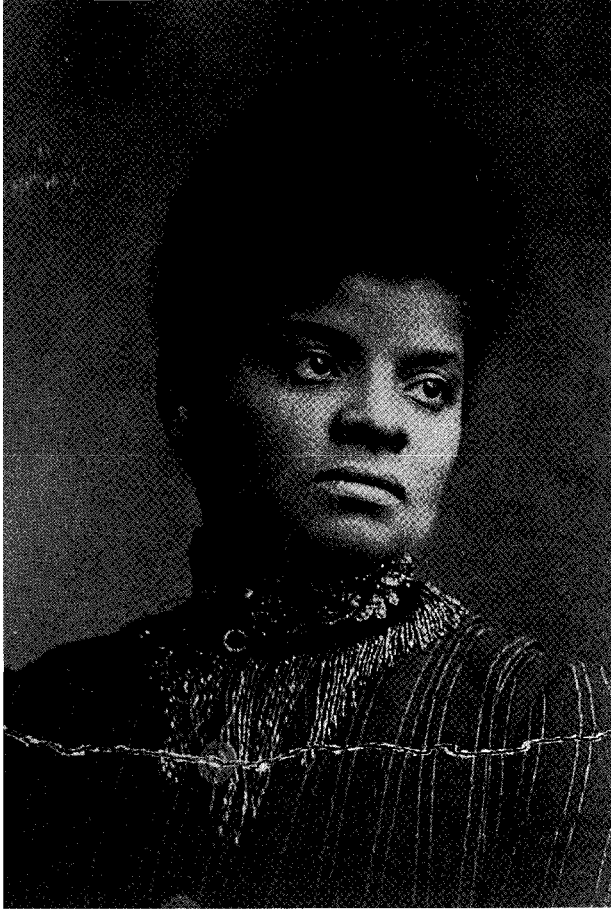
Southern lawmakers continued to redefine the legal status of African Americans after Washington's

**Civil Rights cases** A series of cases that came before the Supreme Court in 1883, in which the Court ruled that private companies could legally discriminate against blacks.

**poll tax** A tax that many southern states used as a prerequisite to voting to discourage blacks from taking part in the electoral process.

**Booker T. Washington** A former slave, this educator founded and built the Tuskegee Institute into a leading black educational institution and urged blacks to accept segregation for the time being.

**Atlanta Compromise** Landmark speech given by Booker T. Washington in 1895, in which he encouraged blacks to accommodate to segregation and work for economic advancement in the available paths.



◆ During the 1890s, Ida B. Wells emerged as the leading opponent of lynching, refusing to be silenced even when threatened herself. She appealed to women especially, through the various women's organizations that developed in the late nineteenth century. *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture/New York Public Library/photo by Oscar B. Willis.*

Atlanta speech. State after state followed the lead of Mississippi and disfranchised black voters. In 1898, Louisiana added the infamous **grandfather clause**. Under it, men who would otherwise be prohibited from voting were allowed to vote if their fathers or grandfathers had been eligible to vote in 1867, when the Fourteenth Amendment was enacted. The ruling reinstated whites into the electorate but kept blacks out. Throughout the South, states set up substantial barriers to voting

and then carved holes through which only whites could squeeze. South Carolina and other southern states added the white primary as an additional barrier. Southern Democrats, the "white man's party," restricted their primaries and conventions to whites only.

Southern lawmakers also extended segregation by law. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), a case involving segregated railroad cars, aided the advocates of such segregation. The Court ruled that "separate but equal" facilities did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Southern legislators soon applied that reasoning to everything from prisons to restaurants.

Violence against blacks accompanied the new laws. From 1885 to 1900, when the South was redefining race relations, the region witnessed more than twenty-five hundred lynching deaths, almost all of them African Americans. Once the new order was in place, lynchings declined to about eleven hundred between 1900 to 1915.

African Americans fought against lynching in various ways, primarily by publicizing the record of brutality. One of the most prominent opponents was **Ida B. Wells**. In *Free Speech*, the black newspaper that she helped found in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1891, she attacked lynching, arguing that several local victims had been targeted as a means of eliminating successful black businessmen. In response, a mob destroyed her newspaper office. She moved north and spent most of the 1890s crusading against lynching.

**grandfather clause** Provision in various southern state constitutions restricting suffrage to those whose fathers or grandfathers could vote in 1867, thus depriving blacks of the vote.

*Plessy v. Ferguson* Case in 1896 in which the Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana law requiring segregated railroad facilities on the grounds that "separate but equal" accommodations were constitutional.

**Ida B. Wells** Reformer and journalist who crusaded against lynching and advocated racial justice and woman's suffrage. Upon marrying in 1895, she changed her name to Wells-Barnett.

African Americans also sought ways to resist disfranchisement and segregation. Some promoted an exodus from the South to **Liberia**, the nation created in western Africa before the Civil War as a home for free blacks. But few could afford to go to Liberia. Other blacks proposed leaving the South for homestead and railroad land in Kansas. "Kansas Fever" swept through the South in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Perhaps as many as twenty thousand blacks from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas moved to Kansas in just a few months in 1879. The 1890s saw another swell in migration. In the 1880s, interest grew in creating all-black communities. A number of such communities were organized, most of them in the South, but others were scattered from New Jersey to California. Between 1892 and 1910, some twenty-five all-black towns were founded in Oklahoma.

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## New Patterns of American Social and Cultural Life

The decades following the Civil War brought far-reaching social change to Americans in nearly every part of the nation. The educational system, gender roles, sexual relationships, artistic expression, and cultural and leisure activities also changed significantly during this period.

### The New Middle Class

The Gilded Age brought substantial changes to the lives of middle-class Americans. In the cities, an army of accountants, lawyers, secretaries, insurance agents, and middle-level managers developed to staff the emerging giant corporations and professional offices. The streetcar made it possible for the middle class to live beyond walking distance of their work. Thus industrialization and urban expansion produced not only sprawling working-class neighborhoods and wealthy enclaves but also distinctively middle-class neighborhoods and suburbs.

Single-family homes set amid wide and carefully tended lawns were common in the new middle-class neighborhoods. Such neighborhoods accelerated the tendency of American urban areas to spread outward and to have lower population densities than their European counterparts. To acquire a single-family house in the leafy suburbs away from urban noise and filth became a part of the American middle-class dream.

Suburban households often followed different patterns than those of working-class or farm families. Middle-

class families often hired a servant to assist with household chores, and middle-class women were much more likely to take part in social organizations outside the home. Such families rarely expected their children to contribute to the family's finances but emphasized education instead. Middle-class households were likely to subscribe to daily newspapers and to family magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. The new advertising (see page 349) featured in these newspapers and magazines helped create a "consumer culture," particularly among middle-class women, who by 1900 were responsible for nearly all of their families' shopping.

### Ferment in Education

The Gilded Age witnessed important changes in education, from kindergarten through the university. Kindergartens, created to provide childcare for working mothers, grew from two hundred in 1880 to three thousand in 1900. Between 1870 and 1900, most northern and western states established school attendance laws, typically requiring children between the ages of 8 and 14 to attend school for a minimum number of weeks annually. School enrollment among those ages 5 to 19 increased significantly, particularly at the secondary level. By 1890, high schools had added a fourth year everywhere but in the South. The high school curriculum changed significantly, including courses such as science, civics, business, home economics, and drafting. The number of high school graduates tripled between 1878 and 1898.

**Liberia** A nation on the west coast of Africa founded through the efforts of the American Colonization Society and settled mainly by freed slaves between 1822 and the Civil War.

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College enrollments also grew, especially in the new state universities created under the Land-Grant College Act of 1862. Still, college students came disproportionately from middle-class and upper-class urban families. The college curriculum changed greatly, from a set of courses required of all students (mostly Latin, Greek, mathematics, rhetoric, and religion) to a system in which students chose a major and electives. New subjects included economics, political science, modern languages, and laboratory sciences. Many universities also began to offer engineering, business administration, and education classes.

Far fewer women than men marched in college graduation processions. **Vassar College** became the first college exclusively for women in 1861. Only one college graduate in seven was a woman in 1870, and this improved only to one in four by 1900. In 1879, fewer than half the nation's colleges even admitted women. Twenty years later, four-fifths did so. Some prestigious private institutions such as Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, however, remained all-male enclaves.

## Redefining Women's Gender Roles

Greater educational opportunities for women marked part of a change in social definitions of gender roles. Throughout the nineteenth century, most Americans defined women's social role in terms of the **cult of domesticity**. This held that the proper place for a woman was in the home as wife and mother. Advocates of domesticity conceded that women might also have important roles in the church and the classroom. They contended that women should avoid business and politics, where lax moral standards might corrupt them. Women should occupy a **separate sphere**, immune from such dangers. Widely advocated in the pulpits and journals of the day, the concept of domesticity proved most typical of white middle-class and upper-class women in towns and cities. Farm women and working-class women worked too hard and witnessed too much of the world to fit the model of innocence and daintiness prescribed by advocates of domesticity.

The late nineteenth century saw increasing challenges to domesticity. One challenge came as more

women finished college and chose to enter the professions. Important early successes came in medicine. In 1849, Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman to complete medical school and helped establish the first medical school for women in 1868. By the 1880s, some twenty-five hundred women held medical degrees. About 3 percent of all physicians were women, more proportionately than in most of the twentieth century. After 1900, however, medical schools began to impose enrollment restrictions on women. Access to the legal profession proved surprisingly difficult. Arabella Mansfield was the first woman to be admitted to the bar in 1869, but the entire nation counted only sixty practicing women attorneys ten years later. Most law schools refused to admit women until the 1890s. Women predominated in the new field of social work.

Professional careers attracted relatively few women, but many more became involved outside their homes through women's clubs or in reform activities. Women's clubs became popular among middle- and upper-class women in the late nineteenth century, claiming 800,000 members by 1910. Crusader Ida B. Wells actively promoted the development of black women's clubs. Such clubs often began as forums to discuss literature or art, but they sometimes led women into reform movements. In 1904, Sarah Platt Decker, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, bluntly proclaimed, "**Dante** is dead. He has been dead for several centuries, and I think it is time that we dropped the study of his *Inferno* and turned our attention to

**Vassar College** The first collegiate institution for women, founded in Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1861.

**cult of domesticity** The nineteenth-century notion that women's activities were ideally rooted in domestic labor and the nurture of children.

**separate sphere** The notion that women were meant to pursue occupations having to do with family, church, or school and not those in such traditionally male fields as business and politics, which were considered too competitive and corrupt for women.

**Dante** Italian poet (1265-1321) best known for his *Inferno*, about a descent into hell.

our own." Female reform organizations often had some link to domesticity: temperance, opposition to prostitution, and abolition of child labor. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, one of the most prominent, was formed in 1874.

Women's church organizations, clubs, and reform societies all provided experience in working together under the leadership of women. Through them, women developed networks of working relationships. These experiences and contacts contributed to the effectiveness of women's efforts to establish their right to vote (see page 414).

### **Emergence of a Gay and Lesbian Subculture**

Challenges to domesticity involved women seeking to redefine society's gender roles. A quite different redefinition occurred as gay and lesbian subcultures developed in America's burgeoning cities. Homosexuals and lesbians recognized that large cities offered an anonymity not possible in rural areas. Rural communities where practically everyone knew everyone else either prompted people physically attracted to members of their own sex to suppress such tendencies or to exercise them very discreetly. After the Civil War, however, homosexuals and lesbians gravitated toward the largest cities and began to create distinctive subcultures. By the 1890s, one researcher reported that "perverts of both sexes maintained a sort of social set-up in New York City, had their places of meeting, and [the] advantage of police protection." Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, St. Louis, and San Francisco also had clubs, restaurants, and steambaths that catered to homosexuals. Although most homosexuals were secretive about their sexual identity, some flouted their sexuality at "drag balls."

In the 1880s, physicians created medical names for these emerging subcultures, including "homosexual," "lesbian," "invert," and "pervert." Earlier, law and religion had defined particular actions as illegal or immoral. The new medical definitions emphasized not the actions but instead the persons taking the actions. Some theorists proposed that such behavior resulted from a mental disease, but others concluded that homosexuals and lesbians were born that way. The medical definition of *homo*

*sexual* stigmatized expressions of deep affection between heterosexuals of the same sex, which became less common as individuals tried to avoid any suggestion that they were anything but heterosexual.

### **New Patterns in Cultural Expression: From Realism to Ragtime**

Shortly after 1900, the director of the prestigious Metropolitan Museum of New York observed "a state of unrest all over the world" in art, literature, music, painting, and sculpture. Unrest meant dramatic changes in American art, literature, and music—many directly influenced by the new urban, industrial, multiethnic society.

Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, first published in 1855 and reissued in revised editions until his death in 1892, stands as a major work in world literature. Whitman gloried in democracy and in ordinary people. He dealt, too, with topics considered inappropriate for public print, including intimate relationships and the human body:

*Have you ever loved the body of a woman?  
Have you ever loved the body of a man?*

*Do you not see that they are exactly the same to all  
In all nations and times all over the earth?*

Emily Dickinson, whose poetry first appeared after her death in 1890, rejected the formal strictures of most previous verse to probe the depths of anxiety and emotion:

*I can wade Grief  
Whole Pools of it  
I'm used to that  
But the least push of Joy  
Breaks up my feet  
And I tip—drunken-*

### **Women's Christian Temperance Union**

Women's organization founded in 1874 that opposed the evils of drink and supported reforms such as woman's suffrage.

**subculture** A cultural subgroup, unified by status, interests, or practices, which differentiates its members from the dominant culture on the basis of shared values or loyalties.

American novelists increasingly turned to realistic, critical portrayals of life, rejecting the romantic idealism characteristic of the pre-Civil War period. The towering figure of the era was Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens). His *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) pokes fun at the social pretensions of the day, scorns the Old South myth, and challenges racial biases against blacks. The novels of William Dean Howells and Henry James, by contrast, present restrained, realistic portrayals of upper-class men and women. After 1890, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, and Frank Norris sharpened the critical edge of fiction. Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) depicts how urban squalor turned a young woman to prostitution. Norris's *The Octopus* (1901) portrays the abusive power of a railroad. Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899) deals with the repression of a woman's sexual desires.

As American literature moved toward realism, most American painting was moving in the opposite direction. An important exception was Thomas Eakins. Although he received little recognition in the 1870s and 1880s, his work is now considered a major contribution to realism. American painting changed late in the century largely in response to French impressionism, which emphasized less an exact reproduction of the world and more the artist's impression of it. James Whistler's work showed impressionist influences. Mary Cassatt was the only American (and the only woman) to rank among the leaders of impressionism, but she lived and painted mostly in France. A prominent American impressionist was Childe Hassam, who often presented urban landscapes.

Robert Henri and his associates in the Ash Can school also were preoccupied with urban poverty and ordinary people. The Ash Can adherents faced a challenge from artists influenced by the abstract approach then becoming prominent in France by 1910 or so. In 1913, the so-called Armory Show in New York City presented the art of radical European innovators such as Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Wassily Kandinsky. Critics dismissed the modernists, but the abstract style caught on.

The most innovative musician at the turn of the century was African-American composer Scott Joplin. Joplin studied piano with a German-born music teacher and then traveled through African-American communities from New Orleans to

Chicago. As he traveled, he encountered ragtime music and soon began to write his own. In 1899, he published "The Maple Leaf Rag" and soared to fame as the best-known ragtime composer in the country.

### **The Origins of Mass Entertainment**

Better transportation and communication and increased leisure time fostered new forms of entertainment in the late nineteenth century. Companies now organized entertainers into traveling groups and sent them from city to city to perform. Circuses also took advantage of improved transportation to establish regular circuits. Thus mass entertainment had its birth.

Gilded Age booking agencies scheduled traveling dramatic and musical troupes into every corner of the country. Traveling groups of actors, singers, and other performers provided the entertainment mainstay, performing everything from Shakespeare to slapstick. In the late nineteenth century, these agencies developed the star system, in which each traveling company had one or two accomplished performers who attracted audiences.

One of the most unusual traveling shows was the Chautauqua, a blend of inspirational oratory,

**Mark Twain** Pen name of Samuel Clemens, an American author who drew on his childhood along the Mississippi River to create novels such as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

**impressionism** A style of painting that developed in France in the 1870s. It emphasized the play of light on surfaces and attempted to convey the impression of observing nature directly.

**Ash Can school** New York artists of varying styles who shared a dislike of academicism.

**ragtime** Music blending African rhythms and European form to create a unique style; popularized by Scott Joplin and others in the late nineteenth century.

**slapstick** A boisterous form of comedy marked by chases, collisions, and crude practical jokes.

**Chautauqua** Traveling shows offering educational, religious, and recreational activities; part of a nationwide movement of adult education that began in the town of Chautauqua, New York.

education, and entertainment. Thousands of towns held annual Chautauqua assemblies that featured comedians, inspirational orators, opera, glee clubs, lectures, string quartets, or magic-lantern shows on foreign countries.

Professional baseball emerged as a quite different form of mass entertainment after the Civil War. Teams traveled by train from city to city, and urban rivalries built loyalty among hometown fans. The formation of the National League in 1876 established an owners' cartel that monopolized the industry by excluding rival clubs and by controlling the movement of players from team to team. Because African Americans were barred from the National League, separate Negro Leagues emerged. In the 1880s and 1890s, the National League successfully ward off challenges from rival leagues and a players' union. Not until 1901 did another league—the American League—successfully organize. In 1903, the two leagues merged into a new, stronger cartel and staged the first World Series. Other professional sports often adopted baseball's patterns of organization, labor relations, and racial discrimination.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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In the Gilded Age, industrialization transformed the economy, while urbanization and immigration challenged many established social patterns. In the midst of economic and social change, Americans developed new *expectations* and faced new *choices* about their relations with each other. The *outcomes* of their many individual *choices* marked a major redefinition of American social and cultural life.

As rural Americans and European immigrants sought better lives in the cities, urban America changed dramatically. New technologies in transportation and communication broke down old *constraints* on individual *choices* about where to live and work. The *outcome* was a new urban geography with separate retail, wholesale, finance, and manufacturing areas and residential neighborhoods defined by economic status.

Many urban Americans struggled under the *constraints* of poverty. To gain support from the poor, political machines like Tammany Hall in New York City helped them in various ways. Social reformers established settlement houses to address the problems of the urban poor in a different way.

Many Europeans immigrated because of their *expectations* of better opportunities in America. Immigrants often formed separate communities, usually centered on a church. The flood of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe spawned nativist reactions among some old-stock Americans.

Some southerners proclaimed the creation of a New South and promoted industrialization. The *outcome* was mixed. The South did acquire some industry, but regional poverty remained. After 1890, white southerners disfranchised African Americans and extended segregation. Booker T. Washington emerged as the best-known African-American leader.

Education underwent far-reaching changes from kindergartens through universities. Challenged in part by the *expectations* of college-educated women, socially defined gender roles began to change as some women *chose* professional careers. Some also *chose* active roles in reform. Urbanization offered new *choices* to gay men and lesbians by permitting the development of urban subcultures. The new *expectations* and *choices* generated by an urban, industrial, multiethnic society contributed to critical realism in literature, new patterns in painting, and ragtime music. Urbanization and changes in transportation and communication also fostered the emergence of an entertainment industry.



## SUGGESTED READINGS

Addams, Jane. *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910; reprint, 1960).

Nothing can convey the complex world of Hull House and the striking personality of Addams as well as her own account.

Ayers, Edward L. *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (1992).

A comprehensive survey of developments in the South during this period.

Clinton, Catherine. *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (1984).

The section on the post-Civil War period surveys the subject, although so many recent works have appeared that no synthesis could cover them all.

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1965).

This classic of American history played a major role in defining the contours of American nativism

and still provides an excellent introduction to the subject.

Kraut, Alan M. *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (1982).

A helpful introduction to immigration, especially the so-called new immigration.

McDonald, Terrence J., ed. *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, by William L. Riordon (1993).

McDonald provides excellent context for and editing of this classic account of Tammany's relationship with voters.

Mohl, Raymond A. *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920* (1985).

An informative but concise introduction to nearly all aspects of the growth of American cities.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## • New Choices for Women

### The Context

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a good deal of public attention given to the emergence of the "New Woman," a consequence of the emergence of a mature industrial economy and a complex, urban society. The era of "separate spheres" was rapidly passing, as women moved out of the home and into the larger society. Young women of upper- and middle-income families attended college, and some of them entered careers. Some women, mostly of middle- and upper-income levels, joined women's associations and sought political changes. Young women of working-class families entered the wage-earning work force as factory or office workers, and some of them became involved in unions. (For further information on the context, see pages 400-402.)

### The Historical Question

At the time and since then, some people asked whether the breakdown of separate spheres called into question the concept of domesticity—the expectation that a woman has a special responsibility for the nurturing and protection of the family. Did the emergence of the "New Woman" significantly change expectations about women's roles in American society? Or were the older expectations of domesticity still prominent?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions.

**Did the emergence of the "New Woman" significantly change expectations about women's roles in American society?**

### The Sources

**1** Mrs. Burton Harrison, writing in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1900 on "Home Life as a Profession," had this to say:

*Today, when hundreds of young women of our best blood and culture in America are standing within the open doors of schools and colleges, eagerly straining their gaze out into the future, hoping to catch a glimpse of the opportunity for a "career," it seems to behoove the conservative thinkers among us to suggest to some of them the profession of home life. . . . Now, as a matter of historic fact, the cornerstone of the highest civilization has always been the home, and wifedom and motherhood the happiest estate of woman. To my mind, it is a cruel wrong to a young girl to launch her in life unadvised on these points,*

*and imbued with the determination to independence of the other sex. . . .*

*Far be it from me to suggest a relapse to those dark ages of home life when a girl strummed on the piano or worked in cross-stitch tapestry. . . . On the contrary, I would have her carry back into her home her sheaves of knowledge and accomplishment, and there try to enrich and broaden the domestic sphere. . . . I do not think our homes as they are now a sufficiently satisfying exchange for the broader, more interesting channels for women's work everywhere available. But I earnestly wish they might be made so; and the question of how to accomplish this enormously important result ties largely in the palm of the girl graduate of today.*

**2** Rena Rietveld Verduin, an Illinois farm wife and mother with only a fifth-grade education, presented these views in 1907 in a community debate sponsored by a local club that organized cultural activities. She spoke in opposition to the proposition "Resolved that women should not enter higher education."

*Through an education girls are enabled to become self-supporting and acquainted with the ways of the world. Through an education girls learn to earn a livelihood and are not so liable to throw themselves away in marriage on some worthless man. . . . When [men] discover that the girls don't have to marry—by getting an education and going into some profession—they will be more likely to behave themselves and be at some pains to make themselves worthy of the girl's acceptance. . . . Men seem to think that the women have no business on the face of the earth except to work and slave for them. . . . Girls, get an education and escape slavery.*

**3** Susan W. Fitzgerald prepared this argument for woman's suffrage in the early twentieth century.

*We are forever being told that the place of woman is in the HOME. . . .*

*SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house. SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.*

*SHE is responsible for the children's health.*

*SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and decency, for what they turn out to be.*

*How Far Can the Mother Control These Things? . . . [The pamphlet then surveys problems of urban life—filthy streets, lack of adequate sanitation, fire hazards, and more.]*

*It is the MEN and NOT THE WOMEN that are really responsible for the unclean houses, unwholesome food, bad plumbing, danger of fire, risk of tuberculosis and other diseases, immoral influences of the street. In fact, MEN are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold WOMEN responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what those conditions shall be? . . . LET THEM VOTE.*

*Women are by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.*

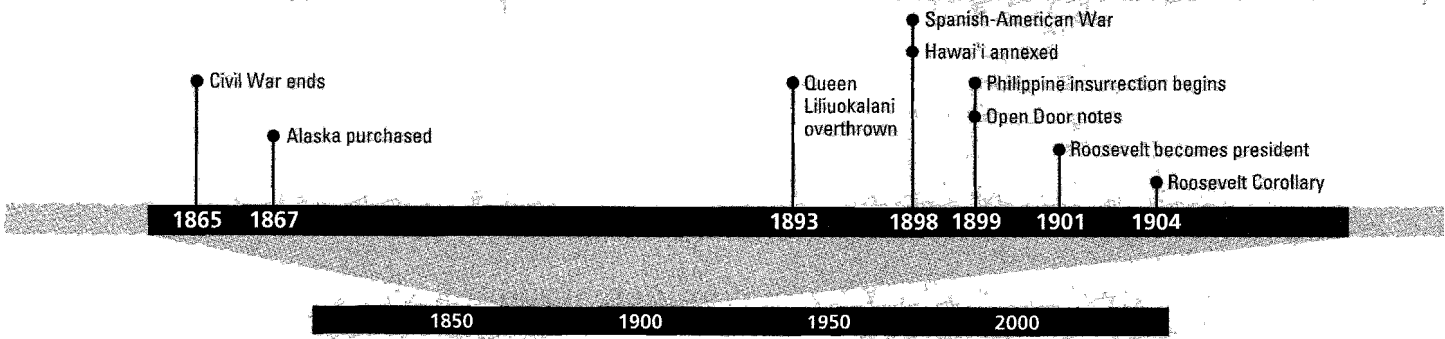
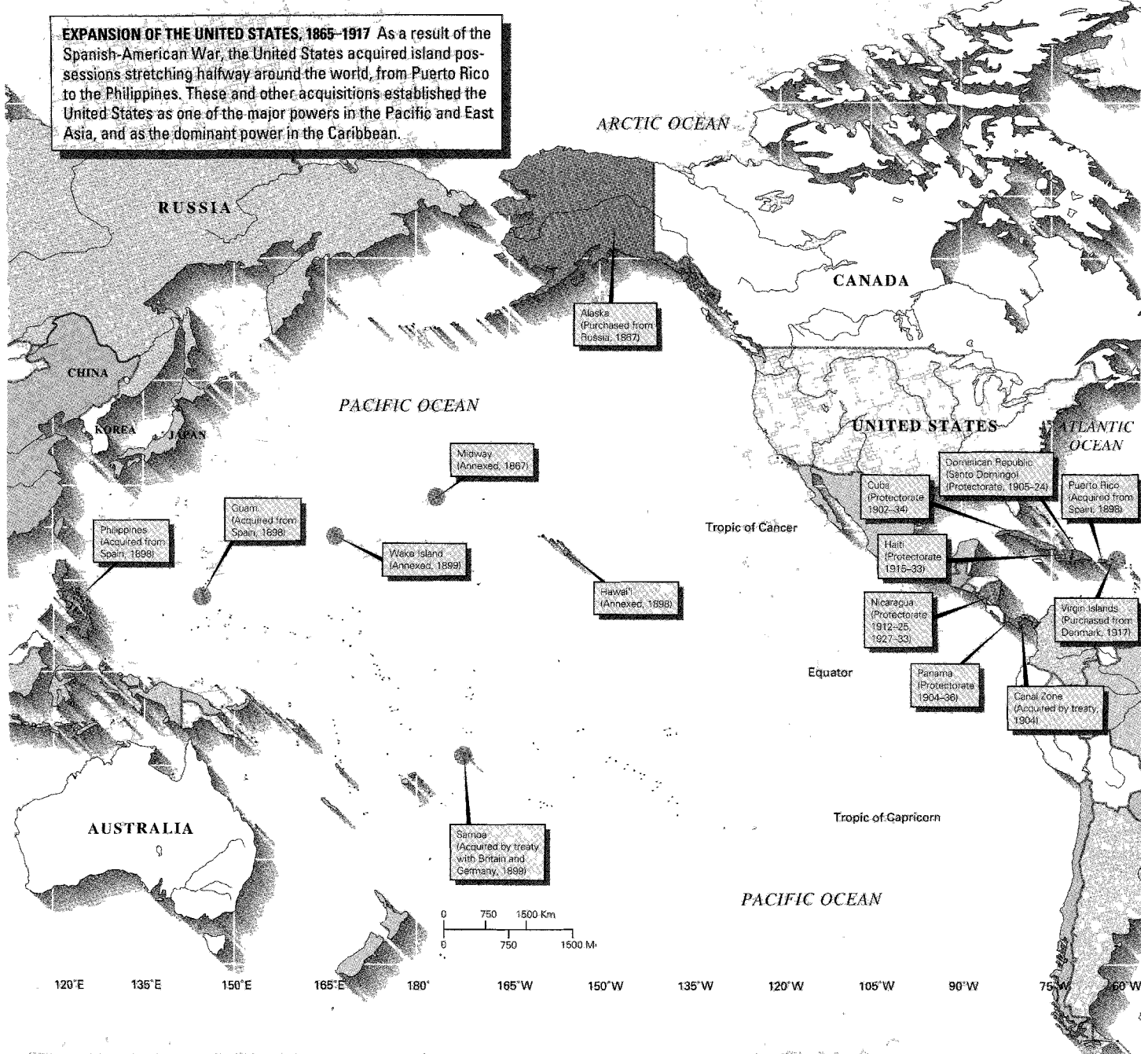
**4** Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who made her living as a writer and lecturer, was largely self-educated. This excerpt is from her article "Are Women Human Beings?" which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1912.

*[The] things the women want to do and be and have are not in any sense masculine. They do not belong to men. They never did. They are departments of our social life, hitherto monopolized by men. . . . We find everywhere this same pervasive error, this naïve assumption, which would be so insolent if it were not so absurd, that only men are human creatures, able and entitled to perform the work of the world; while women are only female creatures, able to do nothing whatever but continue in the same round of duties to which they have been so long restricted. . . .*

*Women will never cease to be females, but they will cease to be weak and ignorant and defenseless. They are becoming wiser, stronger, better able to protect themselves, one another, and their children. Courage, power, achievement are always respected. . . . [As they take] their full place in the world as members of society, as well as their partial places as mothers of it, they will gradually rear a new race of men, men with minds large enough to see in human beings something besides males and females.*



**EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1865-1917** As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired island possessions stretching halfway around the world, from Puerto Rico to the Philippines. These and other acquisitions established the United States as one of the major powers in the Pacific and East Asia, and as the dominant power in the Caribbean.



# Becoming a World Power: America and World Affairs,

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## 1865-1913

### **The United States and World Affairs, 1865-1889**

- How did American choices with regard to Alaska, Mexico, and eastern Asia reflect traditional American expectations regarding world affairs?
- How did American choices with regard to eastern Asia and the Pacific reflect new conditions in world affairs?

### **Stepping Cautiously in World Affairs, 1889-1897**

- How and why did some Americans' expectations about the U.S. role in world affairs begin to change between 1889 and 1897?

### **Striding Boldly: War and Imperialism, 1897-1901**

- What were the outcomes of the war with Spain?
-

What new expectations about America's role in world affairs were expressed in the debate over the acquisition of new possessions?

**"Carry a Big Stick":**

**The United States and  
World Affairs, 1901-1913**

•What were Theodore Roosevelt's expectations about the role of the United States in world affairs?

What choices did he make to bring about the outcomes he desired?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain and quickly inflicted a stinging defeat. The *choice* to go to war climaxed a turnabout in American *expectations* regarding foreign affairs. During much of the nineteenth century, the nation's role in world affairs was slight at best, and most Americans *expected* that their nation would stay out of foreign conflicts.

Similarly, Americans had few worries about being pulled into European wars, for Europe remained relatively peaceful. The insulation afforded by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans reinforced Americans' feeling of security, and the powerful British navy provided a protective umbrella for American commercial shipping. Thus George Washington's advice that the nation "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world" became the cornerstone of American foreign relations for most of the nineteenth century.

In the late nineteenth century, however, the United States took a place among the leading industrial nations of the world. The simultaneous emergence of Germany and Japan as industrial and naval giants contributed to a growing instability in world affairs. Japan joined the European powers in a race for empire in which much of the world seemed fair game for colonial capture. In Africa, major European nations scrambled to claim territory. In eastern Asia, they were joined by Russia and Japan. Britain and Germany sometimes looked toward Latin America as another field for expansion. In eastern Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America, the United States also had long-standing interests, often derived from commerce.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, some Americans began urging that the nation boldly *choose* to seek a prominent role in world affairs. Most presidents after the Civil War were highly cautious about such a commitment. But a revolution in transportation and communication erased many former *constraints* on foreign relations. American diplomatic representatives abroad had once been connected to Washington only by an occasional memorandum carried by an American

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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ship. Now they could communicate daily by telegraph. Sailing ships had once taken weeks to traverse the Atlantic and Pacific. Now steam-powered, steel-hulled vessels crossed in days and carried many times as much cargo.

Challenges to traditional *expectations* of U.S. isolationism and the dissolving of long-standing *constraints* on action presented American policymakers of the late nineteenth century with more *choices* in foreign relations than their predecessors had faced. One *outcome* of their *choices* was a foreign policy usually described as imperialism. Its foundation was the acquisition of possessions scattered halfway around the world (see chapter opener map). But the emerging U.S. foreign policy resulted in more than just colonies and the navy necessary to maintain and protect them. The larger *outcome* was a redefinition of nearly every aspect of American relations with the rest of the world.



## The United States and World Affairs

- 1823 Monroe Doctrine
- 1865 Civil War ends
- 1867 French troops leave Mexico  
Alaska purchased from Russia
- 1872 Arbitration of *Alabama* claims
- 1887 Constitution forced on Hawaiian  
monarchy  
Pearl Harbor granted to US. Navy
- 1889 First Samoa treaty
- 1890 Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon  
History*  
McKinley Tariff
- 1891 Liliuokalani becomes Hawaiian queen  
Harrison threatens war with Chile
- 1893 Queen Liliuokalani overthrown
- 1894 Wilson-Gorman Tariff
- 1895-1896 Venezuelan boundary crisis
- 1896 Reconcentration policy in Cuba  
McKinley elected
- 1898 De Lôme letter  
U.S. warship *Maine* explodes  
Spanish-American War  
Hawaii annexed by joint resolution  
Treaty of Paris signed
- 1899 Treaty of Paris ratified  
Open Door notes  
Permanent Court of Arbitration created
- 1899-1902 Philippine insurrection suppressed
- 1900 Foraker Act  
McKinley reelected  
Boxer Rebellion
- 1900-1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaties
- 1901 McKinley assassinated; Roosevelt  
becomes president
- 1902 Civil government in the Philippines  
Cuba becomes a protectorate
- 1903 Arbitration of Alaska-Canada boundary  
dispute
- 1904 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty makes Panama  
a protectorate, provides for construction of a  
canal there  
Roosevelt Corollary
- 1904-1914 Panama Canal constructed
- 1905 Dominican Republic becomes a protectorate  
Roosevelt mediates Russo-Japanese War
- 1907 Roosevelt's "Great White Fleet" 1912
- Nicaragua becomes a protectorate

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## The United States and World Affairs, 1865-1889

Americans took their first steps toward a new foreign policy following the Civil War, but those steps occurred largely in isolation from each other. Until the 1890s, American foreign policy proceeded largely on a case-by-case basis.

### Alaska, Canada, and the *Alabama* Claims

In 1866, the Russian minister to the United States hinted to Secretary of State William H. Seward that Russia might sell its holdings in North America if the price were right. Seward made an offer, and in 1867 the two diplomats agreed on a price slightly over \$7 million for Alaska. Some journalists derided the new purchase as a frozen, worthless wasteland and labeled it "Seward's Folly." The Senate, however, greeted it with considerable enthusiasm. Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spoke for many in regarding the purchase of Alaska as the first step to the ultimate possession of Canada.

The acquisition of Canada figured prominently in American claims against Great Britain arising out of the Civil War. Several Confederate naval vessels built in British shipyards, notably the *Alabama*, had badly disrupted northern shipping. British ports had also offered refuge, repairs, and supplies to Confederate ships. Although Sumner suggested that Britain should compensate the United States by ceding Canada, Britain proved unresponsive to American demands for any damages. In 1869, however, as relations between Britain and Russia grew tense, the British began to fret that American shipyards might provide similar services for the Russians. In the Treaty of Washington (1871), the two countries agreed to arbitration. The 1872 arbitration decision held Britain responsible for the direct claims amounting to \$15.5 million in damages.

## Testing the Monroe Doctrine: The United States and Latin America

Ever since the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the United States had declared its intentions of preventing further European colonization and meddling in the Western Hemisphere. The first real test of that doctrine came after the Civil War in 1865.

In late 1861, as the United States lurched into civil war, France, Spain, and Britain sent a joint force to Mexico to collect debts that Mexico could not pay. Spain and Britain soon withdrew their contingents, but France remained. Despite resistance led by Benito Juarez, president of Mexico, French troops occupied key areas. Some of Juarez's conservative political opponents cooperated with the French emperor, Napoleon III, to name Archduke Maximilian of Austria emperor of Mexico. But Maximilian antagonized many and held power only because of the French army.

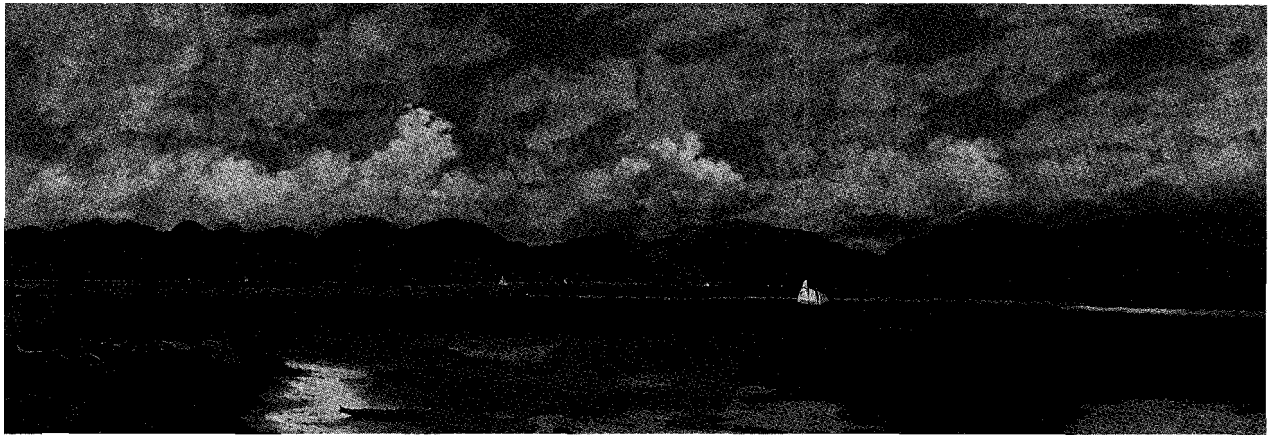
During the Civil War, the United States continued to recognize Juarez as president of Mexico but could do little else. As soon as the war ended, however, Secretary of State Seward demanded that Napoleon withdraw his troops. Seward underscored his demand by moving fifty thousand battle-hardened troops to the Mexican border. Thus confronted, Napoleon III withdrew his army

**William H. Seward** U.S. secretary of state under Lincoln and Johnson; a former abolitionist who had expansionist views and who arranged the purchase of Alaska from Russia.

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee** One of the standing, or permanent, committees of the Senate; it deals with foreign affairs, and its chairman wields considerable power.

**arbitration** Process by which parties to a dispute submit their case to the judgment of an impartial person or group and agree to abide by the decision of the arbiter.

**Archduke Maximilian** Austrian archduke appointed by France to be emperor of Mexico in 1864; he lacked popular support and was executed by Mexican republicans when the French withdrew from the country.



- ◆ Located on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, Pearl Harbor is one of the finest harbors in the Pacific. This painting was done in 1889, two years after the Hawaiian king granted use of the harbor to the United States. In return, the United States granted preferred status to Hawaiian sugar in the American market. "*Pearl Harbor from the Ocean*" by Joseph Strong, 1889. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

in early 1867. Juarez defeated Maximilian in battle and then executed him. The French withdrawal helped create new respect in Europe for the role of the United States in Latin America.

### Eastern Asia and the Pacific

Americans had taken a strong commercial interest in eastern Asia since the opening of the China trade in 1784. Following the Civil War, however, American exports to that area made up less than 2 percent of all exports. Some Americans began dreaming of profits from selling to China's hundreds of millions of potential consumers.

Growing trade prospects between eastern Asia and the United States thus fueled American interest in ports in the Pacific that could provide supplies and repairs. Interest focused on two groups of islands with excellent harbors, Hawai'i and **Samoa**, both independent nations. The Hawaiian Islands' location near the center of the Pacific made them an ideal supply depot for ships crossing the ocean. New England missionaries had gone to the islands as early as 1819. By 1842, President John Tyler stated that the United States would not allow the islands to pass under the control of another power.

Hawai'i's relationship to the United States changed significantly after 1875, when the Senate yielded to pressure from *haole* sugar growers and exempted Hawaiian imports from the tariff. The outcome was a rapid expansion of the Hawaiian sugar industry, as children of New England missionaries joined American sugar refiners in developing huge sugar plantations. Sugar soon tied the Hawaiian economy closely to the United States. In 1887, a group of *haole* business leaders and plantation owners pressured King Kalakaua into accepting a constitution that limited the monarch's powers and permitted *haoles* to dominate the government. Although the royal family resented *haole* control of the government, they reluctantly granted Pearl Harbor to the American navy in 1887 to secure the renewal of tariff exemptions for Hawaiian sugar.

**Samoa** A group of volcanic and mountainous islands in the South Pacific.

**haole** Hawaiian word used to describe persons not of indigenous Hawaiian ancestry, especially whites.

Samoa, in the South Pacific, drew attention not just from the United States but also from Britain and Germany. When German actions in the islands suggested an attempt at annexation, President Cleveland vowed to maintain Samoan independence. All three nations dispatched warships to the vicinity in 1889, and conflict seemed likely until a typhoon scattered and damaged the ships. A subsequent treaty provided for Samoan independence under the protection of the three Western nations.

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## Stepping Cautiously in World Affairs, 1889-1897

During Benjamin Harrison's administration (1889-1893), the United States began to take its first, cautious steps toward redefining its role in world affairs. One step involved a new role for the U.S. Navy and the commissioning of modern ships able to carry it out. Another involved the emergence of a more coherent set of foreign policy objectives and commitments.

### Building a Navy

At the end of the Civil War, the navy, like the army, was rapidly demobilized. Unlike the army, which was needed to fight Indians in the West, the navy was largely ignored. Few Americans appreciated the significance of the Civil War experiments with armor-plated, steam-powered ships. Even the navy's wooden sailing vessels deteriorated to the point that some people ridiculed them as fit only for firewood.

Alfred Thayer Mahan played a key role in the emergence of the modern navy. As president of the Naval War College, Captain Mahan exerted a powerful influence, especially during the Harrison administration. In his book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), Mahan argued that sea power had been the determining factor in the great European power struggles from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries.

Mahan drew a number of lessons for government policy from his study of history. First, Mahan urged support for a strong merchant marine. Sec

ond, he advocated a large, modern navy centered on huge, powerful battleships. Third, he stressed a vision for empire. Extend American power beyond the national boundaries, he exhorted, to establish and control a canal through Central America, command the Caribbean, dominate Hawai'i and other strategic locations in the Pacific, and create naval bases at key points in the Atlantic and Pacific.

In 1889, during the Harrison administration, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy urged Congress to modernize and expand the navy significantly. He requested eighteen more battleships, nearly fifty more cruisers, and more smaller vessels. Congress did not give him all that he asked but did begin to create a modern, two-ocean navy centered on battleships that were equal to the world's best.

### Revolution in Hawai'i

In 1890, the McKinley Tariff allowed imported sugar to enter the United States without being subject to a tariff. To protect domestic sugar producers, sugar grown within the United States received a subsidy of 2 cents per pound. Hawaiian sugar now encountered stiff competition in the American market, notably from Cuban sugar. Facing economic disaster, many Hawaiian planters craved the 2-cent subsidy and began to talk of annexation to the United States. In 1891, King Kalakaua died and was succeeded by his more assertive sister, Liliuokalani. She hoped to restore Hawai'i to the indigenous Hawaiians. Fearing that they might

**demobilize** To discharge from military service.

**Alfred Thayer Mahan** Lecturer and writer on naval history who stressed the importance of sea power in determining political history and who justified imperialism on the basis of national self-interest.

**merchant marine** Ships engaged in commerce.

**Liliuokalani** Last reigning queen of Hawai'i, whose desire to restore land to the Hawaiian people and perpetuate the monarchy prompted *haole* planters to depose her in 1893.

**indigenous** Original to or belonging in an area or environment.

lose not only their political clout but also their economic holdings, *haole* entrepreneurs set out to overthrow the monarchy. On January 17, 1893, the plotters announced a provisional republican government that would seek annexation by the United States. John L. Stevens, the U.S. minister to Hawai'i, provided crucial assistance for the rebellion by ordering the landing of 150 marines. Liliuokalani surrendered, as she put it, "to the superior force of the United States."

The Harrison administration was unable to annex Hawai'i before Harrison's term of office expired. The succeeding president, Grover Cleveland, withdrew the annexation treaty when he learned how Liliuokalani had been deposed. He asked the new government of Hawai'i to restore the queen. It refused, and Hawai'i became a republic, dominated by its *haole* business and planter community.

### Crises in Latin America

Although Harrison and Cleveland acted at cross-purposes regarding Hawai'i, they moved in similar directions with regard to Latin America. Both presidents extended American involvement, and both threatened the use of force.

A rebellion in Chile in 1891 ended with victory for the rebels. Because the American minister to Chile had seemed to side against the rebels, anti-American feelings ran high. In October 1891, a mob in Valparaiso killed two American sailors on shore leave. When the Chilean government failed to apologize, Harrison responded with threats of war. Chile gave in, apologized, and promised to pay damages.

In 1895 and 1896, Grover Cleveland also took the nation to the edge of war over a long-standing boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. Venezuela repeatedly proposed arbitration, but Britain refused. In July 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney demanded that Britain submit the boundary issue to arbitration. Resting his argument on the Monroe Doctrine, he bombastically proclaimed the United States to be pre-eminent throughout the Western Hemisphere. The British still refused arbitration. Cleveland then asked Congress for authority to determine the boundary

and enforce it. Britain faced the possibility of conflict with the United States at a time when it was becoming increasingly concerned about Germany and when tensions were mounting between the British colony in South Africa and the neighboring Boer republics. Britain agreed to arbitration.

Cleveland took a more restrained position on Cuba, one of the few vestiges of Spain's New World empire. Cuba had rebelled against the mother country repeatedly. A new rebellion broke out after 1894, when the Wilson-Gorman Tariff placed a high duty on Cuban sugar and sent the Cuban economy into a depression. In 1896, General Valeriano Weyler, the Spanish commander in Cuba, established a reconcentration policy to combat guerrilla warfare waged by insurgents seeking independence. Weyler ordered the civilian population into fortified towns or camps. Everyone outside these fortified areas was subject to attack. The insurgents responded by ravaging sugar and tobacco plantations, including those owned by Americans.

The U.S. government vehemently protested reconcentration, particularly after disease and starvation swept through the camps, killing an estimated one of every eight Cubans in two years. American newspapers vied with each other in portraying Spanish atrocities and in exaggerating them to attract readers. Such yellow journalism swayed many Americans to clamor for action that would rescue the Cubans from Spanish oppression.

**British Guiana** British colony in northeast South America on the Atlantic coast; its boundary with Venezuela was the source of a long-standing dispute.

**Boer republics** Self-governing nations established by white South Africans of Dutch descent; they were formed in an effort to escape British rule but were eventually annexed by Britain into its South African colony.

**reconcentration** Spanish policy in Cuba in 1896 under which the civilian population was ordered into fortified camps as part of a plan to isolate and annihilate Cuban revolutionaries.

**insurgents** Rebels or revolutionaries.

**yellow journalism** Journalism that exploits or exaggerates the news to attract readers.

Cleveland reacted cautiously. He proclaimed American neutrality and warned Americans not to support the insurrection. When members of Congress began to push for action to secure Cuban independence, Cleveland ignored the pressure. He did urge Spain to grant concessions to the insurgents, but he considered the insurgents incapable of replacing Spanish rule. Just as he had opposed the annexation of Hawai'i, Cleveland feared that American intervention might lead to annexation regardless of the will of the Cuban people. Nonetheless, by early 1897 he had begun to warn Spain of possible American intervention.

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## Striding Boldly: War and Imperialism, 1897-1901

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain over Cuba. Some who promoted American intervention on behalf of the suffering Cubans envisioned a quick war to establish a Cuban republic. Others saw war with Spain as an opportunity to acquire a colonial empire for the United States.

### McKinley and War

William McKinley assumed the presidency in 1897 amid increasing demands for action regarding Cuba. McKinley gradually stepped up diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis. Late that year, Spain responded by recalling General Weyler, softening the reconcentration policy, and offering the Cubans limited self-government but not independence.

In February 1898, however, two events scuttled progress toward a negotiated solution. First, Cuban insurgents stole a letter written by Enrique **Dupuy de Lôme**, the Spanish minister to the United States, and released it to the *New York Journal*. In it, de Lôme criticized President McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The letter implied that Spain was not seriously committed to reform in Cuba. De Lôme's immediate resignation could not undo the damage. The letter aroused intense anti-Spanish feeling among Americans.

Second, on February 15, a few days after publication of the de Lôme letter, an explosion ripped open the American warship *Maine*, anchored in Havana harbor. The *Maine* sank, with the loss of more than 260 American officers and sailors. The yellow press accused Spain of sabotage, claiming that a submarine mine had sunk the ship. Regardless of how the explosion occurred, those advocating intervention now had a rallying cry: "Remember the *Maine*!"

McKinley demanded that Spain put an immediate end to the fighting and submit to his mediation. One possible outcome of this mediation was Cuban independence. In reply, the Spanish government consented to end the fighting if the insurgents asked for an armistice. Spain was silent, though, on mediation by McKinley and independence for Cuba. On April 11, McKinley asked Congress for authority to stop the war in Cuba. On April 19, Congress passed four resolutions that (1) declared that Cuba was and should be independent, (2) demanded that Spain withdraw "at once," (3) authorized the president to force Spanish withdrawal, and (4) disavowed any intention to annex the island. The first three resolutions amounted to a declaration of war. The fourth has usually been called the Teller **Amendment** for its sponsor, Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado. In response, Spain declared war.

Nearly all Americans reacted enthusiastically to what they understood to be a war whose purpose was to bring independence to the long-suffering

**Enrique Dupuy de Lome** Spanish minister to the United States whose private letter criticizing President McKinley was stolen and made public, increasing anti-Spanish sentiment.

**Maine** American warship that exploded in Havana harbor in 1898; later investigation suggested an internal explosion.

**mediation** An attempt to bring about the peaceful settlement of a dispute through the intervention of a neutral party.

**armistice** An agreement to halt fighting at least temporarily.

**Teller Amendment** Resolution approved by U.S. Senate in 1898, by which the United States promised not to annex Cuba.

Cubans. From the beginning, however, some voiced distrust of the McKinley administration's motives. This distrust intensified when the McKinley administration defeated efforts to have the Cuban insurgents recognized as the legitimate government of Cuba.

### The "Splendid Little War"

Many Americans were taken by surprise when the first engagement in the war occurred not in Cuba but in the **Philippine Islands**, on the other side of the world. A Spanish colony for more than three hundred years, the Philippines, like Cuba, were engaged in a rebellion against Spanish rule.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy **Theodore Roosevelt**, however, was not surprised. In late February 1898, more than six weeks before McKinley's war message to Congress, Roosevelt cabled the American naval commander in the Pacific, George Dewey, and instructed him to crush the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay in the event of war. On May 1, Dewey carried out those orders. His squadron of four cruisers and three smaller vessels steamed into Manila Bay and quickly destroyed or captured ten Spanish cruisers and gunboats. The Spanish lost 381 men; the Americans lost 1, a victim of heat prostration. Dewey became an instant national hero.

Dewey's victory at Manila immediately raised the prospect of establishing a permanent American presence there. This, in turn, revived interest in annexing Hawai'i as a base for supplying and protecting future American involvement in eastern Asia. The annexation of Hawai'i was accomplished on July 7, some five years after the planters had deposed Queen Liliuokalani.

Dewey's victory demonstrated that the American navy was clearly superior to that of Spain. By contrast, the Spanish army in Cuba outnumbered the entire American army by more than five to one. The Spanish troops also had years of experience fighting in Cuba. When war was declared, the American army numbered only twenty-eight thousand soldiers. A call for volunteers brought nearly a million—five times as many as the army could take.

The sudden declaration of war caught the army unprepared. Sent to training camps in the South,

the new soldiers found chaos and confusion. Food, uniforms, and equipment arrived at one location while the men for whom they were intended stood hungry and idle at another. The heavy wool uniforms were totally unsuited for the climate. Disease raged through some camps, killing many men. Others died from tainted food.

Once in Cuba, American forces concentrated on the port city of Santiago, where the Spanish Atlantic fleet had taken refuge. Inexperienced, poorly equipped, and unfamiliar with the terrain, the Americans doggedly assaulted the fortified hills surrounding the city. At Kettle Hill, Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned as assistant secretary of the navy to organize a volunteer cavalry regiment, led a successful but costly charge of his "**Rough Riders**" and regular army units. Driving the Spanish from the crest of Kettle Hill cleared a serious impediment to the assault on nearby San Juan Heights and San Juan Hill. Roosevelt's units took a minor part in the attack on those heights. With little regard for accuracy, newspapers declared Roosevelt the hero of the Battle of San Juan Hill.

Once the Americans secured control of the high ground around Santiago Harbor, the Spanish fleet of four cruisers and two destroyers tried to escape from the harbor. A larger American fleet under Admiral William Sampson and Commodore Winfield Schley sank or disabled every Spanish ship. The Spanish suffered 323 deaths, the Americans 1.

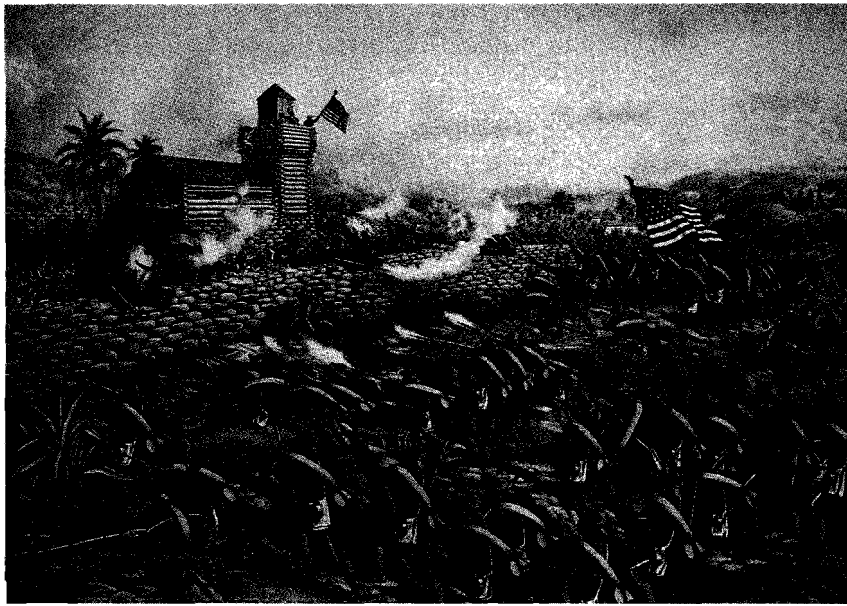
Their fleet destroyed and the surrounding hills in American hands, the Spanish in Santiago still waited two weeks before surrendering. A week later, American forces took Puerto Rico. Early in the war, on June 21, an American cruiser had

**Philippine Islands** A group of islands in the Pacific Ocean southeast of China that came under U.S. control in 1898 after the Spanish-American War.

**Theodore Roosevelt** American politician and writer who advocated war against Spain in 1898; McKinley's vice president in 1900, he became president in 1901 upon McKinley's assassination.

**depose** To dethrone or remove from power.

**Rough Riders** Cavalry volunteers in the Spanish-American War recruited by their lieutenant colonel, Theodore Roosevelt.



- ◆ Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders, on foot because there was not room aboard ship for their horses, are shown in the background of this artist's depiction of the battle for Kettle Hill, a part of the larger battle for San Juan Hill, overlooking the city of Santiago. The artist has put into the foreground members of the 9th and 10th Cavalry, both African-American units that also played a key role in that engagement, but one often overlooked because of the attention usually given Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. *Chicago Historical Society*.

forced Spanish forces on Guam to surrender without a contest. Spanish land forces in the Philippines surrendered when the first American troops arrived in mid-August (see Map 20.1). The "splendid little war," as John Hay, the American ambassador to Great Britain described it, lasted only sixteen weeks. The war cost the United States 385 battlefield deaths and more than 5,000 deaths because of disease and other causes.

### The Treaty of Paris

On August 12, the United States and Spain agreed to stop fighting. The truce specified that Spain was to give up Cuba and transfer Puerto Rico and one of the **Ladrone Islands** to the United States. Until a peace conference determined the Philippines' fate, the United States was to occupy Manila.

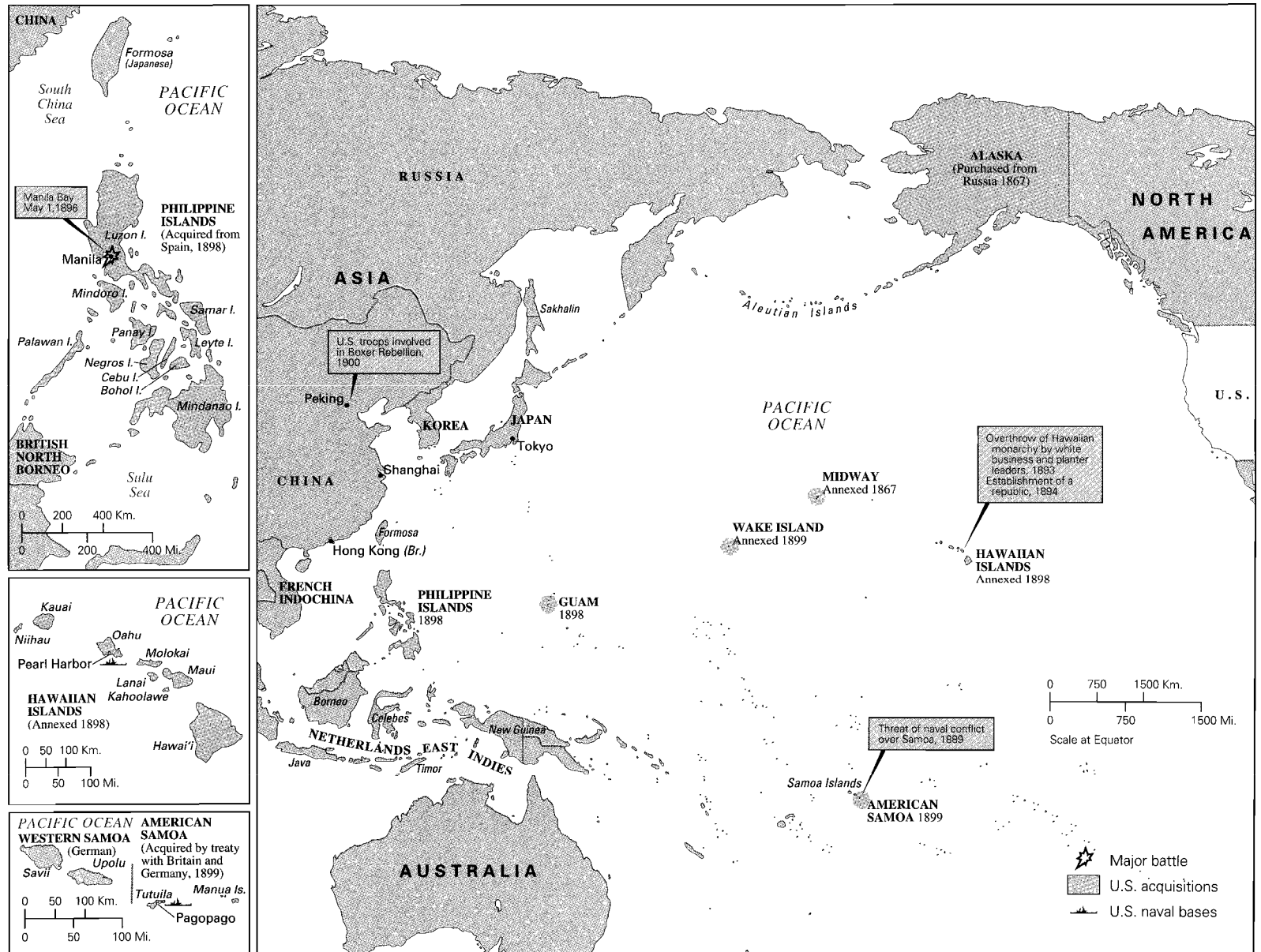
The only real question remaining was the disposition of the Philippines. McKinley at first seemed inclined to request only a naval base and to leave Spain the remainder of the islands. Spanish authority collapsed everywhere on the islands by mid-August, however, as Filipino insurgents took charge. Britain, Japan, and Germany seemed likely to step in if the United States withdrew.

McKinley then apparently decided that defending a naval base on Manila Bay would require control of the entire island group. No one seems to have seriously considered the Filipinos' desire for independence.

McKinley was well aware of the political and strategic importance of the Philippines for establishing an American presence in eastern Asia. He invoked other reasons, however, when he explained his decision to a group of visiting Methodists. He repeatedly prayed for guidance on the Philippine question, he told them. Late one night, he realized that "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men, for whom Christ also died." In fact, most Filipinos had been Catholics for centuries.

**Ladrone Islands** Islands in the western Pacific now known as the Marianas; they include the island of Guam, which the United States acquired from Spain under the 1898 Treaty of Paris.





◆ **MAP 20.1 The United States and the Pacific, 1866-1900** In the 1890s, the United States became a major power in the Pacific and in eastern Asia. This map indicates major acquisitions and activities up to 1900.

The Treaty of **Paris**, signed in December 1898, required Spain to surrender all claim to Cuba, cede Puerto Rico and the island of Guam to the United States, and sell the Philippines for \$20 million. For the first time in American history, a treaty acquiring new territory failed to confer U.S. citizenship on the residents. Thus these acquisitions represented a new kind of expansion. The United States now owned territories with no prospect for statehood and whose residents lacked the rights of American citizens. America had become a colonial power.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris dismayed Democrats, Populists, and some conservative Republicans. An active anti-imperialist movement quickly formed, including William Jennings Bryan, Grover Cleveland, Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, Jane Addams, and others. The treaty, they argued, amounted to a denial of self-government for the newly acquired territories and therefore violated the Declaration of Independence. For the United States to hold colonies, they claimed, threatened the very concept of democracy. "The Declaration of Independence will make every Filipino a thoroughly dissatisfied subject," Andrew Carnegie warned. Others worried about the perversion of American values. "God Almighty help the party that seeks to give civilization and Christianity hypodermically with 13-inch guns," prayed Senator William Morris of Illinois.

Those who defended the acquisition of the Philippines echoed McKinley's lofty pronouncements about America's solemn duty, along with more mundane claims about economic benefits. Albert Beveridge, senator from Indiana after 1899, stated the need for expansion: "Today, we are raising more than we can consume, making more than we can use. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce." Expansionists also argued that possession of the Philippines would make the United States a leading power in eastern Asia. American business would then have access to the China market. In contrast to the heated debates over the Philippines, virtually no one challenged the acquisition of Puerto Rico.

Bryan, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1896, urged his followers in the Senate to approve the treaty. That way, he reasoned, the United States alone could determine the future of the Philippines. Once the treaty was approved, he argued,

the United States should immediately grant them independence. By a narrow margin, the Senate approved the treaty on February 6, 1899, but senators rejected a proposal for Philippine independence.

### **Republic or Empire: The Election of 1900**

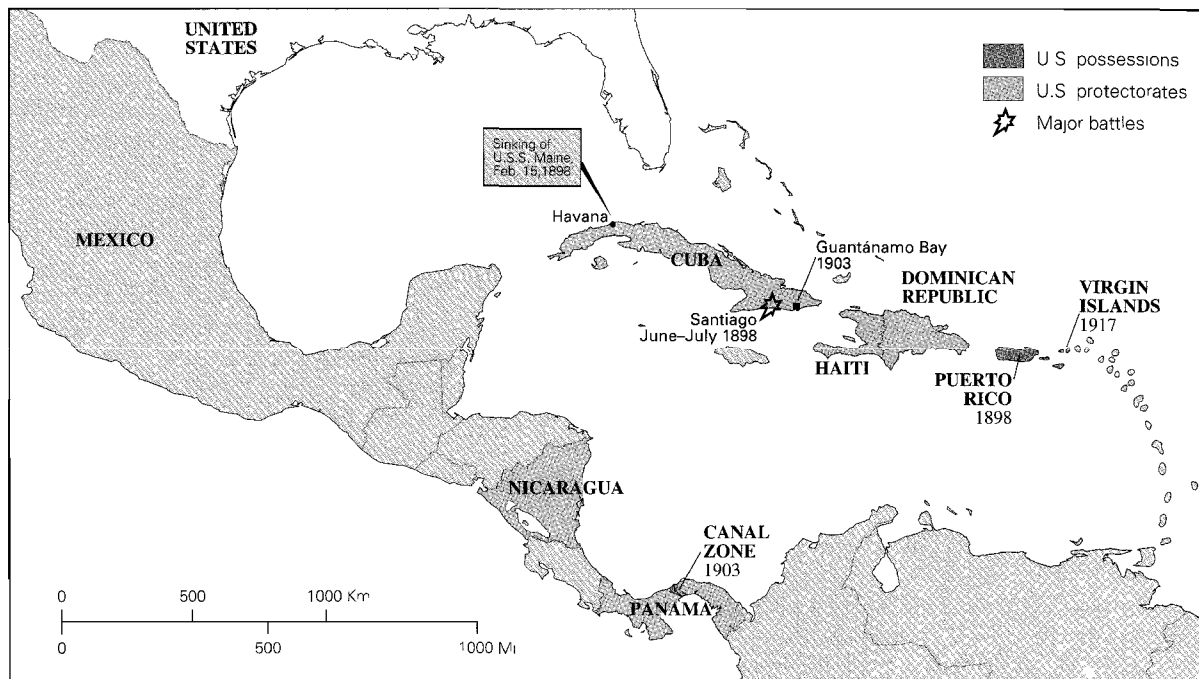
Bryan, who easily won the Democratic nomination for a second time, hoped to make independence for the Philippines the central issue in the 1900 presidential election. Bryan found, however, that many conservative anti-imperialists would not support his candidacy because he insisted on silver coinage and attacked big business.

The Republicans renominated McKinley. For vice president, they chose Theodore Roosevelt, the "hero of San Juan Hill." The McKinley re-election campaign seemed unstoppable. Republican campaigners pointed proudly to a short and highly successful war, legislation that had fulfilled party campaign promises on the tariff and the gold standard, and the return of prosperity. Whereas Bryan repeatedly attacked imperialism, McKinley and Roosevelt took pride in expansion. McKinley easily won a second term with 51.7 percent of the vote. He even carried most of the western states where populism had once flourished.

### **Organizing an Insular Empire**

The Teller Amendment specified that the United States would not annex Cuba (see Map 20.2). The McKinley administration, though, consistently refused to recognize the insurgents as a legitimate government, so the U.S. Army took over the job of running the island when the Spanish left. Among other tasks, the army undertook public improvements, including sanitation projects intended to reduce disease, especially yellow fever. After two years of army rule, the McKinley administration permitted Cuban voters to hold a constitutional convention.

**Treaty of Paris** Treaty ending the Spanish-American War, under which Spain granted independence to Cuba, ceded Puerto Rico and Guam, and sold the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.



◆ **MAP 20.2 The United States and the Caribbean, 1898-1917** Between 1898 and 1917, the United States expanded into the Caribbean by acquiring possessions and establishing protectorates. As a result, the United States became the dominant power in the region during this time period.

The convention drafted a constitution in 1900 modeled on that of the United States. It did not define relations between Cuba and the United States, however. In March 1901, the McKinley administration specified, and Congress adopted, detailed provisions for Cuba to adopt before the army would withdraw, including these stipulations: (1) Cuba was not to make any agreement with a foreign power that impaired the island's independence, (2) the United States could intervene in Cuba to preserve Cuban independence and maintain law and order, and (3) Cuba was to lease facilities to the United States for naval bases and coaling stations. The Cubans reluctantly accepted the conditions, added them to their constitution, and agreed to a treaty with the United States stating the same conditions. In 1902, Cuba thereby became a protectorate of the United States.

The Teller Amendment did not apply to Puerto Rico. On that island, too, the army provided a mili-

tary government until 1900, when Congress approved the **Foraker Act**. That act made Puerto Ricans citizens of Puerto Rico but not citizens of the United States. It specified that Puerto Rican voters were to elect a legislature but final authority was to rest with a governor and council appointed by the president of the United States. In 1901, in the **Insular cases**, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a complex decision that, in effect, confirmed the colonial status of Puerto Rico and, by implication,

Foraker Act Law passed by Congress in 1900 that established civilian government in Puerto Rico; it provided for an elected legislature and a governor appointed by the U.S. president.

**Insular cases** Cases concerning Puerto Rico in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1901 that people in new island territories did not automatically receive the constitutional rights of U.S. citizens.

the other new possessions. The Court ruled that they were not equivalent to earlier territorial acquisitions and that their people did not possess the constitutional rights of citizens.

Establishment of a civil government in the Philippines took longer. Between Dewey's victory and the arrival of the first American soldiers three months later, a Philippine independence movement, led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, had established a provisional government. Its forces controlled all the islands except Manila, which remained in Spanish hands until American troops arrived. Aguinaldo and his government wanted independence, not a new colonial master. When the United States decided to keep the islands, many Filipinos resisted and eventually turned to guerrilla warfare. In an ironic turn of events, the United States now found itself in the role that Spain had previously played.

Quelling what American authorities called the "Philippine insurrection" required three years, took the lives of more than forty-two hundred American soldiers (more losses than in the Spanish-American War) and perhaps twenty thousand guerrillas, and cost \$400 million (twenty times the price of the islands). In crushing the resistance, U.S. troops resorted to the practice of reconcentration that the American public had so widely condemned when Spain used it in Cuba. Both sides committed atrocities during the conflict. Anti-imperialists saw their fears confirmed that a colonial policy would corrupt American values.

Aguinaldo's eventual defeat and McKinley's reelection ended any prospect for immediate Philippine independence. In 1902, Congress set up a government for the Philippines similar to that of Puerto Rico. Filipinos became citizens of the Philippine Islands, not of the United States. The president of the United States appointed the governor. Filipino voters elected one house in the two-house legislature, and the governor appointed the other. Both the governor and the United States Congress could veto laws passed by the legislature. **William Howard Taft**, governor of the islands from 1901 to 1904, tried to build local support for American control but met with little success. When the first Philippine legislature met in 1907, over half of its members favored independence from the United States.

## **The Open Door and the Boxer Rebellion in China**

The new Pacific acquisitions of the United States greatly strengthened its ability to gain access to markets in eastern Asia, especially China. They also laid a broad basis for asserting American power in eastern Asia. The United States now began to act like a major East Asian power.

The McKinley administration flexed this new American power first in China. By 1899, Britain, Germany, Russia, and France had carved out spheres of influence in China where they claimed special rights—usually a monopoly over trade. The United States claimed no such privileges in China. Fearing the breakup of China into separate European colonies, Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 circulated a letter to Germany, Russia, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The Open Door notes asked these countries to permit Chinese authorities to continue to collect tariff duties within their **spheres of influence**. Hay hoped that this measure would preserve some semblance of Chinese sovereignty. He also urged them not to discriminate against citizens of other nations engaged in commerce within their spheres. Thus Hay sought to prevent other nations from carving up China and, at the same time, to make American trade possible throughout China. Although some replies proved less than fully supportive, he announced that the **Open Door policy** was in effect.

The next year, in 1900, a Chinese secret society took up arms to expel foreigners from China. Be-

**Emilio Aguinaldo** Leader of struggles for Philippine independence, first against Spain and then against the United States.

**William Howard Taft** Appointed governor of the Philippines from 1901 to 1904; he was elected president of the United States in 1908 and became chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1921.

**spheres of influence** Areas of a country where foreign nations exercise considerable authority. **Open Door policy** Policy advocated by the United States in 1899 under which all nations would have equal access to trading and development rights in China.



A FAIR FIELD AND NO FAVOR  
 ENCL. SAR. THE. ONE FOR GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS.

◆ In this 1899 cartoon celebrating the Open Door policy, Uncle Sam insists that the nations of Europe must compete fairly for China's commerce and must not seize Chinese territory. In the background, John Bull (Britain) lifts his hat in approval. *Library of Congress.*

cause the rebels used a clenched fist as their symbol, Westerners called them Boxers. After attacking missionaries, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign legations in Peking, the Chinese capital. Hay foresaw that the major powers might use the **Boxer Rebellion** as a pretext to take full control of China. To block such a move, the United States took part in a joint international military expedition to crush the rebellion. Hay insisted that American action was not against the Chinese government but against the rebels.

Although China did not lose territory after the Boxer Rebellion, the intervening nations required it to pay an indemnity. After compensating American citizens for losses suffered during the rebellion, the U.S. government returned the remainder of its indemnity to China. As a show of gratitude, the Chinese government used the money to send Chinese students to the United States to develop good will between the two countries.

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## "Carry a Big Stick": The United States and World Affairs, 1901-1913

In 1901, an assassin's bullet cut down President McKinley and put Theodore Roosevelt in the White House. Roosevelt remolded the presidency, established new federal powers in the economy, and expanded America's role in world affairs. Few other presidents have had so great an impact. He once expressed his fondness for what he described as a West African proverb: "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far." As president, however, Roosevelt seldom spoke softly. Everything he did, it seemed, he did strenuously. Well-read in history and current events, Roosevelt entered the presidency with definite ideas on the proper role for the United States in the world. He envisioned a future in which major powers, particularly the United States, would exercise international police powers.

### Taking Panama

Following the American victory over Spain, American diplomats pursued efforts to build a canal through Central America to create a passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The considerable time that it took an American battleship stationed on the West Coast to reach Cuba during the Spanish-American War led McKinley to pronounce that an American-controlled canal was "indispensable." The Hay-Pauncefote **Treaties** of 1900 and 1901, in which Britain renounced its interests in an

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legation A diplomatic mission in a foreign country.

Boxer Rebellion Uprising in China in 1900 directed against foreign powers; it was suppressed by an international army that included American participation.

indemnity Payment for damage, loss, or injury.

Hay-Pauncefote Treaties Two separate treaties (1900 and 1901) signed by the United States and Britain giving the United States the exclusive right to build, control, and fortify a canal through Central America.

isthmian canal, cleared the way. Experts identified two possible locations for a canal, Nicaragua and Panama (then part of Colombia). In its favor, the Panama route was shorter, and a French canal company had completed some work in the 1870s. **Philippe Bunau-Varilla**, a major stockholder in the French company, did his utmost to sell that company's interests to the United States. Building through Panama, however, meant overcoming both formidable mountains and fever-ridden swamps. Previous studies had shown Nicaragua to be preferable because of fewer natural obstacles. Bunau-Varilla's lobbying led the Senate to approve the Panama route, provided that Colombia agreed to give up land for a canal.

Negotiations with Colombia bogged down over treaty language that significantly limited its sovereignty. Pressure from the United States did lead the Colombian government to accept such limitations—but only in return for more money. Roosevelt, outraged, called it "pure bandit morality." To break the impasse, Bunau-Varilla financed a revolution in Panama. Anticipating such a possibility, Roosevelt had ordered U.S. warships to prevent Colombian troops from crushing the uprising. The revolution succeeded, and Panama declared its independence. The United States immediately extended diplomatic recognition. Bunau-Varilla, named Panama's minister to the United States, promptly signed a treaty that gave the United States much the same arrangement earlier rejected by Colombia.

The **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** (1904) granted the United States perpetual control over a strip of Panamanian territory 10 miles wide, for a price of \$10 million and annual rent of \$250,000. The United States also purchased the assets of the French company and in 1904 began construction of the canal. Building the canal proved difficult. Just over 40 miles long, the canal took ten years to build and cost nearly \$400 million. Completed in 1914, just as World War I began, the canal was considered one of the world's great engineering feats.

### **Making the Caribbean an American Lake**

Well before the canal was finished, Roosevelt determined to establish American dominance in the

Caribbean and Central America to protect the canal. The threat of European intervention in the Caribbean led Roosevelt in 1904 to present what became known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine. The corollary stated that the United States would act as the police power in the Western Hemisphere in cases where governments defaulted on their debts or otherwise misbehaved. Roosevelt thus warned European nations against any intervention whatsoever in the Western Hemisphere. If outside authority became necessary in the Caribbean and Central America, Roosevelt insisted that the United States would handle it. He exempted Argentina, Brazil, and Chile from the Roosevelt Corollary as "civilized" powers in their own right.

Roosevelt acted forcefully to establish his new policy. In 1905, the Dominican Republic agreed to permit the United States to supervise government expenditures and thereby became an American protectorate. Roosevelt's successors, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson, expanded his policy of American domination in the Caribbean region. Under Taft, the United States encouraged Americans to invest in the region. Taft hoped that American investment would stabilize and develop the Caribbean economies. Taft supported such **dollar diplomacy** throughout the region, especially in Nicaragua. In 1912, Taft sent marines there to suppress a rebellion against President Adolfo Diaz. Nicaragua, too, became an American protectorate.

**Philippe Bunau-Varilla** Chief engineer of the French company contracted to build the Panama Canal and later minister to the United States from the new Republic of Panama.

**Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** Treaty with Panama that granted the United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone in return for a \$10 million payment plus an annual rent.

**Roosevelt Corollary** Extension of the Monroe Doctrine voiced by Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, in which he proclaimed the right of the United States to police Caribbean areas.

**dollar diplomacy** Policy during the Taft administration of supporting U.S. commercial interests abroad for strategic purposes, especially in Latin America.

The marines remained after the turmoil settled to prop up the Diaz government.

### Roosevelt and Eastern Asia

Roosevelt's East Asian policy built on the Open Door notes and American participation in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion. He found cause for both concern and optimism in Japan's rise as a major industrial and imperial power. His friend Alfred Thayer Mahan, the naval strategist, had warned of the potential danger to the United States posed by Japan. But Roosevelt was also hopeful. He admired Japanese accomplishments and looked forward to Japan's exercising the same degree of international police power in its vicinity that the United States did under the Roosevelt Corollary.

In 1904, Russia and Japan went to war over Manchuria, the northern part of China. After the Boxer Rebellion, Russia had pressured China to grant concessions that slowly turned Manchuria into a Russian colony. Russia seemed also to have designs on Korea. Japan responded with force to Russian encroachment on its interests. The Japanese scored smashing naval and military victories over the Russians but lacked the resources to sustain a long war.

Early in the war, Roosevelt indicated some support for Japan. When Japan's resources ran low, Japan asked Roosevelt to act as mediator. The president agreed in hopes of preserving a regional balance of power. The Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) recognized Japan's dominance in Korea and gave Japan both the southern half of Sakhalin Island and Russian concessions in southern Manchuria. Russia kept its railroad in northern Manchuria. China was to have responsibility for civil authority in Manchuria. For his mediation, Roosevelt received the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize.

That same year, Roosevelt mediated another significant dispute. The San Francisco school board had ordered children of Japanese parentage to attend the city's segregated Chinese school. The Japanese government regarded this as a serious insult. Roosevelt convinced the board to withdraw the segregation order in return for his efforts to cut off Japanese immigration. Japan agreed informally to limit the departure of laborers to the United States.

In 1908, the American and Japanese governments further agreed to respect each other's territorial possessions and to maintain "the independence and integrity of China" and the Open Door. During the Taft administration, the United States extended the concept of dollar diplomacy to China. Proponents sought Chinese permission for American citizens not just to trade with China but also to invest there, especially in railroad

construction. Taft hoped that such investments could head off further Japanese expansion. The effort received Chinese governmental sanction, but little came of it.

### The United States and the World: 1901-1913

Before the 1890s, the United States had no clear or consistent set of foreign policy commitments or objectives. After that, its commitments were obvious to all. Acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, eastern Samoa, and the **Canal Zone** represented highly visible components in a new American role in world affairs.

Central to that role was a large, modern, two-ocean navy. Roosevelt was so proud of the navy that, in 1907, he dispatched sixteen battleships—painted white to indicate their peaceful intent—on a fourteen-month world tour. Roosevelt later claimed that his purpose in sending the Great White Fleet "was to impress the American people." But he was clearly interested in impressing other nations too.

Another aspect of America's new role in the world revolved around the principle that the

**Manchuria** A region of northeast China that the Russians and Japanese fought to control in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

**Treaty of Portsmouth** Treaty in 1905 ending the Russo-Japanese War, which was negotiated at a conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, through Theodore Roosevelt's mediation.

**Canal Zone** Territory under U.S. control including the Panama Canal and land extending 5 miles on either side of it.

United States should control an **isthmian** canal. Protecting that canal led the United States to establish **hegemony** in the Caribbean and Central America as a means of preventing any other major power from threatening the canal. The new American role also focused on the Pacific. Captain Mahan had pointed out that the Atlantic Ocean had been the theater of conflict among European nations in the eighteenth century. He looked to the Pacific Ocean as the likely theater of twentieth-century conflict. Again, considerations of commercial enterprise and naval strategy coincided in leading the United States to acquire naval bases at strategic points in the central Pacific (Hawai'i), south Pacific (eastern Samoa), and off eastern Asia (the Philippines).

America's new vision of the world divided nations into two broad categories. On the one hand were all the "civilized" nations. On the other were those nations that Theodore Roosevelt described as "barbarous." American policy toward "civilized" countries—the European powers, Japan, and the large, stable nations of Latin America—focused on finding peaceful ways to realize mutual objectives, especially through arbitration. In eastern Asia, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft looked to a balance of power among the contending "civilized" powers as most likely to realize the American objective of maintaining access to the China market.

The conviction that arbitration was the appropriate means to settle disputes among "civilized" countries was widespread. An international conference in 1899 created a Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Netherlands. Housed in a marble "peace palace" built through a donation from Andrew Carnegie, the **Hague Court** functioned as a source of neutral arbitrators for international disputes. Both Roosevelt and Taft tried to negotiate arbitration treaties with major powers, only to find that the Senate was not willing to ratify them. Senators feared that such treaties might diminish their future role in approving agreements with other countries.

The United States and Britain repeatedly used arbitration to settle disputes between themselves. In addition to the *Alabama* claims, they used arbitration in 1903 to settle questions over the boundary between Alaska and Canada and in 1909 to end a dispute over the rights of American fishermen operating off the coast of Canada.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American relations with Great Britain improved steadily. As Germany expanded its army and navy and increasingly challenged Britain, British policymakers sought to improve ties with the United States, the only nation besides Great Britain with a navy comparable to Germany's. During the Spanish-American War, Britain alone among the major European powers sided with the United States and encouraged its acqui-

sion of the Philippines. In signing the Hay-Pauncefote Treaties and reducing its naval forces in the Caribbean, Britain delivered a clear signal: it not only accepted American dominance there but even depended on the United States to protect its own holdings in the region.

**isthmian** Pertaining to a narrow strip of land connecting two larger landmasses; in this case, the isthmus was Panama.

**hegemony** The dominance of one over another.

**Hague Court** Body of delegates from about fifty member nations created in the Netherlands in 1899 for the purpose of peacefully resolving international conflicts; also known as the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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From 1865 to 1889, few Americans *expected* their nation to take a major part in world affairs. The United States did make *choices* to acquire Alaska and to expel the French from Mexico. Other Ameri-



can *choices* brought some involvement in the Caribbean and Central America and in eastern Asia and the Pacific.

The 1890s witnessed the development of enlarged *expectations* and daring *choices* in foreign affairs. During the administration of Benjamin Harrison, Congress approved the creation of a modern navy. Although a revolution presented the United States with an opportunity to annex Hawaii, President Grover Cleveland *chose* to reject that course. However, Cleveland boldly threatened war with Great Britain over a disputed boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and Britain *chose* to back down.

A revolution in Cuba led the United States into a one-sided war with Spain in 1898. The immediate *outcome* of the war was acquisition of an American colonial empire that included Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico. Congress annexed Hawai'i in the midst of the war, and the United States acquired Samoa by treaty in 1899. The Filipinos *chose* to resist the imposition of American authority, leading to a three-year war that cost more lives than the Spanish-American War. With the Philippines in hand and an improved navy on the seas, the United States was free of old *constraints* on its influence in East

Asia. It now *chose* to assert the principle of the Open Door in China, where American troops helped suppress the Boxer Rebellion.

President Theodore Roosevelt's *choices* played an important role in defining America's status as a world power. He secured rights to build a U.S.-controlled canal through Panama and established Panama as an American protectorate. The Roosevelt Corollary declared that the United States was the dominant power in the Caribbean and Central America. In eastern Asia, by contrast, Roosevelt *chose* to bolster the Open Door policy by maintaining a balance of power.

Roosevelt and many others *expected* that "civilized" nations had no need to go to war. Thus he *chose* to seek arbitration treaties with leading nations, efforts that failed because of Senate opposition. Faced with the rise of German military and naval power, Great Britain *chose* to improve its relations with the United States.

One *outcome* of America's *choices* in foreign affairs was the acquisition of colonies in a foreign policy usually described as imperialism. A larger *outcome* was that the United States took on the role of a world power, thereby redefining its relations with the rest of the world.

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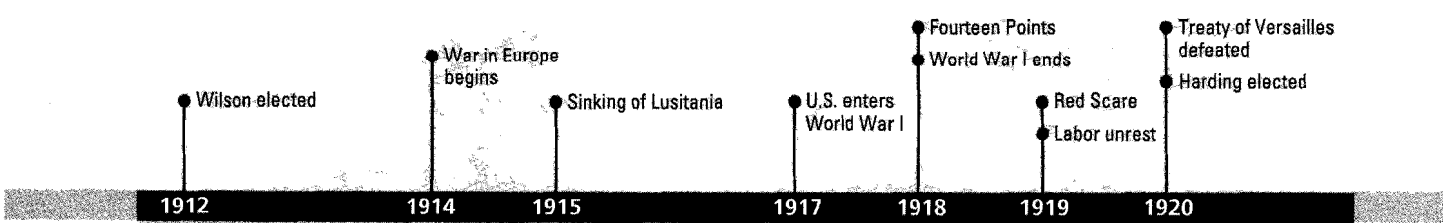
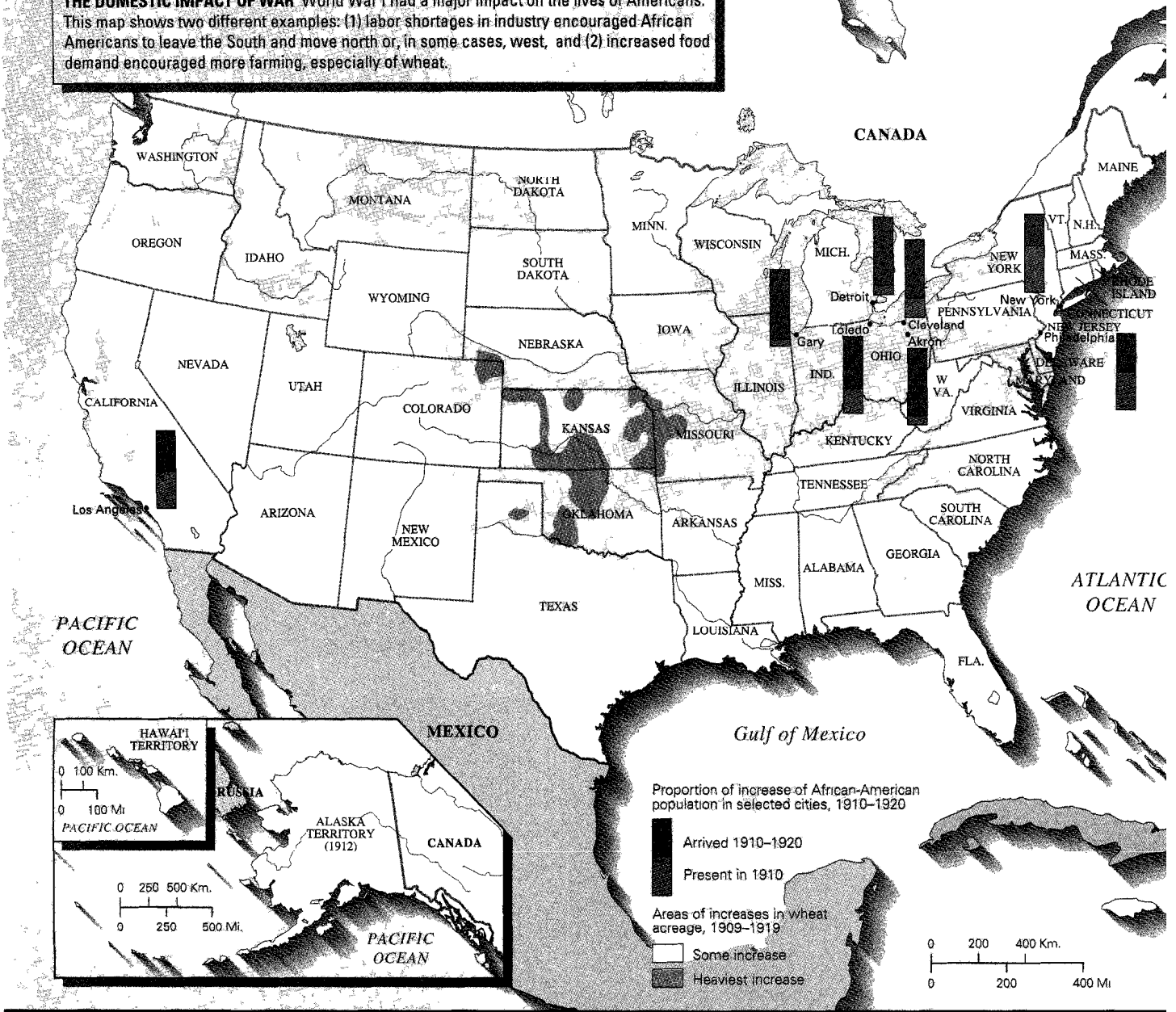
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A thorough account of its subject.



**THE DOMESTIC IMPACT OF WAR** World War I had a major impact on the lives of Americans. This map shows two different examples: (1) labor shortages in industry encouraged African Americans to leave the South and move north or, in some cases, west, and (2) increased food demand encouraged more farming, especially of wheat.



## CHAPTER 22

# America and the World,

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## 1913-1920

### Inherited Commitments and New Directions

- In what ways did existing foreign policy commitments constrain Wilson's choices?
- What major foreign policy choices did Wilson make before the United States entered World War I?

### From Neutrality to War: 1914-1917

- What were Wilson's expectations regarding American neutrality?
- What constraints did he face in seeking to maintain neutrality?
- What choices did he make in an effort to do so?
- What was the final outcome?

### The Home Front

- What constraints hindered the United States' contribution to the Allied war effort?
- What choices did the federal government make in mobilizing the economy and society?

### Americans "Over There"

- What constraints prevented the bulk of the AEF from being sent to Europe until 1918?
- Why did Wilson choose to keep the AEF as separate as possible from the troops of the other Allies?

### Wilson and the Peace Conference

- What were Wilson's expectations regarding peace?
-

- What constraints did he face in realizing those objectives?

- What choices did he make, and what was the outcome?

## Trauma in the Wake of War

- How did Americans' expectations change as a result of the outcome of the war and the events of 1919?
- How did these new expectations affect their choice in the 1920 presidential election?

## ( INTRODUCTION )

On June 28, 1914, a Bosnian Serb killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. To punish the assassination, Austria first consulted with its ally, Germany, then made stringent demands on Serbia. Serbia sought help from Russia, which was allied with France. Tense diplomats invoked elaborate, interlocking alliance systems. Huge armies began to move. By August 4, most of Europe was at war.

Earlier, Theodore Roosevelt had probably voiced the *expectations* of many Americans when he claimed in 1899 that war had become practically obsolete among the world's "civilized" nations. As president, Roosevelt helped shape Americans' *expectations* of security when he argued that the best way to preserve peace was by *choosing* to develop naval strength. Given such *expectations*, many Americans were shocked, saddened, and repelled in August 1914 when the leading "civilized" nations of the world lurched into war.

When Europeans *chose* war in August 1914, the United States had already assumed a major role in world affairs. Since 1898, it had acquired the Philippines and the Panama Canal, come to dominate the Caribbean and Central America, and pursued an active involvement in the balance of power in eastern Asia. All three presidents of the Progressive era—Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson—agreed wholeheartedly that the United States should exercise a major role in world affairs. But in 1914, the United States was the only

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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large, industrial nation that had *chosen* not to become part of the elaborate network of treaties and understandings among the powers of Europe and Asia. Woodrow Wilson *chose* to maintain U.S. neutrality.

When Wilson entered the White House in 1913, he *expected* to spend most of his time dealing with domestic issues. As a political scientist, he had mostly studied domestic politics, and his winning presidential campaign in 1912 had focused primarily on domestic issues. Although well-read on international affairs, he brought to the White House neither significant international experience nor carefully considered foreign policies. For secretary of state, he *chose* William Jennings Bryan, who had also devoted most of his political career to domestic matters. Both devout Presbyterians, Wilson and Bryan shared a confidence that God had a plan for humankind and that all people shared a basic bond. Both hoped that their foreign policy *choices* might make the United States a model among nations for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Neither man *expected* that he and the nation were soon to face difficult *choices* over a war so immense and so horrible that its *outcome* would be a profoundly altered world.

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### **Inherited Commitments and New Directions**

When Woodrow Wilson entered the White House in 1913, he first fixed his foreign policy attention on Latin America, the Pacific, and eastern Asia. There he tried to balance the anti-imperialist principles of his Democratic party against the **inter-**

ventionist commitments of his Republican predecessors. In the end, he not only accepted but actually extended most of these previous Republican commitments.

interventionist Tending to interfere in the affairs of another sovereign state.



## The United States and World Affairs

- 1912 Wilson elected
- 1913 Huerta takes power in Mexico Wilson denies recognition of Huerta
- 1914 U.S. Navy occupies Veracruz War breaks out in Europe U.S. neutrality declared Stalemate on the western front
  - 1915 German U-boat sinks the *Lusitania* United States occupies Haiti
- 1915-1920 Great Migration
- 1916 U.S. troops pursue Villa into Mexico National Defense Act Congress promises Philippine independence Sussex pledge United States occupies Dominican Republic Wilson re-elected
- 1917 Wilson calls for "peace without victory" American troops leave Mexico Germany resumes submarine warfare Czar overthrown in Russia United States declares war on Germany Committee on Public Information War Industries Board Selective Service Act Espionage Act Race riot in East St Louis

Government crackdown on IWW  
Bolsheviks seize power in Russia  
Russia withdraws from war Secret treaties published  
Railroads placed under federal control

- 1917-1918 Union membership rises sharply
- 1918 Wilson presents Fourteen Points Germans launch major offensive National War Labor Board Sedition Act Successful Allied counteroffensive Armistice in Europe
- 1918-1919 Rampant U.S. inflation
- 1919 Versailles peace conference Seattle general strike Urban race riots Lynchings increase Wilson suffers stroke Boston police strike Senate defeats Versailles treaty

- 1919-1920 Steel strike Red Scare
  - Palmer raids
- 1920 Senate defeats Versailles treaty again Harding elected president
- 1921 Sacco and Vanzetti convictions

### Anti-Imperialism and Intervention

Wilson's party had criticized the imperialist foreign policies of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Secretary of State Bryan was a leading anti-imperialist who had faulted Roosevelt's "Big Stick" approach to foreign affairs. "The man who speaks softly does not need a big stick," Bryan claimed. Wilson

shared Taft's commitment to American commercial expansion, but he criticized dollar diplomacy for using the State Department to benefit particular companies.

During the Wilson administration, the Democrats' long adherence to anti-imperialism produced two measures. In

1916, Congress established a bill of rights for residents of the Philippine

Islands and promised them independence at an unspecified date. The next year, Puerto Rico became a U.S. territory, and its residents became U.S. citizens. Thus the Democrats wrote into law a limited version of the anti-imperialism they had proclaimed for more than twenty years.

Yet Wilson was to intervene more in Central America and the Caribbean than any previous president. He sent American marines into Haiti in 1915 after a mob killed the dictatorial president. A subsequent treaty made Haiti a protectorate in which American forces controlled the government until 1933. In 1916, Wilson sent marines into the Dominican Republic, where they remained until 1924.

## Wilson and the Mexican Revolution

In Mexico, Wilson similarly engaged in brazen power politics. A rebellion forced dictator **Porfirio** Diaz, who had ruled Mexico for a third of a century, to resign in 1911. Francisco Madero, a wealthy landowner but also a leading reformer, assumed the presidency to great acclaim but proved incapable of uniting the country. Discontent rolled across Mexico, as peasant armies calling for *tierra y libertad* ("land and liberty") attacked the mansions of great landowners. Conservatives feared Madero as a reformer at the same time radicals dismissed him as too timid. Conservative forces led by **General** Victoriano Huerta launched a successful uprising in Mexico City in February 1913 and executed Madero.

Most European governments quickly recognized the Huerta government, but Wilson refused to do so because he considered Huerta a murderer and because Huerta's regime did not rest on the consent of the governed. Telling one visitor, "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men," Wilson waited for an opportunity to act against Huerta. In the meantime, anti-Huerta forces in northern Mexico, led by Venustiano Carranza, began to make significant gains.

In April 1914, Wilson found an excuse to intervene when Mexican officials arrested a few American sailors in Tampico. The city's army commander immediately released them and apologized. Wilson, however, used the incident to justify the occupation of **Veracruz**, Mexico's leading port. Veracruz's customs revenue was also the major

source of government income. Huerta, facing Carranza's armies and deprived of munitions and customs revenues, fled the country in mid-July. Wilson withdrew the last American forces from Veracruz in November.

Carranza succeeded Huerta as president, and Wilson officially recognized his government. Carranza faced armed opposition, however, from **Pancho** Villa in northern Mexico. When Villa suffered serious defeats, he apparently decided his best hope for defeating Carranza was to incite a war with the United States. Villa's men murdered several Americans in Mexico and then, in March 1916, killed several Americans in New Mexico. After securing reluctant approval from Carranza, Wilson sent an expedition of nearly seven thousand men, commanded by General John Pershing, into Mexico to punish Villa.

Villa deftly evaded the American troops, drawing them ever deeper into Mexico. Carranza then became alarmed about the American expedition. When a clash between Mexican and American forces resulted in casualties, Carranza asked Wilson to withdraw the American troops. Wilson refused. Villa subsequently doubled behind the American army and raided into Texas, killing more Americans. Wilson sent more men into Mexico despite Carranza's insistence that all the American forces be withdrawn. Only in early 1917, when the prospect of war with Germany began to loom large, did Wilson order the troops to withdraw. The episode left a deep reservoir of Mexican resentment toward the United States.

Porfirio Diaz Mexican soldier and politician who became president after a coup in 1876 and governed the country until 1911.

General Victoriano Huerta Mexican general who overthrew the president, Francisco Madero, in 1913, and established a military dictatorship until forced to resign in 1914.

Veracruz The major port city of Mexico, located on the Gulf of Mexico; in 1914, Wilson ordered the U.S. Navy to occupy the port.

Pancho Villa Mexican bandit and revolutionary who led a raid into New Mexico in 1916, which prompted the U.S. government to send troops into Mexico in unsuccessful pursuit.

## From Neutrality to War: 1914-1917

At first, Americans paid only passing attention to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914. But when Europe plunged into war, Wilson and all Americans faced difficult choices.

### The Great War in Europe

Europe's great powers had avoided armed conflict with each other since the Franco-Prussian War ended in 1871. Since then, however, competition for world markets and colonies had encouraged nations to accumulate arms and seek allies. European diplomats had constructed two major alliance systems by 1907. The **Triple Entente** linked Britain, France, and Russia. The **Triple Alliance** of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy stood in opposition. As European nations formed their alliance networks, nationalism fueled aspirations for independence among the various cultural or linguistic groups of central and eastern Europe. These aspirations were especially powerful in the **Balkan Peninsula** (see Map 22.1), where Austro-Hungarian and Serbian interests clashed.

The primary point of conflict involved Bosnia, a territory annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908. The Sla<sup>v</sup>s in Serbia had previously eyed Bosnia, which contained a substantial Slavic population, as a candidate for Serbian annexation. Ironically, the Serbian nationalists who plotted the Austrian archduke's assassination did so because they feared that his liberal policies toward Bosnian Sla<sup>v</sup>s would dampen their desire to break way from Austria.

After the assassination, Austria first assured itself of Germany's backing, then declared war on Serbia. In turn, Russia confirmed France's support and began slowly mobilizing in support of Serbia. Rather than wait for Russia to marshal its army, Germany declared war on Russia on August 1 and on France two days later. German strategists planned to bypass French defenses along the Franco-German border by moving through neutral Belgium (see Map 22.1). The Germans expected to knock France out of the war quickly and then turn their full power against Russia. Britain entered the conflict in defense of Bel

gium on August 4. Eventually, Germany and Austria-Hungary combined with Bulgaria and Turkey to form the Central Powers. Italy abandoned its Triple Alliance partners and joined Britain, France, Russia, Romania, and Japan to make up the Allies.

Instead of the quick knockout blow the Germans had anticipated, the armies settled into defensive lines over the **western front**: 475 miles of French countryside extending from the English Channel to the Alps (see Map 22.1). By the end of 1914, the troops had dug elaborate networks of trenches, separated from each other by a desolate **no man's land** filled with coils of barbed wire, where any movement brought a burst of machine-gun fire. As the war progressed, terrible new weapons—poison gas, aerial bombings, tanks—took many thousands of lives but failed to break the deadlock.

### American Neutrality

Wilson's initial reaction to the European conflagration was to announce American neutrality. On August 19, he urged Americans to be "neutral in fact as well as in name . . . impartial in thought as well as in action." He hoped not only that America would remain outside the conflict but that he might serve as the peacemaker.

Wilson's hopes for peace proved unrealistic. Most of the warring nations wanted to gain territory, and only a decisive victory could deliver such a prize. The longer they fought, the more territory they coveted to satisfy their losses. As long as they

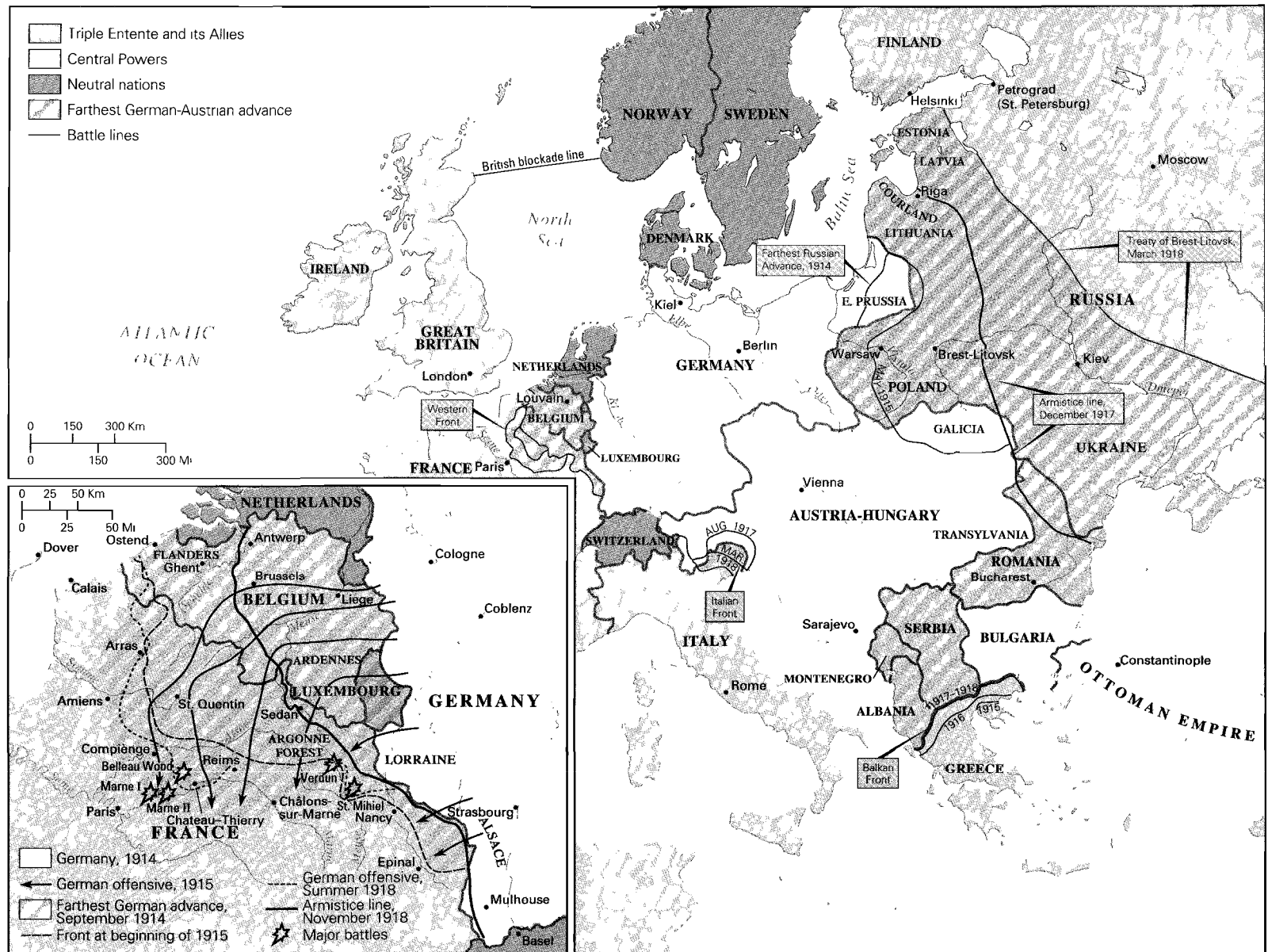
**Triple Entente** Informal alliance that linked France, Great Britain, and Russia in the years before World War I.

**Triple Alliance** Alliance that linked Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary in the years before World War I.

**Balkan Peninsula** Region of southeast Europe bounded by the Adriatic, Aegean, and Black seas; once ruled by Turkey, it included a number of relatively new and sometimes unstable states.

**western front** The line of battle between the Allies and Germany in World War I, which was located in French territory.

**no man's land** The field of battle between the lines of two opposing, entrenched armies.



◆ **MAP 22.1 The War in Europe, 1914-1918** This map identifies the members of the two great military coalitions: the Central Powers and the Allies. Notice how much territory Russia lost by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as compared to the armistice line (the line between the two armies when Russia sought peace with Germany).

saw a chance of winning, they had no interest in Wilson's appeals.

Wilson's hope that Americans could remain impartial was also unrealistic. Most Americans sided with the Allies. Britain had cultivated American friendship since the mid-1890s. A shared language and culture joined the upper classes in both countries, and trade and finance united many members of their business communities. Memories of French assistance during the American Revolution fueled enthusiasm for France. The German invasion of neutral Belgium aroused American sympathy as well. Allied propagandists worked hard to generate anti-German sentiment in America, portraying the war as a conflict between civilized peoples and brutal **Huns**.

Not all Americans sympathized with the Allies. Nearly 8 million of the 97 million people in the United States had one or both parents from Germany or Austria. Not surprisingly, many of them disputed the depictions of their cousins as bloodthirsty barbarians. Ethnic loyalties also influenced some 5 million Irish Americans, who disliked the English and held no sympathy for them.

### Neutral Rights and German U-Boats

Wilson and Bryan agreed on the need to keep American interests separate from those of the parties to the European conflict. However, they developed different approaches for carrying out that policy. Bryan proved willing to sacrifice neutral rights if insistence on those rights posed the prospect of war. Wilson stood firm on maintaining all traditional rights of neutral nations. Bryan initially opposed loans to belligerent nations as incompatible with neutrality. Wilson first agreed, but once it became clear that the ban hurt the Allies more than the **Central Powers**, Wilson modified it to permit buying goods on credit. Finally, he dropped the ban on loans altogether.

Traditional neutral rights also included the freedom of neutrals to trade with all belligerents. However, European powers saw the war as a struggle for survival. Wilson soon found himself in conflict with both sides as they turned to naval warfare to break the deadlock on the western front.

Britain began to redefine neutral rights by announcing a blockade not only of German ports but also of neutral ports. Britain also expanded traditional definitions of contraband to include anything that might give even indirect aid to an enemy, including food. Germany responded by declaring a blockade of the British Isles, to be enforced by its submarines, called U-boats. U-boats were relatively fragile, and even a lightly armed merchant ship stood a reasonable chance of sinking one that surfaced and ordered a ship to stop. Consequently, submarines struck from below the surface, without

warning. When Britain began disguising its ships with neutral flags, Germany countered that neutral flags no longer guaranteed protection from U-boat attacks. Whereas Wilson issued token reprimands over Britain's practices, he strongly denounced those of Germany.

On February 10, 1915, Wilson warned that the United States would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for its actions. On May 7, 1915, a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger liner *Lusitania*, which sank with the loss of 1,198 passengers, including 128 Americans. Americans reacted with horror. When Bryan learned that the *Lusitania* carried rifle cartridges and other contraband, he urged restraint. Wilson, however, prepared a protest message that stopped just short of demanding an end to submarine warfare against unarmed merchant ships. When the German response was noncommittal, Wilson composed an even stronger ultimatum. Bryan feared the words would lead to war, and he resigned as secretary of state.

**Huns** Disparaging term used to describe Germans during World War I; the name came from a warlike tribe that invaded Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries.

**belligerent** A nation formally at war.

**Central Powers** In World War I, the coalition of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire.

**contraband** Goods prohibited by law or treaty from being imported or exported.

**U-boat** A German submarine (in German, *Untersee-boot*).

**Lusitania** British passenger liner torpedoed by a German submarine in 1915; more than 1,000 drowned, including 128 Americans, bringing the United States closer to war with Germany.

As other U-boat attacks followed, Wilson continued to protest. But after the sinking of the unarmed French ship *Sussex* in March 1916, which injured several Americans, Wilson warned Germany that if unrestricted submarine warfare did not stop, "the United States can have no choice" but to sever diplomatic relations. Germany responded with the **Sussex pledge**, promising that U-boats would no longer strike merchant vessels without warning.

America's economic ties to the Allies grew as the war progressed. The British blockade stifled Americans' trade with the Central Powers, which fell from around \$170 million in 1914 to almost nothing two years later. Meanwhile, trade with Britain and France more than offset this decline. American companies sent \$756 million in exports to those two nations in 1914 and \$2.7 billion in 1916. And by April 1917, American bankers had loaned more than \$2 billion to the Allied governments.

Deeply convinced that the best way to keep the United States neutral was to end the war, Wilson sent his close adviser Edward M. House to London and Berlin early in 1916 to sound out the British and Germans on the possibility for peace. House concluded that neither side wanted a negotiated end to the war. Discouraged, Wilson yielded to the increasing numbers of Americans who sought "preparedness"—a military buildup. In the summer of 1916, Congress passed the National **Defense Act**, more than doubling the size of the army, and appropriated the largest naval expenditures in the country's peacetime history.

### The Decision for War

After the 1916 election, Wilson tried again to end the war by asking the belligerents to state their terms for ending the fighting. Hoping to cultivate Wilson, Germany announced its support for a peace conference but refused to specify terms. The Allies likewise refused to state their terms.

Still hoping to secure a peace conference, Wilson presented his views on the best way to achieve peace to the Senate in late January 1917. He urged that the only lasting peace would be a "peace without victory" and a "peace among equals" in which neither side exacted gains from the other. The speech received an enthusiastic welcome from

most Democrats and progressives. But the British, French, and Germans had no interest in "peace without victory."

In Germany, the initiative passed to those who wanted to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. By denying the Allies American food and supplies, they hoped to achieve a decisive advantage and a quick victory. Germany announced it would resume submarine attacks effective February 1, 1917. Germany knew this move was likely to bring the United States into the war but gambled on being able to win the war before American troops could arrive in large numbers. Wilson accordingly broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, 1917.

Revelation of the Zimmermann Telegram on March 1 caused a further deterioration in U.S. relations with Germany. In January 1917, Arthur **Zimmermann**, the German foreign secretary, proposed to the German minister in Mexico that Mexico ally itself with Germany. If war broke out between Germany and the United States, Mexico should attack the United States. The incentive for Mexico would be the recovery of its "lost provinces" in the American Southwest. The British intercepted Zimmermann's message and passed it to American representatives on February 24. A public outcry followed the release of the telegram, but Wilson still hesitated to ask for war.

The Germans' sinking of five American ships between March 12 and March 21 removed all doubts from Wilson's mind. On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. In asking for war, Wilson tried to unite Americans in a righteous, progressive crusade. He condemned German U-boat attacks as "warfare against mankind" and defined

Sussex pledge German promise in 1916 to stop sinking merchant ships without warning if the United States would compel the Allies to obey "international law."  
National Defense Act Law passed in 1916 enlarging the army, strengthening the National Guard, and providing for an officers' reserve corps.  
Arthur Zimmermann German foreign minister who proposed in 1917 that if the United States declared war on Germany, Mexico should become a German ally and win back Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico.

American war aims idealistically. "The world must be made safe for democracy," he pleaded. He promised that the United States would fight for democracy, self-government, "the rights and liberties of small nations," and a league of nations.

Not all members of Congress agreed that war was necessary. Senator George W. Norris, a progressive Republican from Nebraska, claimed that the nation was going to war to "preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations." Only five other senators, however, joined Norris in opposing the declaration of war on Germany. The House voted 373 to 50 for war.

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## The Home Front

The war altered nearly every aspect of the American economy, as the progressive emphasis on expertise and efficiency produced unprecedented centralization of economic decision making. Mobilization extended beyond war production to the people themselves, their attitudes toward the war, and their response to the need for labor.

### Mobilizing the Economy

In the United States, shortages of military supplies, railway transportation snarls, and serious delays in military equipment deliveries proved to be major constraints for the war effort. As a result, federal direction over manufacturing, food and fuel production, and transportation increased dramatically. The extent to which the federal government exercised control over the economy during World War I has never since been matched.

Much of the nation welcomed government intervention. Business enlisted as a partner with government and supplied its cooperation and expertise. Prominent entrepreneurs volunteered their full-time services for a dollar a year. The wartime centralization of economic decision making came about through new agencies composed of government officials, business leaders, and prominent citizens.

The **War Industries Board (WIB)**, established in 1917, oversaw the production of war materials. It did little to improve industrial productivity until

Wilson appointed Bernard Baruch, a successful Wall Street investor, to head the board in early 1918. By pleading, bargaining, and sometimes threatening, Baruch usually persuaded companies to set and meet production quotas, to allocate raw materials, and to make the entire economy more efficient. Baruch accomplished most WIB goals without coercing corporate America, and industrial production increased by 20 percent.

Efforts to conserve fuel included the first use of **daylight-saving time**. To make rail transportation more efficient, the federal government ran the railroads as a single system, although it left them under private ownership. The government similarly took over the telegraph and telephone systems and launched a huge shipbuilding program.

The National War Labor Board, created in 1918 to mediate labor disputes, endorsed collective bargaining and gave some support for an eight-hour workday in return for a no-strike pledge from labor. Many unions secured contracts that brought significant wage increases. Union membership boomed from 2.7 million in 1916 to more than 4 million by 1919. Most established labor leaders, such as Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), fully supported the war.

One crucial American contribution to the Allies was food, for the war severely disrupted European agriculture. Food Administrator **Herbert Hoover** promoted increased production and conservation of food. He urged American families to observe

**War Industries Board** Board headed by Bernard Baruch that coordinated American production during World War I, setting production quotas, fixing prices, and allocating raw materials.

**daylight-saving time** Setting clocks one hour or more ahead of standard time to provide more daylight at the end of the workday during late spring, summer, and early fall.

**collective bargaining** Negotiation between the representatives of organized workers and their employers to determine wages, hours, and working conditions.

**Herbert Hoover** U.S. food administrator during World War I known for his proficient handling of relief efforts; he was elected president in 1928, only to see the country enter a major depression.



Meatless Mondays and Wheatless Wednesdays and to plant "war gardens." Farmers also brought large areas under cultivation for the first time (see chapter opener map). As a result, food shipments to the Allies tripled.

### **Mobilizing Public Opinion**

Not all Americans fully supported the war. Some German Americans were reluctant to see their sons sent to war against their cousins. Some Irish Americans took little interest in saving Britain, especially after the brutal suppression of an attempt at Irish independence in 1916. The Socialist party voted to oppose American participation in the war. This stance greatly increased the Socialists' share of the vote in several cities in 1917.

To mobilize public opinion in support of the war, Wilson in 1917 created the Committee on Public Information, headed by George Creel. Once a muckraker, Creel set out to sell the war to the American people. The **Creel Committee** eventually counted 150,000 lecturers, writers, artists, actors, and scholars championing the cause and whipping up hatred of the "Huns." Most of those serving with the Creel Committee did so as "Four-Minute Men"—ready to make a four-minute speech anywhere a crowd gathered.

The fierce patriotism fanned by the Creel Committee sometimes sparked harsh measures against those considered "slackers" and "Kaiserites." "Woe to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution," warned Wilson. Zealots across the country took up the cry. Some states prohibited the use of foreign languages in public. Some communities removed German books from libraries and publicly burned them; others banned the music of Bach and Beethoven. Even words with German connections became objectionable: sauerkraut became "liberty cabbage," German measles were renamed "liberty measles," and dachshunds trotted as "liberty pups." Mobs even lynched people suspected of antiwar sentiments.

### **Civil Liberties in Time of War**

German Americans suffered the most from the wartime hysteria, but pacifists, socialists, and other

radicals also became targets for government and vigilantes. Congress passed the **Espionage Act** in 1917 and the **Sedition Act** in 1918, prohibiting interference with the draft and outlawing criticism of the government. Some fifteen hundred people were arrested for violating the Espionage and Sedition acts, including Eugene V. Debs, leader of the Socialist party.

Those who voiced dissenting opinions found they could not rely on the courts for protection. When opponents of the war challenged the Espionage Act, the Supreme Court ruled that freedom of speech was never absolute. Just as no one has the right to shout "Fire" in a crowded theater, said Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., so in wartime no one has a constitutional right to say anything that might endanger the nation. The Court also upheld the Sedition Act in 1919.

The IWW came under relentless attack. In July 1917, in Bisbee, Arizona, managers of local copper mines, law enforcement officials, and deputized citizens rounded up more than eleven hundred IWW members, marched them at gunpoint into railroad boxcars, transported them over one hundred miles into the desert, and abandoned them. In September 1917, Justice Department agents arrested IWW leaders throughout the West, who were then sentenced to jail terms of up to twenty-five years. Deprived of its leaders and virtually bankrupt, the IWW never recovered.

A few Americans protested the abridgment of civil liberties. One group formed the Civil Liberties Bureau, forerunner of the American Civil Liberties Union. Most Americans, however, did not object to

**Creel Committee** The U.S. Committee on Public Information (1917-1919), headed by journalist and editor George Creel, which used films, posters, pamphlets, and news releases to mobilize American public opinion in favor of World War I.

**Espionage Act** Law passed in 1917 that mandated severe penalties for anyone found guilty of interfering with the draft or encouraging disloyalty to the United States.

**Sedition Act** Law passed in 1918 that supplemented the Espionage Act by extending the penalty to anyone deemed to have abused the government in writing.

the repression. Others who were sympathetic to the victims kept silent. Jane Addams, who had been maligned for expressing her pacifist views before the war, would not sign the Civil Liberties Bureau's appeal for funds, explaining, "I am obliged to walk very softly in all things suspect."

### Changes in the Workplace

Intense activism and remarkable productivity characterized American labor's wartime experience. Union membership almost doubled, and a significant number of women became new cardholders. In addition, unions benefited from the encouragement that the National War Labor Board gave to collective bargaining between unions and companies. The board also helped settle labor disputes through mediation. Never before had a federal agency interceded this way.

Demands for increased production at a time when millions of men were marching off to war opened opportunities for women. Employment of women in factory, office, and retail jobs had increased before the war, but the war accelerated those trends. Most women who worked outside the home were young and single. Some middle-class women who now entered the paid labor force not only gave up their homebound roles but also rejected their parents' standards of morality and behavior. They adopted instead the less restricted lifestyles that had long been experienced by many wage-earning, working-class women. One commentator observed, "For the first time in the memory of man, girls from well-bred, respectable middle-class families broke through these invisible chains of custom and asserted their right to a nonchalant, self-sustaining life of their own."

### The Great Migration and White Reactions

The war also had a great impact on African-American communities. Until the war, about 90 percent of all African Americans lived in the South. By 1920, perhaps as many as 500,000 had moved north in what has been called the **Great Migration**. The largest proportional increases in the African-American population came in the industrial cities of the

Midwest. Gary, Indiana, showed one of the greatest gains: 1,284 percent between 1910 and 1920. New York City, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles also attracted many blacks (see chapter opener map). Several factors combined to stimulate this migration. "Every time a lynching takes place in a community down South," T. Arnold Hill of Chicago's Urban League pointed out, "colored people will arrive in Chicago within two weeks." Economic disaster in the South in the form of drought, floods, and the **boll weevil** in 1915 and 1916 was another impetus.

The sharp decline in European immigration caused by the war also spurred the Great Migration. The wartime labor needs of northern cities attracted hundreds of thousands of African Americans seeking better jobs and higher pay. Many industrial jobs paid \$3 a day, compared to 50 cents for picking cotton. The impact on some southern cities was striking. Jackson, Mississippi, for example, lost half of all working-class African Americans and a quarter to a third of black business owners and professionals.

The war heightened racial tensions in the South because some whites resented the new options available to blacks. For example, black women who received money from their men in uniform or in wartime jobs sometimes found that they no longer needed farm work. Pine Bluff, Arkansas, officials tried to extend the nation's "work or fight" rule, under which anyone not aiding the war effort by either working or fighting could be arrested, to black women who refused to work in the cotton fields.

Severe wartime racial conflicts erupted in several cities on the northern end of the Great Migration trail. The worst race riot in American history swept through East St. Louis, Illinois, on July 2, 1917. Thousands of African Americans had settled in the city during the previous two years. At least

**National War Labor Board** Board appointed by President Wilson in 1918 to act as the court of last resort for labor disputes.

**Great Migration** Mass movement of black people from the rural South to the urban North during World War I; about a half million people relocated.

**boll weevil** Small beetle of the southern United States that infests cotton plants and whose larvae hatch in and damage cotton bolls.

thirty-nine perished in the riot, and six thousand found themselves homeless. Incensed that such brutality could occur so soon after the nation's moralistic entrance into the war, W. E. B. Du Bois charged, "No land that loves to lynch 'niggers' can lead the hosts of Almighty God."

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## Americans

### "Over There"

With the declaration of war, the United States needed to mobilize quickly for combat. The navy was already large and powerful after nearly three decades of shipbuilding. The army, however, was tiny. Millions of men had to be enlisted or drafted, trained, supplied, and transported to Europe.

### Mobilizing for Battle

The navy was able to strike back quickly at the German fleet. The convoy technique, in which several ships traveled together under the protection of destroyers, helped cut shipping losses in half by late 1917. By the following spring, the U-boat ceased to pose a significant danger.

The army, however, with only 372,000 men, was not ready for action in April 1917. Many men volunteered but not enough. Congress therefore passed the Selective Service Act in May, requiring men ages 21 to 30 to register with local boards to determine who was to be called to duty. For the most part, Americans accepted the draft. Eventually, 24 million men registered, and 2.8 million were drafted. By the end of the war, the combined army, navy, and marine corps counted 4.8 million members.

No women were drafted, but some women chose to serve in the military. Almost thirteen thousand women joined the navy and marines, mostly in clerical capacities. They were permitted to hold full military rank and status for the first time. The army, however, considered enlisting women a "most radical departure" and refused to do it. Women could serve in the Army Corps of Nurses, which enrolled nearly eighteen thousand women but denied them army rank, pay, or benefits. At least five thousand civilian women served in various capacities in France, sometimes near the frontlines, most through

the Red Cross, which helped staff hospitals and rest facilities.

Nearly 400,000 African Americans served during World War I. Almost 200,000 served overseas, nearly 30,000 on the frontlines. Most black soldiers were treated as second-class citizens. They marched in segregated **Jim Crow** units in the army, were limited to food service duties in the navy, and were excluded from the marines altogether. Only about 600 African Americans earned commissions as officers. White officers commanded most black troops.

### "Over There"

As the first troops of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) trickled into France in June 1917, the Central Powers seemed close to victory. French offensives in April 1917 had failed, and a British summer effort in Flanders had resulted in enormous casualties but little gain. A Russian drive in midsummer proved disastrous, and in November, following the triumph of the Bolsheviks, Russia withdrew from the war. Hoping to win the war before many American troops arrived, the Germans planned a massive spring offensive for 1918.

The German offensive came in Picardy at the point where the French and British lines joined. AEF units were hurried to the front to block the German advance. By late May, the Germans had moved to within 50 miles of Paris, which French officials considered evacuating. AEF units fought bravely and effectively. At Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood, they took eight thousand casualties during a monthlong battle over a single square mile of wheat fields and woods.

**Selective Service Act** Law passed in 1917 establishing compulsory military service for men ages 21 to 30.

**Jim Crow** Name for any laws or forms of organization that discriminate against blacks; probably derived from a minstrel-show stock character named Jim Crow.

**American Expeditionary Force** American army commanded by General John J. Pershing that served in Europe during World War I.

**Bolsheviks** Communists who seized power in Russia in November 1917.



This painting depicts British troops being sent into the no man's land between their trenches and those of the Germans. The development of the machine gun made such efforts highly dangerous and contributed to the staggering losses of World War I. The artist, one of only twelve survivors of a company of eighty sent against the enemy's trenches, recalled that "it was bitterly cold and we were easy targets in snow and daylight." *"Over the Top" by Paul Nash. Imperial War Museum.*

The Allies launched a counteroffensive in July 1918, as American troops finally began to pour into France. The American command insisted on being assigned its own sector of the front to make the American contribution to victory clear. In September, General John J. Pershing launched a stunning one-day offensive against the St. Mihiel salient (see Map 22.1). AEF forces then joined a larger Allied offensive in the Meuse-Argonne region, the last major assault of the war. In the Argonne Forest on October 8, Corporal Alvin York, armed with only a rifle and a pistol, killed 25 German soldiers, eliminated 35 enemy machine guns, and took 132 prisoners, thus becoming the most heroic figure of the war. By the time of his exploits, the German general staff was pleading with its government to seek an armistice. Fighting ended on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918. By then, more than 2 million American soldiers were in France.

When the clamor of celebration replaced the din of battle, thirty-two nations had entered the war against the Central Powers. Nearly 9 million men in uniform died: Germany lost 1.8 million, Russia 1.7 million, Austria-Hungary 1.2 million, the British Empire 908,400. France lost 1.4 million, including half of its men between the ages of 20 and 32. American losses of 115,000 men were small in comparison.

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## Wilson and the Peace Conference

When the war ended, Wilson hoped that the peace treaty would not contain the seeds of future wars. He also hoped to create an international organization to keep the peace. Most of the Allies, however, had more interest in grabbing territory and punishing Germany.

### Bolshevism, the Secret Treaties, and the Fourteen Points

In December 1917, the Bolsheviks, who had seized power in Russia only a month earlier, tried to demonstrate that the war was nothing more than a capitalist scramble for imperial spoils. They published secret treaties by which the Allies had agreed to take colonies and territories from the Central Powers. These exposés strengthened Wilson's efforts to impose his war objectives on the Allies.

**salient** Battle line that projects closest to the enemy.

On January 8, 1918, Wilson directly challenged the secret treaties and tried to seize the initiative in defining a basis for peace in a speech to Congress. Wilson presented fourteen specific objectives, soon called the **Fourteen Points**. Points 1 through 5 provided a general context for lasting peace: no secret treaties, freedom of the seas, reduction of barriers to trade, reduction of armaments, and adjustment of colonial claims based partly on the interests of colonial peoples. Points 6 through 13 addressed particular situations: return of territories France had lost to Germany in 1871 and self-determination in Central Europe and the Middle East. The fourteenth point called for "a general association of nations" that could afford "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

The major Allies reluctantly accepted Wilson's Fourteen Points as a basis for discussion but expressed little enthusiasm for them. When the Germans asked for an end to the fighting, however, they based their request on the Fourteen Points.

### **Wilson at Versailles**

When Woodrow Wilson toured France, Italy, and Britain in December 1918, huge welcoming crowds paid homage to the great "peacemaker from America." Delegates to the peace conference at Versailles, which opened on January 18, 1919, assembled amid far-reaching change. The Austro-Hungarian Empire had crumbled, producing the new nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia and the republics of Austria and Hungary. In Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm II had abdicated, and a republic was being formed. In Russia, a civil war was raging between the Bolsheviks and their anti-Communist opponents. Amid the ruins of the Russian Empire, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were asserting their independence. The Ottoman Empire was collapsing too, as Arabs revolted with aid from Britain and France. Throughout Europe and the Middle East, national self-determination and government by the consent of the governed seemed to be becoming a reality.

Although representatives were on hand from all the nations that had declared war against the Central Powers, the Big Four made the major decisions

at the conference: Woodrow Wilson of the United States, David Lloyd George of Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Germany was excluded. Terms of peace were to be imposed, not negotiated. Russia was also excluded on the grounds that it had made a separate peace with Germany in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed in March 1918. But the specter of Bolshevism hung over the conference.

Wilson learned at the outset that the European leaders were far more interested in pursuing their own national interests than in implementing his Fourteen Points. Clemenceau carried painful memories of Germany's humiliating defeat of France in 1871 and wanted to disable Germany so that it could never again invade his nation. Lloyd George came to Paris with a mandate from British voters for exacting heavy reparations from Germany. Orlando insisted on reaping all the territories promised when Italy joined the Allies in 1915.

Facing the insistent and acquisitive Allies, Wilson had no choice but to compromise. He did secure the creation of the League of Nations, but only after threatening to make a separate peace with Germany. Rather than achieving a "peace without victory," however, the treaty imposed harsh terms. A "war guilt" clause forced Germany to accept the blame for starting the war. Other provisions required Germany to pay the Allies \$33 billion in

Fourteen Points President Wilson's program for maintaining peace after World War I, which called for arms reduction, national self-determination, and a league of nations.

Versailles Magnificent estate near Paris built by Louis XIV in the seventeenth century; the treaty ending World War I was signed there in 1919.

Kaiser Wilhelm II German emperor who had worked to create the great military machine and system of alliances that precipitated the outbreak of World War I.

abdicate To formally relinquish a high office.

reparations Payments required from a defeated nation as compensation to the victors for damage or injury during a war.

League of Nations A world organization proposed by President Wilson and founded in 1920; it worked to promote peace and international cooperation.

reparations and to surrender Alsace-Lorraine, all its colonies, and other European territories (see Map 22.2). To prevent further aggression, the treaty deprived Germany of its navy and limited its army to 100,000 men. German representatives signed on June 28, 1919.

In the end, Wilson compromised on nearly all of his Fourteen Points. He hoped the League of Nations would resolve future controversies without war and would also solve the problems created by the compromises he had reluctantly accepted. He was especially pleased with Article 10 of the **League Covenant**, which specified that League members would take joint economic and military action against aggressors.

### **The Senate and the Treaty**

While Wilson was in Paris, opposition to his plans was taking shape in the Republican-controlled Senate, which had to approve any treaty. The Senate split into three groups over the treaty. Henry **Cabot** Lodge, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led the largest opposition group, called the *reservationists* after the reservations, or amendments, to the treaty that Lodge had proposed. At least part of Lodge's opposition was personal. He disliked Wilson intensely and had been angered by the president's failure to include any Republicans in the Versailles treaty delegation. Lodge's chief public misgiving was that Article 10 might be used to commit American troops to war without congressional approval. A smaller group, the *irreconcilables*, consisted primarily of Republicans who opposed any American involvement in European affairs. A third Senate group, mostly Democrats, favored the treaty.

Wilson decided to appeal directly to the people to win support for the treaty. In September 1919, he undertook an arduous speaking tour of twenty-nine cities. The effort proved too demanding for his fragile health. He collapsed in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, and returned to Washington. Soon after, he suffered a serious stroke. Half-paralyzed, Wilson remained in seclusion and carried on few of his duties.

Lodge proposed that the Senate accept the treaty with his reservations. Wilson, however, re-

fused to compromise. On November 19, 1919, the Senate defeated the treaty with the Lodge reservations and then defeated the original version of the treaty. The treaty with reservations came to a vote again in March 1920 but failed to gain a two-thirds majority. The United States would not join the League of Nations.

### **Legacies of the Great War**

Roosevelt, Wilson, and most other prewar leaders had projected the progressive mood of optimism and confidence. Wilson invoked this tradition in claiming that the United States was going to war to make the world "safe for democracy." In doing so, however, he fostered unrealistic expectations that world politics might be transformed overnight.

Americans who believed that rational, civilized people had outgrown war found the conflict a disillusioning experience. For some, wartime suppression of civil liberties called into question their belief in the inevitability of progress. Many Americans became disenchanted by the contrast between Wilson's lofty idealism and the Allies' cynical opportunism. The war to make the world safe for democracy turned out to be a chance for Italy to grab Austrian territory and for Japan to seize German concessions in China.

In the end, the peace conference left unresolved many problems. Wilson's elevation of self-government and self-determination encouraged aspirations for independence throughout the colonial empires retained by the Allies. Above all, the war and the treaty helped produce economic and political instability in much of Europe, making it a breeding ground for totalitarian and nationalistic movements that were eventually to bring on another world war.

**League Covenant** The constitution of the League of Nations, which was incorporated in the Versailles treaty in 1919.

**Henry Cabot Lodge** Massachusetts Republican senator who led congressional opposition to the Versailles treaty and the League of Nations.

**self-determination** The freedom of a given people to determine their own political status.



◆ **MAP 22.2 Postwar Boundary Changes in Central Europe and the Middle East** This map shows the boundary changes in Europe and the Middle East that resulted from the defeat of the four large multiethnic empires—Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire.

## **in the Wake of War**

The United States began to demobilize almost as soon as French church bells pealed for the Armistice. By November 1919, nearly the entire force of 4 million men and women was out of uniform. Industrial demobilization occurred even more quickly, as officials canceled war contracts with no more than a month's notice. The year 1919 saw not only the return of the troops from Europe but also raging inflation, massive strikes, bloody race riots, widespread fear of radical subversion, violations of civil liberties, and passage of Prohibition.

### **Inflation and Strikes**

Inflation was the most pressing single problem Americans faced after the war. Between 1913 and 1919, the average American family saw its cost of living double. Such inflation contributed to labor unrest. When the Armistice ended the no-strike pledge taken by unions, they made wage demands to keep up with the soaring cost of living. In 1919, however, management was ready for a fight.

After the war, some companies determined to return labor relations to prewar patterns. They blamed organized labor for the rise in prices and connected strikes and unions to "dangerous foreign ideas" from Bolshevik Russia. Seattle's mayor claimed that a five-day general strike called by all the city's unions in February 1919 was a Bolshevik plot. Boston's police struck in September 1919 after the city's police commissioner fired nineteen policemen for joining an AFL union. Massachusetts governor **Calvin Coolidge** activated the state guard to maintain order and break the union. "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime," he proclaimed. By mid-1919, it was clear that conservative political and business leaders had joined forces to roll back the union gains of the war years.

The largest and most dramatic labor conflict in 1919 came against United States Steel. Most steelworkers had not had a recognized union since the 1892 Homestead strike. Many steelworkers put in twelve-hour days and, when they changed shifts, sometimes slogged through twenty-four hours in

the mills without rest. Wages had not increased as fast as inflation. When the AFL launched an ambitious unionization drive in the steel industry in 1919, many steelworkers responded eagerly.

The steel industry firmly refused to deal with the new organization, provoking a strike in late September. United States Steel, however, blamed the strike on radicals. Company guards protected strikebreakers, and military forces commanded by General Leonard Wood moved into Gary, Indiana, to help round up what they called "the Red element." By January 1920, after eighteen workers had been killed and hundreds beaten, the strike was over and the unions ousted.

### **The Red Scare**

The steel industry's charges of Bolshevism to discredit strikers came at a time when many government and corporate leaders decried the dangers of Bolshevism at home and abroad. In late April 1919, the discovery in various post offices of thirty-four bombs addressed to prominent Americans such as John D. Rockefeller lent credibility to these fears. In June, bombs in several cities damaged buildings and killed two people. Although the work of a few anarchists, the explosions set off a panic over a radical conspiracy to overthrow the government.

With President Wilson still bedridden, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer organized an anti-Red campaign, hoping to enhance his presidential prospects in 1920. "Like a prairie fire," Palmer claimed, "the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution." In November 1919, Palmer launched the first of what came to be called the **Palmer raids** to arrest suspected radicals.

**Armistice** An agreement to stop fighting. **subversion** Efforts to undermine or overthrow an established government.

**Calvin Coolidge** Massachusetts governor and conservative Republican who became Harding's vice president in 1921; he served as president from 1923 to 1929.

**Palmer raids** A series of government attacks on individuals and organizations in 1919 and 1920, carried out in a climate of anti-Communist hysteria to search for political radicals.



Authorities rounded up some five thousand people between November and January 1920, and although they found only a few firearms, they deported several hundred aliens.

State legislatures joined in with antiradical measures of their own. In January 1920, the New York state legislature expelled five members solely because they were Socialists. When a wide range of respected public figures denounced the assembly action as undemocratic, public opinion regarding the **Red Scare** began to shift. The Red Scare finally spent itself after Palmer's dire predictions of radical activities on May 1, 1920, the major day of celebration for Socialists and Communists alike, came to nothing.

As the Red Scare sputtered to an end, police in Massachusetts arrested two Italian-born anarchists, Nicola Sacco and **Bartolomeo Vanzetti**, and charged them with robbery and murder. Despite inconclusive evidence and the accused men's protestations of innocence, a jury in 1921 found them guilty, and they were sentenced to death. While appeals delayed their execution, many Americans became convinced that the two had been convicted because of their political beliefs and Italian origins. Further, many doubted that they had received a fair trial. Over loud protests at home and abroad, both men were executed in 1927.

### **Race Riots and Lynchings**

The racial tensions of the war years continued into the postwar period. Black soldiers encountered more acceptance and less discrimination in Europe than they had ever known at home. Some whites, however, were determined to restore the state of race relations that had prevailed before 1917. Southern mobs lynched ten returning black soldiers, some still in uniform. Mobs lynched more than seventy blacks in 1919 and burned eleven victims alive.

Rioting also struck outside the South. In July, violence reached the nation's capital, where white mobs attacked blacks throughout the city for three days, killing several. A few days later, in Chicago, whites apparently caused the death of a young African American swimming in Lake Michigan by

throwing rocks at him. The incident sparked two weeks of rioting by racial mobs that left fifteen whites and twenty-three blacks dead. By the end of 1919, race riots had flared in more than two dozen places.

### **The Election of 1920**

Republicans confidently expected to regain the White House in the 1920 election. The Democrats had lost their congressional majorities in the 1918 elections, and the postwar confusion and disillusionment often focused on Wilson. One reporter described the stricken president as the "sacrificial whipping boy for the present bitterness."

The reaction against Wilson almost guaranteed the election of any Republican nominee. Several candidates attracted significant support, but no candidate could muster a majority of the convention delegates. Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio emerged as a compromise candidate. Even some of his supporters characterized him as "the best of the second-raters." The Democrats chose James Cox, the governor of Ohio, as their presidential candidate.

The election was a Republican landslide. Harding won 60 percent of the popular vote, the largest popular majority up to that time. Wilson had hoped the election might be a "solemn referendum" on the League of Nations, but it proved to be more of a response to the disappointments of the Wilson years. Americans, it seemed, had had enough idealism and sacrifice.

deport To expel an undesirable alien from a country.

Red Scare Wave of anticommunism in the United States in 1919 and 1920, which included a government crackdown that focused on foreigners and labor unions.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti Italian anarchists convicted in 1921 of the murder of a Braintree, Massachusetts, factory paymaster and the theft of a \$16,000 payroll; in spite of public protests on their behalf, they were electrocuted in 1927.

Warren G. Harding Ohio politician and Republican who was elected president in 1920; his administration was marred by corruption and scandal.

## SUMMARY

Woodrow Wilson took office *expecting* to focus on domestic policy, not foreign affairs. He fulfilled some Democratic party commitments to anti-imperialism but *chose* to intervene extensively in the Caribbean and in Mexico.

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, Wilson proclaimed the United States to be neutral. German submarine warfare and British restrictions on commerce, however, *constrained* traditional *expectations* for neutrality. Wilson secured a German pledge to refrain from unrestricted submarine warfare. He was re-elected in 1916 on the platform that "he kept us out of war." Shortly after his re-election, however, the Germans violated their pledge, and Wilson *chose* to ask for war against Germany.

The war brought new *expectations* in nearly every aspect of the nation's economic and social life. To overcome *constraints* of inefficiency, the federal government *chose* to develop a high degree of centralized economic planning. Fearing that opposition to the war might pose a *constraint* on full mobilization, the Wilson administration *chose* to secure new laws that *constrained* some civil liberties. When the federal government *chose* to back collective bargaining, unions registered important gains. And when labor shortages threatened to *constrain* the war effort, more women and African Americans *chose* to enter the industrial work force. One *outcome* was that many African Americans

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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*chose* to move to northern and midwestern industrial cities.

Germany *chose* to launch a major offensive in early 1918, *expecting* to achieve victory before American troops could make a difference. However, the AEF was able to play a significant part in breaking the German advance. The *outcome* was the Germans' request for an armistice.

In his Fourteen Points, Wilson expressed his *expectations* for peace. *Constrained* by opposition from the Allies, Wilson *chose* to compromise at the peace conference, but he still *expected* that the League of Nations would be able to maintain the peace. Fearing the *constraints* that League membership might place on the United States, enough senators opposed the treaty to defeat it. The *outcome* was that the United States did not become a member of the League.

In the United States, the immediate *outcome* of the war was disillusionment and a year of high prices, costly strikes, the Red Scare, and race riots and lynchings. In 1920, the nation returned to its usual Republican preference when it sent Warren G. Harding to the White House.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Clements, Kendrick A. *The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson* (1992).

More than half of this recent account of Wilson's presidency is devoted to foreign policy matters and the war.

Friedel, Frank. *Over There: The Story of America's First Great Overseas Crusade*, rev. ed. (1990).

A vivid survey of American participation in the fighting in Europe, with many firsthand accounts.

Lewis, Sinclair. *Main Street* (1920; reprint, 1961).

An absorbing novel about a woman's dissatisfaction with her life and her decision to work in Washington during the war.

Link, Arthur S. *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace* (1979).

A concise introduction to Wilson's role in and thinking about foreign affairs.

Remarque, Erich Maria. *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Trans. A. W. Wheen (1930; reprint, 1982).

The classic and moving novel about World War I, seen through German eyes.

Tuchman, Barbara W. *The Guns of August* (1962; reprint, 1976).

A popular and engaging account of the outbreak of the war, focusing on events in Europe.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## The Choice to Declare War

### The Context

On April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson spoke to a joint session of Congress and requested that it declare war on Germany in response to the German government's decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare, Congress did declare war on April 6, and for the first time, the United States found itself involved in a military conflict in Europe. U.S. involvement in World War I lasted for a year and seven months, during which more than 115,000 Americans died on the battlefields of Europe. Once Wilson decided for war, he had to choose the way he would present his decision to Congress and to the American people.

### The Historical Question

In asking Congress to declare war on Germany, President Wilson had to choose between a narrow justification, based on American self-interest, and

a broader vision of transforming international politics. Wilson chose the broad approach, but members of Congress did not necessarily agree. In calling for war, to what values did Wilson appeal? On what values did Senator Borah base his decision to vote for war? On what values did Senators La Follette and Norris base their opposition to war?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions. **On what values did Wilson, Borah, La Follette, and Norris base their decisions about going to war? What evidence is there that they all drew on the same values as they came to different conclusions about war?**

### The Sources

**1** President Woodrow Wilson, in a speech to a joint session of Congress on April 2, 1917, asked for a declaration of war against Germany.

*I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. . . .*

*We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government [Germany], following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. . . . We are glad, now that we*

*see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no domination.*

2 Senator William E. Borah, progressive Republican from Idaho, spoke in the Senate on April 4, 1917.

*There can, to my mind, be only one sufficient reason for committing this country to war, and that is the honor and security of our own people and our own Nation. . . . I join no crusade; I seek or accept no alliances; I obligate this Government to no other power. I make war alone for my countrymen and their rights, for my country and its honor.*

**3** Senator Robert M. La Follette, progressive Republican from Wisconsin, spoke in the Senate on April 4, 1917.

*I had supposed until recently that it was the duty of Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote and act according to their convictions on all public matters that came before them. . . . Another doctrine has recently been promulgated by certain newspapers . . . and that is the doctrine of "standing behind the President," without inquiring whether the President is right or wrong. . . . [President Wilson] says that this is a war "for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government." . . . [But] the President has not suggested that we make our support of Great Britain conditional to her granting home rule to Ireland, or Egypt, or India. . . .*

*Will the President and the supporters of this war bill submit it to a vote of the people before the declaration of war goes into effect? Until we are willing to do that, it illy becomes us to offer as an excuse for our entry into the war the unsupported claim that this war was forced upon the German people by their Government. . . . Who has registered the knowledge or approval of the American people of the course this Congress is called upon to take in declaring war upon Germany? Submit the question to the people, you who support it. You who support it dare not do it, for you know that by a vote of more than ten to one the American people as a body would register their declaration against it.*

**4** Senator George W. Norris, progressive Republican from Nebraska, spoke in the Senate on April 4, 1917.

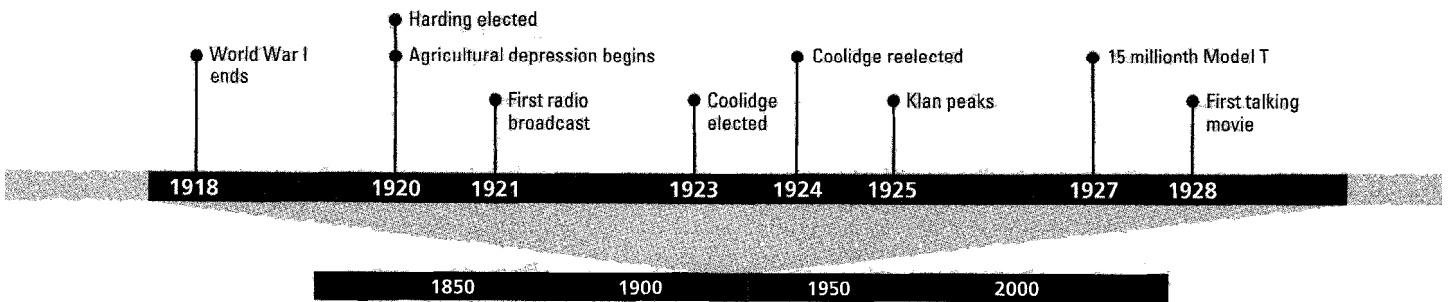
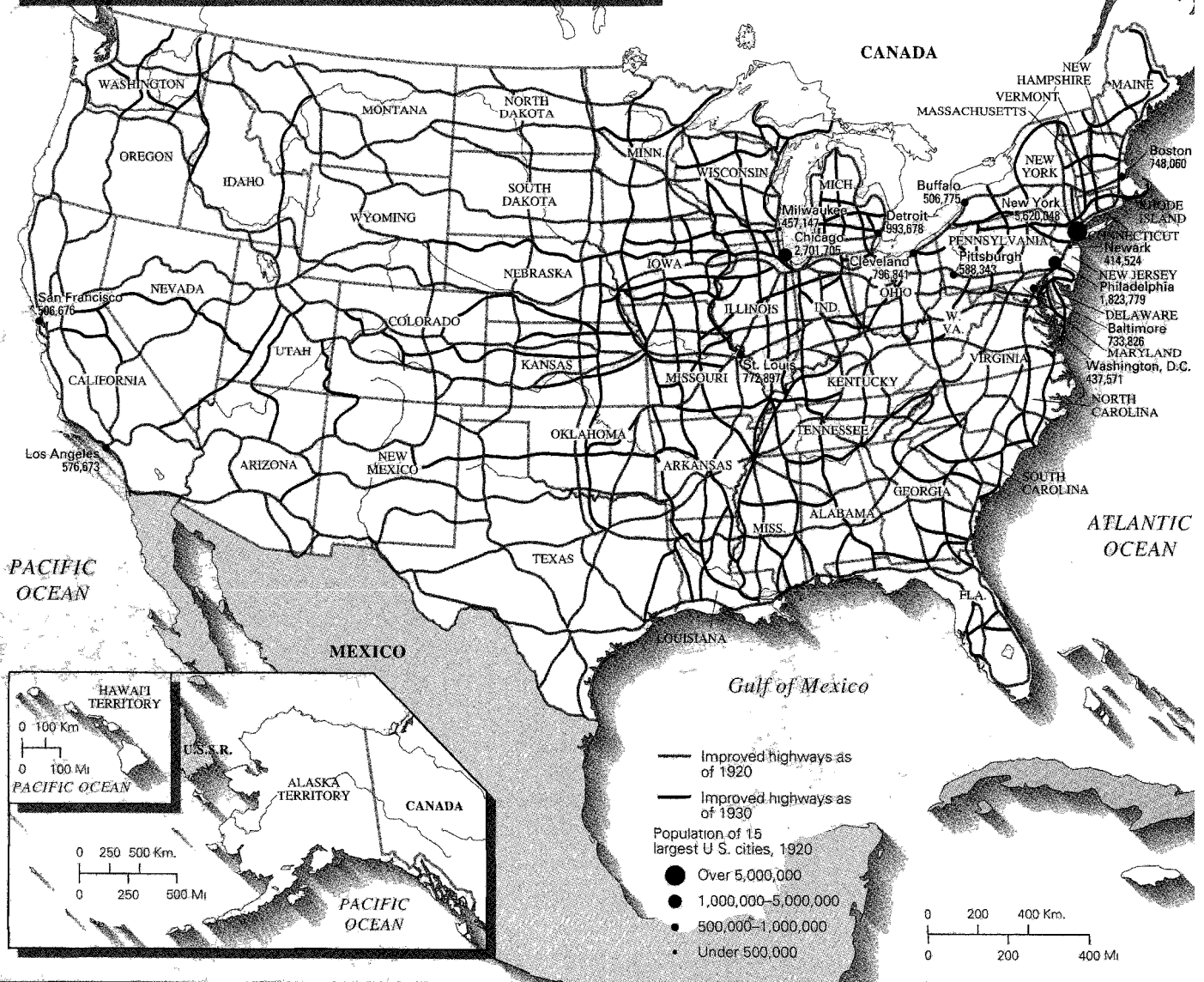
*There are a great many American citizens who feel that we owe it as a duty to humanity to take part in this war. . . . I think such people err in judgment and to a great extent have been misled as to the real history and the true facts by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war.*

*We are taking a step to-day that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. . . . By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations. . . . I feel as though we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag. . . .*

*The troubles of Europe ought to be settled by Europe. . . . [Declaring war will take] America into entanglements that will not end with this war but will live and bring their evil influence upon many generations yet unborn.*



**IMPROVED HIGHWAYS AND MAJOR CITIES, 1920-1930** During the 1920s, as many Americans became automobile owners, they quickly called for more and better highways. This map shows highway expansion during that decade. The nation also became increasingly urban during the 1920s. This map locates the largest cities.



## CHAPTER 23

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# The 1920s, 1920-1928

### **The Prosperity Decade**

- What new economic choices opened for consumers during the 1920s? What new choices opened for business?
- What constraints did farmers face?

### **The "Roaring Twenties"**

- What new expectations and choices shaped American society in the 1920s?
- How did they reflect or contribute to the important social changes of the period?

### **Traditional America Roars**

#### **Back**

- How did some Americans try to restore traditional social expectations and values during the 1920s?
  - What were the outcomes of their choices?
-

### **Race, Class, and Gender in the 1920s**

- During the 1920s, what expectations and constraints influenced choices faced by American Indians, Mexicans, working people, women, and homosexuals?
- What were the outcomes of their choices?

### **The Politics of Prosperity**

- What were the expectations of the Republican administrations of the 1920s?
- What were their resulting policy choices?



## ( INTRODUCTION )

Called the "Jazz Age" and the "Roaring Twenties," the decade of the 1920s sometimes seems to be a swirl of conflicting images. Prohibition attempted to control Americans' drinking habits at the same time the flapper was flaunting the liberation of women from previous *constraints*. The booming stock market promised prosperity to all with money to invest at the same time that thousands of farmers were abandoning the land because they could not survive financially. Business leaders celebrated the expansion of the economy at the same time many wage earners in manufacturing endured the destruction of their unions and their legal protections. White-sheeted armies of the Ku Klux Klan marched as self-proclaimed defenders of Protestant American values and white supremacy at the same time African Americans were creating impressive art, literature, and music. The values of big business reigned supreme in politics at the same time the economy was lurching toward a collapse that few anticipated.

In the 1920s, business turned as never before to focus on the consumer. Americans suddenly found themselves facing a range of consumer *choices* beyond all previous *expectations*, as they were deluged with new products such as automobiles, radios, and electric household appliances of every description. Americans began to purchase on credit as installment-plan buying swept the nation, shattering old *constraints* about paying cash and avoiding debt. By the mid-1920s, it seemed as though much of the nation had *chosen* to borrow money and go on an extended buying binge.

Not everyone shared in the *expectations* bred by the consumer culture of postwar America. The poorest farmers and wage earners were *constrained* from doing so by their economic situations. Some others *chose* not to. Disillusioned with the "war to end war" and scornful of the widespread infatuation with consumer buying, many intellectuals became alienated from American culture. Some *chose* to move to Europe to escape what they saw as the emptiness of American life. For them, modern America had become a spiritual and cultural wasteland.

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Few other Americans shared the gloom of such intellectuals. For most, the 1920s were a time of glittering *expectations*. Many revealed an unfettered optimism as they picked out their new radio or signed papers to buy a new automobile on the installment plan. For them, the immediate *outcome*—new car, new radio, new styles—seemed to fulfill the rosy *expectations* bred by advertising.

This optimism fed into an expansive popular culture that seemed to reflect a nationwide "age of excess." Radio and movies popularized nationwide tastes, trends, and "heroes" as never before. Led primarily by youths of white, middle-class background, many young people *chose* to flaunt behavior that defied the values of their parents' generation.

Like the shiny new roadsters that filled the advertising in popular magazines, the economy roared along at high speed, fueled by easy credit and consumer spending, virtually unregulated. It carried most Americans with it—until the economic engine sputtered and seemed to die in 1929.

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## America in the 1920s

1908 Ford introduces Model T  
General Motors formed

1914 Universal Negro Improvement Association  
founded  
War breaks out in Europe

1915 Ku Klux Klan revived

1917 United States enters World War I

### 1918 World War I ends

1920 Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition) takes  
effect  
Nineteenth Amendment grants women the  
vote  
Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*  
Harding elected president

1920-1921 Nationwide recession  
Agricultural depression begins

1921 Temporary immigration quotas First  
commercial radio broadcasts Bad  
breath sells Listerine  
Farm Bloc formed

1922 Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt*  
T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*

1923 Harding dies; Coolidge becomes  
president  
Marcus Garvey convicted of mail  
fraud  
Jean Turner's *Cane*  
American Indian Defense Association  
formed

1923-1925 Harding administration scandals  
revealed

1924 National Origins Act  
Coolidge elected president  
Wheaties marketed as "Breakfast of  
Champions"

Crossword puzzle fad  
Full citizenship for American Indians

1925 Scopes trial  
F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*  
Ku Klux Klan claims 5 million  
members Klan leader convicted of  
murder  
One automobile for every three residents  
in Los Angeles  
Chrysler Corporation formed

1926 Railway Labor Act  
Florida real-estate boom collapses  
Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also  
Rises*

1927 Coolidge vetoes McNary-Haugen bill  
Charles Lindbergh's transatlantic flight  
15 millionth Model T sold  
Duke Ellington conducts jazz at Cotton  
Club

1928 Coolidge vetoes McNary-Haugen again  
Confederacion de Uniones Obreras  
Mexicanas formed  
Ford introduces Model A

1931 Frederick Lewis Allen's *Only Yesterday*  
Al Capone convicted and imprisoned

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## The

### Prosperity Decade

After World War I ended in 1918, the economy completed an important shift toward consumer goods. Previously, U.S. manufacturing efforts had been dominated by railroads, steel, and heavy-equipment manufacturing, few of which made products for sale to the average consumer. During the 1920s, though, the rise of the automobile industry dramatized the new prominence of **consumer-goods** industries.

### The Economics of Prosperity

The 1920s was a prosperous decade for most Americans. Although the economy experienced a sharp recession in 1920-1921, it quickly rebounded. By 1923, unemployment had fallen to 2 percent and remained under 5 percent for the rest of the decade. Manufacturing workers saw their average weekly paycheck grow from \$21 in 1922 to \$25 in 1929 (see Figure 23.1). Increased productivity meant that prices for most manufactured goods remained stable or even went down. Declining prices for agricultural products brought lower food and clothing prices. Thus many Americans seemed better off by 1929 than in 1920: they earned about the same, and they paid somewhat less for necessities.

Advertisers encouraged Americans to spend their money on more than just necessities. In 1931, journalist Frederick Lewis Allen noted in *Only Yesterday*, a perceptive history of the 1920s, that "business had learned as never before the immense importance to it of the ultimate consumer." Persuading Americans to consume an array of products became crucial to keeping the economy healthy.

The marketing of Listerine demonstrates the rising importance of advertising. Listerine had been devised as a general antiseptic, but in 1921 Gerard Lambert devised a more persuasive approach. Through aggressive advertising, he fostered anxieties about the impact of bad breath on popularity and made millions by selling Listerine to combat the offensive condition. In 1924, General Mills first advertised Wheaties as the "Breakfast of Champions," thereby tying the consumption of cold cereal to success in sports. Americans responded by buy-

ing those products and others with similarly creative pitches. "We grew up founding our dreams on the infinite promises of American advertising," wrote Zelda Fitzgerald, wife of F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Changes in fashion also encouraged increased consumption. The popularity of short hairstyles for women, for example, led to the development of hair salons. Cigarette advertisers began to target women. The American Tobacco Company advised women to "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" to attain a slim figure. Technological advances also contributed to the growth of consumer-oriented manufacturing. In 1920, about one-third of all residences had electricity. By 1929, electrical power had reached most urban homes. Advertisers began to stress the time and labor that housewives could save by using vacuum cleaners, washing machines, irons, and toasters. Between 1919 and 1929, consumer expenditures for household appliances grew by more than 120 percent.

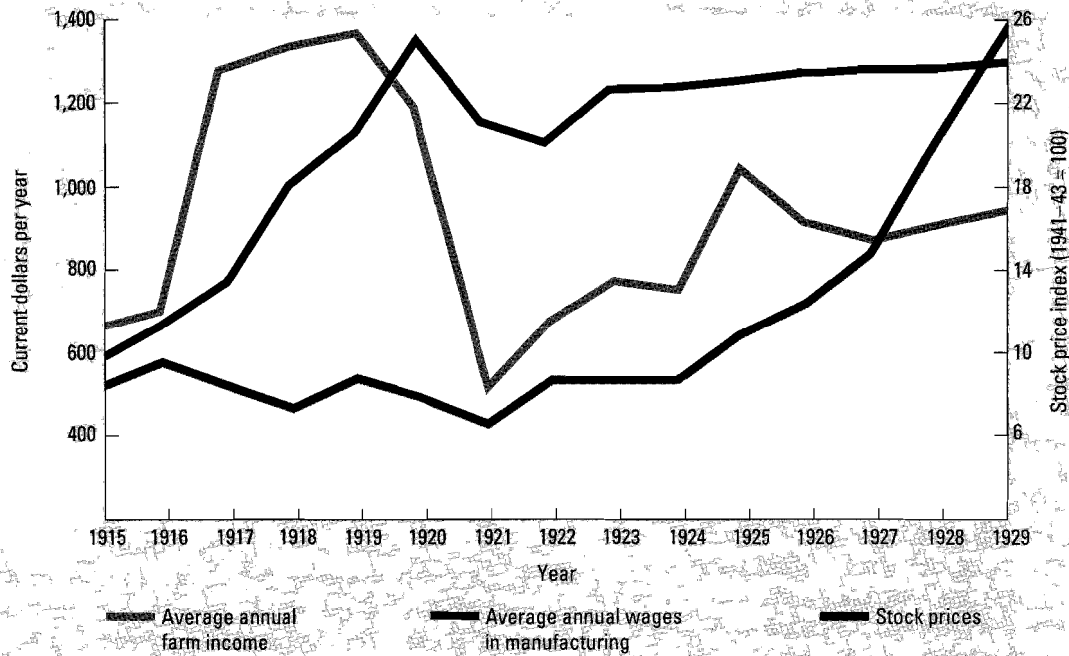
This increased consumption contributed to a change in people's spending habits. Before the war, most urban families paid cash for what they bought. But many consumers in the 1920s listened to the advice of retailers: "Buy now, pay later." By the late 1920s, about 15 percent of all retail purchases came through the installment plan. Charge accounts in department stores also became popular.

### The Automobile: Driving the Economy

The automobile more than any other single product epitomized the consumer-oriented economy of the 1920s. Automobiles remained a luxury item until Henry Ford developed a mass-production system that drove down costs. Other companies jostled with Ford for the patronage of American car buyers. By the late 1920s, America's roadways sported nearly one automobile for every five people.

**consumer goods** Products such as food and clothing that directly satisfy human wants.

**Henry Ford** Inventor and manufacturer who founded the Ford Motor Company in 1903 and pioneered mass production in the auto industry.



◆ **FIGURE 23.1 Economic Indicators, 1915-1929** This figure presents three measures of economic activity for the period covering World War I and the 1920s. Farm income and wages should be read on the left-hand scale; stock prices should be read on the right-hand scale. *Note:* Incomes are in current dollars, not adjusted for changes in purchasing power. *Source:* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 1: 483, 170; II: 1004.

Ford built his success on the **Model T**, introduced in 1908. By 1927, Ford had produced more than 15 million of them, dominating the market by selling at the lowest possible prices. "Get the prices down to the buying power," Ford ordered. His dictatorial management, technological advances, and high worker productivity brought the price of a new Model T as low as \$290 by 1927. Cheap to buy and maintain, the Model T made Henry Ford into a wealthy folk hero.

Competition helped keep prices low for middle-class automobile purchasers. General Motors (GM), established in 1908, and Chrysler Corporation, founded in 1925, adopted some of Ford's techniques but also emphasized comfort and style, both missing in the purely functional Model T. Ford finally ended production of the Model T in 1927 and introduced the more stylish Model A the next year.

Ford's company also illustrates how efforts to reduce labor costs by improving labor efficiency caused work on Ford's assembly line to become a thoroughly

dehumanizing experience. He prohibited his workers from talking, sitting, smoking,

**Model T** Lightweight automobile produced by Ford from 1908 to 1927 and sold at the lowest possible price, on the theory that an affordable car would be more profitable than an expensive one.

**dehumanizing** That which deprives of human qualities, such as individuality, by rendering a task mechanical and routine.

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singing, or even whistling while working. However, Ford paid his workers more than any of his competitors so that they, too, could afford a Model T.

The automobile industry in the 1920s often led the way in promoting new sales techniques. Installment buying became so widespread that, by 1927, two-thirds of all American automobiles were sold on credit. The introduction of new models every year enticed owners to trade in their cars to keep up with the latest fashions in design, color, and options. Dozens of small automakers closed down when they could not compete with the low prices and yearly models offered by the Big Three. By 1929, Chrysler, Ford, and GM manufactured 83 percent of all the cars in the country.

Business giants like Henry Ford emerged as popular and respected figures in the 1920s. In 1925, in a book titled *The Man Nobody Knows*, Bruce Barton suggested that Jesus Christ could best be understood as a chief executive who "had picked up twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and forged them into an organization that conquered the world." Barton's book led the nonfiction bestseller lists for two years.

## "Get Rich Quick":

### The Speculative Mania

The stock market captured people's fancy in the 1920s as a certain route to riches. Speculation—buying a stock and expecting to make money by selling it at a higher price—ran rampant. Magazine articles proclaimed that everyone could get rich in no time. By 1929, some 4 million Americans, or about 10 percent of American households, owned stock.

Driven partly by real economic growth and partly by speculation, stock prices rose higher and higher. Standard and Poor's index of common stock prices tripled between 1920 and 1929. As long as prices kept going up, it seemed that prosperity would never end.

Although the stock market held the nation's attention as the most popular path to instant riches, other speculative opportunities abounded. One of the most prominent was the Florida land boom. The mania was fed by rapid growth in the population of Florida, especially Miami. People poured

into Florida, attracted by the climate, the beaches, and the ease of travel from the chilly Northeast. Speculators began to buy almost any land amid slick predictions that it would boom in value. Stories of land that had increased in value by 1,500 percent over ten years circulated. Like stocks, land was bought on credit with the intention of reselling it at a quick profit. The boom began to falter early in 1926, however, as the population influx slowed, and collapsed later that year when a hurricane slammed into Miami. By 1927, many speculators faced bankruptcy.

### Agriculture: Depression in the Midst of Prosperity

Prosperity never extended to agriculture. Farmers never recovered from the postwar recession and struggled to survive financially throughout the 1920s. Many had expanded their operations during the war in response to government demands for more food. After the war, as European farmers resumed production, the glut of agricultural goods on world markets caused prices to fall. Exports of farm products tumbled by half within a few years of the end of the war.

Prices fell as a consequence of this overproduction. When adjusted for inflation, corn and wheat prices never rebounded to their prewar levels. The average farm's net income for the years 1917 to 1920 had ranged between \$1,196 and \$1,395 per year. This fell to a dreadful \$517 in 1921, then slowly began to rise. But farm prices did not reach 1917 levels until World War II.

Throughout the 1920s, farmers pressed the government for help. In 1921, the bipartisan congressional Farm Bloc formed to promote legislation to assist farmers. Congress passed a few assistance measures in the early 1920s, but none addressed the central problems of overproduction and low prices. In the mid-1920s, proposals to tackle these

overproduction Production that exceeds consumer need or demand.

**Farm Bloc** Bipartisan group of senators and representatives formed in 1921 to promote legislation to assist farmers.

two key issues invariably met with presidential vetoes. The average farmer saw the value of his land fall by more than half between 1920 and 1928. Hundreds of thousands of people left farms each year in the 1920s. The prosperity decade did not include rural America.

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## "Roaring Twenties"

"The world broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts," wrote novelist Willa Cather. She disliked much that came after. F. Scott Fitzgerald, another novelist, agreed with the date but embraced the change. He thought 1922 initiated an "age of miracles" and an "age of art." For most Americans, evidence of sudden and dramatic social change was on all sides, from automobiles, radios, and movies to a new youth culture and an impressive cultural outpouring by African Americans.

### **The Automobile and American Life**

During the 1920s, the automobile profoundly changed American patterns of living. Highways significantly shortened the travel time from cities to rural areas, thereby reducing the isolation of farm life. One farm woman, when asked why her family had an automobile but not indoor plumbing, responded, "Why, you can't go to town in a bathtub." Trucks allowed farmers to take more products to market more quickly and conveniently than ever before. The spread of gasoline-powered farm vehicles also reduced the need for human farm labor and so stimulated migration to urban areas.

If the automobile changed rural life, it had an even more profound impact on life in the cities. Cities continued to grow. The 1920 census recorded more Americans living in urban areas than in rural ones for the first time. The automobile freed suburban developments from their dependence on commuter rail lines. Suburbs mushroomed, sprouting single-family houses. From 1922 through 1928, construction began on an average of 883,000 new homes each year. New home construction rivaled the auto as a driving force behind economic growth.

## The

A look at Los Angeles shows the automobile's pervasive impact on urban life. From 1920 to 1930 the population of Los Angeles County more than doubled, from fewer than 1 million to 2.2 million. Los Angeles became the first large city organized around the auto. By 1925, Los Angeles counted one automobile for every three residents, twice the national average. The auto made it possible for residents to live farther from work than ever before. In the 1920s, Los Angeles developed the lowest urban population density in the United States. By 1930, about 94 percent of all residences in Los Angeles were single-family homes, an unprecedented figure. The first modern supermarket appeared in Los Angeles. So did the first large shopping district designed for the automobile. Los Angeles set the precedent for organizing life around the automobile.

By the late 1920s, the automobile had also begun to demonstrate its ability to strangle urban traffic. Detroit introduced the first traffic lights in 1920. Although they spread rapidly to other large cities, traffic congestion worsened. By 1926, cars in Manhattan's rush hour crawled along at less than three miles an hour—slower than a person could walk.

### **A Homogenized Culture**

#### **Searches for Heroes**

As the automobile cut travel times, restrictive immigration laws were closing the door to immigrants. These factors, together with the new technologies of radio and film, began to **homogenize** the culture by breaking down cultural differences based on region or ethnicity.

In 1921, the first commercial radio broadcasting station opened. Within six years, 681 were operating. By 1930, 40 percent of all households had radio sets. Movie attendance increased rapidly as well, from a weekly average of 40 million people in 1922 to 80 million in 1929. The equivalent of two-thirds of the nation went to the cinema every week. As Americans across the country tuned into the

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**homogenize** To make something uniform throughout.

same radio broadcast and families laughed or wept at the same movie, radio and film did their part in homogenizing American life, particularly in urban areas.

Radio and film joined newspapers and magazines in prompting national trends, fashions, and fads. In 1923, the opening of the fabulous tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen led to a passion for things Egyptian. Crossword puzzles captured the attention of many Americans in 1924. Such fads, in turn, created markets for new consumer goods, from Egyptian-style furniture to crossword dictionaries.

The media also contributed to the development of national sports heroes. By the 1920s, as Frederick Lewis Allen observed, sports "had become an American obsession." Radio now began to broadcast baseball games nationwide. Boxing and college football vied with baseball for spectators' dollars. Most Americans were familiar with the exploits of such baseball greats as Lou Gehrig, Ty Cobb, and Babe Ruth, as well as boxers like Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney and golfers like Bobby Jones.

The rapid spread of movie theaters created a new category of fame: the movie star. Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, Harold Lloyd, and others brought laughter to the screen. Tom Mix was the best-known cowboy of the silver screen. Sex made stars of Theda Bara, the vamp, and Clara Bow, the "It Girl," whose publicists not only said she had "it" but also insisted that no one had to ask what "it" was. Rudolph Valentino soared to fame as a male sex symbol in *The Sheik*. Several women committed suicide after Valentino's death in 1926. "Valentino had silently acted out the fantasies of women all over the world," claimed screen star Bette Davis.

The greatest popular hero of the 1920s, however, was neither an athlete nor an actor but a small-town airmail pilot named Charles Lindbergh. In 1927, Lindbergh decided to collect the prize of \$25,000 offered to the pilot of the first successful nonstop flight between New York and Paris. Flying *The Spirit of St. Louis* for 33% sleepless hours, Lindbergh earned the \$25,000 and the adoration of crowds on both sides of the Atlantic. His accomplishment seemed to proclaim that old-fashioned individualism, courage, and self-reliance could still triumph over adversity.

## Alienated Intellectuals

Other Americans went to Paris in the 1920s, but for a different reason. They left to escape what they considered America's dull conventionalism and dangerous materialism. Whether they left for Paris or not, many American writers bemoaned what they saw as the shallowness, greed, and homogenization of American life. Sinclair Lewis in *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922) presented small-town, middle-class existence as not just boring but stifling. The title character, George F. Babbitt, is Lewis's version of a typical, narrow-minded suburban businessman who speaks in clichés and buys every gadget on the market. H. L. Mencken, the influential editor of the *American Mercury*, relentlessly pilloried the "booboisie," jeered at all politicians, and celebrated only those writers who shared his distaste for most of American life.

Other writers also rejected traditional values in their disillusionment with postwar society and search for self. Edna St. Vincent Millay captured the spirit of rebellion and pleasure seeking in 1920:

*My candle burns at both ends;*

*It will not last the night;*

*But ah, my foes, and oh, my friends—It  
gives a lovely light!*

F. Scott Fitzgerald, in *The Great Gatsby* (1925), revealed the dark side of the hedonism of the 1920s, as he portrayed the pointless lives of wealthy pleasure seekers. Ernest Hemingway, in *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), depicted jaded and disillusioned

**vamp** A woman who uses her sexuality to entrap and exploit men.

**Charles Lindbergh** American aviator who made the first solo transatlantic flight in 1927 and became an international hero.

**Sinclair Lewis** Novelist who satirized middle-class America in works such as *Babbitt* (1922) and who became the first American to win a Nobel Prize for literature.

**H. L. Mencken** Editor and critic who founded the *American Mercury* and who wrote essays of scathing social criticism.

**F. Scott Fitzgerald** Fiction writer who captured the Jazz Age in novels such as *The Great Gatsby* (1925).



expatriates who go to Spain to see the bullfights in an effort to introduce some excitement into their lives. The novel's dominant tone is one of frustration, futility, and suffering.

Others took the theme of hopelessness even further. **T. S. Eliot**, a poet who had fled America for England in 1915, published *The Waste Land* in 1922, in which he presented a grim view of the barrenness of modern life, where a search for meaning yielded "the empty chapel, only the wind's home." Some writers predicted the end of Western civilization. Joseph Wood Krutch in 1929 concluded that modern civilization was so decadent that it could not rejuvenate itself and would be overthrown by barbarians.

## Renaissance Among African Americans

Krutch's fear of the imminent end of Western civilization was limited largely to white intellectuals. Such views were little reflected in the striking outpouring of literature, music, and art by African Americans in the 1920s.

Harlem, a predominantly black neighborhood in New York City, quickly became a symbol of the new, urban life of African Americans. The term **Harlem Renaissance** describes a literary and artistic movement in which black artists and writers insisted on the value of black culture and used African and African-American traditions in literature, painting, and sculpture. Pointing to this renaissance in 1925, the black writer Alain Locke argued that African Americans were "achieving something like a spiritual emancipation" and that henceforth the nation "must reckon with a fundamentally changed Negro." Black actors, notably Paul Robeson (see page 612), began to appear in serious theaters and earn acclaim for their abilities.

Among the movement's poets, **Langston Hughes** became the best known. His poetry rang with the voice of the people, as he sometimes used folk language to convey powerful images (see Individual Choices: Langston Hughes). Zora Neale Hurston began her long writing career with several short stories in the 1920s. Jean Toomer's novel *Cane* (1923) has been praised as "the most impressive product of the Negro Renaissance." In it, Toomer combined poetry and

prose to produce sketches and short stories dealing with African Americans in rural Georgia and Washington, D.C.

The Renaissance included jazz, which was becoming a central element in distinctly American music. Created and nurtured by African-American musicians in southern cities, especially New Orleans, jazz had been introduced to northern and white audiences by World War I. It became so popular that the 1920s have *been* called the Jazz Age. Jazz also began to influence leading white composers, notably George Gershwin, whose *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924) brought jazz into the symphony halls. Some attacked the new sound, claiming it encouraged people to abandon their self-restraint, especially with regard to sex. Despite such condemnation, the wail of the saxophone became an integral part of the 1920s.

Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong emerged as the leading jazz trumpeter. Bessie Smith, the "Empress of the Blues," was the outstanding vocalist of the decade. The great black jazz musicians drew white audiences into black neighborhoods to hear them. As increasing numbers of whites went "slumming" to Harlem, the area came to be associated with exotic nightlife and glittering jazz clubs such as the Cotton Club. Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington went there in 1927 and began to develop the works that made him a respected composer.

**expatriate** A person who has taken up residence in a foreign country or renounced his or her native land.

**T. S. Eliot** American poet who settled in England and whose long poem *The Waste Land* (1922) chronicles the barrenness of modern life.

**Harlem Renaissance** Literary and artistic movement in the 1920s centered in Harlem, in which black writers and artists described and celebrated African-American life.

**Langston Hughes** Poet of the Harlem Renaissance whose work, inspired by the rhythms of jazz and the blues, dealt with the joys and sorrows of African Americans.

**jazz** Style of music developed in America in the early twentieth century, characterized by strong, flexible rhythms and improvisation on basic melodies.

## INDIVIDUAL CHOICES

### Choosing to Live in Harlem



#### Langston Hughes

*Langston Hughes, an acclaimed author, chose to celebrate black people in his writing and to develop opportunities for other black artists to cultivate their creativity. This portrait by Winold Reiss was made in 1925, when Hughes, in his early twenties, was already a significant figure in the Harlem Renaissance. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, NY.*

In the late 1940s, Langston Hughes bought a house on East 127th Street in central Harlem. He could have afforded a house in a wealthy suburb if he had wished, but he chose Harlem. It symbolized other choices he had made throughout his writing career, for he chose to write for and about African Americans.

Born in Joplin, Missouri, in 1902, he lived for a time with his grandmother Mary Langston, from whom he learned lessons in social justice. He began to write poetry in high school, briefly attended college, then chose to work and travel in Africa and Europe. He continued writing poetry, some of which won prizes from African-American journals.

Hughes had become a significant figure in the Harlem Renaissance by 1925, sometimes reading his poetry to the musical accompaniment of jazz or the blues. Some of his work then presented images from black history, like "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (1921).

Other works, like "Song for a Dark Girl" (1927), vividly depicted the constraints of racism.

*Way Down South in Dixie*

*(Break the heart of me)*

*They hung my black young lover To a cross  
roads tree.*

The sparkle of the Cotton Club was remote from the experience of most African Americans. But one Harlem leader affected black people throughout the country and beyond. Marcus Garvey, born in Jamaica, advocated a form of black separatism. His organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), founded in 1914,

Marcus Garvey Jamaican black nationalist active in America in the 1920s.

black separatism Doctrine of cultural separation of blacks from white society.

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*Way Down South in Dixie  
(Bruised body high in air)  
I asked the white Lord Jesus  
What was the use of prayer.*

*Way Down South in Dixie  
(Break the heart of me) Love  
is a naked shadow  
On a gnarled and naked tree.*

Other poems looked to the future with an expectation for change and for new choices, as in "I, Too" (1925).

*I, too, sing America.*

*I am the darker  
brother. They send me*

*To eat in the kitchen  
When company comes,  
But I laugh,  
And eat well,  
And grow strong.*

*Tomorrow  
I'll sit at the table  
When company comes.  
Nobody'll dare*

*Say to me,  
"Eat in the kitchen,"  
Then.*

*Besides  
They'll see*

*How beautiful I am  
And be ashamed.*

*I, too, am America.*

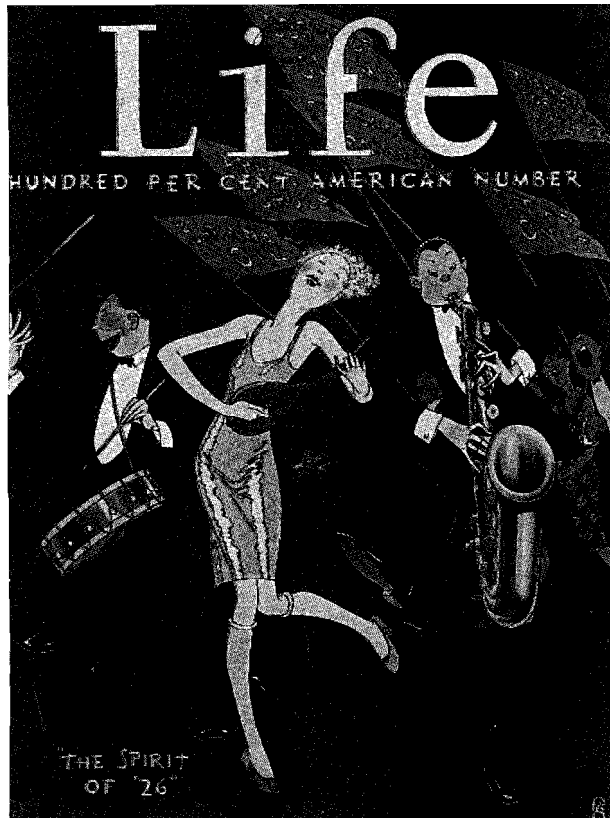
In the early 1930s, as the Harlem Renaissance waned and the Depression deepened,

Hughes, like other American intellectuals, turned to socialism. He traveled again and began writing short stories and plays. Few theaters at that time would stage works by or about African Americans, and few hired African-American actors. Hughes, therefore, chose to use his prestige and his time to create black theater companies in Harlem, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Hughes's writings poured forth in a near-torrential stream. By the end of his life, in 1967, he had produced ten volumes of poetry; sixty-six short stories; some twenty plays, musicals, and operas; two autobiographical volumes; more than a hundred published essays, both serious and humorous; and several novels, histories, and children's books. The outcome of Hughes's devotion to writing and his choice to focus on the African-American experience was that he established a prominent place for himself among American authors of his time. Also, and perhaps more significant, he helped define the Harlem Renaissance, and he greatly encouraged the development of African-American poetry, fiction, drama, and other writing.

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stressed racial pride and solidarity across national boundaries. Garvey argued that whites would always be racist. Therefore blacks from around the world needed to assist Africans in overthrowing colonial rule and building a strong African state. Garvey established a steamship company, the Black Star Line, which he hoped would carry

**Black Star Line Steamship** company founded by Marcus Garvey to carry blacks to Africa; Garvey was convicted of mail fraud in connection with its finances and imprisoned in 1923.



- ◆ On the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, *Life* presented this cover parodying the famous painting *The Spirit of '76* by depicting "*The Spirit of '26*"—an uninhibited flapper, a jazz saxophonist and drummer, and banners with the snappy sayings of the day. The caption reads, "One Hundred and Forty-three Years of LIBERTY and Seven Years of PROHIBITION." *Harvard College Library*.

American blacks to Africa. UNIA attracted wide support among urban blacks in the United States.

Black integrationist leaders, however, condemned UNIA for its separatism. The NAACP, especially W. E. B. Du Bois, took the lead in opposing Garvey, arguing that the first task facing blacks was integration and equality in the United States. Garvey and Du Bois called each other traitors.

Federal officials eventually charged Garvey with irregularities in his fundraising for the Black Star Line, and he was convicted of mail fraud in

1923. He spent two years in jail and then was deported to his native Jamaica. Garvey continued to lead UNIA in exile, but most of the local organizations lost members and influence.

### "Flaming Youth"

Although African Americans created jazz, those who danced to it, in the popular imagination of the 1920s, were white: a male college student, clad in a swank raccoon-skin coat with a hip flask of illegal liquor in his pocket, and his female counterpart, the uninhibited flapper with bobbed hair and a daringly short skirt. This stereotype of "flaming youth" reflected startling changes among many white, college-age youths of middle- or upper-class background.

The prosperity of the 1920s allowed many middle-class families to send their children to college. The proportion of the population ages 18 to 24 enrolled in college more than doubled between World War I and 1930. On campus, students reshaped colleges into youth centers, where football games and dances assumed as much significance as examinations and term papers.

For some college women, the changes of the 1920s seemed particularly dramatic. Young women scandalized their elders by wearing skirts that stopped at the knee, stockings rolled below the knee, short hair often dyed black, and generous amounts of rouge and lipstick. Many observers assumed that the outrageous look reflected outrageous behavior. In fact, women's sexual activity outside marriage had begun to increase before the war, especially among working-class women and radicals. In the 1920s, such changes began to affect middle-class college and high school students. About half of the women who came of age during the 1920s had intercourse before marriage, a marked increase from prewar patterns.

**flapper** Name given in the 1920s to a young woman with short hair and short skirts, who discarded old-fashioned standards of dress and behavior.

Such changes in behavior were often linked to the automobile. It brought greater freedom to young people, for they could go where they wanted. Sometimes they went to a **speakeasy**. Before Prohibition, few women who valued their reputations entered saloons. Prohibition, however, seemed to glamorize drinking. Now men and women went to speakeasies to drink and smoke together, and to dance to popular music derived from jazz. While some adults criticized the frivolities of the young, others emulated them.

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## Traditional America Roars Back

Many Americans felt threatened by the upheaval in social values that originated in the cities. Although their efforts to stop the tide of changes that threatened their way of life dated to the prewar era, several movements to preserve traditional values came to fruition in the 1920s.

### Prohibition

Prohibition epitomized the cultural struggle to preserve white, old-stock Protestant values and to make immigrants whose values were judged to be quite different conform to "American" standards. Spearheaded by the Anti-Saloon League, prohibition advocates gained strength throughout the Progressive era. They convinced Congress to pass a temporary prohibition measure in 1917 to conserve grain during the war. A more important victory for the "drys" came later that year, when Congress adopted the **Eighteenth Amendment**, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages. The amendment took effect in January 1920 after three-fourths of the state legislatures ratified it.

Many Americans simply ignored the Eighteenth Amendment from the beginning, and it grew less popular the longer it lasted. By 1926, a poll indicated that only 19 percent of Americans supported Prohibition. Nonetheless, Prohibition remained the law until 1933. Prohibition did reduce drinking and apparently drunkenness. It was most effective among those groups and in those areas that had

provided its greatest support. It was never well enforced anywhere, however, and was ignored in most cities. Congress never provided enough money for more than token federal enforcement, and most city police didn't even try because of the immensity of the task. New York State admitted the impossibility of enforcing Prohibition by repealing its enforcement act in 1923.

Prohibition produced unintended consequences. It glamorized drinking. **Bootlegging** flourished. The thirst for alcohol provided criminals with a fresh and lucrative source of income. Al **Capone** and his gang took in more than \$60 million from bootlegging in 1927 alone. The scar-faced Capone realized such huge gains in part by systematically eliminating the competition. Gang warfare raged in Chicago throughout the 1920s, producing some five hundred slayings. Despite Capone's undoubted role in murders, bootlegging, and other illegal activities, his extensive political influence kept him immune from local prosecution. Only in 1931 did federal officials finally convict him of income-tax evasion and send him to prison.

The gangs of Chicago had their counterparts elsewhere. Profits from bootlegging not only provided bribes to police and political officials but also led gangsters into gambling, prostitution, and racketeering. Through racketeering, they gained power in some labor unions. Some Americans blamed these developments on Prohibition. For other Americans, however, the gangs, killings, and corruption confirmed their long-standing distrust

**speakeasy** A place for the illegal sale and consumption of liquor during Prohibition.

**Eighteenth Amendment** Amendment to the Constitution ratified in 1919 forbidding the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages.

**bootlegging** Illegal production, distribution, or sale of liquor.

**Al Capone** Italian-born American gangster who ruthlessly ruled the Chicago underworld until he was imprisoned for tax evasion in 1931.

**racketeering** Commission of crimes such as extortion, loansharking, bribery, and obstruction of justice in the course of illegal business activities.

of cities and immigrants, and they clung to the vision of a dry America as the best hope for renewing traditional values.

### **Fundamentalism and the Crusade Against Evolution**

Fundamentalist Protestantism also sought to maintain traditional values. Fundamentalism emerged from a conflict between Christian modernism and orthodoxy. Where modernists tried to reconcile their religious beliefs with modern science, fundamentalists rejected anything incompatible with a literal reading of the Scriptures.

In the early 1920s, some fundamentalists focused on evolution as contrary to the Bible. Fundamentalists saw in evolution not just a challenge to the Bible's account of creation, but also a challenge to religion itself. William Jennings Bryan, the former Democratic presidential candidate, provided fundamentalists with their greatest champion. His energy, eloquence, and enormous following guaranteed that the issue received wide attention.

Bryan played a central role in the **Scopes trial**, the most famous dispute over evolution. In March 1925, the Tennessee legislature made it illegal for any public school teacher to teach evolution. Promised the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), John T. Scopes, a young biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, challenged the law. Bryan volunteered to assist the local prosecutors. He claimed that the only issue was the right of the people to regulate public education in the interest of morality. But defense attorney Clarence Darrow insisted that he was there to prevent "bigots and ignoramuses from controlling the education of the United States."

Toward the end of the trial, Darrow called Bryan to the witness stand as an authority on the Bible. Under Darrow's withering questioning, Bryan revealed that he knew little about findings in archaeology, geology, and linguistics that cast doubt on biblical accounts. He also admitted that he did not always interpret the Bible literally. "Bryan was broken," one reporter wrote. "Darrow never spared him. It was masterful, but it was pitiful." Bryan died a few days later. Scopes was found guilty, but the Tennessee Supreme Court threw out his sen

tence on a technicality, preventing appeal. The Tennessee law remained on the books until 1968, although it was not enforced.

### **Nativism and Immigration Restriction**

Since the 1890s, nativists had urged Congress to cut off immigration, but earlier efforts met with either congressional indifference or presidential vetoes. However, the disquieting presence of so many German Americans during World War I, the Red Scare, and the continued influx of poor immigrants from southern and eastern Europe after the war combined in 1921 to convince Congress to approve a temporary act limiting immigration.

The **National Origins Act** of 1924 established permanent restrictions. It limited total immigration to 150,000 people each year and established quotas for each country based on how many Americans came from that country as of 1890. The law thus attempted to freeze the nation's ethnic composition by stopping immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The law completely excluded

**fundamentalism** An organized, evangelical movement originating in the United States in the early twentieth century in opposition to liberalism and secularism. orthodoxy Traditional or established doctrine of faith.

**evolution** The central organizing theorem of the biological sciences, which holds that organisms change over generations, mainly as a result of natural selection; it includes the concept that humans evolved from nonhuman ancestors.

**Scopes trial** Trial in 1925 in which a high school biology teacher was prosecuted for teaching evolution in violation of Tennessee law; it raised issues concerning the place of religion in American education.

**Clarence Darrow** Lawyer known for his defense of unpopular causes; his merciless cross-examination of Bryan in the Scopes trial made the argument against evolution look weak.

**National Origins Act** Law passed in 1924 establishing quotas that discouraged immigration from southern and eastern Europe and encouraged immigration from Scandinavia and western Europe; it also prohibited Asian immigration.

Asians but permitted unrestricted immigration from Canada and Latin America.

Nativism and discrimination flourished throughout the 1920s. In West Frankfort, Illinois, for example, rioting townspeople beat and stoned Italians in 1920 before setting their houses on fire. Nativist-inspired discrimination was more subtle. Exclusive eastern colleges placed quotas on the number of Jews admitted each year. In 1920, Henry Ford, writing in the *Dearborn Independent*, began to accuse international Jewish bankers of controlling the American economy. In 1927, Ford was forced to retract his charges and to apologize when he was sued for libel and challenged to prove his charges.

### The Ku Klux Klan

Nativism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and fear of radicalism all contributed to the spectacular growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920s. The original Klan, created during Reconstruction to intimidate former slaves, had long since died out. Formed by William Simmons, the new Klan portrayed itself as a patriotic order devoted to America, Protestant Christianity, and white supremacy.

The new Klan grew spectacularly after 1920, when local organizers were offered \$4 of every \$10 initiation fee. Membership grew from 5,000 in 1920 to as many as 5 million by 1925. The Klan attacked Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and blacks, along with bootleggers, corrupt politicians, and gamblers in the name of old-fashioned Protestant morality. In rural areas, the Klan's terror was sometimes carried out by **nightriders**, who roved country roads to carry out beatings, kidnappings, torture, brandings, floggings, and even murder.

The Klan was strong not only in the South but also in the Midwest, West, and Southwest. It sometimes exerted a powerful political influence, most notably in Texas, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Indiana. In Oklahoma, the Klan led a successful impeachment campaign against a governor who tried to restrict their nightriding.

Extensive corruption underlay the Klan's self-righteous rhetoric. Some Klan leaders joined primarily for the profits, both legal (from recruiting) and illegal (from political payoffs). And some lived personal lives in stark contrast to the morality they preached. In 1925, D. C. Stephenson, a prominent Klan leader, was convicted of the second-degree murder of a woman who had accused him of raping her. When the governor of Indiana refused to pardon him, Stephenson produced records that proved the corruption of the governor, a member of Congress, the mayor of Indianapolis, and other officials endorsed by the Klan. Thereafter, Klan membership fell sharply.

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## Race, Class, and Gender in the 1920s

For most people of color, the reality of daily life fell somewhere between the liberation experienced by those in the Harlem Renaissance and the terror felt by those who confronted Klan nightriders. For working people, the 1920s represented a time when many gains from the Progressive Era and World War I were lost. For women, the 1920s opened with a political victory in the form of suffrage, but the unity developed in support of that measure soon broke down.

### Race Relations: North, South, and West

Race relations changed little during the 1920s. Terror against African Americans continued after the rioting and bloodshed of 1919. Southern legislators defeated every effort by the NAACP to secure a federal antilynching law. Discrimination and violence were not directed only at blacks. In the West and Southwest, American Indians and those of Asian and Latino descent were frequently the victims of racism.

Californians led the way in passing laws discriminating against Asian immigrants and Asian Americans. In 1920, California voters by a margin of 3 to 1 approved an initiative forbidding Asian

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**nightriders** Bands of masked white men associated with the Ku Klux Klan who roamed rural areas at night, terrorizing and murdering blacks.

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immigrants to own or lease land in the state. Some Californians even sought a constitutional amendment to remove citizenship from Asian Americans.

### **Beginnings of Change in Federal**

#### **Indian Policy**

In the early 1920s, American Indians experienced an intensification of previous assimilationist policies (see page 379). Interior Secretary Albert Fall's attempts to wrest lands along the Rio Grande from the Pueblo Indians, however, did not succeed. In fact, his schemes prompted the formation of the **American Indian Defense Association (AIDA)** in 1923. The AIDA soon emerged as the leading voice for change in federal Indian policy. Its goals were to end land allotments, to improve health and educational services on the reservations, to create tribal governments, and to gain tolerance for Indian religious ceremonies. The AIDA encouraged recognition of Indian cultures and values.

The political pressure applied by the AIDA and by Indians themselves secured several new laws favorable to American Indians. One measure, in 1924, extended full citizenship to all Indians who were still not citizens—about one-third of the total. Some had been reluctant to accept citizenship for fear of losing their tribal rights, so the law included provisions specifically protecting those rights.

#### **Mexicans in California and the Southwest**

California and the Southwest attracted growing numbers of Mexican immigrants in the 1920s. Many Mexicans went north to escape the revolution and civil war that devastated their nation from 1910 into the 1920s. Nearly one Mexican in ten may have fled to the United States between 1910 and 1930. More than half went to Texas, but by the mid-1920s, increasing numbers were arriving in California.

Population changes in southern California and south Texas followed change in the agricultural economies of those regions. In south Texas, some cattle ranches were converted to farms, especially for cotton. The 1920s also saw dramatic increases in the commercial production of fruits and vegetables. By 1925, the Southwest produced 40 percent

of the nation's fruits and vegetables, crops that were highly labor-intensive. In the late 1920s, Mexicans made up 80 to 85 percent of farm laborers in southern California and south Texas. These changes in population and economy reshaped relations between Anglos and Mexicans.

In south Texas, many Anglo newcomers looked on Mexicans as a "partly colored race" and tried to import sharecropping, disfranchisement, and segregation. Disfranchisement was relatively unsuccessful, but some schools and other social institutions were segregated despite Mexican opposition.

In California, Mexican workers' efforts to organize and strike for better pay and working conditions often sparked violent opposition. In the early 1920s, strikes involving thousands of workers were broken brutally. Workers began organizing on a larger scale in 1928, with the formation of the Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas, an umbrella group for various unions in southern California. Local authorities arrested and often beat strikers. Leaders found themselves subject to deportation. But growers adamantly opposed any proposals to restrict immigration from Mexico.

#### **Labor on the Defensive**

Difficulties in establishing unions among Mexican workers mirrored a larger failure of unions in the 1920s. When unions tried to recover lost purchasing power by striking in 1919 and 1920, they nearly all failed. After 1921, business took advantage of the conservative political climate to challenge Progressive-era legislation benefiting workers. The Supreme Court responded by limiting workers' rights, voiding laws that eliminated child labor, and striking down minimum wages for women and children.

Many companies undertook anti-union drives. Arguing that unions had become either corrupt or radical, some employers refused to recognize them. At the same time, many companies initiated an approach known as "welfare capitalism." The strat-

**American Indian Defense Association** Organization founded in 1923 to defend the rights of American Indians; it pushed for an end to allotment and a return to tribal government.

egy was to provide workers with benefits such as insurance, retirement pensions, cafeterias, paid vacations, and stock purchase plans. Such innovations stemmed both from genuine concern about workers' well-being and from the expectation that such improvements would increase productivity and discourage unionization.

Only the railroad unions made significant gains in the 1920s. The Railway Labor Act of 1926 established collective bargaining for railroads. But the gains of the railroad unions were unique. The 1920s marked the first period of prosperity since the 1830s when union membership declined. Hostile government policies, welfare capitalism, and lost strikes all contributed to this decline.

### Changes in Women's Lives

The attention given to the flapper in the 1920s should not obscure other significant changes in women's gender roles during the decade. Marriage among middle-class couples came to be increasingly valued as a companionship between two partners. Although the ideal of marriage was often expressed in terms of equality, the actual responsibility for the smooth functioning of the family typically fell on the woman.

The 1920s also saw a significant decline in the birth rate. This decline reflected changing social values and the wider availability of birth-control information and devices. More women used diaphragms rather than relying on males to use condoms. Margaret Sanger, the pioneer in the birth-control movement, was able to persuade more doctors to spread birth-control information. As birth control gained the backing of male physicians, it became more respectable. Nonetheless, until 1936, federal law restricted public distribution of information about contraception.

Although the lives of many middle-class women lightened with the introduction of laborsaving devices such as vacuum cleaners, working-class women still spent long days struggling to maintain families. As before, these women often worked outside the home because the family needed the income. The proportion of women working for wages remained quite stable during the 1920s, at about one in four.

Perhaps the most publicized event in women's lives was national woman suffrage. In June 1919, Congress approved the Nineteenth **Amendment** and sent it to the states for ratification. After a grueling state-by-state battle, ratification came in August 1920.

The unity of the suffrage movement quickly disintegrated thereafter. Some suffrage activists joined the League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan group committed to social and political reform. The Congressional Union converted itself into the National Woman's party and, after 1923, focused its efforts on securing an Equal Rights **Amendment** to the Constitution. The League of Women Voters argued that such an amendment would endanger laws that provided special rights and protections for women. In the end, woman suffrage did not dramatically change either women or politics.

### Development of Gay and Lesbian Subcultures

In the 1920s, gay and lesbian subcultures became more established and, in places such as New York, Chicago, New Orleans, and Baltimore, relatively open. *The Captive*, a play about lesbians, opened in New York in 1926, and some movies included unmistakable references to gays or lesbians. Novels with gay and lesbian characters circulated in the late 1920s and early 1930s. By the late 1920s, some nightclub acts included material about gays and lesbians in performances intended for largely heterosexual audiences. A relatively open black gay and lesbian community emerged in Harlem.

**Railway Labor Act** Law passed in 1926 that replaced the Railway Labor Board with a board of mediation only loosely connected with the federal government.

**Nineteenth Amendment** Amendment to the Constitution in 1920 that prohibited federal or state governments from restricting the right to vote on account of sex.

**Equal Rights Amendment** Constitutional amendment first proposed by the National Woman's party in 1923, giving women in the United States equal rights under the law.

As many as seven thousand revelers of all races attended the annual Hamilton Lodge drag ball in Harlem, the nation's largest gay and lesbian event.

At the same time, however, more psychiatrists and psychologists were labeling homosexuality a **perversion**. As the work of Sigmund Freud became well known, psychiatrists and psychologists came to regard homosexuality as a sexual disorder that required a cure. Thus Freud may have been a liberating influence with regard to heterosexual relations, but he proved harmful for same-sex relations.

The late 1920s and early 1930s brought increased suppression of gays and lesbians. New state laws gave police greater authority to crack down on them. In 1927, New York police raided *The Captive*, and the New York legislature banned all such plays. In 1929, Adam Clayton Powell, a leading Harlem minister, launched a highly publicized campaign against gays. Motion-picture studios instituted a morality code that prohibited any depiction of homosexuality. The end of Prohibition after 1933 allowed local authorities to use their regulatory power to close businesses with liquor licenses that tolerated gay or lesbian customers. Thus, by the late 1930s, many gays and lesbians were forced to become more secretive about their sexual identities.

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## The

### Politics of Prosperity

After 1918, the Republicans returned to the majority role they had played from the mid-1890s to 1912, and they were the unquestioned majority party throughout the 1920s. Progressivism largely disappeared, although Robert La Follette and George Norris persisted in their vigil to limit corporate power. The Republican administrations of the 1920s, however, thought that government should be the partner of business, not its regulator.

#### Harding's Failed Presidency

Warren G. Harding, elected in 1920, looked like a president—handsome, gray-haired, dignified—but he displayed little intellectual depth below the

charming surface. For some cabinet positions, he named the most respected leaders of his party. He chose Charles Evans Hughes for secretary of state, Andrew Mellon for secretary of the treasury, and Herbert Hoover for secretary of commerce. Harding, however, was most at home in a smoke-filled room, drinking whiskey and playing poker with friends. He gave hundreds of government jobs to his cronies. They betrayed his trust and turned his administration into one of the most corrupt in American history. Harding tried to ignore their misdeeds.

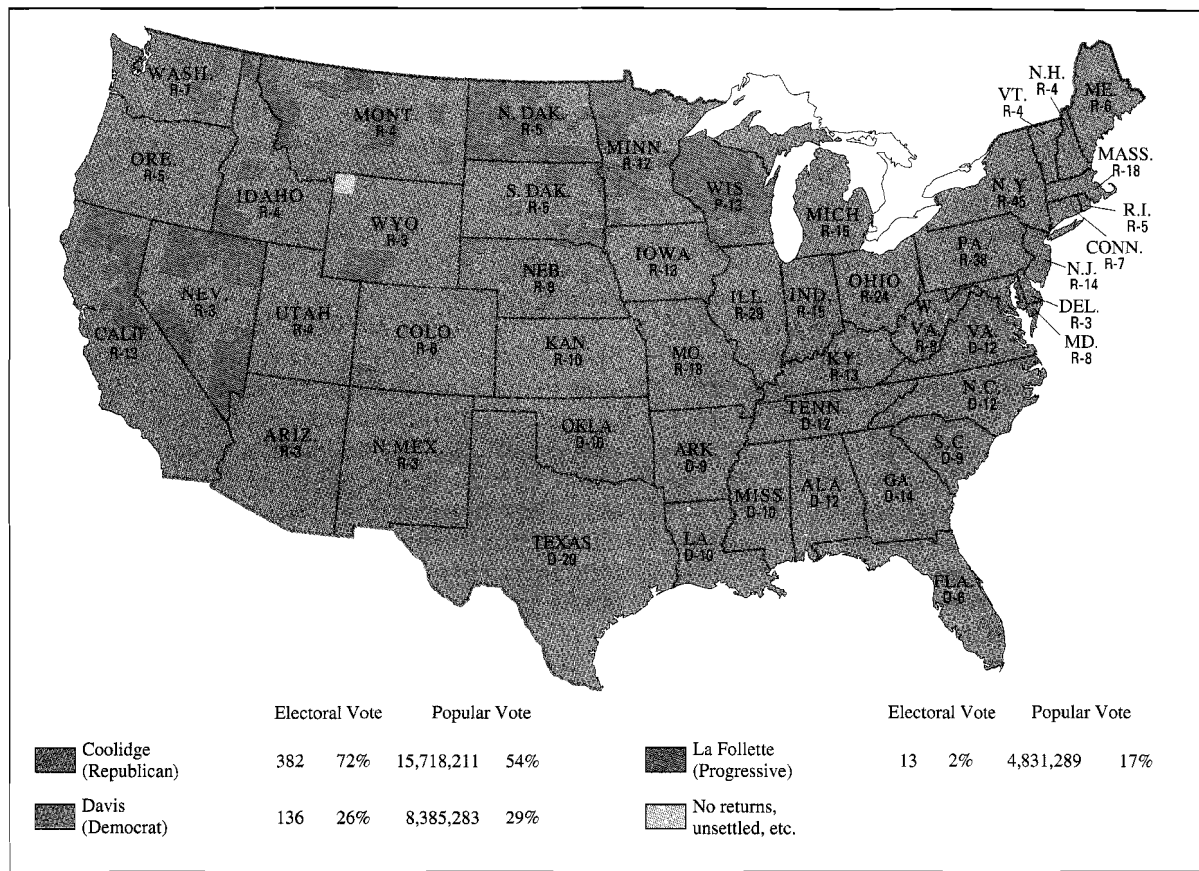
The full extent of corruption became clear after Harding died in August 1923. Interior Secretary Albert Fall had accepted huge bribes from oil companies for leases on government oil reserves at Elk Hills, California, and **Teapot Dome**, Wyoming. Attorney General Harry Daugherty had accepted bribes to approve the sale of government property for less than its value. The head of the Veterans Bureau had swindled the government out of more than \$200 million. In all, three cabinet members resigned, four officials went to jail, and five men committed suicide.

#### The Three-Way Election of 1924

Fortunately for the Republican party, the new president, Calvin Coolidge of Vermont, exemplified the honesty, virtue, and sobriety associated with New England. In 1924, Republicans quickly chose him as their candidate for president. The Democratic convention, however, sank into a long and bitter deadlock between its northern and southern wings before turning to John W. Davis, a leading corporate lawyer. The remaining progressives welcomed the independent candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. La Follette at-

**perversion** A sexual practice considered abnormal or deviant.

**Teapot Dome** Government-owned Wyoming oil field that Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall leased to private developers in return for a bribe, causing one of the scandals that disgraced the Harding administration.



**MAP 23.1 Election of 1924** The presidential election of 1924 was complicated by the campaign of Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, who ran as a Progressive. Much of his support came from Republicans living in the north-central and northwestern regions, where the agricultural economy was most hard hit.

tacked big business, embraced collective bargaining, and advocated public ownership of railroads.

Republican campaigners largely ignored Davis and focused on portraying La Follette as a dangerous radical. Coolidge claimed the key issue was "whether America will allow itself to be degraded into a communistic or socialistic state or whether it will remain American." Coolidge won with nearly 16 million votes and 54 percent of the total. Davis held onto most traditional Democratic voters, especially in the South, receiving 8 million votes. La Follette carried only his home state of Wisconsin but garnered almost 5 million votes nationwide (see Map 23.1).

### The Politics of Business

Resolved to limit government, Coolidge tried to reduce the significance of the presidency—and succeeded. Having once announced that "the business of America is business," he believed that the free market would provide economic prosperity for all.

The Coolidge administration's commitment to an unfettered market economy meant it had little sympathy for proposals to assist the faltering farm economy. Congress tried to address the related problems of low prices for farm products and persistent agricultural surpluses with the

**McNary-Haugen bill.** This bill would have created federal price supports and authorized the government to buy farm surpluses and sell them abroad at prevailing world prices. Coolidge vetoed the bill in 1927 and again in 1928.

Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon did secure substantial tax cuts for the wealthy and for corporations. He argued that these tax cuts would cause the wealthy to make "productive investments" that would benefit everyone. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, however, was unsuccessful in urging Coolidge to regulate the increasingly wild use of credit, which encouraged stock market speculation.

Coolidge cut federal spending and staffed Washington's agencies with people who shared his distaste for government. Unlike Harding, Coolidge found honest and competent appointees. Like Harding, he named probusiness figures to regulatory commissions and put conservative, probusiness judges in the courts. The *Wall Street Journal* described the outcome: "Never before, here or anywhere else, has a government been so completely fused with business."

**McNary-Haugen bill** Farm relief bill that provided for government purchase of crop surpluses during years of large output; it was vetoed by Coolidge in 1927 and again in 1928.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

helped to loosen *constraints* on speculation. Fueled by many individual *choices*, the stock market climbed higher and higher. Agriculture, however, did not share in this prosperity.

As *expectations* changed during the Roaring Twenties, Americans experienced significant social change. The automobile, radio, and movies broke down old *constraints* on travel and communication and produced, as one *outcome*, a more homogeneous culture. Many American intellectuals, however, *chose* to reject the consumer-oriented culture. During the 1920s, African Americans produced an outpouring of significant art, literature, and music. Some young people *chose* to reject traditional *constraints*.

Not all Americans embraced change. Some *chose* instead to try to maintain or restore earlier cultural values. The *outcomes* were mixed. Prohibition was largely unsuccessful. Fundamentalism grew and prompted a campaign against teaching evolution. Nativism helped produce significant new restrictions on immigration. The Ku Klux Klan, committed to nativism, traditional values, and white supremacy, experienced nationwide growth until 1925, but membership declined sharply thereafter.

Discrimination and occasional violence continued to *constrain* the lives of people of color. Federal Indian policy had long stressed assimilation and allotment, but some groups *chose* to promote different policies based on respect for Indian cultural values. Immigration from Mexico greatly increased the Latino population in California and the Southwest. Nearly all unions faced strong opposition from employers, and only the railroad unions made significant gains during the twenties.

Some older *expectations* and *constraints* regarding women's roles broke down as women gained the right to vote and exercised more control over the *choice* to have children. An identifiable gay and lesbian subculture emerged in cities.

Politics became less prominent. Warren G. Harding and his successor, Calvin Coolidge, both *expected* that government should act as a partner with

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The 1920s were a decade of prosperity: unemployment was low, gross national product (GNP) grew steadily, and many Americans fared well. Sophisticated advertising campaigns created bright *expectations*, and installment buying freed consumers from the old *constraints* of having to pay cash. Many consumers did *choose* to buy more and to buy on credit—stimulating manufacturing and an expansion of personal debt. Easy credit and *expectations* of continuing prosperity also

business, and they made *choices* that minimized regulation and encouraged speculation. Progressive reform largely disappeared from politics, and

efforts to secure federal assistance for farmers fizzled. One *outcome* was a federal government that was strongly conservative and probusiness.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

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Filled with anecdotes that bring the decade to life.

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A fictional portrayal of high living and pleasure seeking among the wealthy of New York.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. *Harlem Renaissance* (1971).

Thorough and thoughtful, this work places the Harlem Renaissance in the larger context of race relations in the 1920s.

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A comprehensive account of the 1920s by a leading historian.

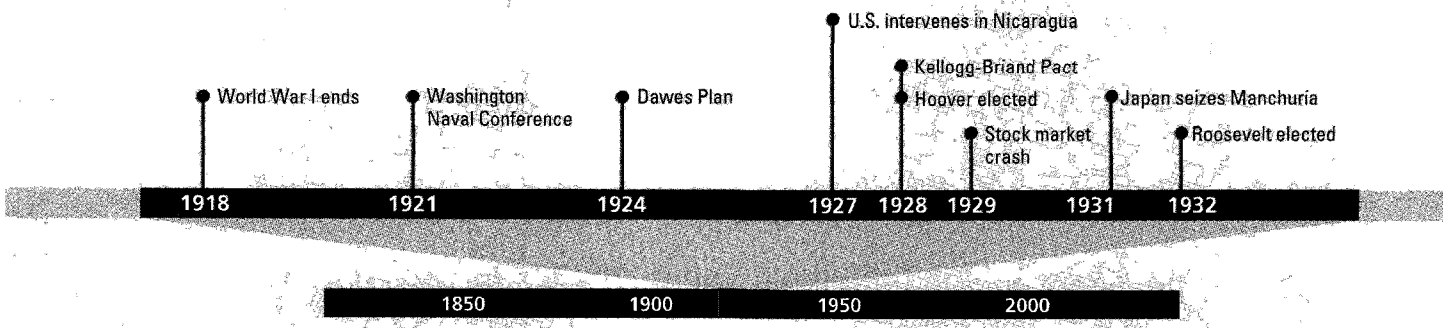
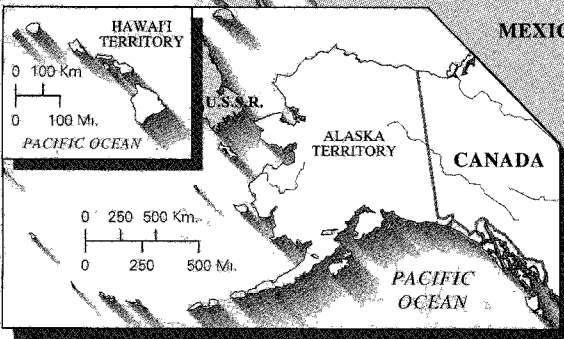
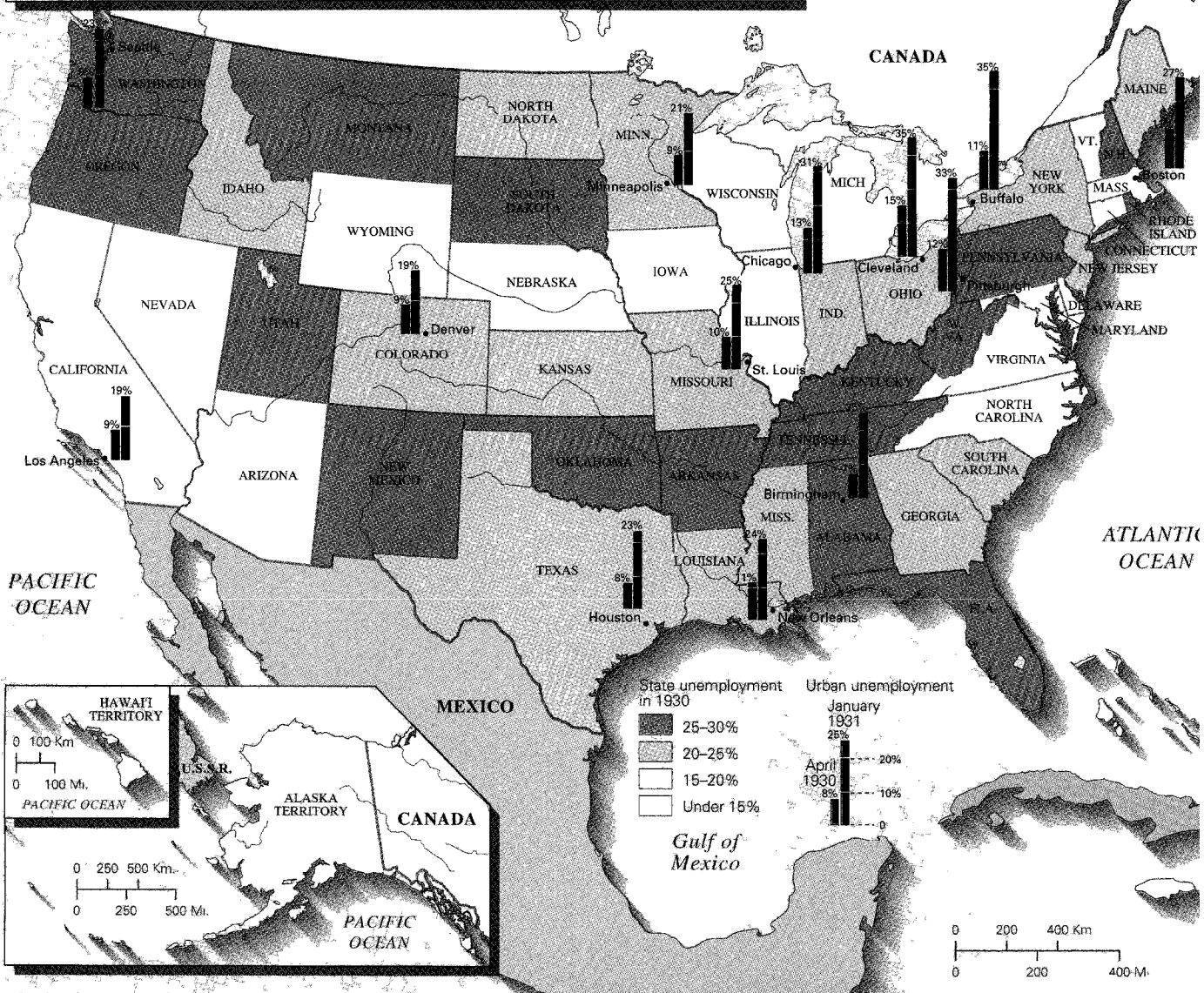
*The Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz* (1987).

An outstanding collection of compact discs that reflects the development of American jazz, with annotations and biographies of performers.





**THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND UNEMPLOYMENT** As Herbert Hoover confronted Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Great Depression in the race for the presidency in 1932, the nation was experiencing historically high unemployment. This map shows the percentage of the work force unemployed by state, and how much unemployment jumped in some cities during a ten-month period.



# From Good Times to Hard

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## Times, 1920-1932

### **The Diplomacy of Prosperity**

- How did the strength of the American economy, along with America's desire to remain unconstrained in foreign affairs, shape the choices in U.S. foreign policy during the 1920s?

### **The Failure of Prosperity**

- What expectations did Americans have when they chose Herbert Hoover instead of Al Smith to be president?
  - What weaknesses constrained the American economy? What expectations caused these constraints not to be clearly seen?
-

## **Government and Economic Crisis**

- What choices did Hoover make to deal with the Great Depression? How did his expectations about government limit his choices?
- Why were the outcomes of Hoover's efforts to fight the Depression unsuccessful?

## **Depression America**

- \*What economic and social constraints and choices did the Depression generate for industrial workers, minorities, and women?
- \*What choices did Americans make during the Depression that reflected the continuity of social and cultural values?

# INTRODUCTION

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Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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As the Roaring Twenties drew to a close, the United States seemed to have reached new levels of success. American prosperity bloomed, fueling much of the world's economic growth. American business interests swept into Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. At the same time, the United States government *chose* to avoid a direct role in world politics. Instead, American policymakers from Harding to Hoover *expected* indirect and private means to promote American interests and a stable and peaceful world.

Domestically, the Republican presidents of the twenties *chose* to rely less on governmental supervision and more on unfettered American business to build a prosperous and stable America. For Herbert Hoover, the outlook in 1928 seemed bright. He *expected* to be elected president and to guide the continued growth of American and world prosperity. He was confident that domestic poverty would nearly disappear and international peace would prevail.

This chapter examines the failure of Hoover's *expectations* in the face of the Great Depression. Hoover *chose* to face the decline of the economy with policies that he *expected* would produce continued growth. He found, however, that they only heightened disillusionment and individual hard-

Expectations

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ship. Confronted with dismal realities, Hoover altered policy, but his new *choices* failed to change the course of the Depression. As individuals and society responded to the Depression, many, like Hoover, questioned their long-held values and revised their *expectations*, especially about the role of government. By 1932, it was obvious that the Depression had thwarted Hoover's hopes and ruined his political career. The American people *chose* a president pledged to activism: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Depression also revealed the weaknesses of the *expectations* and *choices* that had governed American foreign policy throughout the 1920s. The *constraints* of economic failure dashed hopes of basing peace and international stability on economic growth and voluntary agreements. The *outcome* was an increasingly dangerous world, as nations moved to protect and promote their own economic goals at the expense of others' and, in the case of Japan, of world peace.

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## Diplomacy of Prosperity

Two realities shaped American foreign policy in the 1920s: the rejection of Woodrow Wilson's internationalism following World War I and the continuing quest for economic expansion by American business. President Warren Harding, elected in 1920, dismissed any American role in the League of Nations and refused to accept the Treaty of Versailles. The administration and Congress simply declared the war to be over. Harding's secretary of state, Charles Evans Hughes, then quickly concluded separate peace treaties with the Central

The

Powers. Hughes also supported efforts by American banks and corporations to expand their business activities around the world. The Great War had made America the world's major industrial producer and banker. Throughout the 1920s, American businesses helped shape the global economy by lending money to other nations.

Because Harding and his successor, Calvin Coolidge, had little interest in foreign affairs, they

Treaty of Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, which was signed at Versailles, France, in 1919.

## A New Era

1918 World War I ends

1920 Harding elected president 1921-1922

Washington Naval Conference

1922 Fordney-Mc Cumber Tariff

1923 France occupies the Ruhr

Harding dies in office; Coolidge becomes president

1924 Coolidge elected president

Dawes Plan

U.S. forces withdraw from Dominican Republic

1927 United States intervenes in Nicaragua

Henry Stimson negotiates the Peace of Tlatelolco

Augusto Sandino begins guerrilla war in Nicaragua

1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact Hoover

elected president

1929 Agricultural Marketing Act (Farm Board)

Stock market crash

1930 Rafael Trujillo seizes power in Dominican Republic  
Hawley-Smoot Tariff

1931 Japan seizes Manchuria  
Scottsboro Nine convicted

1932 32,000 U.S. businesses fail

U.S. forces begin withdrawal from Nicaragua

Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) begins emergency relief

Farmers' Holiday Association founded

Bonus March

Franklin Roosevelt elected president

1933 4,000 U.S. banks fail

Unemployment reaches 25 percent Japan withdraws from League of Nations

1934 U.S. forces withdraw from Haiti

Sandino murdered by Anastasio Somoza

1936 Somoza becomes president of Nicaragua

deferred to their secretaries of state: Hughes and Frank Kellogg, respectively. Both were capable men interested in developing American business and influence abroad through "independent internationalism." Independent internationalism had two central thrusts: avoiding international responsibilities—sometimes called **isolationism**—and expanding economic opportunities overseas. As secretary of commerce, Herbert Hoover was equally involved in promoting American business activities worldwide. In Asia, the Commerce and State departments encouraged private American investments in Japan and China. In the Middle

East, the United States worked hard to overcome British opposition and provide openings for American oil companies seeking drilling rights. Successes in Asia and the Middle East were limited, but efforts to expand the American economic position in Latin America and Europe were quite successful.

**isolationism** A national policy of avoiding political or economic entanglements with other countries.



◆ **MAP 24.1 The United States and Latin America, 1919-1939** As this map shows, the United States continued to play an active role in promoting its interests throughout Central and South America and the Caribbean between the two world wars. In some cases, as in Nicaragua in the 1920s, this included military intervention, but during the 1920s and the terms of Hoover and Roosevelt, political and economic pressure replaced military force as the primary means to protect U.S. interests.

## The United States and Latin America

The 1920s marked a gradual American retreat from direct intervention in Latin America (see Map 24.1). President Harding intended to end the American occupation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The withdrawal of American troops proceeded slowly, however, because Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover did not want anti-American governments to seize power. To ensure friendly and stable governments, Americans maintained control over these countries' national finances and trained national guards to act as police forces. With such precautions in place, U.S. troops left the Dominican Republic in 1924, Nicaragua in 1925, and Haiti in 1934.

When American troops withdrew from the Dominican Republic and Haiti, they left better roads and improved sanitary systems. But years of occupation had not advanced educational systems, national economies, or the standard of living. In Haiti, American-imposed segregation and favoritism toward the minority, lighter-colored **mulattos** made social divisions worse. Nor did the United States promote the cause of democracy, favoring stability over freedom, even if that meant dictatorship. In 1930, Rafael Trujillo, an American-trained national guard officer, declared himself dictator of the Dominican Republic. He ruled the country brutally until his death in 1961.

In Nicaragua, civil war broke out when American forces left in 1925. President Coolidge reintroduced American forces in 1927 to protect the pro-American, conservative government and sent special envoy Henry L. Stimson to negotiate a truce. Stimson arranged the **Peace of Titiapa**, which ended most of the fighting. However, Augusto Sandino, whose primary goal was to see Nicaragua free of American influence, rejected the truce. Between 1927 and 1932, he carried on a guerrilla war against the government and American forces. Throughout Latin America, his resistance earned him many admirers who saw the United States as an imperial power wielding its might over Latin Americans. The United States withdrew its forces from Nicaragua in 1933. After the U.S. Marines left, the commander of the Guardia Nacional, **Anastasio Somoza**, arranged a peace con

ference with the rebel. After a farewell dinner, Somoza executed Sandino and his aides. Using the national guard as a political weapon, Somoza was elected president in 1936. He ruled either directly or through puppet presidents until his assassination in 1956. His family would remain in power until 1979, when rebels calling themselves the Sandinistas—after their hero, Sandino—drove the Somozas out of Nicaragua.

Elsewhere in Latin America, the 1920s saw American business interests expand. Throughout Central America, American firms such as the United Fruit Company purchased or pressured governments to give them thousands of acres for plantations on which to grow tropical fruits, especially bananas. In Venezuela and Colombia, American oil companies, with State Department help, successfully negotiated profitable contracts for drilling rights, pushing aside European oil companies. American investment in Latin America rose from \$2 billion in 1919 to nearly \$3.5 billion by 1929.

Oil also played a key role in American relations with Mexico. American businessmen objected strongly when Mexico began to nationalize its oil (see Map 24.1). By 1925, American oilmen were calling for military action to protect their interests in northern Mexico. Coolidge, however, instructed ambassador Dwight W. Morrow "to keep us out of war with Mexico." Morrow understood Mexican nationalism and pride and clearly appreciated

**mulatto** A person of mixed black and white ancestry.

**Peace of Titiapa** Agreement negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson in 1927 that sought to end factional fighting in Nicaragua.

**Augusto Sandino** Rebel who sought to rid Nicaragua of American influence; he was murdered by his rival, Anastasio Somoza.

**Anastasio Somoza** General who established a military dictatorship in Nicaragua in 1934, deposed his uncle to become president in 1936, and ruled the country for two decades, amassing a personal fortune and suppressing all opposition.

**nationalize** To convert an industry or enterprise from private to governmental ownership and control.



Mexico and its people. He cultivated a personal relationship with Mexican president Plutarco Calles. Together they reached a compromise that recognized Mexican sovereignty over its oil but delayed nationalization of existing oil properties until 1938.

### America and the European Economy

World War I had shattered most of Europe physically and economically, while the United States had climbed during wartime to unprecedented economic heights. After the war, the United States sought to expand exports and restrict imports. High tariffs inched higher throughout the 1920s. In 1922, the Fordney-McCumber Tariff set records in protective rates for most imported industrial goods. The effect was not only to limit European imports but also to weaken Europe's ability to acquire the dollars needed to repay its war debts to the United States.

While the tariff was shutting off the entry of European goods into the American market, Secretary of State Hughes and Secretary of Commerce Hoover worked to expand American economic interests in Europe, especially Germany. They believed that if Germany recovered economically and was able to pay its \$33 billion war reparations to the victors of World War I, those nations would be able to repay their war debts to the United States. Over \$4 billion in American investments flowed into Europe during the decade, doubling American investment there. General Motors purchased Opel, a German automobile firm. Ford built the largest automobile factory outside the United States in England.

Even with the infusion of American capital, Germany could not keep up with its reparations burden by 1923. France responded by sending troops to occupy the industrial **Ruhr Valley** of Germany, igniting an international emergency. Hughes sent Chicago banker Charles G. Dawes to Europe to negotiate a plan to resolve the crisis. Under the Dawes Plan, passed in 1924, American bankers loaned \$2.5 billion to Germany for economic development, while the Germans promised to pay \$2 billion in reparations to the Europeans. The Euro

peans, in turn, paid \$2.5 billion in war debts to the United States. The remedy worked fairly well until 1929, when the Depression ended nearly all loans and payments.

In Europe and the United States, the destruction caused by World War I spurred postwar pacifism and calls for disarmament. In the United States, support for arms cuts was widespread and vocal. In November 1921, Harding invited the major naval powers to Washington for discussions on reducing "the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments."

Pacifism was not the only American motive for hosting the Washington Naval Conference. Harding and Hughes were worried about continued Japanese naval expansion and growing Japanese pressures on China. Disarmament suggested a way of dealing with this Japanese threat without expanding the American navy. Hughes shocked conference delegates with a radical proposal that called for scrapping more than 200 tons of warships, primarily battleships. He also called for a ten-year ban on naval construction and for limits to the size of navies, based on a ratio of existing tonnage, that would keep the Japanese behind the British and American navies. Hughes put forth a ratio of 5 to 5 to 3 for the United States, Britain, and Japan. Lesser naval powers like Italy and France would receive even smaller ratios. Most of the nations attending applauded Hughes's

Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law passed in 1922 that raised tariff rates to record levels, fostering the growth of monopolies and provoking foreign tariff reprisals.

Ruhr Valley Region surrounding the Ruhr River in northwestern Germany, which contained many major industrial cities and valuable mines.

Dawes Plan Plan for collecting World War I reparations from Germany, which scheduled annual payments and stabilized German currency by reorganizing the Reichsbank under Allied supervision.

Washington Naval Conference International conference held in Washington, D.C., in November 1921 through February 1922; it produced a series of agreements to limit naval armaments and prevent conflict in the Far East.

proposal, but not Japan, which called the ratio a national insult. The conference dragged on for more than two months, but finally the Japanese agreed—as Hughes had known they would. Prior to the conference, the United States had broken the Japanese diplomatic **code** and had intercepted secret messages instructing the Japanese delegates to concede if Hughes held firm on his ratio.

Many Americans and Europeans applauded the achievements of the Washington conference but wanted to go even further. They sought total disarmament and a repudiation of war. In 1923, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho introduced a resolution in the Senate to outlaw war. It failed, but the idea remained active. In 1927, French foreign minister Aristide Briand suggested a French-American pact to outlaw war between them, privately hoping that such an agreement would commit the United States to aid France if attacked. Secretary of State Kellogg wanted to avoid any such American commitment and deflected the proposal by suggesting a multinational statement opposing war. Kellogg thereby removed any hint of an American commitment to aid any nation under attack. On August 27, 1928, the United States and fourteen other nations, including Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, signed the Kellogg-Briand **Pact**. Each country renounced war "as an instrument of national policy" and promised to settle disputes by peaceful means. The pact included no enforcement provisions.

By the end of 1928, American independent internationalism seemed to be a flourishing success. American business investments and loans were fueling an expansive world economy and adding to American prosperity. Avoiding entangling alliances, the United States had acted to protect its Asian and Pacific interests against Japan while promoting world disarmament and peace. In Latin America, it had moderated its interventionist image by withdrawing American troops in the Caribbean and trying to mediate a peace among warring factions in Nicaragua (see Map 24.1). It appeared that foreign policies based on economic expansion and noncoercive diplomacy were establishing a promising era of cooperation and peace in world affairs.

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## The

### Failure of Prosperity

In August 1927, Calvin Coolidge called reporters from his vacation spot in South Dakota and told them, "I do not choose to run in 1928." Coolidge's announcement stunned the country and his party. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover immediately declared his candidacy.

He seemed the ideal person for the job. A Quaker farm boy from Iowa, Hoover had grown up among thrifty, self-sufficient farmers who believed that hard work was the only way forward. He worked his way through Stanford University. He formed his own mining engineering company in 1908, and by 1914 he had offices in London, Petrograd, Paris, New York, and San Francisco. *Fortune* estimated that he and his wife were worth more than \$4 million. Having reached the top in business, Hoover wanted to apply his belief in hard work and sound planning to public service. When the Great War broke out, he offered to help provide relief to Belgium. Hoover traveled across war-torn Europe, seeking funds and materials for Belgium, and earned a reputation as "the Great Humanitarian." When the United States entered the war, President Wilson named him to head the U.S. Food Administration. By war's end, Hoover was an international hero.

#### The 1928 Election

The theme of Hoover's candidacy in 1928 was American prosperity. "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before," he boldly announced. The Democrats nominated Al Smith, four-time governor of New York. Like Hoover, Smith was a self-made man. Smith had entered politics as part of Tammany

**diplomatic code** Secret code in which diplomatic messages are transmitted.

Kellogg-Briand Pact Treaty signed in 1928 by fifteen nations, including Britain, France, Germany, the United States, and Japan, renouncing war as a means of solving international disputes.

Hall, the Democratic machine that ran New York City, and quickly proved to be an able politician. As a reform-minded, progressive governor, Smith had streamlined government, improved governmental efficiency, and supported legislation to set a minimum wage and maximum hours of work.

Despite his progressive record, Smith had a number of liabilities. Opponents attacked his Catholicism, his big-city background, his opposition to Prohibition, and his Tammany connections. Anti-Catholic sentiment burned hotly in many parts of the country, often fanned by the remnants of the Klan. Evangelist Billy Sunday called Smith supporters "damnable whiskey politicians, bootleggers, crooks, pimps and businessmen who deal with them." For many voters, the choice seemed to be between a candidate who represented hard work and the pious values of small-town, old-stock, Protestant America and one who represented urban upheaval, machine politics, foreigners, and Catholics.

Hoover won easily, with 58 percent of the popular vote. He owed his victory in large part to the prosperity that Republicans claimed as their accomplishment. Also, Smith's religion and position against Prohibition cost him substantial support in the South.

Unlike his predecessors, Hoover came to the White House with the intention of being an active president. He wanted to create a "New Day" for America. Hoover's goal was to encourage economic and social growth by using government to promote cooperation among business and other parts of society. Hoover did not want the federal government to step in to solve society's problems directly. He feared that such governmental involvement would cause the people to give up their freedom. The government should help people solve their problems, not solve their problems for them.

## Origins of the Depression

When Herbert Hoover took office, ever-rising stock prices, shiny new cars, and rapidly expanding suburbs seemed to verify Hoover's observation about "the final triumph over poverty." But

behind the rush for radios, homes, and vacuum cleaners lay several economic weaknesses. The prosperity of the 1920s depended in large part on a few major industries such as construction, automobiles, and household appliances. Other important sectors of the economy—textiles, railroads, steel, and iron—barely made a profit, while farming and mining suffered steady losses. Farmers saw their income and property values decline to about half their wartime highs. Hundreds of thousands of people left farms throughout the twenties.

Agriculture's troubles were only part of a growing economic distress. By 1929, even the boom industries were showing signs of weakness. New construction starts fell from 11 million to 9 million units between 1926 and 1929. Furniture companies cut their labor force in 1928 after huge inventories piled up. A similar story held for many makers of household appliances. Only the automobile industry was strong in 1928 and 1929.

The economic slowdown in 1929 stemmed from overproduction, poor distribution of income, and too much credit buying. Although the 1920s was a prosperous decade for the upper and middle classes, minorities and those living in rural areas enjoyed no increase in wages or savings. As Hoover assumed the presidency, over 70 percent of all American families lived on less than the \$2,500 a year that the Brookings Institute considered an adequate standard of living. Few people, however, took notice of this vast majority of Americans who spent all they earned and for whom missing a single paycheck meant economic hard times.

## The Stock Market Plunge

When Americans awoke on Thursday, October 24, 1929, no one realized they would experience one of those days that would change their lives. It was business as usual as men and women prepared to go to work. In the Midwest, people braced themselves against a frigid, unseasonable ice and snow storm. Across the country, Americans followed the lurid story of millionaire theater owner Alexander Pantangas, on trial for assaulting a 17-year-old dancer. Most Americans hardly noticed the rise and fall of stock prices on Wall Street.

Despite the lack of public concern, the activity on the New York Stock Exchange that day would have profound consequences for all Americans. On Black Thursday, the bottom suddenly fell out of the stock market. By noon, millions of stocks had been sold as the stock exchange became a frenzied sea of waving arms, raised fists, and screaming voices. In brokerage offices across the country, brokers rushed to place sell orders.

As the exchange closed for lunch, New York's financial leaders hurriedly met to deal with the panic. They concluded that they needed to support stock prices. Twenty-two years earlier, in 1907, New York bankers had stopped a panic and thwarted a possible depression by pooling funds to buy stocks. Now they hoped to repeat history. Led by the bank of J. P. Morgan, financial leaders put together a fund of nearly \$50 million. The bankers then told Richard Whitney, vice chairman of the exchange, to use the fund to buy stocks as soon as the market reopened.

At 1:30, Whitney jauntily announced that he was buying ten thousand shares of steel at 205—ten points higher than the existing market price. Amid cheers, others quickly joined the buying drive. By the end of the day, nearly half of the \$6 billion lost in the morning had been recovered. Confidence seemed to have been restored.

On Monday, October 28, prices dropped again. But this time no rescuer appeared. Bankers and Wall Street leaders, having already committed \$50 million, were hesitant to add to their bailout. On Black Tuesday, October 29, prices plunged drastically and continued to fall throughout November. Between early September and mid-November, the *New York Times* industrials fell from 469 to 221. RCA plummeted from 101 to 28, Montgomery Ward from 138 to 49, Union Carbide from 138 to 59. Hundreds of brokers and speculators were ruined.

The stock market crash that began in October 1929 was not solely responsible for the Great **Depression**. Rather, it pushed an already weakened economy into a steep decline. Since 1927, the overall economy had been slowing down and consumption had been declining. Like much of the public, many corporations were in debt. When the market crashed, brokers and banks found their resources dwindling and began demanding repay

ment of loans. Many borrowers could not meet this demand, and as a result, lenders found themselves unable to meet the demands of depositors. Banks failed, and a substantial portion of the savings of the upper and middle classes vanished.

The crash undermined economic confidence throughout the country. Americans had viewed the soaring stock market as a symbol of the vigor of the economy and of the nation. Now investors were wary. Corporations cut production and laid off workers. Consumers hesitated to spend money. Coupled with the weaknesses of the economy, the stock market crash resulted in the worst and longest depression in American history.

The plummeting domestic economy had international repercussions as well. American banks cut their European loans, and American corporations reduced their purchases. To protect American business from foreign competition, Congress in 1930 passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, which drastically raised tariffs. It proved to be a catastrophe for world trade. Angered by American actions, twenty-three foreign governments raised their tariffs on American goods, further stifling trade. By 1932, American exports had fallen to their lowest level since 1905. Rather than protect national economies, the high tariffs only spread the global depression. With fewer goods being sold, businesses faced declining profits and slashed production and payrolls.

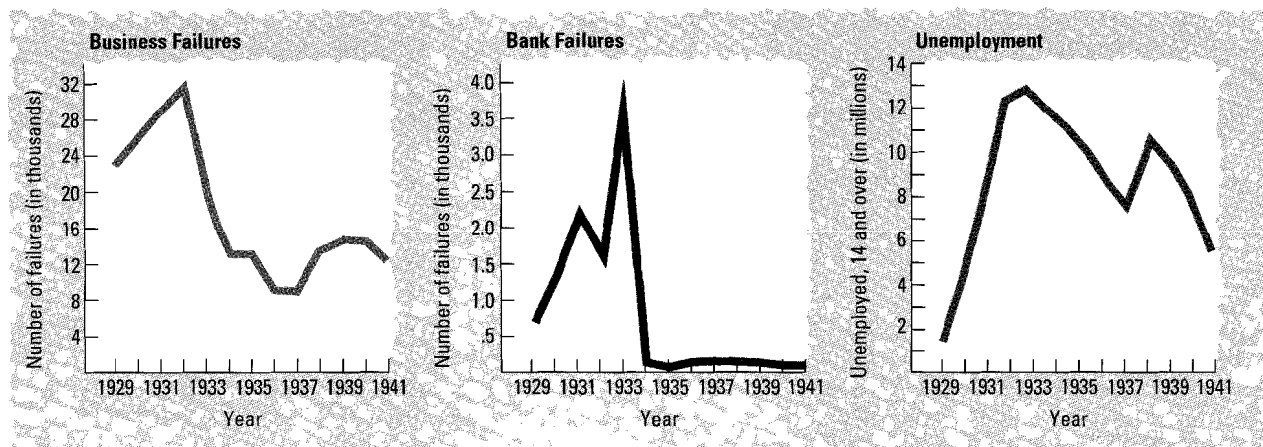
Stock prices continued downward until 1932. The *New York Times* industrials sank to 58 by

Black Thursday October 24, 1929, when the stock market fell dramatically in what proved to be the beginning of the crash.

industrials Industrial stocks chosen as indicators of trends in the economy.

Great Depression The years 1929 to 1941 in the United States, during which the economy was in a severe decline and millions of people were out of work.

Hawley-Smoot Tariff Law passed in 1930 in response to the Depression, setting the highest tariff rates in U.S. history and thus undermining world trade.



◆ **FIGURE 24.1 Charting the Economics of the Depression** Between 1929 and 1933, there was an expanding number of unemployed people seeking work, and more and more banks and businesses were closing their doors. By 1933, over 4,000 banks had failed, unemployment had reached 24.9 percent, and over 100,000 firms had closed. As the New Deal began, not only did the statistics improve, but for most Americans there was also a feeling of hope.

mid-1932. United States Steel fell from a precrash high of 262 to a low of 22. Many companies did not survive. Between 1929 and 1933, ninety thousand businesses failed, and nine thousand banks closed (see Figure 24.1). As banks collapsed, depositors lost \$2.5 billion. The money supply shrank by a third between 1930 and 1933, and expenditures for goods plummeted 45 percent. Purchases of automobiles dropped 75 percent. Unemployment rose from 3 percent in 1929 to 25 percent in 1933 (see chapter opener map). As the downward economic spiral continued, nearly everyone in the nation felt the effects of what was becoming the Great Depression.

## Government and Economic Crisis

Shortly after the stock market crash, Hoover called together leaders of banking, industry, and labor. He pleaded with employers not to cut wages or production or to lay off workers. He exhorted

unions not to demand higher wages. At the same time, he assured the public that the economy was sound and would soon improve. These efforts worked for only a short time.

When cheerleading failed, public pressure grew for the federal government to take more direct action. Hoover also began to lean toward more direct government involvement. In December 1929, he asked Congress to increase spending for the construction of public **works** projects, including highways, government facilities, and Boulder Dam. Federal, state, and local governments doubled their spending on public works, but the economy continued to worsen. Increasingly, Americans blamed Hoover and his admin-

**public works** Construction projects such as highways and dams, financed by public funds and carried out by the government.

**Boulder Dam** Dam on the Colorado River between Nevada and Arizona, which was renamed in honor of Hoover.

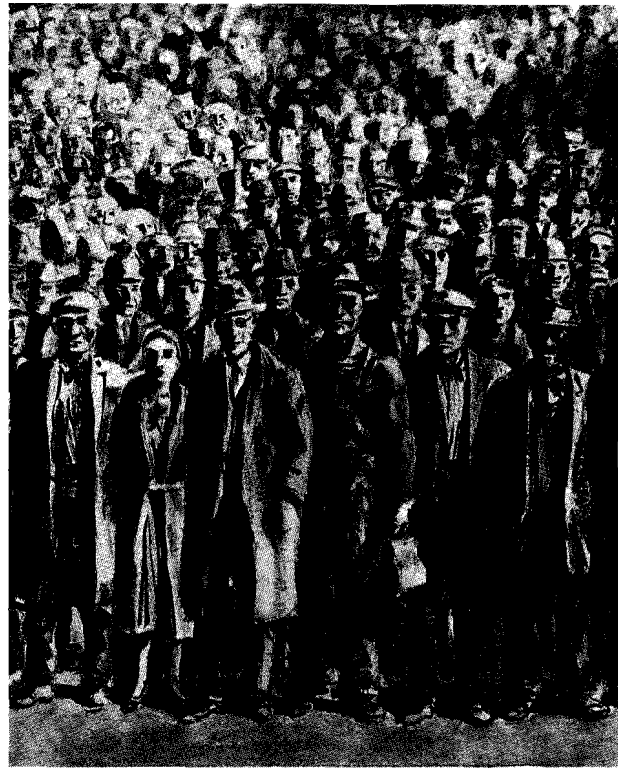
istration for the hardships they faced. A popular jingle went:

*Mellon pulled the whistle  
Hoover rang the bell  
Wall Street gave the signal And  
the country went to hell.*

By the end of 1932, workers' income had dropped 40 percent and unemployment had risen to an alarming 25 percent. Small industrial towns were especially hard hit. Donora, Pennsylvania, had only 277 jobs for its population of over 14,000. Many, like Donora's future baseball great Stan Musial, left home seeking greener pastures. Most were unsuccessful. Even rumors of jobs drew thousands to factory gates. Ed Paulson, who roamed the country looking for work, recalled that he developed a "coyote mentality." "You were a predator," he said. "You had to be. The coyote is crafty. . . . We were coyotes in the Thirties, the jobless." Private, state, and local charities and relief agencies vainly tried to meet the needs of the millions out of work. Bread lines and soup kitchens did their best to feed the growing army of hungry and displaced Americans, but the numbers were overwhelming. Across the country, shantytowns bitterly named Hoovervilles housed the homeless.

When the stock market crashed, agriculture was already in a depression. Drought in the Mississippi valley soon spread throughout the South and Midwest. It would last a decade. Adding to the misery of farmers, swarms of grasshoppers ate their way across the nation's midsection. The region became known as the **Dust Bowl** (see Map 24.2) in the 1930s, when winds whipped up clouds of dust, sometimes stretching more than 200 miles across and 7,000 to 8,000 feet high. In 1938, the worst year for dust storms, erosion claimed over 850 million tons of **topsoil**. Dust hung in the air and filtered into homes, covering clothing, furniture, food, everything.

Even before the Crash, Hoover had responded to the crisis on American farms by proposing the creation of a national farm board. The board would help stabilize prices by buying agricultural products on the open market. Congress passed the Agricultural Marketing Act in May 1929. The Farm Board was initially successful in supporting



- ◆ The Great Depression produced large-scale unemployment, which reached 25 percent in 1933. This picture by Reginald Marsh, titled *Unemployed*, effectively captures the despair of men and women seeking jobs. "*Unemployed*" by Reginald Marsh, 1932. Library of Congress.

**Hooverville** Crudely built camp set up by the homeless on the fringes of a town or city during the Depression.

**Dust Bowl** Name given to the Great Plains region devastated by drought and dust storms during the 1930s.

**topsoil** Surface layer of the soil, in which crops grow.

**Agricultural Marketing Act** Law passed in 1929 that created the Farm Board to stabilize farm prices by buying crop surpluses; the price support program ended in 1931.

Agricultural prices then tumbled downward, forcing more farmers into bankruptcy.

As declining farm prices, drought, and dust destroyed farmers' hopes, many turned to direct action. The **Farmers'** Holiday Association, founded in 1932 by Milo Reno, called on midwestern farmers to destroy their products and to resist foreclosures (see Individual Choices: Milo Reno). Angry and frequently armed, farmers used their numbers and threats of violence to ensure that foreclosed properties were sold at auction to their previous owners for a fraction of their value. One such "penny auction" returned Walter Crozier's farm in Haskins, Ohio, for a high bid of \$1.90. Critics linked the protests with "international Jews, the



◆ **MAP 24.2 The Dust Bowl** Throughout the 1930s, wind eroded millions of acres of cropland, sending tons of topsoil into the air and generating tidal waves of dust. This map shows the regions most affected by the Dust Bowl and the loss of population. Many chose to travel Route 66, hoping that it would lead to a better life in California.

farm prices. The world price of wheat sank to \$.55 a bushel in February 1931, but Farm Board purchases held the American price steady at \$.80 a bushel. By the end of 1931, however, the Farm Board had run out of funds.

IWW, Socialists, and Communists." In fact, the protesters were homegrown and simply wanted government support for the farmer.

### **Hoover's Final Efforts**

By December 1931, confronted with a still-worsening economy, Hoover moved in a new direction. He asked Congress for banking reforms, financial support for home mortgages, and the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). Congress approved all three proposals.

Hoover's primary weapon in fighting the Depression was the RFC, through which he intended to pump money into the economy. Using federal funds, the RFC was to provide loans to banks, savings and loans, railroads, insurance companies, and large corporations to keep them operating. Hoover believed that the money would "trickle down" to workers and the unemployed through higher wages and new jobs. It was an unprecedented effort by the federal government to intervene in the private sector and stimulate the economy. Conservatives called it "an experiment in socialism." Within five months, the RFC had loaned over \$805 million to large businesses, but little money trickled down to workers. Liberal critics labeled the program "welfare for the rich" and insisted that Hoover do more for the poor and unemployed through direct **relief** payments and more public works projects.

Farmers' Holiday Association Farmers' organization led by Milo Reno of Iowa that led a strike in the summer of 1932 to protest the drastic decline in farm income. foreclosure Confiscation of a property by the bank when mortgage payments are delinquent.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation Organization to promote economic recovery established at Hoover's request in 1932; it provided emergency financing for banks, life insurance companies, railroads, and farm mortgage associations.  
direct relief Payments directly to the poor and unemployed.



Hoover opposed direct federal relief, or the "dole," for several reasons. He believed that it would be too burdensome for the federal budget and that relief should instead be distributed by private organizations and local government. "Where people divest themselves of local government responsibilities," he explained, "they at once lay the foundation for the destruction of their liberties." He was also convinced that the dole would erode the work ethic and bring about a class of idle Americans.

In 1932, Hoover finally relented and agreed to create the Emergency Relief Division within the RFC and lend \$300 million to states for relief. Like other RFC efforts, actual relief spending did not match the potential. Headed by a conservative board of directors, the RFC loaned money cautiously. Further, states whose budgets were already overstrained hesitated to borrow more money. By the end of 1932, the RFC had spent only 10 percent of its relief fund.

The patience of many Americans seemed at an end by the summer of 1932. The Farmers' Holiday movement was spreading across the Midwest, and thousands of veterans, the Bonus Expeditionary Force, were making their way toward Washington. The **Bonus Army**, twenty thousand unemployed veterans of the Great War, headed to the capital to lobby for the Wright-Patman bill, which stipulated early payment of their veterans' bonus, originally scheduled to be paid in 1945. Against his advisers' warnings, Hoover allowed the Bonus Marchers to set up their Hooverville across from Congress in Anacostia Flats.

Hoover respected the veterans' right to assemble, but when the Senate rejected the Patman bill, the president thought the marchers should go home. Nearly half of them, however, stayed in Washington. When the police attempted to clear condemned buildings of marchers, nearly five thousand veterans and eight hundred police clashed, resulting in the deaths of two Bonus Marchers. Hoover then turned to the army to evict the squatters. Using sabers, rifles, tear gas, and fixed bayonets, the army, led by Army Chief of Staff General Douglas MacArthur, drove the veterans from the abandoned buildings. Hoover had given orders to leave the Bonus Marchers at Ana

costia Flats alone, but MacArthur ignored these orders. To the horror of most Americans, the army drove off the veterans and their families and set their huts and tents afire. Over one hundred veterans were injured in the melee. What slim chance Hoover had for re-election died at the "Battle of Anacostia Flats."

### **The Diplomacy of Depression**

When Hoover entered the presidency, the world appeared stable and peaceful. Like his predecessors, Hoover intended to use economic and noncoercive means to protect American interests and promote world prosperity. Hoover promised not to intervene in Latin American affairs and continued the process of removing troops. During Hoover's administration, relations between Latin America and the United States improved greatly.

Elsewhere, however, Hoover's efforts to promote prosperity and peace abroad came to little. As the Depression became entrenched, so did isolationism. Most Americans were far more concerned about keeping their jobs and homes than about international affairs. Republican senator George W. Norris of Nebraska urged the United States to look out for its own interests and let Europe be damned. Unfortunately, like the Depression, world problems would not go away.

If most Americans reacted to the Depression by spurning foreign involvements, the opposite was true in Japan. Japan relied heavily on international trade for its economic growth and its food supply. As declining world trade weakened their economy, the Japanese called for their government to protect their national interests. Japanese nationalists began to look hungrily toward Manchuria, a Chinese province. Rich in iron and coal, Manchuria accounted for 95 percent of Japanese

**Bonus Army** Unemployed World War I veterans who marched to Washington in 1932 to demand early payment of a promised bonus; Congress refused, and protesters who remained were evicted by the army.

## AIWAILLOILIMA

### Choosing Confrontation



#### Milo Reno

*In 1918 Milo Reno chose to become a spokesman for the farmer and organized the Farmers' Holiday Association. In 1933, he chose to reject Roosevelt's agricultural recovery program, and lost the support of most farmers, who backed the president.* State Historical Society of America.

Born in 1866, Milo Reno was raised in the heartland of Populism and enthusiasm for William Jennings Bryan. Ordained as a Cambellite minister by Oskalossa College, Reno chose to give up the ministry to pursue his true calling—organizing farmers for political action. He joined the Farmers' Union in 1918, dominating it until his death in 1936, and was the driving force behind the Farmers' Holiday Association. Wearing a ten-gallon hat and a flaming red necktie, Reno captured farmers' hearts with evangelical-style speeches that combined simple explanations, personalized enemies, biblical quotes, and farm wisdom.

In 1932, he claimed that Hoover's farm policies were driving hardworking, decent people from the land, and in August he called for a farmers' strike. "Stay home, buy nothing, sell nothing," he commanded the farmers in an effort to force change and break "the grip of Wall Street and international bankers on government." Farmers across Iowa and neighboring states heeded his call, refusing to sell their products. Others erected barricades across highways to prevent farmers' products from reaching processors. Outside Sioux City and other midwestern towns, farmers armed with clubs and pitchforks clashed with truck drivers

overseas investment and supplied vital foodstuffs to the island nation.

In September 1931, a small group of young, anti-Western Japanese army officers in Manchuria executed a plan to establish Japanese rule over the region. They blew up a section of track of the Southern Manchurian Railroad and blamed the Chinese. Then, without informing the civil government of Japan, they used this as an excuse to attack Chinese forces and take control of the province.

World reaction was one of shock and eventual condemnation, but little else. The League of Nations sheepishly called for peace and appointed a committee to investigate the conflict. Neither the United States nor Great Britain, the two major Pa-

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and hastily dispatched sheriff's deputies. By mid-August, over eighty picketers had been arrested, and fearful of further violence and arrests, Reno called a "temporary halt" to the strike.

With the barricades, the strike had received national news coverage focused on the distress of farmers, and politicians had responded. Midwest governors listened to Farmers' Holiday spokesmen and pushed Hoover for increased support for farmers. Presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt emphasized that Democrats promised farm prices "in excess of cost." Reno, like millions of other Americans, saw in Roosevelt a chance for hope, cheered his election, and waited anxiously for the New Deal to begin.

As Roosevelt assumed office, Reno and the Farmers' Holiday movement—now claiming ninety thousand members—continued to attract national attention by stopping farm foreclosures and forcing "penny auctions." Again, direct action seemed to work, as many companies halted foreclosures and ten states even passed foreclosure "moratorium laws." But with Roosevelt in office, farmers were also receiving less and less public support for their activism. Many politicians and journalists now linked their movement with communism. Reno was faced with a hard choice. Should he continue direct action or support Roosevelt's agriculture program?

Responding to negative public opinion, Reno asked farm activists to pull back from confrontation and give Roosevelt time to imple

ment his farm programs. Still, Reno had doubts. He considered Roosevelt an "enigma," and was angry when the New Deal's agriculture program—the Agricultural Adjustment Act—did not include cost-of-production provisions. He told a friend, "I have no faith whatever in the gestures that are being made by the administration. It is simply the same old tactic to hand the people a little measure of relief to suppress rebellion, with no intention of correcting a system that is fundamentally wrong." In October 1933, Reno made a difficult decision, but one he believed necessary. Roosevelt, he was sure, was taking the nation down the wrong path, which would eventually "crush all . . . independence and liberty . . . setting up a bureaucratic, autocratic, dictatorial government." He renewed the call for a strike and stated that a third political party was the only possible solution "to clean up the stinking mess" in Washington. The strike call was largely ignored by farmers, who had begun to trust Roosevelt's promise of federal support. The momentum of the farmers' protest had vanished, consumed by the spread of the federal government into agricultural affairs. Increasingly out of touch with most farmers, Reno fell into periods of depression and heavy drinking until, stricken with influenza in March 1936, he checked into a sanitarium. "Tell them I'm really sick," he said. Milo Reno died on May 5, 1936.

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cific naval powers, wanted to become involved in an Asian war. Invoking the Stimson Doctrine, the United States refused to recognize Japan's newly created puppet state of **Manchukuo**. In American eyes, Manchuria remained a part of China.

The Japanese had violated the Kellogg-Briand Pact and principles of the League of Nations, but the ensuing barrage of protests did nothing to

Stimson Doctrine Declaration by the U.S. secretary of state in 1932 that the United States would not recognize Manchukuo or any other arrangement that threatened China's independence.

Manchukuo Puppet state established by Japan in 1932 and not recognized by the United States.

deter their aggression. In Japan, the conquest of Manchuria magnified the power of pro-imperial and anti-Western groups. In 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations.

At the end of Hoover's presidency, the world was a much different place than in 1928. The cheery optimism of a prosperous world at peace had dissipated.

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## Depression

### America

Few Americans in November 1932 were concerned about Japanese militarism in distant Manchuria. Their concerns were much closer to home. The Depression had touched every American, forcing changes in lifestyle, thought, and politics. Poverty was no longer reserved for those viewed as lazy or unworthy; it was no longer relegated to remote areas and inner cities. Now poverty dragged down blue- and white-collar workers, and even a few of the once-rich.

#### Families in the Depression

The 35 percent drop in average annual income between 1929 and 1933 caused many people to worry about basic survival during the Depression. Some also worried that the Depression was causing a decline in family values and morality. Pointing to the drifters uprooted by hard times, to families without fathers, and to reports of increasing abortions and premarital and deviant sexual activities, they forecast the end of American civilization.

Their fears were unfounded. The vast majority of Americans clung tightly to traditional family values and emphasized family unity. Church attendance actually rose during the Depression, and the number of divorces declined. The percentage of people getting married did drop slightly, but marriages were only delayed, not put off entirely. Moralists decried an increasing abortion rate, but in fact the estimated number of abortions remained steady. Studies also indicated that sexual activity, rather than becoming more varied and promiscuous, actually decreased.

The Depression did tear many families apart, but ironically it brought many others closer together. Economic necessity kept families at home playing board games and cards, reading, and listening to the radio. The game of Monopoly allowed players to fantasize about becoming a millionaire and laugh about going broke.

### The Middle and Working Classes and Hard Times

For many of the American middle class and most of the working class, the most common fear was economic insecurity. Would the next day bring a reduction in wages, the loss of a job, or the closing of a business? Some saw their businesses go bankrupt and found new careers. Harry S Truman closed his haberdashery and turned to politics. E. Y. Harburg lost his family's hardware store, borrowed \$500 from a friend, and started writing songs. One of them, "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" became one of the most famous songs of the Depression era. Other people worked for less, lost and found other jobs, or, disheartened, accepted relief.

Observers in Muncie, Indiana, noted that middle-class neighborhoods during the Depression looked much as they had in the mid-1920s. Clean, neatly kept houses stood behind green lawns. But closer examination showed the growing impact of harder and harder times. Newspapers carried more pages of tax delinquencies, evictions, and foreclosures. Signs appeared in yards and windows announcing a variety of services—household beauty parlors, kitchen bakeries, rooms for boarders. A Milwaukee wife recalled, "I did baking at home to supplement our income. I got 9 cents for a loaf of bread and 25 cents for an apple cake. . . . I cleared about \$65 a month."

In Muncie and across the country, families adopted the motto "Use it up, wear it out, make it do, or do without." To save money, many women sewed, baked bread, and canned, reaffirming traditional female roles. A Singer sewing machine salesman commented that he was selling machines to people who in the past would not have sewn. Feed sacks became a source of material.

During the 1920s, the automobile had pulled families away from their porches and backyards. They returned during the Depression. Men tended backyard grills, and entire families looked after vegetable and flower gardens. A "mania for flower gardens," and flower shows struck the middle class. Away from the house, use of the local park and library, dances, and movies provided inexpensive entertainment. Family togetherness was praised as one positive outcome of the Depression. An Indiana newspaper editorialized, "All . . . are hoping for a quick return of prosperity . . . but in the mean time millions of Americans already have a kind of prosperity that includes strengthening the family"

Working-class Americans confronted the same challenges as did Middle America but more often faced the prospect of losing a job and being evicted. In Gary, Indiana, nearly the entire working class was out of a job by 1932. Approximately one-sixth of all urban families, having lost their homes, "doubled up" with relatives. Don Blincoe remembered that most households seemed like his, "where father, mother, children, aunts, uncles and grandma lived together" and pooled their earnings.

Living with relatives, however, did not always help. Unemployed males, especially fathers, often felt shamed by their economic problems. A social worker wrote, "I used to see men cry because they didn't have a job. . . . They were belittled before the eyes of their families and they couldn't take it." John Boris, a Slavic immigrant, was devastated by being laid off by Ford after having worked loyally for the company for fourteen years. "Last July, I was a good man," he lamented. "I ain't a man now."

Many former breadwinners deserted their families and took to the road. Some, called hoboes, rode the rails, hitching rides in boxcars, living in shantytowns, and begging and scrounging for food along the road. Estimates in 1932 placed the number of homeless migrants at between 1 million and 2 million. Suicides increased, as did the number of people admitted to state mental hospitals and the number of children placed in orphanages.

Included in the so-called migration of despair were thousands from rural areas, especially parts

of Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. Many "**Arkies**" and "**Okies**," like those characterized in John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), were forced from their farms by insects, dust, debt, and landlords. They loaded their meager possessions into their jalopies and headed for California. By the end of the decade, California's population had jumped by over a million. Some migrants found jobs, but most continued to wander.

### **Discrimination in the Depression**

The Depression intensified the economic and social difficulties of minorities. For the majority of African Americans who lived in the rural South, the Depression started in the 1920s with the decline of agricultural prices. By 1930, few were making more than \$200 a year. As agricultural prices continued to shrink, black sharecroppers, farm hands, and tenant farmers either left or were forced from the farm. Nearly 400,000 left the South. Most headed north to urban centers like Harlem. Those who stayed behind were unemployed or worked for extremely meager wages. In some parishes of Louisiana, cotton pickers earned only 40 cents a day, some only \$40 a year.

Racial violence and injustice increased as whites used violence and intimidation to drive blacks from jobs and maintain social dominance. Nowhere was racial bigotry more glaring than in the celebrated Scottsboro case. In 1931, nine black men were arrested in Alabama for raping two white prostitutes. Without any physical evidence, an all-white male jury quickly found the **Scottsboro Nine** guilty. Eight were sentenced to death. Years of appeals and retrials followed. The Supreme Court twice ordered a new trial. Though

"**Arkies**" and "**Okies**" Names applied to dispossessed farmers and sharecroppers from Arkansas and Oklahoma, both black and white, who migrated to California during the Depression.

**Scottsboro Nine** Nine African Americans convicted of raping two white women in a freight train in Alabama in 1931; their case became famous as an example of racism in the legal system.

never acquitted, all nine defendants were free by 1950.

Generally, African Americans living in the North found that white racial attitudes there were much like those in the South. As jobs grew scarce, whites demanded and got the jobs previously held by minorities. Unemployment among urban blacks ran 20 to 50 percent higher than among urban whites. Nationally, 50 percent of the black population was out of work or on relief. In Harlem, low wages, limited relief funds, and racial tensions sparked a race riot in 1935 that cost four lives and millions of dollars in damage.

African-American women, especially in northern cities, also saw significant drops in employment, even though they held low-paying jobs. In Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, the decline in employment among black women averaged 22.6 percent between 1929 and 1940, as white women and men pushed them out of the labor force.

Like African Americans, Latinos found that the Depression aggravated Anglo hostility and made a hard life harder. Between 1914 and 1929, the Mexican population in California, the Southwest, and the Midwest had grown rapidly. Most Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans squeezed out a meager living. They filled menial jobs, worked in the fields, and farmed small plots of land. The Depression forced many into deeper poverty.

Racial hostility intensified as Anglos demanded that Latino workers be fired to provide jobs for whites. In Tucson, Arizona, Anglos accused Mexicans of "taking the bread out of our white children's mouths." Across the country, by 1937 the lack of jobs, together with Anglo pressure and the Mexican government's encouragement, had convinced more than half a million Mexicans to leave the United States. Those who remained found jobs scarce and pay pitiful.

On the farms in California, the average wage was \$289 a year, about a third of what the government described as a subsistence budget. As farm wages dropped and working conditions deteriorated, Mexican-American agricultural unions organized strikes. In a few cases, the unions won small pay raises, but usually the growers, supported by local authorities and public opinion, easily broke the strikes.

Asians, too, faced hardships and growing hostility. In San Francisco, nearly one-sixth of the Asian population was on relief. They received about 10 to 20 percent less than whites because relief agencies concluded that Asians could subsist on a less expensive diet. Some second-generation Japanese hoped that by assimilating, by becoming "200 percent American," they could remove economic and social barriers. The Japanese-American Citizens League was organized in 1930 and worked to overcome discrimination and to repeal anti-Asian legislation. By 1940, it had six thousand members

but had made little headway. Asians remained isolated in ethnic enclaves.

## Women in the Depression

While African Americans and Latinos found their already low status declining, some women discovered new opportunities. More white women entered the work force than ever before, primarily at the bottom of the occupational ladder. But in the professions, gender worked against women. The number of women in the professions declined from 14.2 to 12.3 percent during the Depression. Public opinion polls consistently found that most people, including women, believed that men, not women, should have the available jobs. Women were accused of stealing jobs from men. Opinion was especially hostile toward married women who worked. A survey of fifteen hundred school districts found that 77 percent did not hire married women as teachers and 63 percent fired women when they married. In 1932, 2 million women were out of work, and by 1933, an estimated 145,000 women were homeless.

For many rural women, the Depression took away a major avenue to new status: migration to the city. Throughout the 1920s, an increasing number of rural women, white and black, had moved to urban areas, taking domestic and other service jobs. But during the 1930s, such jobs in the cities became scarce, and many women were forced to remain on the farm. Too frequently, foreclosures and drought destroyed farm life. Rural women like

Ma Joad, heroically depicted in *The Grapes of Wrath*, had to adapt to life on the road, as over 2.5 million farm families were forced to migrate.

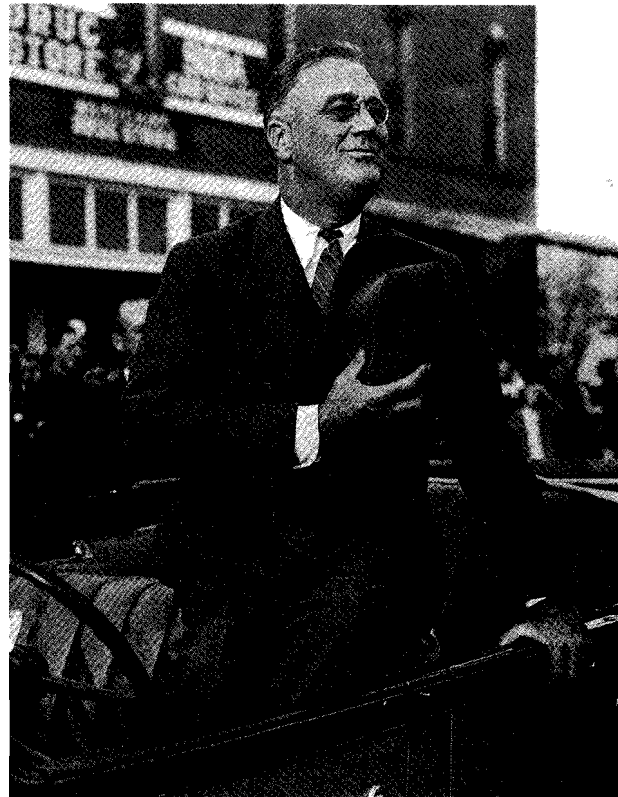
Among women who did enter the work force, few found that bringing home the paycheck changed either their status or their role within the family. Husbands still maintained authority and dominance in the home. Unemployed husbands rarely helped with household chores. One husband agreed to help with the laundry but refused to hang the wash outside for fear that neighbors might see him doing woman's work. Still, as wives and mothers, women were praised as pillars of stability in a changing and perilous society.

### Franklin D. Roosevelt

As Americans sought to adapt to the economic crisis, many looked to the Democratic party for leadership and a change. Throughout early 1932, Franklin **D. Roosevelt** had campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination, saying that government needed to be concerned about the "forgotten man," who, through no fault of his own, suffered from the Depression.

Born into wealth and privilege, Roosevelt had attended elite schools: Groton Academy, Harvard University, and Columbia Law School. The popular Roosevelt entered New York politics in 1910, winning a seat in the legislature. Tall, handsome, charming, glib, and willing to work with Tammany Hall, Roosevelt moved up the political ladder quickly. In 1920, he was selected as James Cox's running mate. Roosevelt came off well in a losing campaign.

The climb seemed suddenly over in 1921, however, when Roosevelt was stricken with polio and paralyzed from the waist down. But he and his wife, Eleanor, were determined to overcome his disability. For two years, Roosevelt worked hard to advance from bedridden invalid to barely mobile. He was never able to walk except with the aid of heavy steel leg braces and crutches. At the same time, Eleanor Roosevelt toiled tirelessly to keep his political career alive. Making his return to the political battlefield in 1928, Roosevelt ran for governor of New York and won.



- ◆ In the 1932 election, Roosevelt campaigned across the nation, always appearing confident and cheerful. Some said that his smile was the biggest political weapon he had—not only against Hoover but also against the Depression. *FPG*.

As governor, Roosevelt saw nothing wrong with governmental activism to deal with economic disaster. He was one of the few governors to mobilize his state's limited resources to help the unemployed and the poor. Although he made little

**Franklin D. Roosevelt** New York governor elected president in 1932 with the promise of a "new deal for the American people"; he would lead the country through the Depression and World War II.

headway against the Depression, his efforts projected an image of a caring and energetic leader. His brave struggle to overcome polio, combined with his effectiveness as governor and his cheery disposition, made him the logical candidate for the presidency.

### **The 1932 Election**

In accepting the Democratic nomination, Roosevelt emphasized two points: he was a man of action who promoted change, and his paralysis in no way hindered his capacity for work. Roosevelt also established the theme for the coming campaign by promising a "new deal for the American people." Although Roosevelt offered no concrete solutions to the problems plaguing the country, he stirred people's hopes.

The election was a huge success for the Democratic party and Roosevelt. Across the nation, people voted for Democrats: for state and local officials, for Congress, and, most important, for president. Roosevelt won in a landslide, garnering 57.4 percent of the popular vote. Hoover carried only six states.

### **(SUMMARY)**

Expectations

Constraints

Choices

Outcomes

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In the period from 1928 to 1932, the United States underwent major changes of lasting impact. Hoover assumed the presidency in 1929 a heroic figure. *Expectations* were high that further growth in the economy would enhance the quality of American life. The onslaught of the Depression, however, quickly changed Hoover's and the nation's fortunes. The economic flaws that had remained hidden during the apparent prosperity of the 1920s were soon exposed as banks and businesses closed. The economic collapse originated in part from internal weaknesses in the economy and the government's *choices* to promote easy money and to encourage speculation.

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More than any previous president, Hoover *chose* to expand the role of the federal government to meet the economic crisis. He initiated a series of measures, including the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, by which the federal government tried to stimulate the economy. But Hoover's philosophy of limited government *constrained* the effort. The outcome was that the economy continued to worsen.

The Depression forced Americans to adjust their values and lifestyles to meet the economic and psychological crisis. Industrial workers and minorities faced extra burdens of discrimination and loss of status. Although many Americans had to make difficult *choices* that disrupted their lives, the *outcome* was that society generally remained stable as most people learned to cope with the Depression.

The Depression also made a mockery of Hoover's *expectations* about a prosperous and peaceful world. During the 1920s, the United States had *chosen* a path of independent internationalism that stressed voluntary cooperation among nations, while at the same time enhancing private American economic opportunities around the world. Although relations with Latin America improved under Hoover, elsewhere an *outcome* of the worldwide depression was international instability, as symbolized by Japan's invasion of Manchuria. *Constrained* by economic worries, however, more and more Americans withdrew into isolationism.

By 1932, most Americans had lost their faith in Hoover, the Republicans, and American business. Voters *chose* to put their faith instead in Franklin D. Roosevelt.



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Nash, Gerald D. *The Crucial Era: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945* (1992).

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Terkel, Studs. *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (1970).

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Thomas, Gordon, and Max Morgan-Witts. *The Day the Bubble Burst: The Social History of the Wall Street Crash of 1929* (1979).

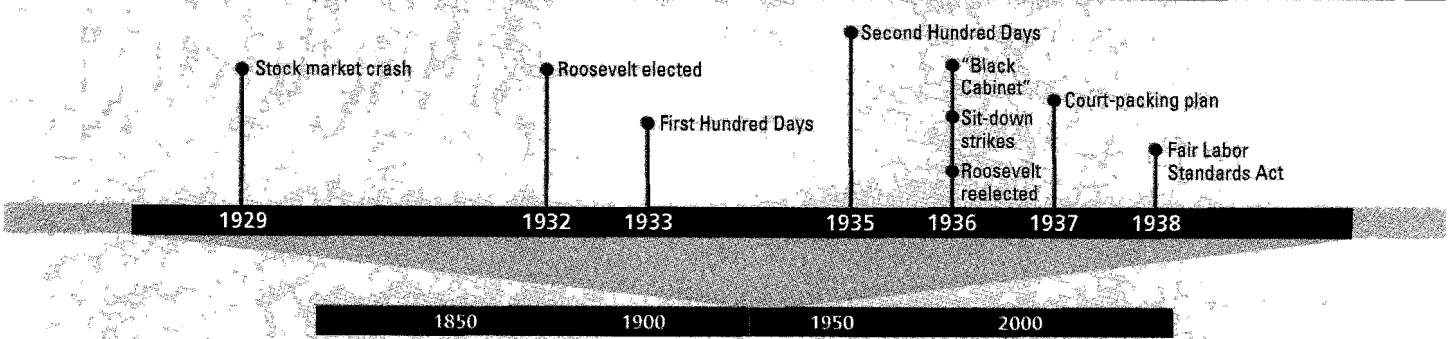
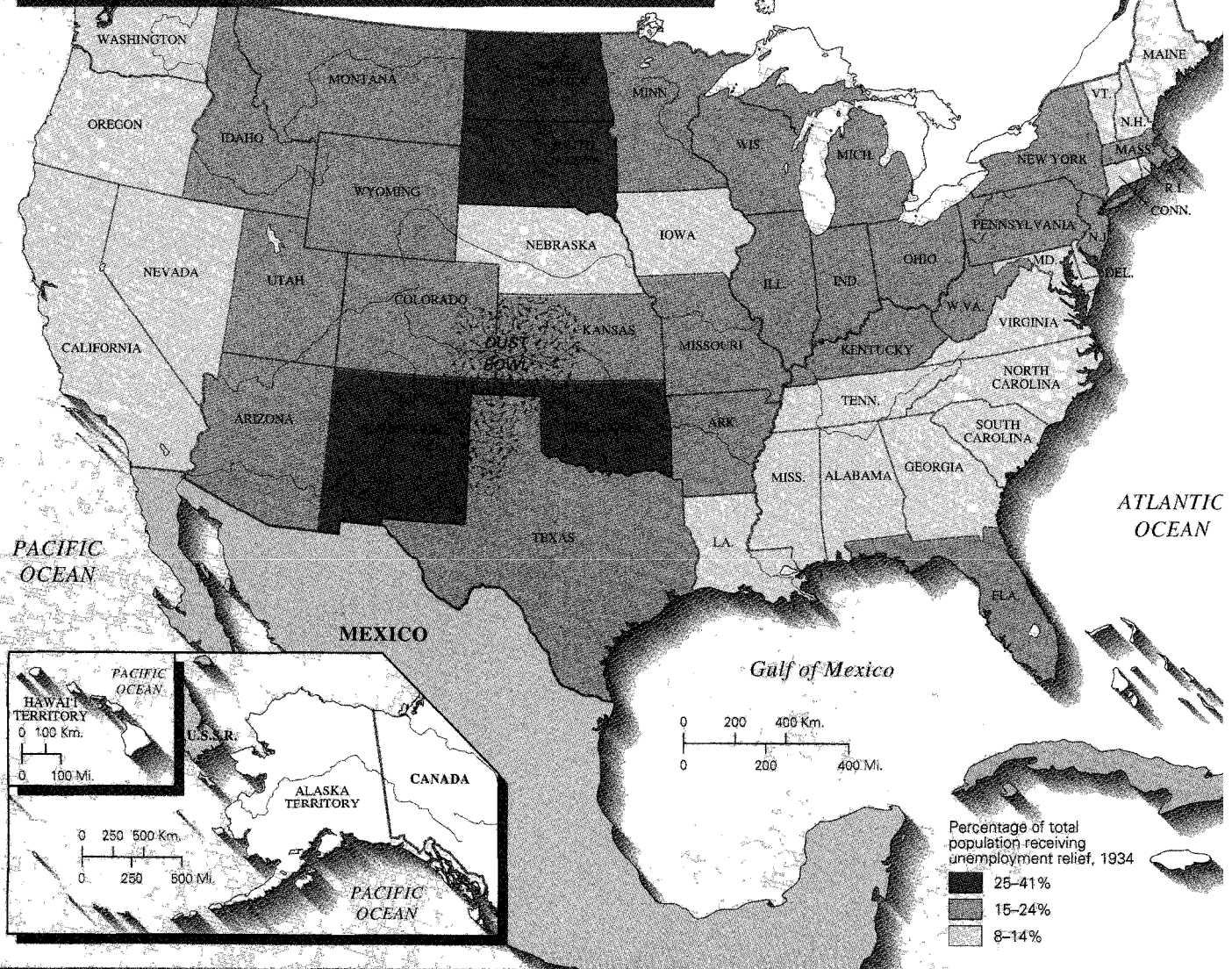
A view of the American economy and the stock market crash as experienced by selected individuals.

Wilson, Joan Hoff. *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (1970).

A positive evaluation of the life of Herbert Hoover that stresses his accomplishments as well as his limitations.



**NEW DEAL AND UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, 1934** The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the beginning of the New Deal altered the traditional pattern of governmental response to unemployment and poverty. For the first time in American history, the federal government undertook large-scale efforts to provide support for the unemployed and those in need. This map shows how much of each state's population was receiving some form of unemployment relief from the federal government in 1934.



## CHAPTER 25

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# The New Deal, 1933-1940

### **A New President, a New Deal**

- How did public and political expectations and constraints shape Roosevelt's choices during the First Hundred Days?
- How well did the NRA and the AAA meet the expectations of Roosevelt and his advisers?
- How did political and social constraints shape the outcomes of New Deal relief efforts?

### **The Second Hundred Days**

- What were the sources of opposition to Roosevelt's First Hundred Days?
- What was the outcome of Roosevelt's response to his critics?

### **The New Deal and Society**

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- What were the outcomes of the New Deal for cities across America?
- What were Roosevelt's expectations regarding civil rights? How did the New Deal affect the choices of women, African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians?

### **The New Deal Winds Down**

- Why did Roosevelt choose to pack the Supreme Court? What was the outcome of this effort?
- What was the outcome of the New Deal for the structure of government and Americans' expectations about government?

## ( INTRODUCTION )

The Depression brought to the presidency an individual who would dominate American history for the next thirteen years: Franklin D. Roosevelt. The dire economic situation gave Roosevelt unparalleled opportunities to reshape the federal government's relationship to the country. Roosevelt had few qualms about using the power of the government to combat the Depression.

Americans' *expectations* created opportunities for Roosevelt, but he faced serious *constraints* as well. Crisis or not, there were political and ideological limits on how much the president could change. To many on the political left, Roosevelt's election offered the perfect chance to reform society, to achieve social justice for all, and to restructure American capitalism to make it more humane. But Roosevelt had no intention of abandoning capitalism or restructuring American society. Eleanor Roosevelt, more socially liberal than her husband, reflected, "I'm the agitator; he's the politician." As a politician, Roosevelt knew that the nature of two-party politics loomed as a *constraint* to any significant shift toward the political left. Indeed, many conservatives *chose* to oppose any form of government activism and expansion of federal power. Another obstacle was the lack of precedent: no one knew what kinds of intervention would work on the reeling economy. Even among Roosevelt's advisers, there was disagreement on the nature of programs and the extent and type of governmental activism.

Roosevelt's *choices* were thus shaped by both public and political *expectations* and *constraints*. The *outcome* was the New Deal, which witnessed a barrage of legislation along three paths: economic recovery, relief for the victims of the Depression, and reforms to regulate the economy. This *outcome* was to change the responsibilities and power of the federal government. Roosevelt would be revered and hated, but no one could deny his impact.

In 1933, riding a wave of popular support, Roosevelt faced few political *constraints* as he initiated the First Hundred Days of the New Deal. A year later, that tide had changed. Many who had given

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Roosevelt a free hand in 1933 were now beginning to oppose him and his programs. Conservatives condemned economic and business controls and excessive federal spending. Liberals called for fewer compromises with business, increased spending, and more programs for workers, minorities, the poor, and the unemployed. With his popularity confirmed by the 1934 elections, Roosevelt *chose* to consider new approaches that placed a stronger emphasis on people than on business. The *outcome* was a Second Hundred Days of legislation passed in 1935 and 1936.

The New Deal expanded not only the functions of government but also the ranks of those voting Democrat. New Deal programs attracted women, minorities, and blue-collar workers. The president's overwhelming victory in 1936 verified the party's increased strength and raised the possibility of further expansion of government social programs. Such *expectations* quickly evaporated, however, as new *constraints* appeared after Roosevelt's unsuccessful challenge to the Supreme Court. By 1938, the New Deal had achieved its final shape. It had not promoted a full economic recovery, but it had restored Americans' faith in the economic and political system. The New Deal had rescued American capitalism. It also had profoundly changed the role and function of government. The longterm *outcome* of the New Deal was that the federal government emerged as the most powerful and important level of government in the nation. Before the 1930s, people looked to local, county, and state government for help. After the New Deal, people looked to Washington for assistance. Government and politics would never be the same.

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## Out of Depression

1929 Stock market crash

1932 Roosevelt elected president

Milo Reno forms Farmers' Holiday Association  
32,000 U.S. businesses fail

1933 Dust bowl begins

4,000 U.S. banks fail  
Bank Holiday  
First Fireside Chat  
12 million Americans (25 percent) unemployed  
First Hundred Days: AAA, WA, MBA, CCC  
Twenty-first Amendment  
Home Owner's Loan Corporation formed

1934 Huey Long's Share the Wealth plan  
Father Coughlin forms National Union for Social Justice

Indian Reorganization Act  
Securities and Exchange Commission formed  
American Liberty League established  
Townsend movement begins

1935 Second Hundred Days: WPA, Social Security Act, Wagner Act

Rural Electrification Administration formed  
National Youth Administration created  
Long assassinated  
Committee for Industrial Organizations established  
NRA ruled unconstitutional in *Schechter* case

1936 AAA ruled unconstitutional in *Butler* case  
Roosevelt re-elected  
"Black Cabinet" established  
Sit-down strikes begin

1937 Court-packing plan  
"Roosevelt's recession"

1938 Fair Labor Standards Act  
AAA re-established  
10.4 million Americans unemployed  
Republican victories in congressional elections

1939 Marian Anderson's concert at Lincoln Memorial  
John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*

1940 Richard Wright's *Native Son*

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## New President, a New Deal

During the long winter of despair between the November 1932 election and the March 1933 inauguration, Roosevelt and his advisers debated what course of action to take against the Depression. His advisers, often called the **Brain Trust** because of the many professors who joined the administration, were deeply divided. One group led by Columbia professors Rexford Tugwell and Raymond Moley believed that the concentration of American business in fewer and fewer hands was inevitable

and favorable. Like Theodore Roosevelt, they applauded big business as efficient, economical, and, with the

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proper controls, beneficial. Their solution to the economic crisis was corporate regulation and public planning.

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Brain Trust Group of specialists in law, economics, and social welfare who, as advisers to President Roosevelt, helped develop the social and economic principles of the New Deal.

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Felix Frankfurter represented another faction within the Brain Trust. He disagreed about the benefits derived from the concentration of business and the centralization of planning. Frankfurter distrusted big business and wanted more competition, along with social programs to help those most harmed by the Depression. Despite their differences, the Brain Trust agreed on the necessity of federal action to combat the Depression.

Roosevelt relished his advisers' debates, but in the end he made up his own mind about what to include in the New Deal. He would do what seemed expedient and would discard whatever did not work and whatever cost too much, politically or socially.

## Bank Holiday

As Roosevelt's inauguration approached, the nation faced a severe banking crisis. Many banks had gone out of business since the Crash, leaving depositors penniless. In 1932, 1,456 banks had failed. The public's dwindling confidence in banks caused a growing number of runs on banks as depositors demanded their money. Most banks had no money and were forced to close their doors. By March 4, 1933, Inauguration Day, nearly all the country's banks were either closed or operating under severe restrictions. With the banks unable to operate, the economy of the United States was stiffening with paralysis.

On Inauguration Day, Roosevelt reassured the American public that he was going to take action. Millions listened to the radio as the president calmly stated that Americans had "nothing to fear but fear itself." The American economy was sound and would revive, but the nation would not revive by merely talking about it. "We must act quickly," he cautioned, adding that he intended to ask Congress for sweeping powers to deal with the crisis.

On March 6, Roosevelt announced a national Bank Holiday that closed all the country's banks. Three days later, as freshmen congressmen were still finding their seats, the president presented Congress with a request for an emergency banking bill. Without even seeing the written bill, Democrats and Republicans gave Roosevelt what he

wanted in less than four hours. The Emergency Banking Act allowed the Federal Reserve to examine banks and to certify those that were sound. It also allowed the Federal Reserve and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to support the nation's banks by providing funds and buying stocks of preferred banks.

On Sunday evening, March 12, in the first of his so-called Fireside Chats, Roosevelt confidently told Americans that the federal government was solving the banking crisis. Federal banking officials were going to inspect banks, he announced, and those banks determined to be sound would be allowed to reopen. Banks would be safe again. "I can assure you," he joked, "it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress."

Most of the 60 million Americans who listened to the speech believed the president. When banks in the twelve Federal Reserve cities reopened on Monday, customers deposited rather than withdrew money. Within a month, nearly 75 percent of the nation's banks were operating again. Roosevelt's quick and effective action established a positive national mood. The New Deal was under way. Over the next one hundred days, the new president

**New Deal** Roosevelt's program for attacking the problems of the Depression, which included relief for the poor and unemployed, efforts to bring about economic recovery, and reform of the nation's financial system.

run A panic during which depositors fearful of bank failure demand to withdraw their money, thus forcing the bank to close.

**Bank Holiday** Temporary shutdown of banks throughout the country by executive order of President Roosevelt in March 1933, until government authorities could examine each bank's condition to determine its soundness.

**Emergency Banking Act** Law passed in 1933 that permitted sound banks in the Federal Reserve System to reopen and allowed the government to supply funds to support private banks.

**Fireside Chats** Radio talks in which President Roosevelt promoted New Deal policies and reassured the nation.

would sign fifteen major pieces of legislation. The legislation, Roosevelt explained, had three different objectives: relief, recovery, and reform.

As the legalization of beer and wine sales in March 1933 illustrates, actual legislation often addressed several of these objectives. Legalizing their sale put people to work. It was also a reform measure aimed at curbing bootlegging. Similar motives informed Roosevelt's support for the repeal of Prohibition, accomplished by passage of the **Twenty-first Amendment** in December 1933.

Primary targets for reform included the banking and stock market industries. In June 1933, Congress passed the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, which reorganized the banking and financial system, gave new powers and responsibilities to the Federal Reserve System, and created the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**. The FDIC provided federal insurance for bank accounts of less than \$5,000 and thus provided safety to millions of customers. Reforms for the stock market came in May 1933 with the Federal Security Act, which required companies to provide information about their economic condition to stock buyers. The **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**, created in June 1934, regulated stock market activities. Public approval for the reforms was widespread.

## Seeking Agricultural Recovery

As Roosevelt assumed office, the plight of farmers appeared near disaster. The Farmers' Holiday Association threatened to call a farmers' strike across the nation unless Congress acted to restore farm profits. Roosevelt responded sympathetically because he believed that the family farm was an essential part of American life and needed to be saved. His goal was to raise farm prices through national planning to parity—the level of prices that farmers received in the profitable years prior to World War I. Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace was convinced that the nation's economic problems could not be solved without first resolving the problem of agricultural overproduction and farm profits. The challenge was to convince farmers to cut production. The **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)**, passed on May 12, proposed a way to do that.

The act encouraged farmers to reduce production by paying them not to plant. A national planning board determined the amount of land to be removed from production and then allocated specific reductions for wheat, cotton, corn, rice, tobacco, hogs, and dairy products to the states. State boards divided production cuts among participating farmers and compensated them for lost crops and livestock. The money for paying farmers not to plant was generated by a special tax on industrial food processors.

Because the AAA was not approved until May, after spring sowing, hundreds of acres of corn and tobacco crops had to be plowed under. Likewise, farmers had to destroy thousands of hogs and dairy cows and huge quantities of milk. In the Midwest, the continuing drought made it easier for ranchers and farmers to take land out of production. Many shuddered at the waste and pressed for the surplus food to be made available to the needy rather than being destroyed. Others complained that small farmers did not have enough land to remove from cultivation to gain from the program. They also pointed out that sharecroppers and tenant farmers were often evicted when landlords took land out of production to meet AAA quotas. Evictions and the Depression pushed more than 3 million people off the land.

**Twenty-first Amendment** Amendment to the Constitution in 1933 that repealed the Eighteenth Amendment and thus brought Prohibition to an end.

**Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation** Created by the Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1933, it insured deposits up to a fixed sum in member banks of the Federal Reserve System.

**Securities and Exchange Commission** Bipartisan agency created by Congress to license stock exchanges and supervise their activities, including the setting of margin rates.

parity The fair value of a commodity, as opposed to its market value.

**Agricultural Adjustment Act** Law passed in 1933 that sought to reduce overproduction by paying farmers to keep land fallow; it was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1936.

Although large amounts of land were left fallow, production did not drop substantially. Farmers took their least productive land out of cultivation and used more scientific farming methods to grow more crops on fewer acres. To ensure crop reduction in 1934, Congress passed the Bankhead Cotton Control Act and the Kerr-Smith Tobacco Control Act. These acts levied special taxes on cotton and tobacco farmers who exceeded their production quotas.

By 1935, recovery in the agricultural sector had clearly started. Farm prices were rising, and the purchasing power of farmers was increasing. Then, in 1936, the Supreme Court declared the AAA unconstitutional in *Butler v. the United States*. The Court ruled that the special tax on food processing was illegal. The Roosevelt administration pushed the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act through Congress quickly to maintain the agricultural recovery. Under this act, the Soil Conservation Service paid farmers for cutting back on soil-depleting crops like cotton, tobacco, and wheat and for adopting better conservation methods. Finally, in 1938, Congress approved a second Agricultural Adjustment Act that re-established the principle of federally set commodity quotas, acreage reductions, and parity payments. The second AAA avoided the legal difficulties of the first AAA by using general revenue funds as the source of payments.

The combination of drought and governmental policies stabilized farm prices and saved farms. From 1932 to 1939, farm income was more than doubled, and the government provided over \$4.5 billion in aid to farmers. Initially regarded as a short-term measure to revitalize agriculture, the second AAA became an accepted solution to farm problems. The policy would contribute to stable agricultural prices for over fifty years. Equally important, Roosevelt's farm programs significantly changed the relationship between agricultural producers and the federal government.

### Seeking Industrial Recovery

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was Roosevelt's answer to the problem of indus-

trial recovery. Approved by Congress in June 1933, the NIRA quickly earned widespread support from business, labor, the unemployed, and community leaders. In a two-part offensive, the Public Works Administration (PWA) was given \$3.3 billion to put people to work immediately, while the National Recovery Administration (NRA) provided programs to restart the nation's industrial engine and create permanent jobs.

The NRA called for business and labor leaders, consumers, and government officials to work together on planning boards to promote industrial growth. The NRA was, Roosevelt explained in a Fireside Chat, a "partnership in planning." To achieve their goals, the boards developed "industrial codes" that set limits on prices, production, and wages. In turn, the government suspended antitrust laws for two years. Roosevelt selected General Hugh Johnson to command the NRA.

Johnson, who had headed the War Industries Board during World War I, relished the opportunity to wage war against the Depression. He immersed himself in forming the planning boards and drafting the codes for the nation's major industries.

Business supported the NRA because it allowed price fixing, which raised prices and profits. Labor

*Butler v. the United States* Supreme Court ruling in 1936 that declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act invalid on the grounds that it overextended the powers of the federal government.

**Soil Conservation Service** Agency established by Congress for the prevention of soil erosion; by paying farmers to cut back on soil-depleting crops, the government also addressed the problem of over-production.

**National Industrial Recovery Act** Law passed in 1933 establishing the National Recovery Administration to supervise industry and the Public Works Administration to create jobs.

**Public Works Administration** New Deal agency created in 1933 to increase employment and to stimulate economic recovery.

**National Recovery Administration** New Deal agency created in 1933 that was responsible for implementing national industrial codes.

was attracted by Section 7a, which gave workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, outlawed child labor, and established minimum wages and maximum hours of work. Although consumers, workers, and government officials were represented on the boards, the boards were dominated by business elements.

Initially, Johnson's zealous efforts were remarkably successful. The blue eagle that was chosen as the NRA's symbol appeared everywhere as Americans promised to do their part. Within six months, the National Recovery Administration had written 557 specific codes covering industries of every size.

But the early enthusiasm for the NRA soon waned. The boards typically emphasized profits rather than market expansion or wage increases. Workers complained that too many codes instituted low wages and that employers frequently violated the wage, hour, and unionization provisions of the codes. Consumers lost faith in the blue eagle as prices rose without any corresponding growth in wages or jobs. Farmers complained that NRA-generated price increases ate up any AAA benefits they received. Businesses complained about mountains of paperwork, criticized Section 7a, and feared further restrictions on their activities.

To nearly everyone's relief, on May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional

in *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. the United States*.

Noting that the Schechter Corporation was not involved in interstate commerce, the high court ruled that the government could not set wages and hours in local plants. The PWA remained in place, but with the NRA gone, Roosevelt was forced to consider other means to rekindle the economy.

## **TVA and REA**

Perhaps the most innovative and successful recovery program of the New Deal was the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**. The Tennessee River and its tributaries ran through some of the nation's most economically disadvantaged areas. The TVA harnessed the river system of the Tennessee Valley through the construction of flood-control and hydroelectric dams (see Map 25.1). The first benefit was new jobs, but the chief outcome was long-term

economic development. The TVA's directors used the AAA to improve agriculture while the TVA provided electricity through federally owned hydroelectric systems. Only 2 percent of the homes and farms in the region had electricity in 1933. Twelve years later, the number of electrified homes had reached 75 percent. The TVA's cheap electricity attracted businesses like Monsanto Chemical and American Aluminum to the area.

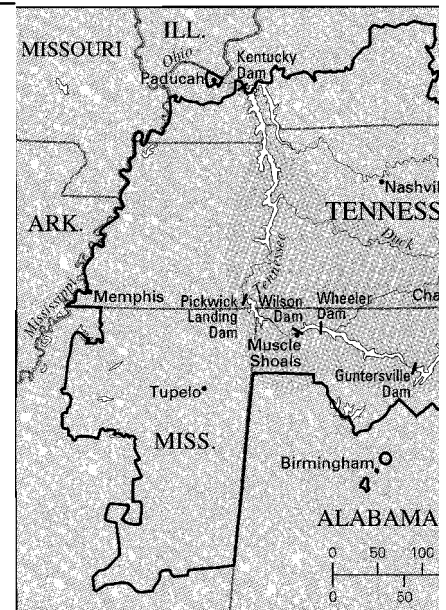
Although many hailed the TVA's accomplishments, the TVA had its critics. Liberals condemned the agency's practice of segregation. Private utility companies and conservatives opposed the idea of a government-owned agency operating factories and power companies. Such conservative opposition was largely responsible for Congress's failure to approve seven more proposed TVA-like projects in 1937.

The TVA's electrification program nevertheless became a precedent for a nationwide effort. Utility companies had argued that rural America was too isolated and poor to make service profitable. Only about 30 percent of farms had electricity in the early thirties. In 1935, the Roosevelt administration created the **Rural Electrification Administration (REA)** to bring electricity to rural America. Working with rural electrical cooperatives, the REA had electrified 45 percent of rural America by 1945 and 90 percent by 1951. The electrification of rural America was one of the most important social and economic changes that took place as a result of the New Deal. It integrated rural America with the culture of modern, urban America.

**Tennessee Valley Authority** Independent public corporation created by Congress in 1933 and authorized to construct dams and power plants in the Tennessee Valley region—Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama.

**tributary** A river or stream that flows into a larger river.

**Rural Electrification Administration** Government agency established in 1936 for the purpose of loaning money to rural cooperatives to start power plants that would bring electricity to isolated farms.



- ◆ **MAP 25.1 The Tennessee Valley Authority** One of the most ambitious New Deal projects was developing the Tennessee Valley by improving waterways, building hydroelectric dams, and providing electricity to the area. This map shows the various components of the TVA and the region it changed.

## Remembering the "Forgotten Man"

Roosevelt did not forget his campaign promises to help the "forgotten man," the 25 percent of the population—nearly 12 million people—who were out of work in March 1933 (see chapter opener map). Recognizing that state and private relief sources were unable to cope with the Depression, Roosevelt proposed four major relief programs during his First Hundred Days.

The **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)** established army-style camps to house unemployed urban males ages 18 to 25. Within months, the program had enrolled over 300,000 men, paying them \$30 a month, \$25 of which they had to send home. By 1941, enrollment was over 2 million men. The "Conservation Army" built national park facilities, cut out roads and **firebreaks**, erected telephone poles, dug irrigation ditches, and planted trees.

The Federal Emergency **Relief Administration** (FERA) and the PWA provided relief for the general population. **Harry Hopkins**, a former social

worker, headed the FERA and oversaw a \$500 million fund to give to states for their relief efforts. Hopkins soon discovered that some states showed little compassion for the poor. Oregon's governor, for example, opposed payments to anyone able-

**Civilian Conservation Corps** Organization created by Congress in 1933 to hire young, unemployed men for conservation work, such as planting trees, digging irrigation ditches, and caring for national parks.

**firebreak** Strip of cleared or plowed land used to stop the spread of a fire.

**Federal Emergency Relief Administration** New Deal agency created in 1933 to provide direct grants to cities and states to spend on relief.

**Harry Hopkins** Head of several New Deal agencies, first organizing emergency relief and then public works; he remained a close adviser to Roosevelt during World War II.

bodied enough to work and thought that the feeble-minded and aged should be **chloroformed**. But by 1935, the FERA was spending over \$300 million a year on relief measures.

The Public Works Administration, directed by Harold Ickes, eventually provided over \$4 billion to state and local governments for more than thirty-four thousand public works projects, including construction of sidewalks and roads, schools, and community buildings. Ickes wanted PWA projects that were socially and economically desirable, but not all fulfilled his criteria. Urban bosses used PWA monies to make jobs for political supporters, and many communities often ignored their poorest neighborhoods when spending PWA funds.

In November 1933, as high unemployment continued despite the CCC, FERA, and PWA, Roosevelt established the Civil Works Administration (CWA) to provide nearly 4 million jobs during the winter of 1933-1934. CWA workers participated in a wide variety of work programs. Critics complained of "make-work" projects that wasted money, but overall CWA funds were well spent. The CWA built over half a million miles of roads and forty thousand schools. It paid the salaries of over fifty thousand rural schoolteachers. Despite its success, Roosevelt ended the CWA in February 1934 when the immediate crisis was over.

Not all relief programs were aimed at the homeless and the poor. Two aided homeowners. The Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC), established in May 1933, permitted homeowners to **refinance** their mortgages at lower interest rates through the federal government. Before it stopped making loans in 1936, the HOLC had refinanced 1 million homes, including 20 percent of all mortgaged urban homes. The National Housing Act, passed in June 1934, created the Federal **Housing Administration (FHA)**, which still provides federally backed loans for home mortgages and repairs.

did not last. By mid-1933, most Republicans actively opposed New Deal legislation, objecting to relief programs, federal spending, and increased governmental control over business. Conservatives fumed that Roosevelt threatened free enterprise, if not capitalism itself, and that he had betrayed his own class—the rich and privileged. They thought it bad enough when Roosevelt pulled the nation off the gold standard in April 1933, but in January 1934 he devalued the gold value of the dollar to \$.59. To warn the country about Roosevelt and his "baloney dollars," conservatives became increasingly vocal in their attacks on the president. The Hearst newspaper chain instructed its editors to warn the public that Roosevelt planned to lead the nation into socialism. In August 1934, a coalition of anti-New Deal Democrats, Republicans, and business leaders formed the American Liberty **League (ALL)**. By 1935, the ALL was the center of conservative

**chloroformed** To use the anesthetic chloroform to end a person's life painlessly.

**Harold Ickes** Secretary of the interior under Roosevelt and Truman and director of the Public Works Administration; he was an efficient administrator who opposed racial discrimination.

**public works** Construction projects, such as highways or dams, financed by public funds and carried out by the government.

**Civil Works Administration** Emergency unemployment relief program in 1933 and 1934, which hired 4 million jobless people for federal, state, and local work projects.

**refinance** To pay off an old mortgage with the proceeds of a new mortgage obtained at a lower interest rate.

**Federal Housing Administration** Agency created in 1934 to help homeowners finance repairs and to stimulate residential construction through federal mortgages.

**gold standard** An internationally established value for a nation's currency based on its exchange rate with gold.

**American Liberty League** Conservative organization that existed between 1934 and 1940 to oppose the New Deal.

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## The

## Second Hundred Days

The New Deal began with almost total support in Congress and among the people. That support

opposition to Roosevelt and claimed nearly 150,000 supporters.

## Populist Voices

For the majority of the American people, however, Roosevelt and the New Deal still spelled hope and faith in the future. Voters in the 1934 elections gave Democrats friendly to Roosevelt overwhelming victories. They won twenty-six of thirty-five Senate races and nine additional seats in the House. The segment of the Republican party vehemently opposed to the New Deal was virtually wiped out. Those election results made Roosevelt less willing to cooperate with conservatives and business. The president was also aware that economic recovery was not progressing as projected. Unemployment had been reduced, but government work programs still supported nearly 8 million households, or 22 percent of the population. Roosevelt was ready to switch approaches to fighting the Depression. Grassroots criticism that the New Deal was not doing enough to help the "forgotten man" also pushed the president in a new direction.

One of the leading critics was **Father Charles Coughlin**, a Roman Catholic priest who used the radio every Sunday afternoon to reach out to nearly 30 million Americans. Coughlin had lashed out at Hoover and anyone else who opposed relief. "God would have been condemned for giving manna in the desert because it was a dole," he told his audience. Throughout 1933, the "radio priest" of Royal Oak, Michigan, had strongly supported Roosevelt and the New Deal. But by mid-1934, he had turned his influential radio voice first against the National Recovery Administration and then against Roosevelt himself for being too probusiness. In November, he formed the National Union for Social Justice to promote legislation that would help the masses and to peddle his message of blatant anti-Semitism. (Coughlin thought many businessmen and bankers were Jewish.) Coughlin advocated a guaranteed annual income, the redistribution of national wealth, tougher antimonopoly laws, and the nationalization of banking. Within a year, the organization claimed more than 5 million members.

Coughlin was not alone in broadcasting that Roosevelt was not doing enough for the "forgotten man." Senator **Huey Long** of Louisiana, another onetime supporter, hotly criticized the president. Long had achieved power in Louisiana by attacking big money and promising to help poor whites. As governor, he had built roads, schools, and hospitals; provided free textbooks; and imposed new taxes on oil companies and the wealthy. In 1934, he broke with Roosevelt and advocated the **Share the Wealth** plan. The plan called for the federal government to provide every American family with an annual check for \$2,000; a home, car, and radio; and a college education for each child. The plan would be funded by having incomes over \$1 million taxed at 100 percent and by inheritance laws that would limit inheritances to \$5 million. Crying "Soak the Rich!" Share the Wealth societies soon enrolled over 4 million followers.

By 1936, Democratic leaders feared that Long might join forces with Father Coughlin and run for president. Prospects of a third party soared when **Francis Townsend**, a popular spokesman for the elderly poor, appeared willing to join with Long and Coughlin. A doctor in Long Beach, California, Townsend, nearly 70, was well aware of the elderly's plight. Ignored by work programs and frequently denied relief because they owned property,

**Father Charles Coughlin** Roman Catholic priest whose influential radio addresses in the 1930s at first emphasized social justice but eventually became anti-Semitic and pro-fascist.

**Huey Long** Louisiana governor, then U.S. senator, who ran a powerful political machine and whose advocacy of the redistribution of income was gaining him a national political following at the time of his assassination in 1935.

**Share the Wealth** Movement that sprang up around the nation in the 1930s urging the redistribution of wealth through government taxes or programs; its slogan was "Every man a king."

**Francis Townsend** California physician who proposed the Townsend Plan in 1933, under which every retired person over age 60 would be paid a \$200 monthly pension to be spent within the month.



- ◆ The Works Progress Administration not only built roads and buildings but also provided employment for teachers, writers, and artists. A common theme among WPA artists and writers was the strength and dignity of common people as they faced their difficult lives. Here a Michigan WPA artist sketches WPA workers. *National Archives.*

the elderly were among those most cruelly hit by the Depression. Dr. Townsend advocated a federal old-age pension plan. He wanted the government to provide every American age 60 and over with a monthly \$200 pension check. Recipients would be required not to work and to spend the money within the month. Townsend proposed a national sales tax to finance the payments. Several million people joined Townsend Clubs.

The growing popularity of Long, Coughlin, and Townsend reflected the frustration of a large segment of the American population who believed that the New Deal was doing little to help them. Long's and Townsend's programs were attractive because they would aid people, not businesses.

### **A Shift in Focus**

Responding to the growing pressure to modify the New Deal, Roosevelt announced in his 1935 State of the Union address that his administration would adopt a new strategy to combat the Depres-

sion. The focus would now be on helping people rather than on helping business increase profits. He asked Congress to provide more work relief, to develop an old-age and unemployment insurance program, and to regulate holding companies and utilities. During the Second Hundred Days, a solidly Democratic and largely liberal Congress responded with a series of acts. In April 1935, Congress allocated nearly \$5 billion for relief to be divided among the CCC, the PWA, the FERA, and the newly created **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**.

Roosevelt named Harry Hopkins to head the WPA, whose goal was to provide jobs as quickly as possible. Between 1935 and 1938, the WPA

**Works Progress Administration** Agency established in 1935 and headed by Harry Hopkins, which hired the unemployed for construction, conservation, and arts programs.



employed over 2.1 million people a year. Most performed manual labor, but the WPA employed professional and white-collar workers as well. Teachers, writers, artists, actors, photographers, composers, and musicians were among the professionals who benefited from New Deal programs. The WPA's Writers Project provided future Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Saul Bellow with a job writing short biographies and allowed African-American author Richard Wright to write his highly acclaimed *Native Son*. Professional theater groups toured towns and cities performing Shakespearean and other plays. By 1939, an estimated 30 million people had watched WPA productions that included known actors such as Orson Welles and John Housman.

The WPA also made special efforts to help women, minorities, and students and young adults. Prodded by Eleanor Roosevelt, the WPA employed between 300,000 and 400,000 women a year. Although some were hired as teachers and nurses, the majority worked on sewing and canning projects. WPA efforts to ensure African-American employment thrived in the northeastern states but stalled in the South. The **National Youth Administration (NYA)** provided aid for college and high school students and programs for young people not in school. In 1936, over 200,000 students were receiving aid. Mary McLeod Bethune, an African-American educator, directed the NYA's Office of Negro Affairs. Through constant pressure, she obtained support for black schools, colleges, and vocational programs.

More dramatic than the WPA was passage of the **Social Security Act** of 1935. Whereas the WPA was a temporary expedient, the establishment of a federal old-age and survivor insurance program was to be a permanent modification of the government's role in society. Previously, only 15 percent of workers had been covered by any sort of pension. The primary force behind the Social Security Act was **Frances Perkins**, the first woman cabinet member (see Individual Choices: Frances Perkins). In 1934, encouraged by the popularity of Dr. Townsend's plan, Perkins chaired the Committee on Economic Security to draft a social security bill. Passed by Congress in August 1935, the Social Security Act had three sections.

The most controversial part of the legislation created the Social Security system. Conservatives insisted that it would remove the incentive to work. Social Security provided a pension plan for retirees 65 or older. They would receive initial payments ranging from \$10 to \$85 a month, depending on how much they paid into the system. The more a worker paid into the system, the larger his or her pension would be. The program would begin in 1937, when a new tax (mandated by the Federal Insurance Contributions Act, or FICA) would be collected from workers and employers. Not all workers were covered. Many occupations, including domestic and agricultural laborers, were exempt. Compared to Townsend's dream and many existing European systems, U.S. Social Security was limited and conservative. Nonetheless, it represented a major leap in government's responsibility for the welfare of society.

A less controversial section of the bill established a federally supported system of unemployment compensation. Within two years, every state was part of the system, paying the jobless between \$15 and \$18 a week in unemployment compensation. A third section of the Social Security Act made federal funds available to states for aid to families with dependent children and the disabled. This provision aided nearly 3.8 million female-headed families that had been helplessly impoverished.

The National Labor Relations Act, generally called the **Wagner Act**, strengthened the union

**National Youth Administration** Program established by executive order in 1935 to provide employment for young people and to help needy high school and college students continue their education.

**Social Security Act** Law passed in 1935 that created systems of unemployment, old-age, and disability insurance, and provided for child welfare.

**Frances Perkins** Industrial reformer who, as Roosevelt's secretary of labor from 1933 to 1945, was the first woman cabinet member.

**Wagner Act** Law passed in 1935 that defined unfair labor practices and protected unions against such coercive measures as the blacklist and company unions.

movement by putting the power of government behind the workers' right to organize. It created the National Labor Relations Board to ensure workers' rights, to conduct elections for union representatives, and to prevent unfair labor practices like firing workers for union activities. Roosevelt's support for the Wagner Act helped clinch labor support for himself and the Democrats.

The combination of the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act reduced the credibility of those who called Roosevelt too conservative. Similar political goals were evident in other acts of the Second Hundred Days. The Revenue Act of 1935 placed higher taxes on inheritance and gifts, raised income-tax rates for the wealthy, and instituted a graduated income tax for corporations. Conservatives, the business community, and the wealthy all blasted the tax changes, but among the not-so-wealthy, the law was clearly popular. The new tax structure actually did little to redistribute wealth. In fact, from 1933 to 1939, the wealthiest 1 percent increased their personal wealth 2.3 percent, controlling 30.6 percent of the nation's wealth. Still, Roosevelt's tax measures further angered business interests and raised conservative cries of a New Deal dictatorship.

Other acts of the Second Hundred Days reasserted Roosevelt's support for the "forgotten man." To help small farmers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers, the Resettlement Administration (RA) and the Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act were passed. The latter allowed federal courts to reduce the debts of farmers to that equal to their property value. It also provided a three-year **moratorium** against farm seizures for farmers who had court permission. The RA tried to resettle marginal farmers on better land.

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## Deal and Society

Just as the Depression had an impact on every segment of society, so too did the New Deal. Newly restored confidence found expression in the popular entertainment of the time. The New Deal encouraged hope for overcoming obstacles that had long limited opportunities for some minorities.

## The New Deal and Urban America

As the Depression set in, city governments found that their resources were too few to maintain the city, much less care for the needy. In 1933, 145 of the largest cities collected only 75 percent of the property-tax revenues they were owed. To "save" their budgets, cities cut wages and laid off policemen, firemen, teachers, and other municipal workers. In most cities, relief programs were among those targeted for elimination or reduction. "I am as much in favor of relief for the unemployables as anyone, but I am unwilling to continue this relief at the expense of bankrupting the City of Birmingham," stated the head of the city commission.

The New Deal provided new hope for cities by providing public works projects that eased the burdens of unemployment and relief. In many cities, especially in the West and South, public works projects also improved the existing **infrastructure** by constructing roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, and other public buildings. San Francisco saw the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge. Southern California, especially the Los Angeles basin, drew additional benefits from the water and cheap electrical power supplied with the completion of Boulder Dam in 1935. There were also political gains to be made from federal money and projects. "Roosevelt Is My Religion" was the 1936 campaign slogan of Mayor Edward J. Kelly, who kept Chicago solvent with federal funds.

Other federal programs shaped the growth of urban areas in subtler ways. Agencies like the HOLC and the FHA saved thousands of urban homes

**Resettlement Administration** Agency established in 1935 to resettle poor families on new farms or in new communities and to make loans enabling sharecroppers to buy their own land.  
**moratorium** Suspension of an ongoing or planned activity.

**infrastructure** An underlying base for a system or organization; the basic facilities, services, and installations needed for the functioning of a community.

## The New

## INDIVIDUAL CHOICES

### Choosing to Serve



#### Frances Perkins

*Beginning in 1911, Francis Perkins sought to improve working conditions for the nation's men, women, and children. Perkins was the first woman cabinet member, and as secretary of labor, she tirelessly worked to create the Social Security system, establish a minimum wage for workers, and limit the number of hours people could be required to work. New York Historical Society.*

On February 1, 1933, responding to a monthlong flurry of rumors in the press and among "those in the know" that she was to be chosen secretary of labor, Frances Perkins wrote to President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt saying that she "honestly" hoped the rumors were wrong. Shortly after the letter, Mary Dewson, director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, visited Perkins to convince her to take the cabinet position if offered. Dewson, who had recommended Perkins to Roosevelt, reminded Perkins of the many years she had spent fighting to establish unemployment compensation and a minimum wage and to abolish child labor. "You want these things done," Dewson argued. "You have ideas. . . . Nobody else will do it." She told Perkins, "You owe it to the women. . . . Too many people count on what you do."

On February 22, Roosevelt asked Perkins to be secretary of labor. She replied that, if she accepted, she would push for the abolition of child labor and the establishment of unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, a minimum wage, and a limit on maximum hours of work. Roosevelt responded that she would "have to invent the way to do these things" and that she should not "expect too much help from" him. She chose to accept the position. After some opposition from organized labor, she was easily confirmed by the Senate and became secretary of labor—"Madam Secretary," the first woman to serve in a president's cabinet.

She arrived at the position through hard work and a commitment to improving workers' lives. The daughter of a conservative middle-class family, she had been introduced to the lives of workers while taking an economics

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class at Mount Holyoke College. She quickly immersed herself in the spirit of the Progressive era, participating in the settlement house movement and helping to investigate working conditions as part of the New York Factory Commission that arose after the tragic fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in 1911.

Through her work on the commission and with the Consumers' League, she became involved in New York politics as a supporter of Al Smith. She served Governor Smith as a member of the Industrial Commission, working to improve the circumstances of workers. When Franklin D. Roosevelt replaced Smith as governor in 1929, he named her industrial commissioner, a state cabinet-level position—making her the first woman to hold such a position at the state level. Beginning in 1930, she moved to support legislation that reduced the workweek for women to 48 hours, created a minimum wage, and developed unemployment insurance. Thus, when appointed secretary of labor in 1933, she already was experienced in the politics of improving the life of the worker.

During the First Hundred Days of Roosevelt's administration, Perkins and the Department of Labor helped to create the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In 1934, as the chair of the newly created Committee on Economic Security, she began to draft a social security bill. In encouragement, Roosevelt told her: "You care about this thing. You believe in it. Therefore I know you will put your back to it more than anyone else, and you'll drive it through."

The Social Security Act of 1935 was the outcome of many choices, most of which involved Perkins, Harry Hopkins, and Roosevelt. It was decided, for fiscal and political reasons, to have workers pay into the system as opposed to having the government pay for it out of taxes. Perkins wanted to include medical coverage, but it had to be excluded from the Social Security package, in large part because of the hostile reaction of the medical profession. To convince

Congress to pass the Social Security program, she made hundreds of public speeches and countless appearances before countless congressional committees. With its passage on August 14, 1935, the relationship between the federal government and the people permanently changed.

Frances Perkins took pride in the passage of the Social Security Act, but she was overjoyed when the Fair Labor Standards Act became law in 1938. "A self-supporting and self-respecting democracy," she testified, "can plead no justification for the existence of child labor, no economic reason for chiseling workers' wages or stretching workers' hours." The bill was attacked by conservatives and union leaders as allowing too much government intrusion. Conservatives called it a form of socialism, while union leaders argued that collective bargaining—not the government—should gain wage and hour benefits for workers. Nevertheless, when the bill became law on June 25, 1938, more than 12 million workers felt its effect. It immediately raised the pay of 300,000 people and shortened the workday for a million more. Together, the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act changed the economic and social values of the nation and ushered in a new relationship between the government and the people.

Frances Perkins continued to serve Roosevelt and his successor, Harry S Truman, as an advocate of government support of workers and their families. Retiring in 1953, she wrote, lectured, and joined the faculty at Cornell University. She died in 1965, and her tombstone reflects the fateful choice she made in 1933:

FRANCES PERKINS WILSON  
1880-1965  
SECRETARY OF LABOR OF U.S.A.  
1933-1945

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and supported the building of single-family units, rather than high-density multifamily structures. The outcome was to encourage suburbanization rather than the development of central metropolitan areas.

## Popular Culture

Movies and radio, the most popular form of entertainment throughout the thirties, provided a break from the worries of Depression life. On average, 60 percent of Americans saw a movie a week. *Gone with the Wind*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and dozens of musicals like *Top Hat* afforded a brief escape from the daily routine. Movies offered not only escape, though. Some also reflected the social and political changes generated by the Depression and the New Deal. In *Golddiggers of 1933*, unemployed men march across the stage while the lead singer demands,

*Remember my forgotten man,  
You put a rifle in his hand, You  
sent him far away,  
You shouted, "Hip Hooray!"  
But look at him today.*

Cops-and-robbers films remained popular but underwent a slight change. Before the New Deal, famous stars frequently played gangsters. But as the New Deal became part of the American experience, those big names increasingly appeared as brave government officials who brought villains to justice. James Cagney became an FBI agent in *G-Men*; Humphrey Bogart was a crusading district attorney in *Crime School* and *Marked Woman*; and even Edward G. Robinson became a respectable good guy in *Bullets or Ballots*. All three actors had achieved fame playing tough guys, usually convicts or con men. Such character changes reflected a more positive vision of government than ever before.

Like movies, radio provided escape from the "Depression," as the Depression was frequently called on the "Amos 'n' Andy Show," radio's most popular broadcast from 1928 to 1932. The Depression created a sudden demand for "gloom chasers" like the Marx Brothers, George Burns and Gracie

Allen, and Jack Benny. It also sustained crazes like the "Original Amateur Hour," which first aired in 1934. When amateur programs began to fade in 1937, radio turned to quiz shows. Keeping pace in popularity with comedians, amateur shows, and quiz programs were crime fighters like the Shadow, the Green Hornet, Dick Tracy, the Lone Ranger and Tonto, and Sergeant Preston of the Yukon Mounted Police. These heroes proved

again and again that truth, justice, honor, and courage always prevailed.

Whereas movies and radio rarely criticized American politics and society, many novelists certainly did. Michael Gold, a young Communist writer, urged other writers and artists to produce works that furthered revolutionary change. Many responded by stressing the immorality of capitalism and the inequities caused by racism and class differences. But few advocated an end to capitalism. Instead they found heroes among those who refused to break under the strain of the Depression. Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road*, John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, and Richard Wright's *Native Son* described "losers" whose misery was not of their own making but society's fault. In these and similar novels, authors assailed the rich and powerful while praising the poor's noble humanitarian spirit.

Still, popular culture typically affirmed traditional American values. Popular themes expressed faith that the long-term effects of democracy would allow the integrity of the nation's people and leaders to emerge.

## A New Deal for Minorities and Women

Even more than the president, Eleanor Roosevelt was sensitive to the needs of average Americans. The first truly active First Lady, she crisscrossed the country talking with coal miners, waitresses, farmers, and housewives. Thousands wrote to her to describe their hardships and to ask for help. Although rarely able to provide any direct assistance, Eleanor Roosevelt constantly urged her husband not to neglect the poor, women, and minorities.



- ◆ In 1935, Mary McLeod Bethune (front center) became the first African-American woman to hold a high-ranking government position, serving as the head of the Office of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration. Here she is shown with the Council of Negro Women, which she helped organize in 1935 to focus on the problems faced by African Americans at the national level. *New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.*

Eleanor Roosevelt took the lead in working to reduce discrimination in the government and throughout the country. In 1933, she helped to convene a special White House conference on the needs of women to ensure that women received more than just token consideration from New Deal agencies. Her outspoken support helped Democratic women to organize their own division within the party and to lobby for more important roles in the party and the government. Her efforts resulted in more opportunities for women in government than at any previous time in American history.

Eleanor Roosevelt was just as determined to affirm the equality of African Americans. Working with black educators and administrators like Mary Bethune, she sought to generate new opportunities for blacks. In 1939, she demonstrated her commitment to racial equality when the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) refused to allow renowned black opera singer Marian Anderson to perform at their concert hall in Washington, D.C. In protest, Eleanor Roosevelt resigned her membership in the DAR and helped arrange a larger, public concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Marian Anderson's performance attracted seventy-five thousand people.

Most black leaders complained, however, that the New Deal did little to challenge existing patterns of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation. A political realist, the president recognized the key role of white southern Democrats in Congress, and so he retreated from promoting civil rights legislation, even an antilynching law. When black leaders complained, he admitted, "If I come out for the antilynching bill now, they will block every bill I ask Congress to pass. . . . I just can't take that risk."

Nonetheless, the New Deal brought about some positive changes in favor of racial equality. In August 1936, Mary Bethune organized African Americans within the administration into the

"Black Cabinet," which acted as an unofficial advisory commission on racial relations. Among the most pressing needs for African Americans, the Black Cabinet concluded, was access to relief and jobs. In northern cities, it was not uncommon for state and local agencies to deny African Americans relief. Fortunately, Ickes and Hopkins were proponents of racial equality and used the PWA, CWA, and WPA to provide African Americans with relief and jobs. The WPA alone supported nearly 1 million African-American families and in northern cities, nearly eliminated discrimination from its programs.

Not every New Deal administrator or agency was as committed to equality as Hopkins and the WPA were. The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Tennessee Valley Authority openly practiced segregation and discrimination. African-American skilled workers were almost always given unskilled, lower-paying public works jobs. Even in the best of cases, federal support was not enough to help more than a segment of the black population. In Cleveland, for example, 40 percent of PWA jobs were reserved for African Americans, but black unemployment and poverty still remained high.

Still, most African Americans praised Roosevelt and promised their political support. By 1934, wherever African Americans could vote, blacks were bolting from the Republican party. In the 1936 presidential election, Roosevelt would receive nearly 90 percent of the nation's black vote.

Mexican Americans benefited from the New Deal in much the same way as African Americans. Agencies such as the PWA and WPA not only included Mexican Americans but paid wages that usually exceeded those in the private sector. New Deal legislation also helped union organizers trying to assist Latino workers throughout the West and Southwest. San Antonio's Mexican-American pecan shellers, mostly women, were among the lowest-paid workers in the country, earning less than \$180 a year. Local union activist "Red" Emma Tenayuca and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) representatives led the pecan shellers in strikes, finally gaining higher wages and union recognition in 1938. In the fields of central California, however, Mexican-American unions had little success in organizing farm workers. Where they

were permitted to vote, Mexican Americans deserted the Republican party to vote Democrat.

Unlike most Mexican Americans and African Americans, American Indians benefited directly from the New Deal. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier both opposed existing Indian policies, which since 1887 had sought to destroy the reservation system and obliterate Indian cultures. At Collier's urging, Congress passed the Indian **Reorganization Act** in 1934. The act returned land and community control to tribal organizations. It provided Indian self-rule on the reservations and prevented individual ownership of tribal lands. To improve the squalid conditions of most reservations and to provide jobs, Collier organized a CCC-type agency solely for Indians. He also tried to promote American Indian culture. Working with tribal leaders, Collier took measures to protect, preserve, and encourage Indian customs, languages, religions, and folkways. Reservation school curricula incorporated Indian languages and traditions. Collier's New Deal for American Indians did little to improve their standard of living. Funds were too few, and problems created by years of poverty and government neglect were too great.

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## The New Deal Winds Down

By 1936, the Second Hundred Days had effectively reasserted Roosevelt's leadership and popularity. The prospect of a successful Republican or third-party challenge to Roosevelt was remote. Huey

**"Black Cabinet"** Members of the Roosevelt administration organized by Mary McLeod Bethune into a semiofficial advisory committee on racial issues. private sector Businesses run by private citizens rather than by the government.

**Indian Reorganization Act** Law passed in 1934 that ended Indian allotment and returned surplus land to tribal ownership; it also sought to encourage tribal self-government and improve economic conditions on reservations.

Long had died in 1935, the victim of an assassin's bullet. Another Louisianan, Gerald L. K. Smith, took up Long's populist standard but was no match for the colorful "Kingfish." Smith joined forces with Coughlin and Townsend to form the Union party, but it never posed a threat to Roosevelt. Nor did the Socialist or Communist parties mount any noticeable opposition.

The Republican party, which nominated Kansas governor Alfred Landon, was hardly more of a worry. Although Landon accepted most New Deal programs in principle, most Republicans wanted him to attack Roosevelt and the New Deal. Reluctantly, Landon agreed. Roosevelt responded by reminding voters of the New Deal's achievements and stressing his support for the "forgotten man." He attacked big business, the "economic royalists" who wanted to rule like kings over the people. The tactics worked, and Roosevelt won in a landslide. Landon carried only Maine and Vermont.

The Democratic victory in 1936 demonstrated not only the personal popularity of Roosevelt but also the realignment of political forces. Prior to 1930, only two major interest groups successfully influenced government: big business and the South. With Roosevelt and the New Deal, other interest groups—some new, like the CIO, and some old, like agriculture—became integrally involved in the political process. Workers, farmers, women, minorities, and the aged now competed with the South and business for government favor and legislation. Roosevelt recognized the political importance of those who cast their vote for him, and he promised a government intent on seeking "social justice."

His second inaugural address raised expectations that there would be a third one hundred days. "I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day," he announced. "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." The words seemed to promise new legislation aimed at helping the poor and the working class.

### **Roosevelt and the Supreme Court**

Instead of promoting new social legislation, however, Roosevelt pitched his popularity against the

Supreme Court—and lost. The president's anger at the Court had been growing since the *Schechter* case. It ruled in the *Butler* case (1936) that the AAA was unconstitutional. The Court also had declared illegal a quota plan for the oil industry, the Railroad Retirement Act, and a New York law establishing a minimum wage for women. As 1937 began, legal challenges to the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act were on the Court's docket. Roosevelt feared that the Court would undo much of the New Deal. He thus proposed to appoint new justices to give the Court a pro-New Deal majority.

Without consulting congressional leaders, Roosevelt presented a plan to reorganize the Court to Congress in early February 1937. Claiming that the Court's elderly judges could not meet the demands of the office, he asked for additional justices to help carry the judicial load. His goal was a new justice for every one over age 70 who had served more than ten years on the Court. Although Congress could change the size of the Supreme Court, many thought that Roosevelt's action threatened the checks and balances of government established by the Constitution. He made a major political miscalculation with his **Court-packing plan**. Many Democrats who had reservations about the New Deal now joined Republicans to say no to Roosevelt.

Roosevelt ignored the growing opposition and pressed on. Roosevelt's case weakened, however, when the Court in a series of 5-to-4 decisions upheld Washington State's minimum wage law, the Wagner Act, and the Social Security system. Even Roosevelt's supporters in Congress now questioned the need to enlarge the Court. The president's position collapsed completely in May when conservative justice Willis van Devanter announced his retirement. By July, Roosevelt had conceded defeat.

**Alfred Landon** Kansas governor who ran unsuccessfully for president in 1936.

**Court-packing plan** Roosevelt's unsuccessful proposal in 1937 to increase the number of Supreme Court justices; it was an effort to circumvent the Court's hostility to the New Deal.



He took solace in appointing Hugo Black, a southern New Dealer, to the Court.

Despite the Court's favorable decisions, Roosevelt had lost a great deal. He had lost control over conservative southern Democrats. Having safely broken with Roosevelt on the Court issue, many such Democrats now found it possible to oppose other Roosevelt initiatives. The Court fight had produced a new conservative grouping composed of Republicans, business interests, and southern Democrats. Consequently, a Third Hundred Days was now impossible.

### **The Resurgence of Labor**

Labor strife also dampened many Americans' enthusiasm for the New Deal. During his first administration, Roosevelt had supported unions and workers through the National Recovery Administration and passage of the Wagner Act. "President Roosevelt wants you to join the union," was a common plug that labor organizers used to recruit workers. Mostly, the response was positive, and by mid-1934 unions were growing and becoming more militant.

There were over eighteen hundred strikes in 1934, involving more than 1.5 million workers. Union membership doubled that year. The rise of organized labor was especially pronounced in the mass-production industries. When the leadership of the craft-based American Federation of Labor (AFL) discouraged industry-wide unionization in 1935, a minority element formed the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) to continue organizing industrial unions. Unionization drives were launched in the automobile, rubber, and electrical industries. The CIO also took an active political stance, pushing workers to support only those politicians who were friends of labor. In 1938, the CIO completed its break from the AFL and formed an independent labor organization: the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**.

In March 1936, the CIO supported workers striking against the rubber industry in Akron, Ohio, home of Firestone, Goodyear, and Goodrich. Wanting recognition of their union and higher

wages, workers stopped work and refused to leave the factory, launching one of the first major sit-down strikes in the United States. With the strikers occupying the factory, the employer could not use strikebreakers. When the rubber industry quickly agreed to most of the strikers' demands, the benefits of sit-down strikes seemed clear to labor.

Encouraged by the Akron results, the United **Automobile Workers** (UAW) planned a sit-down strike against General Motors. The UAW focused on plants in Cleveland, Ohio, and Flint, Michigan. Because most General Motors plants received car bodies from Cleveland and Flint, successful strikes in those plants would eventually shut down most of GM's assembly lines. The sit-down strike began on November 30, 1936, when Flint workers took over the factory. Despite cutting off the heat, trying to block deliveries of food, and attacking the plant with company guards and city police, GM was unable to dislodge the strikers. When Michigan Governor Frank Murphy refused to send in state militia units to remove the strikers, the company settled with the UAW. Weeks later, Chrysler gave in to sit-down strikers and also recognized the UAW. In March, United States Steel accepted the steelworkers' union without a strike. Throughout 1937, labor staged more than forty-seven hundred strikes and won 80 percent of them. Union membership soared.

**Congress of Industrial Organizations** Labor organization established in 1938 by a group of powerful unions that left the AFL to unionize workers by industry rather than by trade.

**sit-down strike** Strike in which workers refuse to leave their place of employment until their demands are met.

**strikebreakers** Temporary workers hired by employers to substitute for striking workers.

**United Automobile Workers** Union of workers in the automobile industry, which used sit-down strikes in 1936 and 1937 to end work speed-ups and win recognition for the fledgling labor organization.

As strikes spread and violent incidents multiplied, unions did not fare well in public opinion. Many people equated strikes and labor militancy with radicalism and communism. Critics also blamed unions for most of the strike-related violence and considered sit-ins illegal. In 1939, the Supreme Court agreed, declaring sit-down strikes unconstitutional.

### **The End of New Deal Legislation**

By 1937, with the economy apparently well on the road to recovery, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau argued that the administration should cut relief programs, balance the budget, and allow business a freer hand in shaping the economy. Roosevelt agreed. He cut government spending and closed down many federal job programs. But unemployment rapidly soared to 19 percent, and the recovery collapsed. **Roosevelt's recession** had begun.

Roosevelt's liberal advisers won his ear in calling for a resurrection of the New Deal. The WPA rehired those dropped from the rolls, and Roosevelt attempted to marshal support for new legislation. But the political mood had changed since 1933, and a coalition of conservatives in Congress blocked passage of most of Roosevelt's requested programs.

Prodded by a strong agricultural lobby, Congress did enact a second Agricultural Adjustment Act that paid farmers to reduce production. In June 1938, congressional New Dealers overcame strong opposition to pass the Fair Labor **Standards Act**. The act established an initial maximum workweek of forty-four hours, set a minimum wage of \$.25 an hour, and outlawed child labor (under age 16). The act proved to be the last New Deal legislation. In 1938, Roosevelt campaigned unsuccessfully for liberal candidates. The new Congress was more conservative and determined to oppose the president's "socialistic" ideas. Roosevelt recognized political reality and asked for no new domestic programs. By 1939, the economy had recovered to the point where it had been in 1929, and there seemed no reason to expand government programs. The New Deal was over.

### **The New Deal's Impact**

New Deal programs failed to achieve a complete economic recovery largely because Roosevelt never spent enough money to generate rapid economic growth. It was spending connected with the outbreak of another world war that would propel the American economy to new levels of prosperity. Despite the New Deal's failure to promote economic prosperity, it changed the country and its people. It ended the fear generated by the Depression and encouraged a return to a stable and orderly society and economy. Equally important, it altered the basic relationships between government and society and between government and the economy.

Evaluations of the New Deal generally reflect attitudes about the proper role of government in society. Conservatives, during the New Deal and since, argue that the positive legacy of the New Deal is an illusion. Government intervention, they say, was the problem rather than the solution because it undermined individualism and created an expensive and overbearing government. Liberals praise Roosevelt and the New Deal for balancing the needs of the economy with those of society. From the liberal viewpoint, the New Deal promoted stable economic growth and contributed to the overall health of American society. More radical critics of the New Deal focus on what the New Deal failed to accomplish. They point out that the same groups who held power and wealth before the New Deal were still in control afterward and contend that Roosevelt made no effort to combat racism or economic inequalities.

What is indisputable is that the New Deal caused government to play a much larger role in the life of Americans than anyone had previously

**Roosevelt's recession** Economic downturn of 1937-1938 that was blamed on Franklin D. Roosevelt.

**Fair Labor Standards Act** Law passed in 1938 that established a minimum wage and a maximum workweek and forbade labor by children under 16.

expected. Before the New Deal, the federal government had remained remote from most Americans. By 1939, it had assumed new and expanded responsibilities. Institutions created by Roosevelt still regulate the nation's banking and financial systems. The economic health of agriculture continues to rely on a series of price-support and loan programs. The Wagner Act remains the overseer of labor-management relations. Social Security continues to provide for the economic welfare of the elderly. The belief in governmental responsibility for the needy has remained part of the American memory and experience. Since the New Deal, the American people have come to look to the federal government and the president for leadership, for legislation, and for solutions to the nation's problems.

### SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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The Great Depression brought Franklin D. Roosevelt to power amid widespread *expectations* that he would initiate a major shift in the nature of government. Through a variety of programs, Roosevelt *chose* to use the federal government to regenerate economic growth, to aid millions of Americans in need, and to regulate the economy. Although never a specific overarching plan, the New Deal attacked the Depression on three fronts: recovery, relief, and reform.

The First Hundred Days witnessed a barrage of legislation that dealt with immediate problems of unemployment and economic collapse. In 1935, Roosevelt *chose* to initiate a second burst of legislation that focused on social reform and putting people to work. The overwhelming Democratic victory in 1936 confirmed the popularity of Roosevelt and raised *expectations* of further social and economic regulatory legislation. A Third Hundred Days, however, never materialized. The Court-packing scheme, an economic downturn, labor unrest, and growing conservatism created formidable political constraints against further

change. The *outcome* was that the New Deal wound down after 1937.

Although the New Deal failed to restore economic prosperity quickly, it left a lasting imprint on American society. Reforms of the financial and securities systems left a much more secure and stable industry. In the end, the New Deal strengthened capitalism and removed *constraints* for many who had been prevented from achieving the American dream.

The New Deal opened doors for those frequently ignored by government. Farmers, blue-collar workers, women, and minorities all had their New Deal. Each group emerged with stronger *expectations* about government's role in promoting their interests. The New Deal's *outcome* was a profound shift in society's *expectations* about the federal government.

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### SUGGESTED READINGS

Bergman, Andrew. *We're in the Money: Depression America and Its Films* (1971).

An interesting look at the movie industry and how it reflected the Great Depression.

Blackwelder, Julia Kirk. *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939* (1984).

A tightly focused study on Mexican-American, African-American, and Anglo women in the world of San Antonio during the Depression.

Fine, Sidney. *Sit-Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936-1937* (1969).

Using the United Auto Workers' strike against General Motors, Fine examines the industrial union movement and the use of the sit-down strike.

Leuchtenberg, William. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (1983).

A comprehensive, classic account of how Roosevelt directed the nation from his 1932 election until 1941.

Sitkoff, Harvard. *A New Deal for Blacks* (1978).

A review of how African Americans benefited from and were otherwise affected by the New Deal and the Roosevelts.

Steinbeck, John. *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

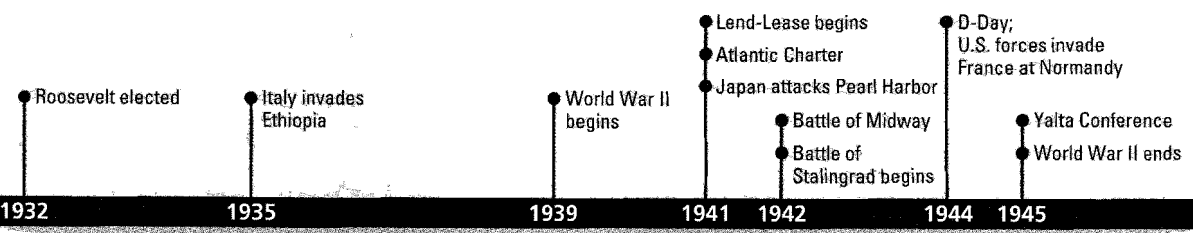
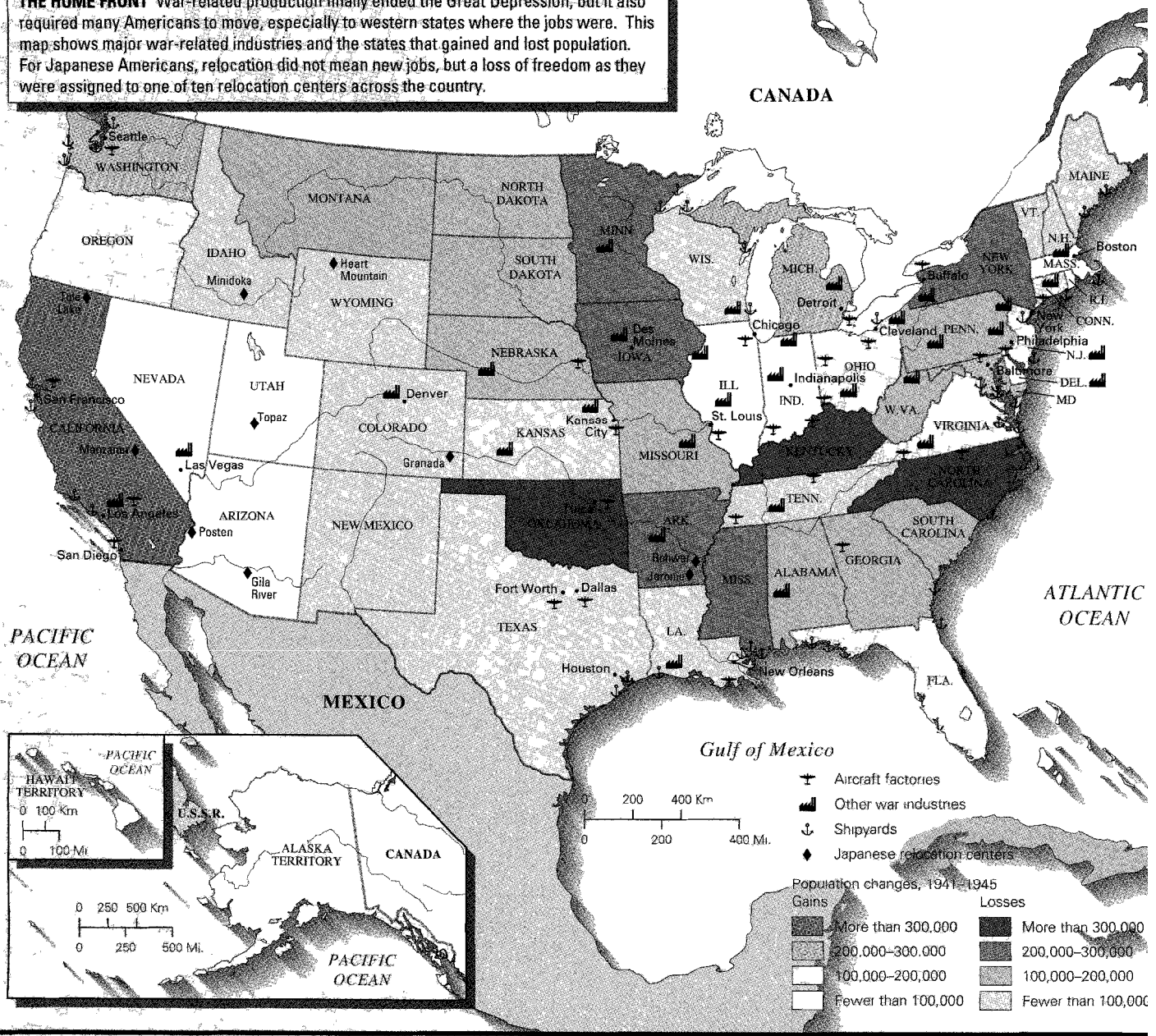
A classic novel about the survival of the Joad family during the Depression that was later turned into an award-winning film.

Ware, Susan. *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (1982).

An examination of the impact of the Depression on the lives and lifestyles of women.



**THE HOME FRONT** War-related production finally ended the Great Depression, but it also required many Americans to move, especially to western states where the jobs were. This map shows major war-related industries and the states that gained and lost population. For Japanese Americans, relocation did not mean new jobs, but a loss of freedom as they were assigned to one of ten relocation centers across the country.



## CHAPTER 26

# America's Rise to World

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## Leadership, 1933-1945

### **Roosevelt and Foreign Policy**

- In what ways did Roosevelt's choices in dealings with Latin America reflect the ideals of the Good Neighbor policy?
- How did isolationism constrain American foreign-policy choices from 1932 to the outbreak of World War II?

### **The Road to War**

- What constraints did Roosevelt face in trying to implement a more interventionist foreign policy?

- In reshaping American neutrality, what choices did Roosevelt make regarding Britain and Japan?

### **America Responds to War**

- What actions did Roosevelt choose to mobilize the nation for war?
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- What new social and economic choices did Americans confront as the nation became the "arsenal of democracy"?
- What new opportunities and old constraints did women and minorities encounter on the home front and in their military experiences?

### **Waging World War**

- What choices and constraints did Roosevelt and Truman confront in shaping America's strategy for global conflict?
- What were the stresses within the Grand Alliance?
- What expectations prompted Truman and his advisers to choose to use the atomic bomb?



# ( INTRODUCTION )

When Roosevelt assumed office in 1933, the cheery optimism of a prosperous world at peace that had greeted Herbert Hoover in 1929 was gone. By then, three nations seemed willing to *choose* military conquest if necessary to achieve their goals. Japan, seeking an empire in Asia, had annexed Manchuria and was threatening China. In Germany, Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) party had gained political dominance amid promises of restoring Germany's military and diplomatic prowess. Having seized power in 1922, Benito Mussolini had used nationalism, imperial designs, and military power to tighten his control over Italy. Roosevelt faced the events in Asia and Europe as an internationalist. He wanted the country to take a more active role in world affairs, but he was *constrained* by strong isolationist views in Congress and among the public. In addition, he understood that American economic recovery was his first priority.

The onslaught of war in 1939, however, allowed Roosevelt to chart a path away from neutrality. He *chose* to help defeat Hitler by providing economic and military assistance to Britain and to *constrain* Japanese expansion by using trade restrictions. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 drew the United States into World War II.

The war managed to do what the New Deal had not—to restore American prosperity. An out-

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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*come* of America's becoming the "arsenal of democracy" was full recovery and full employment, as 15 million Americans marched off to war. Those remaining at home faced new opportunities and *constraints*. Americans *chose* to move to take war-related jobs, especially on the West Coast. The *outcome* for women and minorities was mixed: they experienced greater opportunities, but they also were *expected* to give up their new opportunities once the war was over.

For Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, defeating the Axis Powers entailed making strategic decisions that shaped the course of the war. Roosevelt *chose* to allocate most of the nation's resources to defeat Hitler first. By the end of May 1945, Hitler's Third Reich was in ruins and American forces were on the verge of victory over Japan. Roosevelt had died. Truman, facing the prospect of huge casualties with an invasion of Japan, *chose* to use the atomic bomb. The *outcome* was the surrender of Japan, the beginning of a new age of atomic power, and the emergence of the United States as a super power.

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## Roosevelt and Foreign Policy

Until Franklin Roosevelt ran for the presidency, he was an internationalist who had supported an active American role in world affairs. But as a presidential candidate, he stated his opposition to American participation in the League of Nations and other world organizations. At heart, however, Roosevelt remained an internationalist who believed that international cooperation would create a better world.

### The Good Neighbor Policy

In Latin America, Roosevelt built on the improving relations already begun by Hoover. He promised that the United States would be a "good neighbor" and would not interfere in Latin American affairs. His promise was soon tested in Cuba, where President Gerardo "the Butcher" Machado's harsh regime stirred political unrest. In the summer of 1933, Roosevelt sent special envoy Sumner Welles to Cuba to encourage Machado to

## A World at War

1931 Japan occupies Manchuria 1932

Roosevelt elected president

1933 Gerardo Machado resigns as president of Cuba  
United States recognizes Soviet Union Hitler and  
Nazi party take power in Germany

1934 Fulgencio Batista assumes power in Cuba

1935 Italy invades Ethiopia  
Neutrality Act of 1935

1936 Spanish Civil War begins  
Germany reoccupies the Rhineland  
Roosevelt reelected president

1937 Japan invades China  
*Panay* attacked by Japanese aircraft  
Neutrality Act of 1937

1938 Austria annexed by Germany  
Munich Conference

1939 Germany invades Czechoslovakia Ribbentrop-  
Molotov Nonaggression Pact World War II  
begins as Germany invades Poland  
Soviets invade Poland and Finland  
Neutrality Act of 1939

1940 Germany occupies most of western Europe Roosevelt  
reelected president Burke-Wadsworth Act  
Destroyers-for-bases agreement

1941 Lend-Lease begins  
Fair Employment Practices Commission  
created  
Atlantic Charter  
Germany invades Soviet Union  
U.S. warships attacked by U-boats Japan  
attacks Pearl Harbor  
United States enters World War II

1942 War Production Board created Japanese  
conquer Philippines  
Japanese Americans interned  
Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway  
Manhattan Project begins  
Congress of Racial Equality founded U.S.  
troops invade North Africa

1943 U.S. forces capture Guadalcanal Soviets defeat  
Germans at Stalingrad Detroit race riot  
U.S. forces invade Italy  
Tehran Conference

1944 D-day: U.S. forces invade France at Normandy  
and reach the Rhine Roosevelt reelected  
president  
U.S. forces capture Philippines  
Soviet forces liberate Eastern Europe Battle  
of the Bulge

1945 Yalta Conference  
Roosevelt dies; Truman becomes president  
Soviets capture Berlin  
Germany surrenders  
U.S. forces capture Iwo Jima and Okinawa  
Potsdam Conference  
Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and  
Nagasaki  
Japan surrenders

resign. He succeeded, but Welles considered the new government of Ramón Grau San Martín too radical and recommended using American military force to overthrow Grau. Roosevelt refused to send in the marines. Instead, the United States refused to recognize the Cuban government. Meanwhile, Welles encouraged **General Fulgencio Batista** to overthrow Grau and install a government acceptable to the United States. Batista did so in 1934. As a result, the United States recognized the new government; rescinded the 1902 Platt Amendment, which authorized American intervention in Cuban affairs; and signed a favorable trade agreement. Batista would control the island nation until 1959.

Watching American actions in Cuba, many Latin Americans questioned the reality of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. Secretary of State Cordell Hull raised further doubts when he declared that the United States maintained the right to intervene in Latin America to protect American citizens. At Pan American conferences in 1936 and 1938, however, the United States rejected all reasons for armed intervention.

Roosevelt's commitment to nonintervention was tested when, in 1938, Mexico's president, Lázaro Cárdenas, nationalized foreign-owned oil properties. American oil interests quickly called on the United States to take action against Mexico. But the American ambassador to Mexico, Josephus Daniels, recommended to Roosevelt that the United States accept Mexico's actions and negotiate a fair settlement with the American companies. Roosevelt took Daniels's advice. By 1940, Roosevelt had vastly improved America's image throughout Latin America.

### **Roosevelt and Isolationism**

While Roosevelt was improving the image of the United States in Latin America, tensions were increasing in Europe and Asia. In Germany, Adolf Hitler by 1935 had ruthlessly instituted a dictatorship and expanded the military. The Japanese spoke openly of establishing a larger Japanese sphere of influence and increased pressure on China. Eyeing the Japanese and the Germans un-

easily, the Soviet Union, led by Joseph Stalin, sought to improve relations with the United States. Roosevelt also sought improved relations. In November 1933, the United States recognized the Soviet Union.

Within the United States, Roosevelt's decision to establish relations with the Soviets prompted protests that he meant to abandon isolationism. Many voices urged the avoidance of foreign entanglements. A congressional investigation chaired by Senator Gerald P. Nye determined that America's entry into World War I had been the product of arms manufacturers, bankers, and war profiteers— "the merchants of death." Novelists such as Ernest Hemingway (*A Farewell to Arms*, 1929) and John Dos Passos (*Three Soldiers*, 1921) added to antiwar and isolationist sentiments with their powerful stories depicting the senseless horror of war. A Gallup poll revealed that 67 percent of Americans believed that the nation's intervention in World War I had been wrong.

By 1935, tensions in Asia and Europe combined with American isolationism to generate neutrality laws designed to prevent American involvement in future foreign wars. The Neutrality Act of 1935

**General Fulgencio Batista** Dictator who ruled Cuba from 1934 through 1958; his corrupt authoritarian regime was overthrown on New Year's Day, 1959, by Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement.

**Good Neighbor Policy** Phrase used to describe Roosevelt's Latin American policy, which was based on the belief that the United States had no right to intervene in Latin American affairs.

**nonintervention** Refusal to interfere, especially in the affairs of another nation.

**Lázaro Cárdenas** Mexican president from 1934 to 1940, who distributed land to peasants, instituted social reforms, and nationalized foreign-owned oil properties.

**dictatorship** State or government controlled by a tyrant, or absolute ruler.

**Neutrality Act of 1935** Congressional resolution prohibiting arms shipments to nations at war and authorizing the president to warn U.S. citizens against traveling on belligerents' vessels.

prohibited the sale of arms and munitions to any nation at war. Anxious to see the Second Hundred Days successfully through Congress, Roosevelt signed the measure.

Many Americans felt that the Neutrality Act of 1935 came just in time. On October 3, Benito Mussolini's Italian troops invaded the African nation of Ethiopia. Roosevelt immediately announced American neutrality toward the Ethiopian conflict. The arms embargo had little effect on Italy, whose modern army overpowered Ethiopia's antiquated forces. On May 9, 1936, Italy annexed Ethiopia.

International tensions increased in Europe itself in 1936. In March, German troops violated the Treaty of Versailles by occupying the **Rhineland**, and in July, civil war broke out in Spain. Roosevelt proclaimed that the remilitarization of the Rhineland was of no concern to the United States. Most Americans agreed, but public opinion was sharply divided about the conflict in Spain. Liberals and leftists supported the Spanish government's **Republican** forces. Conservatives and most Catholics supported the rebels led by the fascist general **Francisco Franco**. However, most Americans agreed when Roosevelt applied the neutrality acts to both sides.

Italy and Germany actively aided Franco, taking the opportunity to test their military capability. German and Italian planes, tanks, and troops augmented Franco's soldiers in attacks on Republican forces and towns. Facing better-equipped and larger armies, the Republican forces fought bravely but were forced to surrender city after city. With the fall of Madrid in March 1939, Franco defeated the last Republican forces.

The Ethiopian War, German militarization, and the Spanish Civil War strengthened American isolationism. The **Neutrality Act of 1937** went beyond the previous act in requiring nations to pay cash for all "nonwar" goods and to carry those goods on their own ships, and in barring Americans from sailing on belligerents' ships. The new act did give the president a small victory by allowing him to determine which nations were at war and which goods were nonwar goods.

Roosevelt used that provision in late July 1937 following a Japanese invasion of northern China.

He refused to recognize that China and Japan were at war and allowed American trade to continue with both nations. That fiction did not last long. On December 12, 1937, Japanese aircraft bombed the American gunboat *Panay* and two Standard Oil tankers. Roosevelt wanted to retaliate, but public opinion and Congress insisted otherwise. Within two days of the *Panay* bombing, isolationists in the House had pushed forward a constitutional amendment that would require a public referendum before Congress could declare war. Only after Roosevelt had expended a great deal of political effort did the House return the amendment to committee, effectively killing it. Roosevelt had no choice but to accept Japan's apology and payment of damages for the *Panay*.

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## The Road to War

World peace was crumbling fast as 1938 began. The fighting in China and Spain raged on. From Berlin, Hitler pronounced his intentions of unifying all German-speaking lands in a new German empire, or Reich. Hitler's first step in creating this

**Rhineland** Region of western Germany along the Rhine River, which, under the terms of the Versailles Treaty, was to remain free of troops and military fortifications.

**Republican** In Spain, a left-wing political group that won national elections in 1936 but was prevented from carrying out its programs by a military rebellion and the outbreak of civil war.

fascist Supporter of a political system and dictatorship that glorifies the state, nation, and race over individual liberties and rights.

**Francisco Franco** Fascist general whose rebel forces defeated the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939); he ruled as dictator of Spain until his death in 1975.

**Neutrality Act of 1937** Law that required warring nations to pay cash for "nonwar" goods and barred Americans from sailing on belligerents' ships.

empire was the forced Anschluss, or merger, of Austria with Germany.

Hearing only mild protests from other nations, Hitler confidently moved to incorporate other German-speaking areas into the Reich. He next demanded the annexation of the Sudeten region of western Czechoslovakia, which had a substantial German population. The Czechoslovakian government was prepared to resist and appealed for help as German troops massed along the Sudeten border. France, the Soviet Union, and Britain, however, did not want a confrontation with Hitler. On September 30, Britain's prime minister, **Neville Chamberlain**, met with Hitler in Munich and accepted Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland (see Map 26.1). Without British and French support, the Czechs had no option but to concede the loss of territory. Chamberlain returned to England smiling and promising "peace in our time."

Within Germany, Hitler stepped up the persecution of the country's nearly half a million Jews. In 1938, Hitler had Jewish synagogues, businesses, and homes looted and destroyed. Detention centers at Dachau and Buchenwald soon confined over fifty thousand Jews. Thousands of German and Austrian Jews fled to other countries. Many applied to enter the United States, but most were turned away. American anti-Semitism was strong, and the State Department routinely denied entry to German Jews whose property had been seized by the German government. The State Department enforced the immigration laws so strictly between 1933 and 1939 that nearly three-fourths of the 27,400-person quota for Germany and Austria went unfilled.

Convinced that Hitler was a threat to humanity, Roosevelt sounded a dire warning to Americans in his 1939 State of the Union address. "Events abroad have made it increasingly clear to the American people that the dangers within are less to be feared than dangers without," he observed. "This generation will nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth." Events verified Roosevelt's prediction of danger. Hitler ominously concluded a military alliance with Italy, invaded and seized what remained of Czechoslovakia, and demanded that Poland cede the **Polish corridor**,

which connected Poland to the Baltic Sea. British and French officials, unwilling to appease Hitler any longer, pledged to protect Poland. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union had reached a secret agreement with Germany—the Ribbentrop-Molotov Nonaggression Pact of August 23, 1939—which divided Poland between them. No longer worried about a Soviet attack, Hitler invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Within a matter of days, German troops had overrun nearly all of Poland. On September 17, acting under the terms of a nonaggression pact signed with Germany, Soviet forces seized the eastern parts of Poland and subsequently invaded Finland (see Map 26.1). World War II had begun.

### **Roosevelt and American Neutrality**

In the United States, there was little desire to come to the aid of Poland, Britain, or France. Isolationism remained strong. But Roosevelt was determined to do everything possible short of war to help those nations opposing Hitler.

When Germany invaded Poland, the president proclaimed American neutrality. But he also asked Congress to modify the Neutrality Act of 1937 to allow the sale of any goods, including arms, to any nation that paid cash for those goods and carried them away in its own ships. Roosevelt calculated that only Britain and France would be able to take advantage of this cash-and-carry provision, since the British navy denied German ships access to American ports. Although a congressional "peace bloc" argued that the request would drag the nation into the war, Con-

Anschluss Political union, especially the one absorbing Austria into Nazi Germany in 1938.

**Neville Chamberlain** British prime minister who pursued a policy of appeasement toward the fascist regimes of Europe before World War II.

**Polish corridor** Territory adjoining the city of Danzig, which connected Poland with the Baltic Sea and which Germany demanded from Poland in 1939.



◆ **MAP 26.1 German and Italian Expansion, 1933-1942** By the end of 1942, the Axis nations of Italy and Germany, through conquest and annexation, had occupied nearly all of Europe. This map shows the political and military alignment of Europe as Germany and Italy reached the limit of their power.

gress granted the president's request in the **Neutrality Act of 1939**.

To protect merchant ships approaching American ports, Roosevelt established a 300-mile neutrality zone around American waters. Warships of belligerent nations were forbidden in the zone. If the navy happened to sink any German submarines, Roosevelt joked to his cabinet, he would respond like "the Japs do, 'So sorry. Never do it again.' Tomorrow *we* sink two."

Roosevelt was even more determined to aid the British after the fall of France in the spring of 1940. Hitler's first attack that spring had been on Denmark and Norway, which fell quickly. The German

**Neutrality Act of 1939** Law repealing the arms embargo and authorizing cash-and-carry exports of arms and munitions even to belligerent nations.

offensive against France began on May 10 with an invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands. The German **blitzkrieg** overwhelmed Belgian, French, and British forces. That 350,000 British and French forces were able to escape from the French port of Dunkirk across the channel was the only bright spot for Britain and France. On June 10, Mussolini entered the war on Germany's side. Twelve days later, France surrendered.

Germany and Italy, called the **Axis Powers**, controlled almost all of Western and Central Europe, leaving Britain to face them alone. Britain's new prime minister, the feisty Winston Churchill, pledged never to surrender until the Nazi scourge was destroyed. On August 8, 1940, the **Battle of Britain** began. The German air force bombed targets throughout Britain in preparation for an invasion. Outnumbered eight to one, the Royal Air Force (RAF) outfought the German Luftwaffe. British pilots shot down over seventeen hundred German planes and forced Hitler to call off his planned invasion. "Never has so much been done by so few for so many," Churchill declared.

While the outcome of the Battle of Britain was still uncertain, Roosevelt lobbied Congress to provide the British with destroyers and aircraft and to increase the military budget. He argued that with American support, Britain could defeat the Axis without America's having to enter the conflict. Isolationists bitterly denounced Roosevelt for pushing the nation toward war, but Roosevelt got his support for Britain. In September 1940, he signed the **Burke-Wadsworth Act**, creating the first peacetime military draft in American history. By executive order, he exchanged fifty old, mothballed destroyers for ninety-nine-year leases over British military bases in Newfoundland, the Caribbean, and British Guiana. By the end of the year, Congress had approved over \$37 billion for military spending.

In 1940, faced with a world becoming more dangerous by the minute, Roosevelt chose to take the unprecedented step of running for a third term in office. The Republicans nominated Wendell Willkie of Indiana, a public utilities executive. Initially, Willkie supported aid to Britain and increased military spending. But Republican

leaders convinced Willkie to present himself as the peace candidate. Willkie's popularity surged upward, forcing Roosevelt to affirm more strongly his commitment to peace. "Your boys," the president promised American mothers, "are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." The election demonstrated solid personal support for Roosevelt, who won easily, but not for the Democratic party, which lost seats in the Senate and the House.

## The Battle for the Atlantic

As Roosevelt knew, the destroyers-for-bases deal was only a temporary solution to Britain's growing shortage of cash. In December 1940, Churchill asked Roosevelt for loans to pay for supplies and for help to protect merchant ships from German submarines. Roosevelt agreed. In his December Fireside Chat, he told his audience that a strong Britain was America's best defense against Germany. If Britain fell, Hitler would attack the United States next. He urged the people to make the nation the "arsenal of democracy" and to supply

**blitzkrieg** Sudden, swift military offensive that allowed Germany to defeat Poland in a matter of days.

**Axis Powers** Coalition of nations that opposed the Allies in World War II, first consisting of just Germany and Italy and later joined by Japan.

**Winston Churchill** Prime minister who led Britain through World War II; he was known for his eloquent speeches and his refusal to give in to the Nazi threat.

**Battle of Britain** Series of air battles between British and German planes fought over Britain from August to October 1940, during which English cities suffered heavy bombing.

**Burke-Wadsworth Act** Law passed in 1940 creating the first peacetime draft in American history and providing for the training of 1.2 million troops.

**Wendell Willkie** Business executive and Republican presidential candidate who lost to Roosevelt in 1940.



Britain with all the material help it needed to defeat Hitler. He then presented Congress with the **Lend-Lease bill**, which would allow the president to lend or lease war materials to any country considered vital to American security. The bill passed easily on March 11, 1941.

For a while, it appeared that Lend-Lease might have been passed too late. German submarines were sinking so many ships that not even Britain's minimal needs were reaching ports. In March 1941, Churchill warned Roosevelt that Germany's foes could not afford to lose the battle for the Atlantic. In response, Roosevelt extended the neutrality zone to include Greenland. By the summer of 1941, the United States Navy's patrol of the neutrality zone overlapped Hitler's Atlantic war zone. It was only a matter of time before American and German ships confronted each other. In May, a German submarine had sunk the American merchant ship *Robin Moor*.

Hitler's attention, however, was focused eastward. During the spring of 1941, he was preparing for an invasion of the Soviet Union. The nonaggression pact of 1939 had served its purpose. Hitler assembled the largest military force ever massed on a single front: 2,700 planes, 3,350 tanks, and 3.3 million men. On June 22, German forces opened the eastern front.

As German armies raced across the vast expanse of Russia toward Moscow, Roosevelt and Churchill met secretly off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941. They discussed strategies, supplies, and future prospects. For the first time, both leaders sensed some room for optimism. More ships were getting safely across the Atlantic. But Roosevelt's main concern at the meeting was to develop a set of political principles that would support America's entry into the war. He and Churchill produced the Atlantic Charter. The charter reaffirmed the Wilsonian goals of self-determination, freedom of trade and the seas, and the establishment of a "permanent system of general security."

Shortly thereafter, on September 4, 1941, the inevitable encounter between an American destroyer and a German submarine took place. Claiming that the attack on the destroyer was totally unprovoked, Roosevelt obtained congress-

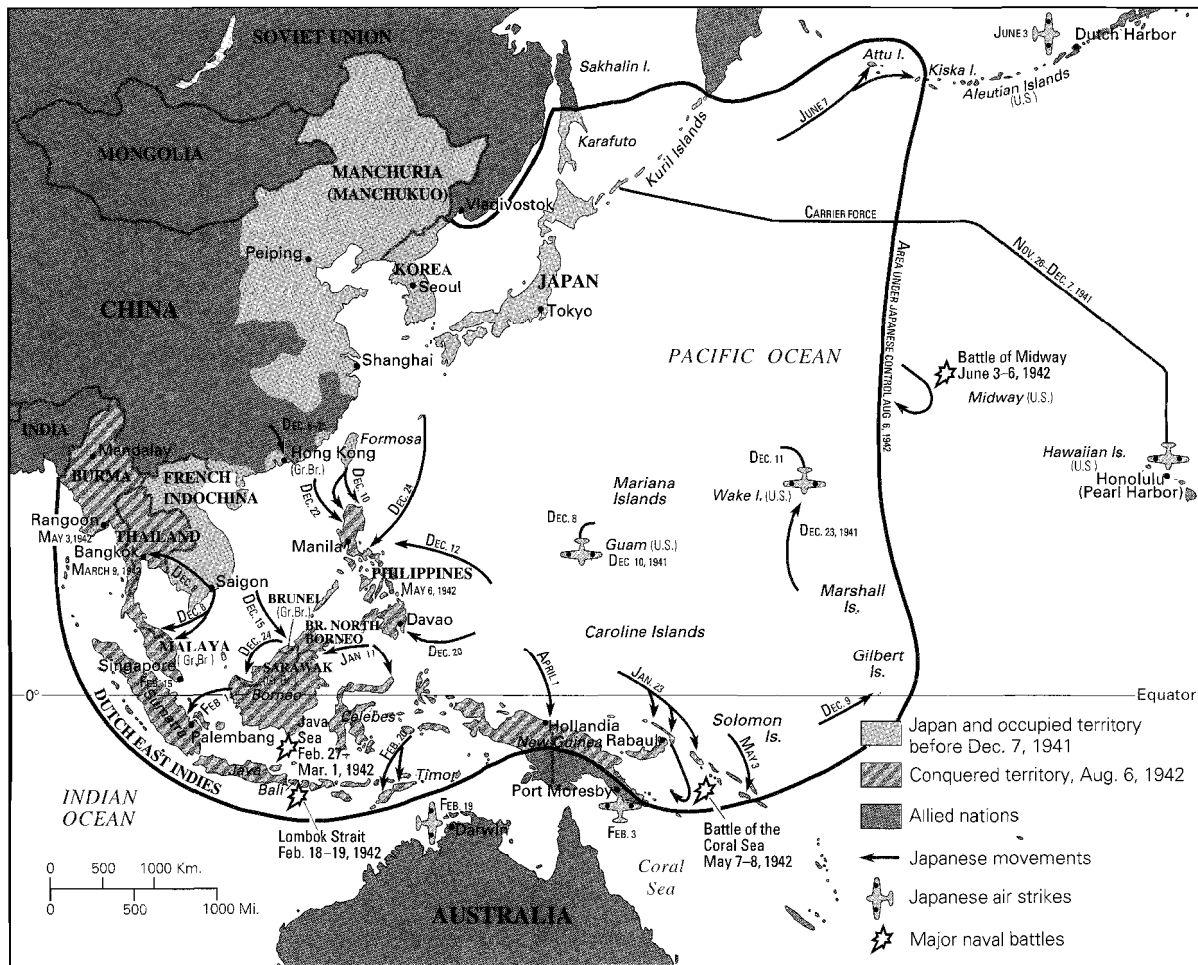


◆ From the beginning of World War II, Roosevelt was determined to help defeat the forces of fascism. Meeting with Churchill on board a cruiser off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, the two leaders signed the Atlantic Charter as a prelude to America's waging war against Germany. *FDR Library.*

sional permission to arm American merchant ships, to use the navy to convoy ships all the way to Britain, and to allow American ships to attack Axis warships. By the fall of 1941, the U.S. Navy was unofficially at war with Germany. On October 17, the U.S.S. *Kearney* was damaged while protecting a convoy. Two weeks later, the U.S.S. *Reuben James* was sunk, with 115 deaths. On November 13, Congress rescinded all neutrality laws. War was imminent, but Roosevelt

**Lend-Lease bill** Bill that became a law in 1941, providing that any country whose security was vital to U.S. interests could receive arms and equipment by sale, transfer, or lease from the United States.

**Atlantic Charter** Joint statement issued by Roosevelt and Churchill in 1941 to formulate the postwar aims of the United States and Britain, including international economic and political cooperation.



◆ **MAP 26.2 Japanese Advances, December 1941–August 1942** Beginning on December 7, 1941, Japanese forces began carving out a vast empire, the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, by attacking American, British, Dutch, and Australian forces from Pearl Harbor to the Dutch East Indies. This map shows the course of Japanese expansion until the critical naval battles of the Coral Sea and Midway in the spring of 1942 that halted Japanese advances in the Pacific.

envisioned it as a war involving only American naval and air forces.

### Facing Japan

Since 1937, Japanese troops had seized more and more of coastal China while the United States did little but protest. In July 1940, Roosevelt responded by forbidding the sale of aviation fuel and scrap iron to Japan.

In September 1941, the situation in East Asia worsened. Japan took over French Indochina (see Map 26.2) and signed a defense treaty with Germany and Italy. Roosevelt promptly increased American forces in the Philippines and added

more trade restrictions. Within the Japanese government, there were opposing views on how to react to the American economic sanctions. Those seeking to avoid war hoped that negotiations would settle Japanese-American differences. But those negotiations stalled when Secretary of State Cordell Hull demanded Japan's withdrawal from Indochina and China. Hull's demand played into the hands of Japanese military leaders, who had argued all along that war was unavoidable to break the "circle of force" being created around it.

For Minister of War Hideki Tojo, the choice had become simple: either submit to American demands, giving up the achievements of the past ten years, or safeguard the nation's honor by initiating a war. If negotiations did not produce a more favorable American policy toward Japan by December 1941, the choice was for war. Naval aircraft would target the American fleet at Hawai'i, while the army would invade the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, and the Dutch East Indies. The negotiations remained stalled.

### **Pearl Harbor**

At 7:49 A.M. (Hawai'i time) on December 7, 1941, Japanese planes struck the American naval base at Pearl Harbor. By 8:12, seven battleships of the American Pacific fleet were aflame, sinking, or badly damaged. Eleven other ships had been hit, nearly two hundred American aircraft had been destroyed, and twenty-five hundred Americans had lost their lives. Fortunately, U.S. aircraft carriers were on maneuvers in the Pacific. Pearl Harbor's repair shops, dry docks, and oil storage tanks also incurred only light damage.

Elsewhere that day, Japanese planes struck Singapore, Guam, the Philippines, and Hong Kong. The Japanese overwhelmed British and American positions throughout the Pacific and East Asia. Roosevelt declared December 7, 1941, "a day which will live in infamy" and asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. The December 8 declaration fell one vote short of being unanimous. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

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## **America Responds to War**

The attack on Pearl Harbor unified the nation as no other event had done. Afterward, it was almost impossible to find an isolationist. Thousands of young men rushed to enlist, especially in the navy and marines. On December 8, the navy recruiting station in New York City was besieged by twelve hundred applicants, some of whom had waited outside all night.

The shock of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor raised fears of further attacks, especially along the Pacific coast. Throughout the week after December 7, West Coast cities reported phantom enemy planes. Rumors circulated that Japanese Americans intended to sabotage factories and military installations. Within a week, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had arrested 1,370 Japanese, 1,002 Germans, and 169 Italians.

### **Japanese-American Internment**

The feelings against Japanese Americans were the product of long-standing racist attitudes. Of the nearly 125,000 Japanese Americans in the country, about three-fourths were Nisei, those born in the United States. The rest, the **Issei**, were officially citizens of Japan, although nearly all had lived in the United States since 1924, when American law barred them from becoming naturalized citizens.

Echoing its anti-Japanese actions in the 1880s, California moved to "protect" itself. Japanese Americans were fired from state jobs and had their law and medical licenses revoked. Banks froze Japanese-American assets, stores refused service, and loyal citizens vandalized Nisei and Issei homes and businesses. Although some doubted the reality of any threat from the Japanese-American community, no one protested the growing cry that they be relocated away from the coast. On February 19,

**Nisei** A person born in America of parents who emigrated from Japan.

**Issei** A Japanese immigrant to the United States.

1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order #9066, which allowed the military to remove anyone deemed a threat from official military areas. When the entire West Coast was declared a military area, the eviction of the Japanese Americans from the region began. By the summer of 1942, over 110,000 Nisei and Issei had been transported to ten **internment** camps (see chapter opener map). The Supreme Court upheld the internment order twice.

The orders to relocate gave Japanese Americans almost no time to prepare. Families had to pack the few personal possessions they were allowed to take and to store or liquidate the rest of their property. Some had two weeks to get ready; others had two days. Most families had to sell their possessions at ridiculously low prices. A twenty-six-room hotel was sold for \$500; a pickup truck went for \$25; farms sold for a fraction of what they were worth. Japanese-American families lost an estimated \$810 million to \$2 billion in property and possessions. Decades later, in 1988, the federal government paid \$20,000 in compensation to each of the surviving sixty thousand internees.

Internment produced a feeling of helplessness and isolation. Tags with numbers were issued to every family to tie to luggage and coats—no names, only numbers. "From then on," wrote one woman, "we were known as family #10710." Going to the camp, she lost her identity, dignity, and privacy. The Nisei and Issei were surrounded by barbed wire and watched over by guards in towers mounted with machine guns. Photographers were not allowed to take pictures of the wire or the guard towers. In camp, families and individuals were assigned to apartments 20-by-25-foot located in long barracks. An average of eight people were assigned to each apartment. Cots, straw-filled mattresses, and three army blankets were furnished each person.

Some internees were able to leave the camps by working outside, especially on farms. Others volunteered for military service, the other escape route from the camps. Japanese-American units served in both the Pacific and European theaters. The most famous unit was the 442nd Combat Team. The men of the 442nd were among the most decorated in the war.

Aware of rabidly anti-Japanese public opinion, Roosevelt waited until after the 1943 elections to allow internees who passed a loyalty review to go home. A year later, the camps were empty. Returning home, the Japanese Americans discovered that nearly everything was gone. Stored belongings had been stolen. Land, homes, and businesses had been seized by the government for unpaid taxes. Quietly demonstrating

their loyalty, Japanese Americans began to re-establish their homes and businesses.

## **Mobilizing the Nation for War**

When President Roosevelt made his first Fireside Chat following Pearl Harbor, "Dr. New Deal" became "Dr. Win the War." He called on factories to run twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Gone was every trace of the antibusiness attitude that had characterized much of the New Deal rhetoric. Roosevelt welcomed big business back into the heart of government. Corporate executives left their companies and flocked to Washington to become **dollar-a-year men**, contributing their business skills to help the war effort.

By 1942, one-third of all American production was geared to the war, and the government was allocating millions of dollars to build new plants in vital industries like aluminum and synthetic rubber. By the end of the war, U.S. manufacturers had built over 300,000 aircraft, 88,140 tanks, and 86,000 warships.

As the nation's economy began to retool, Roosevelt acted to provide government direction and

Executive Order #9066 Order of President Roosevelt in 1942 that authorized the removal of "enemy aliens" from military areas and that was used to isolate Japanese Americans in internment camps.

internment camps Camps where over 110,000 Japanese Americans living in the West were isolated on the grounds that they were "enemy aliens" dangerous to U.S. security.

liquidate To convert assets into cash.

dollar-a-year men Corporate executives who volunteered for government jobs to help the war effort.

planning. His first step was to establish the **Office of Price Administration (OPA)** to control prices. In January 1942, Roosevelt established the War Production Board (WPB) and the War Labor Board (WLB). Working together, these boards plus the OPA were to coordinate and plan production, establish the allotment of materials, and ensure harmonious labor relations. Initially, however, they did not create a smoothly working economy. By the fall of 1942, confused priorities and soaring food prices had created a public outcry and labor unrest. To give the government still more control, in September Congress expanded the powers of the OPA and regulated agricultural prices. In turn, Roosevelt created the Office of Economic Stabilization (OES) to coordinate prices, rents, and wages. He appointed former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes as its chief.

Armed with extensive powers and the president's trust, Byrnes became the second most powerful man in the country. "If you want something done, go see Jimmie Byrnes" became the watchword. Almost immediately, Byrnes and the new director of the OPA, Chester Bowles, set maximum prices and froze wages and rents at their March 1942 levels. To deal with scarce commodities, Bowles and Byrnes expanded the existing rationing system, adding gasoline, tires, butter, sugar, cheese, and meat. By the end of 1942, most Americans had a ration book. Despite all government efforts, a strong black market thrived. The right amount of money could buy nearly any item.

By mid-1943, production was booming, jobs were plentiful, wages and family incomes were rising, and inflation was under control. Even farmers were climbing out of debt, as farm income had tripled since 1939. Taxes also went up, especially for businesses and the affluent. Those making \$500,000 or more a year paid 88 percent in taxes. Corporate taxes averaged 40 percent, with a 90 percent tax on excess profits. The 1942 Revenue Act also slapped everyone making more than \$645 a year with a special "victory tax" of 5 percent, greatly expanding the number of people paying personal income taxes from 13 million to 50 million. The tax changes from 1940 to 1945 moderately altered the basic distribution of wealth by

reducing the percentage of income held by the wealthy.

Increased tax revenues funded about half of the total cost of the war. The government borrowed the rest. The national debt jumped from \$40 billion to \$260 billion by 1945. The most publicized borrowing effort encouraged the purchase of war **bonds**. Movie stars and celebrities asked Americans to "do their part" and buy bonds. The public responded by purchasing over \$40 billion of bonds, but the majority of bonds was sold to corporations and financial institutions.

Roosevelt sought to prevent labor disputes while protecting workers through the creation of the War Labor Board. To prevent strikes and keep down labor costs, the WLB allowed workers a maximum 15 percent increase in wages above January 1941 levels. Although most workers, accepted this cap on wages as a patriotic duty, some did not. In 1943, John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers went out on strike. An angry president threatened to seize the mines and jail Lewis. Eventually, the parties reached a compromise that established special circumstances to exceed the cap. Other strikes broke out during the war, but war production was never in jeopardy.

### **Wartime Politics**

As Roosevelt mobilized the nation for war, Republicans and conservative Democrats moved to bury what was left of the New Deal. The congressional elections of November 1942 indicated that Roosevelt and liberal Democrats were facing hard political times. People secure in wartime jobs were no longer as concerned about the social welfare programs of the New Deal. They griped about higher taxes, rents, and prices; about the scarcity of goods, especially gasoline and meat; and about government inefficiency. And they aimed their

**Office of Price Administration** Agency established by executive order in 1941 to set prices for critical wartime commodities.

**war bond** Bond sold by the government to finance the war effort.

complaints at Roosevelt and the Democrats. Early military defeats in the Pacific added to the dissatisfaction. Consequently, many Americans who had once supported the New Deal voted Republican in 1942. Business-oriented publications like

*Fortune* and the *Wall Street Journal* sounded the attack on remaining New Deal social welfare agendas. Congress axed the CCC, WPA, and NYA and slashed the budgets of several other government agencies.

The Republicans nominated Governor Thomas Dewey of New York as their 1944 presidential candidate. Responding to the conservative tone of the nation, Roosevelt dropped the liberal Henry Wallace as vice president and selected the moderately conservative Harry S Truman from Missouri in his place. Roosevelt campaigned on a strong wartime economy, his record of leadership, and, by November 1944, a successful war effort. Dewey had little with which to attack Roosevelt except suggestions that Roosevelt, at age 62, was too old for the job. Roosevelt's winning totals, though not as large as in 1940, were still greater than pollsters had predicted.

## **A People at Work and War**

Within sixteen days of Pearl Harbor, nearly 600,000 men were in uniform. But still more were needed, and there were not enough volunteers. The United States conscripted over 10 million men during the war. Those drafted were required to serve until the war was over.

At home, the call-up and need to manufacture war-related goods changed everyday life. Cotton, silk, and gasoline became increasingly scarce. The War Production Board established fashion rules to conserve cotton and wool. Garment makers eliminated vests and shirt cuffs and narrowed the lapels on men's suits. The amount of fabric in women's skirts was also reduced. Families collected scrap metals, paper, and rubber to be recycled for the war effort and grew victory gardens. When people complained about shortages, more would challenge, "Don't you know there's a war on?"

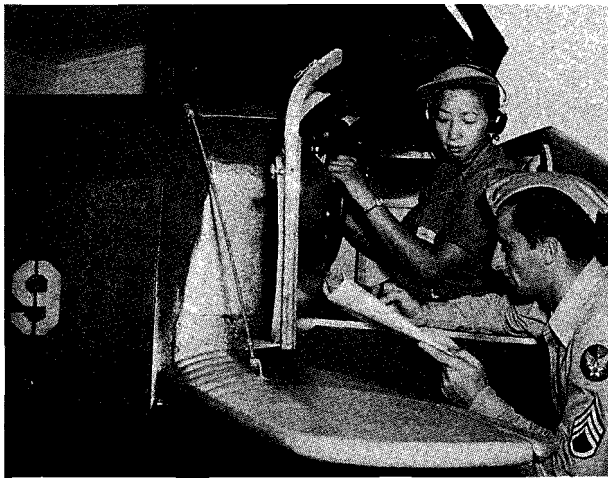
One sure sign that there was a war on was that people were moving and taking new jobs as neverbefore. Prior to the war, nearly 3.8 million Americans were unemployed; by the end of 1942, a severe labor shortage existed. To fill the gaps in the work force, employers increasingly turned to women and minorities. Even the Nisei were allowed to leave their relocation camps if their labor was needed. Between 1941 and 1945, 15 million Americans relocated to work in new jobs. Two hundred thousand people, many from the rural South, headed for Detroit, but more went west, where defense industries beckoned. Shipbuilding and the aircraft

industry sparked boomtowns that could not keep pace with the growing need for local services and facilities. San Diego, California, mushroomed into a major military and defense industrial city almost overnight. Nearly fifty-five thousand people flocked there each year of the war. Mobile, Alabama; Norfolk, Virginia; Seattle, Washington; and Denver, Colorado, experienced similar rapid growth (see chapter opener map).

Such cities experienced massive problems providing homes, water, electricity, and sanitation for all the newcomers. Crime flourished. Marriage, divorce, family violence, and juvenile delinquency rates soared. The flood of people brought other disturbing social problems. The twelve thousand sailors and soldiers looking for a good time gave Norfolk a reputation as a major sin city. Police estimated that between two thousand and three thousand prostitutes worked in its alleys, taxis, clubs, and restaurants.

## **New Opportunities and Old Constraints in Wartime**

As the wartime labor shortage deepened, employers turned to women and minorities to work the assembly lines. The federal government conducted an emotional campaign suggesting that women could shorten the war if they left the home and went to work. The image of Rosie the Riveter became the symbol of the patriotic woman doing her part. As more jobs opened, women did fill them—some because of patriotism, but most because they wanted the wages. Peggy Terry worked in a munitions plant and



◆ More than 350,000 women served in the military during the war, including Lieutenant Hazel Ying Lee, a Women's Airforce Service Pilot. WASPs flew "noncombat" missions, ferrying planes and supplies across the United States and Canada. Already an experienced pilot in China, Lieutenant Lee is seated here in the cockpit of a trainer. She died in 1943 when her plane crashed. *Texas Woman's University.*

considered it "an absolute miracle. . . . We made the fabulous sum of \$32 a week. . . . Before, we made nothing." By 1944, 37 percent of all adult women were working.

But not all was rosy at work. Male workers resented and harassed women. Employers and most men expected that when the war was over, women would happily return to their traditional roles at home. For women, the war experience was a mixed one. They became more aware of their potential and ability. But when the war was over, many were required to sacrifice their newly discovered potential for traditional American values that kept women less than equal.

Like the war experiences of women, those of minorities were mixed. New employment and social opportunities existed, but they were accompanied by increased racial and ethnic tensions. Initially, the war provided few opportunities for African Americans. Shipyards and other defense contractors wanted white workers. The antiblack bias began to change by mid-1942 as the labor shortage worsened. West Coast shipyards were the first to

integrate. Lockheed Aircraft then broke the color barrier in August. Word soon spread to the South that blacks could find work in California. Between the spring of 1942 and 1945, over 340,000 African Americans moved to Los Angeles alone.

The growing availability of jobs for African Americans was also the product of increased pressure on government from African-American leaders. In early 1941, A. Philip Randolph, leader of the powerful Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union, proposed that African Americans march en masse on Washington to demand equality in jobs and the armed forces. In June, fearing that over 100,000 African Americans would descend on Washington, Roosevelt signed a law that created the Federal Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) and forbade racial job discrimination by the government and companies holding government contracts. Black wages during the war rose from an annual average of \$457 to \$1,976.

Across the nation, blacks supported the "Double V" campaign: victory over racist Germany and victory over racism at home. Membership in the NAACP and Urban League increased as these organizations took bolder steps to attack segregation, lynching, and discrimination. In 1942, the newly formed **Congress of Racial Equality** (CORE) adopted the sit-in tactic to attempt to integrate public facilities and met with some minor successes. In 1944, the Supreme Court ruled in *Smith v. Allwright* that Texas could not use the "all-white primary" to deny African Americans the right to vote. This decision changed the law, but whites soon found other ways to keep blacks from the polls in Texas.

In the North, patterns of hostility, discrimination, and violence hardened as the population of

- A. Philip Randolph African-American labor leader who organized the 1941 march on Washington that pressured Roosevelt to issue an executive order banning discrimination in defense industries.
- Congress of Racial Equality Civil rights organization founded in 1942 and committed to using nonviolent techniques such as sit-ins to end segregation.

African Americans increased. White workers went on strike when three black workers were promoted, harping, "We'd rather see Hitler and Hirohito win than work beside a nigger on the assembly line." A violent confrontation in Detroit in June 1943 left twenty-five blacks and nine whites dead.

The opportunities and realities of African Americans in uniform matched those of black civilians. Prior to 1940, blacks served at the lowest ranks and in the most menial jobs in a segregated army and navy. The Army Air Corps and the Marine Corps refused to accept blacks at all. President Roosevelt had made no effort to integrate the military. Blacks and civil rights supporters, including Eleanor Roosevelt, lobbied hard for changes. In 1940, the army began to encourage the recruitment of black officers and promoted **Benjamin O. Davis** from colonel to general. By the beginning of 1942, the Army Air Corps had an all-black unit and eventually would commission six hundred African-Americans as pilots. In April 1942, Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal permitted black **noncommissioned** officers in the U.S. Navy.

Higher ranks for a few did not disguise the fact that for most blacks, military life was often demeaning. In Indiana, over a hundred black officers were arrested for trying to integrate the officers' club. In Salina, Kansas, German prisoners could eat at any local lunch counter, but their black guards could not.

Latinos, too, found new opportunities and continued frustrations during the war. Latinos rushed to enlist as the war started. More than 300,000 Latinos served—the highest percentage of any ethnic community. Unlike African Americans and most Nisei, Latinos served in integrated units and generally faced less discrimination in the military than in society.

For those remaining at home, there were more jobs available, but still most Latinos worked as common laborers and agricultural workers. A serious shortage of farm workers developed during the war. After having deported Mexicans during the Depression, the government had to ask Mexico to supply agricultural workers. Mexico agreed but insisted that the **braceros** (Spanish for "helping arms") receive fair wages and adequate housing, transportation, food, and medical care. In practice,

ranchers and farmers commonly paid low wages and provided barely livable facilities.

American Indians eagerly supported the war effort, realizing that it offered both individual and tribal opportunities. At least twenty-five thousand Indians served in the military. Among the most famous were three hundred Navajos who served as **code talkers** for the Marine Corps, using their native language as a secure means of communication. American Indians, unlike other minorities, met with little discrimination in the military. For most, military life and wages compared favorably to reservation life. During the war, jobs and higher wages lured over forty thousand American Indians away from their reservations. Mostly unskilled, these wartime workers boosted their families' average income from \$400 a month in 1941 to \$1,200 in 1945. Many who left the reservation assimilated into American culture and never returned to the old patterns of life.

## Waging World

### War

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor convinced most Americans that defeating Japan should be the country's first priority. To Churchill's relief, Roosevelt still considered victory in Europe more important, regarding Hitler as the more dangerous enemy. In late April 1942, Soviet foreign minister V. M. Molotov arrived in Washington to confirm Roosevelt's commitment to the Europe-first strat-

**Benjamin O. Davis** Army officer who, in 1940, became the first black general in the U.S. Army.

**noncommissioned officer** Enlisted member of the armed forces, such as a corporal or sergeant, who has been promoted to a rank conferring leadership over others.

**braceros** Mexican nationals who worked on U.S. farms beginning in 1942 because of the labor shortage during World War II.

**code talkers** Navajo Indians serving in the U.S. Marines who communicated by radio in their native language so that the enemy could not interpret messages.



egy. Further, Molotov asked for a second front in Western Europe to relieve pressure on the Soviet Union. Roosevelt promised a second front sometime in 1942. His commitment to the European theater of operations cemented the Grand Alliance between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to defeat Hitler.

The British, however, vigorously opposed an invasion across the English Channel in 1942, claiming it was too risky. Instead, the British proposed an Allied landing in western North Africa. This would be a safer venture that would also help the British army fighting in western Egypt. Roosevelt agreed to the plan. General Dwight David Eisenhower was selected to command American forces in North Africa and Europe.

As planning began for the invasion of North Africa in 1942, the course of the war seemed to darken for the Allies. German forces under General Erwin Rommel were advancing toward Egypt and the Suez Canal. A renewed German offensive was penetrating deeper into the Soviet Union. In the Atlantic, German U-boats were sinking ships at an appalling rate. In the Pacific, Japanese successes continued. In May, commanding general Douglas MacArthur fled by sea as the last American forces in the Philippines surrendered. Japanese forces also captured Singapore and the Dutch East Indies and were establishing bases on New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (see Map 26.2).

### Halting the Japanese Advance

The first major American action in the Pacific occurred on May 7, 1942, at the **Battle of the Coral Sea** (see Map 26.3). "Magic," the code name for deciphering Japanese codes, had alerted American forces that Japan was preparing to invade Port Moresby, New Guinea, a step that would threaten Australia. The aircraft carriers *Lexington* and *Yorktown* intercepted the invasion fleet, and in the air-to-ship battle that followed, they turned back the invasion fleet despite the loss of the *Lexington*.

American aircraft carriers also foiled Admiral Yamamoto's plan to seize Midway **Island**. Again alerted by Magic, the carriers *Hornet*, *Enterprise*, and *Yorktown* lay in wait northeast of Midway (see

Map 26.3). The engagement on June 4, 1942, changed the course of the war in the Pacific. Thirty-seven American dive-bombers surprised the Japanese carriers in the middle of rearming and refueling their planes. Four Japanese carriers went down. Although the *Yorktown* sank as well, the air superiority of the Japanese had been destroyed. Hundreds of superb Japanese pilots had perished. The United States, with its greater industrial and population base, now held the upper hand. It was able to launch fourteen new aircraft carriers between 1942 and 1945, whereas Japan launched only six.

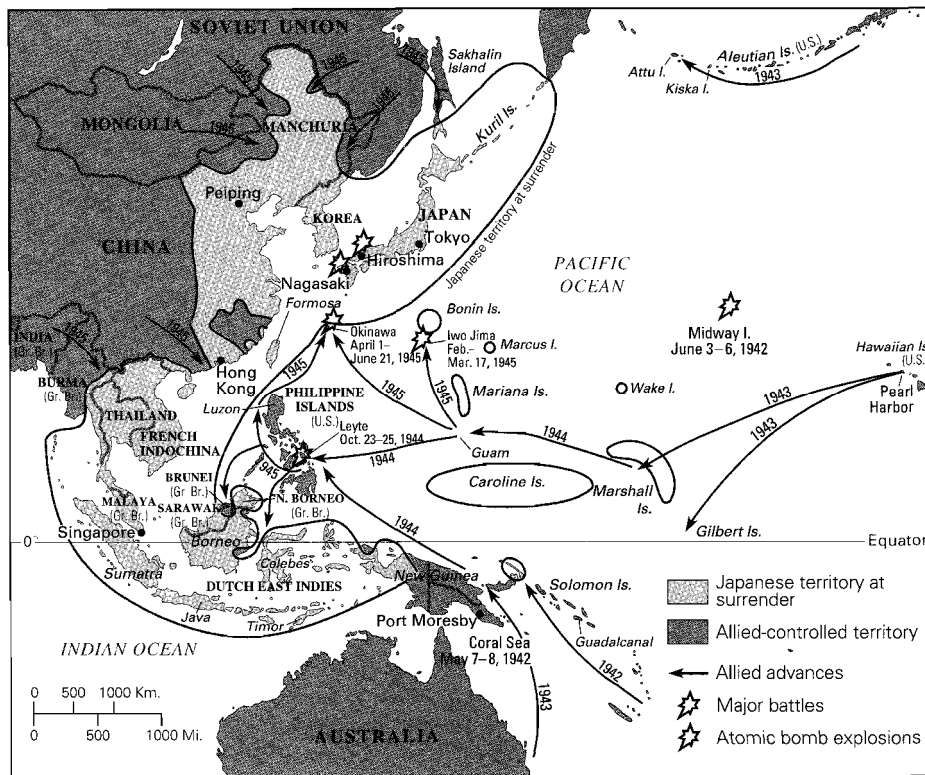
With the victories at the Coral Sea and Midway, the next step was to begin retaking lost territory. General MacArthur and the army were given the task of leading an offensive toward the Philippines from the south. The navy, under the direction of Admiral Chester Nimitz, would seize selected islands and atolls and approach the Philippines from the east. Eventually, both forces would join for the final attack on Japan. On August 7, 1942, soldiers of the 1st Marine Division waded ashore on Guadalcanal **Island** in the Solomons. Japan furiously defended the island. Fierce fighting dragged on for the next six months, but in early February 1943, Japan withdrew its last troops from Guadalcanal. By early 1943, American and Australian forces were also

Dwight David Eisenhower Supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe during World War II who planned the D-day invasion; he later became president of the United States.

Battle of the Coral Sea Major U.S. victory in the Pacific in May 1942, which prevented the Japanese from invading New Guinea and thus isolating Australia.

Midway Island Strategically located island in the Pacific that the Japanese navy tried to capture in June 1942; naval intelligence warned American forces of the Japanese plans, and they repulsed the attack.

Guadalcanal Island Pacific island that was the site of the first major U.S. offensive action in the Pacific. In November 1942, U.S. troops finally secured the island from the Japanese.



◆ **MAP 26.3 Closing the Circle on Japan, 1942-1945** Following the Battle of Midway, with the invasion of Guadalcanal (August 1942), American forces began the costly process of island hopping. This map shows the paths of the American campaign in the Pacific, closing the circle on Japan. After the Soviet Union entered the war and Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed by atomic bombs, Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945.

driving Japanese forces out of southeastern New Guinea.

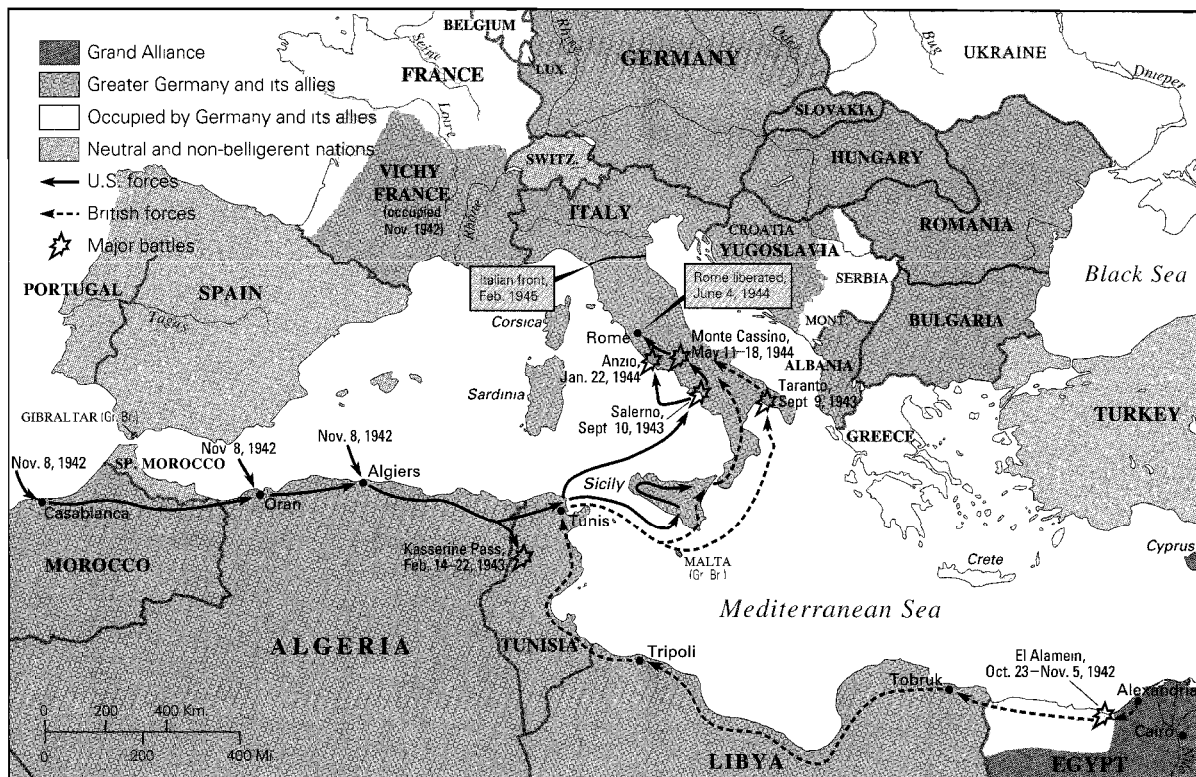
### The Tide Turns in Europe

In Europe, too, the Allies began to meet with some success. By late 1942, British and American forces were closing in on Rommel's Afrika Corps (see Map 26.4). After halting Rommel's advance at El Alamein, a British offensive led by General Bernard Montgomery drove the German "Desert Fox" westward out of Egypt toward Tunisia. To the west, British and American forces landed in Morocco and Algeria. American forces under General

**George S. Patton** overcame stiff resistance to link up with Montgomery. Caught between two Allied armies, the last German forces in North Africa surrendered on May 13, 1943.

German losses in North Africa were light compared to those in Russia. Although Soviet forces had stopped the German advance short of Moscow dur-

**George S. Patton** American general who commanded troops in North Africa, Sicily, and Europe in World War II and who was known as a brilliant tactician.



◆ **MAP 26.4 The North African and Italian Campaigns** Having rejected a cross-channel attack on Hitler's "Atlantic Wall," British and American forces in 1942 and 1943 invaded North Africa and Italy, where victory seemed more assured. This map shows the British and American advances across North Africa and the invasions of Sicily and Italy. German forces fought stubbornly in Italy, slowing Allied advances up the peninsula.

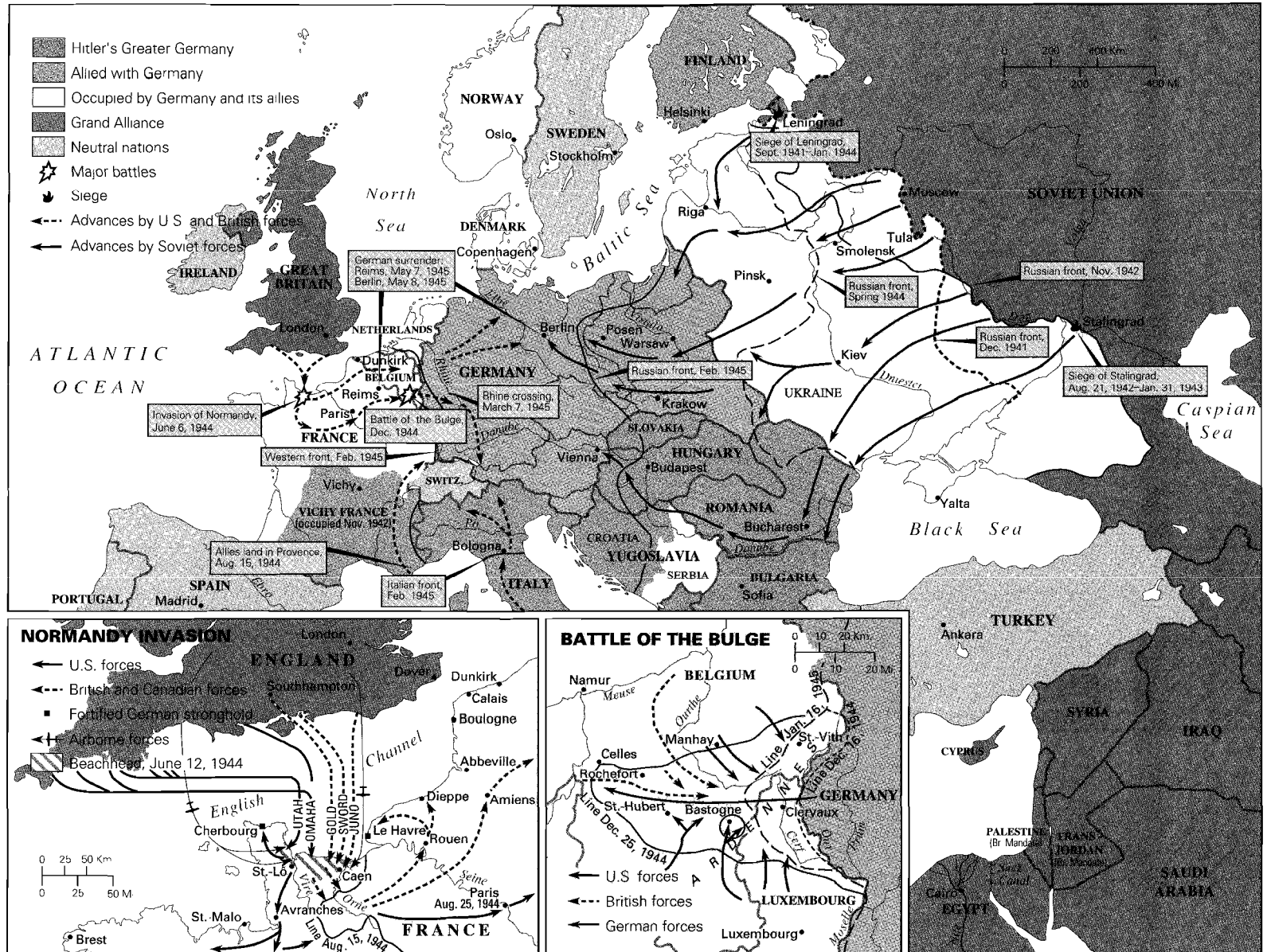
ing the winter of 1941-1942, Germany's 1942 summer offensive had made dramatic gains, especially in southern Russia. But Stalingrad stood in the way of further advances. Bitter fighting quickly reduced the city to rubble, but the Soviets stood fast.

From August through November, the German 6th Army fought to take the city; after November, it fought to survive. On February 2, 1943, the German 6th Army surrendered, having lost over 140,000 men. The number of Soviet losses was probably just as large, but the tide of the war had turned in Europe (see Map 26.5).

In February 1943, however, Stalin knew only that the **Battle of Stalingrad** had cost the Russians dearly. To ease the pressure on his forces, the So

viet leader again demanded that the Allies open up a second front in Europe. Again, he would be disappointed. Churchill had already met with Roosevelt at Casablanca in January 1943 and convinced him to invade Sicily and Italy, which

**Battle of Stalingrad** Battle over the Soviet city of Stalingrad, which was besieged by the German army in 1942 and recaptured by Soviet troops in 1943.  
**Sicily** Large island in the Mediterranean west of Italy, which the Allies conquered in July 1943 as a first step to invading Italy.



◆ **MAP 26.5** The Fall of the Third Reich In 1943 and 1944, the war turned in favor of the Allies. On the eastern front, Soviet forces drove German forces back toward Germany. On June 6, 1944, D-day, British, Canadian, and American forces landed on the coast of Normandy to begin the liberation of France. This map shows the course of the Allied armies as they fought their way toward Berlin. On May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered.

Churchill called the "soft underbelly of the Axis." To placate Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill promised an increased flow of supplies and promised they would make no separate peace with Hitler.

The invasion of Sicily—Operation Husky—took place in early July 1943. In a month, the Allies controlled the island (see Map 26.4). In response, the Italians overthrew Mussolini, installed a new government, and changed sides in the war. Italy surrendered unconditionally on September 8, just hours before American troops landed at Salerno. Immediately, German forces assumed the defense of Italy. German troops also freed Mussolini, taking the Italian dictator to German-controlled northern Italy, where they proclaimed him ruler of Italy. The "soft underbelly" turned out to be far from soft. Strong German defenses halted the American advance just north of Salerno. Not until late May 1944 did Allied forces finally break through the German defenses. On June 4, U.S. General Mark Clark's forces entered Rome.

Two days later, the world's attention turned toward Normandy along the west coast of France. The second front demanded by Stalin had at long last begun (see Map 26.5).

Approval for the cross-channel attack had come at the Tehran **Conference** (November 27-December 1, 1943). In the Iranian capital, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin to discuss strategy and to consider a postwar settlement. Roosevelt wanted to establish Soviet support for a new world organization and to obtain a Soviet commitment to declare war against Japan. The three agreed on plans to coordinate a Soviet offensive with the Allied landings at Normandy, and Stalin pledged he would declare war on Japan once the European war was over.

The invasion of Normandy, **Operation Overlord**, was the grandest amphibious assault ever assembled: 6,483 ships, 1,500 tanks, and 176,000 men. Opposing the Allies were thousands of German troops behind the Atlantic Wall they had constructed to stop such an invasion. On **D-day**, June 6, 1944, American forces landed on Utah and Omaha beaches, while British and Canadian forces hit Sword, Gold, and Juno beaches (see

Map 26.5). At the landing sites, German resistance varied. The fiercest fighting was at Omaha Beach. By nightfall, all five beaches were secure. After a week, the five beachheads were finally linked, and British and American forces coiled to break through the German positions blocking the road to the rest of France. On July 25, American forces under General Omar Bradley pierced the stubbornly held German defensive lines at St.-Lô and rumbled toward Paris and the German border. The Allies liberated Paris on August 23, and by early November they had taken Aachen on the west side of the Rhine River, the first German city to fall. From November to March, American forces consolidated and regrouped for the final assault on Germany across the Rhine (see Map 26.5).

While the British and Americans advanced across France, Allied bombers were bombing German-held Europe night and day. German cities and civilians were not spared. In one of the worst raids, during the night of February 13-14, 1945, British and American bombers set **Dresden** aflame, creating a firestorm that killed over 135,000 civilians. Nearly 600,000 German civilians would die in Allied air raids.

### **Stresses Within the Grand Alliance**

As Allied forces moved eastward toward the Rhine, the Soviets advanced rapidly westward,

**Tehran Conference** Meeting in Iran in 1943 at which Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin discussed the invasion of Western Europe and plans for a new international organization.

**Operation Overload** Code name for Allied invasion of France.

**D-day** Allied invasion of Europe on June 6, 1944, which was carried out by transporting tanks and soldiers from England across the channel to Normandy; *D-day* is short for "designated day."

**Dresden** Industrial city in eastern Germany, which was almost totally destroyed when it was firebombed by the Allies in 1945.

pushing the last German troops from Russia by the end of June 1944. Behind Germany's retreating eastern armies, the Soviets occupied parts of Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Following the Red Army came Soviet officials and Eastern European Communists who had lived in exile in the Soviet Union during the war. The Soviet goal was to establish new Eastern European governments that would be friendly to the Soviet Union. A Communist Lublin government (named after the town where the government was installed) was established in Poland, while in Romania and Bulgaria, "popular front" governments, heavily influenced by Communists, took command. Only Czechoslovakia and Hungary managed to establish non-Communist governments as the German occupation collapsed. Britain and the United States eyed the political changes in Eastern Europe with suspicion.

On February 4, 1945, the Big Three met at the Black Sea resort of Yalta amid growing apprehension about Soviet territorial goals in Eastern Europe. Roosevelt hoped to secure a Soviet declaration of war on Japan and support for the new United Nations. He believed that both were necessary to usher in peace and international stability. He also wanted the Soviets to modify their control over Eastern Europe. Stalin's diplomatic goals were Western acceptance of a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, the weakening of Germany, the economic restoration of the Soviet Union, and reassurances that any postwar international system would be based on Big Three cooperation.

Roosevelt and Stalin concurred on Germany. To prevent Germany from ever again posing a military threat to its neighbors, they desired to divide their enemy into smaller, weaker states. Churchill disagreed, saying that the dismemberment of Germany would be too harsh. Unable to agree on the future of Germany, the Big Three postponed further discussions until their next meeting.

The question of which Polish government represented Poland, however, could not be put off. The Soviet Union supported the Lublin government as the only legitimate one. Roosevelt and Churchill, however, hoped to establish a Polish government

on the basis of free and honest elections. Their goal matched the ideals of the Atlantic Charter but not the geopolitics of the Soviet Union. Stalin argued that Soviet security demanded a friendly government in Poland. The powers agreed on a very ambiguous compromise that called for non-Communist participation in the Polish government but that provided no means of enforcement. On the related issue of Soviet influence throughout Eastern Europe, Roosevelt fared little better. The Yalta Conference left control over Eastern Europe firmly in Soviet hands. Roosevelt did accomplish his two major goals: Stalin promised to enter the war against Japan within three months of Germany's surrender and to support the formation of the United Nations.

Believing that there could be no postwar stability and security without Soviet cooperation, Roosevelt permitted Stalin to keep what he already had or could easily take. Short of ending friendly relations with the Soviet Union, Roosevelt had no means to reduce Soviet power in Eastern Europe. Roosevelt hoped that his good will would encourage Stalin to respond in kind. Both Stalin and Roosevelt were buoyed by the "spirit of Yalta." Only Churchill, who distrusted Stalin, left Yalta in a gloomy mood.

### **Hitler's Defeat**

With his forces crumbling in the east, Hitler approved a last-ditch attempt to halt the American advance. Taking advantage of bad weather that

Yalta Site in the Crimea of the last meeting, in February 1945, between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin; they discussed the final defeat of the Axis Powers and the problems of postwar occupation.

**United Nations** International organization established in 1945 to maintain peace among nations and foster cooperation in human rights, education, health, welfare, and trade.

**geopolitics** Government policy based on the influence of geographic and political factors on national interests.



- ◆ Hitler ordered the "Final Solution"—the extermination of Europe's Jews—soon after the United States entered the war. In this picture, German troops arrest residents of the Warsaw ghetto for deportation to concentration camps. Few would survive the camps, where over 6 million Jews died. *YNO Institute for Jewish Research.*

grounded Allied aircraft, German forces launched an attack in December 1944 through the Ardennes Forest, pushing back the Americans. It was a desperate gamble that failed. The **Battle of the Bulge** delayed Eisenhower's westward assault only briefly and cost Germany valuable reserves and equipment (see Map 26.5). Ultimately, it merely hastened the end of the war. The war was also winding down in Italy. By the end of 1944, British and American forces had taken most of northern Italy. When German armies began to surrender in April 1945, Italian partisans captured Mussolini and hanged him.

On March 7, 1945, American forces crossed the Rhine at Remagen and began to battle their way into the heart of Germany. In Berlin, Hitler and the German High Command waited for the end. American and British troops were moving steadily eastward toward Berlin, while Soviet forces were dangerously close to Berlin's eastern suburbs. Unwilling to be captured, Hitler committed suicide on April 30 and had aides burn his body. Berlin fell to the Soviets two days later. On May 8, 1945, German officials surrendered. The war in Europe was over.

Although Roosevelt had worked since 1939 to ensure Hitler's defeat, he did not live to see it. On April 12, 1945, he died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage at Warm Springs, Georgia. Nor did Roosevelt live to know the full horror of what came to be called the **Holocaust**. No horror could match what advancing Allied armies found as they fought their way toward Berlin. In 1941, the Nazi political leadership had adopted the Final **Solution** to rid Europe of Jews. In concentration camps,

**Battle of the Bulge** Battle in December 1944 that was the last major Axis counteroffensive against the Allied invasion of Europe; German troops gained territory in France but were eventually driven back.

**Holocaust** Genocide of European Jews systematically carried out by the Nazis during World War II.

**Final Solution** German plan to destroy the Jews by isolating them in concentration camps and committing mass executions; by the end of the war, the Nazis had killed 6 million Jews.

Jews, along with homosexuals, Gypsies, and the mentally ill, were brutalized, starved, worked as slave labor, and systematically exterminated. At Auschwitz, the Nazis used gas chambers to execute twelve thousand victims a day. When the camps and their remaining inmates were liberated in 1945, 6 million Jews had been slaughtered, nearly two-thirds of prewar Europe's Jewish population.

## **Closing the Circle on Japan**

Victory in Europe—V-E Day—touched off parades and rejoicing in the United States, but Japan still had to be defeated. Japan's strategy was to force the United States to invade a seemingly endless number of Pacific islands before it could attack Japan. The Japanese hoped that pressure would build in the United States for a negotiated settlement. The strategy was based on wrong assumptions. After Pearl Harbor, few Americans would accept anything less than the total defeat of Japan. Equally important, the American military realized that it had to seize only the most strategic islands. With carriers providing air superiority, the Americans could bypass and isolate many Japanese-held islands.

Throughout 1943, General MacArthur advanced up the northern coast of New Guinea, while the navy and marines fought their way through the Solomon Islands. By mid-1944, MacArthur was ready to fulfill his promise to return to the Philippines. At the same time, far to the northeast, the U.S. Navy and the Marine Corps were establishing a foothold in the Gilbert Islands (see Map 26.3).

Next, Admiral Nimitz prepared to take Guam and Saipan in the Mariana Islands. The Japanese rushed a fleet with nine carriers to halt the American invasion of Saipan. Warned of their approach, Admiral Marc Mitscher turned his fifteen carriers to intercept. When the "Great Marianas' Turkey Shoot" ended on June 20, 243 of 373 Japanese planes had been shot down and 3 Japanese carriers had been sunk. All of Saipan's Japanese defenders, including 22,000 Japanese civilians, committed suicide rather than surrender.

By July 1944, the southern and eastern approaches to the Philippines were in American

hands. From airfields on Tinian, Saipan, and Guam, long-range B-29 bombers began devastating raids against Japan. In October, American forces landed on Leyte in the center of the Philippine archipelago. Again, the Japanese navy acted to halt the invasion. In the largest naval battle in history, the **Battle of Leyte Gulf** (October 23-25, 1944), American naval forces shattered what remained of Japanese air and sea power. On October 23, General MacArthur returned to the Philippines.

After the Battle of Leyte Gulf, the full brunt of the American Pacific offensive bore down on Okinawa and Iwo Jima in the Ryukyu Islands, only 750 miles from Tokyo. To defend the islands, Japan resorted to kamikaze, or suicide, attacks in explosive-laden airplanes. The American assault on Iwo Jima began on February 19, 1945. Iwo Jima was the worst experience faced by U.S. Marines in the war. Virtually all of the 21,000 Japanese defenders died, and American losses approached one-third of the landing force: 6,821 dead and 20,000 wounded. The battle for Okinawa, begun on April 1, proved even costlier. By the end of June, Okinawa was in American hands, but at a fearful price: 12,000 Americans, 110,000 Japanese soldiers, and 160,000 Okinawan and Japanese civilians dead.

## **Entering the Nuclear Age**

Okinawa proved a painful warning for those planning the invasion of Japan. Fighting for their homeland, the Japanese could be expected to resist until death. American casualties would be extremely high, perhaps as many as a million. But by the summer of 1945, the United States had a new and untried weapon: the atomic bomb. The

V-E Day Official end of the war in Europe on May 8, 1945, following the unconditional surrender of the German armies.

Battle of Leyte Gulf Largest naval battle in history, which occurred in the Philippines in October 1944 as American naval forces crushed Japanese air and sea power.



**A-bomb** was the product of the **Manhattan Project**, which British and American scientists had been working on since 1942. When the bomb was tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945, the results were spectacular.

President Harry S Truman decided to use the bomb as quickly as possible against Japan. Using the atomic bomb, Truman hoped, would force Japan to surrender without an invasion and perhaps make the Soviets more amenable to American views. Soon after his arrival at Potsdam to meet with Churchill and Stalin in July, Truman informed Stalin that the United States had a new and powerful weapon to use against Japan. The **Potsdam Declaration**, called on Japan to surrender by August or face total destruction.

On July 25, Truman ordered the use of the atomic bombs as soon after August 3 as possible if the Japanese did not surrender. Moral reasons for not using the bomb were not seriously considered. Massive American bombing raids against Japanese cities already had killed tens of thousands of Japanese civilians. The losses at Iwo Jima and Okinawa, along with growing distrust of Stalin, had only strengthened Truman's desire to end the war as quickly as possible.

The first bomb, "Little Boy," was dropped from a B-29 bomber named the *Enola Gay* over **Hiroshima** at 9:15 A.M. on August 6. The atomic blast killed or terribly maimed almost a hundred thousand Japanese. Another hundred thousand would eventually die from radiation. The United States announced that unless the Japanese surrendered immediately, they could "expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth."

In Tokyo, peace advocates in the Japanese government sought to use the Soviets as an intermediary. But the Soviet response was to declare war on August 8, exactly as promised, three months after V-E day. On August 9, a second atomic bomb, "Fat Man," destroyed **Nagasaki** and killed nearly sixty thousand people. Emperor Hirohito decided that Japan must "bear the unbearable" and surrender. On August 14, Japan officially surrendered.

World War II was over, but much of the world now lay in ruins. Some 50 million people, military and civilian, had been killed (see Table 26.1). The



- ◆ On August 6, 1945, the world entered the atomic age when the city of Hiroshima was destroyed by an atomic bomb. "We had seen the city when we went in," said the pilot of the *Enola Gay*, "and there was nothing to see when we came back." The city and most of its people died. *National Archives*.

United States was spared most of the destruction. It had suffered almost no civilian casualties, and its cities and industrial centers stood intact. In many ways, the war had been good to the United

**A-bomb** The first nuclear weapon, which used a chain reaction involving uranium and plutonium to create an explosion of enormous destructive force.

**Manhattan Project** Scientific research effort to develop an atomic bomb begun in 1942 and carried on in a secret community of scientists and workers near Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

**Potsdam Declaration** The demand for Japan's unconditional surrender, made after the July 1945 Potsdam Conference attended by Truman, Churchill, Clement Attlee (who replaced Churchill as British Prime Minister just before the meeting) and Stalin.

**Hiroshima** Japanese city that became the target on August 6, 1945, of the first atomic bomb used in World War II.

**Nagasaki** City in western Japan devastated on August 9, 1945, by the second atomic bomb used in World War II.

**TABLE 26.1 War Dead**

Country	Dead
Soviet Union	13.5 million
China	7.4 million
Poland	6.0 million
Germany	4.6 million
Japan	1.2 million
Britain and Commonwealth	430,000
United States	405,000

States. It had decisively ended the Depression. Government regulation and planning took root during the war. And as the war ended, only a few wanted a return to the laissez-faire style government that had characterized the 1920s. Big government was here to stay, and at the center of big government was a powerful presidency ready to direct and guide the nation.

### SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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At the start of his presidency, Franklin Roosevelt *chose* to promote better relations with Latin America and succeeded. But elsewhere, the international situation grew steadily worse. Japan seized Manchuria in 1931 and invaded China in 1937, while Mussolini and Hitler were seeking to expand their nations' power and territory. In the lengthening shadow of world conflict, the majority of Americans still *chose* isolationism. Wanting to take a more active role in world affairs, Roosevelt found himself *constrained* by isolationist sentiment and by his own *choice* to fight the Depression at home first. Even as Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, the majority of Americans were still anxious to remain outside the conflict. Roosevelt, however, was determined to provide all necessary aid to those nations fighting Germany and Italy.

Roosevelt also *chose* to increase economic and diplomatic pressure on Japan to halt its conquest of China and its occupation of Indochina. But the pressure only convinced the Japanese government that the best *choice* was to attack the United States before it grew in strength. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, brought a fully committed American public and government into World War II.

Mobilizing the nation for war ended the Depression and increased government intervention in the economy. Another *outcome* of the war was a range of new *choices* for women and minorities in the military and the workplace. For Japanese Americans, however, the *outcome* was internment and the loss of property.

American planners *chose* to give first priority to defeating Hitler. The British and American offensive to recover Europe began in North Africa and expanded to Italy in 1943 and to France in 1944. By the beginning of 1945, Allied armies were threatening Nazi Germany from the west and the east, and on May 8, 1945, Germany surrendered. In the Pacific, the victory at Midway in 1942 gave American forces naval and air superiority over Japan and allowed them to begin tightening the noose around Japan. Worried about casualties if America had to invade Japan, Truman *chose* to use the atomic bomb. The *outcome* of the war was that the United States became economically and militarily stronger than when the war started. Confident Americans *expected* the postwar years to begin "America's Century."

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### SUGGESTED READINGS

Blum, John Morton. *V Was for Victory* (1976).

A good introduction to society and politics during the war.

Dallek, Robert. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (1979).

An excellent, balanced study of Roosevelt's foreign policy.

Daniels, Roger. *Concentration Camps, USA* (1971).

An in-depth and compassionate look at the internment of Japanese Americans.

Gluck, Sherna B. *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* (1987).

An important work examining the changes that took place among women in society during the war.

Jonas, Manfred. *Isolationism in America* (1966).

A solid examination of the varieties of isolationist attitudes in the United States, especially in the 1930s.

Keegan, John. *The Second World War* (1990).

An excellent work that summarizes the military and diplomatic aspects of World War II.

Spector, Ronald. *Eagle Against the Sun* (1988).

One of the best-written general accounts of the war in the Pacific.

Wyman, David. *The Abandonment of the Jews* (1985).

A balanced account of the Holocaust.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb

### The Context

On August 6, 1945, at 8:15 A.M., the *Enola Gay* dropped the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. More than 100,000 people died and another 100,000 were injured. Three days later, the United States exploded a second atomic bomb over Nagasaki, killing about 60,000 Japanese. On August 14, Japan surrendered. Within the United States, there was widespread rejoicing—the bomb had ended the war. Many also realized that the development of the atomic bomb and the decision to use it heralded a new age: the atomic era. The bomb was not just a powerful weapon but also a revolutionary development with far-ranging military, ethical, international, and scientific consequences. (For further information on the context, see pages 588-590.)

### The Historical Question

Since the detonation of the atomic bomb, historians and others have asked if the choice to destroy the cities was necessary. Did military expediency necessitate dropping the bomb? What other expectations did those involved in building and deciding to use "the gadget" have? Did they consider moral and other aspects of their decision?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions. What did **those involved in planning the use of the atomic bomb** consider, and what goals lay behind the final decision?

### The Sources

1 Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson was directly involved in planning the use of the atomic bomb. In an article for *Harper's* in 1947, he explained the military-based decision to use the new weapon. He wrote:

*To extract a genuine surrender from the Emperor and his military advisers, they must be administered a tremendous shock which would carry convincing proof of our power to destroy the Empire. Such an effective shock would save many times the number of lives, both American and Japanese, than it would cost. . . . We estimated . . . that such an operation might cost over a million casualties to American forces . . . . Enemy casualties would be much larger than our own.*

and July to consider the use of the bomb. In June 1945, the Franck Committee reported:

*The military advantages and the saving of American lives, achieved by the sudden use of the atomic bombs against Japan, may be outweighed by the ensuing loss of confidence and wave of horror and repulsion sweeping over the rest of the world, and perhaps dividing even public opinion at home.*

*. . . If we consider international agreement on total prevention of nuclear warfare as the paramount objective . . . this kind of introduction of atomic weapons to the world may easily destroy all*

2 A committee of scientists involved in building the atomic bomb met throughout May, June,

*our chances of success. Russia, and even allied countries which bear less mistrust of our ways and intentions, as well as neutral countries, will be deeply shocked. It will be very difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing [such] a weapon . . . is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished by international agreement.*

**3** Most of the planning to use the atomic bomb was delegated to a special Interim Committee approved by President Harry Truman shortly after he assumed office. It was chaired by Secretary of War Stimson and was composed of three scientists, representatives of the State of War departments, and a special representative of the president. Except for Stimson, none of the committee members knew about the military plans for the invasion of Japan. Another group within the committee also considered which cities made suitable targets for atomic weapons. In May 1945, the committee reported:

*We should not give the Japanese any warning. . . . We should seek to make a profound psychological impression on as many of the inhabitants as possible . . . The most desirable target would be a vital war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses.*

*Hiroshima—This is an important army depot and port . . . in the middle of an urban industrial area. It is a good . . . target and it is such a size that a large part of the city could be extensively damaged . . . Adjacent hills . . . are likely to produce a focusing effect which would considerably increase the blast damage.*

**4** President Truman told Secretary of War

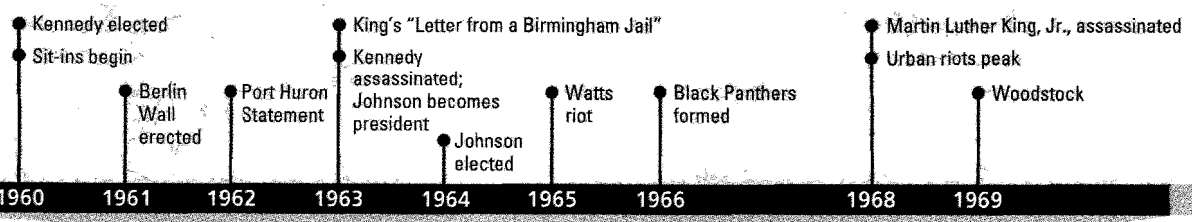
Stimson to move ahead with the plans to drop the atomic bomb. On July 26, 1945, the United States demanded Japan's unconditional surrender and warned that Japan would face total destruction if surrender did not come. Recounting his thoughts on using the bomb, Truman wrote in his diary on July 18, 1945:

*This weapon is to be used against Japan between now and August 10th. I have told the Sec. of War, Mr. Stimson, to use it so that military objectives and soldiers and sailors are the target and not women and children. Even if the Japs are savages, ruthless, merciless and fanatic, we as the leader of the world for the common welfare cannot drop that terrible bomb on the old capital or the new.*

*. . . We will issue a warning statement asking the Japs to surrender and save lives. I'm sure they will not do that, but we will have given them the chance. It is certainly a good thing for the world that Hitler's crowd or Stalin's did not discover this atomic bomb. It seems to be the most terrible thing ever discovered, but it can be made the most useful.*



**THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, 1960-1968** In the mid-1950s, African Americans chose to confront the system of prejudice and segregation that existed across the United States. This map shows the national scope of the civil rights movement from 1960 to 1968.



## CHAPTER 29

# Great Promises, Bitter

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## Disappointments, 1960-1968

### **Kennedy and the New Frontier**

• What expectations did John Kennedy and his advisers have, and how did those expectations run into constraints?

- How did Kennedy's civil rights choices differ from Eisenhower's?
- How did civil rights activists choose to confront those resisting integration in the South?

### **Flexible Response**

- What expectations shaped Kennedy's choices in foreign policy?
  - What were some of the outcomes of Kennedy's concerns and interests in the Third World?
-



### **Beyond the New Frontier**

- How did Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program expand on the expectations of the New Deal?
- How did Johnson choose to attack the constraints that African Americans and other minorities were facing?

### **New Agendas**

- What constraints influenced the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s? What was the outcome?
- What choices did the youth movement explore? How justified were young people's criticisms of traditional American society?

## ( INTRODUCTION )

John F. Kennedy symbolized a new beginning and promised a better society for all Americans. He energized the nation, raising *expectations*, especially among the poor and minorities, that he would press for solutions to end poverty and discrimination. But Kennedy faced political *constraints* from conservatives in Congress who objected to an expansion of liberal programs and civil rights legislation. As a result, during his three years in office, Kennedy achieved only some of his goals. He *chose* to delay civil rights legislation. The *outcome* was a domestic record of legislation that expanded on existing programs but did not chart new paths of social policy.

Kennedy also vowed to intensify the global struggle against communism. To defeat communism, he *chose* to fund both an arms race and a space race with the Soviet Union. Yet the *outcome* was not a safer and less divided world. The erection of the Berlin Wall, the Cuban missile crisis, and events in Vietnam symbolized heightened tensions.

Building on Kennedy's legacy, Lyndon Johnson *chose* to create the largest expansion of New Deal—style legislation since the Depression. Johnson's Great Society waged a war on poverty and discrimination, promoted education, and created a national system of healthcare for the aged and

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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poor. Johnson, too, faced *constraints*. Conservatives opposed the Great Society's social and political goals, and some moderates objected to its cost and the ineffectiveness of many programs. An expanding war in Vietnam also added *constraints* to Johnson's domestic program.

By 1968, growing social and political turmoil was contributing to the rejection of liberal policies. The optimistic *expectations* Kennedy had inspired were declining amid the divisions of American society. Within the civil rights movement, Black Power leaders *chose* confrontation over compromise. Urban riots and violence drove wedges between African-American leaders and some white supporters. The emergence of a youth-centered counterculture that *chose* to reject traditional social and moral values also worked to fragment American society. The *outcome* was that a decade that began with great optimism ended with diminished *expectations* of what the federal government could accomplish.

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### Ken neddy and the New Frontier

Republicans had every reason to worry as the 1960 presidential campaign neared. The last years of the 1950s had not been kind to the Republican party. The Cold War seethed to be going badly as the Soviets downed an American spy plane over the Soviet Union, launched *Sputnik* into space, and supported Castro in Cuba. Domestically, there seemed little or no direction from the White House. The Democrats had gained control of Congress in 1958. The economy also had lapsed into a recession.

On the Democratic side loomed John Fitzgerald Kennedy, a youthful, vigorous senator from Massachusetts. Kennedy, a Harvard graduate, came from a wealthy Catholic family. Some worried

**counterculture** A culture with values or lifestyles in opposition to those of the established culture.

**John Fitzgerald Kennedy** Massachusetts senator who was elected president in 1960, established the Peace Corps, and forced Khrushchev to remove Soviet missiles from Cuba; he was assassinated in 1963.

## New Frontiers

- 1960 Kennedy elected president Sit-ins begin  
*Boynton v. Virginia*
- 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion  
Alliance for Progress  
Peace Corps formed  
Berlin Wall erected  
Vienna Summit  
Freedom rides begin  
SNCC formed
- 1962 Cuban missile crisis  
James Meredith enrolls at the University of Mississippi  
SOS's Port Huron Statement
- 1963 Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"  
Limited Test Ban Treaty  
*Gideon v. Wainwright*  
March on Washington  
Ngo Dinh Diem assassinated  
Kennedy assassinated; Johnson becomes president
- 1964** Civil Rights Act  
Freedom Summer in Mississippi  
War on Poverty begins  
Johnson elected president  
*Escobedo v. Illinois*  
*Griswold v. Connecticut*  
Berkeley Free Speech Movement
- 1965 Malcolm X assassinated  
Watts riot  
Selma march  
Voting Rights Act  
Medicaid and Medicare established  
Elementary and Secondary Education Act
- 1966** Stokely Carmichael announces Black Power  
Black Panther party formed  
*Miranda v. Arizona*
- 1967 More than seventy-five major urban riots
- 1968 Martin Luther King, Jr., assassinated  
Urban riots in more than 125 cities  
Kerner Commission report

about his young age (43) and lack of experience, and others worried about his religion—no Catholic had ever been elected president. To lessen these possible liabilities, Kennedy had added the politically savvy Senate majority leader, **Lyndon Baines Johnson** of Texas, to the ticket, called for a new generation of leadership, and emphasized that those who were making religion an issue were bigots. He challenged the nation to enter a **New Frontier**, to improve the overall quality of life for all Americans, and to reinvigorate American foreign policy against communism.

Facing Kennedy was Eisenhower's vice president, Richard M. Nixon. Trying to distance himself from the image of Eisenhower's elderly leadership, Nixon promised a forceful, energetic presi-

dency and emphasized his executive experience and history of anticommunism. He, too, promised to improve the quality of life, support civil rights, and defeat international communism.

Politics entered a new era in 1960 when the two candidates agreed to hold televised debates. Nixon

**Lyndon Baines Johnson** Senate majority leader who became Kennedy's vice president in 1961 and president when Kennedy was assassinated in 1963. **New Frontier** Program for social and educational reform put forward by John F. Kennedy; though charismatically presented, it was resisted by Congress.

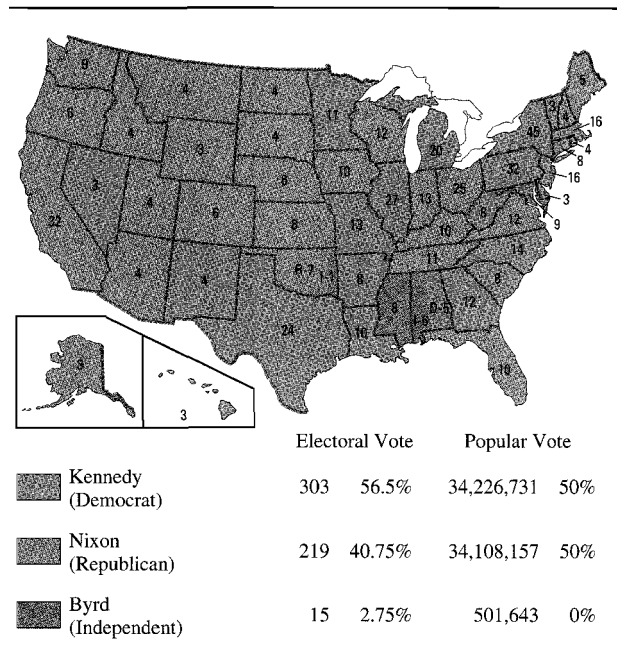
was proud of his debating skills and thought he could score many points against Kennedy. Kennedy recognized, however, that the candidate who appeared calmer and more knowledgeable would "win" the debate. Nixon made a poor impression before the camera. He appeared tired and haggard. He looked at Kennedy and not the camera when answering questions. Worst of all, he sweated. By contrast, Kennedy appeared fresh and confident. The differences in appearance were critical. The radio audience believed that Nixon won the debates, but to the 70 million television viewers, the winner was the self-assured and sweat-free Kennedy.

The televised debates helped Kennedy, but victory rested on his ability to hold the Democratic coalition together. The Texan Johnson used his political clout to keep the South largely loyal even as Kennedy blasted the lack of Republican leadership on civil rights. Kennedy scored the narrowest of victories. Nixon carried more states, 25 to 21, but Kennedy had a narrow margin over Nixon in popular votes and won the electoral count, 303 to 219 (see Map 29.1).

### The New Frontier

Kennedy's inaugural address fired the imagination of the nation. Speaking in idealistic terms, he promised to march against "the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself." He asked all Americans to participate, exhorting them to "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

Kennedy's staff and cabinet kept up the image of change and activism. Recruiting from businesses and universities, he appointed men and women whom one reporter dubbed the "best and the brightest." Rhodes scholars and Harvard professors descended on the White House. They included historian Arthur Schlesinger, economist John Kenneth Galbraith (both personal advisers), McGeorge Bundy (national security director), and Dean Rusk (secretary of state). Ford Motor Company's president, Robert McNamara, was tapped for secretary of defense. In a controversial move, Kennedy gave the position of attorney general to his younger brother Robert. John Kennedy praised his choices as men with the "know-how" to solve



◆ **MAP 29.1 Election of 1960** Although Richard Nixon won in more states than John F. Kennedy, Kennedy defeated his Republican opponent by a slim eighty-four electoral votes and fewer than nineteen thousand popular votes in the closest presidential election in the twentieth century.

problems. Not everyone was impressed. Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn remarked that he would "feel a whole lot better . . . if just one of them had run for sheriff once."

Kennedy was politically astute enough to recognize that the new Congress was likely to be an obstacle to substantial innovation. The Democrats lost twenty-two seats in the House in the 1960 elections. Although the Democrats still controlled both houses of Congress, Kennedy could not count on many conservative, southern Democrats to support the New Frontier. Therefore, he opted to push for a limited domestic agenda that included traditional Democratic proposals such as a higher minimum wage and increased Social Security benefits. He decided to delay civil rights and social legislation and instead concentrate on shaping foreign policy and improving the economy.

To spur economic recovery, Kennedy called for more government spending and business- and income-tax cuts. The defense budget was the first beneficiary, growing by almost 20 percent. Meanwhile, the economy rebounded from the "Eisenhower recession," as unemployment fell to 5 percent.

When liberals complained about the lack of civil rights legislation and new social programs, Kennedy pointed to the coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats. "There is no sense in raising hell and then not being successful," he observed. He promised a civil rights bill and programs to attack poverty in 1963 and 1964.

### **Civil Rights and the Kennedys**

During the campaign, Kennedy had promised "moral leadership" in support of civil rights, but once in office, he moved cautiously. He did appoint several blacks to high office and district courts, including Thurgood Marshall to the United States Circuit Court, but civil rights advocates were far from satisfied. They noted that some judicial appointments went to recognized segregationists, including Harold Cox of Mississippi, who had once referred to African Americans as "niggers" and "chimpanzees" in court. Kennedy did not ban segregation in federal housing until November 1962.

Civil rights activists were resolved, nevertheless, to force an end to segregation. Even as Kennedy assumed office, a new wave of black activism was striking at segregation in the South. The sit-in movement began when four freshmen at North Carolina A&T in Greensboro, decided to integrate the public lunch counter at the local Woolworth's store. On February 1, 1960, they entered the store, sat down at the counter, and ordered a meal. A black waitress told them she could not serve them, but still they sat and waited for service. No one tried to remove or arrest them. When the store closed, they were still unserved. They returned to campus as heroes. The next day, twenty A&T students sat at the lunch counter demanding service. By the end of the week, similar sit-ins had spread throughout the South.

In April 1961, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC**, pronounced "snick") was formed to coordinate the increasing number of

sit-ins and boycotts of stores, recreational facilities, libraries, bus and train stations, and lunchrooms. Although SNCC professed nonviolence, it was much more militant than King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). SNCC spurred more than seventy thousand people to protest for integrated public facilities in more than 140 cities, including some outside the South. Many of those participating in demonstrations were young college students. In some cities, including Greensboro, demonstrators achieved equal service with a minimum of resistance, but particularly in the Deep South, whites reacted violently. Officials in Orangeburg, South Carolina, blasted protesters with high-pressure fire hoses and arrested them.

Sharing headlines with those "sitting in" were the **freedom riders**. Prior to Kennedy's taking office, the Supreme Court had ruled in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960) that all interstate buses, trains, and terminals be desegregated. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) planned a series of "freedom rides" to force integration on southern bus lines and stations. Farmer knew that riders would meet with opposition and hoped to put pressure on the president to uphold the Court's decision. The first buses of freedom riders left Washington, D.C., in May 1961, headed toward Alabama and Mississippi. The freedom riders expected trouble. Governor John Patterson of Alabama had announced that integration would come only over his "dead body." In Anniston, Alabama, a mob of angry whites attacked the buses, setting them on fire and severely beating several freedom riders. The savagery continued at Birmingham. When asked why no police were at the station to protect the

**sit-in** The act of occupying the seats or an area of a segregated establishment to protest racial discrimination.

#### **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**

Organization formed to give young blacks a greater voice in the civil rights movement; it initiated black voter registration drives and freedom rides.

**freedom riders** Civil rights protesters who rode buses throughout the South in 1961 to press for integration in bus terminals.

riders, Birmingham public safety commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor explained that it was a holiday—Mother's Day.

As Farmer had predicted, the violence forced the federal government to respond. Hoping to avoid further bloodshed, Justice Department official John Seigenthaler obtained state and local protection for the riders through Alabama. But as the buses approached Montgomery, the police and National Guard escorts mysteriously vanished, leaving the freedom riders to face a large and violent crowd alone. A brutal attack left many freedom riders injured, including Seigenthaler, who was beaten unconscious. After an hour of terror, the police finally arrived and restored order.

A livid Attorney General Robert Kennedy deputized local federal officials as marshals and ordered them to escort the freedom riders to the state line, where Mississippi forces took over. Battered and bloodied, the riders continued to the state capital, Jackson. There they were peacefully arrested for violating Mississippi's recently passed public order laws. The jails quickly filled as more freedom riders arrived and were arrested. The nation waited for the administration to act. Finally, in September 1961, the Interstate Commerce Commission declared that it would uphold the Court's decision prohibiting segregation. Faced with direct federal involvement, most state and local authorities grudgingly accepted the desegregation of bus and train terminals.

Hoping to steer the activism away from freedom rides and sit-ins, the Kennedy administration argued that efforts should be focused on voter registration drives. There followed the Voter Education Project, a cooperative movement among the major civil rights organizations, which with federal protection would provide the right to vote to many who had been denied since the days of Reconstruction. The results of this effort, which ended in 1964, seemed impressive: the percentage of black voters in the South increased from 29.4 percent to 43.1 percent of blacks eligible to vote. But most of the success came in urban areas, where white opposition was less pronounced than in rural areas. In addition, many of those involved in voter registration were brutally attacked and jailed. The federal government provided minimal protection on the whole.

In some instances, Robert Kennedy hoped to prevent racial violence by a show of federal force, as in the case of **James Meredith**, who integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962. Kennedy sent 500 federal marshals to guard Meredith, hoping that a show of force would prevent violence. The tactic did not work. Thousands of white students and nonstudents attacked Meredith and the marshals. Two people were killed and 166 marshals were wounded before 5,000 army troops arrived. Protected by federal forces, Meredith, who had transferred from a black college, became the University of Mississippi's first African-American graduate in May 1963.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and the SCLC focused their attention next on overturning segregation in Birmingham, Alabama. Organizers planned a series of protest marches demanding the integration of Birmingham's businesses. On Good Friday, 1963, King led the first march and along with others was arrested. From his cell, he wrote a nineteen-page "letter" aimed at those who denounced his activism in favor of patience. The "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" called for immediate and continuous, peaceful civil disobedience. Freedom was "never given voluntarily by the oppressor," King asserted, but "must be demanded by the oppressed." Smuggled out of jail and read aloud in churches and printed in newspapers across the nation, the letter rallied support for King's efforts in Birmingham.

On May 3, young and old alike filled the streets of Birmingham and confronted "Bull" Connor's police, who attacked the marchers with nightsticks, dogs, and high-pressure fire hoses. Television caught it all. Connor's brutality not only horrified much of the American public but caused many Birmingham blacks to reject the tactic of

**public order laws** Laws passed by many southern communities to discourage civil rights protests; they allowed the police to arrest anyone suspected of intending to disrupt public order.

**James Meredith** Black student admitted to the University of Mississippi under federal court order in 1962; in spite of rioting by racist mobs, he finished the year and graduated in 1963.



◆ On August 28, 1963, one-quarter of a million people gathered in Washington, D.C., to support racial equality. Martin Luther King, Jr., electrified the crowd by saying, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live . . . where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character." *Francis Miller, LIFE Magazine*, © Time Warner Inc.

**nonviolence.** The following day, many African Americans fought the police with stones and clubs. Fearing more violence, Birmingham's businessmen met with King on May 10, 1963, and agreed to hire black salespeople. Neither the agreement nor King's pleading, however, halted the violence. Two days later, President Kennedy ordered three thousand troops to Birmingham to maintain order.

Kennedy concluded that the time had come to fulfill his campaign promise to make civil rights a priority. In June 1963, observing that America could not be truly free "until all its citizens were free," he announced that he would send Congress civil rights legislation mandating integration in places of public accommodation.

To pressure Congress to act on the bill, King and other civil rights leaders organized the **March on Washington**. The August 28 march drew the largest crowd in American history, with over 250,000 people attending. King capped the day with an address that electrified the throng. He promised to continue the struggle until justice flowed "like a mighty stream," but he warned about a "whirlwind of revolt" if black rights were denied. "I have a dream," he offered, "that even Mississippi could become an oasis of freedom and justice" and that "all of God's children, black men and white men,

Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing . . . 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!'"

The march and reactions to white violence against African Americans might have been expected to work in favor of civil rights legislation. But as of November 1963, when Kennedy left for a campaign trip to Dallas, Texas, his bill was still languishing in committee in the House of Representatives.

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## Flexible Response

If Kennedy was slow to bring federal power to bear on civil rights, he had no reluctance to use

**nonviolence** Doctrine of rejecting violence in favor of peaceful tactics as a means of gaining political objectives.

**March on Washington** Meeting of a quarter of a million civil rights supporters in Washington in 1963, at which Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.



- ◆ Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev met with John Kennedy at the Vienna Summit in June 1961. After their first meetings, Kennedy, who had been warned that Khrushchev's style ranged from "cherubic to choleric," was convinced that the Soviet leader had bested him and that he had appeared to be a man "with no guts." Following the Vienna Summit, Kennedy was determined to be tougher with the Soviets. "If Khrushchev wants to rub my nose in the dirt, it's all over," Kennedy stated after their meeting. *Wide World Photos.*

executive power when it came to foreign policy. Kennedy increased military spending to begin a buildup of both nuclear and conventional forces. Space exploration also received a new priority. In April 1961, the Soviets had hurled the first human being, **cosmonaut** Yuri Gagarin, into space. Kennedy informed Congress that funding was needed not only to catch up with the Soviets but to beat them to the moon by the end of the decade. Congress agreed and funded the *Apollo* project.

The country's Cold War challenges were not limited to racing against Soviet arms development and space exploration. An equally important confrontation had been shaping up in the developing regions of the globe. Kennedy employed the strategy of **flexible response** to win the "hearts and minds" of developing nations for the West. This strategy involved special military units like the Green Berets who were trained to deal with Communist insurgency by living off the land and gaining the people's trust. The strategy also featured the use of American economic aid and of the **Peace Corps**, composed of idealistic young men and women who volunteered to help the people of the developing world.

### Confronting the Soviets

Kennedy's biggest immediate problem in the Third World lay just to the south of the Florida Keys. The presence of a Communist regime in Cuba was simply intolerable to Kennedy. In January 1961, the newly elected president approved the operation planned by the Eisenhower administration to topple Fidel Castro (see page 636).

The invasion of Cuba began on April 17, 1961. Over fourteen hundred CIA-trained Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs. The predicted uprisings

**cosmonaut** A Soviet astronaut.

**flexible response** Kennedy's strategy of considering a variety of military and nonmilitary options when facing foreign policy decisions.

**Peace Corps** Program established by President Kennedy in 1961 to send young American volunteers to other nations as educators, health workers, and technicians.

**Bay of Pigs** Site of a 1961 invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles and mercenaries sponsored by the CIA; the invasion was crushed within three days and embarrassed the United States.



in support of the invaders did not occur, however, and within three days Castro's forces had captured or killed most of the invading force. Kennedy took responsibility for the fiasco but voiced no regrets for his aggressive policy.

To blunt the growing appeal of Castroism in Latin America, Kennedy announced a sweeping foreign-aid package, the **Alliance for Progress**. He proposed over \$20 billion in aid to show that "liberty and progress walk hand in hand." In return, Latin American nations were to introduce land and tax reforms. Actions fell short of promises. The United States granted far less than proposed, and Latin American governments implemented few reforms and frequently squandered the aid, much of which ended up in the pockets of government officials. Throughout the 1960s in Latin America, the gap between rich and poor widened.

To try to recapture some of the "can-do" image deflated by the Bay of Pigs disaster, Kennedy sought an opportunity to stand toe to toe with the Soviets. That opportunity came when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev agreed to meet Kennedy in Vienna in June 1961 to discuss Berlin, Laos, and a nuclear test ban treaty. After his first private meeting with the Soviet leader, Kennedy was shaken and angry. He thought that Khrushchev had bullied him. In following meetings, Kennedy stood his ground more firmly, stressing that the United States would remain true to its international commitments, especially in Berlin. Khrushchev was unmoved and maintained a December deadline for Allied withdrawal from Berlin.

Returning home, Kennedy asked for large increases in military spending and called fifty-one thousand reservists to active duty. Some advisers advocated the use of force if the Soviets interfered with Western control of West Berlin. To some it appeared that Kennedy and Khrushchev were moving to the brink of war over Berlin. In August 1961, the Soviets added a new point of confrontation by erecting a wall between West and East Berlin to choke off the flow of refugees fleeing East Germany. Although the Berlin Wall challenged Western ideals of freedom, it did not directly threaten the West's presence in West Berlin. The Berlin crisis finally faded when Khrushchev announced that he no longer cared about the December deadline. The wall remained as a stark re

minder of where Soviet and American interests collided.

Far more serious than the Berlin crisis was the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. On October 14, an American U-2 spy plane discovered that medium-range nuclear missile sites were being built in Cuba. Such missiles would drastically reduce the time the United States had to launch a counterattack on the Soviet Union. Kennedy decided on a showdown with the Soviets over the missiles.

Kennedy rejected both an invasion of Cuba and air strikes against the missiles as too dangerous. Instead, he decided on a naval blockade of Cuba until Khrushchev met the U.S. demand to remove the missiles. On Wednesday, October 24, a confrontation seemed imminent as two Soviet freighters and a Russian submarine approached the quarantine line. The Soviet vessels, however, stopped short of the line. Khrushchev had decided not to test Kennedy's will. On October 26, he sent a message that the Soviet Union was ready to remove the missiles from Cuba if the United States publicly announced it would not invade the island. The basis of a solution had been found. The United States publicly pledged not to invade Cuba, and Khrushchev ordered the removal of the missiles. In a nonpublicized, separate agreement, the United States agreed to remove its missiles from Turkey.

Kennedy basked in the victory over Khrushchev, but he also recognized how near the world had come to nuclear war. Kennedy subsequently sought to defuse Soviet-American tensions. A "hotline" telephone link was established between Moscow and Washington to allow direct talks in case of another East-West crisis. In June 1963, Kennedy suggested that the United States would halt its nuclear testing. By July, American-Soviet negotiations produced the **Limited Test Ban Treaty**.

**Alliance for Progress** Program proposed by Kennedy in 1961 through which the United States provided aid for social and economic programs in Latin American countries.

**Limited Test Ban Treaty** Treaty signed by the United States, the USSR, and nearly one hundred other nations in 1963, banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater.

It prohibited nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space, and under the seas but allowed underground testing. By October 1963, one hundred nations had signed the treaty, although the two newest atomic powers, France and China, refused to participate.

## **Vietnam**

Vietnam represented one of the most significant challenges that Kennedy faced. South Vietnamese president **Ngo Dinh** Diem was losing control of the countryside to the South Vietnamese Communist rebels, the **Viet Cong**. Kennedy rejected arguments that American troops were needed to turn the tide, but he did send more military and civilian "advisers." By November 1963, the United States had committed sixteen thousand advisers to Vietnam—compared with only a few hundred in 1961.

The Viet Cong were only part of the problem. Diem's administration was unpopular. A Roman Catholic whose family had been French officials, Diem did not believe in democracy. He ruled through a handpicked, largely Catholic bureaucracy. Everyone else, including Vietnam's Buddhists, the religious majority, opposed his rule. With American support, Diem cracked down on his opponents. Reformers, rival officers, and protesting Buddhists were jailed, tortured, and killed. In protest, on June 10, 1963, a Buddhist monk set himself on fire. Other self-immolations followed. To the shock of many Americans, Diem's sister-in-law, Madame Nhu, referred to the protests as "Buddhist barbecues." To Kennedy and his advisers, Diem had become a liability. The administration secretly informed several Vietnamese generals that it would approve of a change of government. The army acted on November 1, killing Diem and creating a new military government. However, the new government brought neither political stability nor better results against the Viet Cong.

## **Death in Dallas**

In late 1963, Kennedy decided to visit Dallas, Texas, to try to heal divisions within the Texas Democratic party. There he was assassinated on November 22. Police quickly captured the reputed

assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. The next day, a local nightclub owner, Jack Ruby, shot Oswald to death in the basement of the police station. Many wondered if Oswald had acted alone or was part of a larger conspiracy. To dispel rumors, the government formed a commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren to investigate the assassination. The commission announced that Oswald had acted alone. Most Americans accepted the findings at the time.

Kennedy's assassination traumatized the nation. Many people canonized the fallen president as a brilliant, innovative chief executive who combined vitality, youth, and good looks with forceful leadership and good judgment. Lyndon B. Johnson, sworn in as president as he flew back to Washington on the plane carrying Kennedy's body, was not cut from the same cloth. Kennedy had attended the best eastern schools, enjoyed the cultural and social life associated with wealth, and liked to surround himself with intellectuals. Johnson, a product of public schools and a state college education, distrusted intellectuals. Raised in the hill country of Texas, his passion was politics. By 1960, his congressional experience was unrivaled: he had served from 1937 to 1948 in the House of Representatives and from 1949 to 1961 in the Senate, where he had been Senate majority leader. Johnson knew how to wield political power and how to get things done in Washington.

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## **Beyond the**

## **New Frontier**

Five days after Kennedy's death, Johnson asked Congress for "no memorial oration or eulogy" for

**Ngo Dinh Diem** President of South Vietnam (1954-1963), who jailed and tortured opponents of his rule; he was assassinated in a coup in 1963.

**Viet Cong** Vietnamese Communist rebels in South Vietnam.

**self-immolation** Suicide by fire as an act of sacrifice to a cause.

the fallen president other than the passage of Kennedy's civil rights bill. The Civil **Rights Act of 1964** became law on July 2, 1964. The law made it illegal to discriminate for reasons of race, religion, or gender in places and businesses that served the public. Putting force behind the law, Congress established a federal Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and empowered the executive branch to withhold federal funds from institutions that violated the act.

Johnson wanted to do more, however, than pass legislation that had been initiated by Kennedy. He wanted to create his own legacy. His first step in realizing this ambition was declaring the **War on Poverty** in 1964.

Johnson's assault against the poverty that afflicted at least one-fifth of the American people was to be fought on two fronts: expanding opportunities and improving the social environment. He believed that only the federal government was capable of this task. Therefore, he projected a huge expansion of federal responsibility for social welfare. Special efforts would be made to provide education and job training for the young: "Our chief weapons will be better schools . . . better training, and better job opportunities to help more Americans, especially young Americans, to escape from squalor and misery." The Manpower and Development Training Act, the Job Corps, Head Start, and the Work Incentive Program all aimed at providing new educational and economic opportunities for the disadvantaged. In 1964, the Job Corps enrolled unemployed teenagers and young adults (ages 16 to 21) who lacked employable skills. In 1965, Head Start reached out to disadvantaged preschoolers to give them an opportunity to gain important thinking and social skills.

### Conservative Response

Johnson's social programs prompted a reaction from a group of conservatives and ultraconservatives called the New Right. The New Right decried many of the political and social changes taking place in society. According to these conservatives, liberals and a national welfare state were destroying the traditional American values of localism, self-help, and individualism.

The New Right targeted the Supreme Court and Chief Justice Earl Warren as the major causes of what it regarded as the subversion of American life. The rabidly anti-Communist John Birch Society even demanded the impeachment of Warren. From the mid-1950s through the 1960s, the Supreme Court under Warren handed down one decision after another that angered conservatives. To them, the Court seemed to be forcing the liberal agenda of individual rights, social justice, and equality down society's throat. The Court, they believed, had promoted civil rights and the rights of individuals at the expense of society. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) and *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964), the Court's rulings declared that all defendants had a right to an attorney, even if the state had to provide one. In *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), the Court held that anyone who was arrested had to be informed of his or her right to remain silent and to have an attorney present during questioning (now called the Miranda warning). The New Right argued that these decisions had tipped the scales of justice in favor of the criminal.

Conservatives believed that the Warren Court's actions also threatened traditional values by allowing the publication of sexually explicit materials and by forbidding prayers and the reading of the Bible in public schools (*Abington v. Schempp*, 1963). The Court's decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1964), which overturned Connecticut's laws forbidding the sale of contraceptives, also disturbed them.

### The 1964 Election

The Republican presidential candidate in 1964 offered conservatives a chance to reassert their traditional values and patriotic ideals. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona had voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and against censuring Senator

Civil Rights Act of 1964 Law that barred segregation in public facilities and forbade employers to discriminate on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin.  
War on Poverty Lyndon Johnson's program to help Americans escape poverty through education, job training, and community development.

Joseph McCarthy in 1954 (see page 629). He had opposed "Big Government" and he promised to deal with Communists more forcefully. Whereas Johnson promised not to Americanize the war in Vietnam, Goldwater was willing to commit American troops and even to use nuclear weapons.

In a war of slogans and television spots, Johnson's ads scored more points. Democrats answered one memorable Goldwater slogan, "In your heart you know he's right," by claiming, "In your guts you know he's nuts." Another Johnson ad suggested that a trigger-happy Goldwater would lead the nation into a nuclear holocaust. In a lopsided election, Americans gave Goldwater only 38.4 percent of the popular vote. Over forty new Democratic legislators swelled the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

### Shaping the Great Society

Having beaten Goldwater, Johnson pushed forward legislation to enact his **Great Society**—his vision of an America freed of racial injustice and poverty. Between 1965 and 1968, more than sixty programs were put in place. Most sought to provide better economic and social opportunities. The Appalachian Regional Development Act (1965), Public Works and Development Act (1965), and Model Cities Act (1966) focused on developing economic growth in cities and long-depressed regional areas. The Omnibus Housing Bill (1965) provided \$8 billion for constructing low- and middle-income housing and supplementing low-income rent programs.

Johnson's priorities, however, were health and education. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) was the first general educational funding act passed by the federal government. It granted more than a billion dollars to public and parochial schools for textbooks, library materials, and special-education programs. Poorer school districts were supposed to receive the highest percentage of federal support, but much of the money went to more affluent suburban school districts.

Passage of the Medical Care Act (1965) represented an even greater achievement to Johnson. This act revolutionized healthcare by providing Medicare to help the elderly cover their medical

costs. For those on welfare, Medicaid provided funds to states to provide free healthcare.

Johnson also was committed to ending racial discrimination. He signed an executive order requiring government contractors to ensure nondiscrimination in jobs. He also appointed the first African-American cabinet member, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Robert Weaver; the first African-American woman federal justice, Constance Baker Motley; and the first black on the Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall.

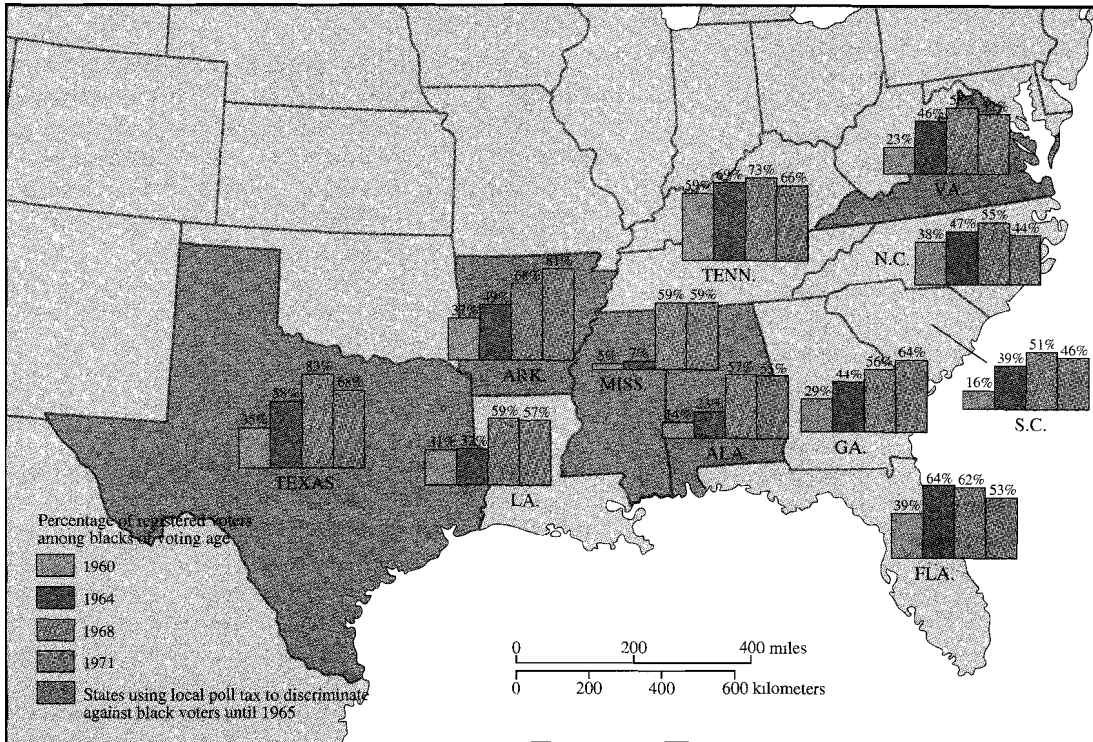
Johnson followed up these appointments with proposals for a voting rights bill. Civil rights leaders had made voting rights their next major issue after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. For nearly one hundred years, most southern whites had viewed voting as a privilege reserved for whites. Led by SNCC's Bob Moses, the **Freedom Summer** of 1964 called for whites and blacks to go to Mississippi to open "Freedom Schools" and to encourage African Americans to register to vote. The Freedom Schools taught basic literacy and black history and tutored African Americans so that they could pass the Mississippi voter literacy test. Prospective black voters in Mississippi had to convince a white registrar that they understood the Constitution and the duties of citizenship. White hostility made the work of registering black voters dangerous. Violence occurred almost daily in Mississippi from June through August 1964. Six Freedom Summer workers were murdered, but the crusade registered nearly sixty thousand new African-American voters. By December 1964, Johnson concurred with

Great Society Social program that Johnson announced in 1965; it included the War on Poverty, protection of civil rights, and funding for education.

medicare Program of health insurance for the elderly and disabled established in 1965; it provides government payment for healthcare supplied by private doctors and hospitals.

medicaid Program of health insurance for the poor established in 1965; it provides states with money to buy healthcare for people on welfare.

Freedom Summer Effort by Civil Rights groups in Mississippi to register black voters and cultivate black pride during the summer of 1964.



◆ **MAP 29.2 African Americans and the Southern Vote, 1960-1971** An important part of the civil rights movement was to reestablish the African-American vote that had been stripped away in the South following Reconstruction. Between 1960 and 1971, with the outlawing of the poll tax and other voter restrictions, African-American voter participation rose significantly across the South.

Martin Luther King, Jr., on the need for federal voting legislation.

Pointing to the violent response civil rights leaders had met with in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965, Johnson urged Congress to act. King had called for a freedom march from Selma to Montgomery because of the former town's adamant and violent opposition to integration. On March 7, 1965, hundreds of freedom marchers faced fifty Alabama state troopers and Sheriff Jim Clark's mounted officers at Selma's Pettus Bridge. After ordering the marchers to halt, the state troopers fired tear gas and charged. As the marchers fled back to Selma, Clark's men chased them down, wielding rubber tubing wrapped with barbed wire. Television coverage of the onslaught stirred nationwide condemnation of Clark's tactics. Johnson told Governor George Wallace that he would not tolerate any further interference with the

march. When twenty-five thousand people resumed the march on March 25, the National Guard escorted them.

In response to Johnson's pressure, Congress passed the 1965 Voting Rights Act. It banned a variety of methods, such as literacy tests, that states used to deny blacks the right to vote (see Map 29.2). In Selma, 60 percent of qualified African-American voters registered, voted, and stopped

freedom march Civil Rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in March 1965.

Voting Rights Act Law passed by Congress in 1965 that outlawed literacy and other voting tests and authorized federal supervision of elections in areas where black voting had been restricted.

Sheriff Clark's bid for reelection. By 1968, the percentage of African Americans registered to vote had risen by 30 percent; in Mississippi, it had increased from 7 percent to 67 percent.

Although Johnson's civil rights agenda met with great success, by 1966 many Great Society programs were underfunded and diminishing in popularity. An expanding American war in Vietnam, white backlash to urban riots, and partisan politics forced reductions in the budget of the War on Poverty. Still, by 1970 the Great Society had contributed to nearly a 10 percent decrease in the number of people living below the poverty line. Between 1963 and 1968, African-American unemployment fell nearly 42 percent. Johnson did not totally cure any of society's ills, but he did provide the basis for a more democratic and nondiscriminatory country. In the process, he widened the functions of the federal government more than any president since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

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## New Agendas

By the end of 1965, federal legislation had confirmed that *de jure* segregation—segregation established by local ordinances or state laws—was illegal in the United States. But equality depended on more than laws. Neither the 1964 Civil Rights Act nor the 1965 Voting Rights Act guaranteed justice, removed oppressive poverty, or provided jobs. *De facto* discrimination—the product of economics, social tradition, and custom—and prejudice remained.

African Americans' frustrations soon changed the nature of civil rights protest. By 1964, more than half of the nation's black population lived in northern cities, and more than a million mostly poor and unskilled blacks left the South during the 1960s. They entered an environment where unskilled jobs were declining and black unemployment was high. Poverty, false hopes, and frustrations led to increased violence and crime. African Americans saw largely white police forces as suppressors rather than protectors. By the mid-1960s, the nation's cities were primed for racial violence. Minor race riots had occurred in 1964, but it was the 1965 Watts riot that shook the nation.

### New Voices

Watts did not look like most other ghettos. It was a community of largely single-family homes and duplexes. The fairly new buildings were usually well maintained. There was little open discrimination in Los Angeles, which was among the nation's leaders in public assistance programs, spending more than \$500 million a year. But

Watts had more than four times the people per block than the rest of the city. Male unemployment was 34 percent, and almost two-thirds of the residents were on public assistance. Finally, the nearly all-white Los Angeles police force had a reputation for racism and brutality.

In this climate, Officer Lee Minikus stopped Marquette Frye for drunk driving on August 11, 1965. What started as a simple arrest soon mushroomed into a major riot. A crowd of onlookers gathered as more police arrived and as Frye and Minikus began to scuffle. The police charged through the crowd of about 150 bystanders using nightsticks, and word quickly spread through Watts that the police were attacking innocent people. The Watts riot followed. Many residents pelted the police with stones and bottles and vented their anger by looting and setting fire to cars and stores. When firefighters and police arrived to restore order and to put out the flames, they had to dodge snipers' bullets and Molotov cocktails. It took fourteen thousand members of the California National Guard and over one thousand police and eight hundred sheriff's deputies to calm the storm. The costs were high: thirty-four dead, including twenty-eight African Americans, and over \$45 million in property destroyed. Four thousand rioters were arrested.

The Watts riot shattered the complacency of many northern whites who had supported civil rights in the South while ignoring the plight of the

Watts Predominantly black neighborhood of Los Angeles where race riots in August 1965 did \$45 million in damage and took the lives of twenty-eight blacks.

Molotov cocktail Makeshift bomb made of a bottle filled with gasoline.

inner cities. It also demonstrated a gap between northern blacks and many civil rights leaders. King discovered after the riot that the people of Watts had little use for his "dreams." He was shouted down and jeered. "Hell, we don't need no damn dreams," one skeptic remarked. "We want jobs."

Watts was only the beginning. More deadly urban riots followed, and a new, militant approach to racial and economic injustices erupted: the **Black Power** movement. A change in SNCC's leadership helped usher in a new era of black militancy. By the winter of 1965, Bob Moses had had too much of clubs, dogs, threats, and jails. Emotionally spent, he resigned and moved north. SNCC's new leader, Stokely Carmichael, exalted Black Power. "I'm not going to beg the white man for anything I deserve," he announced. "I'm going to take it." SNCC and CORE quickly changed from biracial, nonviolent organizations to Black Power movements.

Among those receptive to a more militant approach were the **Black Muslims** (the Nation of Islam), founded by Elijah Muhammad in the 1930s. The Black Muslims attracted mostly young males and demanded adherence to a strict moral code that prohibited the use of drugs and alcohol. They preached black superiority and independence from an evil white world. By the early 1960s, there were nearly a hundred thousand Black Muslims, but most whites were concerned with only one: Malcolm X.

By the age of 20, Malcolm Little's life of hard drugs, pimping, and burglary had put him in prison. Behind bars, his intellectual abilities blossomed. He devoured the prison library, took correspondence courses, and converted to the Nation of Islam, becoming Malcolm X. On his release in 1952, he quickly became one of the Black Muslims' most powerful leaders. A mesmerizing speaker, he rejected integration with a white society that, he said, emasculated blacks by denying them power and personal identity. "Our enemy is the white man!" he roared. But in 1964, he reconsidered the policy of rejecting cooperation with whites. Although still a black nationalist, he recognized that to achieve their goals, Black Muslims needed to cooperate with some whites. He broke with Elijah Muhammad, a defection that cost him his life. On

February 21, 1965, three Black Muslims assassinated him in Harlem. After his death, Malcolm X's *Autobiography*, chronicling his personal triumph over white oppression, became a revered guide for many blacks.

Malcolm X represented only one model for urban blacks. Others pursued direct action against white power and advocated violence. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale organized the Black Panthers in Oakland, California, in 1966. They were primarily noticeable for adopting Mao Zedong's adage that "power flows from the barrel of a gun." Their willingness to use violence frightened many, but others applauded their militance. New SNCC leader H. Rap Brown told listeners to grab their guns, burn the town down, and shoot the "honky." The summer of 1967 seemed to bring Brown's words to life. Over seventy-five major riots took place, the deadliest occurring in Detroit and Newark, resulting in a nationwide total of eighty-seven dead.

After a third summer of urban riots, President Lyndon Johnson created a special commission chaired by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois to investigate their causes. The committee's report, issued in March 1968, put the primary blame on the racist attitudes of white America. The study

**Black Power** Movement beginning in 1966 that rejected the nonviolent, coalition-building approach of traditional civil rights groups and advocated black control of black organizations.

**Stokely Carmichael** Civil rights activist who led SNCC and who coined the term "Black Power" to describe the need for blacks to use militant tactics to force whites to accept political change.

**Black Muslims** Popular name for the Nation of Islam, an African-American religious group founded by Elijah Muhammad, which professed Islamic religious beliefs and emphasized black separatism.

**Malcolm X** Black activist who advocated black separatism as a member of the Nation of Islam; in 1963 he converted to orthodox Islam, and two years later he was assassinated.

**Black Panthers** Black revolutionary party founded in 1966 that accepted violence as a means of social change; many of its leaders were killed in confrontations with police or sent to prison.

described two Americas, one white and one black, and concluded:

*Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education, and housing have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.*

The Kerner Commission believed that the solution to America's racial problem was a "compassionate, massive and sustained" commitment "backed by the resources of the most powerful and richest nation on this earth."

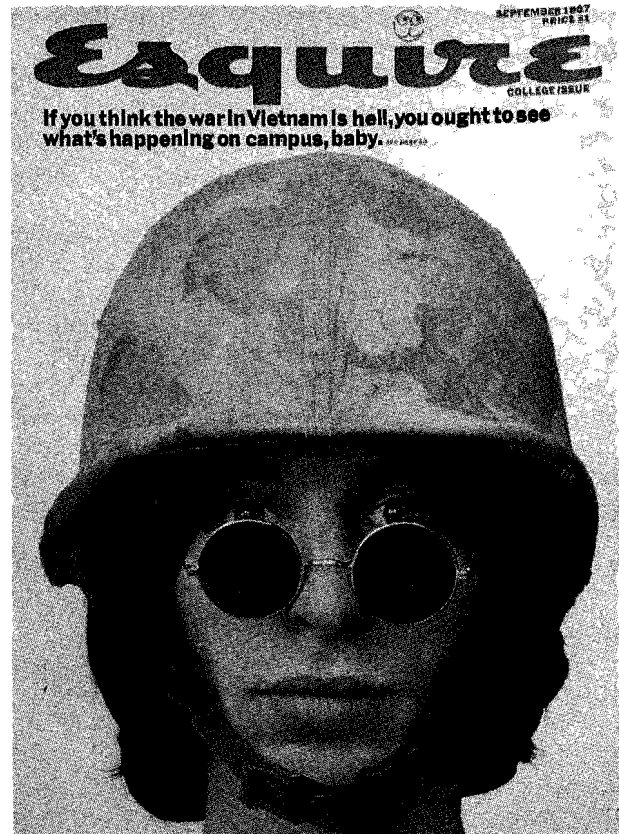
Just a month later, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., sparked a new series of riots across the country. King had been in Memphis supporting striking black sanitation workers when, on April 4, 1968, he was gunned down by James Earl Ray, a white racist. African Americans took to the streets in over 125 cities. Sections of Washington, D.C., were engulfed in flames.

As American cities burned and cries of "Burn, Baby, Burn" and "Black Power!" emerged from the smoke, a white backlash occurred. Many Americans backed away from supporting civil rights. Republican politicians were especially vocal. California Governor Ronald Reagan argued the "riff-raff" theory of urban problems: "mad dogs" and "lawbreakers" were the sole cause of the trouble. Governor Spiro Agnew of Maryland blamed activists like H. Rap Brown. Most Americans applauded as police cracked down on the Black Panthers, arresting or killing the party's membership. As the 1968 political campaign began, law and order replaced the Great Society and the War on Poverty as the main issue.

### **The Challenge of Youth**

As alarming to many Americans as the revolution that was reshaping African-American attitudes was the growing tendency of the nation's white youth to reject traditional values. Although the majority of young people remained quite traditional, an increasing number advocated alternative values. The transformation was particularly noticeable on college campuses.

Many students began to question the goal of education, particularly at huge institutions like the



◆ "We're in a time that's divorced from the past," wrote author Norman Mailer, and from Berkeley to Harvard Yard, college campuses were becoming battlegrounds of the social, cultural, and political changes that were sweeping the nation. Whether participating in the counterculture or the Freedom Summer, or opposing the war in Vietnam or college restrictions, America's youth demanded new values and attitudes in the 1960s. *Michael Barson Collection/Past Perfect.*

University of California at Berkeley and the University of Michigan. Students complained that concern for individuals was missing from education. Education seemed sterile—more like an assembly line producing a standardized product than an effort to create an independent, thinking individual. In *Growing Up Absurd*, Paul Goodman argued that schools destroyed creativity and replaced it with conformity. Reflecting Goodman's view, many students demanded freedom of ex-



pression and a new, more flexible attitude from college administrators and faculty.

Campus activists denounced course requirements and restrictions on dress, behavior, and living arrangements. By the end of the decade, many colleges and schools had relaxed or eliminated dress codes that required the wearing of coats and ties for men and dresses for women. Long hair was accepted for males, and casual clothes like faded blue jeans and shorts became common dress for both sexes on most college campuses. Colleges also lifted dorm curfews and other residence requirements. Some dorms became coed. Academic departments reduced the number of mandatory courses. By the early 1970s, many colleges had introduced programs in fields like African-American, Native American, and women's studies.

Setting their sights beyond the campus community, student activists urged that the campus should be a center for social change. **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)**, organized at the University of Michigan in the early 1960s by Tom Hayden and Al Haber, charged that business and government ignored social inequalities. In 1962, SDS issued its Port Huron Statement, which maintained,

*The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today.*

Hayden argued that the country should strive to build "an environment for people to live in with dignity and creativeness."

The earliest major confrontation between students and university authorities occurred at Berkeley in 1964. Activists led by Mario Savio protested when the administration tried to prevent students from using a plaza on campus to recruit supporters and solicit funds for various social and political causes. Fresh from the Freedom Summer, Savio demanded freedom of speech on campus. Claiming that the university was not fulfilling its moral obligation to provide an open forum for free thought, Savio asked students and faculty to disrupt the university's activities. Over six thousand students responded, seizing the administration building, boycotting classes, and yelling four-letter

words. Although Savio and two other organizers were expelled and sentenced to four months in jail, Chancellor Clark Kerr agreed to allow freedom of expression on campus.

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement encouraged other campus organizers. Student activists in growing numbers focused their attention on civil rights, the environment, and social and sexual norms. By the late sixties, though, their loudest protests opposed American foreign policy, the **military-industrial complex**, and the war in Vietnam. Opposition to the war further expanded the number of student activists.

The youth movement's discontent also found expression in what became known as the counterculture. Many young people came to spurn the traditional moral and social values of their parents. "Don't trust anyone over 30" became the motto of the young generation. The counterculture glorified freedom of the spirit and self-knowledge.

Music was one of the most prominent forms of defiance. Musicians like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez challenged society with protest and antiwar songs. Folk music and protest rock, however, were only a small part of the music challenge. For the majority, rock 'n' roll remained dominant. Performers like the Beatles, a British group that exploded on the American music scene in 1964, were among the most popular. The behavior and songs of other British imports such as the Rolling Stones and the Animals depicted a life of pleasure and lack of social restraints. The Grateful Dead and Jimi Hendrix turned rock 'n' roll into a new form of music, psychedelic acid rock,

Students for a Democratic Society Left-wing student organization founded in 1962 to criticize American materialism and call for social justice.

military-industrial complex Term first used by Eisenhower to describe the arms industry; in the 1960s, it was used by radicals to describe all those in power who benefited from U.S. militarism.

Beatles English rock group that gained international fame in 1964 and disbanded in 1970; they were known for the intelligence of their lyrics and their sophisticated instrumentation.

acid rock Rock music having a driving, repetitive beat and lyrics that suggest psychedelic drug experiences.

whose swirls of sound and lyrics acclaimed a drug culture and attacked social conventions.

The message of much music of the sixties was wrapped up in drug use—get "high" or "stoned." For many in the sixties generation, marijuana, or "pot," was the primary means to get high. Marijuana advocates claimed that, unlike the nation's traditional drug, alcohol, it reduced aggression and heightened perception. Thus, they argued, marijuana contributed to the counterculture's ideals of peace, serenity, and self-awareness. A more dangerous and unpredictable drug popular with some was LSD, lysergic acid diethylamide. "Acid" was a hallucinogenic drug that altered the user's perceptions of reality. Harvard psychology professor Timothy Leary argued for its widespread consumption. He believed that by "tripping" on LSD, people could free themselves from the rat race: "turn on, tune in, and drop out." Drugs offered some within the counterculture a new and liberating experience. But they also proved to be self-destructive and deadly, contributing to the deaths of musicians Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, and Janis Joplin.

Another realm of traditional American values the counterculture overturned was sex. Some young people appalled their parents and society by questioning and rejecting the values that placed restrictions on sexual activities. A new openness about sexuality and a relaxation of the stigma on premarital sex turned out to be a significant legacy of the sixties. But the philosophy of **free love** also had a negative side, as increased sexual activity contributed to a rapid rise in venereal disease.

Perhaps the most colorful and best-known advocates of the counterculture were the **Hippies**. Seeking a life of peace, love, and self-awareness, Hippies tried to distance themselves from conventional society. They flocked in large numbers to northern California, especially to the HaightAshbury neighborhood of San Francisco. Elsewhere, some Hippie groups abandoned the "old-fashioned" nuclear family and lived together as extended families in communes. Hippies expressed their nonconformism by favoring long, unkempt hair and ratty blue jeans or long, flowered dresses. Although the number of true Hippie dropouts was small, their style of dress and grooming greatly influenced young Americans.

The influence of the counterculture peaked in the summer of 1969, when an army of teens and young adults converged on Woodstock, New York, for the largest free rock concert in history. For three days, through summer rains and deepening mud, more than four hundred thousand came together in a temporary open-air community while popular rock-'n'-roll bands performed day and night. Touted as three days of peace and love, sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll, Woodstock symbolized for a few fleeting days the power of

counterculture values to promote cooperation and happiness.

**Timothy Leary** Harvard professor and counterculture figure who advocated the expansion of consciousness through the use of drugs such as LSD.

**free love** Popular belief among members of the counterculture in the 1960s in having sexual activity with as many partners as they liked.

**Hippies** Members of the counterculture in the 1960s who rejected the competitiveness and materialism of American society and searched for peace, love, and autonomy.

**Woodstock** Free rock concert in Woodstock, New York, in August 1969, which attracted 400,000 people and was remembered as the classic expression of the counterculture.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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The *outcome* of John F. Kennedy's election was a wave of renewed optimism and liberalism. Kennedy's call for a more responsible society and government was at the heart of his New Frontier. Kennedy raised *expectations*, but it was Lyndon B.

Johnson's Great Society that greatly expanded the role of government in social affairs. Heightened *expectations* were clearly visible among the African Americans who looked for legislation to end segregation and discrimination. As Kennedy took office, African-American leaders *chose* to launch a series of sit-ins and freedom marches. Kennedy responded by introducing a civil rights act in 1963 that was finally passed in 1964 after his assassination.

In foreign policy, Kennedy *chose* to expand the international struggle against communism. Confrontations over Berlin and Cuba, a heightened arms race, and an expanded commitment to Vietnam were the *outcomes*.

As president, Johnson *chose* to expand on the slain president's New Frontier. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and Great

Society legislation were designed to wage war on poverty and discrimination, to provide federal aid for education, and to create a national system of health insurance for the poor and elderly. But by 1968, growing societal and political divisions *constrained* liberalism. African-American activists *chose* to become more militant in their demands for social and economic equality. The nation's youth, too, seemed unwilling to accept the traditional values of society, and they demanded change. Disturbed by the turmoil, conservatives and many moderate Americans *chose* to oppose government programs that appeared to favor the poor and minorities at their expense. The *outcome* was that a decade that had begun with great promise produced disappointment and disillusionment for many.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Anderson, Terry H. *The Movement and the Sixties* (1995).

A skillful examination of the social and cultural currents of the 1960s.

Bernstein, Irving. *Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier* (1991).

A brief and balanced account of Kennedy's presidency that nonetheless presents a favorable report of the accomplishments and legacy of the New Frontier.

Berschloss, Michael. *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* (1991).

A strong narrative account of the Cold War during the Kennedy administration and the personal duel between the leaders of the two superpowers.

Carson, Clayton. *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981).

A useful study that uses the development of SNCC to examine the changing patterns of the civil rights movement and the emergence of black nationalism.

Kearns, Doris. *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (1977).

An effective study of how Johnson's background and values shaped his career and the Great Society.

Wolfe, Tom. *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968).

A classic account of the dimensions of the counter-culture.

*Easy Rider* (1969) and *The Graduate* (1967) are two period films that critique traditional social and cultural norms and provide a glimpse of the "values" of the 1960s.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## • The Debate over Black Power

### The Context

By 1965, the civil rights movement had made significant changes in American society. Segregation was illegal under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Yet many African Americans still were denied equality, were mired in poverty, and felt powerless. The outcome was increasing anger among many African Americans, who replaced the philosophy of nonviolence and passive resistance with aggressive self-defense and a philosophy of "Black Power." Used initially by Paul Robeson following the Little Rock crisis (1957), the phrase burst onto the front pages on June 16, 1966, when Stokely Carmichael renewed the call for Black Power. Quickly, its advocates seemed to drown out calls for "Freedom Now." A white marcher recalled that the "thundering" demands for Black Power seemed to him "chilling.. frightening." (For further information on the context, see pages 654-656.)

### The Historical Question

The phrase "Black Power" grabbed headlines. To many white Americans, it seemed threatening. To many African Americans, it signaled the need to understand the race issue and its resolution in a different way and to make new choices. There was no standard definition of the term. What was Black Power? Was it a call for revolution and racial separation, a pronouncement of racial pride, a cry of desperation?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions. What meanings did **people give to the concept of Black Power?** What historical and social **experiences shaped these meanings?**

### The Sources

1 After Stokely Carmichael called for Black

Power, he wrote an essay in the *Massachusetts Review* in which he sought to explain the origins and concerns of the Black Power movement. He said:

*Negroes are defined by two forces, their blackness and their powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America. The White community, which controlled and defined the forms that all institutions within the society would take, and the Negro community, which has been excluded from participation in power decisions that shaped the society. . . .*

*In recent years the answer . . . has been . . . something called "integration." According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by "integrating the Negro into the . . . society from which he has been traditionally excluded." . . .*

*This concept . . . had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the Negro community . . . so the thing to do was to siphon off the "acceptable" Negroes into the surrounding middle-class white community. . . . Now, black people must look . . . to issues of collective power.*

*. . . The political and social rights of Negroes have been and always will be negotiable and expandable the moment they conflict with the interests of our "allies." If we do not learn from history, we are doomed to repeat it, and that is precisely the lesson of Reconstruction . . .*

... To the extent that we are dependent on ... other groups, we are vulnerable to their influence and domination.

**2** Bayard Rustin, long-time civil rights advocate and a past official of CORE, opposed Carmichael's nationalism and separatism. But, as he explained in *Commentary* (1965), African Americans still faced many constraints. He wrote:

*The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of de facto segregation. . . . More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954. . . . More Negroes attend de facto segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision. . . .*

*. . . Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. . . .*

*We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which become the effective political majority.*

**3** In 1966, Lerone Bennett, Jr., senior editor of *Ebony*, explained the underlying problems facing black Americans and American society. He wrote:

*There is no Negro problem in America. . . .*

*The problem of race . . . is a white problem . . . white America created, invented the race problem . . .*

*racism is a mask for a much deeper problem involving not the victims of racism but the perpetrators. . . .*

*It is fashionable . . . to think of racism as a vast impersonal system for which no one is responsible... Racism did not fall from the sky; it was not secreted by insects. No: racism in America was made by man, neighborhood by neighborhood, law by law, restrictive covenant by restrictive covenant, deed by deed.*

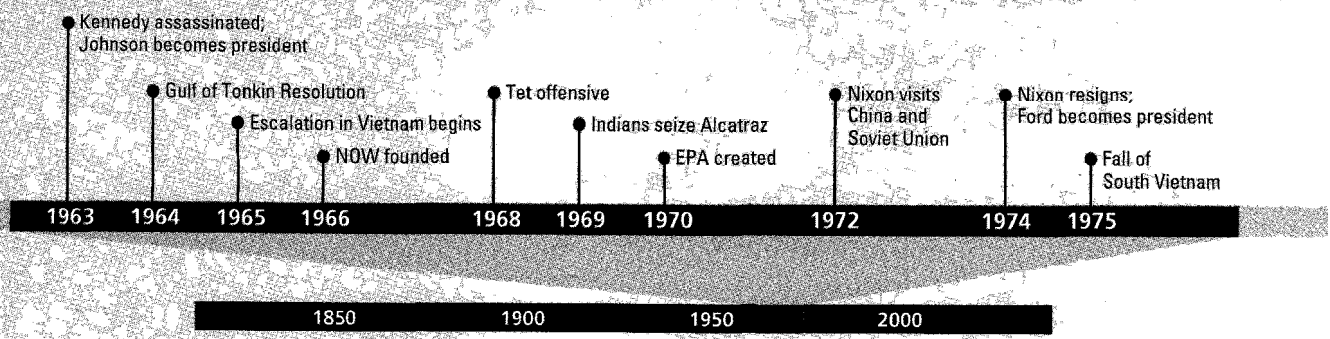
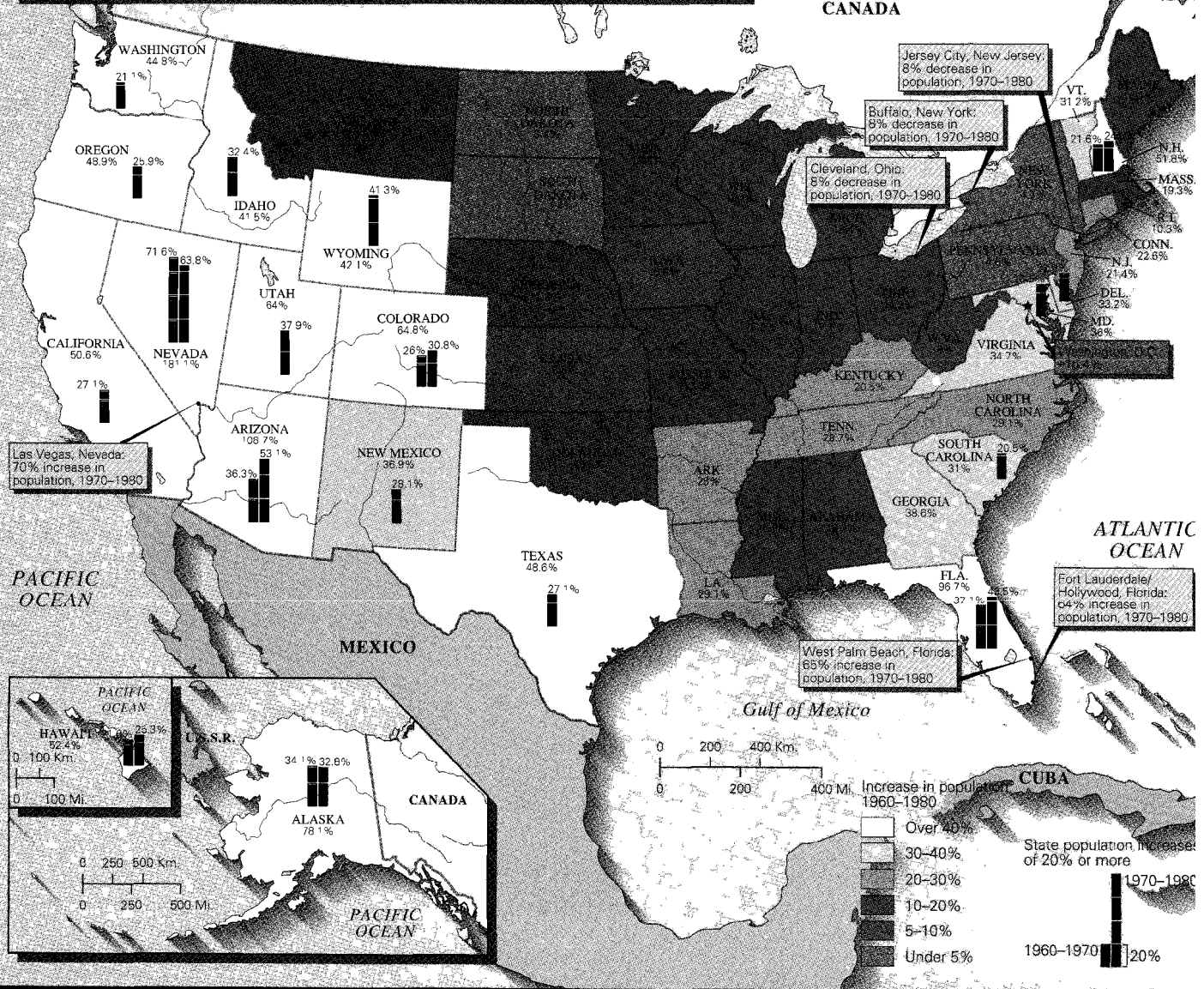
**4** In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson created a commission chaired by Governor Otto Kerner to investigate the causes of racial strife that had swept across America and to recommend possible solutions. In March 1968, the final report provided a bleak image of race relations in the United States.

*The events of the summer of 1967 are in large part the culmination of 300 years of racial prejudice. . . . Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. . . . Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American. . . . This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. . . .*

*Violence and destruction must be ended—in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people. . . . What white Americans have never fully understood—and what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.*



**MOVING TO THE SUNBELT** From the 1960s on, many Americans have moved to the Sunbelt—a region, shown in this map, stretching from Florida in a westward arc to the state of Washington. Pushed by harsh winters and declining economic opportunities in the North and East, thousands have sought warmer climates and jobs in states like California, Florida, and Arizona.





# America Under Stress,

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## 1963-1975

### **Johnson and the World**

What expectations led Lyndon Johnson to choose the policy of escalating America's role in Vietnam?

- What were the political, social, and military outcomes of his decision?

### **Expanding the American Dream**

What constraints did women, Latinos, and American Indians face in American society, and how did they organize to promote change?

### **Nixon and the Balance of Power**

What choices did Richard Nixon make to achieve an "honorable" peace in Vietnam?

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How did Nixon's choices in shaping Cold War policies differ from those favored by earlier administrations?

## **Nixon and Politics**

- How did Nixon's choices in dealing with the economy and the environment reflect his pragmatic conservatism?

Why did Nixon achieve such a huge success in the 1972 election? What expectations and constraints led to Watergate?

# INTRODUCTION

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The Sixties began with a wave of optimism and confidence in the ability of the national government to improve society and promote American interests abroad. In 1963, those *expectations* provided the new president, Lyndon Johnson, an opportunity to create his Great Society. In foreign affairs, Johnson had less ambitious *expectations*. He seemed content to continue Kennedy's policies, especially in Vietnam. But he was determined that the United States not be beaten by the Communists of a "two-bit" nation like North Vietnam.

An array of *constraints* blocked any dramatic increase in the American military role in South Vietnam, which many regarded as necessary to defeat the Communists. Sudden escalation would be expensive, could weaken support for Johnson's domestic program, and might drive the Chinese and the Soviets to increase their support of North Vietnam. To the president, the best *choice* seemed to be a carefully controlled, gradual escalation of American force. The administration *expected* the North Vietnamese would then abandon their efforts to conquer South Vietnam.

That strategy failed miserably. North Vietnam *chose* to meet escalation with escalation, until many Americans turned against both the war and Johnson. In 1968, Johnson *chose* to start peace negotiations with North Vietnam. Unexpectedly, he also announced that he would not seek re-election.

The Republicans rallied behind Richard Nixon. He called for a restoration of national prestige and a reassertion of the values that had made the na-

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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tion strong. Nixon played on the uneasy *expectations* of a society that was fragmented by the Vietnam War and by sharp demands from an array of social groups, from feminists to American Indians, seeking political, economic, and social changes.

Despite their claims of wanting to bring the nation together, Nixon and the Republicans *chose* to inflame social divisions to ensure their victories in 1968 and 1972. They *expected* to construct a solid political base around the Silent Majority: suburban, middle-class, white Americans who were tired of social reform. Promising a new, pragmatic conservatism, Nixon's first administration achieved generally successful *outcomes*. He improved relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and gradually withdrew American forces from Vietnam. Domestically, his policy *choices* showed surprising flexibility.

Despite his successes, Nixon was not satisfied. His desire to destroy his political enemies contributed to the illegal activities surrounding the Watergate break-in. Watergate's *outcomes* included not only the unprecedented resignation of a president but a nationwide wave of disillusionment with politics and government.

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## Johnson and the World

Lyndon Baines Johnson saw the world in black-and-white terms: the free world on one side, the Communist world on the other. In 1964, Johnson perceived a growing Communist menace in Latin America and Vietnam.

Eyeing Castro's presence in Cuba, Johnson resolved that there would be no further erosion of

American power in Latin America. Reversing Kennedy's policy, the State Department informed Latin American leaders that social and political reforms were no longer prerequisites for American aid. Johnson wanted order, stability, and pro-American governments. American military equipment and advisers were provided to regimes trying to suppress "Communist" elements. The new policy led to direct military intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. There, supporters of

## From Camelot to Watergate

- 1962 Cesar Chavez forms National Farm Workers Association
- 1963 Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*  
La Reza Unida formed in Texas  
Kennedy assassinated; Johnson becomes president  
16,000 U.S. advisers in South Vietnam
- 1964 Johnson elected president Civil Rights Act  
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
- 1965** Voting Rights Act  
U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam begin  
American combat troops arrive in South Vietnam  
Anti-Vietnam "teach-ins" begin  
Dominican Republic intervention  
National campaign for farm workers
- 1966 National Organization for Women founded 1967  
Antiwar march on Washington
- 1968** Tet offensive  
My Lai massacre  
Peace talks begin in Paris  
Johnson withdraws from presidential race Robert Kennedy assassinated  
Nixon elected president  
American Indian Movement founded
- 1969 American Indians occupy Alcatraz Anti-Vietnam march on Washington First American troop withdrawals from Vietnam Secret bombing of Cambodia  
Vine Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins*  
*Alexander v. Holmes*  
Warren Burger appointed to Supreme Court
- 1970 Cambodian invasion  
Kent State and Jackson State killings
- Clean Air and Water acts  
Earth Day observed nationally Environmental Protection Agency created Strike-for-Equality Parade  
Harry Blackmun appointed to Supreme Court
- 1971 *Pentagon Papers*  
Nixon enacts price and wage controls *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* William Rehnquist and Lewis Powell appointed to Supreme Court
- 1972 Revenue Sharing Act  
Watergate break-in  
Nixon reelected  
Nixon visits China and Soviet Union  
SALT I treaty  
Bombing of North Vietnam resumes
- 1973 Watergate hearings  
Paris Peace Accords  
War Powers Act  
"Second battle of Wounded Knee"
- 1974 Nixon resigns  
Gerald Ford becomes president  
Jerry Apodaca elected governor of New Mexico  
Raul Castro elected governor of Arizona
- 1975 South Vietnamese government falls to North Vietnamese

deposed President Juan Bosch rebelled against a repressive, pro-American regime. Johnson decided that the pro-Bosch coalition was Communist dominated and sent in twenty-two thousand American troops to restore order. The troops left in mid-1966, after Joaquin Balaguer, a conservative, pro-American candidate, was elected president. Johnson claimed to have saved a free nation from communism, but many Latin Americans saw only an example of Yankee arrogance.

### The Americanization of Vietnam

Latin America was not the only region where Johnson believed that American interests were threatened by communism. Although the United States had stationed sixteen thousand advisers in South Vietnam by the end of 1963, the Viet Cong, supported by North Vietnam, appeared to be winning the war. American advisers saw little hope for improvement unless American combat troops were committed to the contest. Johnson agreed, but concluded that sending troops to Vietnam in an election year was politically unwise. He decided to delay escalation at least until after the presidential election. Nevertheless, planning began immediately.

The plan that emerged relied heavily on American air power. It would be used against industrial and commercial targets in North Vietnam. Johnson's advisers believed that North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh would end support for the Viet Cong rather than watch his nation's economic future go up in smoke. Without support from the North, the Viet Cong could be defeated by the South Vietnamese army (ARVN). The need for large numbers of American ground forces would consequently be limited. **General William Westmoreland**, commander of American forces in Vietnam, disagreed with that assessment. American ground forces were necessary, he argued, because the ARVN was inept. But Johnson chose not to follow this advice in an election year.

The administration did begin preparing the public for a larger American role in South Vietnam. The White House and the **Pentagon** encouraged newspapers and magazines to stress the Communist threat to South Vietnam and Southeast Asia. The White House waited for an opportunity to ask

Congress for permission to use whatever force was necessary to defend South Vietnam.

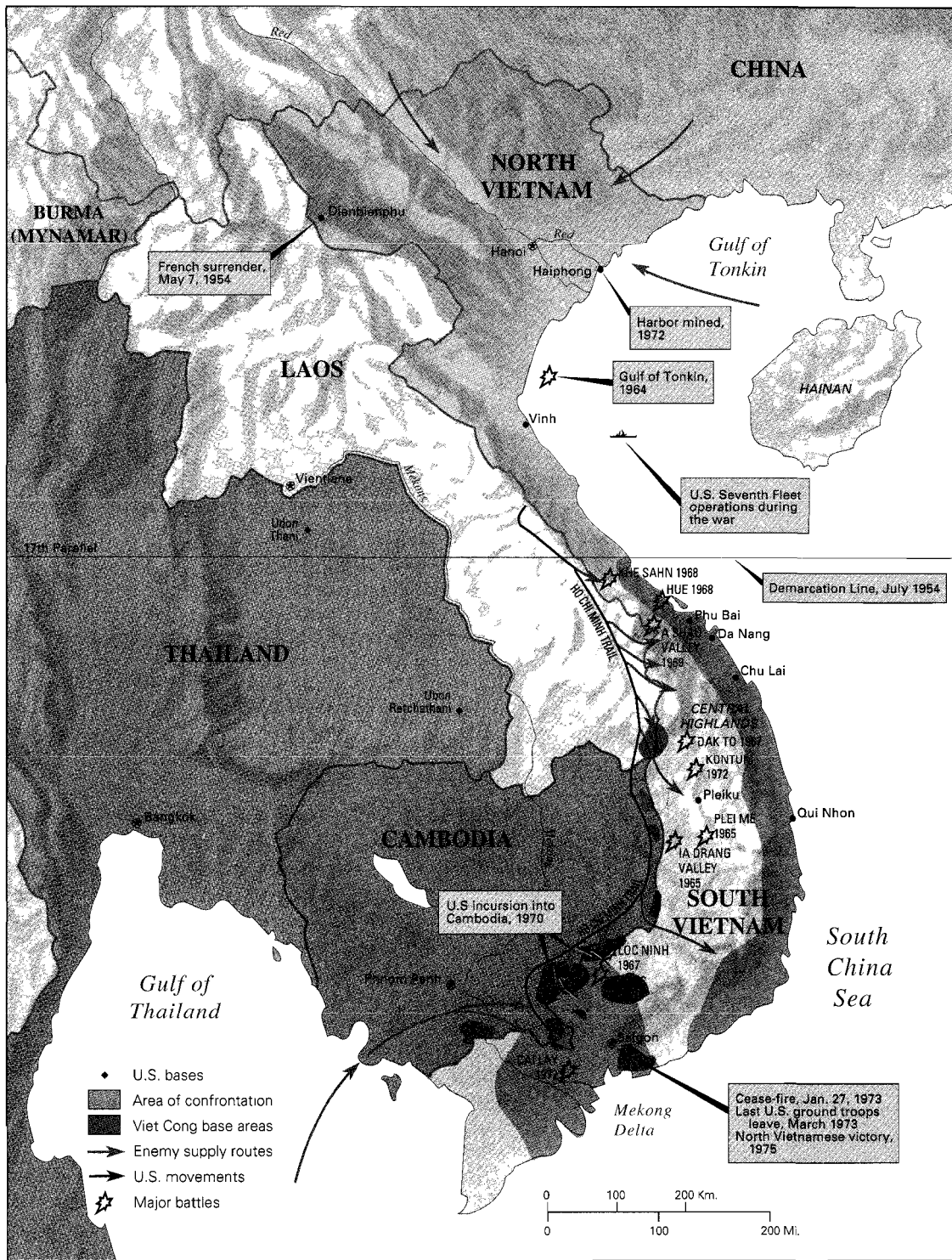
That chance came in August 1964 off the coast of North Vietnam. On August 1, North Vietnamese torpedo boats skirmished with the American destroyer *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin (see Map 30.1). On August 4, experiencing rough seas and poor visibility, radar operators on the *Maddox* and another destroyer concluded that the patrol boats were making another attack. Confusion followed. Both ships fired wildly at targets shown only on radar screens. Officers on both ships soon concluded that the radar blips had not been attacking vessels. Johnson joked privately that the sailors had probably been shooting at flying fish. Still, he told the nation that the Communists were guilty of "open aggression on the high seas" against the United States. On August 7, he submitted to Congress a resolution asking approval "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force," to aid South Vietnam. An overwhelming majority of Congress approved the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**; only two senators opposed it.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gave Johnson the freedom to take whatever measures he wanted in Vietnam. Before committing American forces, however, he wanted to wait until after the 1964 election and for another enemy provocation. Johnson got his provocation when the Viet Cong attacked the American base at Pleiku in February 1965, killing eight Americans. Operation Rolling Thunder, the air assault on North Vietnam, began on March 2, 1965. On March 8, the 3rd Marine Division arrived to take up positions around the American base at Da Nang. By July, American planes were flying over nine hundred missions a week and a hundred

General William Westmoreland Commander of all American troops in Vietnam from 1964 to 1968.

Pentagon The U.S. military establishment, so named because its central offices are located in a five-sided building in Arlington, Virginia, called the Pentagon.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Resolution passed by Congress in 1964 authorizing the president to take any measures necessary to repel attacks against U.S. forces in Vietnam.



◆ **MAP 30.1 The Vietnam War, 1954-1975** Following the French defeat at Dienbienphu in 1954, the United States became increasingly committed to defending South Vietnam. This map shows some of the major battle sites of the Vietnam War from 1954 to the fall of Saigon and the defeat of the South Vietnamese government in 1975.

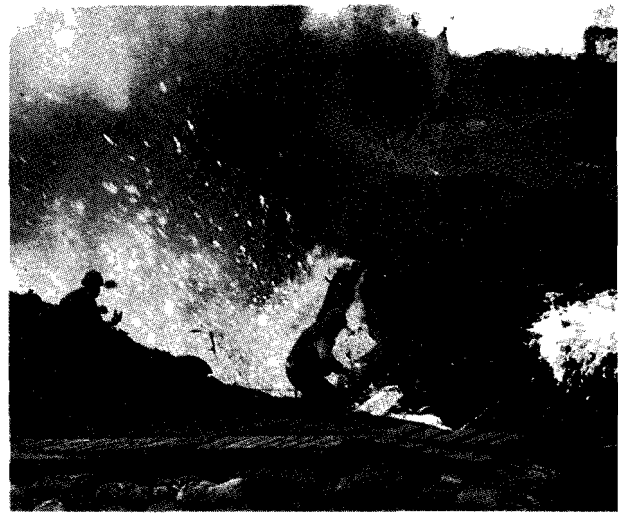
thousand American ground forces had reached Vietnam. Johnson's strategy soon showed its flaws. As the United States escalated the war, so did the enemy. General William Westmoreland now insisted that victory required even more American soldiers. Reluctantly, Johnson gave the green light. Vietnam had become an American war.

Westmoreland planned to use overwhelming numbers and firepower to destroy the enemy. In the first major American offensive, a large-scale sweep of the Ia Drang Valley in November 1965, the 1st Air Cavalry forced North Vietnamese units to retreat into Cambodia. The brutal hand-to-hand fighting left three hundred Americans and an estimated three thousand enemy soldiers dead. Westmoreland and Johnson were pleased. *Time* named Westmoreland "Man of the Year" for 1965.

Throughout 1966 and 1967, both sides continued to escalate. The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese suffered heavy losses of men and supplies, but their determination to continue the struggle remained unbroken. American aircraft rained bombs on North Vietnam and supply routes south, especially the **Ho Chi Minh Trail**, but arms and provisions still moved. In the fall of 1967, Westmoreland informed Washington that half of the enemy's forces were no longer capable of combat. At the same time, he asked to increase the American presence in Vietnam to 542,000.

Unknown to Westmoreland, North Vietnamese leaders were planning an immense offensive for the Vietnamese new year holiday of Tet in January 1968. The Viet Cong struck forty-one cities throughout South Vietnam, including Saigon. In some of the bloodiest fighting of the war, American and South Vietnamese forces recaptured the lost cities and villages.

The **Tet offensive** was a military defeat for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. It provoked no popular uprising against the South Vietnamese government, the Communists gained no cities or provincial capitals, and they suffered staggering losses. Over forty thousand Viet Cong were killed. Tet was nonetheless a "victory" for the North Vietnamese in that it seriously weakened American support for the war. Coming amid official pronouncements of "victory just around the corner," Tet destroyed the administration's credibility and intensified a growing antiwar movement.



◆ Unlike previous American wars, Vietnam was a war without fixed frontlines. At the isolated outpost of Khe Sahn, fewer than six thousand American marines fought to hold back thirty thousand to forty thousand North Vietnamese regulars for seventy-seven days, killing or wounding more than ten thousand of the enemy. Within weeks after the siege, the United States withdrew from the area. *Robert Ellison/Black Star.*

### The Antiwar Movement

Throughout 1964, there was widespread support for an American role in Vietnam. Most Americans accepted the domino theory, which held that a Communist success in one country would lead to the toppling of other "free" governments. A year later, little had changed except that the largely college-based opposition to the war was more outspoken. The University of Michigan held the first Vietnam "teach-in" to mobilize opposition to the war on March 24, 1965. In April, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organized a protest march of about fifteen thousand in front of the White House.

**Ho Chi Minh Trail** Main infiltration route for North Vietnamese soldiers into South Vietnam; it ran through Laos and Cambodia.

**Tet offensive** Viet Cong and North Vietnamese offensive against South Vietnamese cities in January 1968; a military defeat for North Vietnam, it nevertheless undermined U.S. support for the war.

Those opposing the war fell into two major categories. Pacifists and radical liberals opposed the war for moral and ideological reasons. Others opposed the war for pragmatic reasons: the draft, the loss of lives and money, and the inability of the United States to defeat the enemy. In 1966, high school students hardly mentioned Vietnam or the draft as a problem facing their lives. Three years later, 75 percent of those polled listed both as major worries. By 1967, the possibility of being sent to Vietnam was becoming a concern of many college students. A University of Michigan student complained that if he were drafted and spent two years in the army, he would lose over \$16,000 in income. Yet college students were not the most likely to be drafted. Far more often, those who were drafted and sent to Vietnam were poorly educated, low-income whites and minorities.

Nonetheless, it was America's middle class, especially college students, who swelled the antiwar movement and participated in the "Stop-the-Draft Week" in October 1967. That week, over 10,000 demonstrators blocked the entrance to an induction center in Oakland, California, while over 200,000 people staged a massive protest march in Washington against "Lyndon's War."

Until 1967, Johnson displayed little concern about the antiwar movement. Press and television coverage continued to emphasize American successes. Public opinion polls found that the nation stood behind Johnson's efforts to save South Vietnam. But as antiwar numbers increased and as opposition to the war spread beyond students and radicals in 1967, Johnson responded by having federal agents infiltrate, spy on, and try to discredit antiwar groups.

The Tet offensive broadened and intensified antiwar sentiments. The highly respected CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite had supported the war, but Tet changed his mind. Unable to match the administration's claims of impending victory with the fierce Communist offensive, he went on a personal fact-finding tour of Vietnam. On his return, Cronkite announced that there would be no victory in Vietnam. "If I have lost Walter Cronkite, then it's over. I have lost Mr. Average Citizen," Johnson lamented.

Johnson's own circle of advisers began opposing American policy in Vietnam. Secretary of War

Robert McNamara left the administration over its policy. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and new Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford argued that military victory was impossible. Clifford concluded that after four years of "enormous casualties" and "massive destruction from our bombing," there was no lessening of "the will of the enemy." Thus, following Tet, when Westmoreland called for more troops, most of Johnson's "wise men" urged sending fewer troops and seeking instead a diplomatic end to the war.

### The 1968 Presidential Campaign

As Johnson prepared for the 1968 presidential race, rumors circulated that 200,000 more Americans were being sent to Vietnam. In the New Hampshire primary, Minnesota senator **Eugene McCarthy** challenged Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination by opposing the Vietnam War. Hundreds of student volunteers knocked on doors and distributed flyers for McCarthy.

Expecting no real challenge to his renomination, Johnson had not entered the New Hampshire primary. But with the furor over Tet, Johnson's political advisers quickly organized a **write-in campaign** for Johnson in New Hampshire. The president beat McCarthy, but by only 6 percent of the vote. Political commentators called McCarthy the real winner of the contest. New York senator **Robert Kennedy** added to Johnson's worries when he proclaimed his candidacy for the presidency and opposition to the war.

On March 31, 1968, a haggard-looking president announced on television that the United States

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**Eugene McCarthy** Senator who opposed the Vietnam War and who made an unsuccessful bid for the 1968 Democratic nomination for president.

**write-in campaign** An attempt to elect a candidate not registered or listed on the ballot; voters are urged to write in the candidate's name on the ballot themselves.

**Robert Kennedy** Attorney general during the presidency of his brother John F. Kennedy; he was elected to the Senate in 1964 and was campaigning for the presidency when he was assassinated in 1968.



would negotiate with the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. The escalation of the ground war was over, and the South Vietnamese would assume a larger role. The bombing of North Vietnam above the 20th parallel would end. Johnson ended his speech with this bombshell: "I have concluded that I should not permit the presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. . . . Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as president." Listeners were shocked. Lyndon B. Johnson had thrown in the towel. Nearly everyone agrees that the war ended Johnson's political career.

Negotiations with North Vietnam began in Paris in May and went nowhere. The war remained the critical issue within the Democratic political race, which now included Vice President **Hubert H. Humphrey**. McCarthy campaigned against the war and the "imperial presidency." Kennedy opposed the war and called on the government to meet the needs of the poor and minorities. Standing by Johnson's peace efforts, Humphrey relied on party regulars and White House clout to win the nomination. While Kennedy and McCarthy battled for primary victories, Humphrey concentrated on the nonprimary delegations.

By June, Kennedy was winning the primary race. In the critical California primary, he gained a narrow victory over McCarthy, 46 to 41 percent. As Kennedy left his election headquarters, he was shot in the head by Sirhan Sirhan, a Jordanian immigrant. He died the next day.

Kennedy's assassination ensured Humphrey's nomination. McCarthy continued his campaign but was unable to generate much support. By the time of the national convention in Chicago in August, Humphrey had enough pledged votes to ensure his nomination. The convention was nevertheless dramatic. Antiwar and antiestablishment groups demonstrated for McCarthy, peace in Vietnam, and social justice. In the streets of Chicago, radical factions within the SDS promised physical confrontation. The so-called Yippies (Youth International party), led by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, threatened to contaminate the water supply with drugs. Chicago's mayor, Richard Daley, was determined to maintain order. Inside the convention, delegates argued and screamed support for

their positions. Outside, protesters threw eggs, bottles, rocks, and balloons filled with water, ink, and urine at the police, who responded with tear gas and nightsticks. On August 28, the police went berserk before television cameras, viciously attacking protesters and bystanders alike. The violence in Chicago's streets overshadowed Humphrey's nomination.

Many Americans were disgusted by the chaos in Chicago. **George Wallace**, the Democratic governor of Alabama, appealed to this sentiment when he left the Democratic party and ran for president as the American Independent party's candidate. The conservative Wallace, who had opposed federal civil rights legislation, took a dim view of antiwar protesters. He aimed his campaign at southern whites, blue-collar workers, and lower-income white Americans. On the campaign trail, Wallace took special glee in attacking the counterculture and the "rich-kid" war protesters, who avoided serving in Vietnam while the sons of working-class Americans died there. Wallace agreed with his vice-presidential candidate, General Curtis Lemay, that the United States should bomb North Vietnam "back to the Stone Age." Two months before the election, Wallace commanded 21 percent of the vote according to opinion polls.

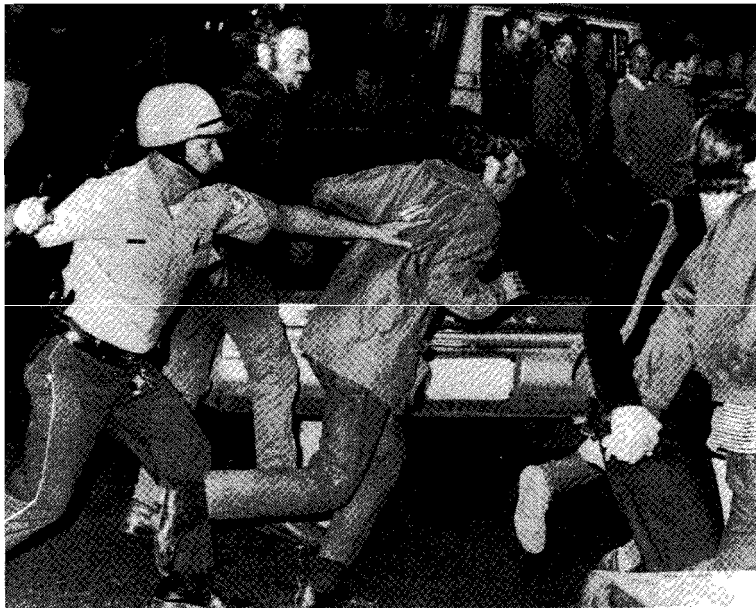
The Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, also intended to tap this general dissatisfaction. He and Spiro Agnew, his vice-presidential running mate, campaigned on the need for law and order while denouncing pot, pornography, protesters, and permissiveness. He announced that he would "end the war and win the peace" but refused to specify how.

On election day, Nixon won a comfortable margin in the Electoral College, although he received

**Hubert H. Humphrey** Vice president under Lyndon Johnson who won the Democratic nomination for president in 1968 but lost the election to Richard Nixon.

Yippies Counterculture group that inflamed the protests that disrupted the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968.

**George Wallace** Conservative Alabama governor who opposed desegregation in the 1960s and ran unsuccessfully for the presidency as an independent in 1968 and 1972.



- ◆ Violence erupted during the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Using nightsticks, police attacked antiwar and anti-establishment protesters who surrounded the convention hotel. The violent confrontations in Chicago did little to quell similar protests, unify the Democratic party, or help Hubert Humphrey's chances for election. *Wide World Photos.*

only 43.4 percent of the popular vote. Conservatives were pleased. Combined, Nixon and Wallace attracted almost 57 percent of the vote, which conservatives said indicated wide public support for an end to liberal social programs and a return to "traditional values." They believed that a major political realignment was taking shape.

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## Expanding the American Dream

The explosion of the civil rights movement during the 1960s spread African-American activism to all parts of the country. It also contributed to the growth of other groups, such as women, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans, demanding equal rights and access to the American dream.

### The Women's Rights Movement

Popular social images during the 1950s showed women happiest at home raising children and running the household. Although this scenario held true for many women, a growing number were dissatisfied with their lives. As the 1960s began, more women were entering the work force, having

fewer children, and getting divorced. Many women complained that they were denied access to profitable careers. A 1963 report documented that women worked for less pay (on average, 40 percent that of a man), were more likely to be fired or laid off, and had little success in reaching top career positions. Nor was it just in the workplace that women faced discrimination. Throughout the country, divorce, credit, and property laws generally favored men.

To some women, the role of housewife itself symbolized oppression. Betty Friedan was one who concluded that the chores of the housewife amounted to a form of servitude. As a young woman, she had dropped out of a psychology doctoral program to get married, bear children, and keep a suburban home. In her 1963 bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique*, she pondered why she was not satisfied. After reviewing the responsibilities of the housewife (making beds, grocery shopping, driving children everywhere, preparing meals and

**Betty Friedan** Feminist who wrote *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and helped found the National Organization for Women in 1966.

snacks, and pleasing her husband), she asked: "Is this all?" She concluded that it was not enough. Women needed to overcome the "feminine mystique" that promised them fulfillment through the domestic arts. She called on women to set their own goals and seek careers outside the home. Her book contributed to a renewed women's movement.

**Title VII** of the 1964 Civil Rights Act also produced more activism. Title VII prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, religion, creed, national origin, or sex. Many women and liberals hoped that Title VII would commit the government to gender equality. But when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) showed little interest in dealing with gender discrimination, proponents organized to press the government to enforce Title VII. Experienced civil rights activists like Mary King and Casey Hayden of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were anxious to push for women's rights. In "the black movement," one woman wrote, "I had been fighting for someone else's oppression and now there was a way I could fight for my own freedom and I was going to be much stronger than I ever was."

The most prominent women's organization to emerge was the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**, formed in 1966 and headed by Betty Friedan. NOW launched an aggressive campaign to draw attention to sex discrimination. It sued the EEOC for not upholding the law and thirteen hundred corporations for gender discrimination. It demanded an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution and pushed for easier access to birth-control devices and the right to have an abortion.

NOW's membership grew rapidly, from about 300 in 1966 to 175,000 in 1968. But the movement was larger than NOW's membership. Women in droves attended consciousness-raising sessions and other grassroots gatherings to promote women's issues. Calls arose for new social and sexual codes for women. Some women rejected high heels, bras, and other trappings associated with a male-defined image of feminine sexuality. NOW's 1970 Strike-for-Equality Parade demonstrated the growing mass appeal of the women's movement when fifty thousand supporters marched down New York City's Fifth Avenue.

As within the African-American civil rights movement, divisions developed. Many women

who supported equal opportunities and rights rejected the feminist label and what they believed was the movement's bias toward career and working women. At the other extreme, some called for a complete redefinition of the traditional institutions of family and marriage. Marriage was "slavery," "legalized rape," and "unpaid labor," according to radical feminist Ti-Grace Atkinson. Still, by the end of the Seventies, a general feminist critique of American society had succeeded in convincing many Americans that women should pursue goals and aspirations beyond the traditional roles of wife, mother, and homemaker.

### **The Emergence of Chicano Power**

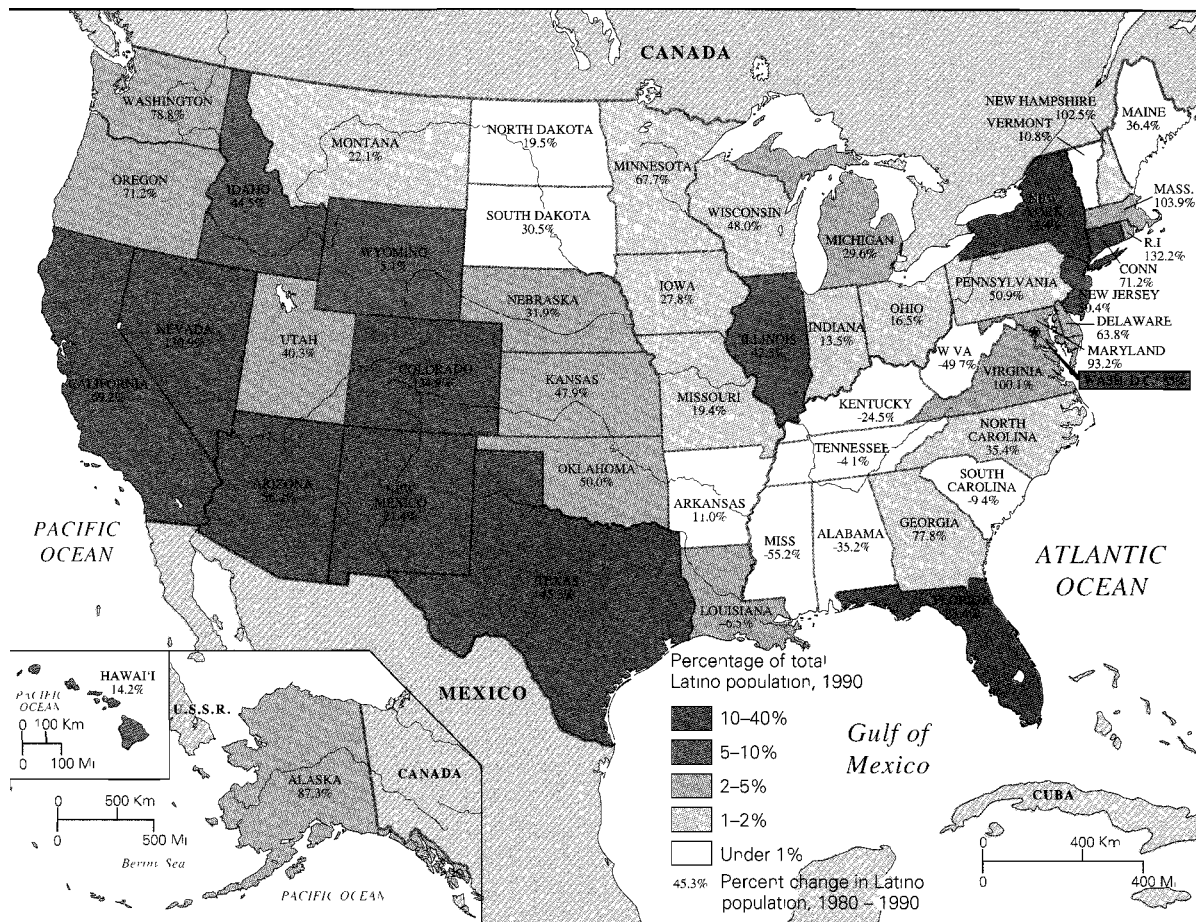
Mexican Americans also organized to assert their social and political rights. As the 1960s began, Mexican Americans were largely an invisible minority (see Map 30.2). Outside the Southwest, few Americans were aware of them. Prevailing stereotypes portrayed them as docile, if not lazy, and ridiculed them as poorly educated, unskilled people who spoke English badly. Statistically, Mexican Americans were near society's lowest levels of income and education.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, organizations like the League of Latin American Citizens and the G.I. Forum had made minor gains against legal segregation, but little had changed for most Mexican Americans. The New Frontier and the Great Society had revived hope, as organizations began to pressure American society to recognize the needs of the Latino population. In 1963, the Mexican-American majority in Crystal City, Texas,

**Title VII** Provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that guaranteed women legal protection against discrimination.

**National Organization for Women** Women's rights organization founded in 1966 to improve educational, employment, and political opportunities for women and to fight for equal pay for equal work.

**consciousness-raising** Related to achieving greater awareness of the nature of a political or social issue through group therapy or group interaction.



◆ **MAP 30.2 Changing Latino Population** At one time, the great majority of Latinos were Mexican Americans located in the Southwest. In the 1990s, Latinos resided in nearly every major city and included Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and others from throughout the Caribbean and Central and South America. Growing rapidly, the Latino population was projected to become the largest minority in the country by the year 2000, perhaps 12 percent of the total population.

stunned the region by electing an all-Mexican American slate to the city council. The Crystal City vote was, for many Mexican Americans, a revolutionary act. Across south Texas, Mexican Americans banded together to form El Partido Raza Unida (the United People party) to spread the political "revolution" throughout Texas. The passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and Johnson's War on Poverty added more impetus. Throughout the Southwest, the activism of Mexican Americans

frightened those supporting the status quo. Texas governor Dolph Briscoe typified conservative sentiment

when he denounced the La Raza Unida movement as Communist inspired.

Briscoe was wrong. The Mexican-American movement was a local one, born of poverty and oppressive segregation. Reflecting the grassroots character of the movement was the important role that youths played. Many Mexican-American teenagers and young adults adopted the term

Chicano to stress their unwillingness to accept the dictates of Anglo society. Although many Mexican Americans disapproved, the term "Chicano" was soon applied to Mexican Americans who promoted their heritage and rights. In schools, Chicanos demanded better teachers, integration, and Mexican-American (Latino) studies programs.

Under pressure from the Mexican-American community, school districts, including Los Angeles, implemented Mexican-American studies and bilingual programs, hired more Mexican-American teachers and counselors, and adopted programs to meet the special needs of migrant farm worker children. By the 1970s, calls for bilingual education had become an important educational reform focus for the Latino community.

During the 1960s, nearly one-third of all Mexican Americans worked at **stoop labor** in the fields, picking onions, carrots, grapes, and other perishable crops for less than the minimum wage. Unskilled and uneducated farm laborers were trapped at the bottom of the occupation ladder. They were not covered under minimum wage or labor laws. Established unions made no effort to organize agricultural labor. Finally, in 1962, **Cesar Chavez** created the **National Farm Workers Association (NFWA)**. When Chavez called a strike against the grape growers of central California in 1965, the NFWA had reached seventeen hundred members. He demanded a wage of \$1.40 an hour and asked the public to support the farm workers by buying only union-picked grapes. With varying degrees of success, the boycott and strike continued for five years until most of the major growers accepted unionization.

As Mexican Americans and other Latinos became more vocal in their demands for a fairer share of the American dream, both political parties began to reach out to moderate Mexican-American leaders. New Mexico's Manuel Lujan, a Republican, was elected to Congress, joining several Mexican-American Democrats in the House of Representatives. In 1974, Democrats Jerry Apodaca and Raul Castro were elected governors of New Mexico and Arizona.

Despite such success stories, the majority of Mexican Americans have not achieved social or economic equality. Economically, the Mexican-American population remains one of the poorest minorities in the United States. Lack of economic success has left few incentives for Latino children to stay in high school.

The Latino dropout rate was 45 percent nationwide in 1990, exceeding rates for blacks and whites.

### **American Indian Activism**

American Indians also began to assert their rights with new vigor in the 1960s. The 1950s had been oppressive years for Indians. Although the federal government actually eliminated few reservations or tribal units, federal policies encouraged more than thirty-five thousand American Indians to leave their reservations and move to urban areas. Few urban Indians found anything but discrimination, poverty, and disease.

American Indians on and off reservations called for changes in federal and state policies. Increasingly militant Indian leaders demanded the protection and restoration of their ancient burial grounds, along with fishing and timber rights. They asked museums to return the remains of dead Indians on display. The National Indian Youth Council called for Indians to resist further loss of Indian lands, rights, and traditions. Vine Deloria's popular *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) informed readers that Indians asked "only to be freed of cultural oppression." "The white does not understand the Indian," he wrote, "and the Indian does not wish to understand the white." The central issue was not equality and assimilation, Deloria explained, but Indian self-determination. Indians wanted economic prosperity and opportunity,

**Chicano** Term adopted by many Mexican Americans during the late 1960s to describe their ethnic identity; it was associated with the promotion of Mexican-American heritage and rights.

**stoop labor** Field labor that involves constant bending, usually to pick fruits and vegetables.

**Cesar Chavez** Labor organizer who founded the National Farm Workers Association; he believed in nonviolence and used marches, boycotts, and fasts to bring moral and economic pressure to bear on growers.

**National Farm Workers Association** Migrant workers' union organized by Cesar Chavez in 1962 that used a series of boycotts to force California growers to recognize the union and improve wages and working conditions.

but on terms that would ensure their continued tribal existence.

In the 1960s, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson provided some change, ending the termination program. President Nixon continued the process by placing Indians in top-level positions within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1974, Congress passed the **Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act**, which gave tribes control of many federal programs on their reservations. On the issue of lost land, American Indians pressed their claims, with little prospect of success. Still, some Indian victories have occurred. In 1972, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes in Maine sued to have over 12.5 million acres, which they claimed had been illegally seized by the state, returned to them. They settled in 1980 for 300,000 acres and the establishment of a \$27 million trust fund for the tribes. Also in 1980, the Supreme Court decided that the federal government owed over \$106 million to the Sioux for taking the Black Hills of South Dakota in the 1870s.

Although some American Indian leaders turned to Washington and the courts to assert Indian rights, others took more direct action. In 1968, the Chippewas organized the **American Indian Movement (AIM)** to dramatize police brutality toward Indians in Minneapolis. In 1969, a group of San Francisco Indian activists seized Alcatraz Island, offering to buy the federally owned island for \$24, the same amount that Dutch settlers had paid for Manhattan Island in 1626. They held the island until 1971, when federal authorities, without bloodshed, retook control. In 1973, AIM leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks organized the armed occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the site of the 1890 massacre of the Sioux by the army. AIM militants controlled the town for seventy-one days before surrendering to federal authorities. Although the "second battle of Wounded Knee" failed to change federal policy, it did publicize Indian grievances and problems.

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## Nixon and the Balance of Power

In foreign affairs, Nixon expected to achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam and to reestablish American leadership in world affairs. To realize these goals, he turned to Harvard professor Henry Kissinger, his

national security adviser and foreign policy expert. Nixon and Kissinger wanted to restructure Cold War policies, particularly with regard to the Soviet Union. They believed that America's military advantage over the Soviets was narrowing rapidly. Because there was little chance that Congress would support efforts to regain clear military superiority, they concluded that it was necessary to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Nixon and Kissinger recognized that the widening split between China and the Soviet Union, which had developed in the 1960s, offered promising possibilities for changing the balance of Cold War power.

## Vietnamization

Nixon and Kissinger also knew that Vietnam was the most immediate problem. It dominated and shaped nearly all other issues: the budget, public and congressional opinion, foreign policy, and domestic stability. The Republicans needed a solution to Vietnam before moving ahead on other issues. The central problem was to find a means to protect South Vietnam, to encourage the North Vietnamese to negotiate, and to allow the gradual withdrawal of American forces. Nixon's solution was **Vietnamization**: reducing the American role while strengthening

### **Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act**

Law passed in 1974 giving Indian tribes control over federal programs carried out on their reservations and increasing their control of reservation schools.

**American Indian Movement** Militant Indian movement organized to demand social justice for urban Indians.

**Alcatraz Island** Rocky island in San Francisco Bay that was occupied from 1969 to 1971 by Native American activists who demanded that it be made available as a cultural center.

**Henry Kissinger** German-born American diplomat who was national security adviser and secretary of state under President Nixon; he helped negotiate the cease-fire in Vietnam.

**Vietnamization** Policy announced by Nixon in which the United States scaled back its involvement in Vietnam, returning to its earlier role of helping Vietnamese forces fight their own war.

South Vietnam's military capability. Nixon believed that large-scale opposition to the war would fade once American soldiers started coming home.

Vietnamization began in the spring of 1969. By the end of the year, American forces in Vietnam had declined by over 110,000. The withdrawal of American troops reflected a broader strategy that became known as the **Nixon Doctrine**. This doctrine stipulated that countries confronting communism would have to bear the brunt of the military burden, and that the United States would provide those countries with only economic and political support.

Vietnamization was only a part of Nixon's strategy for ending the conflict in Vietnam. The other element in the "peace plan" was to increase the economic, diplomatic, and military pressure on North Vietnam to end the war. This, Nixon hoped, would be done in two ways: by getting the Soviets and the Chinese to reduce their support for North Vietnam and by bombing enemy bases across the South Vietnamese border in Cambodia and Laos. In March 1969, Nixon ordered the heavy bombardment of Communist sanctuaries inside Cambodia. Fearful of public and political reactions, the administration tried to keep the operation a secret. When Operation MENU ended in 1973, over 383,800 tons of bombs had been dropped on Cambodia. The intense assault was also part of a "madman strategy" Nixon designed to convince the North Vietnamese to negotiate. Nixon said that he wanted Hanoi "to believe that I've reached the point where I might do anything to stop the war."

The strategy did not work. The North Vietnamese appeared unconcerned about Nixon's "madness," the increased bombing, and decreasing support from China and the Soviet Union. They still believed that victory was only a matter of waiting patiently until America was unwilling to continue the war. Consequently, talks between Kissinger and the North Vietnamese in Paris were unproductive.

Nor did American opposition to the war fade away. In November 1969, over 250,000 antiwar protesters paraded past the White House calling for an end to the conflict. News of American atrocities at My Lai, which came to light in 1970, added fuel to the antiwar cause. In March 1968, Lieutenant William Calley's platoon had "wasted" the small village, killing more than two hundred men, women, and children. The massacre seemed to of

fer incontestable proof that the Vietnam War was immoral. The publication of the *Pentagon Papers*, a collection of official documents showing government officials had deceived the American public about Vietnam from the 1950s on, furthered public disillusionment with the war.

Still, Nixon refused to change course. In 1970, he ordered American troops to cross the border into Cambodia and destroy North Vietnamese and Viet Cong headquarters and supply areas. He told the public that the incursion was not to widen the war but to hasten its end. The Cambodian invasion, which involved nearly eighty thousand American and South Vietnamese troops, did destroy large amounts of supplies. But it failed to defeat the enemy or to stop the flow of supplies from North Vietnam. It also generated loud protests on college campuses. At Kent State University on May 4, 1970, the Ohio National Guard fired on protesters, killing four and wounding eleven. At Jackson State University in Mississippi, police killed two students during another demonstration. Outraged students responded by shutting down over a hundred campuses. An angry Senate repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and forbade the further use of American troops in Laos and Cambodia.

By the end of 1971, Kissinger and Nixon were frustrated. They knew that Vietnamization was not progressing well and that there seemed no sign of a settlement in Paris. The North Vietnamese refused to consider any settlement that did not replace South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu and his government with a coalition that included the Communist National Liberation Front. That condition was unacceptable to the United States. Then, in

**Nixon Doctrine** Nixon's policy of requiring countries threatened by communism to shoulder the bulk of the military burden, with the United States offering mainly political and economic support.

**My Lai Site** of a massacre of more than two hundred South Vietnamese villagers by U.S. infantrymen in 1969, an event that added to antiwar sentiment in the United States.

**Pentagon Papers** Classified government documents on the policy decisions that led to U.S. involvement in Vietnam, which were leaked to the *New York Times* in 1971.



◆ Together, Richard Nixon (*left*) and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (*right*) sought to refocus American foreign policy by ending the war in Vietnam and improving relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. *John Dominis, LIFE Magazine © Time Warner.*

March 1972, Communist forces drove toward Saigon as South Vietnamese forces tottered on the brink of collapse. Livid at the Communist offensive, Nixon ordered massive bombing raids against North Vietnam and Communist forces in South Vietnam. By mid-June 1972, American airpower had stalled the offensive and enabled ARVN forces to regroup and drive back the North Vietnamese. With their cities under almost continuous air attacks, the North Vietnamese became more flexible in negotiations. By October, a peace settlement was ready. "Peace is at hand," Kissinger announced.

Thieu, however, rejected the plan. Reluctantly, Nixon supported Thieu and ordered the Christmas bombing of North Vietnam. Nixon hoped to put additional pressure on Hanoi and to convince Thieu that the United States would protect South Vietnam. After eleven days, Nixon stopped the bombings and advised Thieu that if he did not accept the next peace settlement, the United States would leave him to fend for himself. Thieu thereupon accepted a peace settlement similar to the one offered in October. Following the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in 1973, Nixon and Kissinger proclaimed peace with honor. Kissinger shared the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize with his North Vietnamese counterpart, Le Duc Tho.

The peace accords imposed a cease-fire, required the removal of all American troops (only twenty-four thousand now remained in South Vietnam) but not North Vietnamese troops, and promised the return of American prisoners of war. The peace terms permitted the United States to complete its military and political withdrawal,

but the pact did little to ensure the continued existence of South Vietnam. The cease-fire, everyone expected, would be temporary. Kissinger confided privately that the South Vietnamese government might "hold out for a year and a half."

As expected, the cease-fire soon collapsed. North Vietnam continued to funnel men and supplies to the south, but substantial American air and naval support for South Vietnam never arrived. Neither Congress nor the public was anxious to help Thieu's government. Instead, Congress cut aid to South Vietnam. In March 1975, North Vietnam began its final campaign to unify the country, and a month later, its troops entered Saigon. The few remaining Americans and some South Vietnamese were evacuated by helicopter, some from the roof of the American embassy. The Vietnam War ended as it had started, with Vietnamese fighting Vietnamese.

Congress drew one immediate conclusion in the aftermath of American involvement in Vietnam: that



limits should be placed on the president's powers to commit American troops to foreign conflicts. The **War Powers Act**, passed in November 1973, required the president to inform Congress within forty-eight hours of deploying troops overseas and to withdraw those troops within sixty days if Congress failed to authorize the action.

### Modifying the Cold War

Ending the Vietnam War was essential to Nixon's goal of redefining the Cold War. Nixon hoped that an "era of confrontation" would give way to an "era of negotiation." To this end, he pursued *détente*, a policy intended to reduce tensions with the two Communist superpowers. China was the key to the Nixon-Kissinger strategy. Several bloody border clashes between the Chinese and the Soviets made the Chinese receptive to better relations with the United States. Nixon hoped that American friendship with the Chinese would in turn encourage the Soviets to improve their relations with the United States. Following a secret visit by Kissinger, Nixon flew to Beijing in February 1972 to meet with Communist party chairman Mao Zedong. Suddenly, the "Red Chinese" were no longer the enemy but "hard-working, intelligent and practical" friends. The Cold War was thawing in the East.

Nixon's China policy contributed to improved relations with the Soviet Union. Kissinger followed his secret visit to China with one to Moscow, where he discussed improving relations with President **Leonid Brezhnev**. Nixon flew to Moscow in May 1972 and told Brezhnev that he believed that the two nations should "live together and work together." Needing to reduce military spending, develop the Soviet domestic economy, and increase American trade, Brezhnev agreed. The meeting was a success. Brezhnev obtained increased trade with the West, including shipments of American grain, and the superpowers announced an agreement on the **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)**, which established a maximum number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) for each side. It seemed as if *détente* had arrived.

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## Nixon and Politics

In his foreign policy, Nixon followed new paths in dealing with the Chinese and Soviets that did not reflect traditional Republican views. This was also true of his domestic programs. Nixon believed that Republicans needed to develop a pragmatic and socially responsible conservatism.

### Pragmatic Conservatism

Nixon's brand of conservatism, the New **Federalism**, embraced federal power while proposing to make programs more responsive to state and local government. His **Revenue Sharing Act**, passed in October 1972, reflected the new approach. The government would continue to raise revenue through its broad tax base, but it would release more of the money to state and local governments and reduce federal controls on how they spent it.

**War Powers Act Law** passed in 1973 that set a sixty-day limit on presidential commitment of U.S. troops to hostilities abroad unless Congress authorized continued action.

**détente** Relaxing of tensions between the superpowers in the early 1970s, which included increased diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contact.

**Leonid Brezhnev** President of the Soviet Union from 1977 until his death in 1982, who worked to foster *détente* with the United States during the Nixon era.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Talks agreement** Agreement between the United States and the USSR in 1972 to limit both offensive nuclear weapons and the anti-ballistic missile systems that protected against them.

**intercontinental ballistic missiles** Missiles that can travel from one continent to another.

**New Federalism** Nixon's policy of accepting the existence of government social programs but seeking to trim waste and increase the power of state and local governments.

**Revenue Sharing Act** Five-year program established in 1972 to distribute large amounts of federal tax revenues to state and local governments to use as they saw fit.

Before the program ended in 1986, state and local governments had received over \$83 billion in revenue sharing funds.

Nixon also wanted to redirect the flow of money and responsibility in the welfare system. Unlike many staunch conservatives, Nixon was not opposed to welfare, but he believed that the existing welfare system robbed people of their self-esteem, contributed to the breakup of nuclear families, and punished people for working. His proposal for welfare reform, the Family Assistance Plan (FAP), sought to balance work and welfare but was attacked by conservatives and liberals alike. The Senate defeated it in 1969 and 1971. After its second defeat, Nixon lost interest.

But Nixon did not abandon what he saw as the need for federal social responsibility. Under his administration, food stamps became more accessible; the elderly and the disabled received direct federal support; and Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid payments were increased. Nixon also supported subsidized housing and expanded the Job Corps. He signed the **Twenty-sixth Amendment** giving 18-year-olds the right to vote, and his administration oversaw the formation of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the **Environmental Protection Agency** (EPA).

Nixon believed that the Republican party could not afford to ignore social needs and public concerns in the name of conservatism. The environmental issue was a case in point. When Nixon took office in 1969, the environment was not a major issue. Almost overnight, however, it became one. The ever-present Los Angeles smog, an oil slick off Santa Barbara, California, and the declaration that Lake Erie was ecologically dead provided graphic reminders of the ecological dangers facing the nation. During the second celebration of Earth Day in April 1970, nearly every community in the nation hosted some type of Earth Day activity.

Nixon was not an environmentalist, but he recognized an opportunity. Two days after Earth Day, 1970, he proposed the creation of the EPA. He also signed the Clean Air and Clean Water acts, which limited the amount of pollutants that business and industry could dump into the air and water.

Nixon proved to be flexible in economic matters as well. When he took office, the nation was experiencing a climbing rate of inflation. Nixon's initial response was to cut spending, increase interest rates, and balance the budget. He succeeded in balancing the budget in 1969, but inflation continued to rise even as economic growth slowed, a phenomenon soon dubbed **stagflation**. By 1971, the economy was in its first recession since 1958 and inflation was still climbing. Fearing that the economy would erode Republican support, Nixon radically shifted his approach. "I am now a Keynesian,"

he announced in April 1971. He asked for increased federal spending to boost recovery and wage and price controls to stall advancing inflation.

Nixon's battle with inflation, however, was a losing one, in part because of economic events over which he had no control. A global drought pushed up farm prices. Following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur War, Arab nations instituted an oil boycott of the United States for its support of Israel. Gasoline prices nearly doubled. Many Americans were forced to wait in long gas lines. Some areas of the country even instituted fuel oil and gasoline rationing. Increases in food and oil prices pushed the 1974 inflation rate over 10 percent.

### **Law and Order and Southern Politics**

During the 1968 campaign, Nixon had presented himself as the law-and-order candidate, who would use the power of government to combat crime. Once in office, however, Nixon seemed more interested in using the law-and-order theme for political purposes than for attacking street crime. Throughout Nixon's first term, administration officials had waged war against student, antiwar, and

**Twenty-sixth Amendment** Amendment to the Constitution in 1971 lowering the voting age from 21 to 18.

**Environmental Protection Agency** Agency created in 1970 to consolidate all major government programs combating pollution.

**stagflation** Persistent inflation combined with stagnant consumer demand and relatively high unemployment.

civil rights activists. Vice President **Spiro Agnew** denounced antiwar protesters for aiding the enemy. He called for the Silent Majority to reject "the nattering nabobs of negativism" and for authorities to take back the campuses. The White House also employed more direct tactics. The Justice Department, often acting illegally, used wiretaps and preventive detention against opponents and infiltrated groups viewed as the administration's enemies.

As part of Nixon's efforts to lock up the once solidly Democratic South for Republicans, the administration worked to slow integration. In response to Mississippi's request in 1969 to postpone the court-ordered integration of several school systems, Attorney General John Mitchell petitioned the Supreme Court for a delay. At the same time, the administration lobbied Congress to pass a weaker version of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Neither effort was successful. Congress rejected changes to the Voting Rights Act, and in October the Supreme Court unanimously decreed in *Alexander v. Holmes* that it was "the obligation of every school district to terminate dual school systems at once." The White House suffered another loss in 1971 when the Court reaffirmed the use of busing to achieve integration in a North Carolina

case, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*. The Nixon administration criticized the decisions but agreed to "carry out the law." By 1973, most African-American children in the South attended integrated public schools. Nixon was unable to slow integration, but he did win political support from white southerners.

A second part of Nixon's southern strategy was to alter the ideological composition of the Supreme Court. He wanted a more conservative Court that would interpret the Constitution more narrowly. His first opportunity came in 1969 when Chief Justice Earl Warren retired. Nixon nominated federal judge Warren Burger, a respected conservative who was easily confirmed by the Senate.

Liberal Justice Abe Fortas's resignation soon after gave Nixon a second chance to alter the Court. For political reasons, he wanted to appoint a southerner. Nixon selected Clement Haynesworth of South Carolina to replace Fortas. Haynesworth's record on labor and civil rights raised predictable opposition in the Senate. Democrats and several Republicans joined forces to deny his confirma-

tion. The rejection incensed Nixon, who was determined to force a southerner down the Senate's throat. His second choice was worse than the first. Not only was G. Harrold Carswell of Florida opposed to civil rights and labor, but he was a mediocre judge. A coalition of Republicans and Democrats rejected Carswell. On his third try, Nixon stopped looking for a southerner and selected Harry Blackmun, a conservative from Minnesota, who was confirmed easily. In 1971, Nixon appointed two more justices, Lewis Powell of Virginia (finally a southerner) and William Rehnquist of Arizona, creating a more conservative Supreme Court.

### **An Embattled President**

By the end of Nixon's first term, the Republicans had every reason to gloat. Nearly 60 percent of those polled approved of Nixon's record. Nixon's southern strategy had ensured growing support in what had once been the "solid Democratic South." The law-and-order campaign had proven attractive to Middle America, while protesters and activists were losing strength. The economy, though still a worry, seemed under control. Diplomatically, Nixon had scored major successes in opening relations with China, establishing détente with the Soviets, and reducing American forces in Vietnam.

The continued disarray of the Democratic party only added to Republican confidence. The Democrats nominated **George McGovern** of South Dakota, but he was too liberal for much of the party. George Wallace again bolted the party to

**Spiro Agnew** Vice president under Richard Nixon, who resigned in 1973 amid charges of illegal financial dealings during his governorship of Maryland. wiretap Concealed listening or recording device used to monitor communications.

**John Mitchell** Nixon's attorney general, who eventually served four years in prison for his part in the Watergate scandal.

**George McGovern** South Dakota senator who opposed the Vietnam War and was the Democratic candidate for president in 1972 defeated by Nixon.

run as a third-party candidate on the American Independent ticket. Wallace's candidacy ended on May 15, 1972, when Arthur Bremer shot and paralyzed him.

Despite almost certain victory, Nixon was plagued by a siege mentality. He was convinced that he was surrounded by enemies: Democrats, social activists, liberals, and much of the press. Repeatedly, he spoke about "screwing" his domestic enemies before they got him. He used the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, and other government organizations to intimidate and punish his "enemies."

Throughout the campaign, Nixon was obsessed with humiliating the Democrats. To achieve this objective, Nixon's staff and the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP), directed by John Mitchell, were willing to step outside the normal bounds of election behavior. They turned to a Special Investigations Unit, the "Plumbers," to disrupt the Democrats. The Plumbers had used illegal surveillance and even burglary to investigate sources of suspected leaks of sensitive materials, like the *Pentagon Papers*. Ex-FBI agent G. Gordon Liddy and former CIA operative E. Howard Hunt conducted "dirty tricks" against the Democrats. CREEP approved sending burglars into the Democratic National Headquarters office in the Watergate building to copy documents and tap phones.

There on June 17, 1972, a security guard detected the burglars and notified the police, who arrested five men carrying "bugging" equipment. Officials soon determined that they worked for Hunt and Liddy. CREEP and the White House denied any connection to the burglars. As Nixon "categorically" denied that anyone in the White House was involved, Mitchell and White House staffers destroyed incriminating documents and arranged payments to those arrested in return for their silence. The FBI was encouraged to limit its investigation. The furor passed, and the Watergate break-in had little apparent effect on the election. Nixon buried McGovern in an electoral avalanche, winning every state except Massachusetts.

Nixon began his second term by claiming a clear mandate for his policies. From the outside, it appeared that the Nixon administration had a clear field to promote its agenda. But within the White

House, concern simmered over the approaching trial of the Watergate burglars. If the truth about Watergate were discovered, the Nixon administration might disintegrate. Although not directly involved in the covert actions against the Democrats, Nixon knew soon after the Watergate break-in that White House officials were implicated and approved of efforts to hide their involvement. "Cover it up," he told. John Mitchell.

As the trial approached, the cover-up began to unravel. Before being sentenced, James McCord, who led the burglary team, informed Judge John J. Sirica that key Republicans had been involved in planning the operation and that the burglars had been paid to keep quiet. *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein found a trail of suspicious payments that led to the White House, John Mitchell, and CREEP. Amid growing suspicions of White House involvement, the Senate convened a special committee in 1973 to investigate the break-in, chaired by a Democrat, Senator Sam Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina. White House staffer John Dean testified before Sirica and Ervin's committee that top White House officials, including Nixon, were involved in the cover-up. By May 1973, Nixon had fired Dean and watched Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman resign.

The cover-up further unraveled with testimony that Nixon had secretly recorded Oval Office conversations, including those with Dean. Responding to public pressure, Nixon appointed Harvard professor Archibald Cox as special Justice Department prosecutor to investigate Watergate. When Cox demanded the Oval Office tapes, Nixon had him fired in October 1973. Calls for Nixon's resignation or impeachment intensified. Adding to Nixon's troubles were accusations that he had improperly taken tax deductions. "I am not a crook," Nixon asserted. Nevertheless, the Internal

**Watergate** Washington apartment complex that housed the Democratic party's national headquarters; it gave its name to the scandal over the Nixon administration's involvement in a break-in at those headquarters and the president's part in the cover-up that followed.

Revenue Service concluded that Nixon had made errors in his deductions and owed the government half a million dollars. Meanwhile, Vice President Agnew was convicted of income-tax evasion and influence peddling and forced to resign. Nixon named Congressman Gerald R. Ford of Michigan to replace Agnew.

In March 1974, the grand jury investigating the Watergate break-in indicted Mitchell, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman and named Nixon as an "unindicted co-conspirator." Under tremendous pressure, Nixon released transcripts of selected tapes to the House Judiciary Committee. The outcome was devastating. Not only did the transcripts contradict some official testimony, but Nixon's profanity and apparent lack of moral values shocked many Americans. By August, the House Judiciary Committee had charged Nixon with three impeachable crimes: obstructing justice, abuse of power, and denying subpoenas. Once-loyal Republicans told him that he could either resign or face impeachment. Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974, making Ford president. Eventually, twenty-nine people connected to the White House were convicted of crimes related to Watergate and the 1972 campaign.

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#### S U M M A R Y

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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President Johnson *chose* to continue President Kennedy's commitment to save South Vietnam from communism. The *outcome* was an Americanized war in Vietnam. The *expectation* that American superiority would defeat Ho Chi Minh's Communists proved disastrous for the nation.

Vietnam cost Johnson his presidency and divided the nation.

It was not just the debate over the war that split the nation. By 1968, the country was aflame with riots in urban centers, and an increasing number of groups was seeking better social, economic, and political *choices*. Those advocating social reforms encountered growing *constraints* generated by a resurgence of conservatism. In

1968, Nixon *chose* to emphasize dissatisfaction with Johnson's war and the Great Society to win the presidency.

As president, Nixon *chose* to escape the quagmire of Vietnam by implementing Vietnamization. He *chose* to promote détente by working to improve relations with the Soviet Union and China. At home, Nixon *chose* an uneven course, switching between maintaining governmental activism and reducing the power of government. Politically, he sought a broader base for the Republican party by pursuing a southern strategy that diminished federal support for civil rights. Despite Nixon's domestic and foreign policy successes, however, his desire to crush opposition eventually led to the Watergate scandal. *Expecting* impeachment, the president *chose* to resign. The *outcome* of the Johnson years and Watergate was a nation with low *expectations* for politics and government, caught in a feeling of drift, disillusionment, and disunity.

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#### SUGGESTED READINGS

Ambrose, Stephen. *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972* (1989).

An excellent examination of Nixon and his politics.

Caputo, Philip. *A Rumor of War* (1986).

An excellent personal account of one person's changing perspectives on the war in Vietnam. From his experiences as a young marine officer in Vietnam to an experienced journalist covering the final days in Saigon, Caputo frequently reflected the views of the American public.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974).

An examination of U.S. government policies toward Native Americans by a leading Indian activist.

Echols, Alice. *Daring to Be Bad* (1989).

An insightful and interesting account of the radical dimension of the women's movement.

Kutler, Stanley. *The Wars of Watergate* (1990).

A detailed account of the events surrounding the Watergate break-in and the hearings that led to the resignation of Nixon.

McQuaid, Kim. *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era* (1989).

A brief and solid overview of the 1960s.

Roberts, Robert. *Where the Dominoes Fell* (1990).

A brief, well-written history of America's role in Vietnam.

#### Films

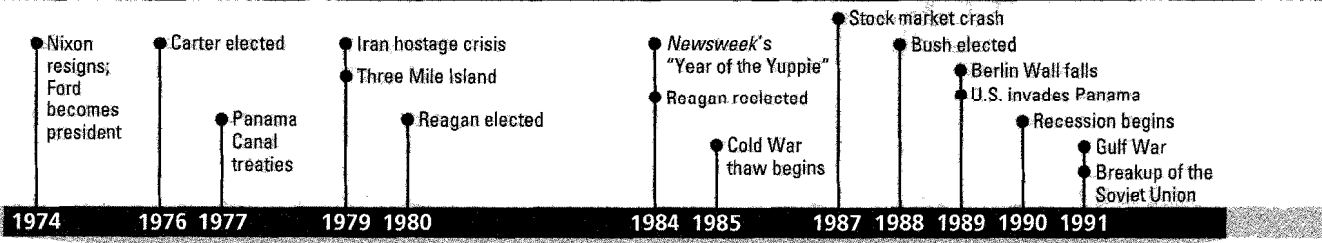
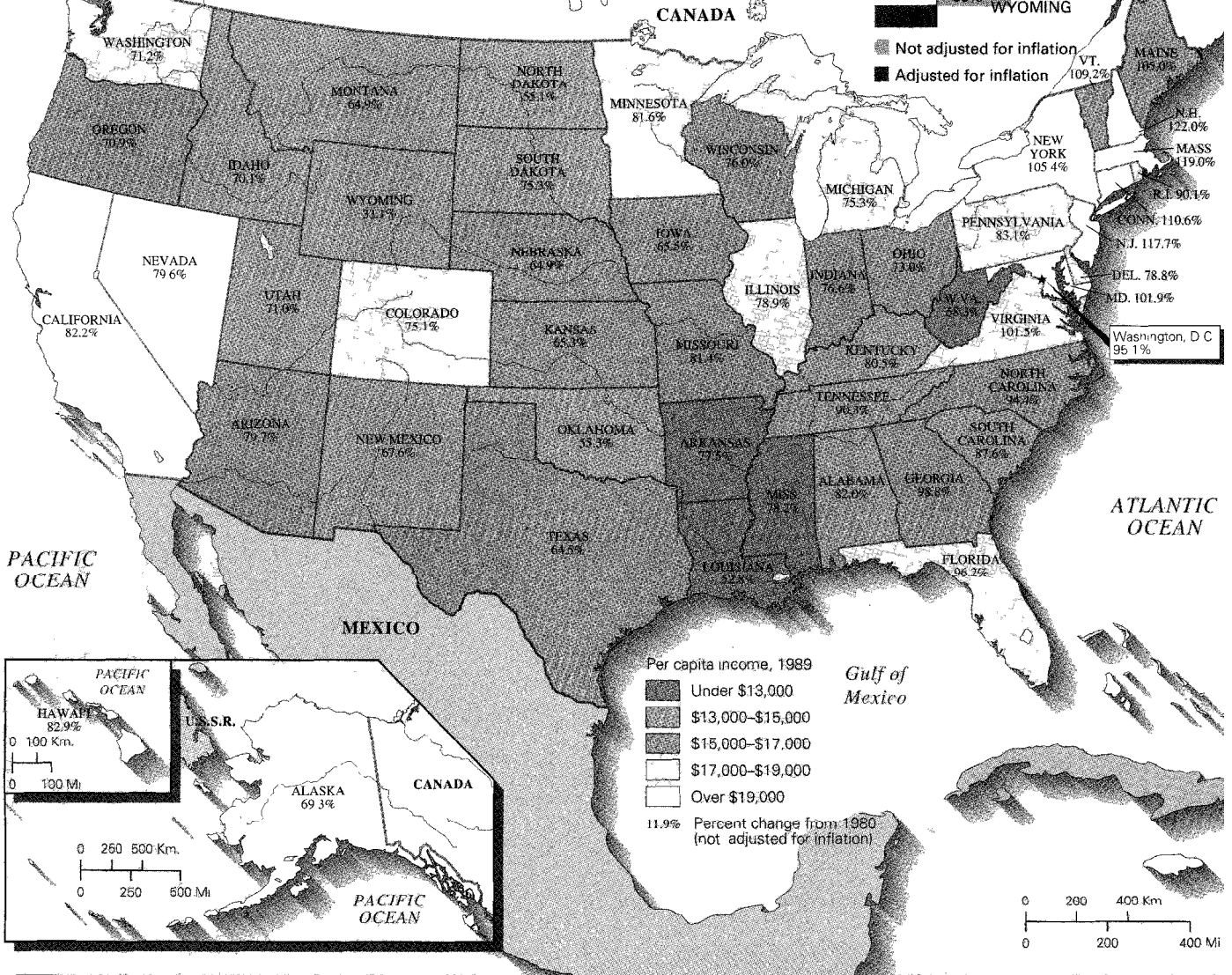
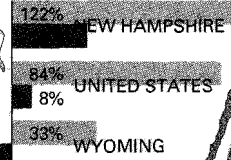
There are many excellent films about the American experience in Vietnam, from the PBS series on Vietnam to feature films like *Platoon*, *Apocalypse Now*, and *The Deer Hunter*.





**INCREASE IN INCOME, 1980-1989** Personal income rose more rapidly in the 1980s than in any other decade, increasing almost 85 percent. As this map indicates, those increases were not uniform. Some regions and states did better than others. Because the inflation rate was approximately 70 percent during this period, the net gain in income was much less than this map appears to show. The graph to the right shows the increase in income with the 70 percent inflation rate both factored in and not factored in.

Range in percent change in income, 1980-1989



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## Facing Limits, 1974-1992

### Politics of Uncertainty

- What domestic problems did Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter face? What were the political and economic outcomes of the choices they made?
- What expectations and constraints did Carter face as a Washington outsider?

### Carter's Foreign Policy

- What new directions in foreign policy did Carter take? What were the outcomes of those changes?
- What constraints did Carter face in implementing a policy stressing human rights?

### Enter Ronald Reagan— Stage Right

- What expectations influenced Americans who chose to vote for Reagan?
-

What was "Reaganomics," and what were the outcomes of Reagan's economic policies for the economy and society?

### **Asserting World Power**

- How did the Reagan administration's expectations about American foreign policy differ from Carter's? How did those views shape the outcomes of Reagan's policies?

### **In Reagan's Shadow**

- What new foreign-policy choices did the United States face as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union?
- How did the outcome of Reagan's domestic policies shape expectations and outcomes for the Bush administration?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

Gerald Ford assumed the presidency after the resignation of Richard Nixon and faced an expanding set of policy *constraints* without Nixon's vision or toughness. The economy continued to flounder, and many of Nixon's foreign-policy initiatives, especially regarding détente, were being questioned by his own party. Also, the political cynicism generated by Vietnam and Watergate operated as a *constraint*. The *outcome* was a presidency with few political or foreign-policy "victories." Nevertheless, the Republican party nominated Ford for the presidency in 1976.

As the nation celebrated its two-hundredth birthday, few Americans *expected* the immediate future to match the success of the past. Limits seemed to loom everywhere. The sluggish economy responded to neither liberal nor conservative policy *expectations*. The liberalism that had attacked racism and poverty was out of vogue, challenged by more conservative *choices*. The Silent Majority seemed to set the tone of the nation, rejecting the idea that a more active government can solve problems and favoring a stronger emphasis on more traditional social values. Even James Earl Carter, the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1976, argued that the U.S. government could not solve every problem. He urged Americans to sacrifice to overcome problems at home and abroad. As president, however, Carter failed to provide an effective domestic or foreign policy.

The 1980 Republican candidate for president, Ronald Reagan, won popular approval by promoting the *expectation* of a renewed America, powerful and prosperous. He attacked liberal economic and social policies and reemphasized a Cold War foreign policy that would "stand tall" against the Soviet "evil empire." During his administration, the economy seemed revitalized, and government was redirected away from costly social programs. Many Americans felt that business had been freed of many needless government controls, traditional social and family values had been properly reasserted, and the Cold War had been all but won.

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Not everyone agreed that Reagan's *choices* produced a favorable *outcome*. Critics argued that he placed too much emphasis on wealth and too little on the needs of the poor. Others pointed to a massive national debt and a growing trade deficit as serious economic problems. Despite Reagan's personal popularity, as the Reagan administration ended, more and more Americans were uncertain about the *outcome* of Reagan's economic and social policies.

Running in the shadow of Reagan in 1988, Vice President George Bush seized the Republican presidential nomination in a nation that seemed dissatisfied but unable to pinpoint what was wrong and how to fix it. Responding to the lack of consensus in the polls, Bush offered a "kinder, gentler nation" that would show more concern for minorities, the poor, education, and the environment. Easily defeating Michael Dukakis, the Democratic candidate, Bush assumed the presidency but had little desire to implement domestic policy changes. Instead, he *chose* to focus on foreign policy. Taking office as the Soviet Union shattered, he charted foreign policy in a new international setting: the United States was the only superpower. Bush cautiously supported democratic change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and *chose* to commit American military force in Panama and Kuwait. The *outcome* was that Bush's foreign policy, unlike his domestic policies, generated widespread praise.

## New Directions, New Limits

- 1974 Nixon resigns; Ford becomes president  
Ford pardons Nixon
- 1975 Fall of South Vietnam  
Helsinki Summit  
Jackson-Vanik Amendment
- 1976 Carter elected president
- 1977 Department of Energy created  
Panama Canal treaties  
SALT I treaty expires
- 1978 Camp David Accords  
Revolution in Iran topples the shah  
United States recognizes People's Republic of China
- 1979 Ayatollah Khomeini assumes power in Iran  
Nuclear accident at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania  
Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty signed in Washington, D.C.  
Chrysler bailout  
Hostages seized in Iran  
Soviet Union invades Afghanistan
- 1980 Carter applies sanctions against Soviet Union  
SALT II withdrawn from Senate  
Iran-Iraq War begins  
Reagan elected president
- 1981 Iran releases American hostages  
Economic Recovery Tax Act
- 1982 United States sends marines to Lebanon
- 1983 SDI funded  
United States invades Grenada  
Marine barracks in Beirut destroyed
- 1984 Reagan reelected  
Withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon  
Boland Amendment
- 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev assumes power in Soviet Union  
Secret arms sales to Iran in exchange for hostages  
Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Geneva
- 1986** U.S. bombing raid on Libya  
Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Iceland
- 1987 Iran-Contra hearings  
Stock market crash  
Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty
- 1988** U.S. warship shoots down Iranian passenger jet  
Terrorists blow up a Pan American jet over Scotland  
Bush elect president
- 1989 Communism collapses in Eastern Europe  
Berlin Wall torn down  
United States invades Panama  
Chinese government crushes prodemocracy movement  
Gorbachev-Bush summit at Malta
- 1990** Recession begins  
Free elections in Nicaragua  
Clean Air Act  
Iraq invades Kuwait
- 1991 Breakup of Soviet Union  
Gulf War  
Gorbachev resigns

## Uncertainty

When he assumed office in 1974, Gerald **Ford** offered a stark contrast to Richard Nixon. Whereas Nixon was innovative, suspicious, and arrogant, Ford was conservative, trustful, and humble. (He joked that he was a Ford and not a Lincoln.) Responding to Watergate, Ford sought to establish cordial relations with Congress and to restore the people's faith in government. That expectation faded rapidly.

## An Interim Presidency

Soon after taking office in 1974, Ford pardoned Nixon for any crimes the former president might have committed. The pardon was widely unpopular. Thereafter, Democrats opposed Ford's policies to deal with the problems of inflation, recession, and the federal deficit. He wanted to cut spending, raise interest rates, and cut business taxes. Democrats instead introduced legislation to create jobs and to increase spending for social and educational programs. Ford in turn vetoed these bills. The consequence of the pardon, rising inflation and unemployment, and the battles with Congress was a political stalemate.

Ford fared only slightly better in his foreign policies. Relying heavily on Henry Kissinger, the national security adviser and secretary of state, Ford continued Nixon's policies, including Vietnamization, arms limitation, and détente (see page 678). Trying to maintain the thaw in the Cold War, Ford met with Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev and leaders from thirty-three other nations in Helsinki, Finland, in August 1975. Following these negotiations, the United States officially recognized the boundaries of Europe established after World War II. The Soviets in return agreed to respect an extensive list of **human** rights. The Helsinki agreements quickly came under fire as human rights violations continued in the Soviet Union. Congress responded by passing the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which required the Soviets to allow more Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union before the United

States granted trade agreements. Reading the political climate, Ford backed away from détente.

Ford's efforts to maintain Nixon's pledges of economic and military support for South Vietnam (see page 675) also met with congressional opposition. When North Vietnamese forces seized Saigon in April 1975,

Ford blamed Congress for the Communist victory. Most Americans, however, were happy that the conflict was no longer an American war.

Kissinger was far more successful with his diplomacy in the Middle East (see Map 31.1). Following the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, Kissinger flew between the Israeli and Arab capitals seeking to negotiate the removal of Israeli forces from Arab territory. His so-called shuttle diplomacy continued until September 1975, when Israel agreed to withdraw from some occupied areas and Egypt resigned from the anti-Israeli Arab coalition.

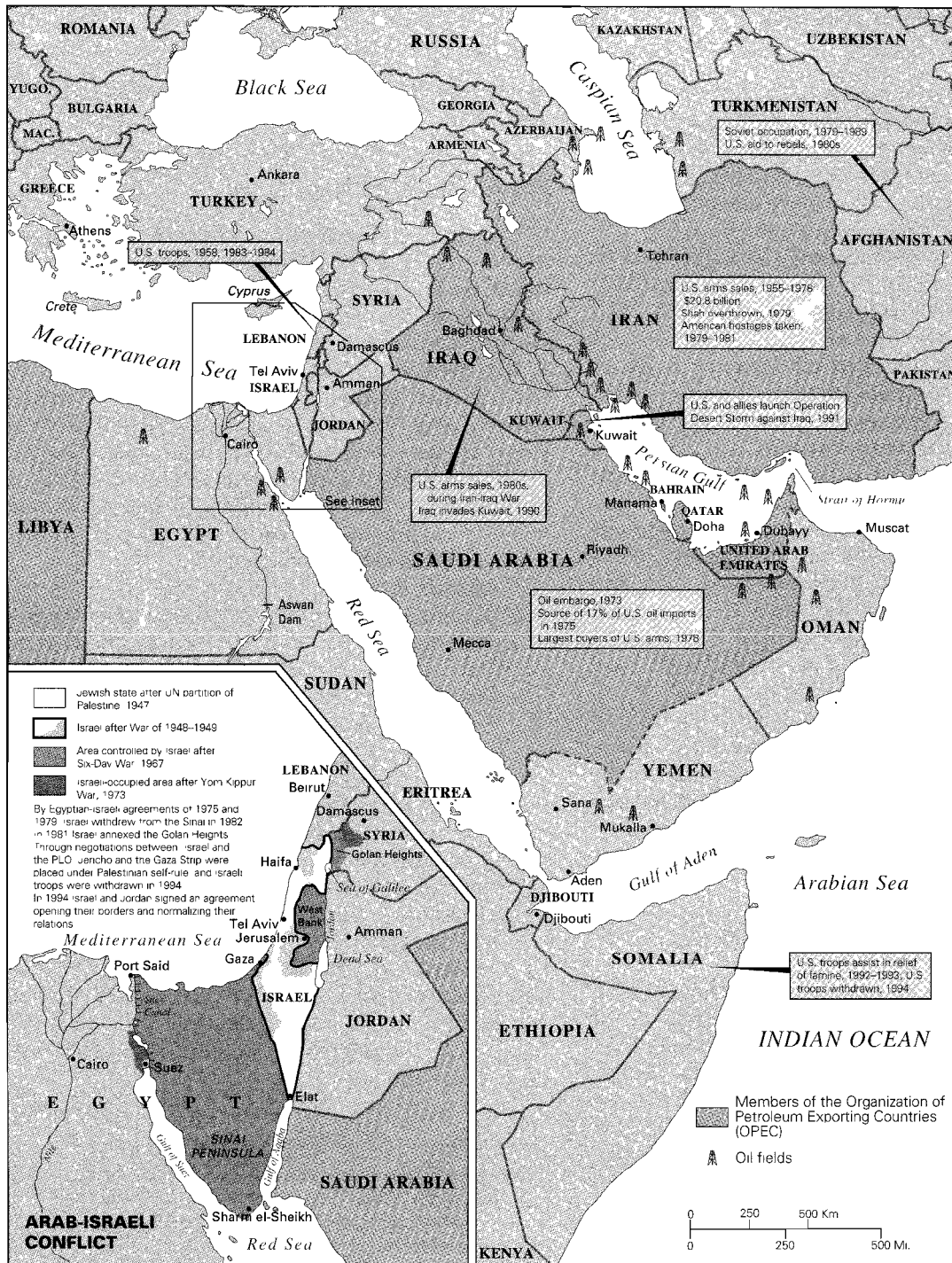
## The Bicentennial Election and Jimmy Carter

Against the background of the bicentennial celebration of American independence, Ford sought election in his own right. Although he faced a stiff challenge from California governor Ronald Reagan and the Republican right wing, he gained the nomination.

Ford's Democratic opponent, Jimmy Carter, had no national exposure and little political experience apart from being governor of Georgia. But people in 1976 were fed up with politics and politicians. Carter presented himself as a political outsider

**Gerald Ford** Michigan congressman who became vice president under Nixon in 1973 after Vice President Agnew resigned; Ford became president in 1974 when Nixon resigned.

**human rights** Basic rights and freedoms to which all human beings are entitled, including the rights to life, liberty, freedom of thought and expression, and equality before the law.



◆ **MAP 31.1 The Middle East Since 1946**, the United States has tried to balance strong support for Israel with its need for oil from the Arab states. To support U.S. interests in this volatile region, the United States has funneled large amounts of financial and military aid and used overt and covert force to shape regional governments. Agreements signed in Washington in 1993 and 1994 between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization and between Israel and the kingdom of Jordan reduced tensions in the region.

who would heal the wounds of Watergate and Vietnam. He seemed the ideal candidate for the time. In a lackluster campaign, Ford and Carter were vague on issues but expansive on smiles and photo sessions. Carter won a close election, receiving 297 electoral votes to Ford's 240.

Brimming with enthusiasm, Carter arrived in Washington in January 1977. He emphasized that he was an outsider, untouched by the politics of Washington and the lure of special interests and political deals. He pledged an administration of honesty, simplicity, and hard work. Promoting his image as a simple farmer, Carter took the oath of office wearing a plain blue business suit. His message to the people was without frills. "We must simply do our best," he stated, to generate a "new spirit . . . of individual sacrifice for the common good." Portraying himself as the people's president, Carter delivered Roosevelt-style "fireside chats" (see page 544) on radio and television and held "phone-ins" that gave people a chance to talk with their president. The public welcomed Carter's open, informal presidency.

But not everyone was charmed. Some questioned whether Carter had the political flexibility, expertise, and muscle to handle congressional politicians. Traditional Democrats also resented Carter's appointments of Georgia friends to government posts. "I busted my butt for Carter," one Democrat complained, "and there's nobody I know who got an appointment." A rift soon developed between the Washington outsiders on Carter's staff and the insiders in Congress.

Democratic congressional leaders flew into a rage when Carter presented his first budget, which axed eighteen pet projects that would have provided jobs and revenue for home districts. Angry Democrats joined with gleeful Republicans to force Carter to restore many of the cuts. The battle over the budget established a pattern. Congress and President Carter frequently marched in different directions. By mid-1977, most of Carter's proposals were buried in Congress. Criticism increased when allegations of financial mismanagement forced the president's close friend Bert Lance to resign as director of the Office of Management and Budget in September 1977. The Lance affair further eroded public trust in Carter's judgment and

raised questions about the administration's claim of honesty.

### **Domestic Priorities**

Carter faced two major domestic problems: a sluggish economy and high energy costs due to dependence on foreign oil. He concluded that the economy could not improve until the United States stopped consuming more energy than it produced. It was then importing about 60 percent of its oil. Solving the energy imbalance was the "moral equivalent of war," Carter argued. He asked Americans to save energy by lowering thermostats, wearing sweaters, and using public transportation. Turning to Congress, he proposed regulations and taxes to encourage conservation, as well as increases in domestic production.

Lobbyists for automobile, oil, gas, and other industries immediately tried to steer Congress in another direction. They advocated increased oil production, which they said would also create jobs. The development of large oil fields in Alaska's North Slope region made it difficult for many people to believe that there really was an energy crisis. Congress passed only fragments of Carter's plan, creating the Department of Energy in 1977, approving some incentives for conservation, and deregulating the natural gas industry.

When oil prices rose in 1978, forced upward by a revolution in Iran, Congress reconsidered Carter's program. By 1980, Congress had approved funds for alternative **fuels** (including nuclear energy) and an excess-profits tax on the oil and gas industry. But Congress made no real effort to develop a comprehensive plan to achieve energy independence.

**energy crisis** Vulnerability to energy shortages due to dwindling fossil fuels, wasteful energy consumption, and potential embargoes by oil-producing countries.

**alternative fuels** Sources of energy other than coal, oil, and natural gas; alternative energy sources include solar, geothermal, hydroelectric, and nuclear energy.



The prospects of using nuclear energy as a substitute for oil dimmed considerably after a nuclear power plant at **Three Mile Island** in central Pennsylvania had a serious accident on March 28, 1979. The plant released a cloud of radioactive gas and nearly suffered a **meltdown**. Over a hundred thousand people were evacuated from the surrounding area. After the accident, more than thirty energy companies canceled nuclear building projects. Thus oil, coal, and natural gas remained the primary sources of American energy.

Carter's economic policies fared even worse than his energy policy. To stimulate the economy, Carter asked for tax reforms, the **deregulation** of transportation industries (trucking, railroads, and airlines), and passage of his energy program. He tried to use tighter credit and higher interest rates to curb inflation. Like Ford, he asked workers and producers to hold the line on wages and prices.

Carter lost the battle with inflation. By 1979, inflation was running at 13 percent, the highest rate since 1947. Unemployment, which stood at nearly 7.6 percent, was also high. Carter assumed part of the blame for the nation's economic troubles. But he also blamed the public for its unwillingness to sacrifice. Most people, however, blamed the president for the nation's difficulties.

The stagflation troubling the American economy was largely the product of a changing world economy over which presidents had little control. The booming economies of West Germany, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan cut into American markets, reducing American profits and prosperity. The new cohesion of the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** following the Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur War of 1973 caused the price of petroleum products to skyrocket during the rest of the decade. Drastically higher energy costs not only added to inflation and unemployment but threatened the nation's industrial base, which depended on inexpensive fuel. In the new global economy, many American industries were unable to match the production costs, retail prices, or quality of goods produced overseas. Japanese manufacturers, once the joke of international commerce, were gobbling up the electronics industry and cutting deeply into the American automobile market. Korea and Taiwan were taking huge bites out of the American textile markets. Many of the nation's primary industries (iron and steel, rubber, automobiles and their parts, clothing, coal) were forced to cut back production, lay off workers, and even close plants.

In 1978, the giant Chrysler Corporation tottered on the brink of bankruptcy. Carter, facing soaring unemployment, agreed to help Chrysler, and in 1979 Congress underwrote a \$1.5 billion private loan for the

automobile maker. Critics called the Chrysler bailout welfare for the rich, but supporters argued that the loan saved jobs. With new models, effective advertising, and more efficient production, Chrysler was making more than \$2.4 billion in profits by 1984, and Chrysler's chief executive officer, Lee Iacocca, was a national hero. Chrysler's success, however, was the exception. From the Great Lakes to the Northeast, the **Rust Belt** spread over the once-vibrant industrial center of the United States.

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## Carter's

### Foreign Policy

Carter's foreign policy was as controversial as his domestic policy. He said that American foreign

**Three Mile Island** Site of a nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; an accident at the plant in 1979 led to a partial meltdown and the release of radioactive gases.

**meltdown** Severe overheating of a nuclear reactor core, resulting in the melting of the core and the escape of radiation.

**deregulation** Removal of government regulations from an industry.

**Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries**

Economic alliance of oil-producing countries, mostly Arab, formed in 1960; in 1973, OPEC members placed an embargo on the sale of oil to countries allied with Israel.

**Rust Belt** Industrialized region containing older factories that are barely profitable or that have been closed.

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policy had been preoccupied by an "inordinate fear of communism." America's recognition of the People's Republic of China in 1978 reflected Carter's beliefs. He advocated a foreign policy that would safeguard human rights, fight poverty, and promote economic and social development, especially in the Third World. Yet Carter also pursued traditional East-West power politics.

Carter's foreign-policy advisers reflected the split within his own mind over what American foreign policy should attempt to accomplish. **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, the national security adviser, was an uncompromising Cold Warrior who looked for chances to "stick it to the Russians." He worried that Carter's emphasis on human rights might weaken pro-American but abusive regimes in South Korea, Nicaragua, and the Philippines.

**Cyrus Vance**, Carter's secretary of state, was more broad-minded than Brzezinski. Vance recognized Cold War constraints but wanted to follow policies that focused on human issues and economic development. Clashes between him and Brzezinski were expected, but Carter believed he could bridge the gap between them.

### A Good Neighbor and Human Rights

Latin America seemed to Carter and Vance the best place to sound a new tone in American policy. Carter wanted the United States to abandon its "paternalism" and instead fashion policies that considered each Latin American nation's internal priorities. Carter believed that Panama and the Panama Canal presented an excellent opportunity to chart a new course for U.S. policy in Latin America.

When Carter took office, negotiations to turn control of the canal over to Panama had been stalled for years. Carter assigned the canal a high priority. Within a year, two treaties were written that returned ownership and control of the canal to Panama by 1999 and guaranteed the neutrality of the canal. Carter was pleased, but the American public was not. Nearly 80 percent of those asked opposed giving up the canal. Opponents argued that the canal was built and operated by

the United States and should remain that way forever. **Ronald Reagan** labeled the agreement outright appeasement, and conservative Republican senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina promised to kill it in the Senate. He failed, but only barely.

Carter also hoped to promote human rights in Latin America. Conservatives complained that letting human rights drive policy might undermine pro-American governments in Nicaragua and El Salvador. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista **Liberation Front**, a largely Marxist-led organization, was conducting a guerrilla war to oust Anastasio Somoza, who had ruled the country since 1967. Carter considered the corrupt and dictatorial Somoza a liability and stopped all aid to Nicaragua in early 1979. With his national guard disintegrating, Somoza fled to Paraguay in July, taking much of the nation's treasury.

The Sandinistas, led by **Daniel Ortega**, assumed power and promised free elections. Hoping that Ortega would adopt moderate reform programs, Carter asked Congress for \$75 million in aid for the new government. Congress agreed, but the Nicaraguan government became more radical and autocratic. By 1980, the Sandinistas had canceled

Third World Underdeveloped or developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski** National security adviser who favored Cold War confrontations with the Soviet Union.

**Cyrus Vance** Secretary of state who wanted the United States to defend human rights and further economic development in the Third World.

**Ronald Reagan** Fortieth U.S. president; succeeded Jimmy Carter.

**Sandinista Liberation Front** Leftist guerrilla movement that overthrew the corrupt regime of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua in 1979.

**Daniel Ortega** Sandinista leader who helped establish the revolutionary government that replaced the Somoza regime in 1979 and who served as president of Nicaragua from 1984 to 1990.

**autocratic** Having unlimited power or authority; despotic.

elections and established close ties with the Soviet Union.

Conservatives attacked Carter's human rights policy for destroying a pro-American leader and allowing a Communist government to be established in Central America. Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan denounced the Communist "takeover" of Nicaragua and the Sandinistas' effort to export revolution to neighboring countries. Reagan called for support for the rebel Contras fighting the Sandinistas. Many Contras were former supporters of Somoza and had vowed to overthrow Ortega and restore "democracy." Carter stopped all aid to the Ortega government in early 1981.

Conservatives also called for more American support for El Salvador. There the newly created government of **Jose Napoleon Duarte** faced threats from both the left and the right. On the left were Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas, who occupied more and more territory. On the right were elements within the military who used terrorism to eliminate opposition figures. Carter almost cut off military and economic aid when right-wing death squads murdered reform advocate Archbishop Oscar Romero. But FMLN victories prodded Carter to send millions of dollars in equipment and credit to Duarte.

As the election of 1980 neared, Carter's program for human rights in Latin America lay in ruins. He had been forced to break ties with Nicaragua and disregard murder and torture in El Salvador. His one triumph, the canal treaties, was unpopular at home.

### The Camp David Accords

Carter credited his success in Panama to his ability to take a new approach to an old issue. He believed that such a tactic could also be used to achieve a peace settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbors (see Map 31.1). To this end, Carter invited Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat, and Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin, for talks at the presidential retreat at Camp David in Maryland. Surprisingly, both agreed and arrived in Septem-



◆ One of President Carter's greatest triumphs was the signing of the 1978 peace accords between President Anwar Sadat of Egypt (*left*) and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel (*right*). The agreement followed days of personal diplomacy by Carter at the Camp David presidential retreat. Both Sadat and Begin received the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts. *Jimmy Carter Presidential Library.*

ber 1978. Carter smoothed relations between Sadat and Begin, who did not get along well. Carter carefully negotiated agreements by which Egypt recognized Israel's right to exist and Israel returned the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

Carter had to rescue the **Camp David Accords** several times before they were ratified. But on March 26, 1979, he watched as Begin and Sadat

Contras Nicaraguan rebels, many of them former followers of Somoza, fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government.

Jose Napoleon Duarte Moderate civilian named to head the government of El Salvador in 1980.

Camp David Accords Treaty signed at Camp David in 1978, in which Israel agreed to return territory captured from Egypt in the Six-Day War in 1967 and Egypt agreed to recognize Israel as a nation.

signed the first peace treaty between an Arab state and Israel. The glow of success was fleeting. Arab leaders and many Egyptians bitterly condemned both the treaty and Sadat and remained committed to the destruction of Israel.

## The Collapse of Détente

The most immediate Soviet-American issue that Carter faced was the still-unfinished **SALT II** treaty. Carter decided to negotiate even deeper cuts in nuclear weapons than Ford had proposed. Despite chilly relations, the United States and the Soviet Union were able to reach an agreement on strategic arms limitations in July 1979. Many senators, however, believed that the agreement was too favorable to the Soviets.

The Senate was still debating the treaty in December when the Soviet Union invaded neighboring Afghanistan. Claiming that the Afghan government had asked for help against **Islamic fundamentalist** rebels, Soviet leader Brezhnev sent in eighty thousand troops. Carter called the invasion the "gravest threat to peace since 1945." He withdrew the SALT II agreements from the Senate, halted grain shipments to the Soviet Union, and announced an American boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. The invasion ended Carter's ambiguous Soviet policy. He now called for military superiority and a renewed arms race. He also began providing support for the **mujahedeen**, the Afghan resistance fighters.

## The Iranian Revolution

Islamic fundamentalism affected far more than just Afghanistan. It was also behind the 1978 revolution in Iran, which toppled the pro-American ruler, Shah Reza Pahlavi. Since Eisenhower, the United States had supported the shah as a barrier to Soviet influence in the region. The shah had received billions of dollars in American weapons and aid, but his regime had become increasingly repressive. Led by Ayatollah **Ruhollah Khomeini**, a Shiite Muslim sect that condemned the contamination of Iranian culture by Western ideas and values headed the opposition. Khomeini returned to Iran from exile in Paris in February 1979, when the Shiites and the Iranian military forced the shah to flee. The Ayatollah Khomeini then set in motion a repressive fundamentalist Islamic revolution that attacked the United States as the main source of evil in the world.

Carter ended American aid to Iran, ordered Americans home, and reduced the embassy staff in Tehran. After the exiled shah entered a New York hospital to receive cancer treatments, an angry Iranian mob stormed the

American embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979, and took the staff hostage. These Americans were then paraded through the streets and subjected to numerous abuses as the Iranians demanded the return of the shah for trial. The press quickly dubbed the crisis "America Held Hostage."

Carter weighed the conflicting options identified by his advisers. Brzezinski wanted to use military force to free the hostages. Vance argued for negotiation, hoping that Iranian moderates would find a way to free the hostages. Carter sided with Vance and through the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** was able to negotiate freedom for thirteen hostages, mostly women and African

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**SALT II Proposal** made in 1979 that the United States and the Soviet Union limit the numbers of strategic nuclear missiles in each country; Congress never approved the treaty.

**Islamic fundamentalist** Member of a movement calling for the replacement of Western secular values and attitudes with traditional Islamic values and an orthodox Muslim state.

**mujahedeen** Afghan resistance movement, supplied with arms by the United States, that fought the Soviets after the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

**Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini** Iranian Shiite leader who was exiled for his opposition to the shah but who returned to Iran in 1979 after the shah's downfall and established a new constitution giving himself supreme powers.

**Palestine Liberation Organization** Political and military organization of Palestinians originally dedicated to opposing the state of Israel through terrorism and other means.

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Americans. As further discussions failed, American frustration and anger grew. In April 1980, Carter agreed with Brzezinski and ordered a military rescue mission. The operation was a disaster. A violent dust storm in the Iranian desert caused three helicopters to malfunction. Carter scratched the mission. Vance, who had opposed the operation, resigned.

Diplomatic efforts through the Canadians and the Algerians eventually resulted in an agreement in late 1980 to release the hostages. By that time, the shah had died of cancer, and Iran was at war with Iraq and needed the assets that Carter had frozen. On January 20, 1981, the last day of the Carter presidency, the hostages were freed, after 444 days of captivity.

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## Enter Ronald Reagan— Stage Right

According to Republicans in 1980, Carter's failure to free the hostages was typical of his administration's ineptness. Inflation remained at 12.4 percent, and unemployment was near 8 percent. Republicans claimed that Carter was incapable of maintaining either American honor abroad or prosperity at home. Ronald Reagan, a movie actor turned conservative politician, offered voters a clear alternative to Carter. The former California governor easily outran CIA director George Bush in 1980 to become the Republican candidate. Reagan named Bush his running mate. Liberal Republican John Anderson protested his party's turn to the right by running as an independent.

In his campaign for the presidency, Reagan argued that the federal government had grown too large and powerful. He promised to reduce the role of government and to lower taxes, freeing American ingenuity and competitiveness. Across the country, taxes had become a hot issue. In 1978, California had passed **Proposition 13**, which placed a limit on property taxes.

Reagan was a smooth campaigner with a sense of humor. He quipped, "A recession is when your neighbor loses his job. A depression is when you

lose yours. A recovery is when Jimmy Carter loses his." Reagan presented himself as the "citizen politician, speaking out for the ideas, values, and common sense of everyday Americans." His conservative agenda called for more power for the individual and less power for the federal government. A vote for Reagan, his supporters claimed, would restore American pride, power, and traditions.

Reagan's message was welcome news not only to Republicans but also to many living in the Sunbelt (see chapter opener map for Chapter 30). By 1980, the region's population exceeded that of the industrial North and East. Politically, the Sunbelt exhibited conservative populism that opposed the power of the federal government. White southerners equated "liberal" government with altering traditional racial norms, and a "sagebrush rebellion" in the western Sunbelt opposed federal control and regulation of land and natural resources. Many westerners argued that federal environmental and land-use regulations blocked growth and economic development in the West. Throughout the Sunbelt, Reagan found enthusiastic voters ready to reject liberal, activist government. Further contributing to Republican totals were voters mobilized by the New Right, as well as younger voters attracted by the economic goals and social stability Republicans promised. Except for the size of Reagan's majority, the outcome of the election of 1980 was never in doubt.

Reagan emerged with 51 percent of the popular vote, compared to 41 percent for Carter and 7 percent for Anderson. Reagan's electoral count

**Proposition 13** Measure adopted by referendum in California in 1978 cutting local property taxes by more than 50 percent.

**"sagebrush rebellion"** A 1980s political movement in western states opposing federal regulations over land and natural resources.

**New Right** Conservative movement opposing the political and social reforms that developed in the late 1960s and demanding less government intervention in the economy and a return to traditional values; it was a major political force by the 1980s.

was even more impressive: 489 to 49. Republicans gained a majority in the Senate and narrowed the Democratic majority in the House substantially. It appeared that a new conservative era was beginning.

### **The Moral Majority and the**

#### **New Right**

Reagan's campaign pulled vital support from the New Right. A loosely knit alliance that combined political and social conservatives, the New Right opposed the social and cultural changes spawned during the 1960s and 1970s. The New Right's social agenda promoted the movement's views of correct family and moral values, condemning abortion, pornography, and homosexuality. To mobilize support, the New Right pioneered the use of direct-mail campaigns that targeted specific segments of the population.

Highly visible among New Right groups were evangelical Christian sects, many of whose ministers were **televangelists**. With donations that exceeded a billion dollars a year, they did not hesitate to mix religion and politics. Jerry Falwell's **Moral Majority** promoted Ronald Reagan on more than five hundred television and radio stations. Falwell called on listeners to wage political war against politicians whose views on the Bible, homosexuality, prayer in schools, abortion, and communism were too liberal. Although many of the television evangelists were sincere, some were susceptible to the lure of wealth and power. In the most publicized scandal, Jim Bakker, whose "Praise the Lord" radio and television shows and enterprises earned millions of dollars, was denounced for forcing women of his church to have sex with him. He was also found guilty of fraud and conspiracy and sentenced to prison in 1987. Other scandals and abuses weakened the electronic ministry by the 1990s.

#### **Reaganism**

Reagan brought to the White House a clear and simple vision of the type of America he wanted. Called the "Great Communicator" by the press,

he and his staff used imagery and the media expertly. Reagan did not create the policies to realize his vision; instead, he delegated authority to the cabinet and executive staff while he set the grand agenda.

Once in office, Reagan hit hard at the economic crisis of inflation, high interest rates, and unemployment. The administration's economic formula to restore the economy was deceptively simple: increase military spending, reduce taxes, and end government restrictions.

This formula derived from **supply-side economics**. Supply-siders believed that lowering taxes would actually increase tax revenues by increasing the amount of money available for investments. Budget director David Stockman fashioned a tax package and budget that reduced income and corporate taxes and slashed federal spending on social programs. The **Economic Recovery Tax Act**, passed in 1981, cut income and most business taxes by an average of 25 percent. Upper-income levels received the largest tax reduction. Stockman later admitted that the tax act was really a "Trojan Horse" to help the rich. Conservative Democrats joined with Republicans to cut \$25 billion from social programs, including food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and jobs and housing programs. Reagan also ended Nixon's federal revenue-sharing programs (see page 678) and reduced the amount of federal money paid to the states for Medicare and Medicaid programs. To

televangelist Protestant evangelist minister who conducts television broadcasts; many such ministers used their broadcasts as a forum for defending conservative values.

**Moral Majority** Right-wing religious organization led by televangelist Jerry Falwell that had an active political lobby in the 1980s on issues such as opposition to abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment.

**supply-side economics** Theory that reducing taxes on the wealthy and increasing the money available for investment will stimulate the economy and eventually benefit everyone.

**Economic Recovery Tax Act** Law passed in 1981 that cut income taxes by 25 percent across the board and further reduced taxes on the wealthy.

halt inflation, Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volker pushed interest rates upward.

Cutting taxes and domestic spending was only part of the Reagan agenda for economic growth. Another aim of **Reaganomics** was to free businesses and corporations from restrictive regulations. This aim was most visible in environmental regulations. Interior Secretary James Watt sought to open federally controlled land, coastal waters, and wetlands to mining, lumber, oil, and gas companies. The Environmental Protection Agency under Anne Gorsuch Burford weakened enforcement of federal guidelines for reducing air and water pollution and the cleanup of toxic-waste sites.

Reagan's economic policies were not immediately effective. Although inflation fell from 12 percent in 1980 to 4 percent by 1982, economic growth failed to materialize. Unemployment climbed over 10 percent in one of the worst recessions since World War II, and small businesses and farms faced bankruptcy in increasing numbers. The trade deficit skyrocketed from a surplus in 1980 to a \$111 billion deficit in 1984, and the federal deficit swelled alarmingly. Reagan called for patience, saying that his economic programs eventually would work.

Suddenly, in 1983, the recession ended. Unemployment dropped to 7.5 percent. Many conservative economists and Republicans praised the administration's policies for the recovery. Others said that the recovery had less to do with Reagan's policies than with increases in world trade and the lowering of oil prices. Critics also pointed out that the national "recovery" was selective. The West Coast was doing well, but the Rust Belt was still rusting. But most Americans simply sought to make the most of renewed prosperity.

## The Power of Money

Reagan's support for American business and opposition to government restrictions placed an emphasis on success, profits, and individual gain. While some argued that the new business culture was based on greed, others pointed to the creativity of American capitalism. Developments such as

personal computers affected almost every segment of American society. With Apple and IBM leading the way, personal computers restructured the process of handling information and offered new choices for nearly everyone. Bill Gates, who developed software and programs for personal computers, took advantage of these new opportunities to become America's youngest billionaire (see Individual Choices: Bill Gates).

Among the most successful people during the 1980s were financial wizards like Donald Trump, T. Boone

Pickens, and Ivan Boesky. Trump, who proclaimed himself the king of the "megadeal," commanded national attention for both his business ventures and his social life. His ghost-written books glorified him as the master of manipulating the economic system for personal gain. Speculators took advantage of government deregulation to sell **junk bonds** to finance **leveraged buyouts**. Riding the crest of the speculative boom, they amassed vast fortunes by arranging to have huge conglomerates gobble up smaller, vulnerable companies. "Buy high, sell higher," *Fortune* proclaimed.

The culture of success filled newspapers, magazines, television, and movies, celebrating people who were making big money and living accordingly. The lifestyle of success captivated young Americans. Those about to enter the work force increasingly considered financial success as their main goal in life. In 1974, only 46 percent of college freshmen and high school seniors listed being "financially successful" as their first priority. In 1986, 73 percent of college freshmen put being "very well off financially" as their priority.

**Reaganomics** Economic beliefs and policies of the Reagan administration, including the belief that tax cuts for the wealthy and deregulation of industry would benefit the economy.

**trade deficit** Amount by which imports exceed exports.

**junk bond** Corporate bond having a high yield and high risk.

**leveraged buyout** Use of a target company's asset value to finance the debt incurred in acquiring the company.

# Leading the Computer Revolution

In December 1974, Bill Gates, a sophomore at Harvard, and his high school friend Paul Allen claimed that they could write a computer program for a new personal computer, the Altair 8080, which came unassembled and cost \$397. Neither Gates nor Allen had seen the computer or the microchip that made the Altair run, but they were positive that the advent of personal computing was the beginning of a new era in information processing. "We realized that the revolution" had started, Gates recalled, and "there was no question of where life would focus." Gates and Allen chose to be a part of the revolution.

Having read only sketchy information about the Altair 8080, Gates and Allen invaded the Harvard computer lab and worked day and night for eight weeks. Ignoring his classes and sometimes sleeping at the keyboard, Gates modified the computer language BASIC to fit the Altair. They had no idea if the program would work—"If we had read the book wrong . . . we were hosed," Allen recalled. He then flew to New Mexico to demonstrate the program. Fortunately, it worked, and Gates and Allen were on the cutting edge of the computer revolution. Allen stayed to work for the computer company. Gates finished his academic year at Harvard. Then, over the objections of his parents, he chose to drop out of Harvard and join Allen. At 19, he and Allen formed Microsoft, a company to write software for personal computers. Microsoft made Gates, at age 31, the youngest billionaire in America.

Gates's obsession with computers began in 1968, when his high school in Seattle arranged computer time on a local company's machine.

### Bill Gates

*In 1974, Bill Gates made an eventful choice. Along with a friend from high school, Paul Allen, the Harvard sophomore decided to create an operating system for a new development in the computer world: the personal computer (PC). The system worked, and Gates left Harvard and formed Microsoft, creating MS-DOS and software packages for what soon became the personal computer revolution. By 1986, his operating system dominated the computer world, and he became the country's youngest billionaire. Corbis-Bettmann.*

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"We were off in our own world," he remembered. "Nobody quite understood the thing but I wanted to figure out exactly what it could do." At the age of 13, he was "hired" by the company—paid with computer time—to find bugs in the system. Three years later, with Allen, Gates formed a company to analyze automobile traffic data by computer. They made about \$20,000 until the government offered to analyze the traffic for no cost.

In 1980, their expectations rising, Gates and Allen agreed to design an operating system to run the software for IBM's entry into the personal computing field. IBM was already a giant in large business and institutional computers, and it was expected that IBM's personal computers would greatly expand the popularity and uses of personal computers. In 1980, each computer company wanted to capture and keep users by having a unique operating system to run software. IBM wanted Microsoft to formulate a new, exclusive system. Gates and Allen began by buying an existing system QDOS, the "quick and dirty operating system"—and modifying it. Within a year, they had created, in great secrecy, Microsoft DOS (MS-DOS).

IBM's personal computers became the industry's leader and were soon being cloned by other companies. Gates chose to offer MS-DOS to other companies. At first, IBM was reluctant to share "its" system, but both companies benefited. By the 1990s, only two major operating systems still existed for personal computers: Apple and MS-DOS. Microsoft had become the industry giant and Gates the country's richest man.

Looking toward the twenty-first century, Gates continues to seek better and more innovative applications for personal computers, telecommunications, and information processing. His newest challenge is to integrate multimedia and communication systems with an interactive software package more effectively. Still pursuing his choice to be at the forefront of a revolution, Gates looks confidently toward a

bright future. "We are going to create the software that puts a computer on every desk and in every home," he said. A billionaire, Paul Allen left Microsoft in 1983 and has since invested in and worked to develop companies in the high-technology, communications, and information delivery fields.

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Although new technology and innovative ideas created some millionaires, many others were the beneficiaries of the government. Reagan's tax and economic policies favored the wealthy. The wealthiest 1 percent of Americans saw their slice of the economic pie grow from 8.1 percent to 15 percent during the Reagan years. The majority of American workers and families during the same period lost income. Still, the media spotlighted people making millions. College graduates hoping to become highly paid professionals applied to law, business, and other postgraduate schools in droves.

Not everyone was captivated by the Reagan boom. Social critic Tom Wolfe complained of a "Me Generation" that was self-indulgent and materialistic. Some economists warned that the stock market's climb rested on a weak foundation of shaky credit and fast profits. Such credit and profits, they argued, were related neither to actual economic growth nor to an increase in real buying power and wages.

On "Black Monday," October 19, 1987, their fears came true. The stock market dropped 508 points, the largest single decline in American history. Images of the 1929 Crash and the Great Depression reared up. The Reagan administration was shaken, but the Federal Reserve acted quickly to lower interest rates and to pump money into the economy. The Fed's action stopped the panic selling, and the stock market slowly turned upward again. Some warned, however, that the stock market still did not reflect real economic health and argued that more trouble lay ahead.

They soon had additional evidence when the savings and loan system began edging toward collapse. Until 1982, government regulations permitted savings and loan associations (S&Ls) to lend money only for single-family homes. In that year, the Reagan administration lifted nearly all restrictions on lending by S&Ls. Many S&L operators jumped into risky ventures such as office buildings, shopping malls, and junk bonds. Losses were covered by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC). It was a no-lose situation for the S&L operators. If they gambled wrong, the government paid for their mistakes.

Corruption, bad loans, poor judgment, and a slowing economy soon pricked the S&L bubble. As real-estate values slumped in 1987, many S&Ls began losing vast sums of money. Some closed their doors. Charles Keating, president of Lincoln Savings and Loan in California, lost more than \$2.6 billion of depositors' money. To keep his operation from being investigated, he made sizable "political" contributions to several senators. Eventually convicted of fraud, Keating was not alone in bending and breaking the law. He and scores of others left the S&L industry in ruins. The federal government had to cover more than \$500 billion in losses.

By the late 1980s, the financial boom was fading along with the reputations of many who had ridden it. Donald Trump had to sell his airline and most of his real estate to pay creditors. Boesky was arrested for **insider trading** and sentenced to three years in prison.

Reputations fell in the Reagan administration as well. Secretary of the Interior James Watt and Attorney General Edwin Meese resigned following revelations that they had received money and favors for helping some businesses gain lucrative government contracts. They were not alone. Over a hundred members of the Reagan administration were found guilty of illegal behavior. Reagan was untouched by the scandals, however, and his popularity remained high. Some called him the "Teflon President" because no criticism seemed to stick to him.

## Reagan's Second Term

Throughout the presidential campaign of 1984, Republicans credited Reagan's leadership and poli-

**savings and loan** associations Financial institutions originally founded to provide home mortgage loans; deregulation during the Reagan era allowed them to speculate in risky ventures and led to many S&L failures.

**insider trading** Trading of stocks by someone who has access to confidential information about the companies involved.

cies for renewed prosperity, restored military superiority, and "standing tall" against communism throughout the world. Using the theme "Morning in America," Reagan's re-election campaign projected a new day of economic expansion, morality, and national power. Reagan avoided specific issues while announcing that big-government liberalism was dead.

After a divisive primary season, former vice president Walter **Mondale** won the Democratic nomination. He refused to concede that liberalism was dead. He called for revitalizing social programs. He selected Geraldine Ferraro, a congresswoman from New York, to be his vice-presidential candidate. Although many people applauded Mon-dale for selecting a woman, others complained that Ferraro was not the best-qualified woman for the job.

Reagan won an overwhelming victory, taking 59 percent of the popular vote and carrying every state except Mondale's Minnesota. Only the poor, African Americans, and Latinos voted Democrat. A majority of organized labor, women, Catholics, white southerners, farmers, and the middle and upper classes voted for Reagan's Republican vision of "Morning in America."

A growing cloud, however, hung over Reagan's American morning: the soaring budget deficit. During his first administration, the annual deficit had gone from \$73.8 billion to over \$200 billion. Although reducing the deficit had bipartisan support, how to do it remained a partisan issue. Most Democrats took the view that cuts in military spending were needed. They argued that a large part of the deficit came from military spending, which had risen from \$164 billion in 1980 to \$228 billion in 1985. Republicans countered by blaming the debt on wasteful social programs.

In late 1985, a coalition of Republicans and Democrats passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act, which established a maximum debt level and ordered across-the-board cuts if the budget failed to match the level set. The plan never worked effectively. By 1989, federal expenditures had climbed to \$1,065 billion a year, and the national debt stood at nearly \$3 trillion, requiring an annual interest payment of \$200 million. The United States

had become the world's largest debtor nation. With the deficit seemingly out of control, many advocated a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

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## Asserting

### World Power

As a candidate in 1980, Reagan had promised to re-establish the United States as the leader of the world. To accomplish that goal, he believed it was necessary to overcome what he termed the "Vietnam syndrome": the unwillingness to use military force to defend U.S. interests. As president, Reagan promised no lack of resolve to support those interests.

### Cold War Renewed

At the center of Reagan's view of the world was his hostility toward the Soviet Union. He believed that the Soviet Union was an "evil empire" that would "commit any crime" to achieve world conquest. America's grand role was to defend global freedom against communism. Large increases in the military budget were necessary, Reagan argued, to close the "window of vulnerability" that Carter had created by allowing the Soviets to pull ahead in the arms race.

With almost no dissent, Congress funded Reagan's military budget. More funds were made available for nuclear weapons and new aircraft, including the B-1 bomber and Stealth fighters and bombers. The navy was enlarged; the army received more tanks and helicopters. The most controversial program called for a new defense system that would use x-ray lasers to blast incoming

**Walter Mondale** Minnesota senator who was vice president under Jimmy Carter and ran unsuccessfully for president on the Democratic ticket in 1984.



- ◆ After declaring the Soviet Union an "evil empire" responsible for nearly all the world's problems, President Reagan (*left*) reversed course in 1988 and opened productive discussions with Soviet reformer Mikhail Gorbachev (*right*). The outcome was an intermediate-range nuclear force treaty that helped end the Cold War, as well as reduce the overall number of nuclear missiles. Here the two leaders pose in front of St. Basil Cathedral in Moscow. *Corbis-Bettmann.*

Soviet missiles. The **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**, or Star Wars, as it was soon dubbed, became Reagan's military priority. Between 1983 and 1989, Congress provided over \$17 billion for Star Wars research despite criticism that Star Wars owed more to science fiction than to science. By 1989, Reagan had added over \$100 billion a year to the military budget.

Numerous defense contractors took advantage of the money being lavished on defense. With billions of dollars available, government and industry officials padded their expense accounts and exchanged bribes and kickbacks on an unprecedented scale. They falsified test results and inflated costs artificially. Billion-dollar cost overruns became commonplace. Critics loudly opposed the military shopping spree but had little effect on Congress or the public.

### **The Middle East**

The Middle East presented the Reagan administration with a complex series of problems that, except for Afghanistan, resisted being explained as Communist aggression. In Afghanistan, the CIA continued to supply the mujahedeen with arms to use against Soviet and Afghan forces. Elsewhere in the Middle East, problems involving Arab nationalism, Arab-Israeli disputes, and terrorism could not be so readily understood in a Cold War context.

As Reagan assumed office, Yassir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization had increased its raids against Israel, and shadowy militant Islamic groups had begun a campaign of terrorism against Israel and its Western supporters. Throughout the Mediterranean region, terrorists kidnapped Americans and Europeans, hijacked planes and ships, and attacked airports. Reagan linked the terrorists to Communist organizations, the PLO, and various Arab nations. With American encouragement, Israel invaded neighboring southern Lebanon in 1982 to halt terrorist attacks and to suppress the PLO. As Israeli forces approached the capital city of Beirut, all semblance of internal stability collapsed. A smoldering civil war between Christians and Muslims raged anew.

As part of an international peacekeeping effort, the United States sent nearly two thousand marines

**Strategic Defense Initiative** Research program designed to create an effective defense against nuclear attack; President Reagan asked Congress to fund SDI in 1983.

to Beirut. They quickly became a target for Muslim terrorists. In October 1983, a suicide driver rammed a truck filled with explosives into the marine barracks at the Beirut airport, killing 241 marines. Reagan denounced the terrorist attack but quietly made plans for the marines' removal. In January 1984, the United States withdrew its forces from Lebanon, where the civil war still raged. In Lebanon, there were no victories.

Nor were there any easy solutions in the **Persian Gulf**. The **Iran-Iraq War**, which started in 1980, created two problems for American foreign policy: protecting vital shipments of oil and ensuring that neither Iran nor Iraq emerged from the war as a dominant power. The Reagan administration provided money and weapons secretly to both sides. When Iranian forces attacked several oil tankers in 1986, American warships began escorting all oil tankers in the gulf. Clashes between American and Iranian forces occurred, one of which mistakenly resulted in the shooting down of an Iranian airliner. When the Iran-Iraq War ended in 1988, it had cost over 2 million lives. American intelligence concluded that neither country could threaten the rest of the region immediately.

To counterbalance Iran and Iraq, the United States supplied Saudi Arabia with sophisticated radar detection planes, tanks, and fighter aircraft. Stores of American military supplies were also buried in the Saudi desert in case of future need.

Farther west, in North Africa, Reagan faced off against **Muammar Qaddafi**, the vehemently anti-American ruler of Libya. Reagan denounced Libya as a "rogue" nation that actively supported the PLO and terrorist groups. In April 1986, terrorists bombed a disco popular among American troops in West Berlin, wounding several and killing an American soldier. Reagan ordered a reprisal raid after American intelligence tied Qaddafi to the terrorists. American planes bombed several targets in Libya, including Qaddafi's quarters, killing a young adopted daughter. The United States had shown Qaddafi "that we could get people close to him," bragged one official.

Although Qaddafi remained in power, what seemed important to most Americans was that the United States had responded to terrorism. The White House continued to call for the economic and political isolation of Qaddafi, particularly after investigations suggested that Libya had aided the terrorists who blew up a Pan American airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland, in December 1988, murdering over 250 people.

### **Central America and the Caribbean**

In Central America and the Caribbean, Reagan thought that any hint of Communist influence justified American action. In the southern Caribbean, Reagan focused on the

tiny island of Grenada, where a Marxist government had ruled since independence from Britain in 1979.

In October 1983, the radical New Jewel movement took control of Grenada. The Reagan administration immediately expressed concern about the new government, the construction of a large airport runway by Cuban "advisers," and the potential threat to about five hundred Americans attending medical school on the island. (The students did not think they were in any danger.) On October 25, Reagan ordered American forces to invade Grenada. More than two thousand American soldiers quickly overcame minimal opposition, brought home the American students, and installed a pro-American government. The administration basked in the light of public approval.

Determined to uphold his campaign pledge to defeat communism in Central America, Reagan

Persian Gulf Arm of the Arabian Sea that includes the ports of several major oil-producing Arab countries, including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iraq.

Iran-Iraq War War between Iran and Iraq that broke out in 1980 over control of a disputed waterway and ended in 1988 with more than 2 million dead.

Muammar Qaddafi Libyan political leader who seized power in a military coup in 1969 and imposed socialist policies and Islamic orthodoxy on the country.

Grenada Country in the West Indies that achieved independence from Britain in 1979 and was invaded by U.S. forces in 1983.

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provided billions of dollars in aid to the El Salvadorian government and the Contra "freedom fighters" in Nicaragua. Although the public and Congress strongly supported Reagan's invasion of Grenada, his efforts in Central America stirred considerable opposition. Some critics were disturbed by reports of human rights violations by "death squads" linked to the El Salvadorian military. Many feared that Central America would become another Vietnam. When the press uncovered large-scale American covert aid to the Contras, including the CIA's mining of Nicaraguan harbors in 1984, Congress passed legislation drafted by Representative Edward Boland that allowed only humanitarian aid to the Contras.

Reagan and CIA director William Casey soon sought ways to work around the **Boland Amendment**. In the fall of 1985, the White House believed that it had found a way to do so. National security advisers Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter arranged for the secret sale of arms to Iran. In return, Iran agreed to use its influence with terrorist groups in Lebanon who held American hostages. The cash that Iran paid for the arms was then to be routed to the Contras, allowing them to purchase supplies and weapons.

When the press broke word of the so-called arms-for-hostages deal, a special White House commission and a congressional committee began separate investigations in 1987. Both uncovered evidence that the CIA and the National Security Council had acted without congressional approval and that members of both organizations had lied to Congress to keep their operation secret. McFarlane, Poindexter, and National Security Council aide Oliver North were found guilty and sentenced to prison terms. Although neither investigation uncovered proof that Reagan knew of the operation, some of his closest aides were clearly involved. The scandal damaged his image and that of his presidency.

### **Reagan and Gorbachev**

Reagan made no attempt to improve relations with the Soviet superpower during his first term. He suddenly changed course early in his second term. He called for the resumption of arms limitation talks, and when Soviet leader Konstantin Cher-

nenko died in March 1985, he invited Chernenko's successor, Mikhail **S. Gorbachev**, to the United States.

Gorbachev differed from previous Soviet leaders. He was determined to breathe new life into the Soviet economy, which was stagnating under the weight of military spending and government inefficiency and corruption. He also wanted to institute reforms that would provide more political and civil rights to the Soviet people.

Gorbachev declined Reagan's invitation but agreed to a summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985. The two leaders at first jostled with each other. Reagan condemned the Soviets for human rights abuses, their involvement in Afghanistan, and their aid to Communist factions fighting in Angola and Ethiopia. Gorbachev attacked the proposed development of SDI. But when Gorbachev showed an interest in Hollywood, his relationship with the former movie actor improved. The two leaders left Geneva with a growing fondness for each other.

Gorbachev shocked Reagan when they met again in October 1986 in Reykjavik, Iceland, by proposing a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons over a five-year period and, less surprisingly, the nondeployment of SDI for ten years. Without consulting his advisers, Reagan responded that the two powers should eliminate all strategic missiles within ten years but allow the development of SDI. The summit ended without an agreement, to the relief of American advisers who considered Reagan's idea of eliminating all nuclear missiles a dangerous one.

Still, Soviet-American negotiations on arms limitations continued with new optimism. By December 1987, negotiators had reached an agreement that eliminated Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles from Europe. Reagan and Gor-

**Boland Amendment** Motion approved by Congress in 1984 that barred the CIA from using funds to give direct or indirect aid to the Nicaraguan Contras.

**Mikhail S. Gorbachev** Soviet leader who came to power in 1985; he introduced political and economic reforms and then found himself presiding over the breakup of the Soviet Union.

bachev signed the **Intermediate** Nuclear Force Treaty in Washington during their December 1987 summit. Throughout 1988, Soviet-American relations continued to improve. Gorbachev withdrew Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the Senate approved the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty, and Reagan visited Moscow. It seemed that the Cold War was over.

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## In Reagan's

### Shadow

As Republicans got ready for the 1988 election, the torch of Reaganism passed to Reagan's vice president, **George Bush**. Bush had devoted many years to public service and had held several important posts under Presidents Nixon and Ford: ambassador to the United Nations, chairman of the Republican National Committee, ambassador to China, and director of the CIA. After gaining the Republican nomination, Bush selected as his running mate a young, conservative, and virtually unknown Indiana senator, J. Danforth Quayle.

#### **Bush Assumes Office**

The 1988 campaign proved to be a dull affair. Both Bush and Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts, lacked flair and style. Dukakis ignored most issues and focused on his personal integrity and success in revitalizing the Massachusetts economy. Bush promised to fight drugs and crime, to take a special interest in education and the environment, and not to raise taxes. "Read my lips, no new taxes," he said. Negative campaigning, which aimed at discrediting the opponent rather than addressing issues, dominated the airwaves in 1988. Republican ads were very effective and put Dukakis on the defensive. One focused on Willie Horton, an African-American convicted of murder and imprisoned in Massachusetts, Dukakis's home state. While out of prison on a weekend pass, Horton raped a white woman. Lee Atwater, Bush's campaign manager, said that by the time he was through running the Horton ad, the public would believe that Horton was Dukakis's running mate.

Bush won election easily, gaining 79 percent of the electoral vote and 54 percent of the popular vote. The victory was not as sweet as Bush hoped it would be. His political **coattails** were very short. The Democrats remained the majority party in both houses of Congress.

#### **Bush and a New International Order**

Shortly after becoming president, Bush had to respond to unexpected and rapid changes in the Communist world, from Nicaragua to the Soviet Union. Within the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev's politics of glasnost and **perestroika** were producing political and religious freedom, reducing censorship and repression, and starting the development of a capitalist-style economy. Soviet armed forces were being withdrawn from Afghanistan and Eastern Europe (see Map 31.2).

The Bush administration voiced cautious support for Gorbachev's efforts. In December 1989, Bush met with Gorbachev on the island of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea. Gorbachev declared that the Cold War was over. Bush more prudently stated that they were working toward "a lasting peace." Later, Gorbachev visited Washington and signed agreements to improve trade and reduce

**Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty** Treaty signed in 1987 by Reagan and Gorbachev that provided for the destruction of all U.S. and Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles and for verification with on-site inspections.

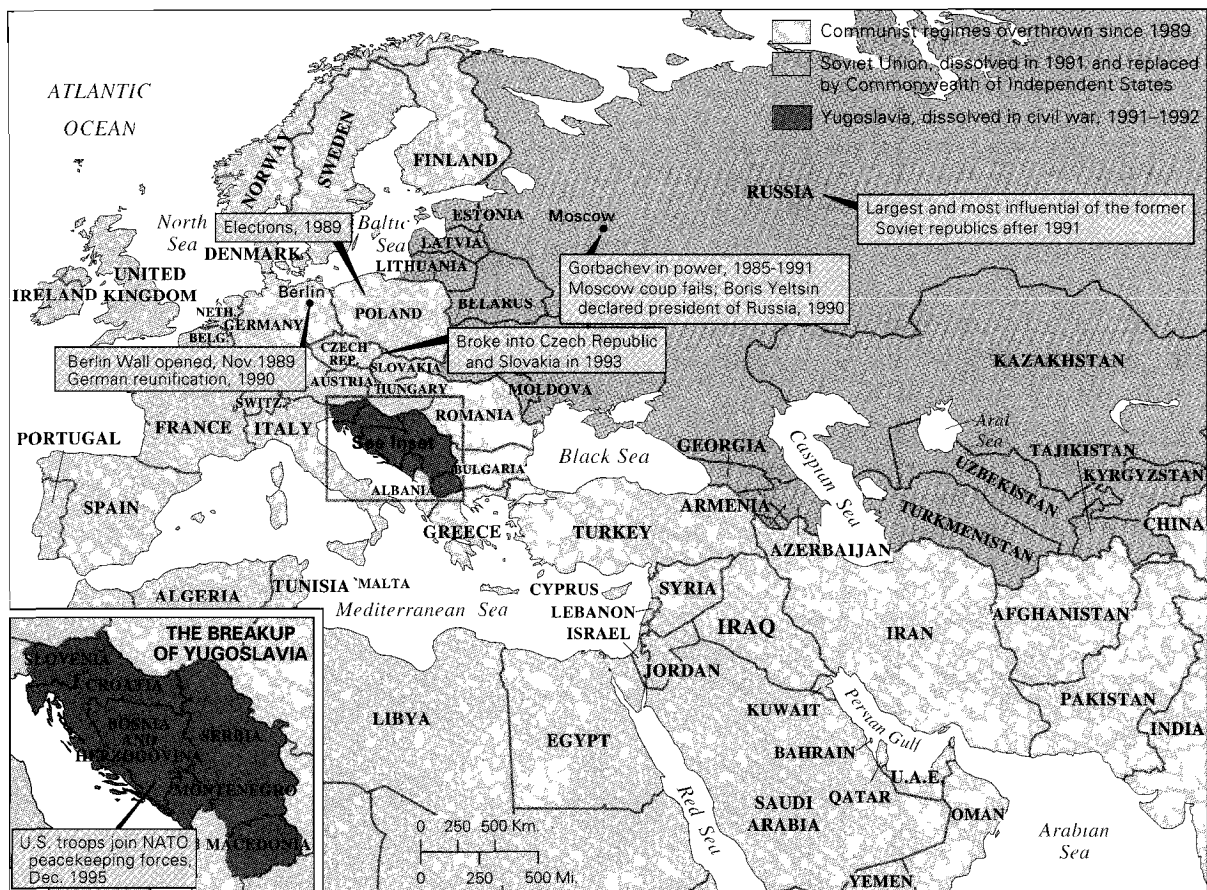
**George Bush** Politician and diplomat who was vice president under Ronald Reagan and was later elected president of the United States.

negative campaigning Presenting a political opponent as weak, dishonest, or untrustworthy instead of addressing basic political issues.

political coattails The result of voters casting their votes for all members of a political party based on voting for one particular member, generally the highest-ranking candidate on the ticket.

**glasnost** Policy under Gorbachev that allowed freedom of thought and candid discussion of social problems.

**perestroika** The restructuring of the Soviet economy and bureaucracy that began in the mid-1980s.



◆ **MAP 31.2 The Fall of Communism** As the Soviet Union collapsed and lost its control over the countries of Eastern Europe, the map of Eastern Europe and Central Asia changed. The Soviet Union disappeared into history, replaced by fifteen new national units. In Eastern Europe, West and East Germany merged, Czechoslovakia divided into two nations, and Yugoslavia broke into five feuding states.

the size of conventional and nuclear arsenals. He was cheered in the United States and around the world. At home, however, his popularity fell as the Soviet economy continued its downward spiral. Attacked by people wanting more reform and by hard-line Communists who feared any reform, Gorbachev asked the United States, Japan, and Western Europe to provide economic support to prevent "chaos and civil wars" in the Soviet Union.

Unable to slow the rush toward reform, the hard-liners on August 19, 1991, attempted a coup. They confined Gorbachev to his vacation home along the Black Sea and outlawed all political par

ties. In Moscow, **Boris Yeltsin**, leader of the Russian Republic, declared the coup illegal and called on the Russian people to resist. Over 150,000 Muscovites surrounded the Russian parliament building to defend Yeltsin. Faced with popular opposition in Moscow and other cities, the coup collapsed

**Boris Yeltsin** Russian parliamentary leader who was elected president of the new Russian Republic in 1991 and promised increased democratic and economic reforms.



within seventy-two hours. Released from captivity, Gorbachev announced that he was again in control of the Soviet Union.

By 1992, there was no Soviet Union to command. All that remained was a weak federation, the **Commonwealth of Independent States**. Power rested not with Gorbachev, who soon retired from office, but with the independent republics and especially with Yeltsin.

The collapse of the Soviet Union both simplified and complicated U.S. foreign policy. The threat of war with the Soviet Union was gone, but the new relationship between the United States and the former Soviet Union had not yet been determined. Bush recognized the independent republics and Yeltsin as the spokesman for the Russian Republic and for the Commonwealth. In a June 1992 visit to Washington, Yeltsin announced that Russia was ready to eliminate nearly all of its land-based strategic missiles. Bush applauded the arms reduction proposal, promised increased economic support, and hoped that Yeltsin could bring some stability to what had once been the Soviet Union. Yeltsin, however, could barely provide stability for Russia.

Even before the Soviet Union collapsed, communism was in retreat throughout Eastern Europe. In December 1988, Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would no longer intervene in Eastern Europe. Within a year, Poland had a new constitution, a free market economy, and a non-Communist government. In 1989, workers tore down the **Berlin** Wall. As the wall crumbled, so too did the Communist governments of East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. By the end of 1990, a unified Germany existed, and the Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania had declared their independence from the Soviet Union.

The Bush administration hoped that free market economies and stable, democratic governments would emerge in the former Soviet bloc. In some nations, there was peaceful movement toward both; in others, there was increased regional and ethnic conflict. Yugoslavia's collapse in 1991 led to a series of bloody conflicts among rival ethnic groups. By 1994, over a hundred thousand people had died, many of them in Bosnia, where Muslims fought better-armed Christian Serbs who were trying to dismember the Bosnian republic.

The breeze of democracy was not limited to Eastern Europe. In the People's Republic of China, Central America, and South Africa, similar movements were taking place. Chinese university students sought an end to the authoritarian policies of Deng Xiaoping. Prodemocracy protesters took to the streets in Beijing and other Chinese cities, demanding political, economic, and civil freedoms. They filled **Tiananmen** Square in Beijing, erecting a "Goddess of Liberty" statue that looked like the Statue of Liberty. Rather than relinquishing power, however, China's leaders resorted to force on June 4, 1989. Police and army forces brutally cleared the square and arrested many leaders of the democracy movement. Thousands were killed or injured as the movement for democracy across China was crushed. President Bush condemned the violent repression but resisted demands for sanctions against China. He argued that sanctions would make the Chinese leadership even more brutal.

Bush's policy toward South Africa drew praise for supporting democratic change. In South Africa, the goal was to end apartheid. In 1988, after South African president P. W. Botha had brutally repressed anti-apartheid demonstrations, Congress instituted economic sanctions. As Bush applauded the willingness of South Africa's new president,

Commonwealth of Independent States Weak federation of the former Soviet republics that replaced the Soviet Union in 1992 and soon gave way to total independence of the member countries.

Berlin Wall Wall that the Communist East German government built in 1961 to divide East and West Berlin; it was torn down in 1989 as the Cold War ended.

Bosnia Region of the former Yugoslavia; its major city is Sarajevo.

Tiananmen Square City square in Beijing where army forces attacked student protesters in 1989, crushing the prodemocracy movement in China.

apartheid Official policy of racial segregation in South Africa; its outcome was political, legal, and economic discrimination against blacks and other people of color.

economic sanctions Trade restrictions that several nations acting together impose on a country that has violated international law.

F. W. de Klerk, to work with Nelson Mandela and other black Africans to end apartheid. Bush lifted the sanctions once it became apparent that substantial progress was being made. In April 1994, South Africa held its first multiracial free elections, electing Mandela president.

In Central America, Bush broke with Reagan's policies (see pages 703-704) by reducing aid to the Contras and encouraging negotiations. His actions contributed to the acceptance of the Contadora Plan negotiated by a coalition of Central American nations. Under this plan, the Contras agreed to halt their military operations, and the Ortega government agreed to hold free elections. Opposition candidate Violeta de Chamorro defeated Daniel Ortega in 1990. Although friction between Sandinista and Contra supporters continued, the peaceful change in government effectively ended a bitter struggle.

In El Salvador, American-supported peace negotiations also ended a civil war. Antigovernment rebels agreed to a cease-fire and to participate in future elections. Bush proudly boasted that American efforts in both El Salvador and Nicaragua helped to produce more democratic governments.

## Protecting American interests Abroad

By mid-1991, almost everyone agreed that the Cold War was over. The Soviet Union and Soviet communism had collapsed. The United States stood as the sole superpower. Liberals and moderates called for a "peace dividend," money taken from the military budget and allocated for social programs. But Bush resisted any sizable cuts in the military budget. The world was still a dangerous place, he warned, and needed the military strength of the United States.

One place where Bush exercised that strength was in Panama. During his presidential campaign, he had promised a crackdown on the flow of drugs into the United States. In December 1989, he ordered American forces into Panama to arrest Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega on drug-related charges. Implicated in the torture and murder of his political enemies, Noriega was actively involved in the transshipment of Colombian drugs to the United States.

Within seventy-two hours, American forces were in charge of the country. American casualties were light (twenty-three lost their lives). Some three thousand Panamanians died, almost all civilians. A Miami court found Noriega guilty of drug-related offenses, and he was sentenced to prison in 1992. Panama, however, remained a major route for smuggling drugs into the United States.

By the fall of 1990, President Bush faced a much more serious threat from Saddam Hussein, the authoritarian ruler of Iraq. Saddam claimed that the oil-rich sheikdom of Kuwait, which had long been friendly to the United States, was waging economic war against Iraq. Believing that the United States would not intervene, Saddam invaded and quickly overran Kuwait in early August 1990.

Many worried that Saddam intended to control the Persian Gulf region's oil fields, which held over 40 percent of the world's oil. Within hours of the invasion, Bush warned, "This [action] will not stand." Bush helped organize a multinational force of over 700,000, including 500,000 Americans, which was sent to Saudi Arabia in an effort to convince Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Many believed that the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations would force Iraq to leave Kuwait. Bush worked within the United Nations to set a deadline of January 15, 1991, for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Eighteen hours after the deadline expired, aircraft of the United Nations coalition began the **Gulf War** with devastating attacks on Iraqi positions in Kuwait and on Iraq itself. For nearly forty days, a

**Contadora Plan** Pact signed by the presidents of five Central American nations in 1987; it called for cease-fires in conflicts in the region and for democratic reforms.

**Manuel Noriega** Panamanian dictator who was captured by U.S. invasion forces in 1989 and taken to the United States to be tried for drug trafficking.

**Saddam Hussein** Iraqi ruler who annexed Kuwait in 1990, triggering the Gulf War.

**Gulf War** War in the Persian Gulf region in 1991 triggered by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait; a U.S.-led coalition defeated Iraqi forces and freed Kuwait.

high-tech air attack pounded the Iraqis. Saddam had promised, however, that the ground war would be the "mother of all battles." Concern about casualties among the coalition forces was great. Nevertheless, General Norman Schwarzkopf, coalition force commander, was confident of victory and ridiculed the Iraqi leader's military ability: Saddam is "neither a strategist, nor is he schooled in the operational arts, nor is he a tactician, nor is he a general, nor is he a soldier. Other than that he is a great military man."

The ground offensive, called Operation Desert Storm, started the night of February 23. In Kuwait, thousands of demoralized Iraqi soldiers, many of whom had gone without food and water for days, surrendered to advancing coalition forces. Within four days, coalition forces were mopping up the remaining resistance. They liberated Kuwait and humiliated the Iraqi army thoroughly. Estimates of Iraqi losses ranged from 70,000 to 115,000 killed. The United States lost fewer than 150. It was indeed the "mother of all victories," Americans quipped. Some, however, speculated that the offensive should have continued until all of the Iraqi army had been destroyed and Saddam ousted from power.

By the summer of 1991, the United States could claim victory in two wars, the Gulf War and the Cold War. It was clearly the diplomatic and military leader of the world.

### **A Kinder, Gentler Nation at Home?**

Bush entered the White House in 1989 promising a "kinder, gentler nation." Many praised Bush for his apparent rediscovery of social issues. But others concluded from Bush's promise not to increase taxes that substantial action was unlikely.

They were correct. Bush's domestic policy reflected his belief that there was nothing fundamentally wrong with American society or the economy. He saw no reason for extensive new social programs.

Bush did support some social and environmental initiatives. By the end of his first year in office, he could point to legislation that protected disabled Americans against discrimination (the Americans with Disabilities Act) and reduced smokestack and auto emissions and acid rain (the

Clean Air Act). Bush also noted that the minimum wage had risen from \$3.35 to \$4.25 an hour. Only two problem areas seemed to exist: the economy and his broken pledge on taxes.

In mid-1990, in part because of oil-price increases caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the nation entered into a recession. The recession, plus the growing national deficit, convinced Bush to work with Congress to raise taxes, despite his "no new taxes" pledge. Bush believed that by 1992, the recession would be over, the national debt would be reduced, and voters would happily re-elect him. The recession deepened, however, and lasted into 1992.

The recession lasted longer than Bush expected for several reasons. Fewer American goods were being sold overseas because of a slowdown in the world economy. American firms responded by downsizing to be more competitive. Between July 1990 and July 1993, over 1.9 million people lost their jobs. Sharply rising federal spending and the ever-increasing deficit also contributed to the length of the recession. Despite Bush's pledges to hold down federal spending, during his term the budget skyrocketed, reaching \$1.5 trillion in 1992. At the same time, family income dropped below 1980 levels, to \$37,300 from a 1980 high of \$38,900. Consumers, caught between increasing unemployment, falling wages, and inflation, saw personal savings and confidence in the economy shrink.

Bush did little to halt the economic slide. He responded to Democrats' calls for tax cuts for the middle class, increased and extended unemployment benefits, and other social programs with vetoes and by asking for reductions in capital gains taxes. The result was political gridlock. Bush looked increasingly vulnerable as the November 1992 election approached. Unlike Reagan, Bush seemed incapable of projecting the image of a leader who knew where the nation and the world should be going.

capital gains Profits made from selling assets such as securities and real estate.

## SUMMARY

The years between Nixon's resignation and 1992 were ones of changing *expectations*. During the presidencies of Ford and Carter, the nation seemed beset by *constraints* that limited its domestic prosperity and international status. The policy *choices* that Ford and Carter made neither recaptured people's faith in the nation nor established national goals. In his foreign policy, Carter chose to de-emphasize Cold War relationships and give more attention to human rights and Third World problems. The *outcome*, many believed, was a weakening of America's world position.

Reagan rejected Carter's notion that Americans should sacrifice to overcome the limits facing the nation. He argued that the only *constraint* on American greatness was government's excessive regulation and interference in society. He promised to reassert American power and renew the offensive in the Cold War. As president, Reagan *chose* a conservative program to restore the nation's values, honor, and international prestige. He fulfilled many conservative *expectations* by reducing support for some social programs, easing and eliminating some government regulations, and exerting American power around the world—altering the structure of Soviet-American relations. Supporters

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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claimed that the *outcome* of Reagan's *choices* was a prosperous nation that faced few *constraints*. They applauded Reagan's assessment that his administration had *chosen* to "change a nation, and instead . . . changed a world."

Bush inherited the *expectations* that the Reagan administration had generated. But unlike Reagan, he could not project an image of strong and visionary leadership. Finding fewer *constraints* and more opportunities in the conduct of foreign policy, Bush directed most of his attention to world affairs. As the Soviet Union and communism in Eastern Europe collapsed, Bush gained public approval for his foreign policies, also demonstrating American strength and resolve in Panama and the Persian Gulf. His foreign-policy successes, however, only highlighted his weakness in domestic policy as the nation found itself mired in a nagging recession that sapped the public's confidence in Republican leadership and the economy.

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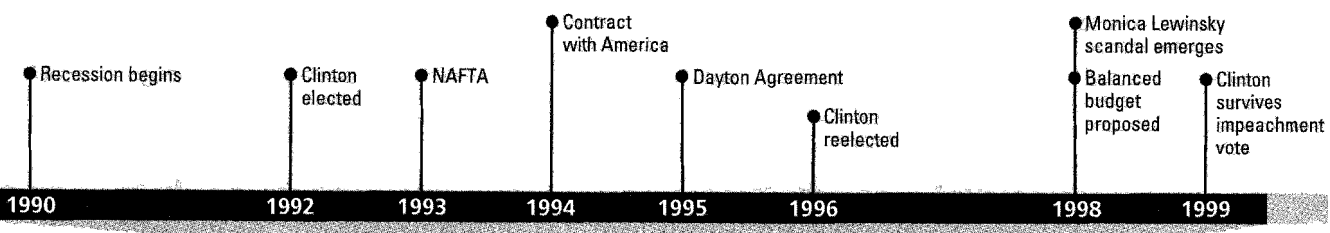
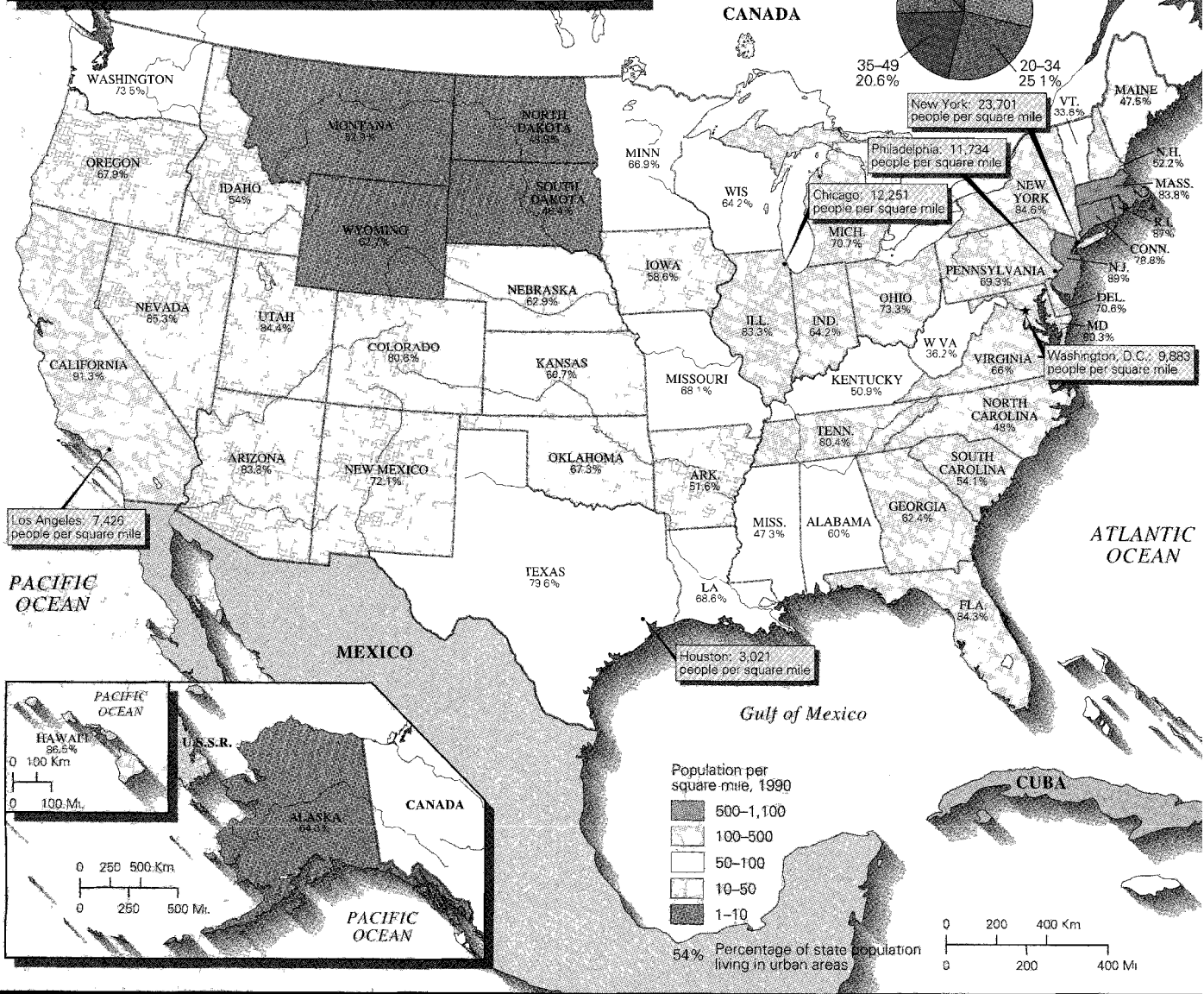
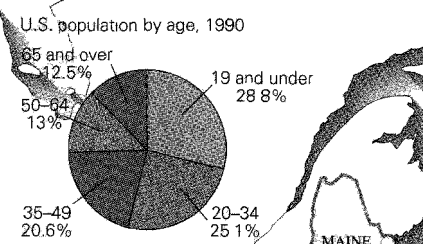
A best-selling novel (also a movie) about the inside world of financial deals and the quest for power and wealth.

*Wall Street* (1988).

A movie that provides another example of financial wheeling and dealing and Yuppies in search of wealth and power.



**LIVING PATTERNS, 1990** Since the end of the nineteenth century, more and more Americans have migrated to urban areas. As this map shows, as of 1990, only seven states had less than half of their population living in urban areas. In addition, the population density of the nation had risen to an average 70.3 people per square mile.





# Making New Choices,

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## 1992-1999

**An Anxious Society Grows  
More Confident**

•What changes were taking place in the American economy during the 1990s, and how did they affect people's expectations?

**The Politics of Morality**

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- What expectations surrounded the introduction of issues of morality and values into American politics?

## **Calls for Change**

- Given the outcomes occurring during the Clinton presidency, what policy issues seemed most important to Americans in the mid- to late 1990s?
- What was the outcome of the Clinton impeachment trial?

# INTRODUCTION

Before the election of 1992, many people *expected* the central issue of the campaign and perhaps of the 1990s would be the social and cultural divisions within American society. Liberals and conservatives were bitterly at odds over the values that should guide American society. Liberals believed that government should work to ensure that women, homosexuals, racial and ethnic minorities, and the disadvantaged generally have equal rights and economic opportunities. They supported the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, and bans on antigay legislation. Conservatives, led by the New Right, argued that liberal policies were destroying the basic value system of the country and resulting in crime, violence, immoral behavior, and the breakdown of family life. They campaigned for a return to the traditional values of the two-parent family.

Contrary to *expectations*, the 1992 election seemed to hinge more on economic issues than on social or cultural ones. Since the 1970s, economic growth had slowed. Middle- and lower-class Americans had grown increasingly anxious as their economic circumstances either stagnated or deteriorated. Faced with a lingering recession, voters in 1992 *chose* Bill Clinton, the Democratic governor of Arkansas, over Republican incumbent George Bush and third-party candidate H. Ross Perot. Whereas Bush offered no answers to troubling economic issues, Clinton promised to support social needs while making the choices necessary to control the federal budget and reduce the national debt.

Clinton's efforts to enact major domestic legislation ran into major *constraints*. Faced with strong opposition, he had to abandon his proposed national healthcare plan and modify his goals for other social issues. In addition, the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994. Clinton proved adept, however, at establishing himself as a centrist while making his Republican opponents appear to be too far to the right. For example, Clinton made the issue of welfare reform his own. He also was successful in foreign policy, helping to bring stability, peace, and democracy to

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Bosnia and Haiti. These successes and a healthy economy translated into an easy victory for Clinton over Robert Dole and H. Ross Perot in the 1996 elections. The Republicans retained control of Congress.

As Clinton's second term began, both parties promised to cooperate with each other. *Expectations* of cooperation vanished in January 1998 when revelations that Clinton had had a sexual affair with a former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, surfaced. By a largely partisan vote, the House approved two articles of impeachment charging that Clinton had perjured himself and obstructed justice in dealing with the Lewinsky affair. Although the Senate voted not to remove Clinton from office in February 1999, the *outcome* of the Lewinsky affair was that Clinton's presidency was permanently tainted.

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## New Expectations, New Directions

- 1969 Stonewall Riot
- 1972 Equal Rights Amendment begins ratification process
- 1973 *Roe v. Wade*
- 1974 Busing confrontation in Boston
- 1976 Hyde Amendment restricts federally funded abortions
- 1978 *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*
- 1981 Beginning of AIDS epidemic in the United States  
Sandra Day O'Connor appointed to Supreme Court
- 1982 Equal Rights Amendment fails to win ratification
- 1986 William Rehnquist appointed chief justice of Supreme Court  
Antonin Scalia appointed to Supreme Court
- 1987 Anthony Kennedy appointed to Supreme Court
- 1988** Bush elected president
- 1990 Recession begins  
David Souter appointed to Supreme Court
- 1991 Clarence Thomas appointed to Supreme Court
- 1992 Riots in South Central Los Angeles  
U.S. troops sent to Somalia  
Clinton elected president  
*Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*
- 1993 North American Free Trade Agreement passed  
Clinton introduces national health package  
Ruth Bader Ginsburg appointed to Supreme Court
- 1994 Withdrawal of U.S. troops from Somalia  
Nelson Mandela elected president of South Africa  
Violence Against Women Act  
Contract with America
- 1995 Dayton Agreement
- 1996 Welfare reform passed  
Clinton reelected
- 1997 Madeleine Albright confirmed as secretary of state  
*Reno v. ACLU*
- 1998 Clinton projects balanced budget  
Monica Lewinsky scandal surfaces  
House impeaches Clinton
- 1999 Senate votes to remove Clinton from office

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## An Anxious Society Grows More Confident

When Bill Clinton became president in 1993, Americans were worried about their economic future. The largely stagnant economy of the previous two decades made it difficult to maintain their standard of living. Those entering the work force worried that they would not be able to achieve their parents' level of affluence.

Clinton's presidency, however, coincided with the resurgence of the American economy. Sustained

economic growth during the 1990s once again made the American economy the envy of the world. By the end of the decade, the unemployment rate had dropped to its lowest level in thirty years, median family income had risen significantly, and the Dow Jones industrial average had soared past 11,000.

### **The Revitalized Economy**

During the 1970s, the American economy entered a prolonged period of stagnation. The economy grew at slightly more than 1 percent annually, in contrast to the robust 2.5 percent annual growth rate it enjoyed from the end of World War II through 1970. Although the causes of this slowdown were not clear at the time, what stands out in retrospect is that the basic activity of the economy was shifting from industrial production to providing information and services.

The painful effects of this transition were felt throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Regions that relied on industry saw the closing or moving of plants, the loss of jobs, and economic decline. The Rust Belt continued to decay as steel and coal companies cut back production or closed (see page 691). In addition, for the first time since the Great Depression, white-collar workers felt the effects of downsizing—companies cutting back on their work forces.

Since the early 1990s, American workers however, have been the beneficiaries of a largely successful transition to an information and service economy. American leadership in the computer software, microprocessing, and telecommunications industries, as well as the structure of the country's highly competitive retail markets, has produced a long and sustained economic boom. Between 1992 and 1998, the economy grew at an annual rate of about 3 percent, half a percentage point higher than in the decades after World War II.

During the 1990s, the American economy became the envy of the world, combining low interest, unemployment, and inflation rates. As one after another of the Asian "miracles" such as Japan went bust, the American economy surged forward. Meanwhile, many European countries experienced high unemployment.

The 1990s, like the 1980s, rewarded those at the top very handsomely. In addition, the decade saw a reversal of the long trend of falling real wages for the average American. Whereas the average real wage for men fell about 11 percent between 1979 and 1993, it rose 4 percent between 1997 and 1998. Real wages for the lowest-paid workers rose 6 percent between 1993 and 1998. By the mid-1990s, fast-food restaurants were advertising starting hourly wages that were well above the minimum wage and were offering fringe benefits in an effort to attract workers in the suddenly tight labor market.

Rising wages reflected the trend toward full employment during the decade. The unemployment rate fell from 7.5 percent in 1992 to 4.1 percent in the fall of 1999—the lowest rate since 1968. Minority unemployment rates fell in 1998 to the lowest levels ever recorded—8.9 percent for African Americans and 7.2 percent for Latinos. Even the unemployment rate for blacks ages 16 to 24 fell to a historic low in 1998, although nearly 21 percent of these workers remained unemployed.

During the 1990s, the stock market brought unprecedented returns to investors. The S&P 500, an index of the five hundred largest American companies, averaged unprecedented increases of 33 percent *per year* between 1994 and 1998, about three times the historical average. Americans who bought shares in the initial offerings of America Online, Amazon.com, or any of a number of Internet and high-technology companies saw even greater returns. The boom market of the Nineties made that of the Twenties pale by comparison.

Moreover, a broad spectrum of the American public benefited from this upsurge in the stock market. The percentage of adult Americans who owned stock rose from 10 percent in 1965 to 43 percent in 1999. This increasing stock ownership reflected the wider participation of Americans in pension and 401(k) funds that invest in securities.

The buoyant stock market indicated the fundamental confidence of investors in the American

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**Dow Jones industrial average** New York Stock Exchange index representing stock prices of the thirty largest industrial corporations.

economy. With a few notable exceptions, virtually every economic indicator looked good. Inflation remained under control, averaging less than 3 percent annually. The inflation rate of 1.6 percent for 1998 was the second lowest in thirty years. Low interest rates that had not been seen since the 1960s spurred a construction and building boom. Even the federal budget, which seemed to have been careening out of control in the early 1990s, showed a surplus in 1998 and promised more surpluses in succeeding years.

Most observers were willing to overlook or minimize the few deficiencies of this generally robust economy. One of those deficiencies was that American consumers found many things to buy but had little inclination to save. As a result, the national savings rate fell to its lowest ever, less than 2 percent, and consumer debt rose to record highs. Another problem was the widening trade gap. Whereas in 1980 the United States had a modest trade surplus of \$3.7 billion, by 1997 it had a trade deficit of \$166 billion.

### **The Familiar Face of Poverty**

For those at the bottom of the economic ladder, even a strong economy did little to ease existing problems. Although the poverty rate fell from 15 percent in 1992 to 13.3 percent in 1997, an estimated 36 million Americans remained mired in poverty. For minorities, the economic picture was worse. Both African Americans and Latinos experienced poverty rates of 27 percent in 1997. Households headed by women also figured prominently in the statistics on poverty. Some 30 percent of women heads of households lived in poverty.

Contributing to what some have called the "feminization of poverty" was the continuing gap between men's and women's income. Women continued to earn roughly 75 percent of the wages earned by men. Alimony was awarded less frequently in the 1990s, and child-support payments, when ordered, were likely to be too small to be of much help. Enforcement of child-support payments was frequently lax. In 1990, for example, more than one-quarter of those who owed child support paid nothing.

### **The Urban Crisis and Racial Tensions**

During the 1980s, the problems of urban Americans seemed beyond solution. Businesses continued to leave the inner cities, taking many well-paying, full-time jobs with them. More and more urban areas came to be peopled by "the underclass," mostly nonwhite, unemployed or underemployed people with little education and even less hope. The only thriving enterprises were gangs and drug sales, especially those of crack cocaine.

Violence was a way of life in the inner city. Sections of many cities took on the appearance of war zones. By 1991, one-fourth of all urban school districts had installed metal detectors to prevent students from bringing weapons to school. Murder had become the leading cause of death for black males under the age of 35.

The Rodney King affair in Los Angeles illustrates the deeply embedded racism in many urban police departments and the seething racial tensions in many inner cities. A videotape made during the 1991 arrest of King, an African American, showed that four white policemen had clubbed, kicked, and beaten him after he had apparently been subdued. When an all-white jury acquitted three of the policemen (one was found guilty) in April 1992, South Central Los Angeles erupted in violence. For African Americans, the trial was further proof of white racism. The ensuing five-day riot resulted in 53 deaths, 2,300 injuries, 16,000 arrests, and more than \$750 million in property damage.

The most famous trial during the 1990s was that of former professional football player O. J. Simpson. The issue of race pervaded the lengthy, televised trial of Simpson, who was accused of murdering his wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend, Ronald Goldman, on June 12, 1994. Although the prosecution presented the findings

crack cocaine Highly potent form of cocaine that is smoked through a glass pipe and is extremely addictive.

**Rodney King** African American whose beating by Los Angeles police officers was captured on videotape; the acquittal of the officers in 1992 triggered riots in which fifty-three people were killed.



- ◆ The April 1992 rioting in Los Angeles that followed the acquittal of three policemen for the beating of motorist Rodney King lasted five days and destroyed much of South Central Los Angeles. Fifty-three people were killed, and property damage exceeded \$750 million. Many stores were looted before being set on fire, especially in what was called Koreatown. *Scott Weersing/Enterprise/Gamma Liaison.*

of DNA tests that placed Simpson's blood at the murder scene and his ex-wife's at his residence, Simpson's "Dream Team" of defense attorneys cast doubts on the integrity of police procedures. They scored many points when they showed that Detective Mark Fuhrman, who claimed to have found a bloody glove used in the murders on Simpson's property, had planted evidence in other cases and was a racist. The jury deliberated for less than four hours before proclaiming Simpson innocent in October 1995. The verdict sharply divided Americans along racial lines. Polls showed that more than two-thirds of white Americans believed that Simpson was guilty, whereas a similar proportion of African Americans believed him innocent.

Although Americans remained polarized over racial issues, urban environments improved substantially in the 1990s. Perhaps the most telling statistics concerned violent crimes such as murder, rape, and robbery. Beginning in 1992, the number of violent crimes dropped every year. The homicide rate, which doubled between the mid-1960s and 1980, also declined dramatically. In 1998, the murder rate fell to its lowest level since 1968. Drug use also fell off considerably. Cocaine use, for example, declined by about two-thirds from its peak in 1985.

Safer cities probably reflected a number of factors. First, an expanding economy provided some additional opportunities in the inner cities. Second, more police on

the beat served as a deterrent to crime. Third, the enactment of tough "three strikes and you're out" legislation removed many offenders from the streets and swelled prison populations. And finally, aggressive campaigns such as that waged by New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani to rid the Times Square area of prostitutes and porn shops led many more urban residents to come out at night.

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## The Politics of Morality

While liberals continued to espouse government activism as a means to promote social equality and cultural pluralism, conservatives argued that America had become a nation of interest groups clamoring for rights and power and that a sense of

national purpose was rapidly fading. They charged that liberal programs and attitudes had made victims of hardworking, thrifty middle-class Americans.

### Changing Values

Many conservatives believed that there had been a moral breakdown in American society. They argued that the women's movement, the counterculture, and the sexual revolution had caused this breakdown. These movements, they claimed, had undermined the values of work and family by stressing personal fulfillment and advocating "fun, display, and pleasure."

The sexual revolution began with the youth movement of the 1960s (see pages 656-658). By 1970, more than half of those surveyed said that they approved of premarital sex and cohabitation outside marriage. Though still the norm, marriage had lost some of its importance.

By the 1970s, divorce rates were climbing as both men and women became less willing to stay in unsatisfactory marriages. As attitudes toward marriage and divorce changed, divorce laws also changed. **No-fault** divorce allowed spouses to dissolve their marriage because of so-called irreconcilable differences. By the 1990s, half of all those who married eventually divorced.

Divorce, the women's movement, and the sexual revolution also interacted with economic factors to affect the structure of American families. No longer was the American family the image of the typical 1950s family—white, suburban, mother as housewife. Instead, there were increasing numbers of single-parent families and families in which both spouses worked. Television reflected the changing views of American society. By the 1970s, there were few television shows showing families similar to Beaver Cleaver's (see page 622). Some nonwhite families appeared, and many of the situation comedies featured groups of single and divorced people living and working in an urban environment. A week of television in 1997 featured several programs about white and African-American "traditional" households—"Cosby," "Mad About You," "In the House," "The Simpsons"—and several single-parent households—"The Gregory Hines Show" and "Grace Under Fire." But there were also many programs that featured divorced and never been-married singles—"Seinfeld," "Friends" and "Ellen." The title character in "Ellen" revealed in one episode that she was a lesbian.

A new openness about sex began to pervade society after the 1960s. By the 1980s, sexual content had become standard fare in movies and on television. In 1987, an estimated sixty-five thousand sexual references

were broadcast each year in prime-time television programs. During the day, sex and sex-related issues became more daring and numerous on the soaps. Violence, too, became standard. A 1997 study indicated that 44 percent of all network programming had violent content. Sexual and violent content was featured even more on cable and satellite television. One study found that on the premier cable channels, 85 percent of the programming had violent content. Sexually explicit material also could be found in magazines and books, on the Internet, and in X-rated films. Many people called for censorship and ways to limit the amount of sex and violence seen by children. By the 1990s, records, movies, and television all offered rating systems indicating the level of sex and violence in their content. In 1997, however, the Supreme Court ruled in *Reno v. ACLU* that efforts to ban sexually offensive material from the Internet were unconstitutional.

### Women and Changing Values

Related to the sexual revolution's effects on American society were demands by women for more personal and economic choices. As the women's movement continued into the 1980s and 1990s, it began, like other social movements, to divide and encounter more opposition. At the center of the

sexual

revolution Dramatic change in attitudes toward sex; it began in the 1960s as more and more Americans considered premarital sex acceptable.

no-fault **divorce** Divorce granted without the need to establish wrongdoing by either party.



divisions and at the heart of the opposition were differences about the meaning and importance of the sexual revolution, home, family, and children.

By the late 1960s, a growing number of women had begun to attack sexism in American society and culture. As unprecedented numbers of women began working, many became angered by the gap between their abilities and their earnings. In August 1970, over fifty thousand women marched in New York to demand better pay and equal access to jobs.

The women's movement began to call for other changes as well. These included abortion rights, the right to reject unwanted sex, and freedom from sexual harassment. To help achieve these goals, the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other women's groups in 1967 called for an Equal **Rights Amendment (ERA)**.

Many states responded to the changing social values and to pressure from women's groups. They modified laws to reduce or eliminate gender discrimination. Some states legalized abortions. In 1972, Congress drafted the Equal Rights Amendment and sent it to the states for ratification. ERA advocates argued that it was needed to eliminate laws at the state and local levels that blocked women's equality. They pointed out that the ERA also would transfer the responsibility of ensuring equality from individuals and state governments to the federal government.

At first, ratification of the ERA appeared almost certain. Thirty-three of the thirty-eight states needed for ratification had approved it by 1974. But opposition stiffened, and only two more states voted approval before the 1978 deadline. Congress granted an extension of the deadline until 1982, but it did no good.

Conservative forces from more than 130 organizations made the ERA an effective symbol of what they said threatened the traditional family. Phyllis Schlafly and other STOP-ERA leaders charged that the ERA would alter the "role of the American woman as wife and mother" and destroy the American family. Their emphasis on the ERA's threat to the traditional family prevented it from being ratified.

The STOP-ERA movement also benefited from the Supreme Court's controversial 1973 decision in the case of *Roe v. Wade*. The Court invalidated a Texas law that prevented abortions. Justice Harry

Blackmun, writing for the majority, held that "the right to privacy" gave women the freedom to choose to have an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. The controversial ruling struck down abortion laws in forty-six states that had made it nearly impossible for women to have an abortion. As the number of legal abortions rose from about 750,000 in 1973 to nearly a million and half by 1980, so too did opposition.

Although public opinion polls indicated that a majority of Americans favored giving women the right to choose an abortion, Catholics, Mormons, some Orthodox Jews, and many Protestant churches organized a "Right to Life" campaign to oppose abortion rights. The Right to Life movement easily merged with the conservative elements of American society. Responding to conservative and anti-abortion pressure, Congress in 1976 passed the Hyde Amendment, which prohibited the use of federal Medicaid funds to pay for abortions. As President Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor and other conservative justices to the Supreme Court, many people expected the Court eventually to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. But in 1992, in

*Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, the Court confirmed a woman's right to have an abortion. The Court did assert that in some cases the state could modify that right.

**sexual harassment** Unwanted and offensive sexual advances or sexually derogatory or discriminatory remarks.

**Equal Rights Amendment** Proposed constitutional amendment giving women equal rights under the law; Congress approved it in 1972, but it failed to achieve ratification by the required thirty-eight states.

Phyllis Schlafly Leader of the movement to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment; Schlafly believed that the amendment threatened the domestic role of women.

*Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling in 1973 that women have an unrestricted right to abort a fetus during the first three months of pregnancy.

**Right to Life movement** Anti-abortion movement that favors a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion; it grew increasingly militant during the 1980s and 1990s.

Sexual harassment became a national issue in 1991 during Clarence Thomas's Senate confirmation hearings for the Supreme Court. Those hearings turned stormy after Anita Hill, a University of Oklahoma law professor, accused Thomas of sexual harassment. Hill testified that a decade earlier, while she was working for Thomas, he had pressured her for dates and told her pornographic stories. Thomas denied her allegations, angrily calling the hearing "a high-tech lynching for uppity blacks." The Senate hearings became a national television spectacle. The predominantly male Senate confirmed Thomas in a close vote, but the hearings focused national attention on the issue of sexual harassment. In response to growing concerns about sexual abuse, Congress passed the Violence **Against Women** Act in 1994.

## Gay Rights: Progress and Resistance

Women were not the only group asking society to reconsider America's traditional views of gender. Homosexuals too were demanding equality. In the late 1960s, groups promoting gay and lesbian rights openly demanded an end to laws that discriminated against homosexuals.

The spark for the movement was a police raid in June 1969 on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in the Greenwich Village section of New York City. Gays and other members of the community fought back in what came to be called the Stonewall Riot. After the riot, gays and lesbians borrowed tactics from the women's and civil rights movements, formed activist groups, and demanded equality. Because visibility was a major tool and goal of the movement, gays and lesbians demonstrated in support of their lifestyles.

Throughout the 1970s, the gay liberation movement pressured government at all levels to end restrictions against homosexuals in employment, housing, and the military. Success came slowly. One victory came in 1973 when the American Psychiatric Association ended its classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder. Polls indicated that the "straight" public held confusing views. By the mid-1970s the majority of Americans considered homosexuality wrong, but a slight majority opposed job discrimination based on sexual

orientation and seemed more tolerant of gay lifestyles.

The growing toleration of gays did not end legal or social discrimination. The Reagan administration equated homosexuality with a disease and denied homosexuals entry into the United States. The New Right and Moral Majority campaigned actively against the rights of homosexuals. Evangelical minister Jerry Falwell called on his followers to "stop gays dead in their perverted tracks." Although 26 states had decriminalized sexual relationships between consenting adults by 1986, only 7 states and about 110 communities had prohibited social and economic discrimination against homosexuals by 1993. In the remaining 43 states and under federal law, no legal recourse existed for those fired from their jobs because of their sexual preference.

## The AIDS Controversy

Antigay opposition was strengthened by a growing fear of **acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)**, a disease that was at first regarded primarily as a "gay disease." AIDS was first discovered in the United States in 1981. Within ten years, over 195,700 cases had been reported, and over 97,000 Americans had died of it. Another 1.5 million were estimated to be infected by HIV (human immunodeficiency virus), the virus that causes AIDS. Initially, because most AIDS victims were either homosexuals or intravenous drug users, official and public response to the disease was restrained. But as more and more non-drugusing heterosexuals contracted AIDS, research and educational efforts expanded.

As public fear of AIDS increased, controversy flared about the best means to prevent the spread

Violence Against Women Act Law passed in 1994 that provided federal funds to prevent violence against women, to aid victims, and to punish those convicted of attacks on women.

acquired immune deficiency syndrome Gradual and eventually fatal breakdown of the immune system caused by HIV; AIDS is transmitted by exchanging body fluids through means such as sex or blood transfusions.

of the disease. Claiming to be "realists," many recommended "safe sex," emphasizing the use of condoms as a means to reduce the possibility of getting the disease. Television ads used prominent movie and sports figures to advocate the use of condoms. Some advocated that high schools provide students with free condoms and information about AIDS. Others disagreed. Arguing that free condoms would encourage sexual activity, they promoted abstinence.

Contributing to the public's awareness of AIDS were revelations that Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Arthur Ashe had tested positive for the HIV virus. Ashe, the onetime U.S. Open tennis champion, contracted the disease from HIV-infected blood during a heart bypass operation. Johnson, star of the Los Angeles Lakers basketball team, caught the disease through heterosexual activity. Johnson admitted to being "naive" about AIDS and told the public, "Here I am saying it can happen to anybody." Both became spokesmen for AIDS research and prevention. Ashe died of AIDS in 1993.

By the mid-1990s, some advances had been made in research toward controlling AIDS. Combinations of drugs seemed to have a positive effect in slowing the advance of and death rate from the disease. But there remained no cure for the disease, which by 1996 had claimed more than 280,000 American lives and had infected 20 million people around the world.

### **Federal Intervention and the Courts**

By the 1980s, many Americans who had initially supported civil rights for African Americans and other minorities were rejecting calls for continuing programs to help equalize social and economic relationships. Multiculturalism and federal intervention in support of minority rights, conservatives argued, were weakening American society and undermining traditional values. Among the most disastrous examples of federal intervention, many conservatives held, were requirements for forced busing and **affirmative** action. Both had been largely supported and influenced by the federal court system.

Busing for integration had become a national issue in the early 1970s, when state and federal

courts began to order non-Southern school districts to adopt busing to achieve more equally balanced schools. Boston experienced violent protests in 1974 following a busing order, and twenty thousand white students eventually left the school system. In the 1980s, the Reagan and Bush administrations backed away from court-ordered busing. "We aren't going to compel children who don't want to have an integrated education to have one," said one Reagan official. Federal courts also began to take a less favorable view of affirmative action. In part, their rulings reflected the judicial appointments of the Reagan and Bush administrations. By 1992, Reagan and Bush had appointed nearly half of all sitting federal district and appeals court judges. In selecting candidates, they sought individuals who practiced judicial **restraint**, deferring to the views of Congress, the president, and the states on legislation and policy.

Reagan and Bush reshaped the Supreme Court in a conservative bent by appointing six justices. In 1986, five years after appointing Sandra Day O'Connor, Reagan named Justice William Rehnquist to be chief justice and appointed conservative Antonin Scalia to the Court. Anthony M. Kennedy joined the Court in 1987, adding to the conservative majority. The conservative direction of the Court was further reinforced by President Bush's two appointments, David Souter (1990) and Clarence Thomas (1991). In a case involving DeKalb County, Georgia, the Rehnquist Court declared in 1992 that busing should not be used to integrate schools segregated by *de facto* housing patterns.

Affirmative action was already under increasing attack by the time Reagan took office. As the economy slowed, a growing number of middle-class and blue-collar whites had come to believe that affirmative action programs limited their job and ed-

**affirmative action** Policy that seeks to redress past discrimination through active measures to ensure equal opportunity, especially in education and employment.

**judicial restraint** Refraining from using the judiciary as a forum for implementing social change but instead deferring to Congress, the president, and the consensus of the people.

educational opportunities. Believing himself a victim of **reverse discrimination**, Allan Bakke sued the University of California system. Bakke claimed that the School of Medicine at the University of California at Davis had accepted black students less qualified than he and had denied him admission because he was white. In 1978, in *Regents of the*

*University of California v. Bakke*, the Supreme Court ruled that the university should admit him to the medical school. The Court did not totally reject color and gender as considerations for hiring, but the *Bakke* decision weakened many affirmative action programs.

During the Reagan administration, racial and gender preference systems were effectively limited by the Rehnquist Court's 1989 *Croson* decision, which declared state and local government efforts to set aside jobs and contracts for minorities to be illegal. The city of Atlanta and many other municipalities subsequently abolished set-aside programs. In 1997, California voters approved a measure forbidding any consideration of racial or gender preferences in hiring, college admissions, or contracting. Governor Pete Wilson announced that it "began a new chapter in the journey toward a color-blind society."

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### Calls for Change

In mid-1991, Republicans believed that they had established a new alignment of conservative voters that would continue the shift away from liberalism and big government. President Bush was basking in the glow of Operation Desert Storm and the fall of communism. Most prominent Democrats expected that the president would easily win reelection, so they chose not to compete. As a result, the door was opened for less well-known Democratic candidates. Arkansas governor Bill Clinton emerged as the front-runner and easily won the party's nomination. He selected Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee as his running mate.

Bush campaigned on his presidential experience, his knowledge of world affairs, and Vice President Dan Quayle's call for family values. He blamed the Democratic Congress for the political gridlock. Calling Clinton a "tax-and-spend Demo

crat," Bush warned that the Arkansas governor's lack of experience, especially in foreign and military affairs, would ruin the country.

Clinton insisted that he was a new kind of Democrat. He called for increased taxes on the wealthy, programs to rebuild the nation's transportation and industrial base, and a strong commitment to a national healthcare program. Unlike Bush, Clinton embraced government activism. Surviving Bush's ads attacking his character, personal life, and avoidance of the draft during the Vietnam War. Clinton steadily emphasized the economy, which was languishing in a recession.

The 1992 campaign also saw the emergence of a third-party candidate. **H. Ross Perot** offered to use \$100 million of his own money if supporters could get his name on the presidential ballot in all fifty states. Perot's announcement in February 1992 drew immediate support from many Americans who were disenchanted with both political parties. Perot had a simple message: the politicians had messed up the nation, and control needed to be returned to the people. "It's time to take out the trash and clean up the barn," he told listeners. The deficit was the foremost problem, he said, and he promised to shrink it. By June, one opinion poll showed the feisty Texan leading with 39 percent of the vote. Then, without warning, he withdrew from the race in July. Although Perot later reentered the race, he never regained the momentum he had had in June.

The 1992 campaign culminated in three televised debates between Bush, Perot, and Clinton in September and October. Although both Bush and Perot gained in the public opinion polls following the debates, neither could overtake Clinton, who won the election with 43 percent of the popular vote. Bush received 37.4 percent and Perot 18.9

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reverse discrimination Discrimination against members of a dominant group; it results from policies established to correct discrimination against members of minority groups.

**H. Ross Perot** Texas billionaire who used large amounts of his own money to run as an independent candidate for president in 1992.

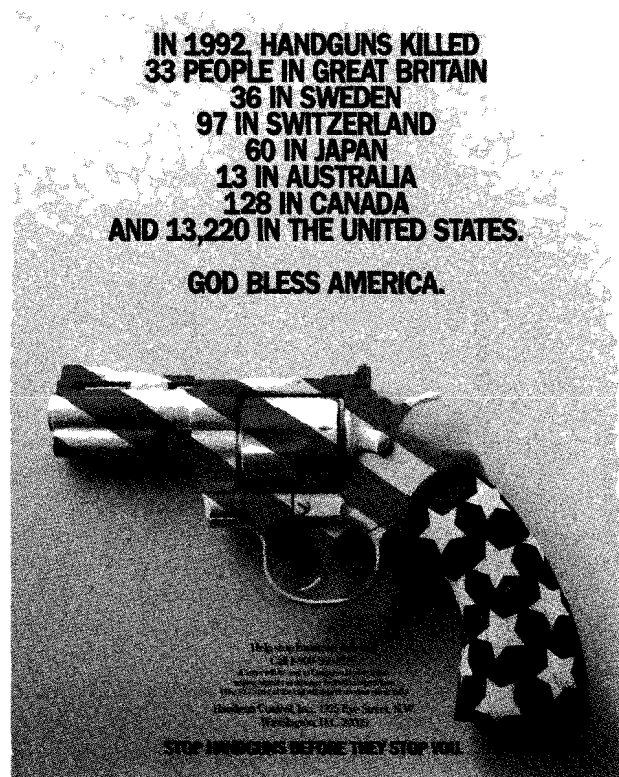
percent. Clinton received 370 electoral votes, 100 more than he needed to win.

Political observers wondered if Clinton's success and the success of women and minorities in elections across the nation indicated that the conservative shift in American politics that had begun with Reagan was at its end. Setting a liberal tone, Clinton stated that he wanted a "government that looks like America," and he appointed minorities and women to several posts in the judiciary, the cabinet, and other federal offices. Janet Reno became the first woman attorney general, and in 1993 Ruth Bader Ginsburg became the second woman on the Supreme Court. In 1997, Madeleine K. Albright became the first woman secretary of state. Clinton's most controversial appointment was his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom he named to chair the committee to draft a national healthcare p Lan.

### Clinton, Congress, and Change

Clinton's presidency got off to a slow and shaky start. One of his first actions was to attempt to fulfill a campaign pledge to end discrimination against homosexuals in the military. Faced with substantial opposition in Congress and in the military, Clinton retreated and compromised. The compromise required the armed forces to stop asking about sexual preference as long as gays and lesbians in the service refrained from homosexual activities. The new policy pleased no one. It left even the president's supporters distressed about his willingness to sacrifice principles.

Clinton fared no better with his promise to provide national health insurance for the estimated 35 million Americans who were uninsured. Chaired by his wife, the Task Force on National Health Care Reform in 1993 proposed providing universal insurance primarily by mandating that employers offer health insurance to their employees. A barrage of criticism greeted the task force's report. Businesses objected to providing mandated health insurance. The American Medical Association complained that adopting the recommendations would mean that government would decide how much healthcare an individual could receive and deny an individual's choice of doctors. Such complaints found their mark in a public leery of big



◆ Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the issue of gun control sharply divided the nation. This ad strongly asserts the need for control. Opponents argue that the right to bear arms is guaranteed by the Constitution. Advocates for control won a small victory in 1993 when Congress passed the Brady bill, which requires a five-day waiting period and a background check before someone can buy a handgun. *Handgun Control, Inc.*

changes in medical care. By mid-1994, it was apparent that healthcare reform was a dead issue.

Success did not elude Clinton entirely during his first two years in office. Going against considerable opposition within his own party, he gained congressional approval of the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**, which gradually re-

**North American Free Trade Agreement** Agreement approved in 1993 that eliminated most tariffs and other trade barriers among the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

duced trade barriers between the United States, Canada, and Mexico over a fifteen-year-period. In 1993, Congress also approved the Brady bill, which mandated a five-day waiting period before an individual could purchase a handgun. Additionally, Clinton was able in 1993 to secure passage of a budget that he believed would reduce the budget deficit and promote economic growth. Denounced by Republicans as typical liberal "tax and spend" measures, these laws raised taxes on wealthy Americans while making major spending cuts. The failure to achieve significant social reform and Clinton's many compromises, however, more than overshadowed the president's small victories.

As Clinton sank ever lower in public opinion polls in 1994, the Republicans rallied around Newt Gingrich, a conservative member of Congress from Georgia. Some three hundred Republican aspirants to the House of Representatives pledged on September 27, 1994, to support the Contract with **America** that Gingrich promised to enact if Republicans were victorious at the polls. Reflecting Gingrich's philosophy of a minimal federal government, the contract called for various tax cuts and a balanced federal budget by 2002. Apart from specifying cuts in welfare, the contract was vague on how the budget was to be balanced.

Voters responded to Gingrich's call for a political revolution. In the 1994 elections, Republicans picked up nine Senate seats and fifty-two House seats, thereby gaining control of the Senate for the first time since 1987 and of the House for the first time in forty years. In addition, Republicans added fourteen governorships to their total. Democratic mainstays such as Governor Mario Cuomo of New York and Governor Ann Richards of Texas went down to defeat. A conservative revolution even more profound than the one that had elected Ronald Reagan president appeared to be taking shape.

True to his word, Gingrich, the new Speaker of the House, steered virtually all of the Contract with America through the House during its first hundred days in session in 1995. Republicans passed large tax cuts, strong anticrime legislation, and increases in military spending. (Ironically, the only part of the contract that was not fulfilled was the provision calling for term limits for members of Congress.) Euphoria ran high in the Republican ranks.

The contract's pledge to balance the budget by 2002 led to a confrontation between Clinton and Gingrich after the beginning of the new federal fiscal year in October 1995. Since no budget had been agreed on for fiscal year 1995-1996, a continuing resolution was needed to allow the federal government to function and to pay its bills. Gingrich attached specified reductions in Medicare, Medicaid, and welfare spending to the continuing resolution. If Clinton vetoed the resolution because he did not like these reductions, all nonessential

services of the federal government would be forced to shut down.

Clinton called Gingrich's bluff and vetoed the resolution. Some 800,000 federal workers were sent home briefly in November and for more than a month beginning in mid-December. National museums, parks, passport offices, and a host of other government offices closed. As the shutdown continued into January 1996, the public increasingly pointed the finger at Gingrich and the Republicans for the budgetary impasse. "It seems like the Republicans have this my-way-or-no-way attitude, and I'm tired of it," a 37-year-old Kansan observed. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas, sensing the damage that the shutdown was doing to his party, finally called for a Republican retreat on the continuing resolution. Government employees went back to work in mid-January, and the leaders of the two parties sat down again to negotiate a budget.

Clinton emerged from the government shutdown with enhanced stature and a new political lease on life. The budgetary battles made him seem a moderate, whereas Gingrich and his supporters came off as extremists.

Following the government shutdowns of 1995-1996, Clinton and the Republican Congress were able to reach substantial agreement on only one major issue, welfare reform. The Republican

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Brady bill Law passed in 1993 that established a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases.

**Contract with America** Pledge taken in September 1994 by some three hundred Republican candidates for the House that promised to reduce the size and scope of the federal government and to balance the federal budget by 2002.

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welfare reform bill that Clinton signed late in the summer of 1996 marked a dramatic departure from the federal welfare program that had existed since the New Deal—Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Charging that AFDC payments had created a culture of poverty and dependence because the program did not require recipients to work, Republicans replaced AFDC with block grants to the states. The legislation allowed the states to experiment with a variety of approaches to handling welfare and required adults to work in order to receive welfare. Critics of the measure contended that the end of federal welfare entitlements amounted to a betrayal of the poor.

### **The 1996 Campaign**

Perceiving Clinton as a vulnerable president, a host of Republican candidates emerged in 1995 to compete for the right to carry the party's standard. Despite sharp initial challenges from Steven Forbes, heir to a publishing fortune, and Patrick Buchanan, a conservative columnist, veteran politician Robert Dole secured the nomination easily.

Dole emerged as the Republican nominee only to find himself trailing in the polls by twenty points in June 1996. In an effort to narrow the gap, he resigned his Senate seat. Several factors operated as constraints on his ambitions. First, the economy had grown steadily though not spectacularly during Clinton's presidency. Second, Dole was a moderate Republican who failed to inspire the conservative activists who had energized Reagan's campaigns. Finally, Clinton's handling of the budgetary impasse gave him some credentials as a presidential leader.

Dole's best hopes appeared to rest on further developments in the Whitewater scandal. The complicated scandal got its name from the failed Whitewater real-estate development in Arkansas in which the Clintons had invested. On May 28, 1996, a jury convicted Arkansas Governor Jim Guy Tucker and two of the Clintons' other former business partners in Whitewater, James and Susan McDougal, of fraud. The three were found guilty of arranging nearly \$3 million in loans from federally

backed banks on the basis of falsified appraisals and of using the loans for improper purposes, including the Whitewater development, while Clinton was governor of Arkansas.

Although none of the evidence introduced in the trial implicated the president, that did not absolve him and his wife of suspected wrongdoing in many people's eyes. Hillary Clinton had been a partner in the Rose Law Firm that handled the affairs of the McDougals' failed bank. Vincent Foster, an attorney who followed the Clintons from Arkansas to the White House, committed suicide when the scandal broke in 1993, leading some to speculate that the Clintons had something to hide.

Neither Dole's attempt to question Clinton's character nor the former senator's call for a 15 percent across-the-board cut in income taxes made much of an impression on the electorate. Clinton rolled to an easy victory on November 5, becoming the first Democrat to be re-elected president since Franklin D. Roosevelt. He captured 379 electoral votes and 49 percent of the popular vote. Dole won the remainder of the electoral votes and 41 percent of the popular vote, while Reform party candidate Ross Perot captured 9 percent of the popular vote. Expecting an easy Clinton victory, less than half of all eligible voters cast their ballots. The percentage turnout was the lowest since 1924. Clinton proved to have very short coattails. The Republicans retained control of the Senate and the House.

### **Clinton's Foreign Policy**

When Clinton assumed control of foreign policy, it still was not clear what general policy would replace that of the Cold War. Americans wanted to maintain their power and influence as a super-

**Whitewater scandal** A scandal involving a failed real-estate development in Arkansas in which President Clinton invested; several of the president's business partners in the Whitewater development were convicted of fraud.

power but were divided over what situations would warrant American intervention. Inexperienced in foreign affairs, Clinton proceeded cautiously and followed the general outline set by President Bush. In economic foreign policy, Clinton completed Bush's effort to pass the NAFTA and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) agreements, to improve trade with China, and to encourage Japan to buy more American goods. Clinton continued to support Russian leader Boris Yeltsin and to work toward agreements with former Soviet countries to destroy nuclear warheads.

Clinton inherited two highly controversial commitments from the Bush administration—in Somalia and in Bosnia. U.S. troops intervened in Somalia in 1992 as part of a United Nations effort to keep the peace between marauding factions in a civil war. But in the absence of any direct U.S. interest in the country, pressure to withdraw the troops grew. By April 1994, Clinton had done so.

Clinton inched forward on the issue of Bosnia amid considerable controversy over whether UN peacekeeping efforts would have any effect. As the carnage increased, however, the Clinton administration agreed to allow American forces to participate in a UN campaign to establish and protect "safe areas" for refugees. In the fall of 1995, the United States sponsored talks between the warring elements—the Serbs, the Muslim Bosnians, and the Croats. The resulting **Dayton Agreement** partitioned the country into a Bosnian-Croatian federation and Serbia and called for UN forces, including 20,000 Americans, to police the peace. By the summer of 1996, when most American forces were withdrawn, much had been accomplished to rebuild the shattered region. In December 1997, Clinton announced, however, that a continued American presence in that nation was necessary to oversee the task of nation building.

The Balkans continued to remain a hot spot during Clinton's second term. The conflict that erupted in 1998 again involved ancient hostilities between Orthodox Christians and Muslims, this time in the Serbian province of Kosovo. Kosovo, 90 percent of whose population consisted of ethnic Albanians, who also were Muslims, had enjoyed considerable autonomy until the breakup of

the former Yugoslavia in 1989, when Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic took control of the province. Milosevic ordered a crackdown in Kosovo in 1998 after the emergence of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which sought full independence for the province.

Milosevic's efforts to drive ethnic Albanians from their villages in Kosovo prompted NATO intervention in March 1999 after negotiations to end the conflict failed. NATO launched bombing raids against Serbian targets in Kosovo and Serbia to force a Serb withdrawal from the province. NATO's reluctance to commit troops to the conflict, however, allowed Milosevic to conduct a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Albanians, who began a mass exodus from the province. Milosevic finally capitulated and agreed to sign a UN-approved peace agreement on June 9. British officials sent to investigate mass graves after the conflict ended estimated that some ten thousand ethnic Albanian civilians had been deliberately shot by Milosevic's forces between June 1998 and June 1999.

Iraq remained a problem area as well. Fearful that Saddam Hussein would replenish his chemical and biological weapons after the Gulf War, the United Nations required Iraq to allow UN inspectors access to sites suspected of storing or producing such weapons. From the beginning of these forced inspections, Saddam obstructed the UN efforts. In January 1998, he flatly refused to allow inspectors to visit some sites, including many presidential palaces.

Clinton responded by threatening military action against Iraq. Although Saddam appeared to agree to unrestricted inspections in February 1998, he soon began imposing restrictions on the UN inspections again. Tired of Saddam's delaying tactics, Clinton ordered American warplanes to bomb

**Dayton Agreement** Agreement signed in Dayton, Ohio, in November 1995 by the three rival ethnic groups in Bosnia, which pledged to end the four-year civil war there.

**ethnic cleansing** An effort to eradicate an ethnic or religious group from a country or region, often through mass killings.





- ◆ Following his impeachment by the House of Representatives in December 1998, a determined President Clinton announced that he would not resign his office and vowed to serve out his term to "the last hour." House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (*left*), Vice President Al Gore, and Hillary Clinton lend support.

Baghdad in December 1998. Saddam soon relented, promising once more to allow inspectors to visit all suspected sites. Few observers, however, expected Saddam's cooperation.

### **Bridge to the Twenty-first Century**

As Clinton began his second term, most Americans were generally pleased with society and the economy and gave the president a high approval rating. The country was at peace, and the economy was growing, providing more jobs while inflation remained low. The previous years of economic growth were broad based, helping to reduce income gaps between men and women and African Americans and whites.

In his State of the Union address in 1998, Clinton focused on the economy's strength as he projected the first balanced budget in thirty years. The budget marked, he stated, "an end to decades of deficits that have shackled our economy, paralyzed our policies, and held our people back." He also suggested that any surplus should be set aside to ensure the future viability of Social Security. "Before we do anything with that surplus," he told Congress, "let's save Social Security

first." Stressing "smart government," Clinton called for increased spending on education, daycare, Medicare, and Medicaid, as well as for medical and other scientific research. Republican critics argued that the budget had been balanced through the use of "smoke and mirrors" and represented the Democratic position as a continuation of "big government."

At the time Clinton gave his State of the Union Address, the emerging Monica Lewinsky scandal was rocking the White House and prompting some people to suggest that the president should resign or be impeached. Did the president have a sexual relationship with the former White House intern? Did he ask her to lie about it under oath? Although willing to believe the accusations, most Americans did not seem to care. As the investigation and stories of a cover-up and presidential sexual miscon-

duct continued, Clinton's public approval rose to a record high of 79 percent. Polls suggested that a majority of the public was pleased with Clinton's performance as president and the overall state of the nation and thought that Clinton's private life should be his own business.

The Republican majority in the House of Representatives, however, did not agree with that assessment. On October 8, 1998, for only the third time in American history, the House launched impeachment proceedings against a president. In December, the House approved two articles of impeachment against Clinton. The first article charged that Clinton had perjured himself in his January 1998 testimony in the Paula Jones case. (Jones had filed a sexual harassment suit claiming that Clinton had asked her to perform oral sex on him in 1991 while he was governor of Arkansas. Clinton settled the case in November 1998 by paying Jones \$850,000 while admitting nothing.) The second article charged that Clinton had abused the powers of his office and obstructed justice in attempting to cover up the Lewinsky affair.

Although public opinion polls clearly were against Clinton's impeachment, the Senate nevertheless agreed to proceed with the case. After a six-week trial, the Senate acquitted Clinton on both counts on February 12, 1999. Forty-five senators voted in favor of convicting the president of perjury, while fifty voted in favor of the obstruction of justice charge. Since a two-thirds majority was required to remove Clinton from office, he remained president, but with a badly stained reputation.

As Americans neared the new millennium, they appeared to have all but forgotten the high drama and low tragedy of Clinton's impeachment trial. Although some feared computer problems and stocked up on portable generators, canned goods, and extra cash, most awaited the arrival of the year 2000 with quiet confidence and assurance. The American economy was strong and showed no signs of stopping its extraordinary expansion. No great foreign threats loomed on the horizon for the world's remaining superpower. Only time would tell whether those confident expectations would be borne out. But one thing was certain: the making of America would continue.

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## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Americans entered and left the 1990s badly divided over many cultural and social *expectations*. Conservatives and liberals argued heatedly about the morality of the country. From both sides of the political spectrum, activists promoted their point of view. Racial and ethnic minorities, gays, and women were among those insisting that government remove *constraints* in the form of discriminatory laws and practices. Conservatives countered that government programs were already providing too many special programs for minorities and the disadvantaged. Opposed to homosexuality, abortion, and what they considered destructive values, conservatives claimed that American society was too permissive, too preoccupied with sex and violence, and too tolerant of immorality and "alternative lifestyles." They advocated less government interference in economic and social matters and argued for policy choices that stressed "traditional values."

The key issue in the 1992 presidential election proved to be not social issues but economic ones. Reminding voters of the economic recession then facing the country, Bill Clinton was able to outdistance incumbent president George Bush and third-party candidate Ross Perot. The *outcome* of Clinton's efforts to expand the welfare state by proposing national healthcare legislation failed abysmally and encouraged Republican *expectations* of a new era of conservatism. Those *expectations* appeared quite realistic in 1994, when Republicans captured both houses of Congress by proposing the conservative Contract with America.

Clinton chose to steal much of the Republican thunder by successfully proposing budgetary and welfare reforms. The *outcome* of his shift to the

political center and of a growing economy was his reelection over Bob Dole in 1996.

The Monica Lewinsky scandal operated as a severe *constraint* on Clinton's political effectiveness during his second term. Although he survived a Senate trial on two impeachment charges, his presidential leadership virtually ended on the day Lewinsky became a household name in January 1998.

As America entered the new millennium, there appeared to be no clear political mandate. During

the 1990s, Americans had resoundingly voted against a further expansion of "big government"—at least in the form of national healthcare. But they also had chosen to reject conservatives' calls for a thorough dismantling of the welfare state and to retain Social Security and Medicare. Radical *choices* seemed unnecessary in a country that had enjoyed nearly a decade of prosperity and that had resumed its place as the world's leading economic power.

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# DOCUMENTS

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## Declaration of Independence in Congress, July 4, 1776

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When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and

magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK  
*and fifty-five others*

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## **Constitution of the United States of America and Amendments\***

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### **Preamble**

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote

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\* Passages no longer in effect are printed in italic type.

the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

## Article I

*Section 1* All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

*Section 2* The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, *which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.* The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; *and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.*

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

*Section 3* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the legislature thereof*, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

*Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so*

*that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.*

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted with-out the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from the office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

*Section 4* The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting *shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.*

*Section 5* Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from

day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

*Section 6* The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

*Section 7* All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with objections to that house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment

prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

*Section 8* The Congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States; To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

*Section 9 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10 for each person.*

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of

any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

*Section 10* No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## Article II

*Section 1* The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

*The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, *or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution*, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In cases of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall

take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

*Section 2* The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

*Section 3* He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

*Section 4* The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from of-

office on impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### Article III

*Section 1* The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

*Section 2* The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—*between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.*

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

*Section 3* Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

### Article IV

*Section 1* Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

*Section 2* The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

*No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*

*Section 3* New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

*Section 4* The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

### Article V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part



of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

#### Article VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

#### Article VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON  
*and thirty-seven others*

### Amendments to the Constitution\*

#### Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise

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\* The first ten Amendments (the Bill of Rights) were adopted in 1791.

thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

#### Amendment II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

#### Amendment III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

#### Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

#### Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

#### Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

**Amendment VII**

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

**Amendment VIII**

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

**Amendment IX**

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

**Amendment X**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

**Amendment XI**

*[Adopted 1798]*

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

**Amendment XII**

*[Adopted 1804]*

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be

the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members

from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

**Amendment XIII**

*[Adopted 1865]*

*Section 1* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

*Section 2* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Amendment XIV**

*[Adopted 1868]*

*Section 1* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person

within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

*Section 2* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

*Section 3* No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

*Section 4* The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

*Section 5* The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

#### Amendment XV

*[Adopted 1870]*

*Section 1* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United

States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

*Section 2* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### Amendment XVI

*[Adopted 1913]*

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without

regard to any census or enumeration.

#### Amendment XVII

*[Adopted 1913]*

*Section 1* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of [voters for] the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

*Section 2* When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

*Section 3* This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

#### Amendment XVIII

*[Adopted 1919; Repealed*

*1933]*

*Section 1* After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

*Section 2* The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

*Section 3* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

### **Amendment XIX**

*[Adopted 1920]*

*Section 1* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

*Section 2* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### **Amendment XX**

*[Adopted 1933]*

*Section 1* The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

*Section 2* The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

*Section 3* If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such persons shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

*Section 4* The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

*Section 5* Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

*Section 6* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

### **Amendment XXI**

*[Adopted 1933]*

*Section 1* The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

*Section 2* The transportation or importation into any State,

Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

*Section 3* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

### **Amendment XXII**

*[Adopted 1951]*

*Section 1* No person shall be elected to the office of President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

*Section 2* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

### **Amendment XXIII**

*[Adopted 1961]*

*Section 1* The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would

be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

*Section 2* The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **Amendment XXIV**

*[Adopted 1964]*

*Section 1* The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

*Section 2* The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **Amendment XXV**

*[Adopted 1967]*

*Section 1* In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice-President shall become President.

*Section 2* Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice-President, the President shall nominate a Vice-President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

*Section 3* Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

*Section 4* Whenever the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by

law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House

of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department[s] or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

#### **Amendment XXVI**

*[Adopted 1971]*

*Section 1* The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

*Section 2* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **Amendment XXVII**

*[Adopted 1992]*

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

T A B L E S

**Territorial Expansion of the United States**

Territory	Date Acquired	Square Miles	How Acquired
Original states and territories	1783	888,685	Treaty with Great Britain
Louisiana Purchase	1803	827,192	Purchase from France
Florida	1819	72,003	Treaty with Spain
Texas	1845	390,143	Annexation of independent nation
Oregon	1846	285,580	Treaty with Great Britain
Mexican Cession	1848	529,017	Conquest from Mexico
Gadsden Purchase	1853	29,640	Purchase from Mexico
Alaska	1867	589,757	Purchase from Russia
Hawaii	1898	6,450	Annexation of independent nation
The Philippines	1899	115,600	Conquest from Spain (granted independence in 1946)
Puerto Rico	1899	3,435	Conquest from Spain
Guam	1899	212	Conquest from Spain
American Samoa	1900	76	Treaty with Germany and Great Britain
Panama Canal Zone	1904	553	Treaty with Panama (returned to Panama by treaty in 1978)
Corn Islands	1914	4	Treaty with Nicaragua (returned to Nicaragua by treaty in 1971)
Virgin Islands	1917	133	Purchase from Denmark
Pacific Islands Trust (Micronesia)	1947	8,489	Trusteeship under United Nations (some granted independence)
All others (Midway, Wake, and other islands)		42	

## Admission of States into the Union

State	Date of Admission	State	Date of Admission
1. Delaware	December 7, 1787	26. Michigan	January 26, 1837
2. Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	27. Florida	March 3, 1845
3. New Jersey	December 18, 1787	28. Texas	December 29, 1845
4. Georgia	January 2, 1788	29. Iowa	December 28, 1846
5. Connecticut	January 9, 1788	30. Wisconsin	May 29, 1848
6. Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	31. California	September 9, 1850
7. Maryland	April 28, 1788	32. Minnesota	May 11, 1858
8. South Carolina	May 23, 1788	33. Oregon	February 14, 1859
9. New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	34. Kansas	January 29, 1861
10. Virginia	June 25, 1788	35. West Virginia	June 20, 1863
11. New York	July 26, 1788	36. Nevada	October 31, 1864
12. North Carolina	November 21, 1789	37. Nebraska	March 1, 1867
13. Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	38. Colorado	August 1, 1876
14. Vermont	March 4, 1791	39. North Dakota	November 2, 1889
15. Kentucky	June 1, 1792	40. South Dakota	November 2, 1889
16. Tennessee	June 1, 1796	41. Montana	November 8, 1889
17. Ohio	March 1, 1803	42. Washington	November 11, 1889
18. Louisiana	April 30, 1812	43. Idaho	July 3, 1890
19. Indiana	December 11, 1816	44. Wyoming	July 10, 1890
20. Mississippi	December 10, 1817	45. Utah	January 4, 1896
21. Illinois	December 3, 1818	46. Oklahoma	November 16, 1907
22. Alabama	December 14, 1819	47. New Mexico	January 6, 1912
23. Maine	March 15, 1820	48. Arizona	February 14, 1912
24. Missouri	August 10, 1821	49. Alaska	January 3, 1959
25. Arkansas	June 15, 1836	50. Hawai'i	August 21, 1959

## Presidential Elections

Year	Number of States	Candidates	Popular Parties	Vote	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	% Voter Participation
1789	11	<b>George Washington</b>	No party designations			69	
		John Adams				34	
		Other candidates				35	
1792	15	<b>George Washington</b>	No party designations			132	
		John Adams				77	
		George Clinton				50	
		Other candidates				5	
1796	16	<b>John Adams</b>	Federalist			71	
		Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican			68	
		Thomas Pinckney	Federalist			59	
		Aaron Burr	Democratic-Republican			30	
		Other candidates				48	
		<b>Thomas Jefferson</b>	Democratic-Republican			73	
1800	16	Aaron Burr	Democratic-Republican			73	
		John Adams	Federalist			65	
		Charles C. Pinckney	Federalist			64	
		John Jay	Federalist			1	
		<b>Thomas Jefferson</b>	Democratic-Republican			162	
1804	17	Charles C. Pinckney	Federalist			14	
		<b>James Madison</b>	Democratic-Republican			122	
1808	17	Charles C. Pinckney	Federalist			47	
		George Clinton	Democratic-Republican			6	
		<b>James Madison</b>	Democratic-Republican			128	
1812	18	DeWitt Clinton	Federalist			89	
		<b>James Monroe</b>	Democratic-Republican			183	
1816	19	Rufus King	Federalist			34	
		<b>James Monroe</b>	Democratic-Republican			231	
		John Quincy Adams	Independent-Republican			1	



## Presidential Elections, *Continued*

Year	Number of States	Candidates	Parties	Popular .V o t e	% of Popular Vote	Elec-toral Vote	% Voter Partici-pationa
1824	24		Democratic-Republican	108,740	30.5	84	26.9
		<b>John Quincy Adams</b>	Democratic-Republican	153,544	43.1	99	
		Andrew Jackson	Democratic-Republican	47,136	13.2	37	
		Henry Clay	Democratic-Republican	46,618	13.1	41	
		William H. Crawford	Democratic National	647,286	56.0	178	
<b>Andrew Jackson</b>	Republican	508,064	44.0	83			
1828	24	John Quincy Adams	Democratic National	688,242	54.5	219	55.4
		<b>Andrew Jackson</b>	Republican	473,462	37.5	49	
1832	24	Henry Clay	Anti-Masonic		8.0	7	
		William Wirt	Democratic	101,051		11	
1836	26	John Floyd	Democratic	765,483	50.9	170	57.8
		<b>Martin Van Buren</b>	Whig			73	
		William H. Harrison	Whig			26	
		Hugh L. White	Whig	739,795	49.1	14	
		Daniel Webster	Whig			11	
1840	26	W. P. Mangum	Whig	1,274,624	53.1	234	80.2
		<b>William H. Harrison</b>	Democratic	1,127,781	46.9	60	
1844	26	Martin Van Buren	Democratic	1,338,464	49.6	170	78.9
		<b>James K. Polk</b>	Whig	1,300,097	48.1	105	
		Henry Clay	Liberty	62,300	2.3		
1848	30	James G. Birney	Whig	1,360,967	47.4	163	72.7
		<b>Zachary Taylor</b>	Democratic	1,222,342	42.5	127	
		Lewis Cass	Free Soil	291,263	10.1		
1852	31	Martin Van Buren	Democratic	1,601,117	50.9	254	69.6
		<b>Franklin Pierce</b>	Whig	1,385,453	44.1	42	
		Winfield Scott	Free Soil	155,825	5.0		
1856	31	John P. Hale	Democratic	1,832,955	45.3	174	78.9
		<b>James Buchanan</b>	Republican	1,339,932	33.1	114	
		John C. Frémont	American	871,731	21.6	8	
1860	33	Millard Fillmore	Republican	1,865,593	39.8	180	81.2
		<b>Abraham Lincoln</b>	Democratic	1,382,713	29.5	12	
		Stephen A. Douglas	Democratic	848,356	18.1	72	
		John C. Breckinridge	Constitutional Union	592,906	12.6	39	
		John Bell					

## Presidential Elections, *Continued*

Year	Number of States	Candidates	Parties	Popular Vote	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	% Voter Participation
1864	36	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	2,206,938	55.0	212	73.8
		George B. McClellan	Democratic	1,803,787	45.0	21	
1868	37	Ulysses S. Grant	Republican	3,013,421	52.7	214	78.1
		Horatio Seymour	Democratic	2,706,829	47.3	80	
1872	37	Ulysses S. Grant	Republican	3,596,745	55.6	286	71.3
		Horace Greeley	Democratic	2,843,446	43.9	<sup>b</sup>	
1876	38	Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	4,036,572	48.0	185	81.8
		Samuel J. Tilden	Democratic	4,284,020	51.0	184	
1880	38	James A. Garfield	Republican	4,453,295	48.5	214	79.4
		Winfield S. Hancock	Democratic	4,414,082	48.1	155	
		James B. Weaver	Greenback-Labor	308,578	3.4		
1884	38	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	4,879,507	48.5	219	77.5
		James G. Blaine	Republican	4,850,293	48.2	182	
		Benjamin F. Butler	Greenback-Labor	175,370	1.8		
1888	38	John P. St. John	Prohibition	150,369	1.5		79.3
		Benjamin Harrison	Republican	5,477,129	47.9	233	
		Grover Cleveland	Democratic	5,537,857	48.6	168	
		Clinton B. Fisk	Prohibition	249,506	2.2		
1892	44	Anson J. Streeter	Union Labor	146,935	1.3		74.7
		Grover Cleveland	Democratic	5,555,426	46.1	277	
		Benjamin Harrison	Republican	5,182,690	43.0	145	
		James B. Weaver	People's	1,029,846	8.5	22	
1896	45	John Bidwell	Prohibition	264,133	2.2		79.3
		William McKinley	Republican	7,102,246	51.1	271	
		William J. Bryan	Democratic	6,492,559	47.7	176	
1900	45	William McKinley	Republican	7,218,491	51.7	292	73.2
		William J. Bryan	Democratic; Populist	6,356,734	45.5	155	
1904	45	John C. Wooley	Prohibition	208,914	1.5		65.2
		Theodore Roosevelt	Republican	7,628,461	57.4	336	
		Alton B. Parker	Democratic	5,084,223	37.6	140	
		Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	402,283	3.0		
1908	46	Silas C. Swallow	Prohibition	258,536	1.9		65.4
		William H. Taft	Republican	7,675,320	51.6	321	
		William J. Bryan	Democratic	6,412,294	43.1	162	
		Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	420,793	2.8		
		Eugene W. Chafin	Prohibition	253,840	1.7		

## Presidential Elections, *Continued*

Year	Number of States	Candidates	Parties	Popular Vote	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	% Voter Participation <sup>a</sup>
1912	48	Woodrow Wilson	Democratic	6,296,547	41.9	435	58.8
		Theodore Roosevelt	Progressive	4,118,571	27.4	88	
		William H. Taft	Republican	3,486,720	23.2	8	
		Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	900,672	6.0		
		Eugene W. Chafin	Prohibition	206,275	1.4		
1916	48	Woodrow Wilson	Democratic	9,127,695	49.4	277	61.6
		Charles E. Hughes	Republican	8,533,507	46.2	254	
		A. L. Benson	Socialist	585,113	3.2		
		J. Frank Hanly	Prohibition	220,506	1.2		
1920	48	Warren G. Harding	Republican	16,143,407	60.4	404	49.2
		James M. Cox	Democratic	9,130,328	34.2	127	
		Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	919,799	3.4		
		P. P. Christensen	Farmer-Labor	265,411	1.0		
1924	48	Calvin Coolidge	Republican	15,718,211	54.0	382	48.9
		John W. Davis	Democratic	8,385,283	28.8	136	
		Robert M. La Follette	Progressive	4,831,289	16.6	13	
1928	48	Herbert C. Hoover	Republican	21,391,993	58.2	444	56.9
		Alfred E. Smith	Democratic	15,016,169	40.9	87	
1932	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	22,809,638	57.4	472	56.9
		Herbert C. Hoover	Republican	15,758,901	39.7	59	
		Norman Thomas	Socialist	881,951	2.2		
1936	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	27,752,869	60.8	523	61.0
		Alfred M. Landon	Republican	16,674,665	36.5	8	
		William Lemke	Union	882,479	1.9		
1940	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	27,307,819	54.8	449	62.5
		Wendell L. Wilkie	Republican	22,321,018	44.8	82	
1944	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	25,606,585	53.5	432	55.9
		Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	22,014,745	46.0	99	
1948	48	Harry S Truman	Democratic	24,179,345	49.6	303	53.0
		Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	21,991,291	45.1	189	
		J. Strom Thurmond	States' Rights	1,176,125	2.4	39	
		Henry A. Wallace	Progressive	1,157,326	2.4		
1952	48	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Republican	33,936,234	55.1	442	63.3
		Adlai E. Stevenson	Democratic	27,314,992	44.4	89	
1956	48	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Republican	35,590,472	57.6	457	60.6
		Adlai E. Stevenson	Democratic	26,022,752	42.1	73	
1960	50	John F. Kennedy	Democratic	34,226,731	49.7	303	62.8
		Richard M. Nixon	Republican	34,108,157	49.5	219	

## Presidential Elections, *Continued*

Year	Number of States	Candidates	Parties	Popular Vote	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	% Voter Participation <sup>a</sup>
1964	50	<b>Lyndon B. Johnson</b>	Democratic	43,129,566	61.1	486	61.7
		Barry M. Goldwater	Republican	27,178,188	38.5	52	
1968	50	<b>Richard M. Nixon</b>	Republican	31,785,480	43.4	301	60.6
		Hubert H. Humphrey	Democratic	31,275,166	42.7	191	
		George C. Wallace	American	9,906,473	13.5	46	
			Independent				
1972	50	<b>Richard M. Nixon</b>	Republican	47,169,911	60.7	520	55.2
		George S. McGovern	Democratic	29,170,383	37.5	17	
		John G. Schmitz	American	1,099,482	1.4		
1976	50	<b>Jimmy Carter</b>	Democratic	40,830,763	50.1	297	53.5
		Gerald R. Ford	Republican	39,147,793	48.0	240	
1980	50	<b>Ronald Reagan</b>	Republican	43,899,248	50.8	489	52.6
		Jimmy Carter	Democratic	35,481,432	41.0	49	
		John B. Anderson	Independent	5,719,437	6.6	0	
		Ed Clark	Libertarian	920,859	1.1	0	
1984	50	<b>Ronald Reagan</b>	Republican	54,455,075	58.8	525	53.1
		Walter Mondale	Democratic	37,577,185	40.6	13	
1988	50	<b>George Bush</b>	Republican	48,901,046	53.4	426	50.2
		Michael Dukakis	Democratic	41,809,030	45.6	111 <sup>c</sup>	
1992	50	<b>Bill Clinton</b>	Democratic	44,908,233	43.0	370	55.0
		George Bush	Republican	39,102,282	37.4	168	
		Ross Perot	Independent	19,741,048	18.9	0	
1996	50	<b>Bill Clinton</b>	Democratic	47,401,054	49.2	379	49.0
		Robert Dole	Republican	39,197,350	40.7	159	
		Ross Perot	Independent	8,085,285	8.4	0	
		Ralph Nader	Green	684,871	0.7	0	

Candidates receiving less than 1 percent of the popular vote have been omitted. Thus the percentage of popular vote given for any election year may not total 100 percent.

Before the passage of the Twelfth Amendment in 1804, the Electoral College voted for two presidential candidates; the runner-up became vice president.

Before 1824, most presidential electors were chosen by state legislatures, not by popular vote.

<sup>a</sup>Percent of voting-age population casting ballots.

<sup>b</sup>Greeley died shortly after the election; the electors supporting him then divided their votes among minor candidates.

<sup>c</sup>One elector from West Virginia cast her Electoral College presidential ballot for Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic party's vice-presidential candidate.

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**Brief Second Edition**

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## P R E F A C E

Our aim in producing this second brief edition has again been to be as faithful as possible to the narrative of American history contained in the full version of *Making America*. Although the brief edition has reduced the length of *Making America* by one third, we have sacrificed very few sections and none of the features of the long edition. The clear chronology, straightforward narrative, and strong thematic structure remain. In addition, all the learning features, including chapter-opening maps and timelines, chapter outlines with focus questions, and in-text glossaries, have been retained.

Wherever possible, we have cut words and avoided excising larger sections to retain the book's narrative flow. Of necessity, the brief edition provides fewer examples and details. Where there were four examples, this edition may contain only two. We have also followed Mark Twain's advice about the adjective: "When in doubt, strike it out." We trust that in pruning the text with a discerning eye that we have allowed the major themes of *Making America* to stand out clearly.

The biggest change in this second brief edition of *Making America* is that, in response to reviewer requests, we have published it in full color. Maps, illustrations, and photographs are now more illustrative and contribute to a much livelier, visually appealing second edition.

The brief edition of *Making America* carries the story of American history through the impeachment trial of President Clinton. It also includes NATO's intervention in Kosovo.

This edition is well suited for use in courses in which additional reading is assigned or where the course is shorter than usual. It is available in a one-volume and two-volume format: Volume A covers American history from pre-discovery through Reconstruction, and Volume B covers Reconstruction to Clinton's impeachment. The chapter on Reconstruction is contained in both volumes.

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### The Approach

Professors and students who have used the first brief edition of *Making America* will recognize that we have preserved many of its central features. We have again set the nation's remarkable and complex story within a political chronology, relying on a basic and familiar structure that is broad enough to accommodate generous attention to the social, economic, and diplomatic aspects of our national history. We remain confident that this

political framework allows us to integrate the experiences of all Americans into a meaningful and effective narrative of our nation's development.

*Making America* continues to be built on the premise that all Americans are historically active figures, playing significant roles in creating the history that we and other authors narrate. Once again, we have written the text on the basis of our understanding that history is a dynamic process resulting from the decisions and actions of all women and men in our American past. Thus, our second brief edition continues the tradition of ECCO, our acronym for four fundamental aspects of the historical process: expectations, constraints, choices, and outcomes. In each chapter, *Making America* examines the variety of *expectations* people held about their futures; the *constraints* of time, place, and multiple social and economic factors that these historical figures faced; the *choices* they made, given the circumstances of their lives; and the expected and unexpected *outcomes* flowing from their decisions.

In this revised edition, we have chosen to retain ECCO as an explicit device in each chapter introduction and summary but have made it implicit within the chapter narrative. This strategy allows students to recognize the dynamic ECCO elements as providing an underlying structure and organizing principle rather than as a surface device.

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## Themes

This edition continues to thread five central themes through *Making America*. The first of these themes, the political development of the nation, is evident in the text's coverage of the creation and revision of the federal and local governments, the contests waged over domestic and diplomatic policies, the internal and external crises faced by the United States and its political institutions, and the history of political parties. The second theme is the diversity of a national citizenry created by immigrants. To do justice to this theme, *Making America* explores not only English and European immigration but immigrant communities from Paleolithic times to the present. The text attends to the tensions and conflicts that arise in a diverse population, but it also examines the shared values and aspirations that define the majority of ordinary, middle-class American lives.

*Making America's* third theme is the significance of regional economies and cultures. This regional theme is developed for society before European colonization and for the colonial settlements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is evident in our attention to the striking social and cultural divergences that existed between the American Southwest and the Atlantic coastal regions as well as between the antebellum South and North. A fourth theme is the rise and impact of the large social movements, from the Great Awakening in the 1740s to the rise of youth cultures in the post-World War II generations, prompted by changing material conditions or by new ideas challenging the status quo.

The fifth theme is the relationship of the United States to other nations. In *Making America* we explore in depth the causes and consequences of this nation's role in world conflict and diplomacy. This examination includes the era of colonization of the Americas, the eighteenth-century independence movement, the removal of Indian nations from their traditional lands, the impact of the rhetoric of manifest destiny, American policies of isolationism and interventionism, and the modern role of the United States as a dominant player in world affairs.

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## Learning Features

The chapters in *Making America* follow a format that provides students essential study aids for mastering the historical material. Each chapter begins with a map that sets the scene for the most significant events and developments in the narrative that follows. Accompanying the map is a chronological chart of these significant events and a time line that illustrates where these events fit in a broader time frame. On the chapter-opening page, there is a topical outline of the new

material students will encounter in the chapter, along with several new and, we think, thought-provoking critical thinking questions to help students focus on the broad, overarching themes of the chapter.

Each chapter offers an introduction in which we apply the ECCO model to the subject matter the students are about to explore. Each chapter ends with a summary, also structured in accordance with the ECCO model. At the end of the chapter students will also find suggestions for further reading on the events, movements, or people covered in that chapter. There is as well a selected bibliography at the end of the text citing the best scholarship in the field, old and new.

To ensure that students have full access to the material in each chapter, we provide a page-by-page glossary, defining terms and explaining their historically specific usage the first time they appear in the narrative. This running glossary will help students build their vocabularies and review for tests.

The illustrations in each chapter provide a visual connection to the past, and their captions analyze the subject of the painting, photograph, or artifact and comment on its significance. For this edition we have selected many new illustrations to reinforce or illustrate the themes of the narrative.

More than half the chapters contain an "Individual Choices" feature, which helps students understand an important point raised in the chapter. The "Individual Choices" provide intimate portraits of famous people such as President Grover Cleveland and ordinary people such as the twentieth-century farmers' advocate Milo Reno. By exploring how individuals arrived at decisions that shaped their lives, "Individual Choices" dramatize the fact that

history is not inevitable but is the result of real people making real choices.

## New to This Edition

In this new edition we have preserved what our colleagues and their students considered the best and most useful aspects of the first brief edition of *Making America*. We also have replaced what was less successful, revised what could be improved, and added new elements to strengthen the book.

A new chapter places the English colonial world and the empire of which it was a part in their broad historical context. Chapter 2, "A Continent on the Move, 1400-1725," prepares students to see the origins of the Anglo-American world in the expansionist ideology of western Europe, to recognize that the colonies were part of a transatlantic community of ideas and policies, and to understand that Indians, Europeans, and the English were all critical players in the development of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century society that became the United States.

Changes that improve the coverage of content in *Making America* are evident in every chapter. The newest contributions to scholarship in American history have been integrated throughout the text. There is, for example, more coverage of the West throughout the text, and the coverage of the Kennedy and Johnson presidencies has been revised to reflect the insights of the best new work in this field. Chapters 7 through 9 have been recast into two chapters to make for more continuity in the story of the Federalists' decline and the Jeffersonian Republicans' ascendancy.

This new edition also offers a new feature: "Making History: Using Sources from the Past." This feature encourages students to work with primary documents in order to answer important historical questions. In each, "Making History" feature, the student is presented with a brief background statement entitled "The Context." This is followed by the statement of a problem, "The Historical Question." Then students are given "The Challenge" to write an essay or hold a discussion on the challenge question, drawing on knowledge and information that they have gained from reading the text and the primary sources that accompany the feature. There is no single, correct answer, of course; students will come to different conclusions just as historians do. This feature is flexible enough to provide teachers the opportunity to hone students' essay-writing skills, critical thinking abilities, and understanding of historical methods of inquiry and standards of proof.

We the authors of *Making America* believe that this new edition will be effective in the history classroom. Please let us know what you think by sending us your views through Houghton Mifflin's American history web site, located at [college.hmco.com](http://college.hmco.com).

## Study and Teaching Aids

A number of useful learning and teaching aids accompany the second brief edition of *Making America*. They are designed to help students get the most from the course and to provide instructors with some useful teaching tools.

*@history: an interactive American history source* is a multimedia teaching/learning package that combines a variety of material on a cross-platformed CD-ROM—primary sources (text and graphic), video, and audio—with activities that can be used to analyze, interpret, and discuss primary sources; to enhance collaborative learning; and to create multimedia lecture presentations. *@history* also has an accompanying web site, located at [college.hmco.com](http://college.hmco.com), where additional primary sources, online resources for *Making America*, and links to relevant sites can be found.

An *On-line Study Guide* is available at no charge for students. Accessible through Houghton Mifflin's *@history* web site ([college.hmco.com](http://college.hmco.com)), it functions as a tutorial, providing rejoinders to all multiple-choice questions that explain why the student's response is or is not correct. The online Study Guide also offers chapter outlines and other learning resources for students.

The *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Items*, prepared by Kelly Woestman of Pittsburgh State University, includes for every chapter



instructional objectives that are drawn from the textbook's critical thinking questions, a chapter summary and annotated outline, and three lecture topics that include resource material and references to the text. Each chapter also includes discussion questions, answers to the critical thinking questions that follow each major heading in the text, cooperative and individual learning activities, map activities, ideas for paper topics, and a list of audiovisual resources. The test items provide twenty key terms and definitions, forty to fifty multiple-choice questions, five to ten essay questions with answer guidelines, and an analytical exercise to test critical thinking skills.

A *Computerized Test Items File* is available for IBM PC or compatible computers. This computerized version of the printed Test Items file allows professors to create customized tests by editing and adding questions.

A set of over 150 full-color *American History Map Transparencies* is available in two-volume sets upon adoption.

Please contact your local Houghton Mifflin representative for more information about the ancillary items or to obtain desk copies.

## **Acknowledgments**

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## TO THE STUDENTS

To most students, the authors of a textbook are little more than names on the spine of a heavy book. We the authors of *Making America*, however, hope you'll give us a chance to be more than "Berkin et al." If you'll give us a moment, we'll introduce ourselves—and our book—to you. We also want to give you some solid suggestions about how to get the most out of this text and out of the study of American history it is designed to assist.

We—Carol Berkin, Robert Cherny, James Gormly, Christopher Miller, and Thomas Mainwaring—have been historians, teachers, and colleagues for many years. Carol and Bob went to graduate school together; Jim and Chris taught at University of Texas—Pan American together; Jim and Tom teach at Washington and Jefferson College. As scholars, we spend much of our time in libraries or historical archives, leafing through centuries-old letters from a wife to a husband, looking at letters to an abolitionist, reading government reports on Indian policy, analyzing election returns from the 1890s, or examining newspaper editorials on the Cold War. At those moments, immersed in the past, we feel as if we have conquered time and space, traveling to eras and to places that no longer exist. This experience is part of the reason why we are historians. But we also are historians because we believe that knowing about the past is critical for anyone who hopes to understand the present and chart the future.

Our goal for this textbook is deceptively simple: we want to tell the story of America from its earliest settlement to the present, to make that story complex and interesting, and to tell it in a language and format that will help students enjoy learning that history. Achieving those goals has been hard work, and with each edition of *Making America*, we hope we move closer to success.

This textbook is organized and designed to help you master American history. Our narrative is chronological, telling the story as it happened, decade by decade or era by era. If you look at the table of contents, you can see that the chapters cover specific time periods rather than largethemes. This does not mean that themes are absent; it means that we present them to you in the context of specific moments in time.

Each chapter follows the same pattern. It begins with a map of the United States on which vital information is provided. For instance, the chapter on English settlement in the colonial era shows you the boundaries of each colony, gives you the date it was founded, and tells you what type of colony it was. The map locates for you in space what the chronological narrative locates in time.

Below the map you will see a time line, which gives you the dates of important events and a sense of where in the larger history of the nation these events fit. On the opposite page, you will see a chapter outline with focus questions, and when you turn the page, you will see a chart that lists in chronological order the significant events that we describe in the chapter. Together, the map, time line, outline, and chronology provide an overview of what you will be reading in the pages that follow.

The introduction to each chapter sets the scene and tells you what major themes and issues you will find as you read on. You will notice that the introductions present the story in a very particular way: as a series of *expectations*, or hopes and desires held by the people of the era; of *constraints*, or limitations that they confronted as they tried to fulfill their expectations; of *choices*, or decisions that they finally made; and of *outcomes*, or consequences of the actions prompted by those choices. Our shorthand name for this approach is ECCO, an acronym formed from the first letter of each of the four elements. Expectations, constraints, choices, outcomes—ECCO—are the dynamic elements of history. ECCO is a way to remind you that what we call "the past" was "the present" to the people who lived it. They could not know what would happen as a result of their actions—and this is the excitement of the story we have to tell.

Then the chapter itself begins. It consists of sections that you can read as mini-narratives. A summary at the end of each chapter recaps the material in the text. If you want to make sure you have fo-

cused on the important points in the chapter, you can review by reading the summary and then trying to answer the focus questions at the beginning of the chapter.

Because a serious examination of a history as rich and complex as our nation's requires us to introduce you to many new people, places, events, and ideas, it is easy to get lost in details or panic over what is most important to remember. You may also encounter words that are unfamiliar or words that seem to be used in a different way from the way you use them in everyday speech. Both problems can distract you from learning what happened—and why—and enjoying the story. To prevent this distraction, we have provided a glossary on each page to define key terms and possibly unfamiliar words. Each chapter also has suggestions for further reading on the subjects covered in the text, so that you can explore other viewpoints or look in depth at subjects that interest you.

Because students learn from visual as well as written sources, each chapter provides reproductions of paintings, photographs, artifacts, cartoons, and maps. These are not intended just to be decorative. They are there to give faces to the people you are reading about, to show you what the environment, both natural and constructed, was like in the era under discussion, and to provide images of objects from the era that make clear their similarity to or difference from material objects in the world around you today. In the captions we identify each visual aid and suggest ways to interpret it.

More than half the chapters have a feature called "Individual Choices." In this feature we present a man or woman from the past who needed to make a choice. After all, individuals, including you, shape their history at the same time that history is shaping their lives. We believe that by reading about real people—some famous, some

not—as they face an important choice and an uncertain outcome, you will better understand the era in which they lived.

A feature called "Making History" also appears throughout the text. It gives you the opportunity to work with the raw materials of history: the primary sources that help historians reconstruct the past. This feature is designed to answer, the most common question students ask a history professor: "How do you know what happened or how it happened or why?" In "Making History," we pose a question to you, provide a variety of primary sources on the topic, then challenge you to offer your interpretation of the issue. "Making History" gives you a chance to be a historian, not just to read history. You will quickly see that your conclusions are not the same as those of your classmates, and these discrepancies will demonstrate why historians often disagree about issues in the past.

At the back of the textbook, you will find some additional resources. In the Appendix you will find a bibliography listing the books on which we relied in writing the chapters. You will also find reprinted two of the most important documents in American history: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Here, too, are tables that give you quick access to important data on the presidents and the states. Finally, you will see the index, which will help you locate a subject quickly if you want to read about it.

We the authors of *Making America* hope that our textbook conveys to you our own fascination with the American past and sparks your curiosity about the nation's history. We invite you to share your feedback on the book: you can reach us through Houghton Mifflin's American history web site, which is located at [college.hmco.com](http://college.hmco.com).

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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### Carol Berkin

Born in Mobile, Alabama, Carol Berkin received her undergraduate degree from Barnard College and her Ph.D. from Columbia University. Her dissertation won the Bancroft Award. She is now professor of history at Baruch College and the Graduate Center of City University of New York, where she serves as deputy chair of the Ph.D. program in history. She has written *Jonathan Sewall: Odyssey of an American Loyalist* (1974) and *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (1996). She has edited *Women in America: A History* (with Mary Beth Norton, 1979), *Women, War and Revolution* (with Clara M. Lovett, 1980), and *Women's Voices, Women's Lives: Documents in Early American History* (with Leslie Horowitz, 1998). She was contributing editor on southern women for *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* and has appeared in the PBS series *Liberty! The American Revolution* and The Learning Channel series *The American Revolution*. Professor Berkin chaired the Dunning Beveridge Prize Committee for the American Historical Association, the Columbia University Seminar in Early American History, and the Taylor Prize Committee of the Southern Association of Women Historians, and she served on the program committees for both the Society for the History of the Early American Republic and the Organization of American Historians. In addition, she has been a historical consultant for the National Parks Commission and served on the Planning Committee for the U.S. Department of Education's National Assessment of Educational Progress.

### Christopher L. Miller

Born and raised in Portland, Oregon, Christopher L. Miller received his undergraduate degree from Lewis and Clark College and his Ph.D. from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is currently associate professor of history at the University of Texas—Pan American. He is the author of

*Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau* (1985), and his articles and reviews have appeared in numerous scholarly journals. In addition to his scholarship in the areas of American West and American Indian history, Professor Miller has been active in projects designed to improve history teaching, including programs funded by the Meadows Foundation, the U.S. Department of Education, and other agencies.

### Robert W. Cherny

Born in Marysville, Kansas, and raised in Beatrice, Nebraska, Robert W. Cherny received his B.A. from the University of Nebraska and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is now professor of history at San Francisco State University. His books include *American Politics in the Gilded Age, 1868-1900* (1997), *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (with William Issel, 1986), *A Righteous Cause: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (1985, 1994), and *Populism, Progressivism, and the Transformation of Nebraska Politics, 1885-1915* (1981). His articles on politics and labor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have appeared in scholarly journals, anthologies, and historical dictionaries and encyclopedias. He has been an NEH fellow, Distinguished Fulbright Lecturer at Moscow State University (Russia), and Visiting Research Scholar at the University of Melbourne (Australia). He has also served as president of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era and of the Southwest Labor Studies Association.

### James L. Gormly

Born in Riverside, California, James L. Gormly received a B.A. from the University of Arizona and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Connecticut. He is now professor of history and chair of the history department at Washington and Jefferson College. He has written *The Collapse of the Grand Alliance*

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W. Thomas

## Mainwaring

Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, W. Thomas Mainwaring received his B.A. from Yale University

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# **Making America**

**A History of the United States**

